

PLACE LEADERSHIP FOR THE GOVERNANCE OF COMPLEX URBAN AGGLOMERATIONS

By

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Jackson & Indirani Perumal, who helped me dream the impossible and saw a greater path than I could conceive. This is in honour of you and the legacy you have left behind. I bid you both farewell while on this journey, but you live on every day in the unconditional love you provided that steered me on to achieve this goal.

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Acronyms

Acronym	Full Term
ANC	African National Congress
COVID-19	Coronavirus of 2019 – an infectious disease caused by SARS-CoV-2 virus which declared a pandemic by WHO
DWS	Department of Water and Sanitation
GCR	Gauteng City-Region
GCRO	Gauteng City-Region Observatory
GDoH	Gauteng Department of Health
IGR	Inter-governmental Relations
LHWP	Lesotho Highlands Water Project
MEC	Minister of Executive Council
MLG	Multi-Level Governance
Natjoints	The National Joints Operations and Intelligence Structure
NCCC	National Coronavirus Command Council
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OoP	Office of the Premier
PCF	Premier's Co-ordinating Forum
PDMCC	Provincial Disaster Management Command Centre
PMO	Project Management Office
PPE	Personal Protective Equipment
PWV	Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal
QoL	Quality-of-Life
RSC	Regional Services Council
TMR	Transformation, Modernisation and Reindustrialisation
WHO	World Health Organisation
ZAR	Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (South African Republic) also known as the Transvaal

Glossary

Concept	Definition
City-Region	A complex agglomeration of cities and towns that are connected through social and economic activity on a local and global scale (Author).
Collaborative Governance	"an arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets" (Ansell & Gash 2008:544)
Co-operative Governance	Chapter 3 of Constitution of Republic of South Africa provides guidelines on co-operative government and intergovernmental relations between the three spheres of government
District Municipality	The province of Gauteng comprises two district municipalities - Sedibeng and West Rand - in addition to the metropolitan municipalities –
Global North	Rich powerful regions such as North America, Europe and Australia
Global South	Nations with low levels of economic and industrialised development located in the South
Governance	"Governance signifies a participative manner of governing that functions in a responsible, accountable and transparent manner based on the principles of efficiency, legitimacy and consensus for the purpose of promoting the rights of individual citizens and the public interest, thus indicating the exercise of political will for ensuring the material welfare of society and sustainable development with social justice" (Munshi & Abraham 2004:51-52).
Leadership	**"**Leadership is a process of social influence, which maximizes the efforts of others, towards the achievement of a goal" (Kruse 2013:3).
Local Municipality	The province of Gauteng comprises seven local municipalities in addition to the metropolitan municipalities – RandWest, Midvaal, Emfuleni, Merafong, Lesedi, Mogale
Mayor	The Mayor is the leader of the Council and has a number of roles which are both legislative and functional. The Executive leadership of the municipality is vested with the Mayor in terms of the Municipal Structures Act 117 of 1998
MEC	A member of the Provincial Executive Committee appointed by the Premier
Metro(politan)	A metropolis or large city as in common use but South African legislation formally recognises metropolitan municipalities. The province of Gauteng includes three metropolitan municipalities – Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni, and Tshwane (aka Pretoria)
Minister	A Member of National Cabinet appointed by the President
MMC	A Member of the Municipal Executive appointed by the Mayor
Municipality	The governance arrangements for a town or district at local level
Place Leadership	"Mobilization and coordination of diverse groups of actors to achieve collective effort for enhancement of the development of a place. It works across institutional, organizational, geographical and/or sectoral boundaries to amplify the local power base for strengthening the capacity to influence those with great powers" (Sotarauta et al. 2021a:1).
Premier	The head of government of a province
President	The Head of State or government
Province	An administrative division in a country. South Africa has nine provinces
Spheres of Government	Multi-level government comprising three levels of government in the context of South Africa – local, provincial and national
Ward	Geopolitical subdivisions at local level used for electoral purposes

Legal Frameworks

Act	Purpose
Disaster Management Act 57 of 2002	An integrated disaster management policy that provides for the prevention, responseand mitigation of disasters
IGR Framework Act 13 of 2005	Provides a framework for national, provincial and local governments to promote and facilitate intergovernmental relations
Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000	To provide for the core principles, mechanisms and processes that are necessary to enable municipalities to move progressively towards the social and economic upliftment of local communities, and ensure universal access to essential services that are affordable to all
National Water Act 36 of 1998	To provide for fundamental reform of the law relating to water resources
SA Constitution Act 108 of 1996	Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 is the supreme law of the country
Water Services Act 108 of 1997	To provide for the rights of access to basic water supply and basic sanitation

Abstract

City-regions are complex agglomerations – spatially, economically, and politically. Understanding the dynamics and mechanisms that create the foundation for their development is an important undertaking in the face of rising globalisation, urbanisation, migration, and climate change.

This research explores the concept of *place leadership* and its relevance for a complex space like the Gauteng City-Region (GCR). Place leadership is a concept that has been studied extensively in the global North and proposes the rise of leaders across local spaces. The city-region is a dynamic space of contested politics, coalition governments, diffuse power, differing agendas, fragmented, and silo planning and a deeply rooted socio-economic history that has left a lasting impact of inequality.

Building a globally competitive city-region has been on the Gauteng Provincial Government's agenda since the mid-2000s. The city-region argument in Gauteng, South Africa, still lingers, but party politics, differing agendas, the complexities of governance in the city-region, and frequent changes in leadership have prevented the vision from being achieved.

The research question of this thesis is: *How may the emerging concept of place leadership be applied in the complex, dynamic, and low-trust environment of the GCR?* The thesis explores three thematics to analyse place leadership – temporality, crisis, and trans-scalarity. Gauteng, a city-region in South Africa, was examined as a case study. Water governance and the COVID-19 crisis were utilised as lenses to examine place leadership in the GCR.

The exploratory mixed-methods study used semi-structured interviews with leaders from political, government administration, academia, and the water sector in Gauteng. A set of questions designed to explore a thematic on leadership and governance was also included in an established broad survey done in the city-region by the Gauteng City-Region Observatory, the Quality-of-LifeVI 2020/21. The outcomes of this quantitative element were analysed by performing cross-tabulations across other thematics, including trust, corruption, participatory governance, and demographic data, to draw conclusions. The interviews were assessed and analysed across the themes of temporality, crisis, and trans-scalarity through the lenses of COVID-19 and water.

This study's emphasis on leadership indicates how leadership can determine governance, which, in turn, can determine the outcomes achieved for a city-region. The key finding in this research is that place leadership can be utilised to study and implement effective governance during crises to build sustainable resilience for a city-region in the global South. This study encourages politicians to recognise the value of local leadership for local purposes and propositions of local leaders to create local value.

The study concludes with a framework for crisis leadership and a proposal for the trans-scalar governance of water. This research argues for the value of collaborative, agile, deliberative governance steeped in relational networks embedded in trust and shared power across boundaries. The study recommends future research on place leadership, hoping to advance this concept for the global South.

Keywords: city-region, governance, leadership, place leadership, trans-scalar, water, crisis, COVID-19, collaboration, Gauteng, Gauteng City-Region, global South, South Africa

1 Chapter One – Background and Rationale to the Study

1.1 Introduction

This thesis explores place leadership and collaborative governance in the Gauteng City-Region (GCR) within the context of a low-trust environment. This chapter begins with the study's background and rationale, outlines the research problem, and presents the key concepts explored in this study along with the study's research aim and objectives. The chapter concludes with this research's contribution.

1.2 Background and Rationale

1.2.1 The city-region problematic

By nature, city-regions are complex, diverse spaces that grapple with varied complex dynamic challenges (Scott 2001). Connected internally and globally through complex, interconnected systems, these regions often develop rapidly in global terms (Scott et al. 2001). Their complexity is further exacerbated by cross-boundary relationships and a multitude of governance arrangements that enable transactions across networks (Scott n.d). These spaces that represent the gateway to globalised economic, cultural, and ideational flows demand a different set of approaches that allow them to cope with dynamism, rapid change, and a complex set of relationships with multiple actors (Scott et al. 2001).

City-regions are complex - complex in make-up, complex in the number of stakeholders, and complex in the challenges they face (Scott et al. 2001; Scott 2001). The real challenge, though, is understanding what mechanisms are necessary or need to be enabled to ensure that these spaces and the multitude of relationships within them can be effectively navigated and managed.

While city-regions face numerous challenges, from urban sprawl to socio-economic and political territorial conflicts, they also offer opportunities for innovative, sustainable and integrated resilient governance and development, given their concentration on personal, intellectual, organisational and financial capital. This calls for collaborative, interdisciplinary approaches and robust governance. At the heart of these solutions lies the question of leadership – How can the complexities be navigated and the potentials be maximised through effective leadership?

a. Complexity of connectedness

Rapid globalisation and urbanisation and the attraction of greater numbers of people to cities are resulting in more attention being focused on cities as spaces for growth, investment, and interrogation, and spaces where the answers to urban sustainability lie (UNHabitat 2020). Recognising that economic growth is increasingly located in cities, it is predicted that by 2050, 68% of the world's population will be urban. Currently, 200 million (43%) people live in cities in Africa (UNDESA 2018). By 2050, 1.33 billion people will live in African cities, and the world population by 2100 will stand at 11.2 billion (UNDESA 2017). Understanding the key trends in urbanisation likely to unfold over the coming years is crucial to the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Sustainable Development Goal 11, to make "cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable", reflects an understanding of the transformative role that cities play in the world (United Nations 2018: para. 1).

Cities are being recognised as centres of economic activity and development (Scott 2001). Increasing migration, both internal and international, is a major contributor to rapid urbanisation and development in cities as people move in search of better life opportunities[1]. This phenomenal growth of cities is coupled with geopolitical and economic shifts – with some previously less-developed regions emerging as new hubs of global wealth and power (Pain 2008). While much of the growth is going to small and medium-sized cities, large and mega-sized cities are also continuing to expand. As they do so, new urban economic forms arise, including what Pain (2008:25) refers to as a polycentric global mega city-region – "an extensive and functionally interconnected cluster of urban centres".

Scott et al. (2001) argue that given the global scale at which city-regions are now connecting, the traditional definition of a city-region being viewed as a network of the urban and interconnected hinterland and the internal relations between these close spaces no longer seem relevant. The city-region is now connected at a global scale – where nodes of development are not concentrated within a confined space but become connected through a global network of relations (Scott et al. 2001; Scott n.d.). "The global-city concept includes both world influence and regional integration" (Wanga et al. 2020:7). Pain (2012) argues that cities are expanding beyond their metropolitan boundaries, linking

[1] Rapid urbanisation is a result of a plethora of factors, including migration away from the impact of climate change and reduced economic activity, in search of safe spaces in times of war and crime.

city-regions at a global scale, but such urban transitions in development need to be understood locally to enable city planners to understand and prepare for the implications of global growth.

The rise of the city-region and the interconnections between cities have increased the need for understanding and discussing the complexity of relations between spaces, the actors involved in this relationship of networks, and the structures or institutions that enable functionality across political and economic boundaries. The challenges of jurisdictional mandates, socio-economic inequalities between spaces in the city-region, and the impact of movement and development on the environment in the city-region (Yeh & Chen 2020; O'Brien et al. 2019) will persist if the citizen is not placed at the centre of the city-region's holistic development agenda.

b. Complexity of governance

One of the primary challenges associated with the city-region is the complexity of governance arrangements (Greenberg 2010a). City-regions typically encompass multiple local governments, administrative bodies, and stakeholder groups with diverse interests and priorities. Co-ordination and decision-making across these entities can be challenging, often leading to fragmentation and the lack of capacity to negotiate agreement on regional development. Network governance has emerged as a tool to aid efficiency and effectiveness (Kvilvang et al. 2020). As Kvilvang et al. (2020:624) argue, "Collaboration through networks is held as the foremost means to address complex problems facing the public sector."

The intricate web of governance in city-regions necessitates the establishment of collaborative mechanisms and institutional arrangements to address the diverse needs and aspirations of the population. Studies have highlighted the importance of effective intergovernmental co-operation (Burdett & Rode 2016) and the significance of inclusive and participatory processes that engage citizens and stakeholders in decision-making (Baiocchi et al. 2018). Collaboration, an argument to achieve the levelling of playing fields and balance of power currencies, allows for achieving goals by including stakeholders. Collaborative governance is "an arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets" (Ansell & Gash 2008:544). According to Crosby and

Torfing (2016), collaborative governance provides the ability for innovative responses to global challenges that are felt on a local level, such as resource deprivation, climate change, and food and water insecurity. Through convening actors, leadership create public value in collaborative governance initiatives.

This form of governance allows for collaborative networks to engage in systemic change and provide for a leadership centred on being a "process catalyst" engaged in creating collective value (Raffel et al. 2009:173). Collaborative leadership for collaborative governance shifts the focus from a task orientation to working together to balance risk, reach an agreement between partners, and create new systems or systemic change – it is perhaps best aligned to what Crosby and Bryson (2005:8) call a "no-one-in-charge, shared power world". Gray (1989) argues that collaboration needs to be institutionalised to maximise joint gains, train future leaders, manage risk, and effectively deal with future challenges.

Torfing and Sørensen (2019) argue that the political leader can co-create public value outcomes by engaging a broad range of public and private actors in finding solutions to problems that require public action. By doing this, they argue that political leaders may be able to build greater trust in government. Leaders act as "sponsors, champions, catalysts, and implementers" in collaborative governance to convene actors, remove barriers, inspire innovation, and implement change (Crosby and Torfing 2016:660).

Collaborative governance calls for a form of leadership that can foster cross-boundary collaboration in a multi-sector, multi-level governance climate and navigate not only the challenges of the environment and the context but also the inherent and emerging conflicts in collaboration. The requirements of collaborative governance call for leadership that can employ strategies to resolve conflict, balance power dynamics, and foster trust while facilitating a shared understanding of goals and objectives (Ansell & Gash 2008; Emerson et al. 2011).

1.2.2 The leadership question

Obasola (2002:10) argues that "no nation has achieved meaningful development socially, politically or economically without the input of or effective leadership". Leading in a complex space like a city-region requires the capacity to negotiate sufficient agreement among multiple actors to support joint action to deal with common problems. Brookes and Grint (2010) argue that it is for this reason that public leadership commands a collective

viewpoint and networked relationships that result in collaborative decisions. Collaborative governance arises from the networks of relationships formed between leaders and governing agents. These developed networks arise within and from local contexts or problems that need to be solved to aid place development (Lowndes & Skelcher 1998; von Schnurbein et al. 2021). This need for contextual leadership has given rise to the idea of 'place leadership', which has emerged in discourse and literature over the last decade.

Sotarauta (2016b) argues that leadership theory has severe shortcomings in lending understanding to the dynamics of regional governance. With the increasing attention to city-regions, 'place leadership' has emerged as a study of interest (Normann 2013; Beer & Clower 2014; Sotarauta & Beer 2017) and particularly the role of individuals or collective action in shaping places (Ayres et al. 2017) and the role of place-based leadership in understanding the impact of multi-level governance on socio-economic differences, resilience, and the development of city-regions (Rodríguez-Pose 2013; Beer & Clower 2014; Budd & Sancino 2016; Liddle et al. 2016; Sotarauta et al. 2017; Horlings et al. 2018). Place leadership has been recognised as a key driver of regional economic development (Beer et al. 2019). Place leadership, an emergent discourse, focuses on leadership of cities, regions and other territorially constructed spaces (Sotarauta & Beer 2017). It promotes the sustainable resilient development of place by enabling collaborative governance, partnership, strategic visioning and innovation by leaders across society (Collinge et al. 2010; Hambleton 2015; Sotarauta & Beer 2017). It is argued that through collaborative efforts, leadership-in-place can aid the economic, cultural and social development of the place (Collinge et al. 2010; Hambleton 2015).

Whilst literature on place leadership practice has found that agency and structure may influence economic trajectories in regions, the exact relationship between these concepts and the influence of agency on structure, and vice-versa, is lacking as is an actual theory of place leadership. Further, "Place leadership does not produce immediate effects on local industrial dynamics, but rather through influencing and shaping institutions as 'mediators' of economic practice and interaction" (Beer et al. 2021:12). The underlying premise behind this is that place leadership can be viewed as time dependent and thus understanding place leadership through a lens of temporality would be useful, which is in fact one of the objectives of this research. To date, the concept of place leadership has been explored to a limited extent in the city-region context but has not been tested or explored in the literature in the global South. This research hopes to, therefore, contribute

to the discourse on place leadership by exploring the concept in a city-region in the global South.

This thesis examines the examines the concept of place leadership as a function of collaborative governance within the context of a city region.

1.3 Introducing the Research

This study reflects on the intersection between leadership and governance and how place leadership calls for a new system of governance that brings to focus the needs of place. The research hopes to contribute to understanding how to cultivate place leadership in city-regions, particularly dynamic complex low-trust contexts. This study explored how agency (leadership) can influence structure (governance) to enable place leadership in low-trust complex urban agglomerations. The study utilised the cases of water and the COVID-19 crisis as examples of leadership and multi-scalar governance.

The main research question explored in this study was: *How can the emerging concept of 'place leadership' be applied in the complex, dynamic, and low-trust environment of the GCR?* A mixed-methods study was undertaken to answer the supporting objectives:

- To investigate the application of the idea of place leadership by adding a stronger temporal dimension.
- To explore the application of the idea of place leadership by adding a focus on how leadership adapts, manages, and copes with crisis.
- To look at the application of the idea of place leadership by considering multi-scalar or trans-scalar leadership.
- To explore and identify mechanisms for strengthening the application of place leadership.

In responding to the main research question and supporting objectives, the supporting sub-questions were:

1. What is the concept of place leadership, and where and how has it developed?
2. What are the value and limitations of this concept within complex, dynamic, and low-trust environments beyond the relative stability of the global North?
3. How can place leadership address the dynamism of temporal change in complex city-regions?
4. How can place leadership address the ongoing realities of multiple forms of crises within complex city-regions?

5. How can place leadership engage with the realities of multi-scalar governance that involves actors who are not place-bound?
6. How can place leadership be enhanced to facilitate mitigation of challenges within city regions?

I provide a focused case study on the GCR in South Africa. This research will provide insight into both the failures and successes of leadership within the GCR in achieving coherent place-based development over time, within the context of crisis, and within the context of complex, multi-scalar forms of governance. These dimensions of place leadership are the three thematic areas of analysis that I use to strengthen place leadership, a concept which has evolved in the relative stability and prosperity of regions in the global North, including regions marked by relatively high levels of social trust. I expand on these thematic areas below.

1.3.1 Thematic areas of analyses

a. Place leadership over time

This thematic explores place leadership through a temporal lens. The literature on this thematic examines the historical development of the concept of place leadership globally, emphasising that it is still very limited in application outside of a few contexts within the global North (mainly Northern Europe and Australia). The empirical research investigated the changes in leadership over time in the GCR and how those leadership changes have impacted the city-region governance systems, collaboration efforts, and development. For place leadership to be effective, it must embody the flexibility and adaptability needed to engage with rapid change, including unexpected instability (Beer & Clower 2014; Hambleton 2014; Beer et al. 2019).

b. Place leadership through crisis

The thematic of place leadership through crisis examines the governance and response systems of leadership globally through the COVID-19 crisis. The research assessed the crisis response systems against a crisis framework and highlighted the views and reflections of respondents on leadership response systems in the GCR pre- and post-COVID-19. The pandemic is, however, only one form of crisis in the context of multi-layered crises, and the focus on COVID-19 is used only as a representation of how leadership responds under intense pressure. Turbulence and crisis have become an

everyday reality globally, and in the GCR (Harrison et al. n.d.). This thesis examines if place leadership is able to accommodate the notion of crisis.

c. Place leadership in the context of multi-lateral governance

Although place is generally understood as being physically bounded (as in the territory generally regarded as the GCR), governance processes relating to place are multi-scalar (also referred to as trans-scalar), with actors ranging from global institutions and multi-national corporations to national departments and agencies, through the provincial level to the municipal and neighbourhood levels. This creates a dilemma as governance of place can never be confined to place. Collin et al. (2003:28) remark that "the city-region is much more akin to an area of relations than to a fixed geographic space", which is the predominant argument of this research – the city-region needs to be understood as a boundaryless entity whose development and chances for success are determined and influenced by the relations in the space. There are many dimensions to multi-scalar governance that place leadership must account for, but in my research, I use the provision of water to residents in the GCR as an illustrative case.

1.3.2 Research methodology

This study's research methodology is based on empirical research designed to test the relevance of place leadership for complex city-regions. This research utilised a mixed-methods framework of a wide-reaching quantitative survey combined with in-depth qualitative interviews with selected participants. I was involved in preparing the 2020/2021 Gauteng City-Region Observatory (GCRO) Quality-of-Life (QoL) VI 2020/2021, the most recent iteration of a series of QoL studies. The survey involved detailed questions to a sample of 13 616 respondents across 526 municipal wards in the Gauteng province. Through discussion with the GCRO, I could incorporate questions relating to governance and leadership, providing me with a quantitative base for my study. However, the study is primarily based on in-depth qualitative interviews, mainly with government officials, academia, and researchers who are experienced in the fields of governance, policy, and water provision in Gauteng. Further, some interviewees were targeted because of their work experience and exposure to the governance arrangements during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Many interviews were conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic and held virtually on the Microsoft Teams platform. The details of the research method, including issues of my positionality as a provincial official, are dealt with in Chapter Four.

1.4 Introducing the Case Study

This research was based in Gauteng, one of nine provinces (Figure 1-1) and physically the smallest province in South Africa (covering 1.4% of the land area of South Africa), which is recognised both locally and internationally as a city-region (Cheruiyot et al. 2018; Harber & Joseph 2018; Mabin 2013; Greenberg 2010b; Gauteng Provincial Government 2006a, 2006b). While the boundaries of the city-region are not contiguous with the province of Gauteng, the bulk of the city-region's population of approximately 16.1 million (StatsSA 2022) falls within the provincial boundaries, and so, while not ignoring the boundary complexity, my research focused on leadership issues relating to the province of Gauteng.

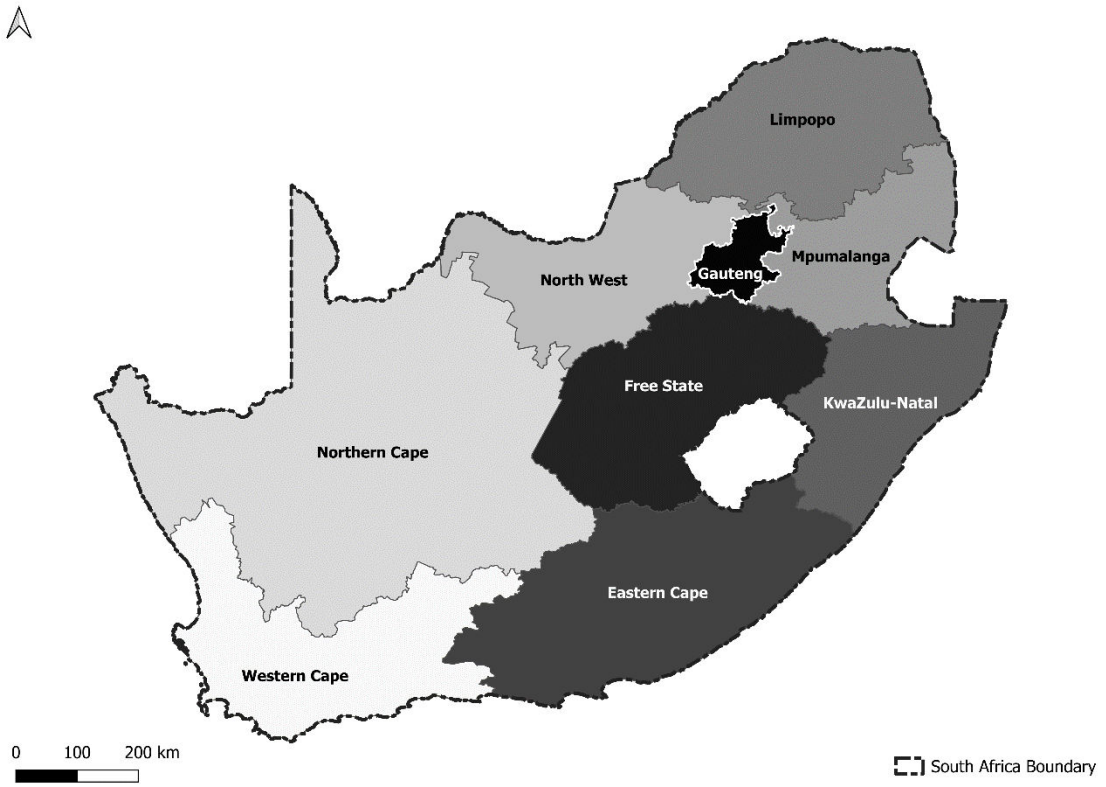


Figure 1-1. Provinces of South Africa (Siteleki 2023)

The administration of the provinces is firmly written in the South African Constitution (ratified in 1996), which grants authority to each sphere of government over particular areas of service delivery, planning, and governance. There are three spheres or levels of government in South Africa – national (with the President as head of the country), provincial (the Premier is the political head of the provincial government), and local (the Mayor is the political head of local government). Local government consists of municipalities, which are metropolitan, local or district municipalities. As illustrated in Figure 1-2, the province of Gauteng comprises three metropolitan municipalities – Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni, and Tshwane (Pretoria) – and two district municipalities – Sedibeng and the West Rand, which each have three local municipalities (Oosthuizen & Naidoo 2004). The provincial government is responsible for areas allocated to it in the Constitution, including a focus on basic education, health, social services, agriculture, and environmental protection. The complexity is that the Constitution does not set up governance hierarchically but requires the three spheres to work together in a co-operative governance system. Inter-Governmental Relations (IGR) in South Africa is a complicated matter that challenges simplistic notions of place leadership.

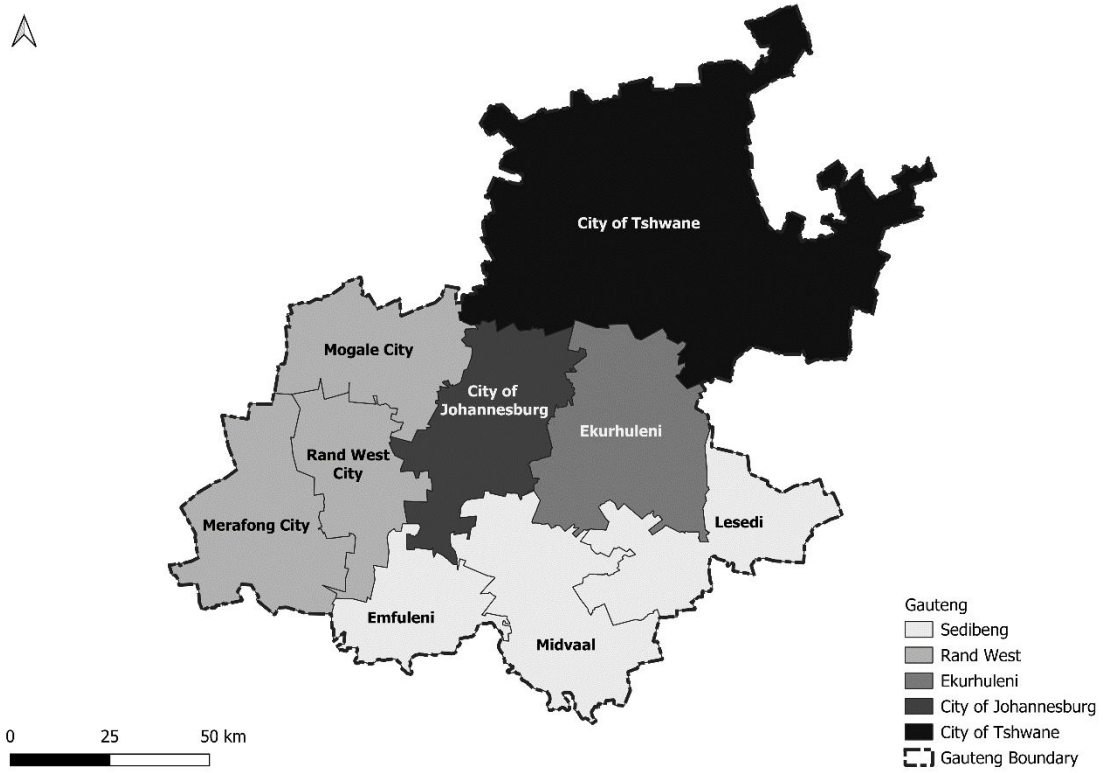


Figure 1-2. Municipalities in the Gauteng City-Region (Siteleki 2023)

1.4.1 The Gauteng City-Region problematic

The city-region argument has been on the agenda of the Gauteng Provincial Government since the mid-2000s, but it has not gained much institutional traction (Harrison et al. 2008). However, while institutional structures for city-region governance have not developed in a substantive sense, effective leadership requires an ability to work collaboratively across institutional boundaries and across the perceived barrier of state and society (although understanding that state and society are highly intersected).

Gauteng offers a valuable case for exploring city-region governance for this study for the following reasons:

- There is an explicit commitment to city-region governance in the GCR, which may be regarded as a commitment to a form of place governance and leadership, even if the institutional translation has been poor to date (Harrison et al. 2008; Ebrahim & Everatt 2023).
- This commitment has been long-term (at least since the early 2000s), which allows us to track change over time.
- The GCR's spatial, governmental, and social complexity allows us to deal with many difficult issues relating to place leadership.

Gauteng is a space of contested politics and governance (Mabin 2013; Ebrahim & Everatt 2023). While there was relative coherence in the early post-Apartheid years, with the party of liberation, the African National Congress (ANC), in power in provincial and municipal government, the current dynamics are difficult (Ebrahim & Everatt 2023). The ANC lost control over the three metropolitan governments in 2016, with governance continuing through an unstable series of coalitions, while the ANC itself factionalised and has been subject to a series of corruption scandals (Masuabi & Haffajee 2023). Leadership has fragmented in the process, and degrees of social trust between leaders and followers have declined (Ballard et al. 2019), making the GCR a valuable case for exploring the idea of place leadership in fractious and difficult contexts.

Sotarauta & Beer (2017) argue that the effectiveness of place leadership is dependent on political and governance systems, institutional arrangements and leadership abilities. Place leadership also emphasises the importance of local context (Sotarauta 2009; Collinge et al. 2010; Sotarauta & Beer 2021a). With this backdrop and the relational instability and institutional lag in the GCR, I do not present Gauteng as an ideal case from which good

practice can be learnt but rather as a case where there is a continual struggle for collaborative governance and effective place leadership, which raises many issues of insight and debate.

1.5 Research Contribution

Da Cruz et al. (2018) argue that while there is much literature on urban governance, the key challenges that urban regions face, to date, have not attracted the rigorous empirical research needed to assist in overcoming these challenges. There continues to be "a lack of empirical evidence on the institutional arrangements that are helping cities adapt to the complexities of social, environmental, and technological change" (Da Cruz et al. 2018:6). This research attempts to understand the leadership (agency) required and the governance (institutional) arrangements necessary to build the capacity for cities to adapt to the socio-economic and environmental demands they face.

This research aims to contribute toward a discussion on place leadership and its relevance for:

1. A city-region context;
2. A complex context permeated by low trust;
3. Complex engagements for delivery across a multi-scalar governance environment;
4. Understanding place leadership in times of crisis.

The primary conceptual contribution of the thesis is its engagement with the idea of place leadership and the application of collaborative and network governance to places such as the GCR, which represent large, complex, changing city-regions in the global South where contest, conflict and low trust are challenging attributes.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis consists of nine chapters. The first three chapters set the foundation of this research by presenting the background to the study, identifying the research gap (thereby justifying why the study was worth pursuing), presenting the research questions and providing the theoretical tools for understanding leadership and the governance of city-regions. This introductory chapter is followed by Chapter Two, which begins by exploring the literature on leadership theory and its development over time. It outlines the development of leadership theory from the nineteenth century. It moves from the focus on the leader as an individual (and it was indeed an intellectual context of patriarchy) to the

twenty-first century, which has seen leadership theory evolve to leadership as a relational system, which connects individual leaders into a collective. It then focuses on examining leadership theory through the three thematics of this research – temporality, crisis, and multi-scalarity.

Chapter Three explores the concept of place leadership – the evolution of the concept and the various definitions that are offered to explain this concept. It moves on to explore the relevance of place leadership in urban and regional studies before examining the concept through the various lenses expressed in this study. The chapter concludes by expressing the need for cities to focus their efforts on building local spaces for resilience.

Chapter Four reflects on this study's research design, which is presented with a focus on the aims and objectives of the study. Gauteng is posited as the case study using a mixed methodology approach for the GCR context. The chapter also introduces the secondary case studies embedded within the context to deal with the thematics of temporality, crisis, and multi-scalarity. The scope and limitations of the study are presented, followed by the ethical considerations. The techniques for collating, processing, and analysing the data are also explored, as are the advantages and limitations of my positionality as an official within the Gauteng Provincial Government.

Chapter Five presents further details on the case study. It provides a contextual understanding of the complexity of the city-region space. This chapter establishes the context for the discussion and explores whether the concept of place leadership has relevance for the city-region context. The historical background of the GCR, the planning practices within the city-region, the politics of the GCR over time, the current challenges in a dynamic city-region, and the idea of trans and multi-scalar governance are presented. The chapter closes with a presentation of the thematics of the study in relation to place leadership.

Chapter Six, the first of the empirical findings chapters, explores the qualitative and quantitative research results. The chapter examines the results through a temporality lens. It addresses the first research objective, which is to strengthen the application of the idea of place leadership by adding a stronger temporal dimension. It considers the place of temporality in place leadership and draws on temporality considerations in leadership and city-regions. It concludes by considering the future leadership of the GCR and the place of temporality in place leadership.

Chapter Seven presents the findings on leadership through crisis. The chapter addresses the second research objective, which is to strengthen the application of the idea of place leadership by considering multi-scalar or trans-scalar leadership. It opens by examining the development of literature on crisis leadership. It then explores the recent developments in the literature on crisis in place leadership. Through the literature, a framework is developed to analyse the response to crisis by the GCR's leadership. The research findings are presented to allow for the analysis of the response mechanisms of leadership in the city-region.

Chapter Eight, the final empirical findings chapter, examines trans-scalar leadership for the GCR through the lens of water to address the research objective to strengthen the application of the idea of place leadership by considering multi-scalar or trans-scalar leadership. The chapter uses the lens of leadership for water governance to illustrate the multi-scalar or trans-scalar nature of place leadership. The chapter further explores three mini-case studies on leadership.

The thesis closes in Chapter Nine by summarising the empirical findings and considers recommendations for further research on place leadership.

2 Chapter Two – Literature on Leadership

2.1 Introduction

Leadership theory represents a dynamic and multidisciplinary field of study that has been debated for many decades. It examines the behaviours and traits of successful leaders and the nature of effective leadership to enable organisational success. Over the years, numerous theoretical leadership models have been proposed, ranging from trait-based and situational theories to transformational and servant leadership theories. The study of leadership has been a prominent topic in management, psychology, sociology, and other fields, with researchers from various disciplines providing different perspectives on leadership theory. It is clear from leadership theories to date that the individual leader is central to the discourse on leadership and not necessarily or always the act of leadership.

Despite advancements in leadership theory, there is still much debate and controversy in the field. One area of ongoing debate is the question of whether leadership is innate or can be learnt. While some scholars argue that certain traits or characteristics are necessary for effective leadership, others contend that leadership can be developed through training and practice (Northouse 2018). Another area of debate is the extent to which leadership is influenced by situational factors, such as organisational culture, context, and the external environment (Vroom & Jaago 2007; Benmira & Agboola 2021).

In recent years, there has been a shift towards more nuanced perspectives that consider the complexity of leadership. One such perspective is the relational approach, which emphasises the importance of relationships between leaders and followers. This approach suggests that leaders need to build strong relationships with their followers and that effective leadership depends on the quality of these relationships (Uhl-Bien et al. 2014).

An important advancement in the leadership discourse has been the discussions on territorially-based leadership, especially leadership in global organisations and leaders in nation-states and sub-national territories. However, city-regions do not generally form part of established governmental hierarchies, and leadership within these contexts of governmental fluidity and complexity must still be adequately explored. Recent challenges, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, have also raised new or revised questions about leadership, including for city-regions. This research explores leadership in the context of place. Carrol et al. (2019) argue that leadership theory has, to date, ignored the context within which leadership is enacted and the influence of context on how the act of

leadership transpires. The study of leadership is also understood to reside within individuals or persons who are acting in this role, generally at the top of an organisational hierarchy (Carroll et al. 2019). This research argues against this predominant view and explores a concept of leadership beyond the individual or an organisation and the need to understand the context within which leadership emerges. Thus, if leadership is a form of human agency in action, if the act of leadership has the possibility of enabling change and if this change can impact place, then the study of leadership-in-place is important.

This chapter deals with the theory of leadership. It is divided into two parts. The first explores the evolution of leadership theory, while the second explores some key thematics – Temporal Dimensions in Leadership, Civic Leadership, Leadership through Crisis, Competence and Leadership, Power and Leadership, and Trust and Leadership. The purpose of this chapter is to consider the extent to which leadership theory examines leadership beyond the organisation toward cities and regions. Further, it contributes to my argument later in this research on crisis leadership toward building a framework for crisis leadership in place.

2.2 Leadership Theory Over Time

A significant range of leadership theories have been developed. Leadership theory has evolved significantly, reflecting changing societal, economic, and organisational contexts. The literature has moved from an earlier historical focus on the 'great man' 'individual leader' (traits, personal psychology, behaviours and so on) towards a more recent interest in thinking about and explaining 'leadership' as a more complex, socially constructed, shared, processual and relational phenomenon and (to some extent at least) influenced and shaped by a social, cultural and economic context, as well as able (at least to some extent) to shape or re-shape context.

a. The 19th to 20th Century – Great Man and Trait Theories

The earliest theories on leadership emerged in the mid-nineteenth century, with people attempting to understand society's successes and failures – believing that this could be attributed to some great man with particular qualities that enabled him to aid or demote society. From a typical patriarchal viewpoint, this would be labelled the Great Man Theory of Leadership, proposed by Thomas Carlyle in 1847 (Khan et al. 2016). '*Great leaders are men*' was long preached in society before it was formally written about, shifted from

'*leaders are born*' toward '*leaders can be made and groomed*' to succeed (Organ 1996; Mouton 2019).

b. The 1940s to 1960s – Behavioural and Contingency theories

Leadership thinking evolved further from the 1940s. Behavioural theories shifted the focus from leader traits to leader behaviour as determinants of effective leadership. The two prominent approaches within this framework were the Michigan and Ohio State studies of leadership (Fleischman 1953; Likert 1961).

Situational theories include the Contingency, Path-Goal, and Situational Leadership theories (Blake & Mouton 1964; Fiedler 1964; Hersey & Blanchard 1969). While the Contingency Theory continued to highlight the role of the leader, the Situational Leadership Theory, proposed by Blanchard and Hersey (1969), considers that the leader can adapt their leadership style to the situation and task at hand. The configurations depend on the type of leader, type of follower, type of relationships, and type of situation and tasks (Fiedler 1972; Graeff 1983; Islam et al. 2021).

This period in leadership theories shifted from understanding the behaviour of leaders toward understanding the context within which leaders were operating to reflecting on the role of followers in the leader-follower relationship towards a systems view of leadership and the impact of the leader on context and vice versa (Horner 1997; Kruse 2013; Veldsman 2015, 2017; Khan et al. 2016; Silva 2016; Benmira & Agboola 2021).

c. The 1980s to the present – Transformational leadership

From the 1980s, a new grouping of theories emerged, including Process Leadership (Greenleaf 1996; Waldman & Yammarino 1999), Transactional Leadership (House & Shamir 1993; Bass & Avolio 1994, 1997; Bass 2008), and Transformational Leadership (House & Shamir 1993; McGregor 2003) theories. These theories consider the emergence of leadership through the social interaction process between the follower and the leader.

Leadership theories with a *process* focus include a class of theories speaking to servant leadership, charismatic leadership, and principal-centred leadership. This set of theories moves the focus from leader to followers – from an individual to a group and relationships (Khan et al. 2016).

Transactional leadership considers the interaction or exchanges between leader and follower (Khan et al. 2016), focusing on the task at hand, with the leader directing the

relationship and reward or punishment as the outcome of the leader-directed task. A form of transactional leadership thinking referred to as relational leadership is considered by Uhl-Bien (2006:655), who views relational leadership as "a social influence process through which emergent coordination (i.e. evolving social order) and change (e.g. new values, attitudes, approaches, behaviours, and ideologies) are constructed and produced". Craps et al. (2019:2) argue, borrowing from Hosking (2006), that this social influence process referred to by Uhl-Bien (2006) emerges because of the inter- and co-dependence of various networks of actors on each other. Relational leadership is not based on individual agency leadership (Uhl-Bien 2006; Craps et al. 2019) but rather on the emergence of actors, leader-member dyads, leader-groups and or leader-communities through the need to attain mutual goals and, therefore, starts to move toward transformational leadership thought.

Hollander's 1979 Relational Theory describes leadership as a shared process of influence, which sees the leader as a participant in a relationship of exchange. The two schools of thought on relational leadership see leadership as individuals and *makers of the process* (Hosking et al. 1995) or *made in process*, referring to the process of cognition and perception within individuals or relations (Dachler & Hosking 1995), which give rise to policies or institutions that result from the interaction. While both occur in context, the latter is a more constructionist view that looks at relations and created solutions that emerge through processes (Uhl-Bien 2006). The view on relations *made in process* proposed by Dachler and Hosking (1995) favours the notions of this thesis on understanding the relations that emerge through creating governance mechanisms that aid or hinder the development of a city-region, while the former referring to leadership as *makers of the process*, assists in understanding the personal blockages leaders have in creating a cohesive, sustainable, and inclusive city-region. Relational leadership thus far has been explored in the organisational context but can be utilised to examine the relations in a city-region context, including the personal or policy relations necessary to build a globally competitive, sustainable, and inclusive city-region.

Transformational leadership aligns with Maslow's 1954 theory on self-actualisation and considers the higher-order needs of the follower – creating change based on a long-term vision, values, and the greater good (Khan et al. 2016). According to Bass (1990:21), transformational leadership "occurs when leaders broaden and elevate the interests of their employees when they generate awareness and acceptance of the purposes and mission of

the group, and when they stir their employees to look beyond their self-interest for the good of the group". Leaders are viewed as role models, and trust is a key component of the transformational leadership relationship (Stone et al. 2004). Transformational Leadership Theory emphasises the leader's ability to inspire and motivate followers to achieve beyond their self-interests. This approach highlights the importance of vision, charisma, intellectual stimulation, and individual consideration (Bass 1990). It offers a new perspective on leadership by focusing on the relationship between leaders and followers and its positive impact on organisational outcomes (Bass & Avolio 1994; Avolio et al. 2009). As organisations continue to evolve, leadership theories have attempted to adapt to the complex challenges and demands of the modern world, providing valuable insights into how leadership can effectively navigate these ever-changing landscapes. The transformational class of leadership theories has evolved in the 21st century to include discussions on ethical leadership, adaptive leadership, agile leadership, emotional intelligence of leadership, resilience leadership, self-actualisation of leadership, and, most recently, a gender perspective on leading effectively (Proshansky 1978; Cojocar 2008; Banerjea 2010; Duman 2017; Post et al. 2019; Urick et al. 2021; Cote 2022; Liu et al. 2022).

2.3 Key Thematics in the Leadership Literature

Over time, leadership literature has moved from the individual leader (Organ 1996; Khan et al. 2016) to the relationship between the leader and follower (Khan et al. 2016; Bass 2008; Yammarino 1999) and to the leader and context (Hollander & Julian 1968; Dachler & Hosking 1995). To some extent, the literature has come full circle by going back to also now emphasising the importance of the leader and proposing a higher awareness of leadership qualities (Bass 1990), including the leader's self-awareness, emotional intelligence, empathy, ethics, integrity, and authenticity (Avolio & Gardner 2005; Gardner et al. 2011), as well as the leader's abilities to create resilience and sustainability in the contexts within which they lead (Ledesma 2014). This partial return to the individual notwithstanding, the key overall shift in the literature, though, reflects a shift from the individual leader to the multi-faceted nature of leadership. The argument for attention to leadership rather than only the individual leader is an important one, and while individual attributes and the contribution of an individual leader are significant, it is a complex balance. In this thesis, I attempt to give attention not only to the individual leader but also to the relationships that the leader creates in the engagement of the act of leadership –

between other leaders and the policies, institutions, and governance mechanisms enabled through leadership. The complexity of leadership is examined in this research through different themes to assess and analyse the relevance of the concept of place leadership for the city-region. In this chapter, the themes explored are:

- Temporal Dimensions in Leadership (this highlights the importance of understanding leadership in time and context and aims to build on the argument of the need to explore place leadership through a temporal lens),
- Civic Leadership (this speaks to thought beyond political leadership and how to build relationships across state/non-state boundaries, which is important for discussion in this research on place leadership for a city-region),
- Leadership Through Crisis (an examination of the literature on crisis leadership pre- and during COVID-19 assists toward building a framework for crisis leadership for place),
- Competence and Leadership (to understand the capacity, capability and competence needed of public leaders who are able to be prepared and responsive to crisis),
- Power and Leadership (understanding power in the context of the GCR would allow us to understand if this concept is relevant for a complex urban agglomeration like the GCR) and
- Trust and Leadership (this thematic sets the stage for examining trust in relation to the concept of place leadership within a complex city-region context). Temporal dimensions in leadership

The temporal lens refers to how time is used to frame and understand a phenomenon (Ancona et al. 2001). Thoms and Greenberger (1995) argued that leadership theories lack a clear and explicit consideration of time orientation. Tourish (2014) argues that leadership cannot be understood without considering situational, organisational, and temporal contexts.

Time, or the historical period during which a leader leads, is an important component of leadership. Aspects such as crisis will affect the type of leader that emerges during a period. Bluedorn and Jaussi (2008) highlight the studies done by Weber in 1924 and 1947, who found that charismatic leaders rise during times of crisis. Leadership theories have developed over time because of the circumstances or time within which the theory was developed and the period within which a leader leads, or leadership as a relational

collective happens. Some theorists argue that the focus on individualised leadership has shifted to the systems, relational, and organisational levels over time, "representing the particular point in the organization's hierarchy at which the behaviour was observed" (Avolio & Bass 1995:200).

Bluedorn and Jaussi (2008) also argue that time is a critical variable in the study of leadership, as leaders and followers must navigate changes in their environments, goals, and relationships over time. Leaders operate in complex, ever-changing environments that require them to adapt and adjust their strategies and behaviours over time. The challenges and opportunities presented by the external context may necessitate leaders to shift their focus, reallocate resources or modify their approaches in response to emerging trends or unexpected events. By recognising the temporal dimension of leadership, researchers and practitioners can better understand how leaders navigate these changes and effectively lead their organisations or teams.

Temporal dimensions in leadership refer to how leaders manage their time, prioritise tasks, and plan for the future. Effective leaders must balance the demands of the present with the needs of the future and be skilled at allocating their time and resources to achieve their goals (Zaccaro & Klimoski 2001).

Moreover, studying leadership also involves examining the evolving goals and priorities of leaders and followers. As time progresses, individuals and organisations set new objectives, revise their strategies, and reassess their priorities. Leaders need to be attuned to these shifts and must align the group's aspirations and motivations of their followers with the evolving goals of the group. Understanding the temporal dynamics of goal setting and goal pursuit can help leaders foster engagement, motivation, and commitment among their followers (Bluedorn & Jaussi 2008).

In addition to environmental and goal-related changes, Bluedorn and Jaussi (2008) highlight the importance of recognising the temporal dimension of relationships within leadership contexts. Relationships between leaders and followers are not static – they evolve and transform over time. Leaders must manage and nurture these relationships to build trust, collaboration, and mutual understanding. Bain and Landau (2019) argue that "time is a variable that permeates all facets and phases of political life and decision making, yet the relevance of temporality has, thus far, been underexamined in administrative and policy research". Leadership effectiveness is contingent upon a leader's

ability to adapt their leadership styles, communication patterns, and relationship-building strategies to suit their followers' changing needs and dynamics. Consistent with the shift towards a more relational or institutional perspective, some authors also examine several important follower behaviours, including conformity, resistance, and active engagement (Walia et al. 2015; Mohammad & Saad 2016).

Bluedorn and Jaussi's (2008) perspective on time in leadership research contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of the complexities inherent in leadership processes. By acknowledging time as a critical variable, researchers and practitioners can gain insights into how leaders navigate and respond to changes, set and pursue goals, and foster meaningful relationships with their followers. The authors consider the leader-follower relationship over time, wherein time provides the background for developing different relationship processes. They argue that time factors, such as length, duration, connection, and urgency, influence the development of the relationship between the leader and follower. They argue that these relationships can have different impacts on the group or organisation over time, interacting with the leadership style and the specific context. Overall, the authors emphasise the importance of understanding how leadership and follower behaviour evolve and how these changes on either the part of the leader or the follower can affect the organisation's success. They call for more research into the role of time in leadership, suggesting that future studies should focus on longitudinal data and real-world organisational contexts (Bluedorn & Jaussi 2008).

Such knowledge can ultimately contribute to more effective and adaptable leadership practices in various contexts. It is explicit in the literature on examining leadership through a temporal lens that while leadership theories have shifted in their understanding from individual leaders toward examining the comprehensive platform within which leadership is enacted, the focus of the leadership argument is limited largely to organisational settings.

For this thesis, leadership within public settings needs to be explored; therefore, public leadership and political leadership are important discourses to understand within social dynamic schools of thought. These types of leadership also provide the foundation for understanding leadership through a temporal lens and place leadership which occurs in context.

2.3.1 Civic leadership

While the definition and characteristics of leaders have been debated by many theorists over decades, according to Heifetz (1994), effective leaders could mobilise change within the overall context in which they are embedded. This broader view of leadership is key in recognising the role of the civic leader in the governance context.

Asaduzzaman and Virtanen (2016) argue that the discourse on governance has been used as the argument for public sector leadership. Ammeter et al. (2002) argue that while there has been a call for a perspective on political leadership, this is still missing in the literature. Based on a series of longitudinal studies conducted in cities, Pfeffer (1977:108) argued, "If one cannot observe differences when leaders change then what does it matter who occupies the position or how they behave?" While this argument may have held weight in the 20th century in an organisational setting, the question is whether this argument holds in the 21st-century political arena characterised by changing leadership, differing agendas, multi-party discourse, an active citizenry, rising urbanisation challenges, and encroaching innovation, which adds a new dimension to the actors within the governance system.

van Wart (2003) championed the cause of public sector leadership and stressed that integrated elements of transactional and transformational leadership models must be considered to understand leadership in this complex context. This research adopted van Wart's (2003) argument that the public sector domain, with all its complexity, requires leadership to be explored by grouping various theories. Complexity relates to the leadership styles, as well as the context – the organisational environment, organisational culture, and the levels of discretion required in decision-making within the public domain (Stone 1945; Brunner 1997).

"Leadership is a critical component of good public governance…it is at the heart of good governance" (OECD 2001:1). Until the 1990s, not much was written about leadership in the public sector (Morton 2019; Mau 2020). Scrutiny points to the belief that "assigning a leadership role to public servants would undermine democracy" and public servants could not be viewed as leaders as their role is to implement the desires of their political masters; therefore, they could only be regarded as followers (Mau 2020:140). The literature on public sector leadership seems to (deliberately or not) exclude politicians from the discourse of public leadership. The reason for the distinct focus on administrative leadership rather than public leadership (Morton 2019; Mau 2020) is unclear, but this

thesis argues that public sector leadership must include the political leader because the leader at the head of public service influences governance and, thereby, administrative leadership.

Morrell and Hartley (2006:484), borrowing from the Chambers (1993) dictionary, define political leadership as "democratically elected representatives who are vulnerable to deselection and operate within…a constitutional and legal framework…govern according to declared policies…". Hartley (2011) argues that politicians have not seen it necessary to consider the importance of leadership or leadership development as they saw being a politician as an exercise of power given to them by their political party and enforced via an electorate.

To understand civic leadership, it is necessary to explore the role of political leadership. Torfing and Sørensen (2019:2) define political leadership as it relates to the performance of five key tasks:

> "(1) the discursive formation of the political community that they aim to lead; (2) the identification of the societal problems and challenges that call for public action; (3) the development of innovative, feasible and robust policy solutions; (4) the mobilization of widespread support for the implementation of these solutions; and (5) the highlighting of the public value that results from public policy-making".

Political leaders need to satisfy the roles of advocacy (predominantly for state policy) and be regulators and influencers while ensuring the delivery of services to citizens. Their role occurs within a social construct of the political environment – a place/space rooted in contextual complexity. Morrell and Hartley (2006) express that the role the political player exercises is fluid and dependent on the factors of place (economic, developmental, political, environmental, demographic, and social context), authority (distribution of power – who holds the purse and delegating authority), and organisational environment (the internal political party and the space of governance).

In existing literature, "politicking" refers to the political power exercised by individuals in organisations to favour the distribution of resources and controlled decision-making amidst competing interests (Morrell & Hartley 2006:484), but does not speak to political leadership – an individual who is elected to hold political authority because of democratic processes. Political skill is argued to not only exist in the public sphere but can also be found within an organisation and is a necessary skill for leadership (Ferris et al. 2005;

Braddy & Campbell 2014). Ammeter et al. (2002) viewed leadership behaviour through the lens of political skill, proposing that leaders in organisations need to have the necessary political skills of influence, the ability to adjust their behaviour easily based on the situation, and the ability to rouse followers' buy-in and shared meaning. Furthermore, these leaders are well-positioned in their networks or are adept at forming networks to enable the organisation's goals to be fulfilled (Ferris et al. 2005), which provides the basis for these leaders to mark higher degrees of performance.

Sørensen (2020) argues that leaders are seen as groomers of future leaders in the age of collaborative governance. Political leaders must reach beyond their administrative boundaries to engage stakeholders that may impact their cause where governance is broader than the role of the state and where the creation of public value is at the heart of the role of political leadership (Sørensen & Torfing 2019; Torfing & Sørensen 2019). Meta-governance is a new term reflecting how political leadership governs in the age of governance – a form of interactive political leadership that calls for active and engaging leadership, utilising transformative modes of power.

Perhaps we can refer to a new form of civic leadership as what Sørensen (2020:3) defines as the concept of interactive political leadership – "a strategic endeavour to govern society effectively and legitimately through the systematic involvement and mobilisation of relevant and affected members of the political community". Sørensen (2020) explains that the goal of meta-governance and widening the reach of political leadership to citizens and other stakeholders is not to strengthen participatory democracy but to enhance the political system's ability to meet the needs of citizens in a context of restrained fiscal climates and service delivery challenges.

Governance for a city-region requires cross-boundary relationships that can stimulate innovation for the advantage of the city-region and allow for greater regional command by engaging stakeholders beyond territorial boundaries. Interactive political leadership in the new age of governance calls upon leadership that is easily accessible to address citizens' demands. Interactive leadership is found in a setting of interactive democracy near citizens who require that leadership is easily accessible and receptive to their needs, creating a space for collaborative governance, deeper democracy, and the ability to co-create public value (Sørensen & Torfing 2019).

A multi-actor governance context requires networking and relations between a multitude of government and non-government actors (Klijn et al. 2010). Collaborative relationships (Huxham & Vangen 2000) are the cornerstone of achieving a vision or agenda in a space like a city-region. Leadership governs within a specific space or place, which is why understanding leadership within a specific context, which can sometimes be one of crisis, becomes important.

2.3.2 Leadership through crisis

The world is in crisis – The COVID-19 pandemic, the Russia-Ukraine War, the increasing numbers of asylum seekers in the European Union, the energy crisis in South Africa, the global climate crisis – the time calls for leadership that can work in times of crisis. Boin and Hart (2003) argue that crises are not neat linear occurrences but are chaotic, dynamic, not bound in time, and open-ended in duration. In 2017, Weaver wrote that "references to the 'urban crisis' are few and far between" (Weaver 2017:2051). This was before the COVID-19 pandemic, and there is now a growing literature on crisis response, with some literature focusing specifically on leadership. The current study focused on public leadership in place. In reviewing the published literature, I highlight research that has covered other contexts to frame our understanding of leadership through crisis (Wooten & James 2008; James et al. 2011; Hasel 2013). The predominant interest of this research is public leadership in the context of city-regions.

Since 2020, the discourse on crisis has evolved. Between 1950 and 2018, over six decades, a search for 'urban crisis leadership' provided 64 300 results. Between 2019 and 2023, only four years, the same search revealed 30 100 pieces of work, reflecting robust engagement with this topic post-pandemic.

There are two big themes in the literature regarding leadership and crisis – leadership in crisis and leadership through crisis. By this I mean that there are times when leadership faces a crisis and is at risk (leadership in crisis), whilst the latter (leadership through crisis) reveals how leadership emerges, copes with crisis and assists a space to cope, emerge, develop and become resilient. This thesis focuses on leadership through crisis. This section looks at the evolution of the literature on leadership through crisis and extracts the key themes that emerge in the literature.

a. Leadership literature through crisis – pre-COVID-19

Exploring pre-COVID-19 literature on leadership during crisis reveals emerging themes with a shift in focus from the individual to the nature of crisis complexity.

(i) Crisis acts as a precursor and creates the opportunity for *charismatic leadership* to emerge (Pillai & Meindl 1998; Davis & Gardner 2012). A crisis-responsive leader is charismatic and can gain follower support as long as those behaviours reflect the ability and preparedness to deal with a new world order (Hunt et al. 1999). Crisis calls for extraordinary leadership capabilities (Wooten & James 2008; James et al. 2011).

(ii) Crisis leadership requires a *network*ed, boundaryless response (Klann 2003). Crisis requires polycentric, lateral, horizontal and cross-sectoral responses, avoiding top-down bureaucracy (Boin & Hart 2003). Harrison et al. (2019:769) propose that leadership must be able to engage in complex networks and transcend boundaries in a complex, uncertain, dynamic world faced with wicked problems. Teo et al. (2017) argue that leaders are socially embedded actors within complex relational networks that allow for adaptation to crises. They must co-ordinate actions across boundaries between multiple stakeholders to foster co-operation, enable collaboration within and between networks, and respond to crises (Harrison et al. 2019) by utilising the requisite governance structures. Schnurr et al. (2014), in one of the earliest articles, explores crisis leadership within global governance.

(iii) *Sense-making* – Effective crisis leadership requires leaders to facilitate joint sense-making among various governmental actors, including local, regional, and national authorities (Boin & Renaud 2013). Boin and Renaud (2013) argue that joint sense-making requires collaborative action to co-ordinate actions and align strategies between actors across different government levels.

(iv) *Preparing* – Stern (2013) adds a new dimension to Boin et al.'s (2013) framework for leadership through crisis assessment, which prepares followers and other stakeholders for the crisis. Preparing allows the right resources to be assembled to deal with the crisis. Collaborating with professionals or experts is also essential when faced with major crises (Stern 2013).

(v) *Build trust* – Trust plays a major role in leadership effectiveness. Hasel (2013:266) argues that "trust is an antecedent of follower motivation, efficacy,

and performance". Leadership fosters trust through participative decision-making, cultivating follower trust in leadership (Brower et al. 2000; Huang et al. 2009).

(vi) *Build resilience* – Teo et al. (2017), utilising the SARS crisis and a Relational Activation of Resilience model, argue that leadership abilities in networks allow for innovation, adaptation to crises, and build resilience. They introduce the concept of swift trust, which arises when past knowledge of the network and its agents is absent. Leadership can build and sustain resilience during crisis through meaning-making, sense-making, and relational networks. They allow for a period of liminality or a holding space for readjustment and reorientation to sustain resilience (Teo et al. 2017).

(vii) *Balance short- and long-term views and responses* – AlKnawy (2018) argues that it is up to senior leaders to navigate organisations out of crisis through crisis escalation (swift action, decision-making, and building resilience) and crisis resolution (making change last). Kaul et al. (2020) argue that successful leaders balance long- and short-term goals by making critical, difficult choices – like hard lockdowns vs driving the economy. McMullin and Raggo (2020) argue that leadership's role during a crisis is a balancing act between immediate crisis response and ensuring long-term organisational stability.

Crisis leadership literature tends to focus narrowly on the individual leader and the traits of leaders and narrowly focuses on the ethical abilities of leaders (Wu et al. 2021), senior leaders of organisations, and their responses (AlKnawy 2018). Moreover, the early literature is gender-biased, with attention to female global leaders arising only in response to the COVID-19 pandemic (Sergent & Stajkovic 2020; Forster & Heinzel 2021). Furthermore, there is an absence of crisis leadership responses in Africa – given the criticism leveraged against the West's response to COVID-19, representing an essential area for interrogation (Ghosh et al. 2020; Jennings et al. 2020; Morgan 2020; Deane et al. 2021; Forster & Heinzel 2021; Reals 2022).

b. Leadership through the COVID-19 crisis

Literature during and post-pandemic reveals a growing interest in crisis leadership. A Google Scholar search reveals that up to 2019, 102 000 pieces of literature were produced on 'crisis leadership', predominantly in business journals. Between 2020 and 2023, a mere three years, this number is 611 000 in medical, business and education journals.

Examining the literature on crisis leadership over the last three years, core principles emerge for effective leadership during a crisis. Scholars (for example, Abuza 2020; Collins et al. 2020; Kaul et al. 2020; Moonasar et al. 2021; Maak et al. 2021; Balasubramanian & Fernandes 2022; Bishu et al. 2023; Végh et al. 2023) have also identified and grouped core principles and lessons to be learnt from the COVID-19 pandemic.

The COVID-19 pandemic presented a multitude of challenges for cities at the same time – a health pandemic, economic downturn, ongoing climate challenges, and increases in socio-economic and racial inequality (OECD 2020; Hambleton 2021b). Hambleton (2021b:2) remarks that "these challenges are happening in a context in which the task of political leadership is made more difficult by the erosion of public trust in government". The pandemic cast attention on city and country responses to crises, highlighting the need for effective public leadership, including administrative and political leadership (Alam 2020; Glenn et al. 2020; Antonakis 2021). The pandemic called on local leaders to gather resources and take decisive measures, sometimes in the absence of other government spheres (Pipa & Bouchet 2020). The pandemic brought to the fore the value of city-to-city co-operation, networking, and collaboration across boundaries.

Broadhurst and Gray (2022) argue that when assessing the responses to COVID-19, analysts considered country responses but did not focus on what happened outside of the top-tier or national approaches to the crisis. Hambleton (2021c) asserts that while global leaders were either applauded or criticised for their responses during COVID-19, what matters is not individual leaders but leadership.

In a comparative analysis of national and urban responses of East and Western countries to the COVID-19 pandemic, Anttiroiko (2021) found that East Asian countries were more stringent with their pandemic protocols. The author attributes this to the more conformist cultures of the East, as well as their previous experience with prior epidemics like SARS, compared to the more diverse cultures and a greater desire for recognition of human rights responses in the West. Abuza (2020) argues that countries' responses and successes had nothing to do with regime type but rather the result of leadership and competent government. An effective response, he argues, was based on efficiency, decisiveness, a whole-of-government approach, transparency, building of trust, legitimacy, planning, and preparedness.

The rise of the gender argument and the favourability of the female leader during times of crisis is also apparent across the leadership during crisis literature. It is referred to as the 'Female Leadership Advantage' (Eagly & Carli 2003; AlKnawy 2019; Post et al. 2019; Offermann & Foley 2020; Zafar et al. 2021; Post 2023) by scholars arguing for the positive outcomes when women lead during a crisis and citing the reasons for this greater success due to a combination of factors, including the women's need for helping others and greater resiliency, as well as their ability to balance risk, 'bounce back', and to be more empathetic. Post et al. (2019) argue that women are more likely to utilise a relational leadership approach and are, therefore, more successful in times of crisis than men.

Mau et al. (2022) argue that the COVID-19 pandemic brought, for the first time, administrative leadership in public leadership into the public eye. While administrative leadership generally work behind closed doors, out of the public eye, and politicians are at the forefront of attention, the pandemic saw these leaders emerge from the shadows. A balance of power between administrative leadership and political leadership started to emerge in the COVID-19 crisis – it saw the rise of distributive leadership coupled with collaborative practices during a crisis, which allowed each to bring their expertise as needed – "there is not only an opportunity but also a necessity for both the politicians and the public servants to provide leadership in a crisis" (Mau et al. 2022:96).

A scan of the crisis leadership literature in relation to COVID-19 reveals a few inherent themes:

(i) *Purpose and vision* – Leadership needs to work collaboratively with all stakeholders and agree on a purpose and vision for overcoming a crisis (Mutch 2020). The COVID-19 crisis raised the need for a whole-of-government approach. Female leadership thrived during the pandemic as they established an emotional connection focused on shared concerns and shared goals. Jacinda Ardern in New Zealand, Angela Merkel in Germany, Tsai Ing-wen in Taiwan, Mette Fredriksen in Denmark, Sanna Marin in Finland, Erna Solberg in Norway, and Karin Jakobsdottir in Iceland led their countries safely, with focused effort and evidence-based decision-making (Maak et al. 2021).

(ii) *Communication* – Kaul et al. (2020) argue that people are anxious during a crisis and require leadership communication to be consistent, concise, and clear. Effective communication is part of sense-making, understanding the

magnitude of what you are dealing with in a crisis, and making sense of what needs to be done to allay the fears of people so that they can make sense of the crisis as well (Glenn et al. 2020; Medeiros et al. 2022). Andrews (2020) argues that there is no such thing as over-communication in a crisis. Leadership must be present, available, understanding of fears, be able to simplify the data (Glenn et al. 2020; Mutch 2020), and be transparent (Forster et al. 2020; Nicola et al. 2020; Balasubramanian & Fernandes 2022) to enable public trust (Glenn et al. 2020).

(iii) *Identify resources* – Leadership must identify and maximise the efficiency of resources, including people, infrastructure, budgets, and equipment. Andrews (2020) argues that identifying key people for decision-making and implementing the necessary response systems is imperative to ensure quick response times in a crisis. Nicola et al. (2020) argue that regional co-ordination allows for pooling, sharing of resources, collaborative planning, implementation, and workforce sharing.

(iv) *Balance long- and short-term goals* – Kaul et al. (2020) refer to this as realism, which is a balance between ensuring the necessary resources for fighting the crisis today while preparing for resilience in the future. Mutch (2020) refers to this as zooming in and zooming out or taking care of the small details while maintaining the big picture view – for the COVID-19 pandemic, it was saving as many lives as possible first and looking at the economic needs thereafter. Balasubramanian and Fernandes (2022) argue that while it may be easy for leadership to go into survival mode during a crisis, crises provide the platform for leadership to innovate and create development opportunities and resilience-building in cities (Jing 2021; Samad et al. 2023).

(v) *Quick decision-making* – Leadership must ensure access to reliable data for quick decision-making. Kaul et al. (2020) argue that no decision or delays in decision-making may create worse circumstances in a crisis. Leaders who act too quickly but with high risk may be seen as reckless, while delaying decisions may be considered complacent (Tourish 2020). Decision-making may require hard choices in the short-term for long-term benefit, e.g., lockdown, which puts strain on an economy but assists in curbing deaths.

(vi) *Agile, adaptive leadership* – Crises require a horizontal structure with leaders working alongside each other to curb the crisis. Top-down control and

> authoritative structures will not work. Leadership needs to be agile and collaborative (Kaul et al. 2020). The OECD (2020) calls on horizontal leadership to allow leaders from across an organisation to take the lead in dealing with a crisis the magnitude of the COVID-19 pandemic. The pandemic required agile and adaptive leadership to utilise the strengths of leadership styles – from transactional to enable delivery to servants for empathy and transformational to ensure enabling change and building resilience (Balasubramanian & Fernandes 2022). "During times of unprecedented crisis, embracing adaptive capacity in evidence-based strategies can help to establish long-standing resilience in the face of COVID-19" (Nicola et al. 2020:127).

Mau et al. (2022) argue that while a crisis may bring to the fore the rise of leadership and leaders, it can also reveal institutional weaknesses and deficiencies, such as the shortcomings of the public health system in Canada during the SARS-CoV-2 virus.

2.3.3 Power and leadership

"Power is the ability to influence others" (Lunenburg 2012:1). Weber defines power as "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests" (Weber 1978:53). For power to be exercised, therefore, a relationship between the authority or the one in power and people or institutions is necessary – the exercise of power occurs in a social setting and resistance is probable. Hobson (2000) relates his discussion on power by referring to the relationships between subjects. He distinguishes between international and domestic agential power relating to the power of the state in the absence of other actors. He argues that international agential power is not unaware of the conflicts between nations, and it is in this area that the power to collaborate lies and requires working together to "solve the collection action problem and create a peaceful cooperative world" (Hobson 2000:7). Agential power gives actors agency to influence their environment and each other (Hobson & Seabrooke 2007). The argument of agential power is important to the study of both leadership and governance. Sotarauta (2016b) argues that it is impossible to investigate or understand place leadership without understanding the power dynamics inherent in a place.

Stone (1989, cited in John & Cole 1999) distinguishes between "power to" achieve outcomes and "power over" others in attempting to exercise power (Figure 2-1).

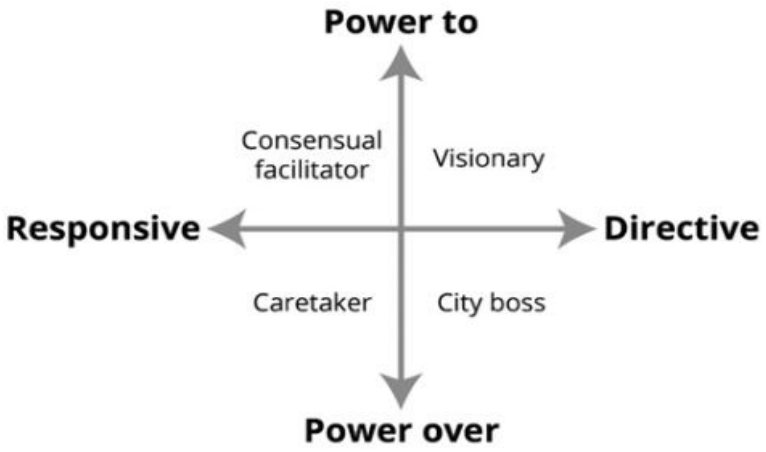


Figure 2-1. Typology of urban leadership styles (John & Cole 1999:102)

The framework depicting the spectrum of *power to* and *power over* reflects the style of the political leader (Figure 2-1). While the context within which the leader finds themself is complex, leaders may adopt one of four leadership styles. The caretaker is the responsive leader not prone to innovation and likely to maintain the status quo – they "find it hard to cope with rapid policy change and they tend to have low recognition of the need for public innovation" (Hambleton et al. 2019:91). The consensual facilitator, while also being a responsive leader is more likely to share power, focused on relationship building to bring about change when needed. Across the spectrum lies the city boss and the visionary; the former is more authoritative and unwilling to share power, while the latter is focused on building capacity for a shared vision.

Using Keping's (2018) definition of governance (quoted earlier), it can be deduced that power is inherent in exercising governance. Neustadt (1991:ix) defines power as the "personal influence of an effective sort on governmental action". He (Neustadt 1991:ix) argues that the effectiveness or actual power of a political leader is at risk because power is dependent on the followers of this leader "…because he needs them, he must bargain with them, buttressing his share with his resources in their eyes of personal reputation and public standing. Together with his powers, reputation and prestige become the sources of his power, case by case." Neustadt (1991:xxi) goes on to argue that the political leader (in this case, the President of the country) serves as Chief Administrator, Chief Legislator, and Chief of Party. Party politics, therefore, becomes relevant to the exercise of leadership as the leader's power is drawn initially from the party, and it stands to reason that they will

serve their power needs by serving the party. Power becomes an important consideration in governance settings that call for collaboration, networking, participation, and co-production, hinging on the premise of shared power and compromise (Castells 2011; Purdy 2012).

Bryson and Crosby (1992) remark that the new urbanised world has brought with it the need for collective power, resulting from technology, interconnectedness, public policy, and population growth. Increasing interconnectedness results in increased complexity, uncertainty, risk, and a declining capacity to govern, which calls on the public leader to engage in a paradigm shift toward shared power to enable governance capacity over a functionally interconnected but structurally divided world.

Thus, this consideration provides for argument when political power contends that power rests in authority or a leader, while these governance models argue shared authority over governance and, therefore, by implication, shared leadership. Mohiddin (2007:15) says it best when he contends, "Politics is a struggle for power. In a democracy, the struggle takes place within a competitive framework regulated by rules, principles, norms, and conventions."

Sotarauta (2016b) distinguishes between four types of power from a study of economic development actors in Finland: (i) institutional power – the power to demand different responses from actors; (ii) resource power – the use of regional development funds and resources to achieve objectives; (iii) interpretive power – expert knowledge for the generation of new thinking; and (iv) network power – relies on trust and relations to build networks. Supported by a study of English mayors, Sandford (2020) adds that generative power can be utilised to extend the capacity and power to govern and does not replace resource and institutional power.

Lodge (2004:1) argues that "robust democracies benefit from strong parties". However, for democracy to work in a deliberative way and for power to be exercised productively, a degree of trust is needed. Regretfully, in South Africa, there has been an erosion of trust. This erosion has affected not only the ANC as the leading party nationally but also the smaller parties (Moosa & Hofmeyr 2021). The erosion of trust initially stemmed from the 'cadre development' programme of the ANC (Lodge 2004) and continued through the emerging suspicions and occurrences of corrupt activities within and by party members. Lodge's (2004) study confirms that there is an expectation of members or followers to be

taken care of by the party once the party becomes the seat of power[2] – *"I cannot continue to work for a party that does not take care of its members…The ANC needs to ensure that all comrades who were in exile need to be taken care of"* (Lodge 2004:196). It further confirms the argument that internal governance is often overlooked in dominant parties in a democracy and that the "legitimacy of the state is based on the ability of it to deliver on its interest group needs rather than democracy" (Sachs et al. 2001:43–44). Sandford (2020) argues that this type of power play or tactic is used to stay close to those who have the required resources for the leadership to continue to hold power – so serving the interests of some may assist in advancing policy initiatives for the few but aid the ability of leadership to hold power for longer, thereby increasing the capacity to govern. The argument against cadre deployment in South Africa has been around questioning the capabilities and competencies of those put into seats of power and that cadre deployment has compromised service delivery and contributed to corruption in the country (Times Live 2010; Shava & Chamisa 2018; Politicsweb 2021; Swanepoel 2021; Schirmer & Visser 2023).

2.3.4 Competence and leadership

The capabilities (skills, knowledge, experience, attributes, and behaviour) required for a leader to navigate a political arena is an important discourse (Hartley 2011). Lowndes and Skelcher (1998) argue that political institutions shape the leader's or politician's capabilities by providing the framework for delivery, i.e., the mandate, opportunities, developmental agenda, and constraints. They compare this delivery to that of a theatre – while the theatre is not responsible for the performance of the actor (leader) or the storyline, they exercise control over the production, staging, duration, and direction (the act). "The rules and conventions of local political leadership are influenced by political and non-political elements of the local institutional milieu – the organisation of civil society, the structure of the local economy, traditions of political campaigning and party organization" (Lowndes & Skelcher 1998:563). March and Olsen (1989) argue that while the institution shapes the leader's deployment of capabilities, the leader, too, bears influence on the institution dependent on the politician's contextual interpretation of the rules and regulations necessary.

Urban policy frameworks cite good governance and state competency as the foundations for enabling the achievement of urban agendas across the world. "While competence deals

[2] It is, of course, not merely a case of party-related corruption as political parties are deeply embedded in society and political leaders emerge from within society.

with [the] current state, capability focuses on the ability to develop and flex to meet future needs" (Nagarajan and Prabhu 2015:8). Practitioners argue that capability is an individual asset while capacity refers to the organisation's (or state's, in this case) ability to provide services or products (Nagarajan & Prabhu 2015; Business Process Incubator 2016). "Capability is the condition of having the capacity to do something, and competence is the improved version of capability" (Nagarajan & Prabhu 2015:10). Thus, urban agenda frameworks refer to state competence as the ability to have the capabilities today and the future capacity for tomorrow's needs together with the capacity to achieve the goals necessary within a specified time frame or by a specific date. These attributes build the state's competency to enable problem-oriented governance mechanisms to find solutions to urban challenges and provide for citizen's needs today and into the future.

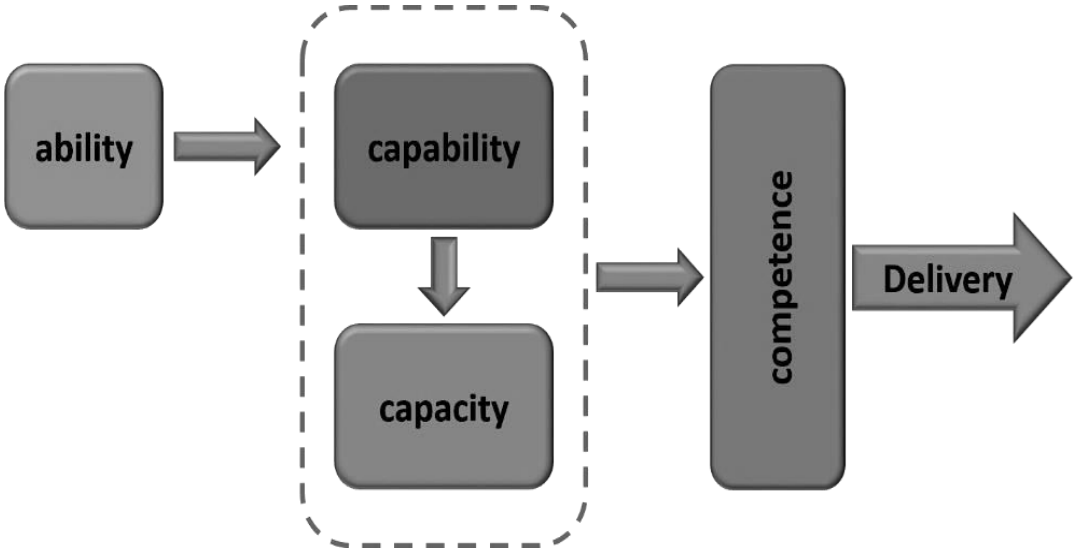


Figure 2-2. Ability, capability, capacity and competence (Business Process Incubator 2016)

"Problem-oriented governance is an approach to policy design and implementation that emphasizes the need for organizations to adapt their form and functioning to the nature of the public problems they seek to address" (Mayne et al. 2020:34). Mayne et al. (2020) argue that problem-oriented governance seeks to provide a model to enable public sector reform. To aid the state's capacity building, Mayne et al. (2020:38) provide three capabilities for problem-oriented governance (Figure 2-2): i) "a reflective-improvement capability" (the ability to learn, adapt, and communicate theories of change and motivate for performance improvement); (ii) "a collaborative capability" (ability to leverage on existing relationships and build new partnerships); (iii) "a data-analytic capability" (the ability to analyse existing data and gather new information and data for evidence-based

decision-making). Mayne et al. (2020) conclude by commenting that leadership must decide which problems require attention, problem-oriented governance, and solutions to enable the right capabilities, capacity, and competencies to be deployed.

Not all cities or city-regions have the necessary leadership that it needs, which is why we have either weak or strong, good or poor leadership and good or bad outcomes (Sweeting & Hambleton 2017; Stafford 2019) and it is for this reason that leadership capability and capacity development must be nurtured, focusing on "engendering collaboration, power and trust in the formation of horizontally-based leadership coalitions that are anchored in meaningful ways with specific places" (Jackson 2019:22).

According to Glenn et al. (2020), a success factor in crisis is the capacity and capability of public leaders. While institutional settings and intergovernmental dynamics play a considerable role in how public leadership responds to crises, Jing (2021) argues that the actor/s may choose a particular path to attain goals during a crisis – these choices will either impede or advance agendas either present or past and dictate the successes or failures experienced in a crisis. Institutional settings provide the foundation for how leadership responds and can respond to a crisis. Governance structures can either aid or impede the co-ordination and collaboration necessary to respond to a crisis. Ultimately, the capacity to respond to a crisis rests upon leadership, and based on the response, leadership may be able to gain or lose from the impact of their response and build the organisation, city, or country for greater resilience (Teo et al. 2017; Jing 2021). Overall, during the COVID-19 pandemic, "increased government effectiveness [was] significantly associated with decreased death rates" (Serikbayeva et al. 2021:921). While countries like China benefitted from their response to the pandemic by experiencing enhanced party leadership, a stronger centralised regime and greater government support (Jing 2021), New Zealand experienced higher trust levels and confidence in female leadership (Forster & Heinzel 2021), and other countries, like the United States, experienced a trust deficit post the COVID-19 pandemic response of leadership (Jennings et al. 2020).

The erosion of trust in South Africa has also affected other institutions of society, and to restore trust, perhaps the answer is effective governance, which requires a broad set of competencies, or which, most importantly, is the ability to instil trust among followers.

2.3.5 Trust and leadership

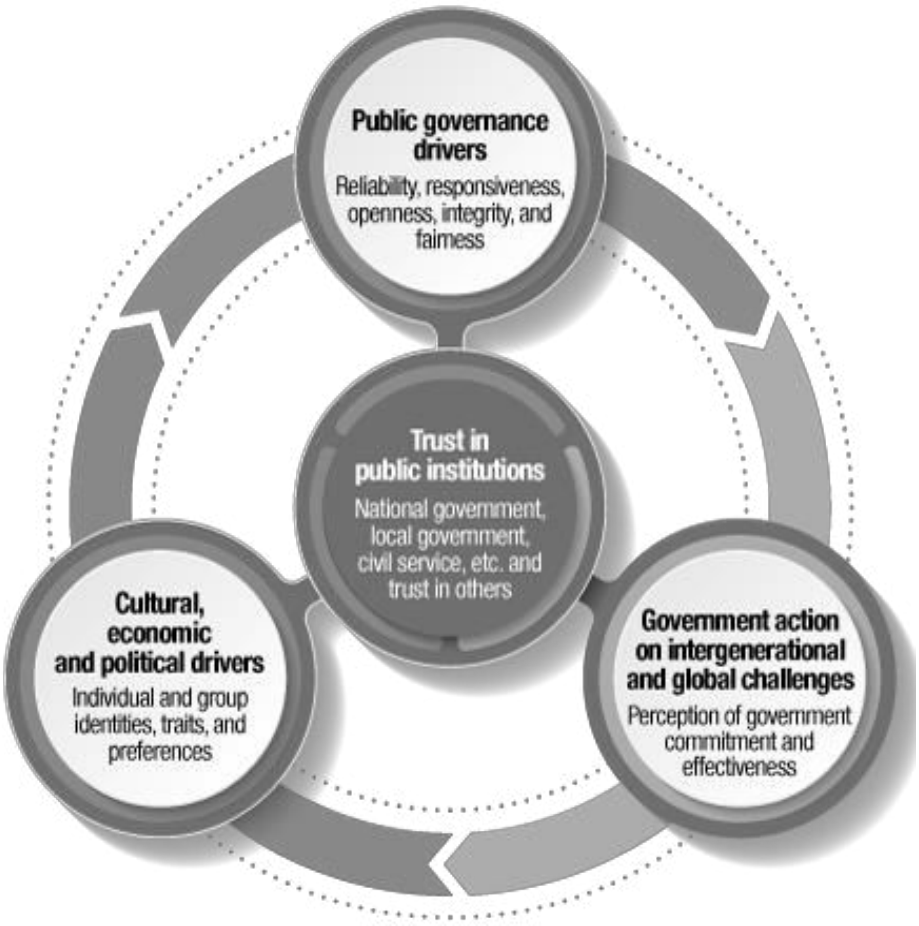


Figure 2-3. Public governance drivers of trust (OECD n.d.)

According to Blind (2007), public trust in government and political institutions has been steadily declining since the 1960s. If, as Blind (2007) explains, mistrust in an individual political leader can extend to the government institution as a whole, then utilising the OECD's five main public governance drivers of trust (Figure 2-3) can assist us in understanding trust in government and perhaps civic leadership. The five main public governance drivers of trust, according to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), are reliability, responsiveness (government's competence), openness, integrity, and fairness (values underlying public actions). To assist in crises, the OECD has added two more dimensions to assist in garnering public trust – cultural, social, and economic drivers and the government's capacity to address global and intergenerational issues.

As expressed by the OECD, the trust guideline has not been refined to enable a standard measurement of trust of public institutions internationally, but it serves as a framework to

understand the importance of measuring trust, the impact of high and low trust contexts on attaining a development agenda and it is a call for the creation of an international standard of measurement of trust to enable better planning and delivery for citizens (Figure 2-3).

OECD Publishing (2017) outlines key trust relationships in society (Table 2-1).

Table 2-1. Framework for multiple trust relationships (OECD Publishing 2017:39)

By whom/on whom	Resident	Institution	Leaders
Resident	Interpersonal trust	Institutional trust	Political trust
Institutions	Civic trust	Inter-institutional trust	Political-administrative trust
Leaders	Political trust	Political-administrative trust	Multilateral trust

While this framework provides a broad range of trust relationships, it also distinguishes between the different forms of trust by different people or systems. However, the literature shows us that individual trust can impact trust perceived by an institution and vice versa.

Trust is defined by King (2021) as a catalyst – viewing a catalyst as an object. King (2021:23) explains, "By defining trust as a catalyst, defining trust as behaviour, attitude, belief, or practice can be regarded as the attitudes towards establishing trust in the belief that by so doing trust will be present and a successful outcome achieved." Context matters when establishing trust between trustor and trustee (personal) or trustor and trustees (impersonal) (King 2021). Lee and Suh (2021) argue that trust in government encompasses political trust and reflects economic and government performance in meeting citizens' needs. They argue that trust studies have reflected that people tend to trust or distrust their government based on economic achievement. On the contrary, this thesis argues and reflects that responses to crises can also create trust or mistrust of government. King (2021:22) explains that trust is not complex, but the "process of establishing trust is multifaceted and complicated". Chan (2019) concurs, indicating that trust is multi-level, multi-faceted, and malleable. The multi-dimensional trust element reflects an individual's perceptions, belief systems, the citizen's expectations of government, and the level of the government's trustworthiness.

According to Chan (2019), trustworthiness includes the trustee's competence, integrity, and benevolence. The trustworthiness of the government is further dependent on transparency and access to information by citizens. Grimmelikhuijsen (2012) explains that a key element of trust is transparency. Transparency helps people become familiar with the

government, and when people believe that government operations and decision-making are transparent, they are more likely to trust that political leadership works in the best interest of the people (Grimmelikhuijsen 2012). Bauhr and Nasiritousi (2012) refute this argument, contending that transparency alone cannot guarantee trust. They argue that "transparency may inhibit good decision-making if officials are hindered from deliberating openly due to fears of citizens' perceptions of their actions" (Bauhr & Nasiritousi 2012:14). Rather, transparency alongside good governance and leadership can determine the reduction in corruption and better decision-making, thereby enabling trust (Bauhr & Nasiritousi 2012). In a study of institutional trust and corruption, the OECD (2013) found that perceived corruption states directly correlate to institutional trust. Grimmelikhuijsen (2012) explains that trust is the perceived trustworthiness of a political leader. In agreement with Chan (2019), Grimmelikhuijsen (2012) reflects that trustworthiness is dependent on three scales of analyses – competence or the ability to act, benevolence or the ethical intentions of the government, and honesty or the integrity that the leader holds.

Trust in competence refers to the abilities of the government to solve problems and deliver the necessary services to enable an acceptable quality of life for all its citizens, including responses during a pandemic. Trust in integrity refers to the government's honesty, character, incorruptibility, and impartiality – it relates to the ethical dimensions of the government's character. The trustee is interested not only in the government not engaging in such activities but also if there is a transgression integrity judged on the response to such transgressions. Benevolence is trust in a government that engages in activities to serve the greater good of its people or the internal vs external good of purpose in the action of leaders (Chan 2019; Todnem 2021). Chan (2019) argues that benevolence is the most difficult dimension of trust for governments to achieve and often the most ignored.

Trust takes time and effort to build but can easily change and may be difficult to repair. Governments must understand that the past is not always an equal predictor of the current perception of citizen's trust levels. When standing at the ballot box, the citizen utilises their lived experience as a judgement call on what and who to trust. Thus, context is an important determinant of trust, lived experience is an important predictor of trust, and constantly ensuring repair and trust development will attempt to disable the erosion of trust (Chan 2019). To ensure consistent trust building, "increasing actual trustworthiness of trustees and increasing trustors' trust perceptions of trustees" (Chan 2019:3) must be examined.

Trust within networks in a leadership relationship is a necessary condition for innovation, development and the success of multi-actor governance relationships (Klijn et al. 2010). Trust is core to social capital, which, in the city-region context, resides in the multiple networks, relations, and flows of knowledge, norms, and mutual obligations (Purdue 2001). Trust in government is critical to determine whether government and society can achieve a consensus for open and collaborative governance (Kikuchi 2008). Gyimah-Boadi (2021:79) argues that trust in the state and leadership can support an effective response to a crisis, whilst "irregularities and corruption" can "undermine trust and legitimacy in government leaders and core institutions".

The vulnerability of others and the voluntary submission of trust in leaders was evidenced in the COVID-19 pandemic when the country's residents willingly gave up their rights to move freely and engage, submitting to a hard lockdown, trusting the call of politicians for such sacrifice was for the greater good (Devermont & Mukulu 2020; Forster & Heinzel 2021; Jennings et al. 2020; Martínez-Córdoba et al. 2021; Steyn Kotze et al. 2021). Reaction to and perception of the political response to the COVID-19 pandemic demonstrated the extent of investment in trust and belief in the effectiveness of political leadership in their response to the crisis, which, in turn, created social solidarity and support for leadership (Jennings et al. 2020; Deane et al. 2021; Steyn Kotze et al. 2021). In South Africa, perhaps this trust was created as a result of other forms of leadership, such as that provided by medical personnel and scientists who were present during COVID-19 and who worked with politicians to talk about the impact of measures such as hard lockdowns – "According to Salim Abdool Karim, Chair of the scientific advisory committee to the South African Department of Health, the lockdown measures that were taken in South Africa extended the time that it takes virus infections to double, from 2 to 15 days" (Naudé & Cameron 2020:6). Leadership working together in this manner supports the argument of place leadership. Mohiddin (2007:18) puts it succinctly and highlights the importance of the relationship between governance, leadership, and trust when he states, "Leadership is a trust".

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter was divided into two parts. It began by reviewing leadership theories and their development over time – from Great Man Theory to Transformational Leadership. The next part of the chapter examined the key thematics of this research as it relates to the

discussion on leadership – leadership theory through a temporal lens, civic leadership, competence and leadership, crisis and leadership, power and leadership, and trust and leadership.

It raised the argument that the areas of public leadership and political leadership have lagged, and when discussing leadership in this context, the argument has focused on administrative leadership in the public sector and not political leadership (Mouton 2019). Leadership in the public sector refers to those who make those decisions and create the impetus and foundation for implementing those governance decisions or decisions made by leaders in government (OECD 2015a; Beer et al. 2019). It reflected that leadership theory has only now started to consider leadership for cities or nations, but it still only focuses its attention largely on leaders and not the act of leadership.

The chapter further concentrated on the key thematics of this study and argued that our current times call upon leadership that can form collaborative networks of engagement to enable effective responses to the dynamic environments within which leadership and governance must be enacted. The literature reflected in this chapter showed that leadership depends on context and that collaborative relationships are required to achieve goals underscored by a foundation of trust and relations of power between actors, coupled with the necessary competence of leadership to enable delivery. The literature assists with answering the research question of this thesis, which is to understand *How can the emerging concept of 'place leadership' be applied in the complex, dynamic, and low-trust environment of the GCR?* It builds the argument for what is required in city-regions to enable development and resilience building which is argued for later in this research. Additionally, the review delves into the components of crisis leadership, setting the stage for the development of a comprehensive framework for crisis leadership in place. This framework aims to substantiate the significance of both place leadership and crisis management within the broader discourse. Trust and power were reflected as two critical mechanisms that need to be in place to enable network relationships for more effective governance. It was argued that "[l]eadership is a trust" (Mohiddin 1998:18).

This thesis puts forward the argument that the COVID-19 crisis highlighted the critical importance of effective leadership at all levels of government and society and that national and global leaders have played a crucial role in responding to the pandemic. This chapter showed that female leadership came to the fore during the pandemic crisis, and the

advantages of new dimensions of the leadership argument – self-awareness, empathy, and compassion – have become critical success factors for leadership to not only connect with followers but to provide more effective leadership in times of crisis.

More research on the role of temporality in leadership theory is required. This will aid in understanding the dynamic contexts that leadership works within and can ultimately contribute to more effective and adaptable leadership practices in various contexts.

3 Chapter Three – Place Leadership

3.1 Introduction

As expressed in the preceding chapter, leadership theory has evolved since the nineteenth century and has seen significant development over the last century. The understanding of transformational leadership has advanced and calls for holistic leadership that considers leadership and the context within which leadership is enacted, the relationship between leaders and followers, and the requirements of leaders to act with empathy, ethics, integrity, a higher level of self-awareness, and agility and adaptability in a dynamic world.

It is important to note that place-based leadership and governance studies emerged only in the last decade and are predominantly concentrated in the Western world – particularly in Europe (Netherlands – seven studies; Finland – nine, Australia – 11, United States – 13, and the UK – 34) and is dominated by under ten scholars – Robin Hambleton, Lee Trickett, Markku Sotarauta, Andrew Beer, John Gibney, Chris Collinge, Ina Horlings, Joyce Liddle, Chris Mabey, and Alessandro Sancino (Beer et al. 2021).

This chapter explores the concept of place leadership – a concept that has emerged in the attempt to explain leadership required in the context of territories or places, including cities and regions. It is a step away from the normal dialogue on leadership, which has predominantly focused on leadership in the context of organisations.

This chapter begins by providing the background to the concept of place and moves on to examine the purpose of place before outlining the historical development of the concept of place leadership and then the key thematics of this study.

3.2 Place

Place is defined by Friedmann (2010:154) as “a small, three-dimensional urban space that is cherished by the people who inhabit it”. Meaning is derived through the psychological and physical association with place (Montgomery 1998). Tuan (1975) conceptualises ‘place’ as an intricate blend of spatial and experiential dimensions. Tuan argues that place is not merely a physical location but a space imbued with meaning through human experiences and emotions. According to Tuan (1977), the significance of a place emerges from the lived experiences and perceptions of individuals, making it a repository of personal and collective memories that shape one's sense of belonging and identity.

Through inhabiting, people interact with place and the spaces they live, work and play in, and find meaning within that place as they connect with it (Figure 3-1). Agnew (1987) expands this understanding by emphasising the political and social dimensions of place. Agnew (1987) explores how places are arenas for political action and social interaction, where spatial relationships and power dynamics influence and are influenced by political and social processes. He argues that place is a product of social constructions and is inherently tied to issues of governance, identity and power.

Making places functional is a collective undertaking and the work of the people who inhabit them (Friedmann 2010). Place identity was first defined as "those dimensions of self that define the individual's personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, feelings, values, goals, preferences, skills, and behavioural tendencies relevant to a specific environment" (Proshansky 1978:155). Just like a house becomes a home because of the culture, way of life and activities within the dwelling, a space becomes a place because of the interactions between it and its inhabitants and the meaning derived from these associations (Ujang & Zakariya 2015).

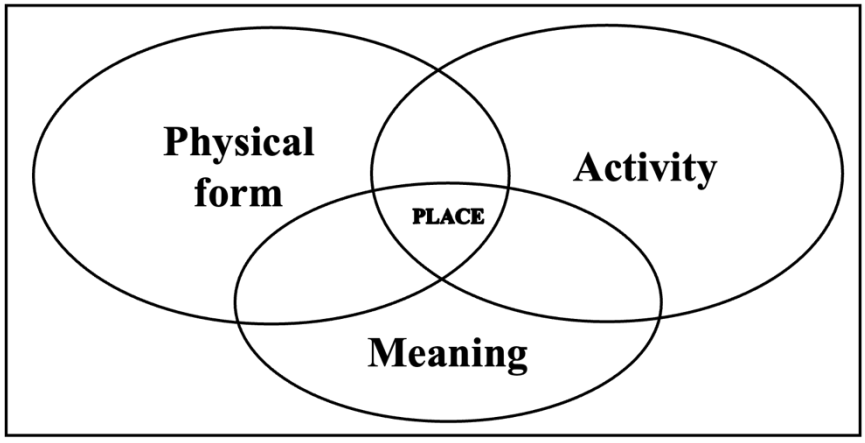


Figure 3-1. Components of place (Montgomery 1998:97)

For the purpose of this thesis, place is viewed as a dynamic construct that is shaped by historical, cultural, and socio-political factors. It is a site of interaction where individual experiences intersect with broader socio-political processes and where governance and leadership strategies must navigate these complex relationships.

This interpretation will guide the exploration of place leadership within the GCR, aiming to understand how place-based strategies can be effectively applied in a context

characterised by complexity, dynamism, and low trust. By integrating these theoretical insights with the practicalities of urban and regional development, the thesis seeks to develop a nuanced framework for place leadership that addresses both the experiential and political dimensions of place.

Regions create their identity with people through social and institutional practices (Paasi 2011). Social practices include the region's name (predominantly historically symbolic, e.g. Gauteng – Sesotho for the place of gold) and or a coat of arms to symbolise the place. Institutionally, regions will decide on the institutions, politics, practices, policies, systems, and governance forms necessary to enable the region's functioning. Paasi (2011) argues that identification with place or region is context and experience-driven, whose complexity must be understood in an increasingly globalised world.

The primary agent in the city-region is the citizen, and the criteria for governance to work rests on the citizen's inclusion, engagement, and participation. Lidström and Schaap (2018) argue that the citizen engages with the city-region, not just the municipality or the area of citizenship in the city-region and not just the space within which the citizen resides, pays taxes, and votes. The citizen moves between spaces, possibly commuting daily for work, recreation or to access services (Lidström & Schaap 2018), and, therefore, the space of citizenship is beyond the demarcated area of residence.

Purcell (2007) argued that institutions of governance of city-regions could hinder or enhance a democratisation process – dependent on the agenda of those institutions. Sandford (2020) proposes that the distinguishing factors for local governance from national governance would come from a collation of thoughts on the subject and include a mix of formal and informal institutions and the presence of leadership together with the recognition of the demands of place (Sandford 2020:2099).

The rise of the city-region and the interconnections between cities have, therefore, made way for understanding and discussing the complexity of relations between places, the actors involved in this relationship of networks and the structures or institutions that enable functionality across political and economic boundaries.

3.2.1 Complexity of place – the city-region

McCann (2011:188) states that a city-region "is the ideal scale in and through which economic competitiveness can be fostered and maintained", but economic development may be affected by the structures that are put in place (Pike et al. 2006). Hall and Pain's

(2006) polycentric metropolis study reflects that a city-region's competitive advantage of trade is knowledge. This view is supported by Andrew and Doloreux (2012), who remark that the city-region's importance has grown not only through globalisation but also because of the rise of the knowledge economy. The 2006 Hall and Pain study showed the dynamic and morphological nature of city-regions – like markets, space is fluid, and the agglomeration of spaces to form the city-region changes as the architecture of the trade metamorphoses both locally and globally. City-regions can expand from their local central and hinterland relationship or mega city-region (megalopolis) toward a global city-region whose economy reflects the world at large due to connections of trade created across the boundaries between cities (Hall & Pain 2006).

Jonas and Ward (2007:170) remark that city-regions are "the architectural, social, cultural and spatial building blocks of the global economy" – highlighting structure and linkage to economic development. This shift in the global economy – from country trade and competition to city trade and competition has shifted attention to the authorities that warrant this trade. It has demanded a different set of views on where the level of agreement and negotiation of trade rests and the boundaries of governance – from a national to a local level. It created the impetus to question jurisdiction and reflected on questioning the need for governance beyond administrative boundaries (Pike et al. 2006, 2007; Andrew & Doloreux 2012). The global city-region represents places with nodes of development that are not concentrated within a confined space but become connected through a global network of relations. City-regions are faced with "*glocalization*" [emphasis added] (Robertson 1995:26) or worldwide trends that have a local impact. Scott describes these 'global' city-regions as the active agents that are shaping the geography of economic globalisation (Scott 2001). While the debate on what exactly a city-region is continues, there is agreement that city-regions are an important point of study. There is further agreement that city-regions are complex agglomerations with either functional or structural interconnections and that they are, through definition, compelling points of interest. It is further argued that they allow to bridge disparities of space and are a means to economic competitiveness (Etherington 2009).

3.2.2 Purpose in place

How do you rationalise governance in a political space with the leadership of regions outside the administrative jurisdiction of political governance? While business leadership arises with an end in mind and with a common goal to be achieved, generally led by a

single leader of a single organisation, and public sector leadership is a grouping of transactional, situation and transformational practices, place leadership is a process that arises out of a divergence of views in a decentralised system of governance (Beer & Clower 2014).

Jackson (2019) argues that leadership theory historically has focused on leadership as person, position or process. Place leadership adds to the understanding of leadership as purpose, providing for the context within which leadership is enacted. Damon et al. (2003:121) define purpose as an accomplishment linked to meaning, aligned to goals for the greater good as "a stable and generalized intention to accomplish something that is at once meaningful to the self and of consequence to the world beyond the self". We can deduce that this is the ultimate goal of leadership – to lead with purpose.

Jackson (2019) contends that putting place and purpose first provides the opportunity to understand how leadership can shape a discourse on local and global challenges and opportunities and how place can be nurtured, developed, and engineered through the co-ordination and collaboration of collective effort through a governance agenda and initiative that shapes place for the betterment of all. Through their study, Rees et al. (2022) support the idea that place leadership is a highly complex context of a multiplicity of actors and only by putting place and purpose first can leadership be understood and the power of leadership for place be fully grasped.

Having provided a background to the understanding of place leadership as leadership in place with purpose, this chapter will now examine the development of the concept of place leadership and the various definitions to provide an understanding of what the concept is and what the practice entails. The chapter concludes by examining place leadership through the lenses of temporality, civic leadership, competency, power, trust, multi-scalar governance, and crisis.

3.3 Place Leadership as a Concept Within Urban and Regional Studies

3.3.1 The evolution of the leadership argument – from globalisation to place

The idea of leadership in places began as early as the 1990s, but it was not referred to as place leadership, nor was the idea of leadership of places clearly stated or argued. Judd and Parkinson (1990) argued that those city-regions where local leadership was generated could develop and implement more impactful development strategies than those with weaker leadership. Later on, Robert Putnam (1995) spoke of a deteriorating social capital

in America. His idea of social capital in the 1990s was similar to the ideas of place leadership almost 20 years later, as he included the ideas of networks, trust, civic engagement, collaboration, and shared visions in his definition of social capital as "features of social organisation such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (Putnam 1995:67). In 1998, Manuel Castells raised the argument about power that resides in network societies – he started this argument on the premise of information technology networks and over the years, his argument of networks advanced towards networks found in cities and regions (Castells 1998, 1999, 2000) caught up in globalisation and territorial divisions – "it's the connection between the local and the global rather than the end of geography in the age of globalization …networks of discontiguous places in interaction with a diverse range of localities" (Castells 2000:697). Also stemming from the argument of globalisation – "Places are made through their connections with each other, not their isolation" (Tsing 2000:330) but highlighting the role of the local, Tsing (2000) argued for the role of the agents within the local space that allows for the deeper connections and the contribution of the local to global. Tsing (2000) further argued that globalisation has obscured the role of the local, but it is at the local level that goods are made, processed and utilised, and therefore, the role of the local in economic development must be given renewed attention. Tsing (2000) tabled the argument that globalisation brought the value of network governance to the fore, which could assist in resolving global challenges from climate change to gender rights awareness.

Continuing the argument on governance in the city, in 2000, John Friedman argued for the utopian city and city-region, in which he identified three actors as key in the city – (i) the state represented by political leadership at local level at the apex, which is responsible for ensuring development through the institution that they represent, (ii) corporate capital responsible for economic development, and (iii) civil society who protests and puts pressure on the city for sustainable cities, environmental justice, and more inclusive visions of the city for inclusivity. He further put forth requirements for good governance in cities, including political leadership, the state, and the citizen, in decision-making, policy development, and direction (Friedmann 2000).

Following the September 11 2001 terror attacks in the USA, Stough (2003) called for leadership for the development and implementation of policy to address crises, referring to the need for strategic regional economic development leadership. In 2005:1, Sotarauta

referred to leaders adopting collaborative network approaches in regional development as "shared leadership". Stough (2003) argued that the role of local governments involves building coalitions, fostering innovation, and creating opportunities for collaboration among various stakeholders in a specific place.

Massey (2004) posed the question – if we shift our thinking beyond territories and boundaries and rather toward connectivity, linkages and flows between local spaces, what then is the role of the political actors within local spaces? He further raised the role of power in these politics and the wider connectivity of places, proposing that we must understand the role of these globalised power sources that reside locally. In 2005, Sotarauta continued the thought process of leadership having the power to influence regional development, arguing that those with more influence and power have greater leverage than those with less. He stressed that while the emerging knowledge economy needed structures and institutions, the individual's role, capabilities, and influence were an important discourse to understand regional development. He went on to argue for the need to develop dynamic capabilities that are skilled in identifying new resources and better utilising existing resources to innovate and generate new knowledge, thereby creating new opportunities for advancing the competitiveness of regions.

The arguments for cities, regional development, and the role of agency and structure continued into the 21st century and advanced toward attempting to understand the role of leadership in promoting the development agenda of cities and regions. The argument for good governance of cities and regions evolved as scholars put forth ideas on network leadership (Genieys et al. 2004) and collaborative governance (Ansell & Gash 2008). These ideas, similar to those in the 1990s, were still focused on developing the city and the region for economic development and gain.

3.3.2 Leadership of place is formally introduced and the term place leadership is adopted

In 2007, the University of Birmingham recognised the need to understand strategic leadership within a place context and the complex needs of the knowledge economy. In April 2008, they hosted the Leadership of Place Conference in Strasbourg. This conference brought together leaders from municipalities representing the Balkan states, Malta, and Russia. The conference aimed to explore effective local leadership and its implications (Trickett 2010).

Following the conference, a mini commission was organised by the Centre for Urban Regional Studies at Birmingham University in June 2008. Leaders from various regions in England participated in this commission, where they put forth several recommendations to advance research and establish a practical 'leadership of place' framework (Figure 3-2). They considered the evolution of place and the partnership-building process toward the framework's development. These recommendations aimed to assist leaders in addressing the multifaceted challenges associated with leading communities (Trickett 2010; Trickett & Lee 2010).

The leadership of place framework, developed at the University of Birmingham (Trickett 2010), aimed to provide a comprehensive understanding of effective leadership in local communities and municipalities. The framework emphasised the importance of context-specific leadership approaches, offering a practical guide for leaders to address the challenges of leading in specific geographic locations. It underscored the need for leaders to deeply understand the community they serve (Challengers). It emphasised the significance of engaging with the local population and stakeholders to gain insights into their needs, values, and aspirations (Influencers). By doing so, it was believed that leaders could develop strategies and initiatives responsive to the community's unique characteristics (Balancers).

The framework provided by Trickett (2010) offered a step-by-step approach for leaders to navigate the complexities of their local context. It highlighted the importance of building relationships and partnerships with various stakeholders, including government agencies, community organisations, and businesses. Collaboration and collective action are seen as crucial components of effective leadership.

Additionally, the framework emphasised the role of visionary leadership in driving positive change. It encouraged leaders to have a clear vision for the future of their community and to effectively communicate and inspire others to support this vision (Questioners). By aligning stakeholders around a shared purpose, leaders can mobilise resources and create a collective effort toward sustainable development (Learners).



Figure 3-2. Leadership of place framework (Trickett 2010:16)

In 2010, Trickett and Lee (2010:429) argued that place-shaping was a "complex, interdisciplinary and multi-dimensional leadership task", bringing together diverse people, institutions, skills, and knowledge to create competitive, sustainable, and inclusive places, which would mean that territorially bound political leadership had its constraints and limitations in leadership of place. They argued that leadership for place required a systems view of a spatial context wherein the leadership capacities and capabilities were considered for the developmental requirements of the local context.

The evolution of cities' leadership needs came with the evolution of cities. In the knowledge economy, the role of leadership in transcending boundaries became increasingly important, and the traditional leader's role was less desired. The knowledge economy and the smart city demanded a leader who could innovate and engage with political, technological, and stakeholder diversity across geographical divides. Gibney et al. (2009) examined the cross-boundary dimensions of the knowledge-based economy by considering Birmingham as a case study and outlined the difference between traditional leadership practised to date and the leadership required for the new economy. They did not consider the role of informal leaders in this framework (Table 3-1), but they did call for a new approach to "place-based leadership" (Gibney et al. 2009:5).

Table 3-1. Towards a new strategic leadership model for a knowledge economy (Gibney et al. 2009:9)

'Traditional' leadership	New leadership
One function/one organization	
Hierarchical	Collaborative/relational
Linear	Composite/interdisciplinary
A specific problem/task	Integrated vision for place
Leader leverages personal networks	Brings together diverse networks
Time limited	Time extensive
Commitment to one cause/idea	Holistic
Focus on the 'materiality' of place	Focus on people and on knowledge
Patriarchal/closed	Open/inclusive
Centralist/centralizing	

On the backdrop of the shift in discourse from government to governance (Armstrong et al. 2011; Haus & Klausen 2011; Whitton 2018) came the growing importance of local governance (Weiss 2000; Haus & Klausen 2011; Stoker 2011) and the acknowledgement of the contribution of the social capital argument (Putnam 1995; Maloney et al. 2000; Purdue 2001; Easterling 2008). Hambleton (2011) explained that different means to ensure effective governance systems for local spaces were needed in a time of increasing globalisation.

Hambleton (2011) provided a conceptual model for civic leadership – consisting of political, managerial, business, trade-union and community leadership. Hambleton (2011) provided an approach to understanding place-based leadership, including the role of informal leaders. At a time when most practitioners were arguing for the economic development of regions, Hambleton (2011) investigated climate change initiatives and place-based leadership in a local setting in Germany and demonstrated that a single shared vision, involvement of leaders from all realms of the proposed civic leadership model, and focused strong committed political leadership can all advance public service innovation in local spaces. He argued that the only way to benefit local communities in a rapidly globalising world, where "place-less" power was becoming more evident, was to focus on strengthening place-based leadership (Hambleton 2011:9).

In 2012, Sotarauta et al. studied five regions – Devon, UK; Laag-Holland, Netherlands; Tyrnävä, Finland; Abava Valley, Latvia; and High Tiber Valley, Italy – to understand the drivers of regional competitiveness, arguing that the answer must lie in the internal capacity that could be found in cities and regions. They declared that the answer was leadership. They were particularly interested in the link between leadership and governance arrangements and leadership and resilience. The OECD (2015a) raised the value of the role of local leadership in local economic development and argued that it was at this level that leadership could set the agenda and the form for progressive development.

Beer (2014), in his study in Riverland, South Australia, argued that the sub-national link was missing in the discourse on understanding how to enable place-based development for local economies. Musterd et al. (2014) argued that leadership also involved creating a shared vision and sense of identity among stakeholders in a specific place, which is critical for building social capital and promoting stakeholder engagement and economic development. Bryson and Crosby (2005) emphasised the need for leadership to be adaptive and flexible in responding to changing circumstances and opportunities. Hambleton (2014) explains that place leadership requires leaders to use their decision-making power to assist in improving the quality of life for communities in a place. Sotarauta (2016b:54) says, "Place leadership is a multi-scalar, dynamic and interactive process between national, local and regional government actors, firms, universities, research institutions, and public and/or semi-public development agencies." Ayres et al. (2017) remark that place leaders collaborate to foster stakeholder co-operation across spatial, governance, and discipline divides. According to Sotarauta (2018a:2), "Place-based leadership is concerned with mobilizing, directing and facilitating inter-organizational development strategies and practices across many institutional boundaries." The author goes on to argue that place leadership is important in spaces where the individual leader does not hold authoritative power, but where leadership is still important, it can assist in long-term regional innovation. It is a crucial ingredient to foster development strategies aligned to contextual needs, and it relies on negotiation and communication between various stakeholders.

Sotarauta (2016b, 2018a) argues that for place leadership to exist, a few conditions at minimum are necessary – it needs to be a place where different sources of power across various fields of regional development are present, there must be willing followers, and place-based leaders need to pool a distributed system of leadership into a coherent source that has a fair idea of the context and its challenges. Thus, place-based leadership requires

a collective effort, collaboration, capacity building, and place-specific institutional arrangements (Horlings et al. 2018). Horlings et al. (2018:263–264) explain that "effective place leadership needs to be based on collaboration, power sharing, a forward-looking approach and flexibility…Governments can promote the emergence of transformative leadership by delegating powers to communities wherever possible including the building of a well-balanced mix of formal and informal institutions."

In 2017, Hu and Hassink argued that while place leadership was still in its infancy, it had failed to conduct empirically robust research in spaces south of Europe. Hu and Hassink (2017:3) set out to investigate place leadership in what they call an "authoritarian context" – China – and why local, regional governance serves significant importance in China's regional economic development, and they added the global South argument to the place leadership research trajectory.

Nicholds et al. (2017) argued that to understand spatial dynamics and smart development one needed to understand the actors in the space and their drive for economic gain. Given that the new economy post-2010 was the knowledge economy, and this economy of innovation transcended territorial boundaries, which included a multitude of actors across multiple places, "a place-based leader…who works to influence other actors for regional innovation" was needed (Sotarauta 2018a:5).

Beer et al. (2019) argued that to achieve adaptive and resilience capabilities in cities, both national and regional policies are required, informed by place leadership intervention. Reflecting on the COVID-19 crisis and the response systems of local leaders in Italy, Garavaglia et al. (2021) argue that the terms 'leader' and 'leadership' have been conflated throughout history. They argue that a leader engages in leadership actions "which aim to generate steering and coordination in local governance and to (co-) produce public services" (Garavaglia et al. 2021:4). Through their study, Garavaglia et al. (2021) found that to respond to the crisis at hand, mayors needed to organise multiple actors to deal with the pandemic response. They had to acknowledge distributed leadership and engage in spaces that enabled collaboration with a multitude of stakeholders.

Thus, the place leadership argument has evolved considerably over the years from a predominantly economic vantage point toward innovation and the rise of the smart city toward leadership for place resilience and sustainability. Since the concept was introduced by Trickett (2010), it has been explored in cities and regions across various spaces – both

rural and urban – from small towns in Australia (Beer 2014; Sancino & Hudson 2020) and Italy (Budd & Sancino 2016) to regions in Finland (Sotarauta 2010), Sweden (Sancino & Hudson 2020; Hermelin & Persson 2021), the Netherlands (Sotarauta et al. 2012; Horlings et al. 2017; Horlings et al. 2018), the UK (Hambleton & Sweeting 2015; Budd & Sancino 2016; Sweeting & Hambleton 2017; Hambleton et al. 2019), and Germany (Hambleton 2011). Clearly, Northern Europe and the Baltic cities dominated the concentration of studies on place leadership. Sotarauta et al. (2017) added China to the spaces where leadership for urban and regional development was explored.

Until 2021, there was no clear definition of what place leadership actually was, though various practitioners have contributed to what the concept consists of or is meant to do. Collinge et al. (2010:4) say, "'Leadership of place' is an inclusive model of leadership, based on systems thinking in a spatial context." According to Collinge and Gibney (2010a, citing Sotarauta & Suvinen 2019:2), place leadership is "concerned with mobilising, directing, coordinating and facilitating interorganisational development strategies and practices across many institutional and organisational boundaries" and referred to it as "a 'new' approach to localised policy intervention, in which notions such as 'collaborative planning', 'associational working', 'partnerships and networks' and leadership across boundaries come to the fore" (Collinge & Gibney 2010b:389). Sotarauta et al. (2021a:1) defined place leadership as "mobilization and coordination of diverse groups of actors to achieve collective effort for enhancement of the development of a place. It works across institutional, organizational, geographical and/or sectoral boundaries to amplify the local power base for strengthening the capacity to influence those with great powers."

From these explanations, we can deduce that place leadership arises because of the interactions between individuals in specific geographic locations or places to drive economic, social, and or environmental development in those places. There is collaboration between leadership. There is an attempt to drive innovation in those places. The actors do not necessarily have designated authority.

Although place offers context, place leadership goes beyond political explanations of leadership. It places a stronger emphasis on the dynamic and interconnected conditions of social, economic, and environmental changes in cities and regions. It acknowledges that effective leadership involves navigating the complex interplay between rational and

technical planning, as well as the subjective aspects of meanings, values, and relationships within these contexts (Nicholds et al. 2017).

Place leadership has emerged as a crucial area of research and practice in the fields of urban planning, economic development, and public administration. Place leadership allows urban researchers to get an intimate view of the local environment, the connections and disconnections, the enablers and restrictions, and the opportunities and the challenges. Through participatory decision-making, governance and institutions of governance can be influenced and place leaders can drive policy development and implementation, thereby allowing for greater inclusivity and influence over their urban or rural environments.

The next part of this chapter explores place leadership through the following lenses, as I did in the previous chapter on leadership:

- Temporal Dimensions in Place Leadership,
- Civic Leadership,
- Competence and Place Leadership,
- Power, Trust, Multi-Scalar Governance and Place Leadership, and
- Place Leadership and Crisis.

3.4 Some Themes in Place Leadership

Peck (2017) argued that effective place leadership is transformative and not transactional and is the result of collaborative action rather than individual effort – which links in with the transformational leadership theories of relational leadership, integrative leadership, and collaborative thinking (Huxham & Vangen 2000; Uhl-Bien 2006). Place leadership is complex because it is multi-actor, multi-valued, and multi-vision (Sotarauta 2016b). In line with this argument of place leadership, Fairhurst and Connaughton (2014) argue that leadership is dynamic and is made up of a web of social actors who network and communicate with each other and whose relationships are influenced by time.

3.4.1 Place leadership through a temporal lens

> "Place is time and space specific…places are framed and co-shaped by a set of in time and space unbound political-economic, socio-cultural and ecological structuring processes." (Horlings et al. 2018:249)

In the context of place leadership, the temporal lens involves analysing how different temporal dimensions impact the effectiveness of place leadership efforts. According to

Emirbayer and Mische's work in 1998, agency is best understood when it is examined in its full complexity by considering its temporal dimension. They argue that social agents' interaction with structure unfolds over time and is influenced by historical events and past experiences while continually being shaped by present and future possibilities (Emirbayer & Mische 1998).

Temporal factors are essential in understanding the interplay between structural circumstances and individual agency, which can alter or uphold social structures over a certain period of time (Archer 1995; Elder-Vass 2007). The most relevant study that has been undertaken and aligns with the purposes of this research was by Grillitsch et al. (2022), who explored the concept of agency in regional development with a specific focus on the temporal dimension of agency. They argued that agency (or leadership) is not a fixed attribute but rather a dynamic process that changes over time. The authors examined different temporal aspects of agency, including its emergence, stability, and transformation. They argued that understanding the temporal dimension of agency is critical for developing effective regional development policies. The authors suggested that policy-makers need to be aware of the temporal dynamics of agency and design policies that can adapt to these changes. They also argued that policy-makers need to recognise that agency is not only located in individuals and organisations but also institutions, which can constrain or enable agency over time. Overall, the study highlighted the importance of considering time in analysing agency and regional development. Das (1987) provided an argument for the study of place leadership through a temporal lens, which can be utilised for this study.

According to Das (1987), there are three temporal dimensions of place leadership: the past, the present, and the future. The past is an important temporal dimension in place leadership because it provides a foundation for understanding a place's history and identity. The historical context of a place can inform its current challenges and opportunities, and understanding this context is essential for effective place leadership.

The present is also a crucial temporal dimension in place leadership, as it is the point at which decisions are made and actions are taken. The current state of a place, including its economic, social, and environmental conditions, must be considered when developing place leadership strategies. Current environmental challenges are essential for effective place-based climate policy (Huitema et al. 2011).

The future is perhaps the most critical temporal dimension in place leadership because it represents the potential impact of current decisions and actions. Focusing on the future involves anticipating future challenges and opportunities and taking steps to address them proactively. A future-oriented approach is essential for developing effective place-based innovation strategies (McCann 2019).

The temporal lens of place leadership has important implications for practice. Firstly, it highlights the importance of taking a holistic approach to place leadership that considers all three temporal dimensions. Secondly, it emphasises the need for place leaders to be proactive and forward-looking, anticipating future challenges and opportunities and taking steps to address them in the present. Finally, it underscores the need for ongoing evaluation and adaptation of place leadership efforts over time.

The concept of a "temporally embedded process of social engagement" (Emirbayer & Mische 1998:962) suggests that place-based leadership is not a static phenomenon but rather a dynamic and evolving one. It is not isolated from its historical roots and the legacy of previous leaders but is continuously influenced by the context in which it operates. Additionally, the notion of being "informed by the past but always oriented toward open futures" (Emirbayer & Mische 1998:962) emphasises that place-based leaders draw insights from history, learn from past successes and failures, but they also look forward and are open to new possibilities, innovations, and adaptations.

By adopting a temporal perspective on place-based leadership, researchers and practitioners can better understand how leadership emerges, evolves, and responds to changes over time. It allows them to analyse how leaders' actions and decisions are influenced by historical narratives, cultural norms, and past trajectories while remaining adaptable to present circumstances and future uncertainties.

To be successful, place leadership efforts must take a long-term view that considers the potential impact of current decisions and actions on the future of a place (McCann 2019) to aid the sustainability and resilience of place. Horlings et al. (2017, cited by Beer & Clower 2014) argue that effective leadership is one of the key arguments in explaining how a place adapts and survives change in a rapidly globalising world wrought with challenges from rapid urbanisation to climate change. Place-based leadership calls for a network of actors engaged in regional systems of innovation, with a sense of place, politics, and social fabric, to work collaboratively to provide systems of innovative, lasting change to aid the

region's development (Sotarauta 2018a). This network of actors would require understanding the temporal dimensions of place to allow the actors to come together with consideration and awareness of the context for decision-making and efforts in working together. Overall, this approach provides a more comprehensive understanding of place-based leadership by recognising its fluid and dynamic nature within the context of time.

3.4.2 Place and civic leadership

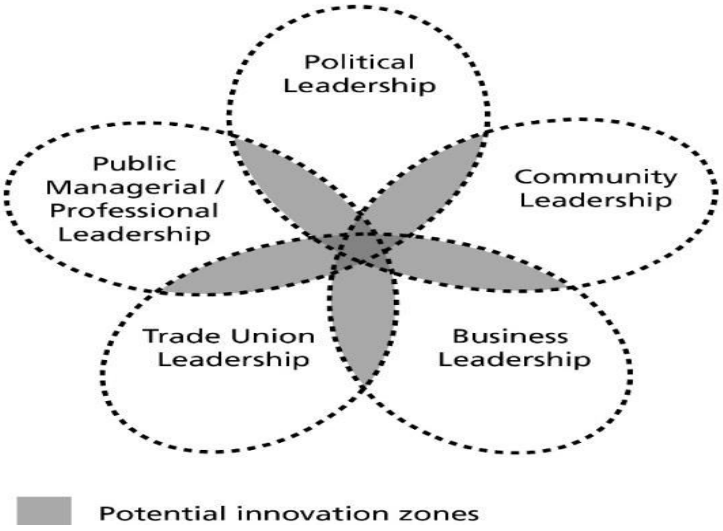


Figure 3-3. Realms of place-based leadership (Hambleton 2020a:3)

Borrowing from Brandsen and Pestoff (2006), Hambleton (2020a) explains that place-based leadership exists across five interconnected realms (political, community, managerial, trade-union, and business leadership) to enable place-based governance through a co-governance, co-production, co-management, co-ordinated and collaborative approach to city governance (Figure 3-3).

Hambleton (2020a) and Hambleton et al. (2019) explain New Civic Leadership as strong place-based leadership across sectors, the state, and civil society coming together collaboratively to find solutions to the city's challenges within the framing of dynamic socio-cultural, economic, and governmental spheres and a commitment to planning in recognition of environmental needs (Figure 3-3). In this space, the opportunity for innovation emerges alongside conflict and power struggles. The proposal of place-based leadership through the New Civic Leadership framework proposed by Hambleton (2020a) aligns with the argument proposed by other proponents of place-based leadership in that leaders are not necessarily located at the top or only at the state level in city-region

governance but may be found across society (Sotarauta 2016b, 2018a; Sotarauta & Beer 2017; Beer et al. 2021).

Hambleton (2020a) reflects the value of New Civic Leadership in the One City Approach utilised in Bristol to foster collaborative partnerships across society aligned to a single vision for the city's development through innovation, rigorous discourse, and shared power. Bristol was recognised in 2019 as one of the six most innovative cities in the world because of the One City Approach, which has sought to exercise place-based leadership and find practical solutions to urban challenges (Hambleton 2020a). Place-based leadership aims to enhance the value of place, which was attained through the One City Approach and New Civic Leadership in Bristol (Hambleton 2019).

3.4.3 Competence and place leadership

The central argument of place-based leadership is on the competencies and capabilities inherent in the abilities of place leaders to exercise their capacity to leverage resources, understand the dynamics of the environment, and bring together diverse viewpoints and actors to collaborate toward a focused vision while also having the capacity to understand the need to share power and exercise trust often during challenging circumstances. Stemming from the need to work in context, place leaders are challenged to have an in-depth understanding of the local environment, which enables them with the competence to identify those role players and actors that would be most advantageous to the course that is being pursued.

Sotarauta (2020) argues that place-based leadership calls for actors with policy capabilities and competencies that bring together all necessary stakeholders and resources to enable decision-making for the city's development. Through the understanding of how and when to mobilise the necessary resources required, place leaders allow for the immediate capacity of the institution to be expanded and greater equipped to meet and overcome challenges and build resilience (Sotarauta 2005, 2021; Sotarauta et al. 2022). The ability to garner collaboration for inclusive decision-making speaks to the place leader's competency of influence across sectors and spheres. Place leadership calls on the actor who is competent to foster collaboration toward sustainable choices, which focus on creating public good and value while having the knowledge and abilities to build local spaces for resilient futures.

3.4.4 Power, trust and multi-scalar governance

Globally, governments are calling for integrated responses to urban challenges and development – joined-up government responses are proposed, which call on multi-party action and collaborative effort toward development (Huxham & Vangen 2000; Brookes & Grint 2010; Horlings et al. 2017). Sotarauta (2016b) argues that the interplay between governance, power, and place leadership is an important framework for analysing leadership of places. He goes on to argue that place leadership is central to a governance system and represents the shift in the discourse from government to governance (Rodríguez-Pose 2013; Sotarauta 2016a).

Place-based leadership calls for governance arrangements that go beyond the boundaries of traditional governance authorities, work across different government spheres, and include a multitude of actors – private, public, and civil (Barca et al. 2012). Horlings et al. (2018) argue that the right mix of formal and informal institutions is required for place leadership to thrive. Sotarauta (2016b) comments that leadership is an agent to ensuring that governance structures can operate in new meaningful ways. The OECD (2015a) argue that place leadership (they refer to it as regional economic development) calls for a distributed system of leadership involving actors across sectors, a vision for development, collaboration between different spheres or tiers of government, and collaboration or partnerships with neighbouring economic zones and governments.

Place leadership is increasingly recognised as the means to co-creating public value by many actors working collaboratively in purpose (Crosby & Torfing 2016; Jackson 2019; Rees et al. 2022). Todnem (2021) focuses her study on leadership on what she refers to as the core purpose of leadership forgotten over time, which is that "leadership is nothing but collective purpose" (Burns 1978:3).

Stimson et al. (2009) argue that effective leadership can bring about change in a space through leadership setting their vision for a city-region and plans to enable the change required for the vision's development and achievement. This argument of vision setting is supported by other writers and practitioners (OECD 2015a; Sotarauta & Beer 2017; Beer et al. 2019). "Our view is that strong leadership means a region will be proactive in initiating regional economic development strategy to monitor regional performance, set a vision for the future development of the region, and implement plans and processes which facilitate institutional change…" (Stimson et al. 2005:25). Stimson et al. (2005:25) refer to

this as the "virtuous cycle of sustainable development" (Figure 3-4). "A key governance concern imperative for the 21st century is sustainability" (Neuman & Hull 2009:784).

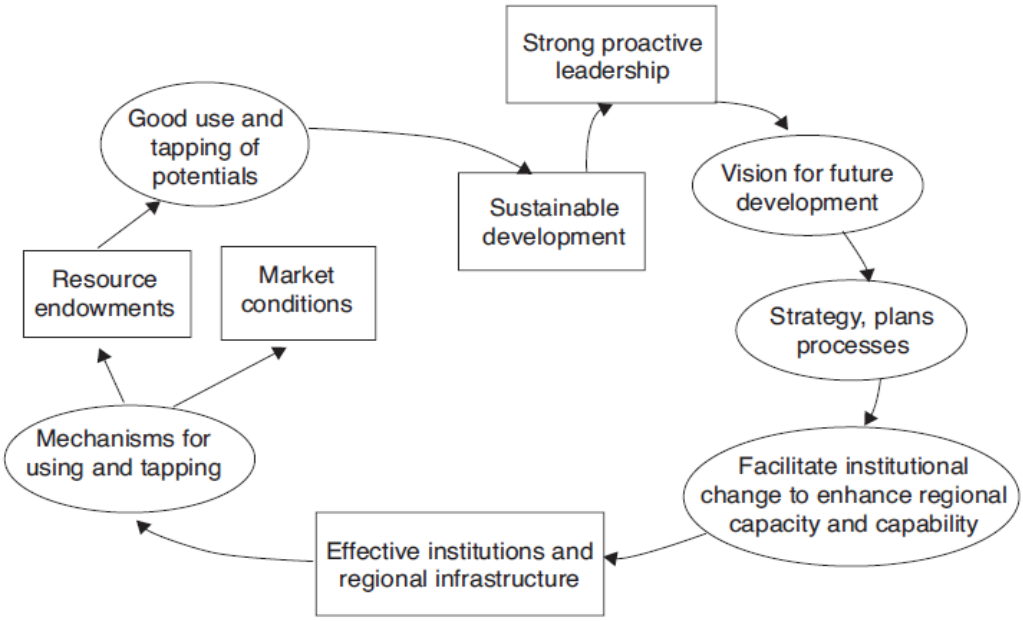


Figure 3-4. The virtuous cycle of sustainable regional development (Stimson et al. 2005:25)

Beer and Clower (2014) ask what effective or ineffective leadership is and who determines what can be considered as such. This question seems to highlight that leadership may be viewed as a soft, intangible concept instead of something that can be seen or felt. Beer and Clower (2014:6) go on to say that perhaps it remains qualitative because leadership is examined through institutional or structural processes, and thus, the concept of agency is removed from the examination of how places develop. Stimson et al. (2009) comment that governance arrangements can define leadership impact. They suggest that effective leadership encompasses trust, collaboration, power sharing, flexibility, entrepreneurialism (as their study was based on entrepreneurship), and a willingness to be proactive.

"Leadership in government is a great determinant of [the] success of governance" (Ekoja & Olorunfemi 2021:267). The story of city-regions is globally synonymous with issues such as inequality, spatial fragmentation, and environmental degradation, and resolving these problems will require transformational, ethical, and inspirational leadership that turns followers into fellow leaders, where power is shared, and trust is the foundation of the relationship between stakeholders in governance. The literature indicates that city-regions today, in a fast-changing, dynamic context, require transparency, ethically collaborative

decision-making, self-awareness, and a deep understanding of how to enable social equity and sustainability alongside economic development and competitiveness.

Place-based leadership for city-regions is the possible answer for enabling collaborative governance mechanisms, bringing together actors and agencies from different sectors of society to work together toward finding solutions for city-region challenges.

3.4.5 Place leadership and crisis

The effects of a pandemic are the current context of city-regions worldwide and have called for leaders to engage in deep self-reflection and self-awareness and choose how to proceed on the road to embedding governance in a new regionalism of equity, sustainability, and democracy. Broadhurst and Gray (2022:84) assert, “When countries are impacted by a crisis, comparisons at the national level are often drawn. While useful, this approach fails to explore how local measures are enacted alongside centralised responses.”

Sotarauta et al. (2017) suggest that place leadership could contribute to an understanding or a space to explore the relationship between agency and structure – or the link between leadership and governance. Sotarauta et al. (2022) argue that governance, while necessary, is not enough in times of crisis. They argue that in times of crisis, formal leadership must tap into the capabilities and power of other actors and ensure that a common vision is created while mobilising resources and equipping themselves with the required knowledge to overcome the crisis, for “while it seems that place leaders mobilise people or organisations, it is their power, capabilities, or financial resources they are after” (Sotarauta et al. 2022:16). They reiterate the value of power in the place leadership process and the value of power holders and power-less holders working together in times of crises.

Wu et al. (2023), in their study of crisis in China following the COVID-19 pandemic, reiterate the need for cities to build current and future resilience. The study adopts an agency perspective and reflects how the local government’s actions and decisions contributed to the region's ability to withstand the economic challenges posed by the pandemic. The place leadership approach adopted in Kunshan, China, focused on targeted policies and proactive decision-making, which proved instrumental in supporting local businesses and mitigating the pandemic's adverse economic effects. Key factors contributing to Kunshan's successful resilience efforts include effective communication between the government and businesses, a flexible and adaptive governance structure, and a focus on the region's unique economic strengths. The study reiterates the importance of a

collaborative approach between the public and private sectors in navigating the challenges posed by the pandemic (Wu et al. 2023).

Broadhurst and Gray (2022) affirm that while COVID-19 may have been a global pandemic, the crisis impact is felt locally, and therefore, local government and its agencies play a critical role in ensuring that local spaces are resilient and able to recover post-crisis. They reflect on the intergovernmental response in England to the COVID-19 pandemic, utilising resilience and multi-level governance theories. They argue for the support of a new form of civic leadership premised on decentralised decision-making, institutions working in partnership, actors working collaboratively, and joined government approaches that allow for multi-level governments working together to build the resilience of local spaces.

Tuffs et al. (2020:56) perhaps summarise the importance of place leadership for crisis by acknowledging the role of the citizen, the importance of civic leadership, and the need for place leadership to build resilience and sustainability of local spaces "because the regional and local levels are closest to citizens, this is a call for governance and leadership that involve all societal and economic stakeholders, and regions and cities in particular".

The place leadership literature on crisis is limited and has been dominated by a few scholars (Table 3-2).

Table 3-2. Place leadership literature contributions

Scholar	Contribution
Robin Hambleton (Hambleton 2020a, 2021a, 2021b, 2021c)	Proposes that the five realms of leadership: political, public managerial/professional, community, business, and trade-union leadership, should act together on agreed to civic goals. Collaborative local governance is effective in addressing local challenges when local leaders are given legal and fiscal power. He says further that the world suffered the consequences of *place-less* power decision-makers and post-COVID-19 recovery means that *place-based* power calls for the reform of governance arrangements for place
Andrew Beer, Fiona McKenzie, Jiří Blažek, Markku Sotarauta and Sarah Ayres (Beer et al. 2020)	The authors propose *place-based* and *place-neutral* policies in a post-COVID-19 world. Place-based policies are developed aligned to the needs and circumstances of place while place-neutral policies are people-focused. Policy development for place requires co-ordination and commitment of all key stakeholders.
Kate Broadhurst and Nicholas Gray (Broadhurst & Gray 2022)	Research to date provides country analysis and comparisons of COVID-19 responses but fails to consider the role of local. The authors utilise multi-level and resilience theories to examine the inter-governmental response to COVID-19 in England.
Richard Tuffs, Jan Larosse and Dimitri Corpakis (Tuffs et al. 2020)	The authors argue that the post-COVID-19 world calls for governance and leadership that includes all stakeholders, including the power of civil society to build a more resilient sustainable future in cities.

Hambleton (2021b) highlights three core themes for the post-COVID-19 recovery of cities:

- place,
- devolution of power, and
- place-based leadership.

a) Place

Hambleton (2021b) maintains that human beings find their identity through place; therefore, local responses are required in crises. Place-based leadership allows for effective responses to crises (Hambleton 2020). Beer et al. (2020) propose that place-based policies can only succeed when local leadership is given decision-making power. (Tuffs et al. 2020b), for example, call for the European Union to develop place-based policy to overcome the global crisis of climate change.

b) Devolution of power

Tuffs et al. (2020b) make a case for multi-level governance systems that are focused on regional systems of innovation policies with collaborative networked approaches at local level can provide for successful economic development pathways post-COVID-19. The large number of deaths in the UK was attributed to central power and national government's response to the COVID-19 pandemic. Church leaders appealed to government for a more locally based approach, claiming that "local public health teams are best qualified to deal with local outbreaks, and said that it is essential to trust the local, and make sure that it is resourced, trained, informed and empowered" (Hambleton 2020b: para. 5).

c) Place-based leadership

Hambleton (2021b) remarks that multi-sectoral leadership was required for an effective response to COVID-19. Broadhurst and Gray (2022) concur, stating that while a centralised approach may have worked at the beginning of the COVID-19 crisis, over time, place-based approaches and multi-level governance systems-built resilience prove more successful. Hambleton (2021b) claims that Bristol's One City Approach of civic leadership crafted before COVID-19 was effective in lobbying civic leadership to enable post-COVID-19 recovery of place. Broadhurst and Gray (2022:100) concur, arguing that their "findings support a shift towards a New Civic Leadership that is facilitative, participative

and co-created; where decision-making and the resources to support those decisions are trusted to the local level and not centrally controlled".

Hambleton and Rees (2020) argue in their international analysis of strategies to recover from COVID-19 that countries with strong, powerful local government systems were more successful in the fight against the pandemic, as well as building resilience due to their ability to leverage local civic capacity and competence. Wu et al. (2023) argue that COVID-19 showed that regions with stronger resilience were more prepared to cope with the shocks that the crisis presented. Hambleton (2020b) attributes the success of Germany over the UK (in 2020, the death rate per million people in the UK was 868, compared to 205 in Germany) due to its decentralised government system, better preparation, a better resourced and functioning health care system, quick response systems, such as track and trace, and citizens high levels of trust in all levels of government. Wu et al. (2023a) investigated the success of Kunshan in China in overcoming the economic crisis following COVID-19 and argued that both formal and network leadership and proactive local state interventions were responsible for building resilience in place and allowing Kunshan to bounce back from COVID-19 shocks.

COVID-19 called for a place-based approach to crisis. Effective leadership was found to be visionary, working in collaboration with all stakeholders, taking people along with them on the journey, putting the citizen at the centre of decision-making, balancing long and short-term goals, building trust, sharing power, recognising that leadership across all sectors of society is imperative to enable a collaborative and co-ordinated approach to the crisis, building the resilience of place for sustainability, and preparing for success in the next crisis. These requirements of leadership are all in agreement with the concept of place leadership proposed by leadership scholars (Sotarauta 2005, 2014, 2016a, 2021; Collinge & Gibney 2010a; Hambleton 2011; Ayres et al. 2017; Sotarauta & Beer 2017; Sotarauta et al. 2017; Beer et al. 2019).

3.5 Conclusion

It is clear from the place leadership literature review and a point made clearly and succinctly by Sotarauta (2014) that it is unclear where leadership ends and governance begins.

Place leaders do not necessarily hold office and may sometimes emerge from communities – place leadership highlights the process of leadership and the collaborative effort between

leaders and followers to enable social and regional change or development. Place leadership moves beyond the single-leader argument and puts forth a case for heterogeneity of views in a setting of interdependence and plurality. Place leadership is a diverse group of actors working towards a common goal while respecting and acknowledging the individual ambitions of actors. While place leadership approaches have the potential to offer valuable insights and strategies for managing complex urban and regional issues, their effectiveness is not guaranteed. Instead, what this literature review has shown is that it is important to recognize that place leadership approaches may offer certain advantages, but they also face significant challenges and limitations. The current thesis, particularly through the GCR case study, has yet to fully confirm or refute these potential benefits. Thus, while the place leadership framework presents a promising avenue for exploration, its application should be critically assessed for different spaces.

Furthermore, it is crucial to address the critique that early place leadership literature to date may lack a critical edge. Much of the existing discourse around place leadership has been relatively uncritical, often presenting an overly optimistic view of its potential. This thesis incorporates perspectives from critical leadership studies to provide a more balanced and critical examination of place leadership. By doing so, it hopes to contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of how place leadership operates in practice and the extent to which it can genuinely address the complexities of urban and regional governance.

Place leadership acts with purpose. The pursuit of social good is an integral factor for place-based leadership. Place leadership allows for building state competency to respond to urban challenges now and in the future. It calls for the citizen to be placed at the centre of the city-region agenda to enable governance mechanisms necessary for collaborative interventions toward building the city-region. The success of a city-region is based on effective place leadership with a balance of power and trust embedded in collaboration. It must also be recognised that leadership, as well as governance of a city-region, cannot be static – like the context itself is dynamic, so too must leadership and governance measures for the continued growth and development of the space. Ultimately, city-regions require leadership and governance models that enable their resilience. Leadership and governance for resilience allow city-regions to not only be prepared for current challenges but also improve their ability to adapt, innovate, and prepare for future crises and challenges they may face. It allows for holistic preparedness for complex systemic approaches to city-region challenges.

This chapter began with explaining place and purpose before examining the development of the concept of place leadership and exploring place leadership through various lenses, including temporality, civic leadership, trust, power, multi-scalar governance, and crisis. While the place leadership approach offers a compelling framework for addressing sub-national problems, it is essential to approach its application with a critical lens. The chapter concluded by asserting that temporality is an important lens through which place leadership can be studied, and while the place leadership and crisis literature is emergent, it is a valuable lens to understand place leadership and the need for multi-scalar governance in city-regions.

The next chapter in this thesis focuses on the study's research methodology.

4 Chapter Four – Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The chapters to this point have provided a theoretical understanding of the concepts. This chapter shifts to provide the empirical approach followed to address the research objectives and questions. It outlines how the research approach, design, and methods addressed the research objectives. An introduction to the case study is reflected on as a choice of study. The ethics, study limitations, and data analysis tools are also outlined.

This research adopted a mixed methodology approach for advancing the knowledge of place leadership in city-regions by performing a secondary analysis of raw quantitative data and conducting in-depth qualitative interviews with key informants. As previously indicated, the study aimed to explore how place leadership can serve as a valuable framework for comprehending the city-region's dynamics across various periods, crises, and levels of governance, focusing empirically on testing the relevance of the concept of place leadership for the GCR.

The research design is a logical approach linking the place leadership framework and the empirical analysis. This research aimed to understand place leadership for city-region governance – thus, it attempted to link or bridge the gap between leadership and governance in a city-region context. Given that place leadership is a complex concept, the methods implored for the study of the concept needed to gain meaningful insight into the concepts, as well as the state of the context the concept was being tested against. This meant I had to ensure a deep understanding of the context under study, which also required multiple tools to discover the answers to the questions posed (Dawadi et al. 2021).

A mixed methodology research approach for this study was, therefore, chosen. Mixed-methods research, according to Dawadi et al. (2021:26), "is a research methodology that incorporates multiple methods to address research questions in an appropriate and principled manner". Terrell (2012) argues that mixed-methods research is a result of the research paradigm wars and serves as the intersection between a positivist and an interpretivist paradigm, allowing 'if', 'how', and 'why' questions to be asked and addressed. Pragmatism argues that the most important determinants of the research paradigm or philosophy are the research questions and objectives (Saunders et al. 2019).

Mixed-methods methodology has emerged as a popular research approach in recent times, particularly in the social sciences, where it is often used to address complex research

questions that require a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon being studied (Creswell & Plano Clark 2018). The mixed-methods approach integrates qualitative and quantitative data collection, analysis, and interpretation techniques to better understand the research problem. This approach offers researchers a unique opportunity to explore multiple dimensions of the research problem using deductive and inductive reasoning to develop a richer and more nuanced understanding of the research problem (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie 2004).

This chapter details the research question and objectives and explains the methods employed to address these. The "research onion" (Saunders et al. 2019:108) serves as a high-level outline and summary of the layers of thinking that formed part of this research undertaking (Figure 4-1). The context in which this study was undertaken is presented along with the background of place leadership research to date. The research aim and objectives are presented, followed by the research strategy and details of the research methods and process. Finally, the study's limitations are acknowledged.

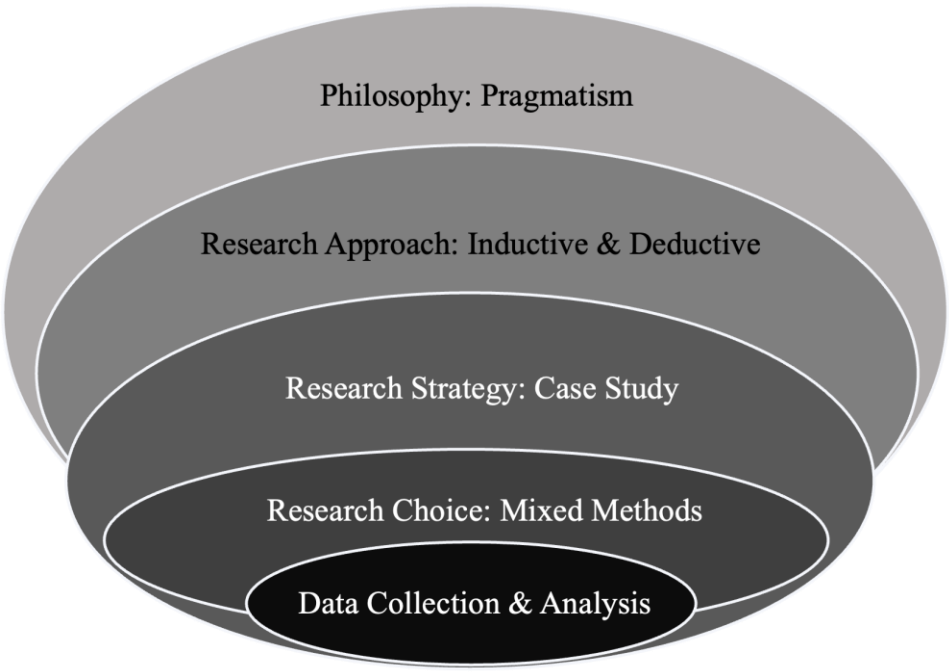


Figure 4-1. The empirical research path (Adapted from Saunders et al. 2019)

4.2 Place Leadership Research

Since the 1990s, there has been a shift in qualitative research of leadership studies (Bryman 2004), with leadership research predominantly originating in North America (House & Aditya 1997). Collinge et al. (2010) argue that research has reflected that it is

difficult to work across boundaries – territorial, administrative or even professional – but there is value in linking contemporary approaches to leadership and combined government policies. Several researchers have attempted this, using varying approaches, including case studies that deploy the mixed-methods approach. Place leadership studies conducted in Northern Baltic cities, the UK, and South Australia have predominantly examined the concept utilising case studies (Sotarauta & Beer 2017). Sotarauta (2016b:46) argues that to research place leadership requires the researcher to "analyse the relationships between governance, power and place leadership", and in-depth case studies lend themselves to this. Sotarauta (2009) investigated power and influence tactics utilised for regional development by studying regional development officers in Finland using in-depth interviews and an online survey. Investigating power and networks, another study utilised empirical data from various cities and countries rather than relying on a single case study (Sotarauta 2016a). In a bid to shape future place leadership studies, Hambleton (2011) used a place leadership model to analyse civic leadership in a single case study in Freiburg, Germany. In the study of mayoral governance in the UK, Hambleton (2020a) conducted ward-based QoL surveys, citizen surveys, and surveys of civic leaders in Bristol. Toward establishing an understanding of place, policy, and leadership, Collinge et al. (2010) reflect on a range of case studies across rural, district, city, and regional contexts. Thus, place leadership studies globally have undertaken quantitative and qualitative approaches, although they have been predominantly based on focused case studies.

Clearly, the case study approach has dominated place leadership research internationally as this allows for a detailed investigation of the relationship between context and the agency of leaders within the broader system of leadership.

4.3 Research Aim and Objectives

This study aimed to contribute to knowledge on city-region governance and leadership, specifically to develop an understanding of place leadership for the governance of city-regions. The main research question was: *How can the emerging concept of 'place leadership' be applied in the complex and dynamic environment of the GCR?* In answering this question, the supporting objectives include:

- To investigate the application of the idea of place leadership by adding a stronger temporal dimension.

- To explore the application of the idea of place leadership by adding a focus on how leadership adapts, manages, and copes with crisis.
- To look at the application of the idea of place leadership by considering multi-scalar or trans-scalar leadership.
- To explore and identify mechanisms for strengthening the application of place leadership.

Objective one sought to understand what forms of leadership contribute to developing a city-region through a temporal lens. It focused on the case study of the GCR in South Africa, empirically exploring the development of political leadership over time in the GCR. It used the GCR to explore the application of place leadership in a highly complex socio-spatial configuration in a low-trust environment. In terms of this objective, the research further examined the ideas of shared power and collaboration as the foundation of creating a climate of trust for the development of place, exploring how patterns of trust and power have changed over time in the GCR.

Objective two focused on the literature on leadership and governance and the practices encountered during COVID-19. It explored how leadership and governance emerge and evolve during times of crisis, specifically examining how leadership functioned within the GCR during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Objective three required a reflection on both the literature and the empirical findings of this research on multi-scalar governance, with the understanding that governing a complex city-region can never happen on a single scale or from a single angle but requires an intricate network of relations and processes across scales. As an illustrative example of a multi-scalar governance, the research engaged with the delivery of water.

Finally, objective four brings to the fore the learnings from this research to contribute towards the future study of place leadership by examining emerging concepts in this study, which would add to the mechanisms that could strengthen the application of place leadership practice going forward.

The combined purpose of the research objectives was to understand the key elements of leadership required for governance in a city-region over time and during times of apparent normality and crisis. These research objectives consider the theoretical understanding of place leadership, a reflection of the literature on responses of leadership to crises and

multi-scalar governance, as well as the opinions of the interviewees on leadership that have either allowed or not supported the required leadership and governance mechanisms in the city-region.

Through the focus on the objectives outlined above, this research provides insight into the failures and successes of the GCR government to attain a collaborative governance system to enable a common city-region vision and agenda and develop the mechanism for effective day-to-day service delivery. These insights hope to inform future research and knowledge creation for the advancement of the development goals of city-regions.

4.4 Research Approach

This research utilised a mixed methodology approach to address the research question and objectives. A mixed methodology approach combines quantitative and qualitative methods. It combines close-ended or what is seen as scientifically objective sources from quantitative data and open-ended qualitative data (Creswell 2014). Tashakkori and Creswell (2007:4) define the mixed methodology approach as "research in which the investigator collects and analyses data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches in a single study or program of inquiry".

This section will extrapolate on this study's research approach, as well as the reasons why this design was deemed most suitable for responding to the research question.

4.4.1 Pragmatism as an underpinning philosophy

Pragmatism focuses on not only advancing theoretical knowledge but also advocating for the pursuit of advancing practical knowledge in the real world (Brierley 2017). This requires an iterative process and calls on the researcher to gather data, analyse, reflect, assess, develop, compare, and work toward an "emerging theoretical relationship between variables" (Parry 1998:89).

Pragmatism is viewed as a radical, distinctive, and flexible form of social ontology and epistemology (Pratt 2016). Pratt (2016:519) argues that "transactions lie at the heart of a pragmatist social ontology and constitute individuals and the environments in which action takes place, which include other individuals". These transactions, he argues, occur within social networks on the backdrop of history. Grillitsch et al. (2022:4) indicate, "This ontology of agency and opportunity spaces has general relevance for studies of regional development, regardless of the context in which the research is conducted." According to

(Normann et al. 2017:282), city-regions "need actors that are capable of using their power to mobilise resources and networks…for the creation of a collective meaning which potentially leads to a new development agenda". A pragmatist approach provides the potential for generalisability to city-regions and an integrative view of the leadership required to enable the governance mechanisms necessary for a city-region-wide approach.

Pragmatism is the justified philosophy for undertaking a mixed-methods study (Hafsa 2019) because, like mixed-methods, pragmatism undertakes the necessary means or methods to discover the truth or answers to the question. Probably the most important and true for this study is that "Pragmatists believe research always takes place in social, historical, political, and other backdrops. Therefore, mixed-method studies may comprise of a postmodern essence echoing social justice and political objectives" (Hafsa 2019:47).

4.4.2 Methodological approach: Mixed-methods

Most research prior to the 1980s on leadership used quantitative methods. However, this led to a static understanding of leadership critiqued by several writers (Bryman et al. 1988; Parry 1998; Kempster & Parry 2011). This led to refocusing on the qualitative method as an approach. According to Bryman (2004:757), "Qualitative research on leadership is much more likely to problematise the concept of leadership." As Bryman (2004:762) observes, qualitative leadership studies are valuable because they appreciate the "relevance of context for leader behaviour". Kempster and Parry (2011:106) explain, "Leadership research has begun to embrace the necessity of incorporating context and process into an understanding of the manifestation of the leadership phenomenon."

However, the qualitative method's limitation is its lack of breadth. If, for example, we need to know what followers feel about their leaders, qualitative methods like in-depth interviews provide only a very small slice of information. For this reason, I adopted a mixed-methods approach.

Mathison (1988) argued that, for research to be credible, it must utilise multiple data methods of analysis points to enable critical exploration of the topic under research, while Johnson and Onwuegbuzi (2004) indicate that mixed-methods research or mixing research techniques, approaches or methods of design in a single study is a natural complement to using either traditional qualitative or quantitative research methods. Johnson and Onwuegbuzi (2004) further assert that mixed-methods research can be viewed as a third research movement that moves past the traditional and offers a practical alternative.

This practical alternative is referred to as methodological triangulation, which utilises multiple methods to examine the same social phenomena (Denzin 1978; Patton 1980; Smith & Kleine 1986; Mathison 1988) to enable cross-tabulations, verification of findings, and understanding of the same social phenomena through different methods – all with the aim of understanding the phenomena and gaining convergence through the utilisation of different perspectives (Yeasmin & Rahman 2012).

Epistemologically, a mixed-methods approach juxtaposes positivism and constructivism, as well as induction and deduction (Hafsa 2019). However, most researchers take a pragmatic view in arguing that there are different ways to approach research questions that can be constructively used together, even if for the purpose of triangulation (for example, Greene et al. 1989).

In 2007, Pike et al. remarked that the discourse on methodology in regional studies had not been fully explored, and more work on methodology was required because of the demands of leadership against the complex nature of city-regions and the socio-spatial phenomena that arise within them. Mixed methodology as an approach, as developed by Bhaskar in the 1970s, allows us to examine the complexities of socio-spatial phenomena in cities as it is based on the assumption that reality is complex and requires different approaches for interrogation (Bhaskar 1979).

In this thesis, the various dimensions proposed by place leadership were tested against the reality of the GCR context – trust, power, single vision/agenda, inclusivity, collaboration, and multi-scalar governance. It is this complexity that required me to use different methods.

4.5 A Case Study-Based Approach and the Choice of the Gauteng City-Region

The case study lends itself to a qualitative slant in a mixed-methods approach and is favoured "out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena" in which researchers have no control (Yin 2018:4). In particular, the case study allows for a deep understanding of the context within which leadership happens, and which is, arguably, the most relevant element for researching leadership of place (Sotarauta 2014, 2016b; Sotarauta & Beer 2017; Sotarauta et al. 2017; Beer et al. 2021).

As Yin (2018) explains, the case study method provides a rich contextual understanding of a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context where the researcher can ask *Why* and *How* questions. According to Patton (1980) and Gerring (2004), the case study method can present rich research information for when one wants to gain an understanding of a particular situation or occurrence and is, therefore, well-suited for in-depth exploration and analysis of complex social phenomena. Rast (2012) argues that too little research considers case studies through a temporal perspective that looks at the influence of history on the present and the future. Most case studies focus on the present only, and as a result of "focus on the immediate—we look for causes and outcomes that are both temporally contiguous and rapidly unfolding. In the process, we miss a lot" (Pierson 2004:13). This research method has nevertheless been criticised for its lack of generalisability, scientific rigour and inability to allow for theory-building (Welch et al. 2011). Flyvbjerg (2006), however, contends that these disadvantages are no more than myths and that the case study method is a necessary research method in the social sciences that provides good research outcomes and holds up well compared to other research methods. The case study method presents the advantages of gaining a more holistic view of a phenomenon (Gummesson 1991; Hartley 2004), and it further allows the researcher to examine events as they develop and when similar cases are used, they allow findings to be generalised (Noor 2008). Hesse-Biber (2014) argues that a mixed-methods approach within a case study allows for generalisability for future studies by combining numbers with narrative to answer a common research question. While validity assures the ability to generalise research findings, the current research is not focused on generalisability but rather substantive reasoning for the setting or context in which the research is set, the GCR. Kempster and Parry (2011:109) argue, "All leadership theories are fallible and could be disproved in the sense that all contexts are in some way unique…the concomitant proposition would be that generalizability is not a valid criterion to test for the rigour of leadership research."

This research uses the GCR (Figure 4-2) as place for the case study. Within this place-based case, other case studies arise for examination – including the COVID-19 pandemic as an instance of crisis and water governance as an instance of inter-scalar processes. Thus, while this thesis is framed by a single territorially-based case study, it utilises other case studies to explore the complexity of leadership within the territory.

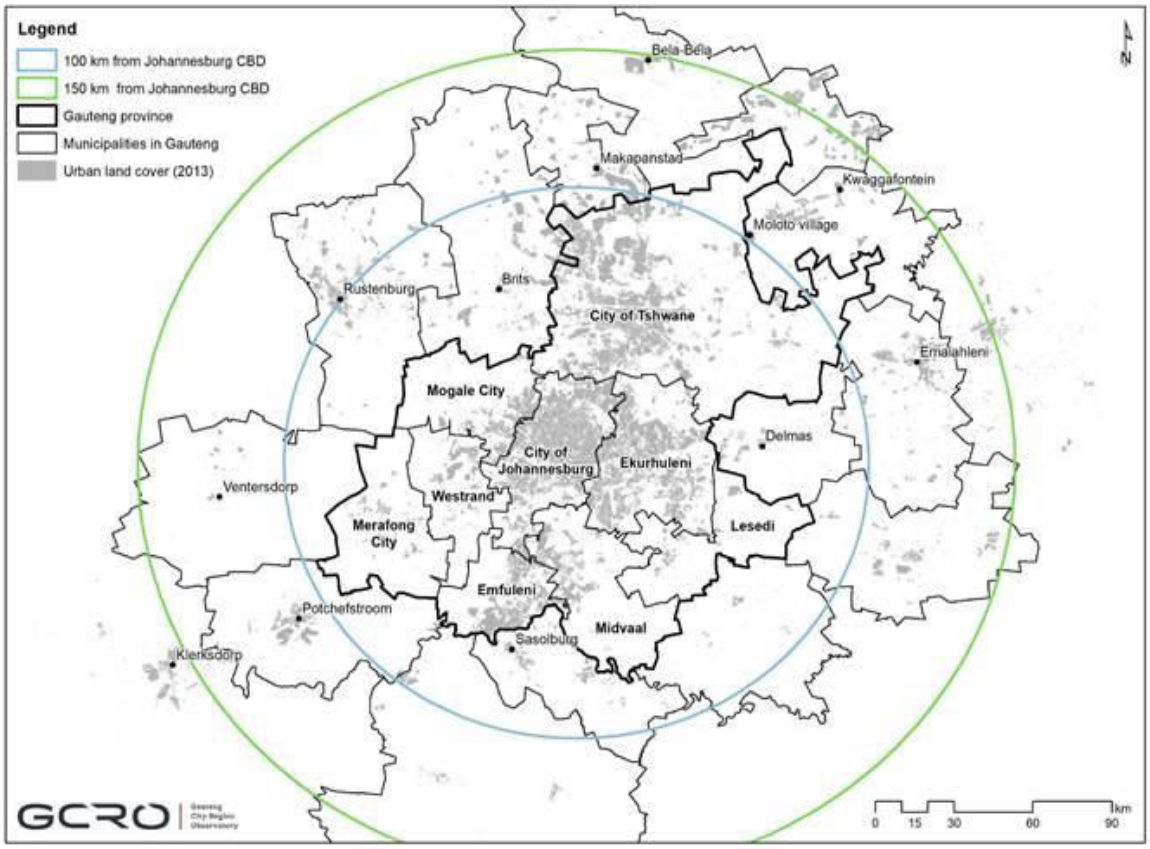


Figure 4-2. The GCR (Seedat 2021:18)

The GCR is a pertinent case for the research because it illustrates well the dimensions of complexity in the underexplored global South contexts of city-region development. The GCR is a context of huge socio-spatial complexity, beginning with its origins in a spatially diffused mining region and continuing with the fragmenting effects of Apartheid into the present era. It is also a context of extreme inequality and political contest and fragmentation, and it may be represented as a low-trust environment.

A detailed analysis of the GCR context is presented in the next chapter, which outlines the urban, economic, and socio-political development of this space over time. It provides the contextual understanding for framing the analysis of place leadership for a dynamic, complex city-region in dealing with civic leadership and place leadership propositions. Very briefly, though, the GCR is South Africa's economic heartland, producing more than one-third of the national GDP and housing around one-quarter of the population with around 15 million people (StatsSA 2023a). It is also South Africa's political heartland, where the political contests under Apartheid were the most intense and where the post-Apartheid contexts are arguably the most complicated (as indicated, for example, in the

current instability in the three metropolitan cities and the district and local municipalities within the GCR).

4.6 Applying Mixed-Method in Data Collection in Studying the Gauteng City-Region

In heeding the call for a multi-faceted interrogation of the phenomenon of leadership (Mathison 1988; Gordon & Yukl 2004; Avolio et al. 2009), this study used qualitative (semi-structured interviews) and quantitative (survey) methods (Table 4-1) to explore the phenomena of leadership and governance in a specific context by using the GCR as a case study for analysis. According to Creswell (2014), a convergent parallel mixed-methods study, such as the current one, allows for the utilisation of quantitative and qualitative data to derive a holistic enquiry into the research question. The quantitative and qualitative data were gathered in parallel and synchronised in data interrogation, as shown in Table 4-1.

Table 4-1. Research objectives and tools

Mixed-Methods Research			
Research Objective	**Target Sample**	**Research Instrument**	**Data Analysis Tool**
Objective One: To investigate the application of the idea of place leadership by adding a stronger temporal dimension (place leadership through a temporal lens)	n = 19 n = 13 616	Semi-structured interviews Secondary raw data analysis of the survey	Thematic analysis Quantitative data analysis
Objective Two: To explore the application of the idea of place leadership by adding a focus on how leadership adapts, manages, and copes with crisis (place leadership and crisis)	n = 20 n = 13 616	Semi-structured interviews Secondary raw data analysis of the survey	Thematic analysis Quantitative data analysis
Objective Three: To look at the application of the idea of place leadership by considering multi-scalar or trans-scalar leadership (place leadership and trans-scalar governance)	n = 27 n = 13 616	Semi-structured interviews Secondary raw data analysis of the survey	Thematic analysis Quantitative data analysis
Objective Four: To explore and identify mechanisms for strengthening the application of place leadership (all themes)	n = 27 n = 13 616	Semi-structured interviews Secondary raw data analysis of the survey	Thematic analysis Quantitative data analysis

The quantitative element of this study used a longitudinal survey run by the GCRO. The GCRO is a partnership between the provincial government, the University of Johannesburg and the University of the Witwatersrand. The survey, one of the largest and the longest-running social surveys in South Africa (Seedat & Götz 2021), is rolled out every two years and serves as a diagnostic tool that "measures quality of life and wellbeing, broadly defined, of residents in every ward of Gauteng province. In a face-to-face interview, randomly selected respondents are asked questions about their living and socio-economic circumstances, their opinions about service delivery and government, and their experiences, perceptions and opinions on a broad range of personal, social and political issues" (de Kadt et al. 2021: para. 1).

As an employee of the Gauteng Provincial Government, I worked closely with the GCRO over the time of my employment. My positionality in this research is further explained

below under 4.9. In conceptualising this research, I worked with the GCRO from 2019 to develop the QoL VI 2020/2021 survey questions. I approached the Head of the GCRO at the time, Dr Robin Moore, to include questions and statements for my study but also add value to the QoL VI 2020/2021 study. Dr Robin Moore agreed that the questions would add value to the survey as a whole and would provide insights for provincial and local government. These questions, including those on trust, intergovernmental co-operation, knowledge of the GCR and leadership, were added to the GCRO QoL Survey VI 2020/2021. The QoL VI 2020/2021 was made up of 214 questions investigating various themes, including demographics, violence, access to services, governance, social mobility, health, social cohesion and food security, as well as a special theme on COVID-19, and I added two questions and four statements on leadership. The questions or statements had set responses assigned to them from which the respondent could choose the most applicable option. I included:

1. Theme – Leadership and Trust

How much do you trust the current leaders of our government?

2. Theme – Leadership and Power

Gauteng's political leaders from different parts of government work well with each other.

3. Theme – Leadership and Stakeholder Inclusion (Vision)

Gauteng's political leaders include most stakeholders in decision-making for the province.

4. Theme – Place and the GCR

I feel I belong in this area where I live.

I am familiar with the term "Gauteng City-Region".

In your own words, what does Gauteng City-Region mean to you?

I worked with the GCRO from the survey's development to the observation room pilot interviews. The pilot interviews ensured that the questions were well understood by recipients and the on-the-ground researchers administering the survey. Where needed, interview questions were adjusted or reworded. The survey was rolled out across 529 wards in Gauteng by fieldworkers with at least 20 interviews per ward (Figure 4-3). Fieldworkers conducted 13 616 interviews with a randomly sampled population of adults

across Gauteng (Seedat & Götz 2021). Respondents were surveyed in their homes. The sample and data are deemed representative at ward, municipal, and provincial levels (Seedat & Götz 2021). I conducted a secondary analysis of the QoL VI 2020/2021 data. The selected questions were cross-tabulated with demographic data with the assistance of the GCRO to produce the data presented in chapters six to eight. Thematic analysis was performed on the selected questions detailed above. Once the data was cross-tabulated using SPSS, a narrative was composed to explain the significance of the findings. Research done previously by other scholars was also utilised to understand and express the findings.

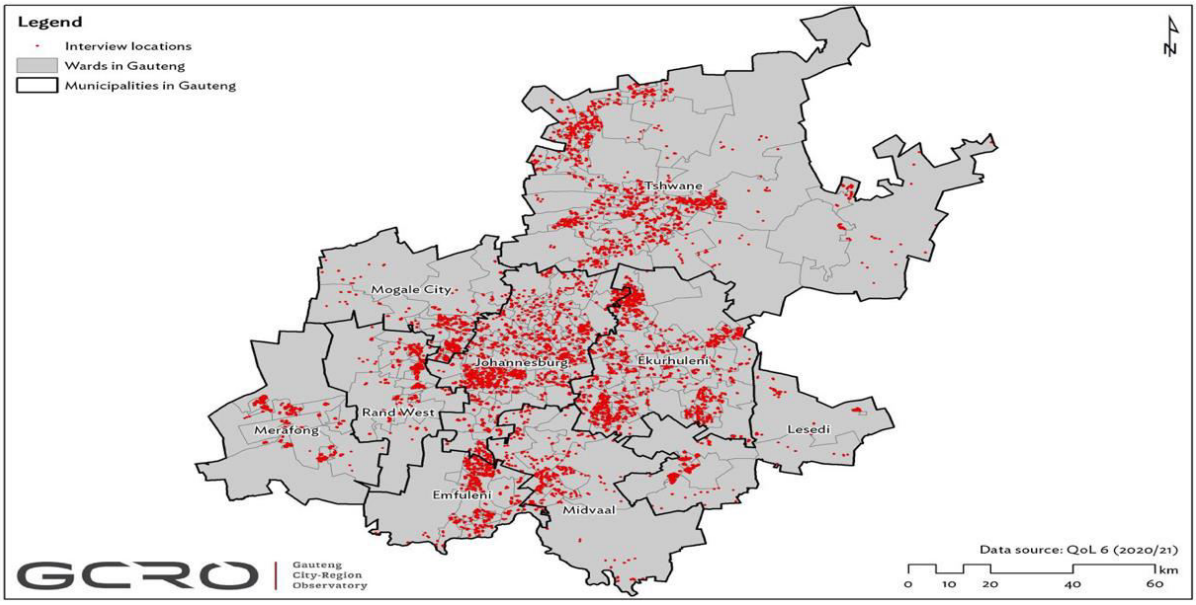


Figure 4-3. QoLVI interview locations (Dallimore et al. 2021:8)

While the QoL VI 2020/2021 was administered to a significant sample of residents of the city-region, only a few questions and statements on leadership could be added to the QoL VI 2020/2021 survey, given its wide scope. The survey results provide the research with width rather than depth. To provide depth, the qualitative element for this study comprised of semi-structured interviews with participants selected based on their knowledge of city-regions, governance, leadership and or water security in the GCR. The qualitative interviews were conducted with senior administrators and other informants who work within the city-region's planning, water, and governance areas and who would be considered as either leaders in their sector or astute observers of leaders and leadership.

Interviews were conducted between 2020 and 2021. Parry (1998) suggests using unstructured or semi-structured interviews to research leadership as it is a social process being researched and, therefore, requires probing to fully comprehend the meaning of a

response. Participants were purposively selected for a representative sample across government, academia, and business. Parry (1998) argues that utilising semi-structured or unstructured interviews allows for flexibility in exploring the phenomenon in a different setting. External validity is assured by ensuring the sample's internal variety. The study is deemed reliable if it can be replicated in a different setting using similar questions, sampling frames, and critical incidents (Parry 1998). According to Hafsa (2019:45), mixed "methodology is the combination of two dominant research genres, it has the potential to offset the shortcomings of one single method and therefore offers more validity and reliability to the findings of a research". The study's content validity (Zohrabi 2013) was assured by administering two pilot interviews prior to data collection. This allowed for the analysis, appraisal, and refinement of the interview questions prior to commencing the interviews. External reliability for this study has been demonstrated by exemplifying the researcher's role in the study, the social conditions under which the study was conducted, identifying the informants for the study, delineating the main terms and constructs under study, and explaining the data collection and analysis methods (Zohrabi 2013). Zohrabi (2013) explains that to ensure a study's internal reliability, a researcher may utilise tools such as recording interactions during the data collection, as well as validate the findings and peer review to support the research findings.

For this study, all interviews were recorded on the Microsoft Teams platform. Further validation was established by citing similar studies to support or contrast the study's findings. As the interviews took place over six months during the COVID-19 pandemic, they had to be held online, which was also part of the study's ethics agreement. The ethics approval allowed interviews to be conducted between 2020 and 2023. Interviews were detailed and long, meaning interviewees had to set aside approximately 2.5 hours to complete the interview. This posed a challenge as people were fatigued from ongoing virtual meetings, and it was a demanding time for most people who were identified as key informants as they are leaders within their respective areas of urban planning, governance, government, and academia. To ensure the participant's confidentiality, each participant was given an identifying code (Annexure C), and the interview was transcribed firstly by the transcription service on Microsoft Teams and then verified, corrected and captured in a full comprehensive transcription format verbatim following the interview. Transcripts were then thematically reviewed and documented in a coding spreadsheet, and commonalities across interviews were assessed and collated.

This combination of qualitative research focused on the leaders and quantitative research for exploring the views of the populace allowed for the juxtaposition of world views from the two core constituents of the place leadership argument – "leadership" and citizenry – and the multitude of views that could be compared and contrasted to determine the reality of the experiences within the case study of the GCR.

4.6.1 Data analysis and reporting

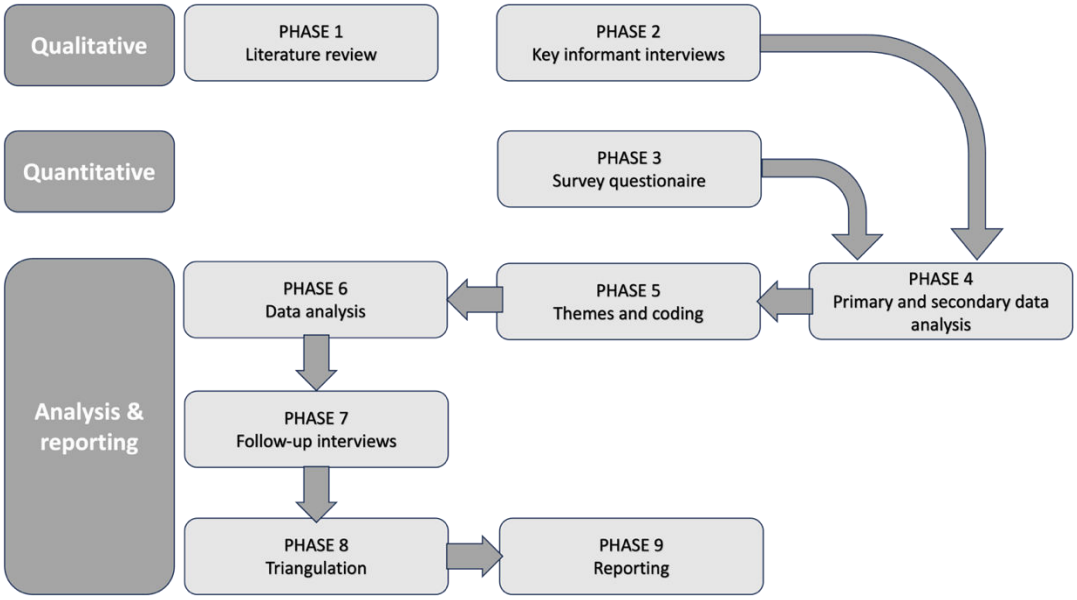


Figure 4-4. The research process

According to Onwuegbuzie and Combs (2011:2), mixed-methods data analysis is the most complex step of the research process as it requires analysing and integrating the data from both the quantitative and qualitative phases of the research that "yields strong meta-inferences…or a coherent whole or two distinct sets of coherent wholes". Onwuegbuzie and Combs (2011) refers to the data analysis conducted for mixed-methods research as mixed analysis, which involves analysing the quantitative and qualitative data such that it is based on the chosen research paradigm and meets one or more of the purposes of mixed-methods research, such as triangulation, complementarity, development, and etcetera.

The mixed analysis for this study consisted of examining and categorising the outcomes of the semi-structured interviews and the questionnaire results (Figure 4-4). Each transcript, which was captured verbatim, was read in detail a few times in batches. Text segments with common themes were highlighted and categorised according to identified themes. The categorisation was based on emergent themes or thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke 2013) in leadership, governance and water. The thematic analysis of the responses was

conducted manually by analysing all responses to the questions posed, and the commonality of views was grouped thematically – city-regions (interconnectedness, functionality and vision), governance (trust, transparency and accountability), leadership (vision, trust, distributive, collaboration and power). The qualitative data analysis relied on my ability to analyse the data and assess for pattern recognition (Boyatzis 1998). This thematic analysis allows for assigning meaning to shared experiences and identifying the answers to the research question (Braun & Clarke 2012).

Cross-tabulations of demographic data and the selected questions included in the survey were performed on the raw survey data, which the GCRO gave me access to. This enabled me to assess the relationships between variables and compare these results to what has been found by other researchers in the field. Overlapping this data with the themes from the qualitative element of this study allowed for data triangulation. "Triangulation provides opportunities for convergence and corroboration of results that are derived from different research methods" (Almalki 2016:291). Triangulation increases the study's validity by cross-checking multiple viewpoints for the accuracy of the findings, and it further increases the depth and rigour of understanding. Triangulation further allowed this research to benefit from the administered qualitative and quantitative tools (Yeasmin & Rahman 2012).

4.7 Conceptual Framework

The theoretical framework for this thesis considered the literature that has been examined on place leadership to date. While there was little congruence with the literature, as the context under study is complex and dynamic compared to the cities that have been studied, the literature helped to frame the study's conceptual framework. Conceptually, though, this research is not complicated as it draws on the single concept of 'place leadership' even though this concept has multiple interpretations and is evolving. The study explored the application of this concept within the context of large, dynamic, and complex city-regions in the global South using the illustrative example of the GCR. Broadly stated, the main dimensions of place leadership as a concept are shared power, trust, distributed leadership, and collaboration across boundaries.

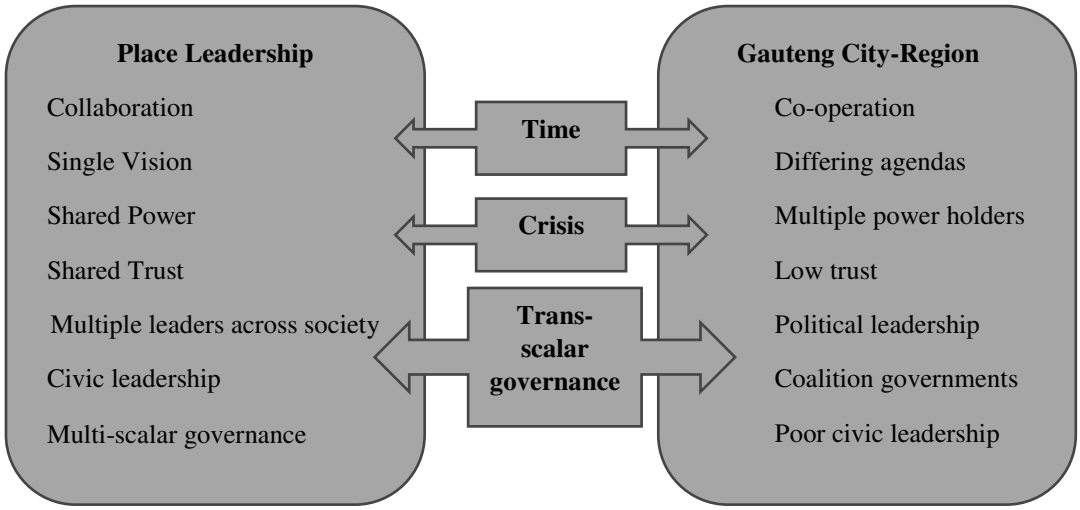


Figure 4-5. The study's conceptual framework

The illustration depicted in Figure 4-5 provides a simplified depiction of the research's aim –exploring the components of place leadership within the context of the GCR. It is premised on the idea that testing the concept of place leadership within an especially difficult context will assist in testing the relevance of this concept for city-regions more broadly. However, since leadership, and even place leadership more specifically, are wide-ranging areas of study, I selected three dimensions to relate place leadership to the GCR: temporality, crisis, and multi-scalar governance.

4.8 Delimitations of the Research

The literature review and empirical research process aimed to understand the context of leadership and governance in the GCR. While I acknowledge that the GCR extends beyond the bounds of the provincial boundaries, the practicalities of research have limited me to the province's administered region. The GCR comprises three metropolitan municipalities and two district municipalities. However, as emphasised in Chapter Eight on trans-scalar governance, this space is impacted by the decisions of leaders in South Africa's national, provincial, and local governments, and in business, civil society, and across borders. While recognising that leadership is embedded within complex, inter-scalar webs, I delineated my research to ensure feasibility and focused my qualitative interviews mainly on informants who observe leadership within the domains of provincial and city government, emphasising the former. I also understand that leadership is relational and must be understood in terms of the actions of civic leaders and of individuals and groups across society (who may follow, ignore or resist the actions of leaders). It was not possible

to engage through in-depth qualitative interviews with the complexity of society, but I used the quantitative data provided through the GCRO's QoL VI 2020/2021 to provide some insight into societal response to leadership within government structures.

The study investigated leadership and governance of the city-region through a temporal lens. While the literature review provides a contextual understanding of the political developments in Gauteng from the time the GCR was founded as an urban space in the late 19th century, the focus of the case study is from the early 2000s to date. Leadership requires an in-depth study, so a shorter period is appropriate, but contemporary leadership cannot be divorced from the longer history, so some historical background is provided.

4.9 Positionality

It is important to note that I, as the researcher, am embedded within the context as an employee of the Gauteng Office of the Premier, Gauteng Provincial Government. Being *au fait* with the context has advantages and disadvantages. Given the immense complexity of governmental arrangements across the city-region, this positioning arguably makes the research viable. I also have access to respondents who may otherwise not be available for interviews. However, as Onwuegbuzie (2003) explains, bias can occur when the researcher has particular assumptions or personal biases in a context. I, therefore, followed the guidance of writers, including Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2007), to minimise possible bias that comes from being close to the subject of study and ensure the level of critical distance that a researcher needs. Dwyer and Buckle (2009) argue that the insider-outsider researcher must not be seen as an either-or (i.e., either an insider or outsider) but rather one that occupies the space between these perspectives, which brings a richness to the researcher and research – in understanding and evaluation. I understood that being an insider called for constant attention to question validity, quality, rigour, and intellectual independence (Appleby 2013).

Due to the decision to implement a mixed methodology approach for this study, interviews with key participants were conducted as part of this study's qualitative element. In qualitative research, it is inevitable that the researcher becomes a research instrument and, therefore, embedded in the research context (Adeagbo 2021). This 'outsider within' perspective allowed for positionality in the research process and allowed me to gain further knowledge through probing in interviews, reflection, and access to information, including historical experiences (Corlett & Mavin 2018; Adeagbo 2021). Thus, while positionality

allows the researcher to influence the research, it also shapes the knowledge produced (Corlett & Mavin 2018). My profession allowed me to adopt the role of an internal researcher and actively participate in the research. Having a dual status of an official and a researcher can pose particular challenges of bias in research (Billo & Mountz 2016). This, therefore, required a higher level of awareness and self-monitoring during the research process and embracing the concepts of 'positionality', 'location', and 'self-reflexivity' (Billo & Mountz 2016; Corlett & Mavin 2018). Being aware and balancing the role of researcher and employee in the research context requires 'interpreting interpretation', meaning the researcher must constantly engage and self-reflect with the empirical data, the research context, the research community, and the research process (Corlett & Mavin 2018). Reflexivity in research, thus, allows the researcher to ensure a critically assessed rigorous research process (Adeagbo 2021). This aligns with the pragmatic research paradigm I adopted, as reflected earlier.

Being an insider allowed me access to particular documents, conversations, dialogues, meetings, and participants that may not usually be afforded to a researcher. I also had access to the Provincial Command Centre, which was utilised during the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as the members of the established structure, which allowed for deep insights and access to information. Familiarity could easily lead to researcher bias in the study, so I always ensured professionalism during interview requests, and all interviews were held online and outside the Command Centre and organisational settings. Participants were requested to sign consent forms, and their anonymity was assured at the beginning of each interview. Further, questions were asked from an outsider's standpoint with no preconceived assumptions. Further, I was fortunate to have a foundational understanding of the context under study, as well as the complex relationships and interactions between the stakeholders that formed part of the study's scope (Saunders et al. 2019).

Data analysis and interpretation were performed under the close supervision of the study's supervisor and verified to ensure that researcher bias did not lead to data misrepresentation. Data triangulation also ensured the validity of the research findings across methods could be supported (Onwuegbuzie & Leech 2007).

Being an official in government also requires that the strictest level of confidence is upheld. This research process, thus, called for constant fine balancing to not infringe on disclosure and ethics as an official and to maintain confidentiality and ethics as a

researcher while ensuring that the study's critical needs were maintained and accomplished. Permission to undertake the study was obtained from the Director-General of the Gauteng Province to ensure transparency in the research undertaking (Annexure A). This approval was provided in the application for ethics clearance to the University.

4.10 Ethical Considerations

Comprehensive ethics approval processes for this study were followed using the University of the Witwatersrand's procedures. Ethics approval was provided by the University of Witwatersrand School of Architecture and Planning Research Ethics Committee before this study was undertaken (Annexure B). This study adhered to the ethical principles of 'informed consent', 'confidentiality for participants', and 'mitigating risk'. The ethics approval considered that this study was undertaken during the COVID-19 pandemic. Thus, ensuring the safety of all participants was paramount. All semi-structured interviews were held online utilising the Microsoft Teams platform. All participants were further assured of their anonymity prior to undertaking the study. Signed consent forms were obtained from all participants engaging in the semi-structured interviews before the interview (Annexure D). Each interview began with an orientation. Permission to record the interview for transcription and analysis purposes was sought from all participants at the beginning of the interview (Annexure E). Participants were each assigned a code to ensure confidentiality (Annexure C).

4.11 Academic Contribution

This study aimed to understand if the concept of place leadership can be applied in the complex and dynamic environment of the GCR. Leadership and governance in relation to cities, municipalities, and countries were explored through a literature review and empirical analyses. This study's emphasis on leadership indicates how leadership can determine governance, which, in turn, can determine the outcomes achieved for a city-region.

Place leadership authors state that leadership rises from all of society across all sectors and levels. This study encourages politicians to recognise the value of local leadership for local purposes and propositions local leaders to create local value.

The study provides recommendations for future research in place leadership that is hoped to advance this concept for the global South. The literature review provides a foundation through which the empirical research process attempts to validate and present a framework

to understand place leadership in a complex city-region. A framework for the response to crisis in a complex city-region is presented, as well as the argument for trans-scalar governance of water in the GCR and considering trans-scalar governance within the concept of place leadership.

This research further contributes toward a discourse on different forms of governance required in city-regions. It raises a debate on collaborative versus cooperative governance and the need to perhaps consider an amendment to Chapter 3 of the South African Constitution to replace the principles of co-operative government with principles of collaborative government. This research further engages the need for government to begin to consider the benefits of trans-scalar governance in resolving challenges and crises.

The research adds to the sustainable and resilience development of city-regions discourse, shows the intersection of leadership and governance and provides thought on the mechanisms to enable place leadership in city-regions.

4.12 Conclusion

This chapter provided an overview of the empirical approach and research design adopted to address the research question and objectives. The mixed-methods research methodology was employed to gain a comprehensive understanding of the complex concept of place leadership for the governance of city-regions. Integrating qualitative and quantitative data collection, analysis, and interpretation techniques allowed for a more nuanced understanding of the research problem, using deductive and inductive reasoning. Using multiple data analysis methods is essential for credible research, as highlighted by Mathison (1988). Mixed-methods research or mixing research techniques, approaches or methods of design, as argued by Onwuegbuzie and Johnson (2006), offers a practical alternative that enables methodological triangulation, which utilises multiple methods to examine the same social phenomena. Qualitative research, particularly in leadership studies, has shifted towards appreciating the relevance of context for leader behaviour, as noted by Bryman (2004) and Kempster and Parry (2011). The case study approach, which aims to understand complex social phenomena, is favoured when researchers have no control over the situation, as highlighted by Yin (2018). Therefore, a pragmatic approach for a leadership case study aligns well with the emphasis on context and process in leadership research.

However, the study has limitations, which are outlined in this chapter. Despite these limitations, the research design provided a logical approach to link the theoretical understanding and empirical analysis, attempting to bridge the gap between leadership and governance in a city-region context and understand if the concept of place leadership can be applied in the GCR's complex and dynamic environment. A brief demographic profile of the GCR was presented. A more comprehensive contextual framing of the GCR is presented in the next chapter.

Overall, this chapter sets the stage for the subsequent chapters, which present and discuss the empirical findings.

5 Chapter Five – The Context of the Gauteng City-Region

5.1 Introduction

This study explored the concept of place leadership. It examined place leadership within complex dynamic city-regions such as the GCR and explored the capabilities and applicability of the concept to a space such as the GCR. This chapter provides the context of the GCR as the primary case study for the research. It aligns with the theme of temporality and draws a timeline of the development of the GCR to ensure that a contextual base is set for this research study.

There is extensive literature on the GCR. Some of the literature covers the socio-spatial development of the region (Wray 2010; Mabin 2013; Mubiwa & Annegarn 2013). There is limited literature on the GCR's politics and governance and the idea of the city-region. (Mabin 2013; Harber & Joseph 2018; Harrison 2023; Mabin & Harrison 2023). Further, there is limited literature on the GCR's economy and environmental landscape, which has been predominantly produced by the GCRO and the researchers within the GCRO (Schäffler et al. 2013; Khanyile et al. 2018; Howe 2022; Khanyile et al. 2023). The available literature (Harrison & Zack 2012; Mabin 2013; Mubiwa & Annegarn 2013; Wray et al. 2014; Peberdy et al. 2017; Götz et al. 2018; Harrison 2023), as well as the knowledge gained through working in the planning environment of the GCR, are used to provide a brief context for readers who are unfamiliar with the GCR. This study adds to the understanding of the GCR as it unpacks the relations, governance and leadership practices in the city-region. This research further contributes to existing literature on the GCR by extending the discourse on the forms of governance required for the development of city-regions and propositions the ideas of collaborative, networked and trans-scalar governance for the GCR.

The chapter is divided into two sections. The first deals with the GCR as a physical place, paying attention to the economic factors that led to the agglomeration of physical activities. It examines the GCR's historical socio-spatial background, how it has changed over time and how this context has evolved into the city-region it is today.

Secondly, it explores the GCR's governance and political dimensions, placing the GCR within the national constitutional and political context and dealing with the regional and provincial dynamics. There is a specific sub-section on water governance, which gives context for Chapter Eight that uses water governance as an illustrative case to discuss

place leadership in the context of inter-scalar governance. Given the three thematics, this contextual chapter addresses the issues of change over time, periodic crises, and inter-scalar governance.

5.2 The Development of the Gauteng City-Region Over Time

5.2.1 The socio-spatial development

South Africa has a rich and diverse socio-spatial, economic, and political history. In the mid-1800s, South Africa consisted of two Boer Republics – the Orange Free State and the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) or Transvaal Republic – and two British Colonies – Natal and the Cape. Over a hundred years ago, this place, located inland, in the north-east of South Africa, at a high altitude, approximately 1500m above sea level, was a rural area without a water source to support a large urban area (Turton et al. 2006).

The socio-spatial account described below will show how this space, which developed linearly initially, evolved into a complex region built over time. This idea of a cluster of cities – initially called the Randopolis in the 1930s – developed by the 1950s into what would become known as the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal (PWV) region (Mubiwa & Annegarn 2013). By the 1990s, towards the end of Apartheid, it was pitched as Region H (Beavon 2004). In the new democracy, it was named Gauteng, a city-state of sorts, and from the 2000s, the idea of the GCR emerged (Gauteng Provincial Government 2006a; 2006b). Conceptually, the city-region has a wider reach into the platinum belt beyond the provincial boundaries in the northwest, the Sasolburg petrochemical cluster in the Free State to the south, and the mining-industrial town of Emalahleni to the east, but administratively, the space remains the Gauteng province (Harber & Joseph 2018).

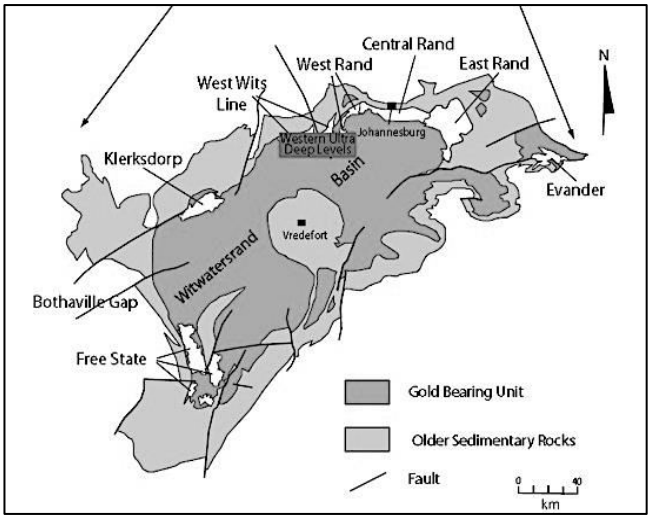


Figure 5-1. Witwatersrand gold patterns in the southern Transvaal (Source: "Witwatersrand Gold Rush - Wikipedia")

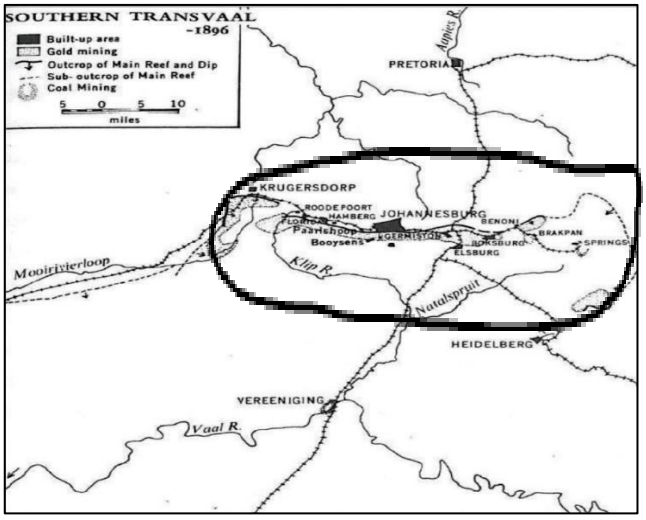


Figure 5-2. Southern Transvaal settlement pattern 1896 (Source: DPE 1974:10)

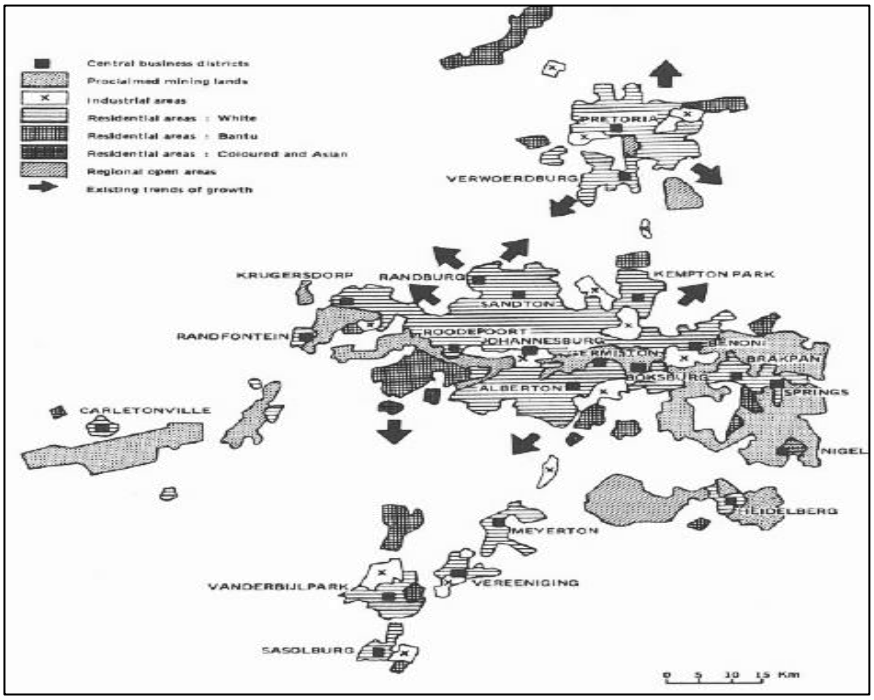


Figure 5-3. Early urban land-use (Source: DPE 1974:39)

Following the discovery of gold in 1886, the British and other explorers flocked to this area, which was named the Witwatersrand (Penrose 1907). The Witwatersrand Gold Rush was one of history's largest and most important gold rushes. Once gold was found, miners from all over started moving into the area, creating a quick influx of people seeking economic opportunity. This rapid in-migration marked the beginning of urbanisation.

A collection of mining towns (Mubiwa & Annegarn 2013b) in a linear formation developed along what would be known as the Main Gold Reef (Figure 5-1). In September 1886, the first mining camp was named Johannesburg (Beavon 2004). At this stage, it was home to approximately 300 diggers. By the end of the year, the population of the town grew to 3000 and by 1895, it housed a population of 8000. In 1926, Johannesburg was proclaimed a city with a population of around half a million people and was what Beavon (2004:6) called "the largest urban place in Africa south of the equator".

Geographically, this space known as the PWV area from the 1950s was evolving into a sprawling configuration premised on a mining history – a linear spatial structure of towns along the Reef invested in gold, iron, and steel mining (Figure 5-2). This spatial configuration marked the start of the GCR's governance challenges (Harrison 2023). Over time, industries, such as manufacturing, retail, and finance, started congregating in and around these towns (From Krugersdorp in the West to central Johannesburg and Springs in the East, as reflected in Figure 5-2) to support mining (Mandy 1984). This social, spatial development evolved as gold discovery stretched out and started to create multi-centres and multi-nodal operations along the space, creating a linear cluster of towns. Johannesburg emerged as a city, followed by other smaller cities. It became more complex as mining-industrial complexes emerged in towns – across the Vaal and Vanderbijlpark. Gold was discovered further west, and a new coal mining centre emerged in Witbank, followed by the discovery of platinum forming the platinum belt along Rustenburg (Mabin 2013; Peberdy et al. 2017). The complexities of the socio-spatial dynamics thus evolved.

Within 80 years, this space evolved rapidly from a "fledgling quasi-state to a surprisingly modern industrial state…a process that took centuries in Europe – was the South African gold mining industry" (Yuleman 1984:9). Infrastructure to support this development was needed the most important of which was water. As the mining industry grew, so too did the demand for water to ensure productivity on the one hand and the growing population on the other. Soon, as a result of the mining activity, the water became contaminated and

unfit for consumption, placing a greater strain on water resources and increasing the demand for clean and sustainable access to the scarce resource (Turton et al. 2006; Muller et al. 2009). “Water supply to the Witwatersrand grew by a steady 5% per annum for 80 years” (Turton & Meissner 2002:7). To ensure an adequate water supply, engineers and planners constructed several reservoirs, dams, and pipelines to transport water from distant sources to the growing city (Hodge et al. 2008). These early infrastructure investments helped lay the foundation for the region’s continued growth and development. Today, the region survives and works as a result of massive water transfer schemes (Turton & Meissner 2002). Due to its location, these transfers are done at great cost and risk of water running off as fast as it is piped through. The water aspect will be dealt with further in Chapter Eight.

The realities of mining and geology created the basis of complexity. Other infrastructure, including the development of roads, freeways, and settlements, were also required. Spatially, these developments would mirror the social developments and practices at the time, entrenching division and fragmentation and displaced urbanisation processes that would impact the region’s spatial form (Figure 5-3) (Wray et al. 2014; Götz et al. 2018).

5.2.2 The political and governance developments

Politically, the city-region’s developments were framed by what was happening nationally, pointing again to the need to understand the trans-scalar nature of politics, governance, and leadership. Initially, Johannesburg and the larger Witwatersrand fell under the political control of the ZAR, a Boer Republic with its capital in Pretoria (Mubiwa & Annegarn 2013). However, the powerful mining companies along the Witwatersrand were strongly linked to British capital, some headquartered in London, and mainly provided gold bullion to the Bank of England. There was a stand-off between Johannesburg, dominated by mining companies and British labour, and national government in Pretoria, and it took the South African War (1899 to 1902) to bring the Witwatersrand under the political control of the British (Mubiwa & Annegarn 2013).

Initially, the Transvaal Colony (the territory previously controlled by the ZAR) was ruled directly from London through the High Commissioner, Lord Milner. In 1906, though, the Liberal Party came to power in Great Britain and granted self-government to the Transvaal. In the meantime, municipal governments were set up, with the largest for Johannesburg but the remainder of the Witwatersrand divided into municipalities. There

was an early attempt to create a co-ordinating structure across the Witwatersrand and Pretoria, but it failed due to local interests and the continuing divide between the dominant interests in Johannesburg and Pretoria (Mubiwa & Annegarn 2013).

In 1910, the Transvaal joined the Cape, Natal, and Orange Free State to form the Union of South Africa. This was a unitary state, but the four colonies remained provinces with limited powers, including control over municipal government. In the 1920s, South Africa was given Dominion status, so it was effectively independent, although the British King remained Head of State (Mubiwa & Annegarn 2013).

On the Witwatersrand, the major political divide in the early decades was between the mining elite and White labour, which struggled to prevent competition from Black workers through job reservation. The conflict came to a head in 1922 with the Rand Rebellion, which was suppressed by national government. Black people were excluded from political rights when the union was formed, but political opposition emerged, including with the formation of the ANC in 1912. The other line of political divide among the White population was between the pro-British electorate and the Afrikaner Nationalists (Mubiwa & Annegarn 2013).

The Nationalists came to power nationally in 1948 with their ideology of Apartheid, meaning racial separateness, and took control of the Transvaal Provincial Council. They eventually took control of the Pretoria City Council and most municipalities along the Witwatersrand (Mubiwa & Annegarn 2013). However, the Johannesburg City Council remained under the control of the United Party, although its opposition to Apartheid was weak and inconsistent (van Staden 2019). In 1961, South Africa became a Republic, severing its political ties to Great Britain and the Commonwealth (Beavon 2004).

National government gradually undermined the powers of the municipality. In 1970, for example, they took over the control of Black townships from the municipality by setting up Administration Boards appointed by a national minister (Harrison 2023).

The 1976 Soweto uprising marked the beginning of a long process of disintegrating National Party rule. The government attempted various reforms, such as setting up Black Local Authorities and giving freehold rights to Black people living in cities, but they all failed to stem the tide of rising Black opposition (Mandy 1984). In the 1980s, the National Party split over proposed reforms, with the right-wing forming the Conservative Party. The Conservative Party controlled most municipalities along the Witwatersrand's mining and

industrial belt and tried to reimpose extreme forms of segregation (Mandy 1984). Pretoria was controlled by the National Party, and in Johannesburg, there was a coalition government including the National Party. In this context, national government tried to create regional authorities called Regional Services Councils. The idea was to keep racially separate local authorities but to set up multi-racial Regional Services Councils to deal with matters of joint concern, such as bulk infrastructure (Schlemmer et al. 1988). Violence erupted in the 1980s, and the government declared a State of Emergency in 1986, sending the defence force into the townships (Schlemmer et al. 1988). At the same time, the ANC-in-exile successfully called on the international community to impose sanctions on South Africa. By the end of the 1980s, there was a political stalemate, with the opposition still unable to dislodge the Apartheid regime from power, but the Apartheid regime faced economic stagnation, spiralling violence, and loss of ideological legitimacy (Mandy 1984; Schlemmer et al. 1988).

In 1990, the political stalemate was broken when President F.W. de Klerk unbanned the liberation movements and released Nelson Mandela from prison. A complex process of national negotiations followed, eventually leading to a political settlement and South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994. At the local level, political negotiations began in 1990 with the formation of the Central Witwatersrand Negotiation Chamber. These negotiations led to the agreement that a non-racial metropolitan authority should be created, and this influenced the approach nationally for a period of local government transition (1996-2000), leading to the creation of single-tier metropolitan authorities (Mabin 2013). The amalgamation of racially separate local authorities in this period was complicated, and the costs of maintaining a two-tier institutional structure for the interim led Johannesburg to near bankruptcy (Tomlinson 1999).

This time also saw the development of the National Constitution of 1996, which gave municipalities far more autonomy than in the past. Their powers were constitutionally protected, but they were enjoined to work collaboratively with the other spheres of government within a co-operative governance system.

In Gauteng, three single-tier metropolitan municipalities (Pretoria, Johannesburg and the East Rand, which would be renamed and demarcated) were created from the urban core of the previous Transvaal province, as explained later in the chapter. Municipal elections were held in 2000, and the ANC gained control of all municipalities in Gauteng. With the

ANC in power nationally, provincially, and municipally, relations across the spheres of government were relatively uncomplicated, although the different spheres had different interests. This situation of relative stability continued until 2016 when two of the three metropolitan municipalities came under the control of Democratic Alliance-led coalitions. These complicated relations across the spheres of government and the coalitions' instability have become a major governmental challenge (Mabin 2013; Götz 2016; Mkhize et al. 2021; Götz et al. 2022).

5.2.3 The idea of the city-region

The gold economic boom saw Johannesburg and Pretoria emerging into cities by 1933 and created the impetus for the municipalities located on the Witwatersrand to form the Witwatersrand Joint Town Planning Committee. Initial town planning was rooted in the British Town and Country Planning Acts with a vision to model the Greater Witwatersrand as in New York and London (Mabin 2013; Harrison 2023). A Chief Planner would be needed for this task, and so the Witwatersrand Joint Town Planning Committee appointed Charles Reade to the seat. He introduced exciting visions for a Randopolis dream (Beavon 2004; Harrison 2023). Unfortunately, this dream was very short-lived, as Reade shot himself two weeks after he arrived in Johannesburg, leaving the task of planning to individual municipalities (Harrison 2023). Gauging from Harrison's (2023) account of this time, the idea of collaborative governance and planning was rooted in the inception of the creation of a Greater Witwatersrand, but this was followed with a siloed approach with change in leadership at the helm of planning for the space. This, too, has continued with changes in leadership in this city-region space, impacting the vision for a GCR.

By the forties, there was a need to provide settlements and housing for mineworkers. The Native Urban Areas Act 1923 meant that housing would have to be segregated, moving Black mineworkers away from the urban centre to native locations. This was the task of municipalities until 1948, when the National Party came into power, unseating the United Party, entrenching racial segregation practices and moving the responsibility of housing to the national government. Black townships like Soweto, Tembisa, and Katlehong were established by the early fifties, impacting the spatial and social form of the city-region to this day (Mabin 2013).

Regional thinking and planning continued in the background through the National Resources Development Council, which the United Party established but was soon

removed by national government, which wanted control over planning and established the National Department of Planning (Davies 1972; Mabin 2013; Harrison 2023).

"The growing capital at Pretoria; the mines along the reef only 60 or so kilometres to the south; and the Vaal River a further 60 kilometres from there – made it possible to develop a concept of a single region" (Mabin 2013:8). This was followed by planning being invested into the construction of highways and road connections of the various parts of the PWV in the 1960s and 1970s. The idea of regional governance in the PWV began as early as 1978 with the establishment of the Metropolitan Transport Advisory Board representing local authorities and advisory committees for all races for two commuting passages (North-South and East-West corridors) in the Witwatersrand (Anon 1988; Mabin 2013). Following the Regional Services Council (RSC) Act of 1985, five RSCs were established for demarcated areas in the "PWV 'megalopolis':

- Pretoria (with its seat in that city)
- Central Witwatersrand (Johannesburg)
- East Rand (Germiston)
- West Rand (Randfontein)
- Vaal Triangle (Vereeniging)" (Anon 1988:14).



Figure 5-4. Witwatersrand Reginal Services Councils (Schlemmer et al. 1988:7)

Mandy (1988) explains in Schlemmer et al. (1988) that initially, the Johannesburg City Council had motivated the whole of the Witwatersrand to have a single RSC, but this was opposed by businesses and some authorities in the area, claiming that the area was too large for inhabitants to have common interests across the megalopolis and it resulted in a Council that had to cope with large responsibilities across the area. This resulted in the PWV division continuing with RSC boundaries drawn (Figure 5-4).

Thus, the idea of a city-region was introduced a long time ago, but to this day, the idea of the GCR has not been institutionalised, but it continues to be commonly referred to among those who work in the space. The complexity of the space also results from the lack of traction and inability to institutionalise this space.

Following riots in the 1960s and 1970s, the 1980s saw the release of the White Paper on Urbanisation – a bid to curb land invasion and control more "orderly urbanisation" of Black people (Mabin 2013:35). The PWV area was referred to as Region H in a bid to attempt to replan the boundaries of South Africa, mark territories, and institutionalise governance.

On February 2, 1990, FW de Klerk delivered a pivotal speech at the opening of Parliament, marking a significant turning point in South African history. In his address, de Klerk announced the formal suspension of the ban on the African National Congress (ANC) and other liberation movements, as well as the release of Nelson Mandela from prison. This speech signalled the beginning of comprehensive political reforms, setting in motion the transition from apartheid to a democratic South Africa. De Klerk's announcement – which was, of course, the product of intense pressure from the liberation movements over a prolonged period - was a crucial step towards dismantling institutionalized racial segregation and initiating a new era of political engagement and negotiation (The Conversation 2020). The 1990s marked some of South Africa's most historic moments – the release of Nelson Mandela, the first democratic elections in 1994, the fall of Apartheid, the demarcation of nine provinces from four, the inclusion of the old Bantustans into the new provinces, voting rights to all South Africans irrespective of class or colour, the writing of the one of the most advanced Constitutions in the world in 1996, and for the PWV (Region H at this stage), the name change to Gauteng and the election of a Provincial Legislature, with a Premier as head, responsible for the governance of the Gauteng province.

Leading into democracy, the Commission on the Demarcation of States, Provinces, and Regions was tasked with determining South Africa's new provincial boundaries (Isandla Institute 2013). Following the country's first democratic elections in 1994, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa was legislated in 1996, bringing with it a significant transformation both spatially (the eradication of homelands or Bantustans) and administratively (the establishment of three spheres of government and governance – national, provincial, and local governments) with four provinces becoming nine – Limpopo, the North West, Gauteng, Mpumalanga, the Free State, the Northern Cape, the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu -Natal and the Western Cape (Alexander 2018) (refer to Chapter 1 Figure 1-1).

Based on labour supply and interconnections within a "development region" (Mabin 2013:32) previously demarcated under Apartheid, the PWV region became known as the province of Gauteng in 1994 (refer to Chapter 1 Figure 1-1). Gauteng would comprise three metropolitan municipalities – Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni, and Pretoria – and two district municipalities – Sedibeng, comprising three local municipalities, and the West Rand, comprising three local municipalities (refer to Chapter 1 Figure 1-2) (Oosthuizen & Naidoo 2004).

5.3 The Gauteng City-Region is Born

This space, now called Gauteng, has been lauded as the country's economic powerhouse (StatsSA 2023b). While it occupies just 1.4% of the national land area (Oosthuizen & Naidoo 2004), large levels of in-migration have meant that Gauteng's population has grown from a mere 3000 in 1895 (Beavon 2004) to 7.6 million in 1996 (Gauteng Provincial Government 2013) to 16,10 million people (26,6%) living in this province in 2022 (StatsSA 2022). Gauteng is a key contributor to South Africa's economy and a vital part of the African continent's economic landscape. It boasts a 33% contribution towards the national economy and 10% towards sub-Saharan Africa with a provincial GDP of around one trillion Rand (Dludla 2023; Meyer 2023).

Mabin (2013:7) argued that the regional impetus for considering Gauteng a city-region came from the distance between the administrative power in Pretoria, Johannesburg's economic potential, and the Vaal's water source. According to Harber and Joseph (2018:10), this distancing warranted a "regional, rather than municipal, administrative solution". Harber and Joseph (2018:2) further argue that while the GCR is recognised in

discourse, documents, policy, and publication, it does not necessarily mean that "acknowledgement of something that can be described as a city-region has (not) resulted in consensus on what this means, or should mean, for planning, public investment, or **governance**" [emphasis added].

Harrison (2023) reminds us that the idea for the GCR was borne from a build-up of engagements both locally and internationally discussing global city-regions and connecting the global and local, as well as a paper released by the South African Cities Network referring to Gauteng as a polycentric urban region similar to Lagos and Los Angeles. The Premier of Gauteng at the time, Mbahzima Shilowa, was the visionary political leader who announced his plans for Gauteng following the release of the Draft National Spatial Development Perspective in 2003. In 2004, Shilowa confirmed that he would honour his election promises and "turn Gauteng into an integrated, globally competitive urban region" (Mail & Guardian 2004: para. 15). His plans included enabling Black Economic Empowerment, advancing small to medium businesses, private-public partnerships, and growth of the tourism and film industries. Notably, Shilowa also spoke of collaborative planning with local government early on in the conception of the GCR – "We have started working with all the mayors in Gauteng to join in pooling resources to create the most powerful economic block on the continent, promoting Gauteng as a home for investment, tourism and business in general" (Mail & Guardian 2004: para. 19).

To advance the city-region's functioning, the Gauteng Provincial Government (referred to as provincial government from here) agreed, in 2004, to a set of common needs for planning and management of the GCR (Gauteng Provincial Government 2006b):

- to develop a common Gauteng region that is competitive;
- for improved mechanisms for integration and intergovernmental relations;
- improved co-ordination and consultation at sectoral and provincial levels.

This provided the impetus to establish institutions charged with fostering an integrated approach to planning and co-ordination across the GCR.

Shilowa, at the first joint sitting of Legislature on 29 August 2006, announced a programme of action for the whole Gauteng province, inclusive of national, provincial, and local government. At this sitting, he spoke of how government had gone on the road talking to people across the province about what they wanted from government so that their lives in the province could be improved. This resulted from an agreement reached at

the opening of Legislature earlier that year. He detailed that he had engaged with all stakeholders across the province, including "faith-based organisations, community-based organisations, nongovernmental organisations, representatives of youth, students, women and people with disabilities, business, trade unions, the media; university vice chancellors and academics, professionals and tertiary educational institutions and the sports, arts and cultural sector" (Gauteng Provincial Government 2006b:7). He confirmed Gauteng's role "as a globally competitive city region [which] is a direct response to our people's expectations to make Gauteng an even better place to live in" (Gauteng Provincial Government 2006b:4). One can argue, based on the actions of Premier Shilowa at the time, that he was a visionary leader embedding the principles of place leadership and collaborative governance in the GCR.

The GCR Agenda proposed a governance model based on functionality and co-operation – not a new form of regional government. It proposed establishing institutions that would assist in co-ordinating multi-sphere government functions, as well as those institutions that would advance city-region thinking. Proposed institutions included the GCRO, the Gauteng City-Region Academy, the Gauteng Infrastructure Coordinating Committee, the Gauteng Growth and Development Agency, the Gauteng Transport Committee and the Premier's Coordinating Forum (PCF). Some were established – all with the aim of fostering better relations between the spheres of government, better co-ordination, and a "transition to a GCR wide metropolitan system of governance" (Mamabolo 2015: para. 34).

While this goal of the competitive city-region would change a few times through the years to include aspects of inclusivity, economic growth, and sustainability, the foundation to achieve this remains the same. Achieving this goal requires collaborating with stakeholders. In the current environment of coalition politics and diminished trust between parties, this task of building Gauteng as a city-region is an added challenge.

Harber and Joseph (2019) argue that studies often focus excessively on economic indicators and the formal sector, neglecting the informal economy and marginalised communities. They say that this narrow focus may result in a skewed understanding of the GCR's dynamics and challenges, hindering the formulation of effective policies and interventions. The critique emphasises the need for a more holistic approach that considers social, economic, and spatial dimensions while addressing inequality and inclusive

development within the GCR. This critique and approach also align with the proposition of place leadership thinking for a city-region. Targeting these challenges requires some agreement on exactly what the GCR space is (Figure 5-5).

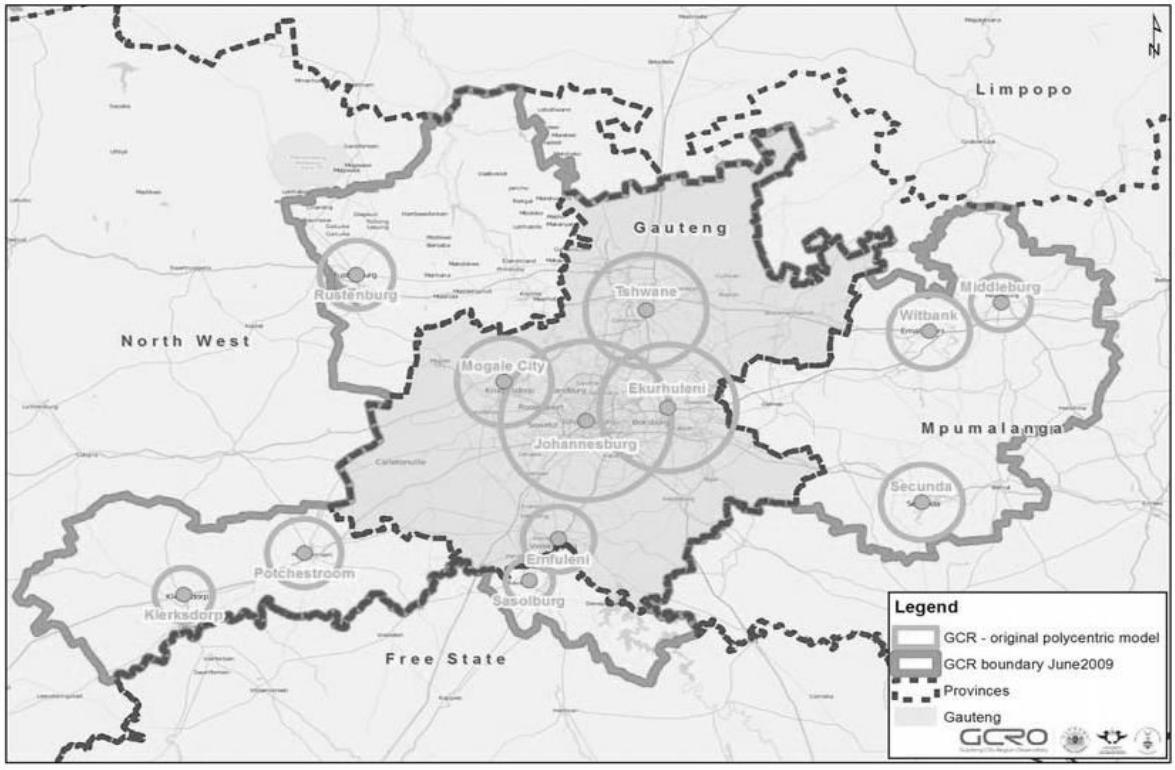


Figure 5-5. Schematic footprint of the Gauteng City-Region (Source: GCRO 2014:slide 2)

While practitioners, academics, politicians, and residents speak of the space as a single agreed-upon territory, the divisions go beyond the marked spatial boundaries between municipalities. The GCRO has depicted the GCR – a space that consists of the province Gauteng and spaces beyond the administrative region to include Rustenburg in the northwest of the province, Sasolburg in the south, Potchefstroom and Klerksdorp in the south-west, and Witbank, Middleburg and Secunda in the east (Figure 5-6). It must be recognised and understood that including these towns within the planned GCR is economically beneficial to the GCR – Rustenburg is home to platinum, Secunda coal, gold in Potchefstroom, and iron and steel in the Witbank area (GCRO n.d.). But including these areas means redrawing administrative boundaries as the current governance mechanisms do not allow for jurisdiction over this space. The alternative is a collaborative place leadership approach, allowing leadership from across the regions to work together to mutually benefit the city-region space. Provincial government has previously reflected

similar thinking – "The Gauteng city-region must be designed to promote cross-boundary collaboration across large urban areas" (Gauteng Provincial Government 2012:41).

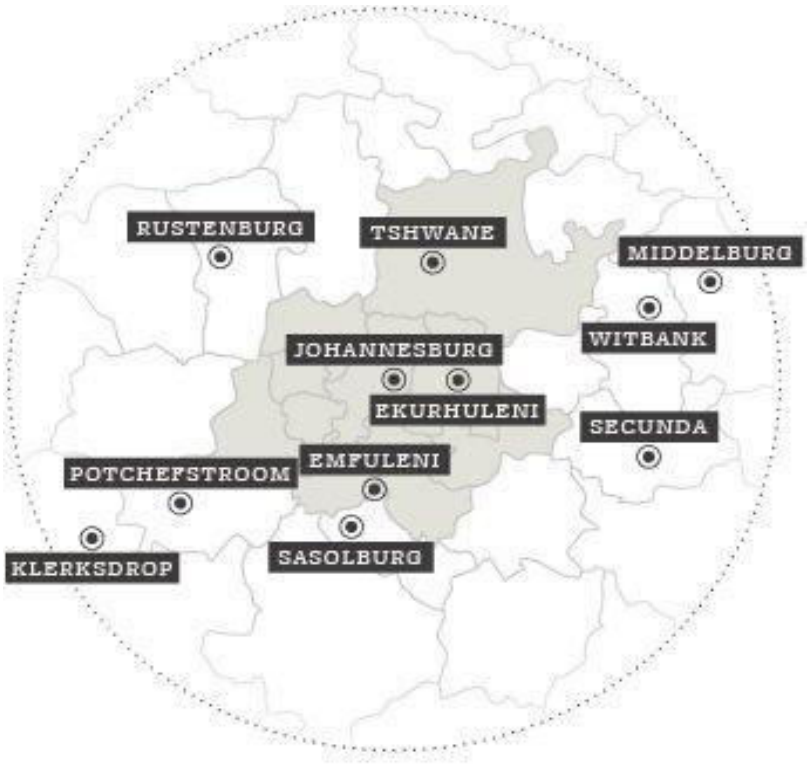


Figure 5-6. The Gauteng City-Region (Source: GCRO n.d.)

Academics and researchers have contributed diverse perspectives to the debates surrounding the GCR (Greenberg 2010b; De Visser & Swilling 2016; Harber & Joseph 2019; Gauteng Provincial Government 2021). The Gauteng Provincial Government argue for an expanded GCR boundary encompassing a wider range of municipalities and economic corridors to capture the full extent of urban interconnectedness and functional integration. On the other hand, De Visser and Swilling (2016) advocate for a more focused and strategic approach to defining the GCR boundary, prioritising areas of intensive economic activity and functional linkages. These contrasting viewpoints highlight the ongoing dialogue within academia regarding the GCR's spatial and governance boundaries. Greenberg (2010b:116 citing City of Johannesburg 2006:45) reminds us that the city-region's argument for Gauteng is an important one because,

> "existing inter-governmental structures (national, provincial, and local) are not adequate, on their own, to manage new economic, social, and ecological dynamics. As the region grows and densifies, 'it will become more and more difficult to administer the local government affairs of residents and of individual municipalities

> without considering the functional overlaps and interconnections with other municipalities in respect of spatial planning and housing location, transport systems, service infrastructure, economic development, environmental management, and so on'."

The debates surrounding the GCR, including the Harber and Joseph (2019) critique and the boundary issues raised starkly by academia and in conversations, contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the region's challenges and potential solutions. Engaging in critical discussions and considering diverse perspectives allows for improved urban governance and development strategies. While consensus may be elusive in these debates, acknowledging and exploring them can assist in fostering a more comprehensive and inclusive approach to managing the GCR and promoting sustainable and equitable growth. These debates, though, have not been resolved in institutionalising the idea of the GCR. Various institutions have been created to support the idea as well, including the GCRO, which provides a strong research foundation and reflective analysis of this space and advances the concept of city-region thinking. Other institutions to practicalise the space, such as the Gauteng Transport Authority, which was tasked with focusing on integrated transport systems, have not gained traction. An attempt to co-ordinate water security from a city-region perspective (this will be elaborated on in Chapter Eight) was also initiated, but this too failed in the face of differing political agendas between provincial and local governments. While the Premiers that have followed on from Premier Shilowa have continued to talk about the GCR, the attempts to institutionalise it have not gained momentum, hampering city-region thinking and practice.

An argument put forth most recently by the Municipal Demarcations Board in Gauteng calls for the reconfiguration of what has been known to date as the GCR to be reorganised to now only include the three major metropolitan areas, leaving the two district municipalities of the West Rand and Sedibeng as part of the administrative boundary of Gauteng but not within the *functional boundary* of the GCR (Letlape 2021). Irrespective of whether or not the GCR embraces this new discussion document put forth by the Municipal Demarcations Board, one thing is clear – it is necessary to go back to the drawing board to understand what it means when "dysfunctional municipalities" are excluded or "eliminated" (Letlape 2021:7) from the city-region, but these same municipalities house the mines that are the predominant economic drivers of the current GCR configuration.

5.3.1 Planning and politics of the Gauteng City-Region

Planning and implementation in Gauteng occur at provincial and local levels, with each sphere responsible for various service delivery areas. The Premier is the head of the province, and Mayors are the head of local governments. Chapter 3 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, embodies the principles of co-operative governance between the three spheres of government – national, provincial, and local. Section 41(1h) (Act 108 of 1996) of the Constitution stipulates that all spheres of government and all organs of state within each sphere must "cooperate in mutual trust and good faith by:

- fostering friendly relations;
- assisting and supporting one another;
- informing one another and consulting one another on matters of common interest;
- coordinating their actions and legislation with one another;
- adhering to agreed procedures; and
- avoiding legal proceedings against one another" (South African Government 1996:1269).

The effects of its mining history, its physical constraints, and the imposition of Apartheid planning have resulted in a spatial and governance form that is characterised by urban sprawl and low-density development, poor integration of planning activities, and sub-optimal service delivery implementation across the spheres of government (Cilliers 2009). Over the last few years, a new idea has started to emerge and be promoted by national and provincial governments – the idea of the District Development Model – to aid provincial, local, and national governments in integration planning and joining forces and resources in curbing the challenges that are faced at local level (Götz et al. 2022).

To ensure efficient governance of this space, it is important to understand the politics behind the governance, which has largely influenced how territories are managed and areas of accountability are honoured.

a. The ANC comes into power

At the first democratic elections in South Africa, the ANC won the majority vote and elected Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela as the country's first Black President. Power was shared among three political parties – the ANC, the National Party, and the Inkatha Freedom Party. It would be known as a Government of National Unity. The Government of National Unity continued for two terms until 1997. The National Party withdrew from

the coalition and officially decided to become the opposition, leaving the ANC as the dominating party at national level.

Table 5-1. South Africa's national election results from 1994 to 2014 (du Toit and de Jager 2015:95)

Party		1994	1999	2004	2009	2014
African National Congress (ANC)	Percentage	62.65	66.35	69.69	65.90	62.15
	Seats	252	266	279	264	249
	Votes (millions)	12,238	10,601	10,881	11,651	11,437
Congress of the People (COPE)	Percentage	-	-	-	7.42	0.67
	Seats	-	-	-	30	3
	Votes (millions)	-	-	-	1,311	.123
Democratic Alliance (DA) / Democratic Party (DP)	Percentage	1.73	9.56	12.37	16.66	22.23
	Seats	7	38	50	67	89
	Votes (millions)	.338	1,527	1,931	2,946	4,092
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	Percentage	-	-	-	-	6.35
	Seats	-	-	-	-	25
	Votes (millions)	-	-	-	-	1,169
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	Percentage	10.54	8.58	6.97	4.55	2.40
	Seats	43	34	28	18	10
	Votes (millions)	2,058	1,371	1,089	.804	.441
National Freedom Party (NFP)	Percentage	-	-	-	-	1.57
	Seats	-	-	-	-	6
	Votes (millions)	-	-	-	-	.289
(New) National Party (NNP)	Percentage	20.39	6.87	1.65	-	-
	Seats	82	28	7	-	-
	Votes (millions)	3,984	1,098	.258	-	-

Between 1994 and 2004, the ANC enjoyed an increase in votes in their favour nationally, except for clear opposition initially from the Democratic Party (the Democratic Alliance), which slowly gained momentum to become the second-largest party and key opposition in 1999 and went on to lead the Western Cape less than ten years later (Table 5-1). From 2009, with the unseating of President Mbeki by the ruling party and increasing levels of corruption reported, infighting between party leaders, leadership dynamics, state capture, and the effects felt on a dwindling economy, confidence levels in the ANC began to fall and was felt at the polls with a reduction in votes. The party experienced the worst loss in 2019 with only 57% of the votes from 62% in 2014.

The primary goal of the ANC was to overturn Apartheid, correct the past injustices, aid social transformation, and build a more inclusive society. Some key policies to overcome this included land redistribution, affirmative action, and broad-based Black Economic Empowerment. While the programmes and policies were designed to correct the past socio-economic injustices, the ANC faced criticism for the policies behind the programmes and, later on, the lack of traction and impact achieved by the programmes.

From 1999, the ANC started to experience a decline in support – from waning membership numbers in the party (from half a million before 1994 to 45 000 in 1998) (Lodge 2014) to the technocratic leadership style of Mbeki, infighting in the ANC, party politics, and continued inequality and poverty (Mathekga 2008). From 2014, the pressure increased with allegations of corruption, state capture, and a lack of accountability (Adetiba & Asuelime 2018). The state of the nation has filtered down to provincial and local levels (Figure 5-7). The party experienced declining support in votes between 2011 and 2016 nationally – from 62% in 2011 to 54% in 2016, and a further loss was three major metros to the Democratic Alliance (Nelson Mandela Bay, Port Elizabeth, Tshwane, Pretoria, and the City of Johannesburg) in the 2016 election. The party was further forced into a coalition with the Democratic Alliance to maintain some power in another major metro, Ekurhuleni (Schmitz 2017).

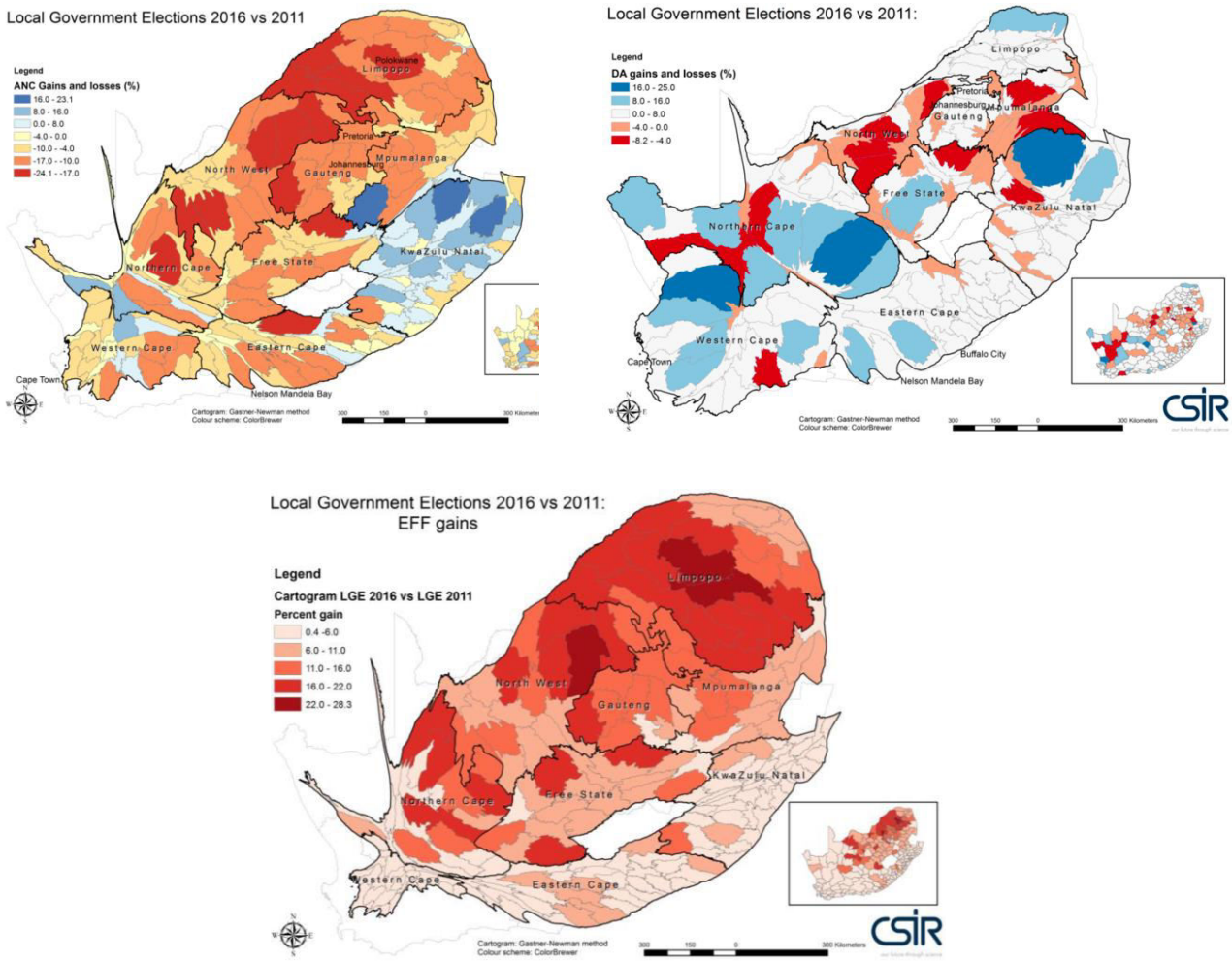


Figure 5-7. Election results in gains vs losses for 2011 vs 2016 (ANC, Democratic Alliance (DA) & Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)) (Source: Schmitz 2017:10–13)

Historically, voter turnout has been lower in local elections compared to national elections, which is reflected in Table 5-2, except in 2021, which remained fairly the same in terms of registered voters but still reflected a lower voter turnout. In the 2021 local elections, both the dominant political parties – the ANC and the Democratic Alliance – experienced a decline in votes compared to previous years, while minority parties gained voter confidence (Mkhize et al. 2021). The ANC support fell to 35.5% in 2021 from 42% in 2016. The Democratic Alliance votes fell from 37.2% in 2016 to 27.9% in 2021. The Economic Freedom Fighters experienced a similar decline, while the Inkatha Freedom Party, Freedom Front Plus and newcomer Action SA saw increased votes in 2021.

Table 5-2. Voting patterns in the local government elections in Gauteng from 2011 to 2021 (Mkhize et al. 2021)

	2011 (Local)	2014 (Provincial)	**2016 (Local)**	2019 (Provincial)	**2021 (Local)**	Change 2016-2021
ANC	1 855 613 (60,5%)	2 348 564 (53,6%)	**1 637 585 (46,1%)**	2 168 253 (50,2%)	**957 329 (35,5%)**	-680 256 (-10,6%)
DA	1 021 973 (33,3%)	1 349 001 (30,8%)	**1 321 432 (37,2%)**	1 185 743 (27,5%)	**752 769 (27,9%)**	-568 663 (-9,3%)
EFF	NA	451 318 (10,3%)	**400 335 (11,3%)**	634 387 (14,7%)	**308 303 (11,4%)**	-92 032 (+0,2%)
VF+	22 006 (0,7%)	52 436 (1,2%)	**40 714 (1,1%)**	153 844 (3,6%)	**112 989 (4,2%)**	+72 275 (+3,0%)
IFP	30 130 (1,0%)	34 240 (0,8%)	**34 532 (1,0%)**	38 263 (0,9%)	**35 840 (1,3%)**	+1 308 (+0,4%)
ActionSA					**279 256 (10,4%)**	+279 256 (+10,4%)
Spoilt ballots	38 771	42 261	**51 339**	37 411	**38 290**	-13 908
Total votes cast	3 107 134	4 424 424	**3 602 786**	4 357 348	**2 694 545**	-908 241
Reg voters	5 592 676	6 063 739	**6 234 822**	6 381 220	**6 195 753**	-39 069
% turnout	**56%**	**73%**	**58%**	**68%**	**43%**	-14,3%

ANC: African National Congress; DA: Democratic Alliance; EFF: Economic Freedom Fighters; VF+: Freedom Front Plus

b. A time for coalition

While the Western Cape continued to gain opposition support, losing control of three major metropolitan areas in 2016 to opposition parties was a significant blow to the ANC and its image as a dominant political force in South Africa (Labuschagne 2018). The PCF, legislated within the IGR Framework Act 13 of 2005, was the political realm for envisaged co-operation being promulgated for over ten years until 2016. For the first time since the turn of democracy, the local sphere of government saw dramatic political changes and with it came the challenge of co-operation, relation building, networking, and the fall of the envisaged co-ordination from 2003. Losing two powerhouses in Gauteng opened the room for greater evident discontentment between political parties in Gauteng and revealed their

inability to work together, agree on a common agenda, share leadership, and share power or trust each other as leaders working toward a common good for the people they serve –

> "[t]he advent of coalition rule is normally associated with domestic instability and fluctuation, because of the fragmentation of political control and the lack of internal party cohesion…The need for political coalitions is only required when a party, or a government, is in a minority situation and displays strong divisions, a lack of internal cohesion, and institutional instability in broader society." (Labuschagne 2018:97–98)

Coalition governments in South Africa have faced various challenges, including leadership and policy disagreements, as well as difficulty maintaining stability and meeting citizens' expectations. Despite these challenges, coalition governments have provided a means for smaller parties to have a voice in government and have helped to increase accountability and transparency in decision-making processes (van Heerden 2019).

Political scientists have debated the stability of coalition governments. While some argue that coalition governments can lead to policy paralysis and inconsistent decision-making (Hayward 2000), others assert that they promote compromise and co-operation, leading to better governance outcomes (Lijphart 1999). Regardless, coalition governments have become a common feature of democratic politics in many countries around the world, and their impact on governance and politics continues to be studied and debated by scholars. Coalition governments are common in Northern Europe, where the concept of place leadership emerged as discussion and studies (Sotarauta & Beer 2017; Sotarauta 2018a) – in the Netherlands, Finland, Germany, and Belgium, coalition governments formed from a majority alliance are a common feature of government rule, while Denmark features minority coalition or alliance government (Labuschagne 2018). What is often forgotten in the South African context is that democracy was built on a coalition government. It was called a Government of National Unity at the time and not a coalition. Perhaps it is a question of semantics but more importantly it highlights the stance and influence of leadership. The leadership at the time was focused on a common agenda of building a democracy and eradicating the ills of the past, serving the people and uniting a nation once divided. The coalition governments of today in Gauteng have a leadership that tolerates each other with differing agendas and power struggles.

In the face of coalition governments, differing agendas and rapid and frequent power shifts, the GCR has faced challenges of leadership and governance amidst shifting power

dynamics. In the 2021 local elections, the major political parties experienced significant declines in voter turnout and support (Mkhize et al. 2021). The metropolitan municipalities (Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni and Tshwane), the district (West Rand), and local (Midvaal and Mogale City) municipalities saw the ANC lose majority votes and other parties forming coalition agreements, with Democratic Alliance leadership in most municipalities, while the remaining, less economically powerful district municipality (Sedibeng) and local municipalities (Lesedi, Emfuleni, Randwest, and Merafong) remained with the ANC in seat. A coalition government was unchartered territory in South African politics. The need to balance power, trust, and intergovernmental relations in a city-region and a democracy was tested. This realisation continued into 2022, with different political parties governing in the city-region.

While writing this thesis, the reality of coalition governments and the tension between and within political parties in South Africa was revealed across national, provincial, and local government levels, with leadership changes at all three levels. Premier David Makhura resigned from office in late 2022, making way for new leadership across the provincial government – from the announcement of Premier Lesufi as the new political leader of Gauteng to new Ministers of Executive Council across the province, the province was faced with leadership changes, creating a sense of instability and continued mistrust –

> "Lesufi's reshuffle reiterates the leadership crisis that the ANC experiences. The party has a lack of both capable and ethical leaders to improve the lives of the poor, and instead reverts to chair swapping in a bid to save face in the lead-up to the 2024 elections. Gauteng residents will not be encouraged by these changes, while voters will see through Lesufi's empty promises of removing e-tolls during his term – a promise his party already made back in 2016." (Bongani Baloyi cited in Masungwini 2022: para. 15).

Changes in political leadership were followed by changes in administration heads, which Premier Lesufi explained as a need to aid faster service delivery in the province (Zulu 2023). This was followed by further upheaval at local level with the unseating of the Mayor of Johannesburg – the province's key metropolitan (Njilo 2023). A new Mayor and new Members of Mayoral Council were sworn in from fairly unknown political parties, creating further trepidation among citizens (Cele 2023; Ramushwana 2023). This was then followed by further changes at national level, with the Deputy President announcing his

resignation. Reaction to this was a call to the President to restructure his Cabinet with the view from business and academia that there was a need to appoint more credible leaders (Bingwa 2023; Mntambo 2023). The appointment of a new Deputy President followed, but this was met a few months later with a high level of scrutiny and murmurings of corruption and state capture regarding the new appointment to the office of the Deputy President (Grootes 2023; Moalusi 2023). As expressed earlier in this thesis, corruption is one of the contributing elements to breeding mistrust in government institutions (Gyimah-Boadi 2021).

Frequent changes in leadership, corruption, state capture, a lack of confidence in the existing leadership, party politics, divisions between political parties, and power-grabbing have set the stage for the need to reconsider the province's governance mechanisms and to assess the impact of leadership on governance, thereby impacting on the development of the region and country (Cilliers 2022; Patel 2023; Ramphele 2023). This thesis sets out to do this and contribute to the understanding of the relationship between place leadership and different forms of governance.

Given the new dynamics in the GCR, Gauteng would best be served to pursue city-region governance through the formal structures that the Constitution provides: "…to pursue the GCR objectives, the provincial government is constitutionally permitted to establish minimum standards for municipal functions" (Visser 2019:200). Visser (2019) argues that the GCR has been reluctant to exercise its legislative powers, particularly in areas where there is shared authority with national powers. He goes on to suggest that perhaps the GCR needs to, in the absence of the pursuit of legislative powers, exercise softer measures to enable collaboration, such as intergovernmental relations and joint decision-making. Gauteng has these institutional structures in place to enable this – structures, such as the PCF and Minister of Executive Council (MEC) - Member of Mayoral Council fora, provide a platform for joined-up government processes.

Addressing these challenges requires collaboration between government, businesses and communities, as well as investment in new technologies and infrastructure. With most of South Africa's population growth taking place in the province, the government and local authorities face the challenge of ensuring that development takes place sustainably and equitably so that all residents share the benefits of growth.

This highlights the complexity of managing a province like Gauteng, which originated because of its economic and commuter flows but whose flows have been hampered by poor, fragmented regional planning made even more complicated through the different demarcations of authority over interconnected systems – divided as a result of administrative power. Governance responsibilities over the region thus devolved over time (Mabin 2013). Governance over the space, while initially locally driven, shifted in the ’50s toward predominantly being controlled centrally by national government. With the reformist development of Region H came the idea of regional services, allowing for governance by multi-regional bodies (Harrison & Zack 2012; Mabin & Harrison 2023). Provincial administration today continues to serve as an extension of the national arm, which controls budget dispensation to provinces. But cities had more resources in terms of rates and tax collections, so they could be fairly autonomous. While the South African government (The Constitution, 1996) speaks of co-operative governance, the hierarchy of the spheres of government is clear in reality.

Most functional areas of governance have an IGR or trans-scalar dimension within the broader constitutional framework of co-operative governance (see Figures 5-8 and 5-9) and so water is not unusual. The powers and functions of the three spheres of government are demarcated in Schedules 4 and 5 of the Constitution. Between 2000 and 2003, the responsibility of water and sanitation was shifted from 25 districts to local municipalities (SALGA 2016).

However, what is notable is that water-related functions are divided between national and municipal government, and there is no formal role for provincial government over waste management and water provision. Section 155(6) of the Constitution does allow for the supervision and monitoring of local government by provincial government, and where an issue does affect more than one municipality in a province, regional planning and development and provincial planning may intercept and may therefore warrant provincial government control or oversight in how municipalities administer a particular matter (Van Wyk, 2012).

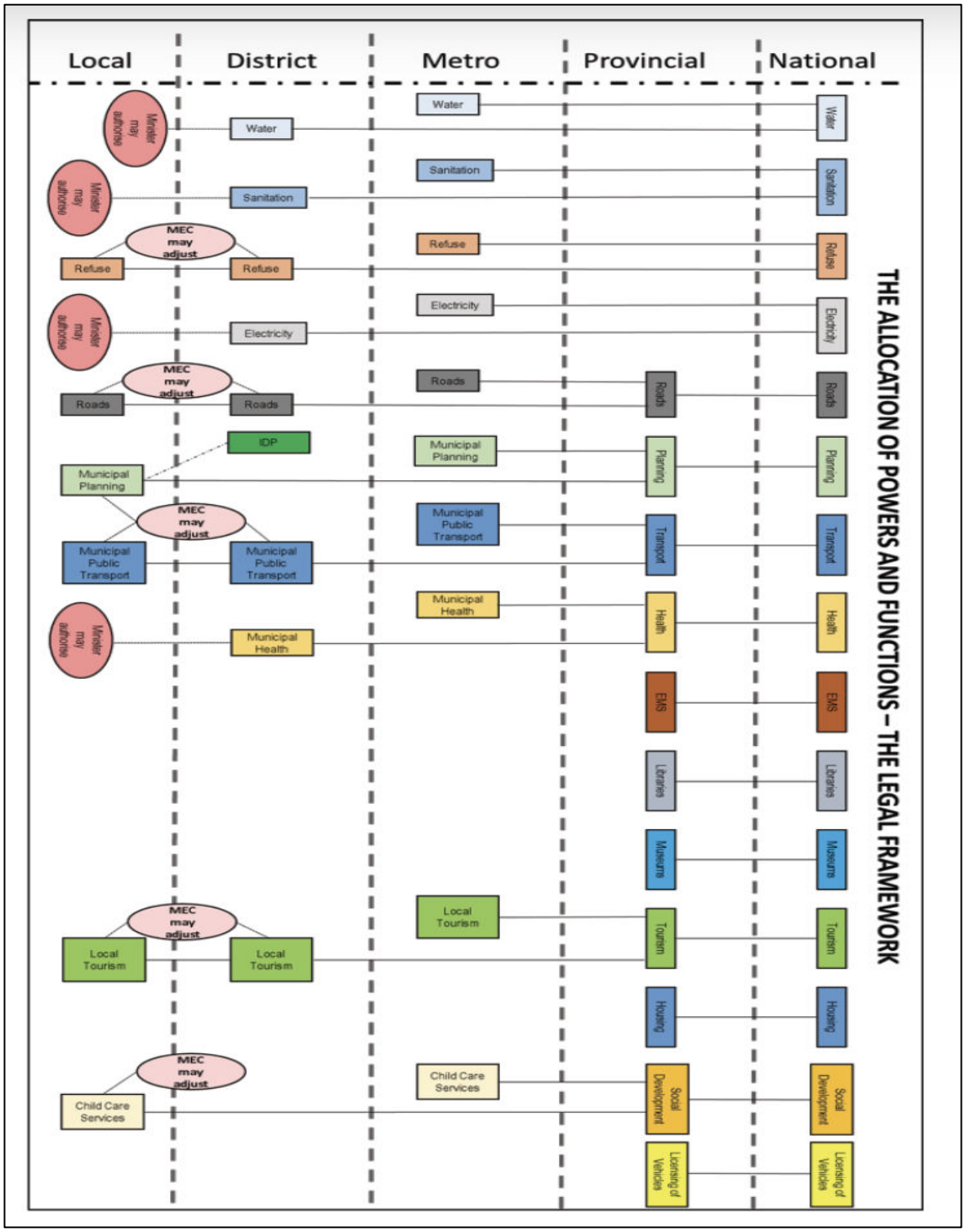


Figure 5-8. Powers and functions - The legal framework (SALGA 2016:17)

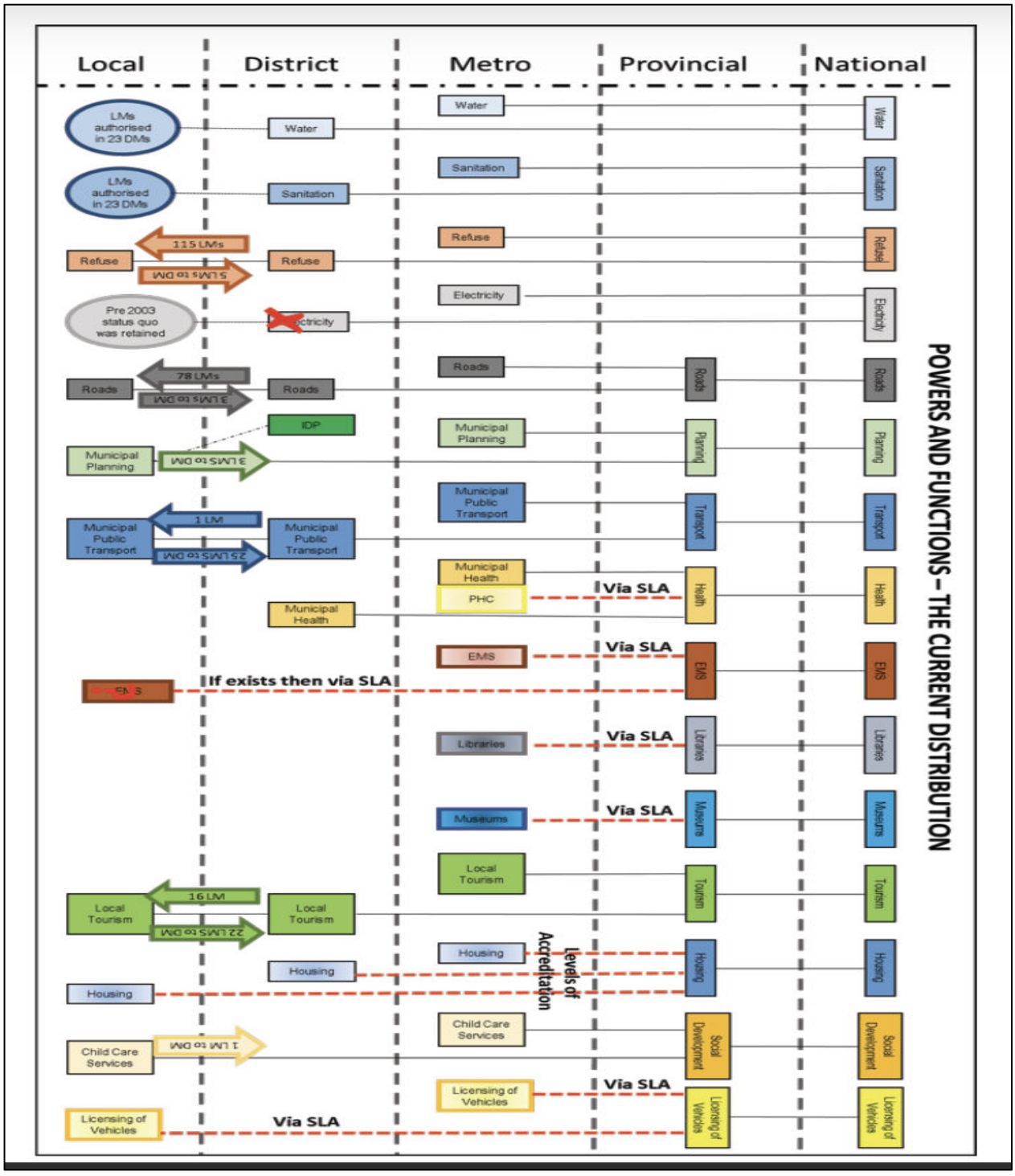


Figure 5-9. Powers and functions in practice (SALGA 2016:18)

Power is thus ambiguous but rests in the holder of the purse and thus largely renders provincial government less powerful than local or national government. Thus, while it may seem that the province holds power and control over local governments, in reality, local governments are a lot more autonomous, independent, and powerful than provincial governments. This highlights the opportunity for provincial government to collaborate

with local governments to shape the city-region's development through trans-scalar place leadership, collaboration, trust building, and power sharing. Harrison (2023:165) summarised, "The GCR is a well-embedded concept, but its practice, in formal terms at least, has been fractious and partial. However, city-region governance is not dependent on formal structures, and joint problem solving is happening through interpersonal networks, although with the limitations of not having institutional authority."

5.4 Introducing the Thematics and Concluding

This chapter explored the context of the GCR, which is my case study. It indicates the immense complexity of the city-region in terms of its spatial, political, and institutional arrangements.

For example, it reflected on the changing political landscape over time in the GCR and how the politics of today is very much entrenched in a context of corruption, leadership challenges, infighting, differing agendas, and party divisions. The shift toward a coalition government in the region reflects Gauteng's political landscape, and while we see the rise of the minority political parties and new leaders, continued competitive politics does little to serve the needs of Gauteng's residents.

In further chapters, three dimensions of the GCR will be discussed in more detail. Firstly, the temporal dimension. The main point of context here is that the GCR is a place of political and leadership dynamism. While there have been periods of stability since the 2000s, the 2016 municipal elections marked the beginning of a period of fluidity in regional politics.

Secondly, the context of crisis during the COVID-19 pandemic. Gauteng was affected like any other regional globally but had its distinctive history as its disadvantage. Gauteng, together with the Western Cape, are South Africa's regions most connected globally, and so were impacted by the pandemic early in 2020. The details of Gauteng's response to COVID-19 are indicated in Chapter Seven, but important points of context include the national government's hierarchical and directive approach to COVID-19 governance, the assertive role played by the Premier and his Director-General, and the weakness of the provincial Health Department, which came into the crisis already scandal-ridden and lost further credibility during the crisis with major corruption scandals that led inter alia to the resignation of the political head of the health portfolio.

Thirdly, the dimension of trans-scalarity in governance. This chapter has indicated the complexities of South Africa's new Constitution, which allocated distinctive and shared functions across the three spheres of government, and in relation to the shared functions required the three spheres to work together collaboratively for the public good. The de facto situation, however, is somewhat different, with the spheres often competing with each other and with inter-governmental relations often fractious. As a context, we, therefore, need to understand both the constitutional arrangements and the realities of practice.

6 Chapter Six: Findings and Analysis – Place Leadership in the Gauteng City-Region Over Time

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first of three chapters that present the findings from the interviews that were conducted with government officials, academia, and practitioners. The theoretical views that were covered in the literature exploring city-regions (Chapters One and Five), place leadership (Chapter Three), and governance (Chapters One, Three and Five) will be utilised for the analysis of the outcomes of the research.

This chapter addresses research objective one: *To investigate the application of the idea of place leadership by adding a stronger temporal dimension*.

A contextual framing of the GCR was presented in Chapter Five. This chapter begins by reflecting on the perceptions of how GCR's leadership has changed over time. It draws on the views and experiences of interviewees, looking at their interpretation of what a city-region is and how leadership have navigated governance, vision, and purpose for this space over time. This chapter examines *How the emerging concept of 'place leadership' can be applied in the complex and dynamic environment of the Gauteng City-Region.* It gives significant attention to 'trust' between leaders and followers as a key feature of context ('the low-trust environment') and as a consequence of leadership quality.

6.2 The Place of Temporality in Place Leadership for City-Regions

The idea of temporality was presented in Chapter Three on place leadership. While temporality applies to the contextual dynamics of the city-region, it also applies to the nature of governance and leadership, with their evolutional nature critical to their performance (Das 1987; Zaccaro & Klimoski 2001; Bluedorn & Jaussi 2008). Understanding the changing context of space is necessary to understand the nature and approaches of leadership, as is understanding the temporality of leadership. In the section below, I elaborate on the temporality of urban context and temporalities of government and leadership, specifically of place leadership, before dealing empirically with the temporalities of the GCR.

6.2.1 Temporalities of urban context

Simply put, the temporality of context means that history matters to the nature of the context. It is an obvious point, but many accounts of city-regions and their governance and leadership are abstracted from the histories that produce them. Harrison (2023) made this a

central point in his analysis of the physical form, discourse, and governance of city-regions across Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa. He pointed to various writers who drew on a historical institutionalism to discuss city-regions. However, there are other dimensions to the temporality of urban spaces apart from the long passage of time, with Hutter and Wiechmann (2022) indicating, for example, the importance of aspects including rhythm, tempo, sequence, and time perspectives.

For Wunderlich (2013), the flow of people moving through space creates a rhythm in the urban environment, which people experience as the temporality of place. Kärrholm (2017:685) too argues that "territories also define times and temporalities…[and] space has always been prioritised over time". For Kärrholm (2017), temporality is the result of a divergent group of actors co-producing events. Grillitsch et al. (2022) believe that the role of temporality and agency has not been explored enough in regional studies. They argue that temporality is necessary in urban studies to explain how agency and time influence the evolution of institutions and structures. As Rast (2012:24) says deliberately, "History matters because time and temporality matter." Temporality not only assists us in understanding urban change but also in our reflections on governance, politics, cultural shifts, social dynamics, and identity with place.

6.2.2 Temporality of governance

Political rule unfolds within and over time (Howlett & Goetz 2014). It is institutionalised through mandates, terms of office, and voting requirements to enable office to be held and terms of policy. This temporal nature is intrinsic to governance. When a new political leader comes into office, it is quite common for their performance to be assessed over the first 100 days in office – from setting goals to reflecting on achievements for that period. Effective governance of cities necessitates the creation of both short-term and long-term policies. Striking this balance in temporality allows those charged with the governance of urban spaces to manage the short-term needs of spaces and the complexity of long-term challenges that cities face while enabling the resilience and sustainability of spaces.

By examining regime changes and policy shifts, Grzymala-Busse (2011) illustrate how temporal factors influence causal processes. Grzymala-Busse (2011) highlights the importance of understanding relationships over time, as well as the importance of context when seeking to understand the relationship between temporality and outcomes. Thus, temporality of governance speaks to the broad spans of time that relate to the development

of politics and governance that shapes urban spaces through policy and political intervention and focuses on creating a sustainable future in space and time through relationships in the present, influenced by the past, coupled with moments of uncertainty in between.

6.2.3 Temporality of leadership

Leadership has become an important agency to assist in solving the many challenges that urban spaces face – from migration to climate change and sustainability matters. Climate change initiatives are time-based, with the Sustainable Development Goals, for example, focused on Agenda 2030. Leadership is given a specific time frame to exercise their power and decision-making abilities to solve the crisis at hand (Wolfgramm et al. 2015).

Tomkins and Simpson (2015) argue that temporal multiplicity requires leadership grounded and engaging in the present, with attention to the immediate and a clear awareness of the past while being prepared for the future. This is similar to the reference by Bass and Avolio (1994) to past, present, and future-time outlooks, which I use partly to structure the material below.

While temporality has many dimensions, the bottom line for my work here is that we must bring together past-time, present-time, and future-time outlooks in understanding the ongoing efficacy of leadership.

6.2.4 Temporality of place leadership

Historically, the literature on place leadership has not been explicit on its relationship to temporality, though the temporal perspective is embedded in the idea of place leadership. Hence, my concern is not about bringing temporality to place leadership (as I initially set out to do) but rather surfacing the hidden dimensions of place leadership in the literature.

Place leadership scholars argue the importance of understanding context in everyday practice (Trickett & Lee 2010; Budd & Sancino 2016), and some contributions, notably Sotarauta (2010, 2017, 2020), begin framing context with a historical account. Several other contributions from a broad-based place leadership framing explore ideas of path dependence in territorial development (for example, Sotarauta et al. 2021b; Grillitsch et al. 2022). In an account of the role of different actors in green path development in the Nordic regions, Sotarauta et al. (2021b:22) argue, “Actors frame issues about and for the future, co-ordinate their actions in the present and make sense of what may have transpired in the past.”

From a normative perspective, the literature offers a future-time outlook by arguing that one of the important ingredients for place development is a vision or co-created agenda for the development of place, and this requires leadership with strong skills in weaving collaboration (Crosby & Bryson 2005; Sotarauta 2005, 2018).

The studies on temporality and place leadership have been predominantly explored from a path dependency approach, and they all reiterate the importance of context in understanding how actors determine choices to aid regional development pathways. The literature does not consider temporality and the role of agents in a multi-scalar governance context or across territorial boundaries, but this is the theme of Chapter Seven.

6.3 The Temporalities of Leadership in the Gauteng City-Region

The GCR's rich history has shaped it spatially, economically, and politically, as expressed in Chapter Five. Declaring Gauteng a city-region would allow for the advancement of Gauteng as a financial hub and bring in the necessary resources to create jobs and stimulate the economy beyond mining. Leadership understood that mining was a scarce and depleting resource; therefore, other avenues for economic growth had to be advanced to enable the survival of this space, which continues to attract high levels of in-migration. This was the temporality of intentions of the leadership in the early 2000s referred to by Grillitsch et al. (2022a) – to look at this space beyond the administrative boundaries that hold promise for development pathways to be leveraged upon and will allow for the city-region's economic growth and competitiveness agenda.

The next part of this chapter will examine temporalities in the GCR through a past-present-future-time outlook that has been proposed by various scholars across the social science discipline using the teaching of social identity theory and path dependency, and most recently, path development (Haslam et al. 2010; Steen 2016; Grillitsch & Sotarauta 2018; Sotarauta et al. 2021b). The next part will thus consider the findings of this research within each of these temporal perspectives. The past-time outlook will be explored utilising some of the previous QoL results, respondents' perceptions, and observations from the qualitative interviews, literature, and other writing, while the present-time outlook will utilise the 2020/2021 VI QoL study and the future-time outlook will explore responses from the qualitative study and my views and experiences. Responses from the interviewees reflect their consideration of temporality as responses to questions in the interview often

sparked a (knee-jerk) reflection on the past and the leadership that once was compared to what is and what the GCR needs in the future.

6.3.1 Past-time outlook

Social identity and path dependency argue that a past-time outlook understands how the past influences the present and how the present holds promise for the future. I structure the argument for the need to understand place leadership in the GCR through the past-present-future-time outlook as defended by temporality arguments. The time frame for this study is from the early 2000s to the present within the context of the GCR.

However, this period cannot be abstracted from the longer durée. What is popularly considered to be a good leader in the GCR is strongly shaped by the collective experience of Apartheid rule. Leadership legitimacy depended on its perceived effectiveness in reversing the effects of Apartheid and expanding the benefits of the city-region to an expectant population through inclusion and redistribution. But the GCR is also the heartland of the national economy, and the established and emergent economic elite are concentrated there. They have expectations that leadership will create the conditions for growth and competitiveness.

Effective and legitimate leadership in the GCR thus likely requires balancing different objectives, even if an individual leader may be oriented in one direction or another – towards competitiveness or inclusion, for example.

The idea of the GCR allowed for leadership to manage these tensions, although initially, it was criticised for being a tool for global competitiveness only. Harrison (2023) explains how the idea of GCR cohered in the early 2000s as a new generation of leaders cast around for ideas that would mobilise public interest and action. Earlier ideas of metropolitan or city-region governance (for example, the PWV) were reframed within the context of a new global discourse on the globally competitive city-region (Scott 2001). Although the arrival of the GCR as a concept was not straightforward and there were different leaders at various levels involved in the process, an individual leader played a compelling role.

Mbhazima Shilowa was a former trade unionist with the ambition to lead Gauteng province as a globally competitive city-region. He had the capability and will to mobilise and shape circulating ideas into political projects. These included the Gauteng Rapid Rail System (Gautrain; informally known for a while as the Shilowa Express); Blue IQ, an

initiative to develop infrastructure to support new economy sectors; and the GCR as a concept in support of integrated or seamless governance (Doyle 2020).

Initially, many groupings in the ANC-led alliance were suspicious of a discourse grounded in ideas of global competitiveness, but Shilowa's success as a leader was to reframe the idea of a globally competitive city-region in terms of ideals of inclusion and redistribution, and in this way, he gained broad-based support for the idea. He said in 2008 (cited in Harrison 2023:161), "As we push ahead with our efforts to build Gauteng as a globally competitive city-region, we are conscious of the fact that we need to take deliberate steps to ensure that this city-region continues to be socially inclusive and indeed benefits the poorest of the poor."

Harrison (2023:161) expresses, "The discourse on the GCR was soon embedded within the political-bureaucratic realms and in the work of local scholars." A respondent in the interview remarked,

> "*When the new demarcation came for Gauteng, we asked ourselves how do we take this new space forward – remember places in the Free State and Mpumalanga and like Sasolburg and Sedibeng were part of the PWV – we were linked. Then, this new demarcation came, but we were still working together because we were socially and economically linked. How could we now move forward as this new province without taking them with us? It made socio-economic sense as we were all linked. We agreed that we needed to have a concept like the city-region – the GCR – so leadership of 2002 – the 2nd administration took this forward…it came from our lived and extensive experience as the UDF* [United Democratic Front] *and ANC.*" (PR09).

Taking an analytical snapshot at this time is likely to have concluded that leadership was succeeding admirably in its persuasive and mobilising task (even if implementation was still to come). The interviews reflected the view of effective leadership at this time.

> "*Gauteng produced the strongest leadership. We had the best intellectual capital. When you look today at the great leadership in this country, the leaders of the first administration – they were bred in Gauteng. When I was the Mayor of Boksburg, I worked with great leaders across the province…across the country. We had progressive leadership…the calibre of leadership from the 1st and 2nd administration was the crème de la crème…go to the NEC today and you will find them because they were grabbed*" (PR09).

When reflecting on past leadership of the GCR, respondents commented that the leadership from 2005 to roughly the end of that decade was

> "*a vibrant, thriving inspired leadership at that point in time bold and brave…they had a vision for the city-region, and they put in place mechanisms like Blue IQ to enable the vision…The vision for the province was bold. There's no other way to describe it. It was big, and it was bold, and it was larger than life, and it was exciting.*" (NR02)

A participant believed that "*we had a very strong leadership….I think we had very strong individuals and a very strong collective*" (PR04). Leadership was viewed as "*interesting visionary leadership being exercised back then*" (AR04).

There were, however, some contextual advantages for the Gauteng leadership. The ANC, representing the party of liberation, still inspired widespread political support and admiration.

> "*At that time, we had content developers, thinkers, strategists, idea developers. They just needed the implementers...the people who would take the ideas and get the work done…like Shilowa would say do Gautrain, and then we had the people who would take that idea and make it happen.*" (PR09)

Between 2000 and 2016, the ANC dominated provincial and metropolitan government in Gauteng, as it dominated national government. So, the ANC's political visions in Gauteng did not require inter-party negotiation, although, as shown, there was a need for intra-party negotiation, which Shilowa succeeded in by shaping the idea of the city-region. The significance of holding a political majority was indicated by a respondent who believed,

> "*When this notion of a city-region was conceptualised, and there was a lot of energy in implementing it…the ruling party was in the majority. So, it was easy to talk that language…I think we had a very strong leadership…very strong individuals and a very strong collective…their resolve in understanding the bigger picture in what has to be done, and they enjoyed support.*" (PR06)

However, while seen as bold and brave, the vision did not gain the momentum envisaged. The region could create competitive opportunities, expand the production of goods and services, and increase GDP, but by 2015, the ripple desired effects of job creation and decreased inequality were not realised (Parilla & Trujillo 2015). One of the key reasons for

not being able to escalate the competitiveness agenda was the continued legacy of Apartheid – a lack of a skilled employment pool and educational disparities (Parilla & Trujillo 2015). After 2015, the growth momentum declined to a point where the city-region is now significantly lagging behind the national economy. The National Population Census (2022) indicates that the population growth in Gauteng is only 2.0%, which is only slightly above the national figure of 1.8%, indicating very little in-migration, while the figure for Johannesburg is only 0.8%, which suggests significant out-migration. There is a large-scale departure of the middle class for the Western Cape and other coastal regions (StatsSA 2023a). This reflects the poor economic performance of the region, particularly Johannesburg. National Treasury's tax data confirms this, showing employment growth in Johannesburg of only 1.0% per annum compared with 3.3% for Cape Town (SEAD SA 2023). Despite a bold start, the GCR has failed to evolve in the direction of the vision and may have even regressed. The difficult issue to understand is the extent to which leadership played a role in these failures (and in some of the successes that have happened notwithstanding).

The city-region agenda continued to be supported by the political leaders who followed Premier Shilowa, but the struggle was translating the agenda into meaningful visions, institutions, and actions. Premier Nomvula Mokonyane led a collaborative process to develop a vision for the province, the province's first long-term plan, known as Gauteng 2055[3] and promulgated in 2013. In 2014, however, Premier David Makhura came into office with a different approach. He led from the front, rather than stitching together visions for collaborative governance, calling for the Transformation, Modernisation and Reindustrialisation of Gauteng (with the vision known as TMR).

Leadership approaches differed. It is impossible to say whether Mokonyane's approach would have worked, as it wasn't given a chance. The question was whether the forceful and directive leadership of Makhura worked.

A respondent in the interview commented,

> "*Very good TMR…but the fundamentals of that being deliberate…I haven't seen colleagues producing anything new; I think we are just going back to those projects that were listed during Blue IQ. We are not producing anything significant.*" (PR07)

[3] 2055 is the centenary of the Freedom Charter which set out the principles for a non-racial South Africa.

Another respondent, however, felt,

> "*The TMR Agenda is really doing something that required the challenge to the current systems of operation and a, a real significant shift in the economic trajectory and in the way that we actually implemented our programmes and a very divergent approach with business as usual.*" (NR02)

Another respondent felt that the TMR vision was a continuance of the leadership of Premier Shilowa and said, *"That kind of vision leadership has been picked up again by David Makhura in his recent years.*" (AR04)

But the reality of people not being taken along on the visioning and planning journey in Gauteng over time has had the effect of what Grillitsch et al. (2022) refer to as the temporality of consequences versus the temporality of intentions. While the intention to advance the economy was a good idea for the long-term future, what materialised in the present and the consequences of not taking people along have resulted in a vision not being realised in the future –

> "*Unfortunately, I think [that] its underlying intention, which was very big and bold, was not necessarily well understood by either the political champions or the kind of administrative leadership, and it really didn't materialise in, in transforming the economy in any significant way which is a real pity.*" (NR02)

The general view of respondents is that the TMR vision was not embedded within the political-bureaucratic apparatus of the GCR because it was associated with an individual and not with a negotiated or mediated process. While Mokonyane's Gauteng 2055 may not have had much impact, there is still a memory of the process within provincial government, and individuals refer to it. The extent to which government works collaboratively with other governance agents will be explored further in the present-time outlook when the current QoL results are presented.

The political landscape in the GCR changed significantly in 2016. In the August 2016 municipal elections, the ANC lost control of two of the three metropolitan governments to coalitions led by the Democratic Alliance, while the third metropolitan municipality was led by a faction within the ANC that was at odds with provincial governments.

The ANC, which had to date experienced a majority vote, saw declining support in national and provincial elections, but the local elections caused the political shock.

Table 6-1. Municipal voting patterns 2011-2016 (Götz et al. 2016)

	2011	2014	2016	Difference 2014-2016
Total valid votes	**3 068 363**	**4 382 163**	**3 551 447**	**-830 716**
ANC	1 855 613 (60%)	2 348 564 (54%)	1 637 585 (46%)	-710 979
DA	1 021 973 (33%)	1 349 001 (31%)	1 321 432 (37%)	-27 569
EFF	NA	451 318 (10%)	400 335 (11%)	-50 983
Spoilt ballots	38 771	42 261	51 339	
Total votes	3 107 134	4 424 424	3 602 786	
Registered voters	5 592 676	6 063 739	6 234 822	
Turnout	**56%**	**73%**	**58%**	

While voter turnout increased between 2011 and 2016 – "500 000 more voters turned out in the 2016 municipal elections than the 2011 polls" (Götz et al. 2016: para. 6), voter support for the ANC dropped from 60% in 2011 to 46% in 2016 (Table 6-1). What the ANC lost in 2016 at the local level, the Economic Freedom Fighters and Democratic Alliance gained. This was the beginning of increased tensions between the parties and a rise in differing agendas, causing greater contestation.

As depicted in Figure 6-1, the changes in mayoral leadership in the City of Johannesburg over time show steady, continuous leadership until 2021. The longest-serving Mayor was Mayor Amos Masondo, who governed unopposed for two consecutive terms, while Mayor Parks Tau governed for one term. Both mayors were representatives of the ANC. Mayor Herman Mashaba, from the Democratic Alliance, resigned from office to start his political party, Action Alliance. The untimely passing of two mayors (Geoffrey Makhubo and Jolidee Martongo) during the COVID-19 pandemic resulted in leadership changes that rival political parties did not accept, and constant calls for the ousting of a Mayor holding office were positioned for by opposing parties. Mpho Phalatse was ousted twice in a few months following votes of no confidence and her rebuttal that allowed her to return to office. At the time of writing this thesis, the Mayor of Johannesburg is Kabelo Gwamanda, representing the Al Jama-ah political party. He was elected in May 2023 following the resignation of his predecessor, who held office for three months. The revolving door of leadership (Figure 6-1) at the City of Johannesburg has been referred to as "The Circus of Mayors" by the media, with eight mayors recorded in two years (Mwareya 2023; City of Johannesburg 2023).

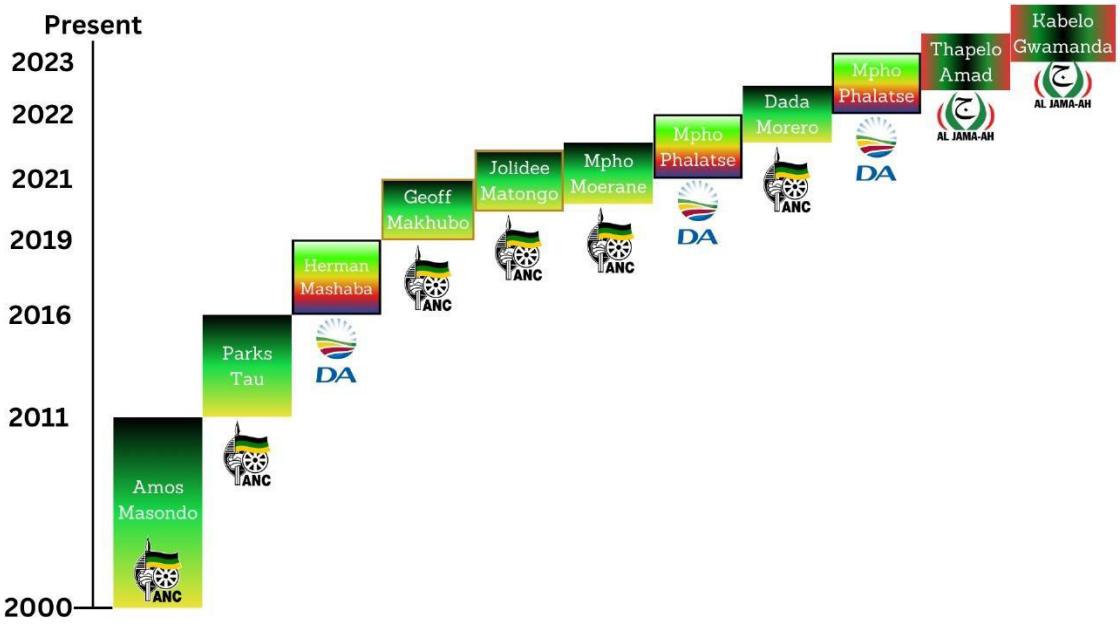


Figure 6-1. Johannesburg Mayors 1994 to 2023 (Author's own; source information from City of Johannesburg 2023)

The decline in support for the ANC in the 2016 municipal elections (Table 6-1) reflected growing dissatisfaction among South African voters with the party's handling of corruption, economic issues, and service delivery. The rising unhappiness with the ruling party, resulted in the implementation of a coalition government for rule (Labuschagne 2018).

The ANC has faced criticism for its inability to tackle corruption and address economic inequality, which has led to increasing frustration among the population. The rise of opposition parties, particularly the Democratic Alliance and the EFF, has also contributed to the decline in ANC support. The Democratic Alliance has been able to gain traction by presenting itself as a party that is better equipped to handle corruption and provide effective governance, while the Economic Freedom Fighters has been able to tap into the anger and frustration of South Africans who feel left behind by the country's political and economic system.

There was no immediate prospect of collaborative city-region governance, and the leadership skills needed to move the GCR in that direction were lacking. However, at the beginning of his second term in office, Premier Makhura offered a vision called 'Growing

Gauteng Together' – a vision for 2030, but he said this would be underpinned by the TMR Agenda, although its labelling was more inclusive. A respondent remarked,

> "*A leader, for me, [is] somebody whose vision is closely linked to the vision of the institution. It's someone [who] has got the ability and capability to rally the organisation, the institution and all its individuals and the organisation as a whole to achieve the goal or to work toward attaining the vision of the institution. And, for me, I think it's a person who does not rely much more on positional power. I think the person relies more on his ability to influence, to convince, to persuade, and to rally people around him a particular vision through engagements."* (PR06)

Given my close working relationships and my work on key projects with both Premiers in Gauteng – Mokonyane for one term and Makhura for two terms, I am able to provide comment on the leadership styles of these two leaders that I served[4]. Mokonyane, whilst at the province engaged all of the residents of Gauteng to craft the vision for the province – Gauteng 2055. Makhura, on the other hand, had chosen his vision without engaging the public in meaningful discourse to develop the TMR or GCR 2030 Agendas, emphasising his prerogative to 'lead from the front'. Over Makhura's two terms in office he was viewed though as a leader who sought justice (the decision to argue against E-tolls implementation and establish an arbitration process for Life Esidimeni) and attempted to root out corruption (through ensuring that officials who were involved in corruption scandals during COVID-19 were dismissed) (SABC News 2017; Grootes 2022). He was also seen as somebody who was perhaps really good at triumphing unscathed in the face of scandals (Grootes 2022). He was viewed as a leader who promoted evidence-based decision-making, promoting research and partnerships with academia. His promotion of the city-region agenda was debated, with some believing that he did promote it, whilst others say that he did not continue to promote it as Mokonyane did. Mokonyane's latter years of leadership in government (post provincial government) were marred by corruption scandals and inefficiency, which progressed as such given the emergent water crisis and the delays with the Lesotho Highlands Water Project (Phakati 2018, News24Wire 2018). Within the province, Mokonyane was seen as a leader who promoted the city-region agenda and a focused vision on how to attain the dreams of Premier Shilowa.

[4] There are different forms of leadership within Gauteng province which cannot simply be conflated with party leadership. Although the party has infused the bureaucracy, there is still a form of bureaucratic leadership that is not only about the dominant party (and, indeed, forms of self-servicing or corrupt interest that cannot be ascribed only to networks within the dominating political party.

Premier Makhura resigned from office in 2022, not seeing his term to the end. This was met with disdain by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, remarking that the ANC was committing political suicide and that "there are no signs that the newly elected leadership has understood...the people of the province have been crying for a people-centred governance model that is focused on resolving their problems, yet they are still waking up to headlines about leaders jostling for positions" (Citizen Reporter 2022). Premier Lesufi is the current Premier of Gauteng. Unlike Makhura, his leadership is focused on the township economy and employment creation. His leadership style is more populist, possibly coming from his history of being in public relations.

Over the last year (while writing this thesis), South Africa experienced significant leadership changes at national, provincial, and local levels. Over the last six months, South Africa has seen the public resignation of the Deputy President and changes in the national executive, the resignation of the Premier of Gauteng, the instatement of a new Premier, changes to the provincial executive and administration, the voting out of the Mayor of Johannesburg, the election of a new Mayor from a little-known minority party, and the instatement of a new local executive. Thus, to record this time in political history as contentious would be an understatement but is a true reflection of the troubled times of leadership and governance of the country and city-region – a political landscape characterised by mistrust, diffused power, differing agendas, corruption, and complexity.

A respondent reflecting on leadership in the GCR over time,

> "*I mean, if we were to look at the leadership produced in Gauteng the first ten years from 1994 to 2004 and come to 2004 and 2014 or maybe even to date, I think the quality is not improving. The quality is deteriorating. I am sure you are worried as a Gautenger; I am also worried [about] what is going to happen post-2022 elections in terms of leadership.*" (PR06)

6.3.2 Present-time outlook

Reflecting on present-day leadership, my respondents argued that "*Gauteng really has lost the plot from the early 2000s to where it find[s] itself right now"* (NR02). The constant changing of the guard with no single guiding continuous vision driven by collaboration is one of the main contributing factors to the lack of alignment and lack of continuity in delivery.

"*So a Mayor comes, and he's got his own views…Premier comes may or may not drive something… the other competing demands and issues are lost*" (PR05)…"*especially in Gauteng you win one or two cities if the party in that City totally disagree then the whole kind of agenda can be hampered, can be lost for another five or ten years, which I think in some ways is what happened from 2016.*" (PR05)

Interviewees reflect that the stability of a leader over time is also problematic, and their position is dependent on the party's inherent power struggles and, therefore, can change in a moment –

"*One meeting of PEC [Provincial Executive Council] can remove a Premier or a Mayor…they put those who are deployed in government in a very shaky position because their survival depends on political make-up in the ruling party…people tend to revert to their positional power…the politics of today are very different…it's more about who is in power, who can exercise the power…today, I think what is more emphasised is change, and there is no continuity. And that I think this is part of our weakness."* (PR06)

Another respondent remarked on the lack of engagement with stakeholders and considered the present state of politics in the city-region, indicating, "*Maybe its turf wars, maybe its politics, maybe differing agendas or clashing interests.*" (PR02)

The power dynamics is a critical part of the GCR today. Conflicts between the ruling parties have compromised service delivery.

The reality is that politics has shifted in Gauteng – from a single-party dominant rule to the present-day reality of coalition politics. To enable continued service delivery demands that leaders can share power and embed trust in their relationships. "*When it comes to municipalities, that's the worst area. That they, they…We are doomed in, in, in local government*" (PR09). The governance of the city-region requires collaborative relationships, but the real perception of present-day politics in the GCR is reflected in the current QoL VI 2020/2021 survey as an inability of political leaders to work together in Gauteng with over 50% of respondents indicating that they do not believe that political leaders from the different areas of government work well with each other (Figure 6-2).

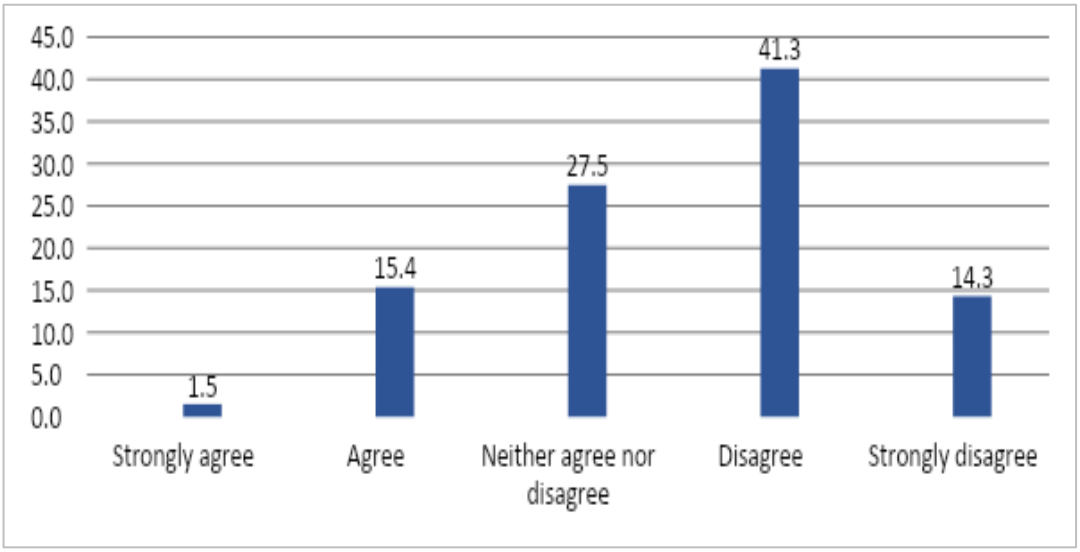


Figure 6-2. Do political leaders work well together? (Author's own; source information QoL 2020/21)

Wang et al. (2017) argue that when roles in shared leadership are stable, leadership performance is heightened due to increased co-ordination and predictability of tasks. Wang et al. (2017), in their study of shared leadership or leadership in networks over time, found that time can influence the development of stable leadership networks. Teams or networks with embedded roles engage in learning early on, which allows for the cultivation of stable leadership networks characterised by collaboration, networking, participation, and co-production, which hinges on the premise of shared power and compromise, consequently impacting leadership performance (Castells 2011; Purdy 2012). This inability to work together and remain focused on citizens' needs is reflected in the residents' perceptions of government performance (Figures 6-3; 6-4; 6-5).

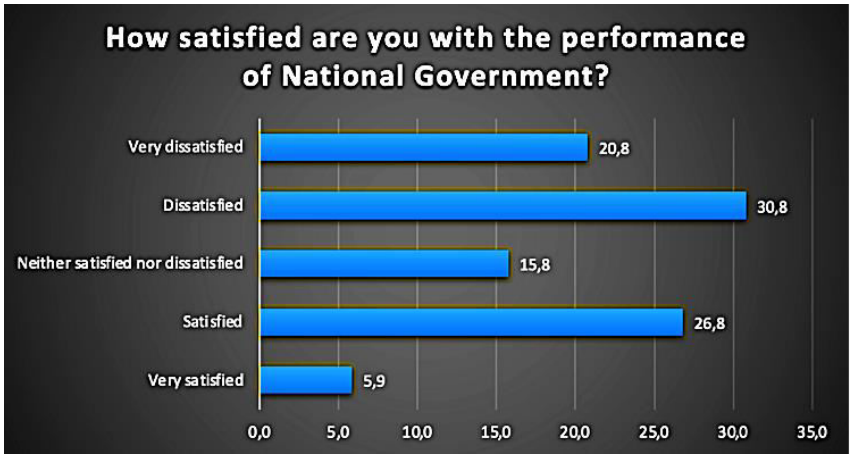


Figure 6-3. Performance – National government (Author's own; source information QoL 2020/21)

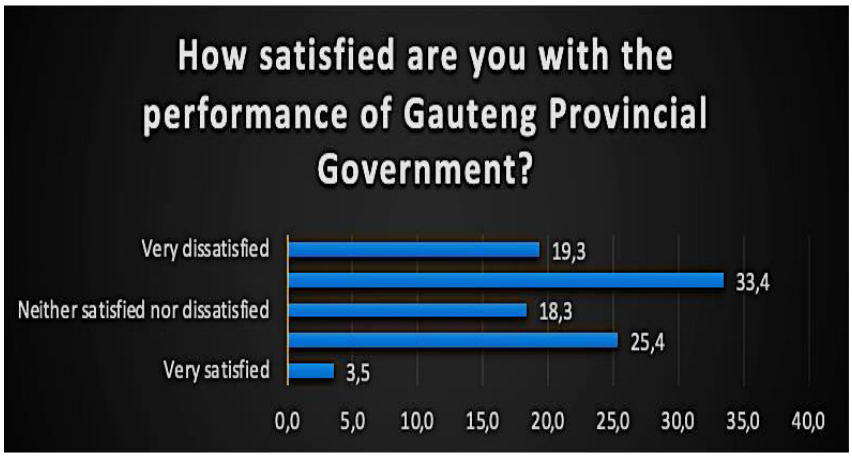


Figure 6-4. Performance – Provincial government (Author's own; source information QoL 2020/21)

Most respondents reflect being dissatisfied with the performance of government overall but mostly dissatisfied with the performance of their local government (Figure 6-5), which is at the coalface of service delivery (57.9%), followed by dissatisfaction with provincial government (52.7%). Place leadership proponents argue that place leaders can set in motion collaborative governance measures and a vision for the development of a region to enable the region's performance and are then able to assess performance against measurable goals set for the vision (Beer et al. 2019; Torfing & Sørensen 2019; Sørensen 2020).

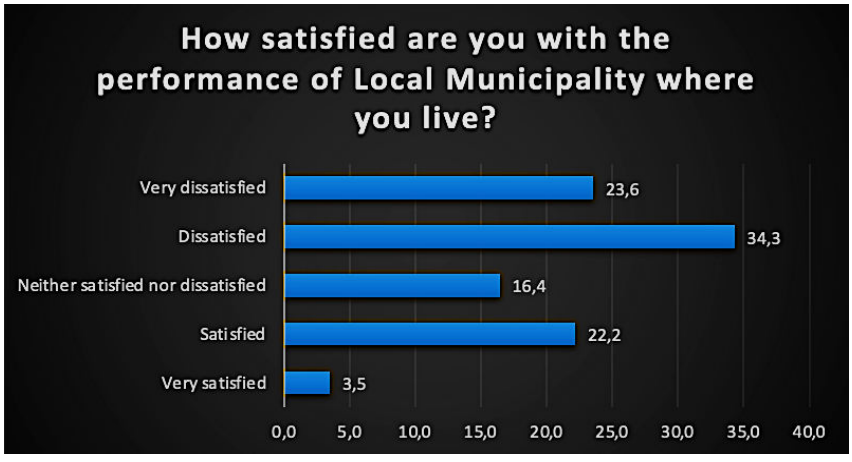


Figure 6-5. Performance – Local government (Author's own; source information QoL 2020/21)

Over time, between the 2011 and 2020 QoL surveys, satisfaction with government across the country dropped, with the province and local government recording the worst performance. This reflects resident's declining confidence levels in government. While one of the reasons could be that the survey was done during the COVID-19 pandemic, satisfaction with government has declined since 2013/14, with a slight improvement in

2015/16 but a drop again over the next surveys. Reasons for declining satisfaction include increasing levels of poverty, unemployment, crime, and declining service delivery (Seedat & Götz 2021).

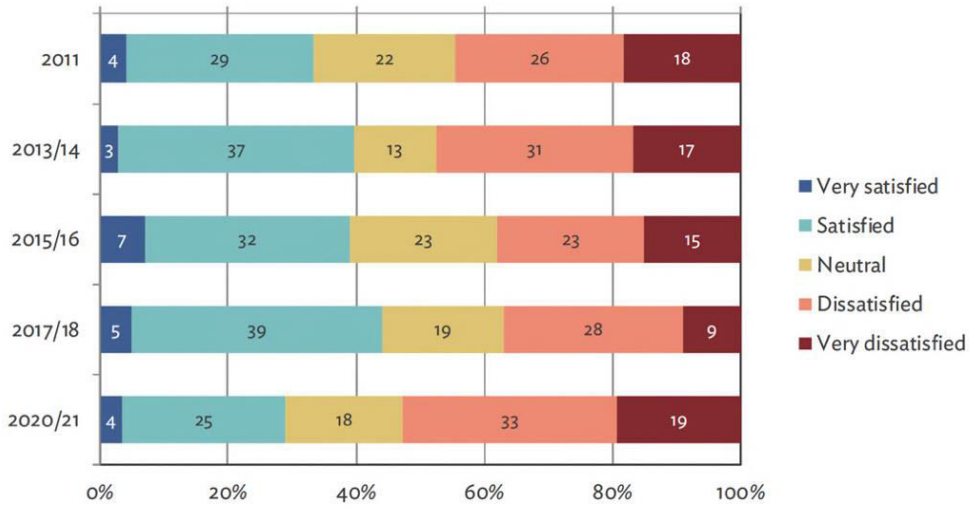


Figure 6-6. Satisfaction with provincial government over time (Seedat & Götz 2021)

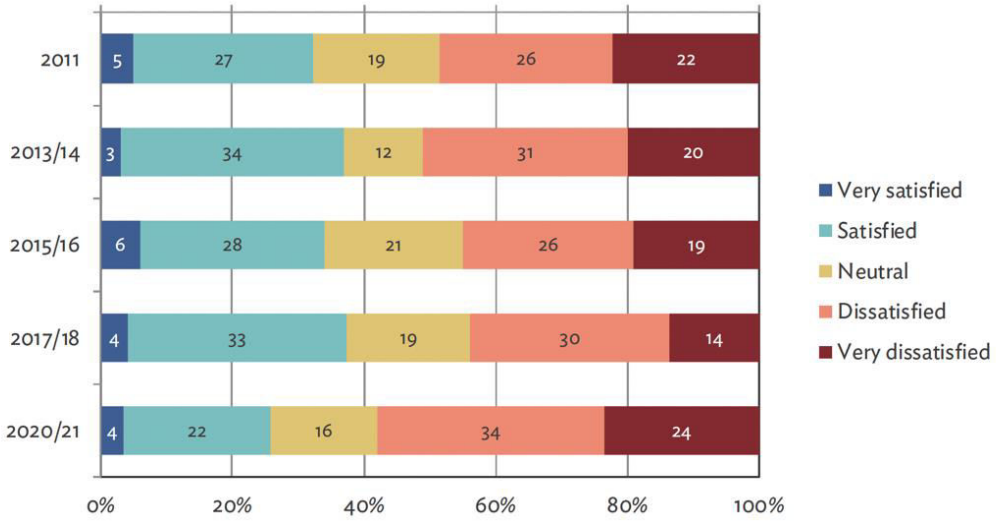


Figure 6-7. Satisfaction with local government over time (Seedat & Götz 2021)

The COVID-19 pandemic provided a case in point of the pace at which government is able to deliver and the ability of government to lead based on citizens' needs. It was just a space in time, unfortunately, and did not allow for sustainability of delivery yet provided a lens in understanding what is possible when government is focused, works in collaboration with each other and stakeholders, and puts the citizen at the centre of decision-making.

The QoL VI 2020/2021 quantitative data reveals declining confidence and loss of faith in government, especially at the municipal and provincial scales (that is, the government structures within the GCR). This data is, however, not an explanatory tool. However, combined with the qualitative information derived from the interviews, we can proceed with a strong presumption that the inability of leadership within the GCR to sustain the vision and ensure collaborative action was a key factor in this decline.

"*A Premier's job is to think…he must pull everyone together…not do. For the first time, we have a Premier who sits with officials in meetings. He is now compelled to go right to the base to ensure that everyone understands. It's a clear indicator that something is extremely wrong*" (PR09). Interviewees indicated that, over time, leadership in the province have shifted from being "*bold and ambitious*" (NR02) and being able to *"inspire action by rallying stakeholders around the vision"* (NR01) to being "*unable to secure buy-in*" (NR01, NR03, PR03) and perceived as "*leaders without vision*" (LR01, NR02, PR07, PR09).

> "*So that is what we are lacking…That ability to, to, to bring on board ideas, to resolve problems at the highest of levels, ability to think of how we can generate our own resources….the whole question of how do we sustain all or maintain that which was created during that period.*" (PR09)

There is a recognition that things are just not getting done like in the past.

> "*So we go, and we look at something, and it's interesting, and it would work, but we come back, and it's like the plan is to speak Chief, you know that just ask the right questions and do it…let's implement…if there's a water problem. Speak. Get the right people, and let's get it done…but people just want to talk, not do.*" (LR01)

Leadership is viewed as shifting from one priority to the next without those around them understanding the underpinning logic. This, coupled with the impacts of corruption and disengagement from citizens' needs, has depleted confidence and trust levels in the GCR.

Place leadership calls for leaders who can build trust and partnership to collaboratively deliver on a common agenda (Sotarauta 2014). After all, as Burns (1978:3) remarked, "Leadership is nothing but collective purpose". The reflections of interviewees, as well as survey respondents, indicate the power plays and mistrust in government and the inability of leaders to work together as a result of power struggles, divergent agendas, and growing

mistrust inherent between political parties that prevent leaders from working collaboratively. It must be noted that previous QoL surveys did not include questions on leadership or trust[5], so a temporal analysis was not possible, but as a snapshot, the findings of the QoL VI 2020/2021 are suggestive of deteriorating levels of trust.

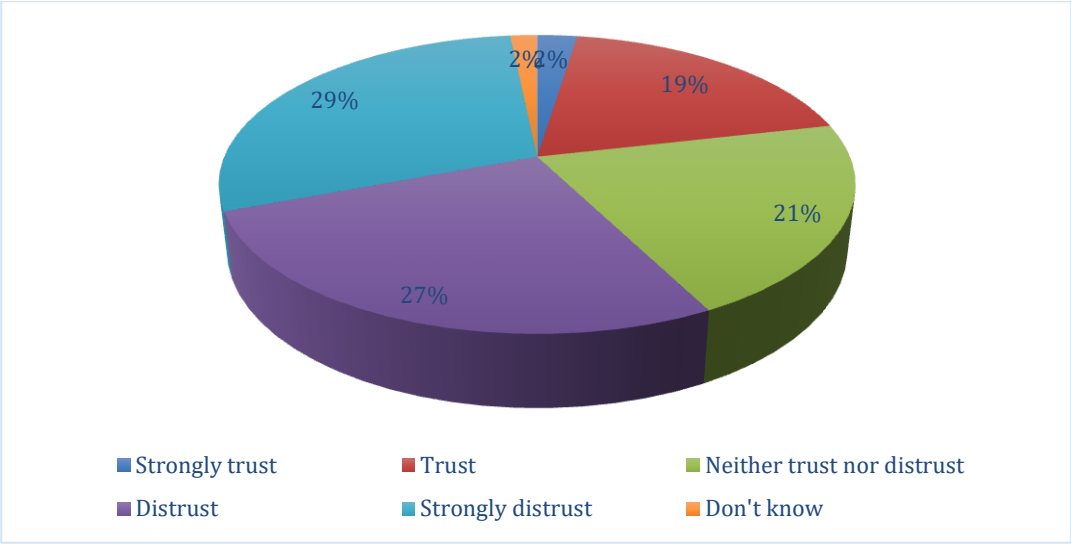


Figure 6-8. Trust in provincial government (Author's own; source information QoL 2020/21)

As Figure 6-8 reflects, over 50% of Gauteng residents do not trust the current leaders of our government. Residents with higher levels of education and higher income standards trust their leaders less.

Building credibility through transparency and accountability fosters trust and is key in decision-making and developing a clear agenda. An interviewee remarked, "*I don't think that those scandals help the citizens actually build trust at all*" (NR02), indicating that historical challenges in the GCR impact citizens' perceptions. Armstrong et al. (2022:1004) argue that trust is a process that is socially and spatially embedded over time and influenced by various factors, including knowing that "when they are making decisions that could affect you is important in establishing trust". A respondent in the interview concurred, remarking that trust is important in leadership and more interesting to understand when you add the dimension of space (NR05). A space like the GCR requires high levels of trust to enable development relations across boundaries, riddled with conflict even within local administrations. Thus, cultivating trust in a climate such as this across space is a complicated task but not an unachievable goal – it requires the right leadership focused on task and purpose.

[5] I was able to include these questions for the 2020/2021 QoL through engagements with the GCRO.

The Centre for Creative Leadership (2022: para. 30) says, "Leadership trust isn't a once-off initiative…it takes leaders who are willing to show integrity, change behavior, and take on the hard work of collaborating across boundaries and dealing with differences…When trust is present, people align around the purpose of their team, embrace goals and objectives, willingly collaborate, and are empowered to do their best." Trust is cultivated over time and is time and context-specific. Huemer (2014:566) remarks that trust is an interacting set of emotions and assessments that develop and change over time and changes from the "jungle to the rainforest". Trust is fragile. It depends largely on honouring what you said you would do and ensuring you build trustworthiness over time. "It is about getting the basics right. It is about politicians doing what they are supposed to do – identifying the problems, finding the solutions, getting public servants in the right frame of mind to implement them and setting deadlines for results" (Munusamy 2015: para. 11). This was recognised by Premier Makhura in his first term of office when he remarked, "There must be better performance of government and its responsiveness enhanced. The trust deficit between government and citizens must be closed" (Munusamy 2015: para. 35). Enabling performance and building credibility allows for trust building, which is one of the key avenues to enabling place leadership.

Power is also an influencer of trust as "power affects the possibility of trust and trustworthiness, it also may affect the kinds of cooperation that take place on the basis of trust and trustworthiness" (Farrell 2004:6); therefore, leadership needs to understand that engagement with stakeholders is an important part of leveraging power in leadership. "Leaders, followers, and situations are not static entities that exist independently of each other, but elements that interact to shape each other and it is through this interaction that the power of leadership is unleashed" (Haslam et al. 2010:73). Interviewees speak to a sense of non-engagement in the GCR. According to interviewees, leaders in Gauteng do not put the citizen at the centre of their agenda and are, therefore, unable to co-create an agenda for success (NR02, PR04). Leaders cannot get buy-in from stakeholders, and there is no will to (PR06, PR04). Respondents further remarked that leaders are not accountable (PR06, PR07, NR01, NR02).

Leaders are responsible and able to work with key stakeholders to co-create public value by engaging a broad range of public and private actors in finding solutions to problems that require public action. A respondent also said, "*I don't think we spend our time in real*

engagement…there is no meaningful meeting of the minds between what citizens want and what government is able to deliver on" (NR02).

This view is supported by the respondents to the GCRO QoL VI 2020/2021 survey (Figure 6-9).



Figure 6-9. Leaders' engagement with stakeholders (Author's own; source information QoL 2020/21)

An interview respondent commented that Gauteng has spoken to stakeholders already.

> "*But at the beginning, we really tried to bring all these stakeholders on board, but generally the feeling was because of the pressures of the province as we are faced with, we need to go and do these things because also meeting with stakeholders, you have a scenario where you're going to be told this is wrong, and you go to that group this is right and you end up having an implementation paralysis and it was my view that we have already interacted with stakeholders under Makhura extensively; stakeholders told us to do. I mean, everybody has told us, even international. I mean, we met the ambassadors of [the] EU, you know, Africa. We know exactly what their primary fear is, so [we] deal with those fears. [We] just deal with those. It's just about doing it, not talking about it, it's known.*" (PR09)

Place leadership argues that leadership is distributed across society (Peck 2017). Citizens are local leaders who understand the local challenges present and are often best able to contribute to the solutions needed. It is important that residents feel they are leaders in their own right, able to influence the developments in society. While respondents to the survey reflected feeling they were not included in decision-making (Figure 6-9), they did

feel they could influence developments in their community (Figure 6-10). This is an important consideration for temporality, as indicated by authors such as Sotarauta et al. (2021b) and Steen (2016), who argue for the role of agency in development.

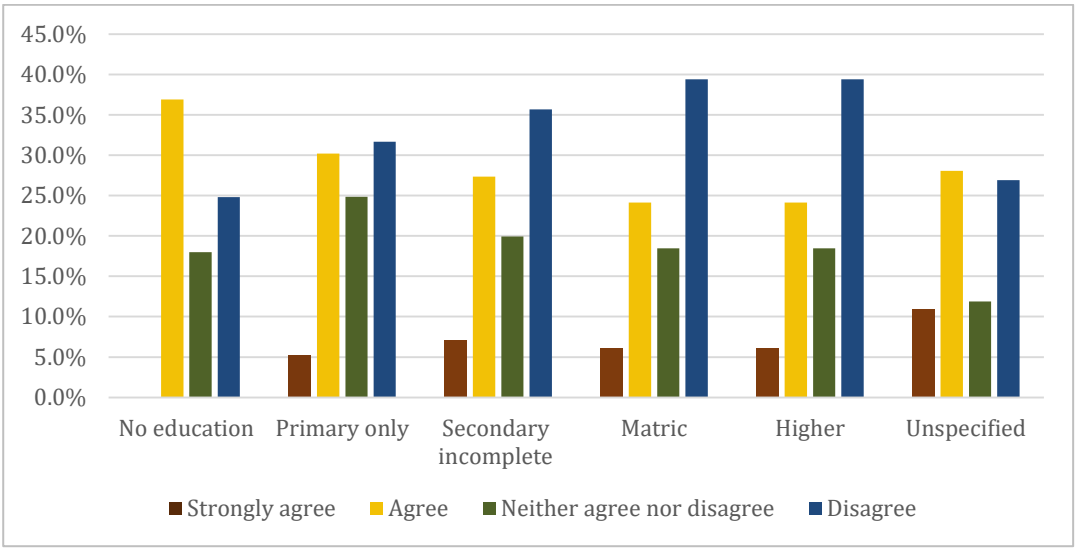


Figure 6-10. Influencing development in the community by education level (Author's own; source information QoL 2020/21)

While respondents with higher education reflect lower trust in government (reflected earlier), those with higher education feel they are able to influence developments in their community (Figure 6-10). Blacks feel they have the least ability to influence developments in their community (Figure 6-11). This reflects the impact of the past on the present – socio-spatial inequalities have persisted over time in the GCR and still influence the perceptions of races today on their level of ability to influence their standing in society.

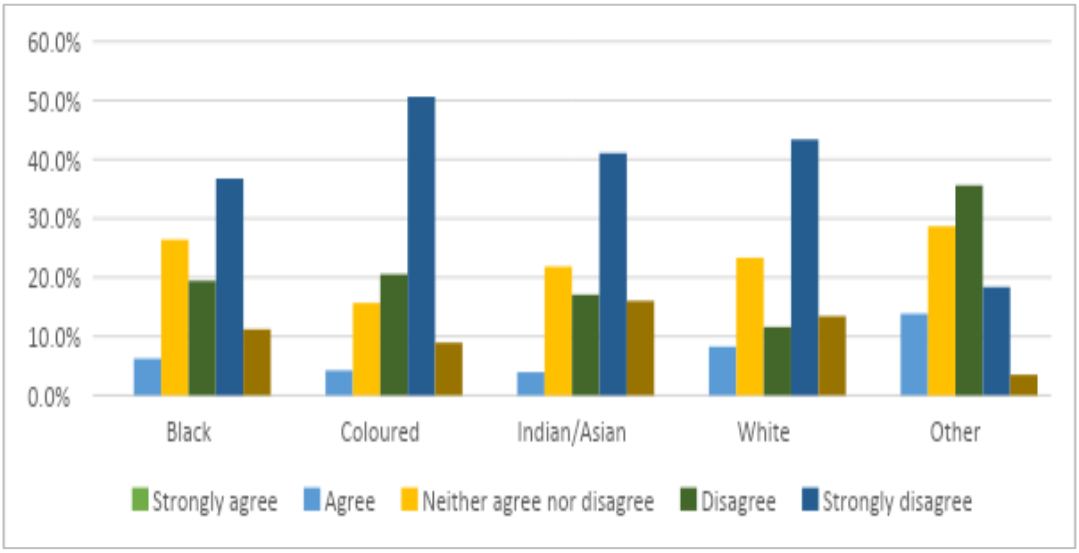


Figure 6-11. Influencing development in the community by race (Author's own; source information QoL 2020/21)

Thus far, I have focused on leaders within provincial government over time, especially the Premiers. However, leadership is a system, and there are agents of leadership across all spheres of society, and their relationships with each other are critical. The leaders in metropolitan government, for example, are also deeply implicated in the post-2016 failures of relational leadership.

> "*When it comes to municipalities, that's the worst area. They, they, WE are doomed in, in, in local government. So we need, we need a restart and it cannot be done by the province. You know it can only be done by national. I mean, they are able to see where we are going at this level of province, the type of leaders will not be able and be trusted to be doing the right thing. I mean, we have failed in intervening in Tshwane, including in Emfuleni; you know how would you go and, and intervene in Joburg. I mean, you will create the biggest of mess, so that's what we have. The type of leaders that we're having are not ready for the type of challenges that we're having, and that's life. Even if you were to have the resources financial resources to be able to mitigate against the present problem. Money doesn't solve problems. GOOD LEADERSHIP solves problems!*" (PR09)

Then, there is leadership in civil society, business, academia, the media, and more. Overall, respondents in the interviews highlighted the need for collaboration across government sectors and were critical of government not leveraging on the power of civil

society – "*I don't necessarily think that Gauteng harnesses its citizens, and of course, there is a powerhouse of amazing individuals in the province*"(NR02).

Interviewees highlight that failure in leadership was not unidirectional but that leaders from across sectors of society have not taken the initiative to engage and partner with government. One respondent was critical of academia and the media:

> "*I think the academia also it, it is a part of the leadership in this society, and that's why sometimes I got [a] very serious problem with them…the editors, people in the press, I mean they are also leaders, for example, but I think they don't necessarily regard themselves as leaders, they regard themselves, I don't know, as what we call critics of leaders, and I think that's the kind of disjuncture because our society has defined a leader as if it must be someone who has, who is [being] elected into a certain particular position.*" (PR07)

These leadership sectors are not necessarily mandated to take the collective view in the way that leadership in government must. Leaders here are not necessarily elected to their positions and may emerge through the ranks by gaining respect and legitimacy from within their domain. While we cannot ignore these forms of leadership, my focus has been on public leadership, which, by its nature, must try to achieve some form of coherence, common vision, and joint action and should be evaluated in terms of its ability to do this. Leadership must have the skills to connect or mediate across society's multiple interests and agendas, and as reflected by a respondent, "*distributed leadership is a shared vision*" (PR07) for the future.

6.3.3 Future-time outlook

Temporality scholars argue that the present allows us to prepare for the future (Haslam et al. 2010; Doyle 2012; Steen 2016; Sotarauta et al. 2021b; Grillitsch et al. 2022). The co-creation of a future agenda (Torfing & Sørensen 2019) is necessary in place leadership and calls for building collaborative relationships to achieve the vision for the space. According to the interview respondents, the leadership since Makhura has failed to co-create an agenda. Instead, a respondent remarked, "*It's more about telling people what we [are] doing rather than actually co-creating an agenda*" (NR02). There is a lack of collaborative planning in the city-region (NR02, AR04, AR06. PR07, PR06).

Collaborative relationships (Huxham & Vangen 2000) are the cornerstone of achieving a vision or agenda in a space like a city-region. Part of the reason cited by interviewees for

the lack of integration and co-ordinate planning is the lack of legislation that directs the relationship between the different spheres of government to co-ordinate – "*The role of province has never been clearly stipulated in the Constitution. The Constitution refers to the role of province, in an oversight way, but they [have] never been aware of the oversight they play; it is mixed and unclear*" (AR03). Thus, there seems to be no "*willingness to co-operate*" (AR04). The interview respondents indicated a need for changes to the current legal framework or the introduction of legislation that allows for true collaboration (PR04, PR05, PR06, PR07).

They also call for clarity and an investment in taking people along with you, which must occur over time. "*One, you should have clarified the vision. Two, you should have communicated that vision to the citizens or the residents of the province and all other stakeholders and three…I would have expected…then you set up the systems to [support]…the style of leadership*" (NR01). Wang et al. (2014) argue that when leaders work together over time, the possibility of agreeing on a single agenda or vision is increased as trust and relationships are built over time between leaders. Such teams then benefit from collaborative relationships and building a common vision.

While the ultimate goal of place-based leadership is to lead with purpose, in a complex city-region like the GCR, the idea of purpose needs to be examined by understanding the complexity of relations and space. This allows for leadership to maintain a present-future mindset when leading. A respondent argued, "*You need to be clear on purpose to build trust*" (NR01).

Interviewees echo uncertainty on exactly what the current vision for the GCR is as the initial vision seems to have been lost or not sustained. "*Ja [yes], I think that, I think it's lost somewhere…Is there a buy-in of the GCR approach at a National level?*" (PR06). They also indicate that over time, while there has been the echo of some vision for the GCR, this "*hasn't really translated into a plan that makes the city-region functional*" (NR02). The message from the qualitative interviews is that government is not engaging in meaningful discourse to enable the co-creation of an agenda.

Thus, the ability of leadership to craft a future-time outlook has not been fully realised in the GCR. Yes, there have been plans that have been crafted, like the Gauteng 2055 vision (GPG 2013) under Premier Mokonyane, who lobbied all of society in crafting the vision, the TMR Agenda (Makhura 2014) and Gauteng 2030 (Gauteng Provincial Government

2019) vision under Premier Makhura, but the perceptions of interview respondents is that Gauteng's leadership have not worked with all of society to co-create an agenda for Gauteng nor has the leadership attained buy-in for their plans and society has not felt the outcomes of these plans. Another reality is that while it is important to have a single vision for the province, the day-to-day service delivery must be aligned with that vision and the realities of the past challenges which have brought us here – from Apartheid to corruption and antagonistic politics– must be acknowledged and accountable leadership must show that they are addressing these matters concretely.

The leadership changes have also not allowed for the continuance of a common vision for Gauteng. In fact, Premier Makhura, over his nine-year period as Premier of Gauteng, also provided two separate vision statements during his term of office, which he announced at each of his State of the Province addresses – TMR and Gauteng 2030. The leadership style of Premier Shilowa was seen as visionary – with projects such as the Shilowa Express (Gautrain) still being lauded today. It had the legacy of advancement and improvement – delivery that was felt by people to experience. Unfortunately, with the leadership that followed, while with good intentions, the reality of the visions that they aspired for was not realised in concrete delivery. Local plans such as Joburg 2030[6] (City of Johannesburg 2002) and Tshwane 2055[7] (City of Tshwane 2013) have also been introduced, but they too have failed to embrace the input of society, including business and civil society leadership, in the development of these future-oriented frameworks. Planning horizons also reflect a disjuncture between the spheres of government but do reflect the disjuncture in planning cycles between levels of government, which adds to the woes of delivery and fragmentation.

Most recently, Premier Lesufi's vision has focused on advancing the township economy and job creation. Again, while well-intentioned, this vision has not been co-created, has not been well received, and is viewed in light of corruption scandals that have fuelled the reign of public leadership recently. When Premier Lesufi came into office and made changes to his Cabinet, it was viewed as "Lesufi's reshuffle reiterates the leadership crisis that the ANC experiences" and the "The only way to restore Gauteng to its rightful place as South Africa's economic powerhouse is to remove the party from power and replace

[6] Joburg 2030 was the long-term plan for the metropolitan focused on corridor development.

[7] Tshwane 2055 was the metro's long-term plan focused on collaborative engagement hinged on the Freedom Charter's "the people shall govern".

them with leaders focused not on themselves but on improving the lives of ordinary residents" (Baloyi 2022: para. 10). A focus on service delivery and the getting the basics right is being called for to restore Gauteng. This means that issues that residents face, such as the electricity crisis, increased unemployment, and high levels of crime, must be top of mind for Gauteng's leadership – "While Lesufi may want to be seen as a new and disruptive force in politics by announcing populist plans, it will be to be his benefit to focus on the underlying basics to address service delivery in Gauteng" (Baloyi 2023: para. 6). Lesufi is also seen as too operational – "*you know for the first time I have a Premier that sits in meetings with, with departments and officials of those departments*." (PR09). He is

> "*…hands-on...caring…energetic and, and…The chap develops ideas and does things immediately. He's smart. He was the first one to grasp the TMR concept. He champions dealing with it, and the difference between him and Makhura is that Makhura would take too long, absolutely to [the] point of my annoyance, to implement, and this Premier when, when he thinks about something and what needs to be done, how it needs to be done, and we engage on it, he agrees and will do it. He announces it and then goes and does it. He can be too operational, but he hates lazy people...but his flaw is that when there are tensions, I don't think he's got a very strong ability to, to chop off the head of a skunk, but he's also careful about not collapsing the organisation.*" (PR09)

Respondents to the interviews provided their opinion on what form of leadership is required for good governance (Figure 6-12), given the current challenges in the city-region, as well as the needs of the city-region going forward. Respondents concur that a leader for good governance understands that in a city-region there cannot be territorial boundaries (NR02, AR04); there is a need to work in partnership (PR07, IR01). The predominant and common feeling among respondents is that the GCR requires focused leadership (similar to what was portrayed during COVID-19) (PR06, NR02) – one that is visionary (NR01, PR01, PR02, PR03, PR07), a servant leader (PR01, PR07, AR01), able to inspire action (NR01), able to empower others toward attaining a common agenda (PR07). Effective leadership for the GCR is transparent (NR01, NR03, PR06, PR07), delivers service with integrity (NR03), is accountable (PR07, NR03) and can address the needs of the people (AR01, PR07). This speaks to the views of authors on leadership for

the governance of city-regions, who argue for transparent, ethical leadership to enable good governance (Munshi & Abraham 2004; Bundschuh-Rieseneder 2008).

The views reflected by respondents on the form of leadership required for the city-region echoes that proposed by the authors on place leadership – a leadership that rises across space (PR04, PR07, NR01, AR01), that is able to build trust (IR01, NR01, NR02, AR01) and share power (AR01, AR03, PR07) through transparent behaviours (NR01, NR03, PR06, PR07) and accountable action (PR07, NR03). "*What we need in Gauteng into the future is a strong administration that will deliver the promises that we made*" (PR09).



Figure 6-12. Word cloud – Effective leadership for good governance (Author's own; source information interviews)



Figure 6-13. Word Cloud – Effective leadership for a city-region (Author's own; source information interviews)

6.4 Conclusion: Bringing Temporality into Place Leadership

This chapter has explored place leadership in the GCR over time. It considered the views of interviewees and respondents to the QoL VI 2020/2021 survey to understand how leadership has changed over time. This chapter, in conjunction with the previous chapter, reflects the rich historical spatial, social, economic, and political developments over time in Gauteng. The focus of this chapter was from 2005 to date, which showed a shift from a single vision to divergent and changing agendas across the political landscape. This study has found that the vision for the GCR has changed from 'building a globally competitive city-region' in 2005 toward 'Growing Gauteng 2030' through a focus on driving key sectors for economic growth in 2019. Results from this study indicate that the GCR leadership was once highly regarded and considered bold and brave with the ability to achieve the vision set out. As time passed, the political landscape changed from a single dominant party to coalition governments and multi-political party rule across the province, which has meant disagreement among political leaders and political parties. The results

reflect a lack of conscientious engagement between government and residents. With rising corruption allegations, mistrust of government permeates.

This study has confirmed the reality of poor trust levels in government in the GCR. The most critical finding in this chapter is that higher-level income and higher-level education participants reflect lower trust levels of government, which is contrary to the propositions from thought leaders on place leadership based on studies conducted in Europe (Sotarauta & Beer 2017). Previous studies have found that lower education and lower income residents tend to have higher levels of trust. QoLVI 2020/21 survey respondents reflected, over time, a lack of confidence in leaders and dissatisfaction with government's performance, particularly local government. Given that proponents of place leadership argue the most important level of government for a city-region is at the local level, examination of leaders and performance at local-level government is important.

Place leadership to enable the success of a city-region calls for a single agenda, a single vision, collaboration between parties, mutual trust, trustworthy leaders across the city-region, shared power, buy-in from stakeholders, and a commitment from all stakeholders to work together to attain the vision (Sotarauta 2016a, 2016b; Sotarauta & Beer 2017; Beer et al. 2021; Broadhurst et al. 2021). Respondents also believe that changes to the Constitution are necessary to enable collaboration among parties, and failure to do this will continue to divide agendas along party lines and personal leader needs.

As this thesis has reflected, the GCR has been shaped over time, and the context's rich socio-spatial past has influenced the social, economic, spatial, leadership, and governance forms over time. Temporality and the complex interplay of the dynamics of the city-region have shaped leadership, collaboration, trust, and power relations in the GCR. A shared vision crafted through collaboration between leaders and inclusion of all stakeholders underpinned by trust is the space within which place leadership thrives. Trust emerges as the foundation for cultivating an environment of collaboration and shared goals through place leadership. Place leadership through a temporality lens allows for a deeper understanding of context and will, therefore, allow for more deliberate, compelling, effective strategies to aid the development of city-regions. The temporality dimension for place leadership becomes an important lens through which place leadership needs to be understood. Because place leadership argues that the context is an important conceptual frame, temporality becomes an important concept as time shapes place. Examining place

over time shapes understanding of how leadership can prepare for the future and help to honour their role of building resilience in place. Path development and temporality is thus an important aspect of place leadership, which needs to be fully explored to enable a more comprehensive and holistic response to the challenges and preparedness of place.

7 Chapter Seven: Findings and Analysis – Place Leadership Through Crisis

"The true test of leadership is how well you function in a crisis." – Brian Tracy

7.1 Introduction

Crises provide unique opportunities for leaders to reveal their leadership skills as people turn to them for direction and assurance during uncertain times (Boin & Hart 2003) and can serve as pivotal moments to new pathways (Pierso 2004). Using Wu et al.'s (2021:3) definition of crisis leadership as "a process in which leaders act to prepare for the occurrence of unexpected crises, deal with the salient implications of crises, and grow from the disruptive experience of crises", we understand that crisis demands preparation for the unknown, learning, and resilience for the future.

Crisis leadership must distil information quickly to enable decision-making and be prepared to adapt and revise some decisions based on the evidence in front of them (Mutch 2020). Leadership needs to assemble teams across networks and empower people for decision-making in their teams (Forster et al. 2020). The more wicked the problem, like COVID-19, the greater the need for more networked, distributed, collaborative leadership (Alam 2020; Glenn et al. 2020; Martínez-Córdoba et al. 2021). "Collaboration and partnership between the various political, administrative, and civic actors is the key to better performance in a crisis like the COVID-19 pandemic" (Alam 2020:103). Communication, prompt decision-making, placing the citizen at the centre of decision-making, planning for both the short- and long-term simultaneously, and looking forward to the goal while also learning critical lessons for adaptation and innovation of strategies allows for effective crisis leadership (Kaul et al. 2020).

The COVID-19 pandemic was a moment in time that taught leadership to be prepared for the most unprecedented circumstances. It called on leadership to remain focused on both the long- and short-term goals and to understand the impact and consequences of every action. Samad et al. (2023:12) argue that despite the vast research on leadership, literature on being a political leader during a crisis is missing. Leadership, in the context of a crisis, requires collaborative decision-making. While a long-term view is necessary to enable the leader to navigate a crisis, Grillitsch et al. (2022) remark that effective leadership also involves ongoing operational skills.

This chapter addresses the research objective *To explore the application of the idea of place leadership by adding a focus on how leadership adapts, manages, and copes with crisis* by utilising a framework for the analysis of the GCR response to the COVID-19 pandemic. The responses from interviewees, as well as my own experiences as a member of the Provincial Disaster Management Command Centre (PDMCC), are considered in the evaluation of the GCR response.

7.2 Leadership Through Crisis

Leadership through crisis has been dealt with in detail in the earlier literature in Chapter Two and I will therefore not go into the detail of the thoughts on crisis and leadership here. Chapter Two further outlined some inherent themes that were extracted and detailed in the crisis leadership literature, which frames the argument and the framework for analysis in this chapter.

It is important to note for this chapter and the context of the GCR the recent literature that argues that crisis is the new normalcy, now characteristic of nearly all domains of life. The terms used in representing this are polycrisis (Dimitrov 2017; Swilling 2019) and permacrisis (Agunsoye & Fotopoulou 2023; Chiolero 2023; Grammatopoulos et al. 2023). This literature emphasises the need to integrate crisis response into all forms of governance and leadership, making crisis response a central theme across domains. This literature makes the focus on crisis in place leadership even more salient. However, this chapter focuses on the sudden onset case, of which a pandemic is an excellent example. While sudden onset crises have peculiarities, including their unexpectedness, there are learnings that can be drawn across into the wider world of crisis.

7.3 The Gauteng City-Region Through Crisis: The Case of COVID-19

Place leadership is "coping with continuously emerging phenomena" and complex governance and networks (Sotarauta 2016b:55–56). Boin and Hart (2003) argue that the modern-day crisis is far more difficult to comprehend and manage as crises are not spatially bound. Globalisation means places are more vulnerable to crises and thus command leadership to execute local response systems with an understanding of global impact.

Urban areas were initially hit hard by the pandemic due to the contact disease being initially transmitted by international travellers, but rural areas and those at a distance from metropolitan areas suffered greater calamity because of distances to healthcare and

weaknesses in healthcare systems, such as in the Eastern Cape in South Africa. While initially believed this was the case because of higher-density levels, tracking the disease revealed that it was associated with risk factors that contributed to mortality. Distance from healthcare facilities, high levels of poverty, and poor living conditions were contributing factors (OECD 2020). Gauteng presented a similar polycrisis or what is referred to as a syndemic. A syndemic is the "[consequence] of epidemics as they interact with other diseases, in conjunction with social, environmental, and economic factors that both facilitate their spread and in turn compound their impact" (de Kadt et al. 2020:1). A GCRO mapping of vulnerability reflects that communities in poor housing and social conditions located away from the metropoles in higher-density or informal settlements with little or no access to health care and existing medical conditions were more at risk of contracting and dying from COVID-19 (de Kadt et al. 2020).

As I worked in the Command Centre during the crisis, I had access to information (as declared in Chapter Four on research methodology). The next section of this chapter provides an overall analysis of Gauteng's leadership responses to the COVID-19 crisis. I will utilise some of my experiences and observations in my daily interactions as part of the response team.

The closest framework for evaluating crisis leadership is offered by Boin et al. (2013), who provide a guideline to assess public leadership's response to crisis. Boin et al.'s (2013) framework consists of ten parameters or tasks that leaders should execute:

- Early recognition
- Sense-making
- Making critical decisions
- Orchestrating vertical and horizontal co-ordination
- Coupling and decoupling
- Meaning-making
- Communication
- Rendering accountability
- Learning
- Enhancing resilience

This framework was used as a basis alongside themes extracted on leadership through crisis in earlier sections of the literature chapters (Chapters 2, 3 and 5), as well as my

experiences during the COVID-19 response in Gauteng to develop a framework to assess crisis leadership (Figure 7-1).

While just this one crisis is being assessed in this chapter, the framework can be utilised as a frame of reference for how leadership in the GCR responds to crises generally and how they may respond to future crises.

7.4 A Place-Based Approach for Crisis Leadership

The pandemic in Gauteng began to unfold in March 2020. Long before this, though, the Gauteng Department of Health (GDoH) was experiencing a leadership crisis – "shortages of medicines, collapsing infrastructure, broken equipment, inadequate provision of staff and misuse and misallocation of funds" (Section 27 2013). The pandemic succeeded the Esidimeni crisis, which unfolded in 2015 following the termination of a contract by the then MEC Qedani Mahlangu between the GDoH and Life Esidimeni, a long-term psychiatric care hospital. This resulted in the death of 141 mentally ill patients, and the MEC, along with senior officials and Premier Makhura's leadership, was brought into question during an arbitration process (Bhengu 2023; Pikoli 2023). Against this backdrop came the COVID-19 pandemic. The crises within the GDoH would continue during the pandemic, culminating in the dismissal of senior officials, including the MEC, over corruption around personal protective equipment (PPE) (Nicolson 2020; Quintal 2020; Majiet 2020; Zuzile 2020; SAGovNewsAgency 2021). During this time, the province unfortunately lost a committed senior public servant and leader who blew the whistle on corruption during COVID-19. She was assassinated because she fought against corruption in the Department (Kahla 2021; Shapiro 2023).

Like other parts of South Africa, Gauteng went through four major COVID-19 waves, but there were times when it was more intensely affected by the crisis than other parts of South Africa. The third wave (or the Delta wave) in July 2021 had an especially severe impact on Gauteng, with doctors in the province describing the crisis as 'beyond the breaking point'. The Fourth Wave (or Omicron Wave) in December 2021, first identified in South Africa, saw a surge of infections in the province, but these were generally mild and marked the end of the virulent phase of the pandemic.

To manage the crisis, Gauteng established a project management office within the Office of the Premier and a COVID-19 Disaster Command Centre, a centralised system to

provide direction and oversight to the response systems leveraged across the province. The structures set up provincially mimicked those that had been established nationally.

Leadership formed the backbone of the response to the crisis. It called for leadership that recognised that a hands-on approach was the only way to manage this dynamic crisis.

> "*Premier Makhura stood out because at the time when he said if the nurses and doctors and teachers and police and soldiers are out there dealing with this virus, we can't be leaders and command this battle from the bunkers we have to come out. We are going to declare all HODs [heads of departments] and a few other essential workers, and we are going to come out even if you can't hold the syringe you're going to come out during COVID. Those words for me [were] like, Wow, this is it! This is leadership!*" (NR05)

The section below will consider the Gauteng leadership response to the COVID-19 crisis utilising a framework I developed, building on the framework offered by Boin et al. (2013) detailed above.

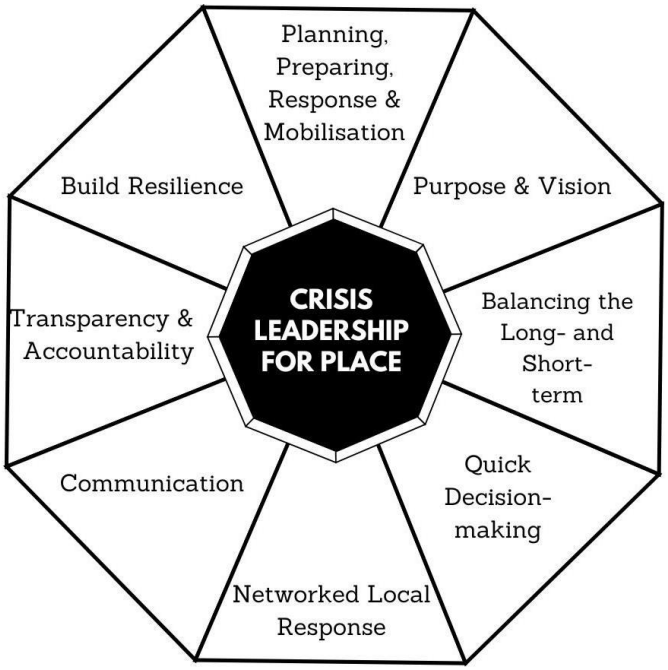


Figure 7-1. A framework for the assessment of crisis leadership (Author's own)

1. Planning, Preparedness, Response and Mobilisation of Capacity – "Failing to prepare is preparing to fail" (Forster et al. 2020:421). Shufutinsky et al. (2020) argue that despite the need and understanding, leadership fails to prepare for disaster and crisis as it is seen as unnecessary until the crisis hits.

Countries with experience in or were prepared for crises had better response systems and greater success against the pandemic (Capano 2020; Capano et al. 2020; Anttiroiko 2021). Being prepared for crises allowed nations to be more resilient in the long run (Wu et al. 2023). South Africa's Disaster Management Act 2002 and the National Disaster Management Framework, which premised decentralisation of governance, business continuity, and risk reduction, required that provinces be prepared for crises by establishing plans and premises.

In the first few weeks before the lockdown was announced, the GDoH operated out of the established Disaster Centre with colleagues from the World Health Organisation (WHO). They called this structure the War Room, consisting of predominantly health officials. At this stage, the crisis was viewed as a health crisis.

> "*When I arrived at the meeting, the MEC was frustrated…Departments were not attending his meeting…I left the meeting and immediately spoke to the Premier advising that departments were not responsive and we needed to respond very differently…an all-of-government response but not a usual all-of-government, and we needed to get in touch with national…By the time that national instructions came, we had already assembled, so it was just only a reinforcement.*" (NR04)

The Director-General, as Head of Gauteng Provincial Administration, soon realised that the premise was too small to accommodate all resources needed to curb the crisis. The Centre did not allow COVID-19 protocols to be followed as it can only house a few people in the main meeting venue. It does not allow for social distancing or an all-of-government response. The Disaster Centre was set up to accommodate any crisis faced by the province, thus reflecting that Gauteng was unprepared for a crisis like COVID-19. In the days following the start of the lockdown period, in partnership with business and academia, Gauteng set up the PDMCC, a makeshift hospital for quarantine, isolation, and data and monitoring systems, allowing for early monitoring and planning for health facilities. "*We created a third space, which was the Command Centre, where everybody had to report to for collaboration*" (NR05). This War Room or Command Centre, which was established

based on the directive received from national government, was reflected on differently by respondents. For some, it was a third space that allowed for collaboration; for others, it was a physical space that provided for quick decision-making; and for others, it allowed for governance to be institutionalised in a way they had never seen before in Gauteng.

Gauteng was not well prepared for a sudden onset crisis. While the Disaster Management Act required structures for disaster management, including disaster management centres from national to local level, most centres were under-resourced and institutionally marginalised. As indicated, in Gauteng, there was not even an adequate facility from which to co-ordinate the disaster response. Leadership in anticipation of the crisis was lacking. This was somewhat different, for example, from the Western Cape where disaster management structures were activated and capacitated to deal with a prior crisis – the devastating drought which threatened a Day Zero.

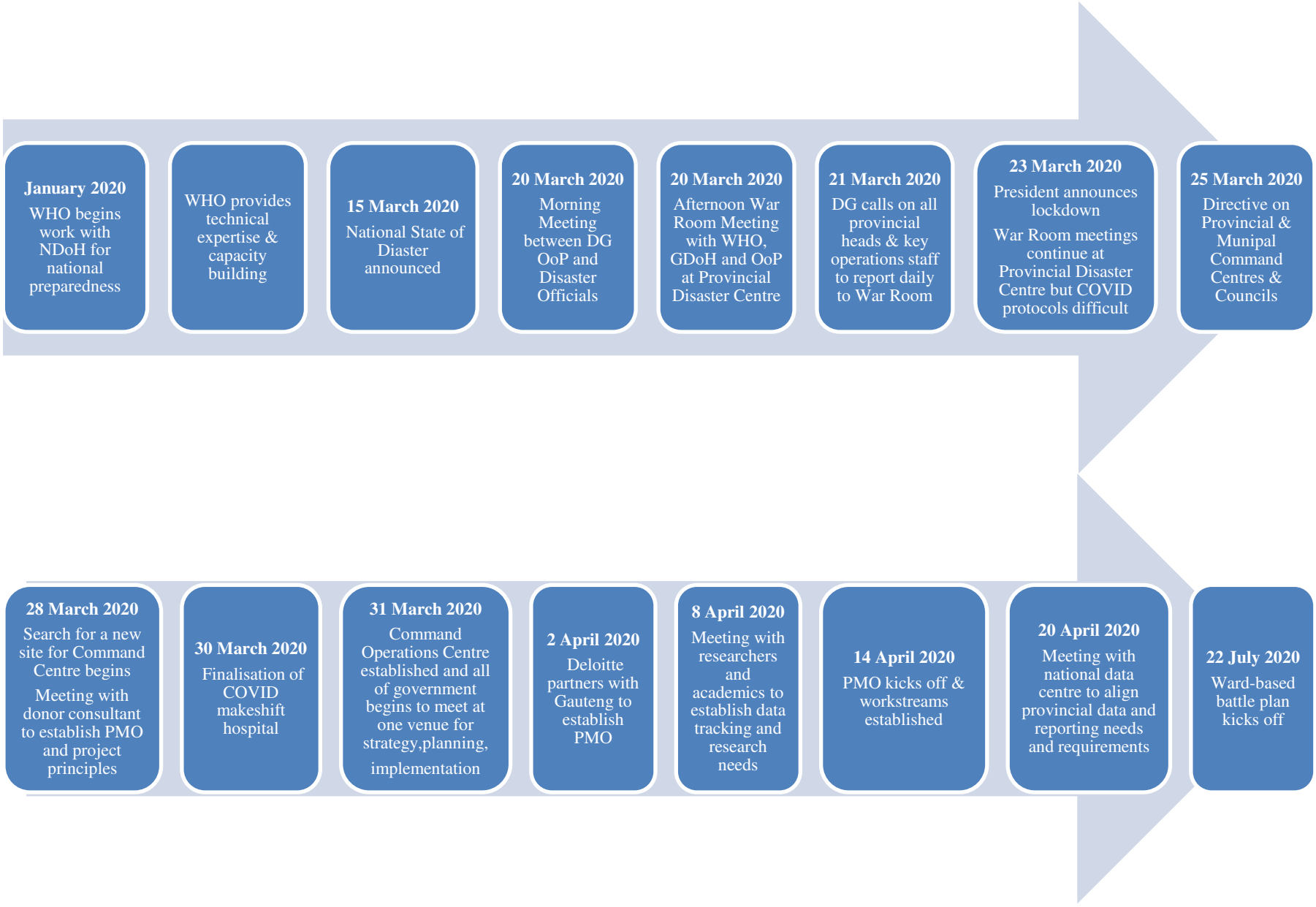


Figure 7-2. Timeline of Gauteng COVID-19 planning and response (Author's own)

Gauteng houses one of the busiest airports in Africa. Given the COVID-19 risk that was unfolding internationally, it was expected that Gauteng would lock down its borders early on but provincial leadership was constrained in their response mechanisms, and they would be guided by the planning policies developed nationally. On 15 March 2020, a National State of Disaster was declared in line with the Disaster Management Act 57 of 2002. On 23 March 2020, President Cyril Ramaphosa called a nationwide lockdown to attempt to control the spread of COVID-19 and flatten the wave as fast as possible.

With the disaster management structures only partly in place, the President set up a national command structure with the National Coronavirus Command Centre (NCCC) at the apex with provincial and district command structures at lower levels. These structures were supported by a hierarchical bureaucratic-administrative structure led by the Natjoints (The National Joints Operations and Intelligence Structure), the co-ordinating structure for South Africa's security cluster. The national government implemented a five-stage lockdown risk-adjusted strategy. The President also addressed the nation on several occasions.

Nationally, there was a strong appearance of an effective leadership response, and citizens did indicate strong faith in government. Through national co-ordination, government was mobilising capacities to deal with the crisis. It also mobilised intellectual capital, setting up a Ministerial Advisory Committee with around 50 scientists and clinicians (although with very few social scientists). For an account of the national response, see Rosenkranz et al. (2021).

However, a fundamental flaw in the national approach was its lack of attention to local mobilisation, and this was despite the community-based approaches that evolved during the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Local understanding and initiative were barely mobilised. A ward-based approach to COVID-19 was eventually adopted in Gauteng, but it was late in the pandemic and hardly implemented.

In mobilising resources in response to the sudden onset crisis, Gauteng revealed strong leadership, especially from the Premier and the Director-General. South Africa's COVID-19 response was however, hierarchical and provincial leadership responses must be placed within the context of a national response.

Provincially, the Director-General took command and called on key resources from the Gauteng Office of the Premier (OoP) to ensure a co-ordinated approach to the crisis. The

right capacity had to be assembled for an all-of-government approach in early March prior to the announcement of structures required for the COVID-19 response under the Disaster Management Act. On 25 March 2020, the Department of Co-operative Governance, issued the COVID-19 Response Direction for provincial and local government and traditional leaders. It called for a lockdown of everything except essential services and institutional arrangements which included the development of COVID-19 response plans, monitoring processes locally and reporting to the Minister weekly.

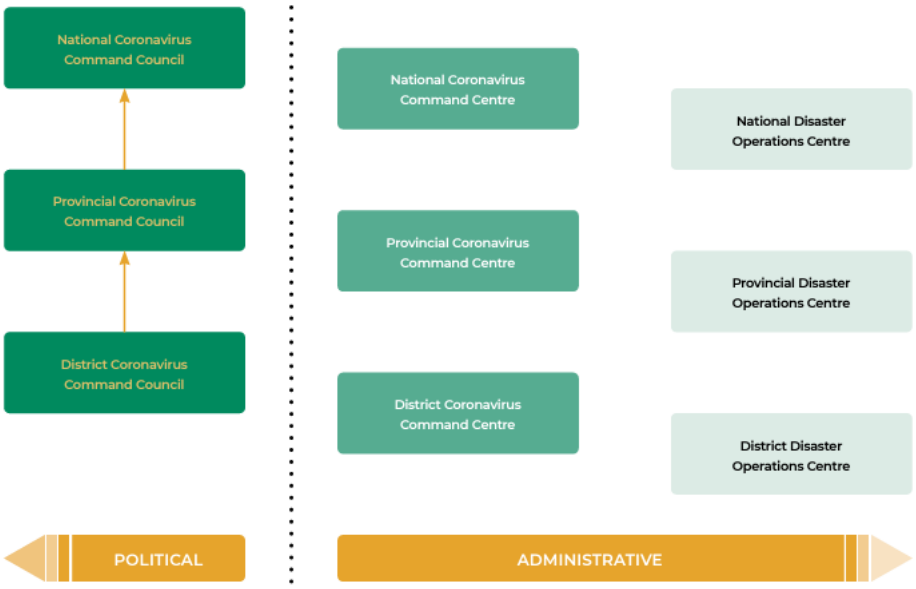


Figure 7-3. Circular 10: COVID-19 Institutional Reporting Structures (Rosenkranz et al. 2021:37)

Nationally, the National Joints Operations and Intelligence Structure (NATJOINTS) met daily, coordinating the national response. The National Command Centre attended to by Director-Generals, whose Ministers were on the National Coronavirus Command Council (NCCC), were supposed to meet three times per week and report into the NCCC, which was chaired by the President and attended by relevant Ministers who, reports indicate, would also meet three times per week (Rosenkranz et al. 2021). In reality, the Natjoints met with all Offices of the Premier every Sunday.

Institutionally, Gauteng chose a partly different governance approach than what was recommended in the prescribed framework nationally by national government (Figure 7-4). In practice, Gauteng established the Provincial Coronavirus Command Council (PCCC), which mirrored the NCCC, chaired by the Premier and attended by the relevant MECs, the provincial DG and the provincial police commissioner. However, Gauteng also

established a Provincial District Command Council which would meet twice per week, comprising of metro and district mayors and provincial leadership. This was different from what was prescribed nationally. Lastly, Gauteng established the Provincial Disaster Management Command Centre (PDMCC) also known amongst us as the War-Room, which is where project managers like me would meet, together with provincial, local and national representatives daily to assess progress and revise strategies and implementation of the Gauteng COVID-19 response considering the impending risks. We worked as a cohesive team leveraging off each other's strengths to ensure that we delivered against the promise to save lives and livelihoods[8]. Whilst the diagram depicts the Chairs of PDMCC as the provincial police commissioner and the Provincial DG, in Gauteng, the PDMCC was chaired by the Provincial DG and the MEC of Health.

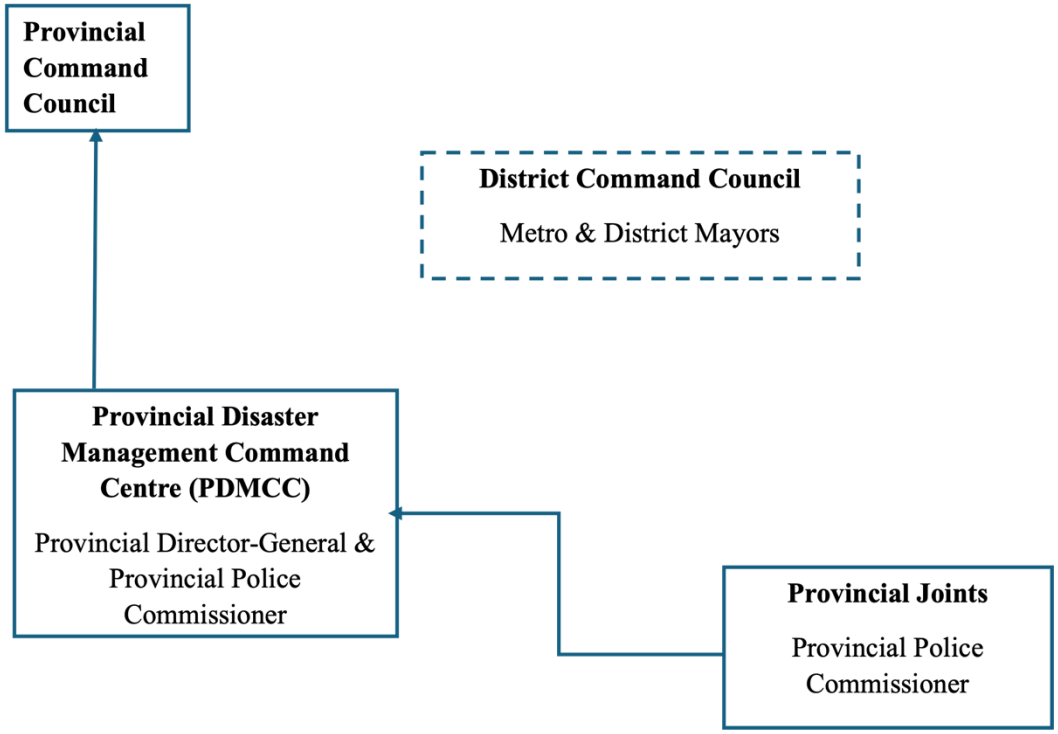


Figure 7-4. Reported provincial structure (Moore & Götz 2021:16)

Gauteng's initial strategy was based on six strategic pillars and an operating model (Figure 7-5), which evolved.

[8] I recognise, of course, my lack of critical distance here and the need for outside perspectives on the work we were doing.

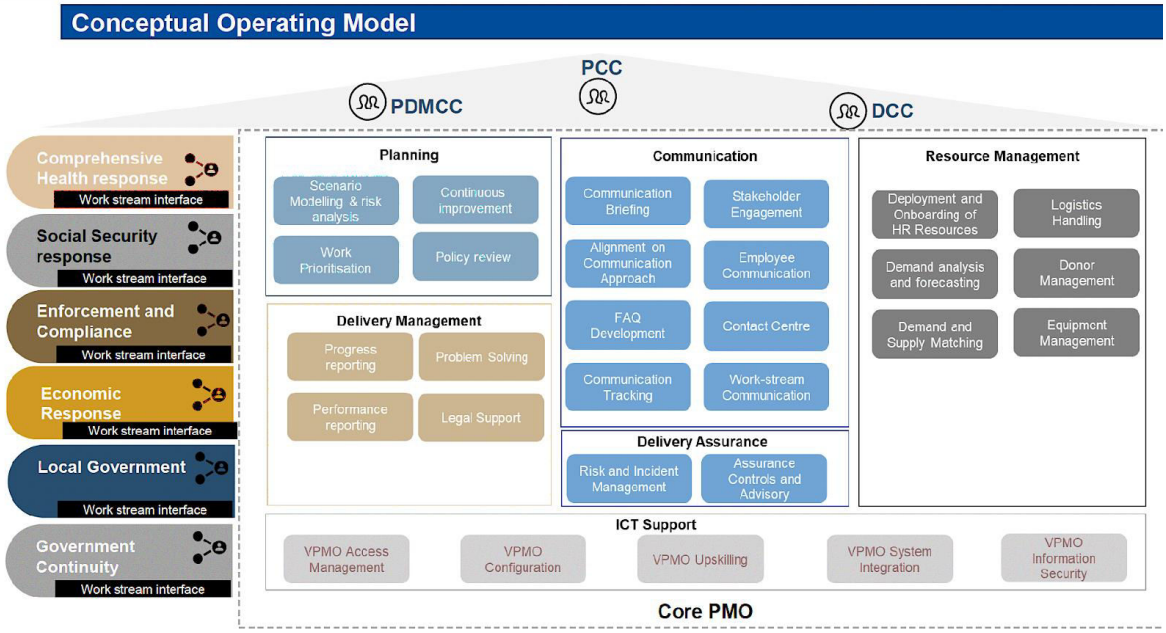


Figure 7-5. Gauteng's six-pillar strategy (PMO Health Workstream Leaders Session May 2020)

Workstreams were established against this model to enable a comprehensive response. Workstream leads were departmental heads supported by the PMO (Project Management Office) in the OoP. The PMO, comprised of project managers or "mandarins" as they would be called, became the key link in co-ordinating responses across workstreams. The need for cross-collaboration for a holistic response was recognised early on, as demonstrated in a meeting document (Figure 7-6).



Figure 7-6. Cross workstream interaction (PMO Health Workstream Leaders Session May 2020)

The Command Centre meetings became the key resource for holistic oversight and decision-making.

> "*People sat in meetings all day and all night. When people were called, they were there…it was different. But there was resistance too…It took a meeting where the Premier had to bring the HODs. I called a meeting, and they didn't pitch. When they connected, he was watching them. There were three who arrived late. People thought they could ignore the Centre. There was one person who said he didn't read his email. Mmm. The Premier said, 'There is a virus attacking the country, and you couldn't read your email'.*" (NR05)

Thus, while there was commitment, there was resistance early on, particularly from senior leadership. But the top leadership leading the response knew what had to be done and marshalled capacity accordingly. A key respondent reflected that the most senior leadership needed to ensure business continuity of government while the next level of management in government were the soldiers who would get things done, so they needed to be part of the core response team. Initially rejected, senior leadership recognised the reasoning of top leadership and welcomed the strategy for delivery alongside strategic response mechanisms for the crisis.

Data at PDMCCs across provinces was a problem from inception due to a lack of capacity, resources, and data collection capabilities (Kunguma 2020). As expressed by Kunguma (2020:196), "South Africa has well-developed policies and laws, but are experiencing a fair share of poor policy implementation practices." Gauteng called on academia to step in and assist with data provision and creating dashboards. The GCRO assisted with tracking the spread of the virus; Wits University assisted with modelling and predictions for the spread of the virus while the University of Pretoria came on board to set up a bed management and tracking system so that the Command Centre was consistently aware of what health facilities and resources were available.

A senior official in provincial government commented that it seemed that government was being "*militarised*" because of the names such as "*Command Centres*" and "*Command Councils*". It was also believed that the structures set up in the Command Centre aided quick decision-making and resolution of problems. This centralised system, in the beginning, was seen as cohesive and allowed for a holistic response to the pandemic – "*…where we saw Provincial Joints and Natjoints...the formation was a step in the right*

direction to have a cohesive approach to the pandemic and how we were responding to the pandemic from a health, social and an economic perspective." (NR03)

Respondents felt that government responded with a "*sense of urgency*" (PR02), and "*there was daily co-operation between spheres of government*" (PR03), demonstrating "*collective leadership and intergovernmental relations*" (PR04). Contributing factors to this response were that government leadership were all present on one platform, working collaboratively toward averting the crisis. The Command Centre met daily every afternoon for the first year of the crisis. This comprised the all-of-government approach. A "nerve centre" (the original War Room composition including WHO officials) meeting was held every morning. This comprised predominantly health officials from all district hospitals, as well as some key resources from the Command Centre.

The initial response to the pandemic by government was seen as "*command-and-control*" and "*authoritarian in its style*" toward a shift and "*greater emphasis on laying the responsibility on individuals*" (AR04). This is a similar response to New Zealand, which began with command-and-control central response systems and moved toward a 'we are all in this together' response calling on followers to take responsibility (McGuire et al. 2020). High levels of criticism were also received – from the deployment of the army to the loss of jobs as a result of shutting down the economy.

The impact of the pandemic on the economy was frustrating for leaders and equally recognised by the study's respondents – "*The way that the governments have responded to COVID-19 is to institute repeated lockdown measures creating serious economic collapse…states of emergency also grant inordinate powers to government*" *(NR02).* While the national lockdown served to contain the spread of the virus early on and allowed for attention to be focused on strengthening the health system, "*certain elements on the economic front visibly frustrated top leadership*" (AR02).

In fighting the pandemic, Gauteng leadership recognised the need to bring "*labour, business, faith-based organisations*" (PR06) and demonstrated "*focused, solid and collaborative leadership*" (PR06). It was a multi-level, multi-sectoral, multi-scalar response.

Leadership recognised that while the data worked to inform decisions and communicate, the statistics, experts, and advice mattered to a minority. Gauteng was concerned for people in informal settlements where the virus was spreading rapidly. In the absence of

vaccines, super-spreader events provided a greater risk of exposure. The leadership of Gauteng brought in traditional and religious leaders because they could get the messages out on behalf of government. Knowing the economic impact, Gauteng's leadership did the same with trade unions. During the pandemic's phases, Gauteng leadership worked long hours watching the media, reading the research, and planning throughout the crisis. When Italy started digging mass graves (Boccia et al. 2020; Capano 2020), the PDMCC raised the possibilities of managing mass death – from cold trucks to digging graves early on. Leadership reached out to the funeral associations to understand their resources and if the crisis would command this response. There was a clear understanding that the pandemic's experts not only came from science and health backgrounds but also from across society. There was, therefore, constant monitoring and preparing for the next crisis within a crisis. This engagement with leaders across society reflected place leadership in practice. Whist Gauteng was unaware of this, it showed the need for place leadership to enable effective governance during the crisis.

Gauteng was the worst hit with COVID-19 infections, leading to a surge of waves over two years (Mokhoali & Pierce-Jones 2022). When the country felt that they had contained the virus spread, a decision was taken to lower to Level 3 restrictions. This was done to allow the economy to recover. Under Level 3 restrictions, the country experienced a rapid rise in infections and needed to cope with a new virus variant (Delta), which strained healthcare systems and led to the loss of many lives (Moonasar et al. 2021). Gauteng motivated for the lockdown to continue in the province, but it was rejected. While national government dictated the rules of engagement for COVID-19, provincial leadership, knowing the profile of Gauteng, was focused on a place-based approach to the crisis – from educational awareness to screening, testing stations, and compliance to COVID-19 protocols monitoring, Gauteng implemented a ward-based approach.

Overall, though, the respondents to the survey felt that they were satisfied (62.1%) with how government responded to the COVID-19 pandemic (Figure 7-7).

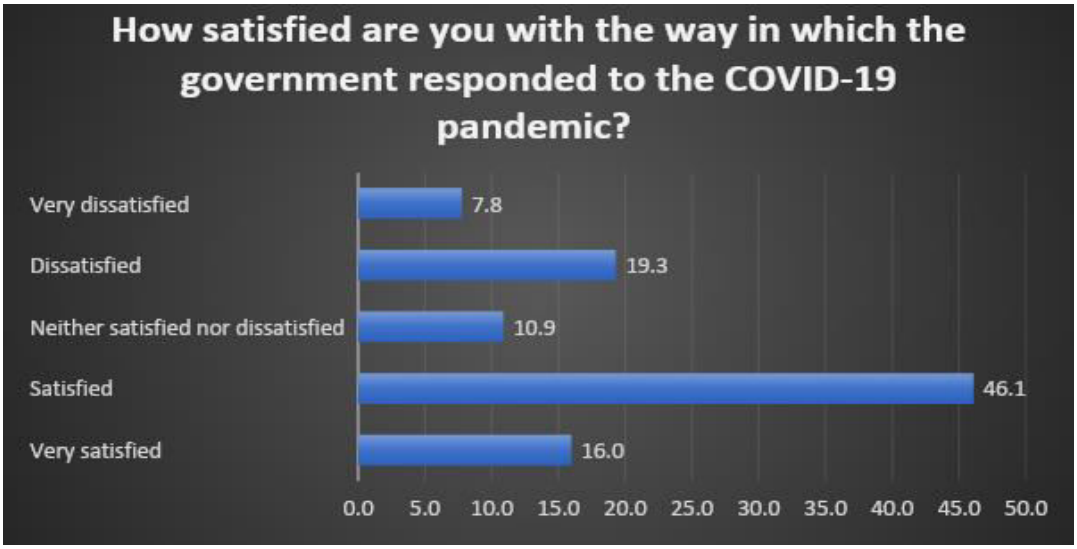


Figure 7-7. Satisfaction with government response to COVID-19 (Author's own; source information QoL 2020/21)

Interviewees, though, had mixed feelings on whether they believed the government's response to the pandemic could be lauded as successful or a failure.

> "*The leadership was overwhelmed…I say the pandemic more or less spared us. It could have gotten worse…So I think the balance was not created with government providing guidance to provinces and local government, and yes, the skills issue is a long-time issue; however, one needed to look at what of the current institutional structures we can already use with the skills that we have. That co-ordination was not properly dealt with. So I'm not talking about skills with regard to what is it that we require or the skills...is what of the current skills we have can assist us in responding to Covid better. I don't think that was properly used, and therefore, that leads you to once you don't have that then it leads you to premature and uncoordinated execution. So what you end up doing is that there are shots of good work done as well, but in most cases, things are uncoordinated. I think that has happened from, you know, the first wave to [the] third wave and now I'm seeing it also with the vaccination process. That those issues are crippling us.*" (NR01)

Another respondent felt, though, that "*[g]overnment's response has been excellent, and you know, I'd say the first year of the pandemic the South African government response was far superior to the Canadian government*" (NR03). There was great support for the leadership exercised by President Cyril Ramaphosa during the pandemic – "*It is possible that with the new era that Cyril promised is starting to find effects in thinking and*

emotional climate unfolding" (AR04); "*I believe that South Africa demonstrated statesmanship and global leadership and particularly I think Cyril has done an amazing job at leading our country through Covid-19*" (AR01). Ramaphosa received international recognition for his servant leadership practices and response systems to COVID-19 (Rameshan 2021).

An agile government was called for across the world in response to COVID-19, and the call for Gauteng was no different:

> "*You know all governments across the world are being roundly criticised for their inability to actually act…but I think our health care system has been incredible in terms of the, of the challenges that they've had to deal with in the pandemic setup and, and, you know, they stand out as, as an excellent example of public and private health care systems working together to try to address some of the challenges.*" (NR02)

After 750 days, South Africa ended its state of disaster on 04 April 2022. At the end of the response, Gauteng lost 21 148 people to COVID-19 (Figure 7-8).

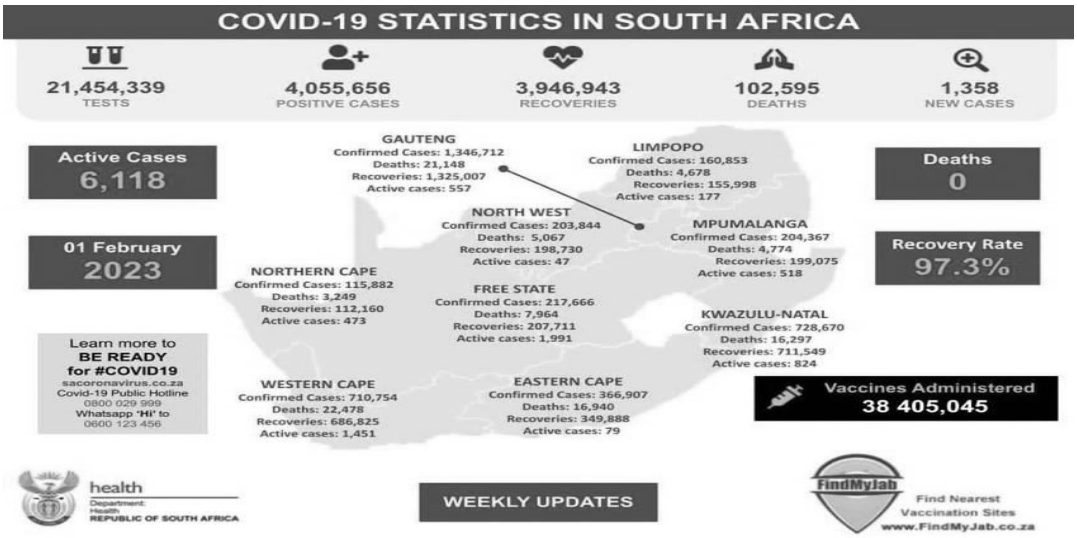


Figure 7-8. National COVID-19 statistics (Department of Health 2020)

Provincial leadership largely depended on national leadership for their preparedness and, to a lesser extent, for their planning and response. While people were scared, they knew they had to respond to protect the population they served. A senior official at national government recalls,

> "*Yes, it was a disaster, but there was also a softer side to this…that people were just shocked and scared at a disease that was killing so many people everywhere, so that informed the sense of urgency, the sense of business unusual, the level of determination and attitude with which people got things done…a Cabinet meeting sat… people sat in one room...there was this declaration…lawyers, Ministers…a methodology was put on the table, and there was no debate….There was no debate and argument like we usually do and we end up paralysed by debate, which is the norm in this country.*" (NR05)

Preparation for a crisis like COVID-19 is not a once-off process. Rather, it requires a constant loop of plan, implement, deliberate, plan, implement, and monitor – an iterative process. The COVID-19 pandemic called on governments to be agile and take swift action, but

> "*governments across the world have not been able to do these two things. They haven't been able to actually, you know, act without precedent and take meaningful actions…across the world does not matter which government we [are] talking about, whether it's New Zealand who was initially praised for their response [to] COVID-19 and Australia to Singapore to China…this is not uniquely a South African issue, the states is not coping, the UK hasn't been coping. So you know governments that you are typically consider[ed] to be well resourced are not coping, and I think that it is because of the system of governance that actually has not really helped us.*" (NR02)3

If we had to assess the provincial leadership on their ability to be prepared for crisis through the establishment of policy ahead of the crisis, planning, responding quickly by paying attention to the needs of the crisis, and mobilising capacity to fight the crisis, the overall assessment would be that the Gauteng leadership did put in place the necessary systems and structures early on to cope with the spread and containment of the COVID-19 virus – "*Government moved quite swiftly to provide certain essentials…there was swift response to essential human survival needs*" (AR04). It was recognised, though, that Gauteng was not fully prepared and that, in many ways, the province got lucky that COVID-19 did not hit harder. This is a perception that other countries may also echo. An official from the core response team commented on Gauteng's preparedness.

"Nobody was prepared according to people who work in the discipline of futures thinking. The world should have been, but we were not…the world was not prepared for COVID-19 and the crisis that followed in its wake. WHO said this. The UN [United Nations], too. The country was not prepare[d]; how could Gauteng be? Our response was swift, relying on business continuity planning initially, but that proved inadequate; hence the disaster management and consequentially the disaster recovery methodology." (NR05)

2. **Purpose and Vision** – This requires that leadership is focused and can respond at a moment's notice to short-term needs while remaining focused on vision. With a rapidly evolving crisis like the COVID-19 pandemic, systems and people must always be on high alert. The virus could change and could become harsher as it did with each wave.

At the beginning of the crisis, the health emergency was the focus. There was recognition that government enabled the structures necessary to ensure a concerted, deliberate, and targeted fight – "*Gauteng provincial government notched up some considerable success, including managing to liaise with local government to distribute efforts that were required*" (AR02). The purpose of the PDMCC was seen as outlined by the PMO (Figure 7-9) in May 2020.

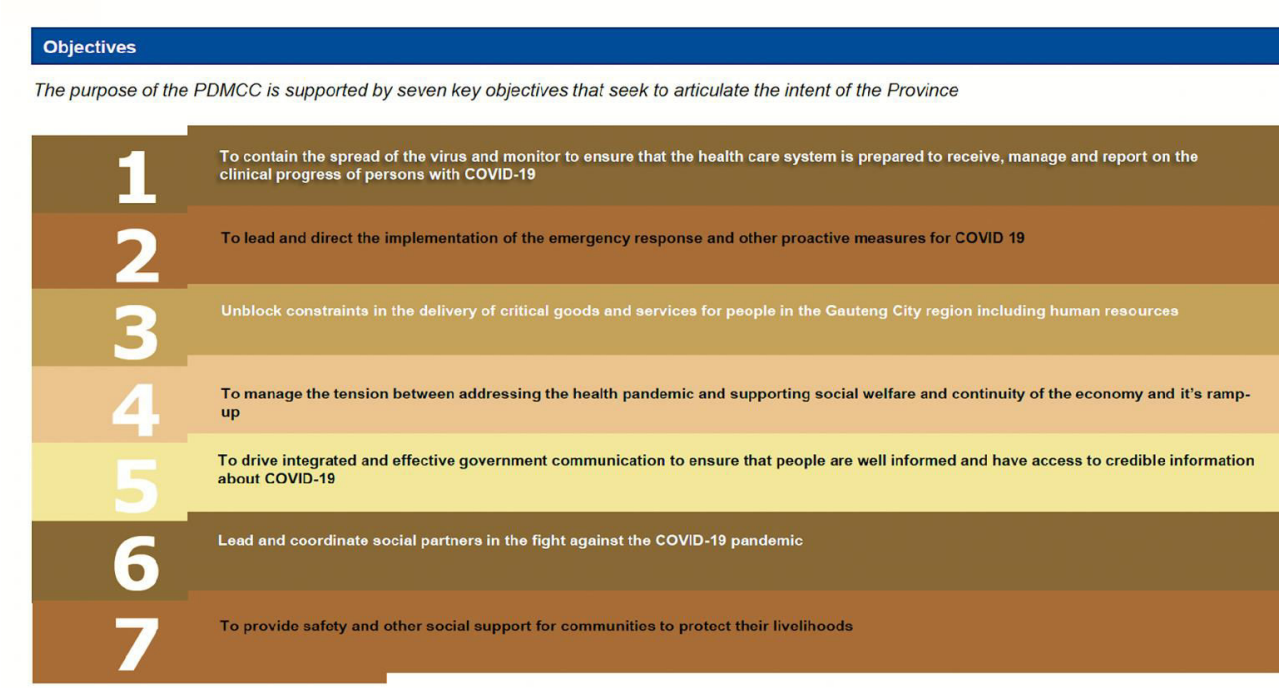


Figure 7-9. The PDMCC's purpose (PMO Health Workstream Leaders Session, Gauteng Provincial Government May 2020)

As the crisis evolved, provincial government instituted a "*ward-based approach…dealing with communities on a ward-by-ward basis…putting in place multidisciplinary teams providing for the needs of communities*"*(*AR02) as each space in Gauteng was unique. "*It wasn't about this is my function…no resource complaints, no turf wars...it was about whoever can do it must do it because we need things done"* (PR02). There was a clear shift from command and control to "*whether its leadership out of fear or something like that…leadership woke up and realised that we do everything possible*" (PR06). All of leadership remained focused on purpose and a single vision. It was unlike the traditional politics of Gauteng since 2016, and it was refreshing to watch all of government focused on their purpose for a particular time. "*There was an incredible amount of political interference in a public health domain space. We saw this in all the countries with very big, strong men, but in South Africa, we saw a President who responded in a public health way like New Zealand*" (AR01).

Over time, the needs in the pandemic shifted – from saving lives to saving livelihoods. With the economy at a standstill, food security became an imperative. Around three million people lost their jobs after the first lockdown in South Africa. The closure of schools meant that children who were part of the feeding programme no longer had access to daily meals (Jamieson & van Blerk 2022). Leadership in Gauteng worked closely with NGOs, donors, shelters, and traditional leaders and set up a hotline to get food to people. In April 2020, we delivered 173 000 food parcels for the week. A few months later, this number increased to 100 000 per day. In a briefing to Parliament in October 2020, the Department of Social Development (cited in Jamieson & van Blerk 2022:4) said, "Up to the end of September, was 1 368 426, providing an estimated 6 842 130 people food for two weeks." The grant system implemented by national government helped for a while but was not enough to sustain people (Department of Social Development 2020). To further assist in people's support systems during the pandemic, national government also established the Solidarity Fund (SARS 2020). The Solidarity Fund called on all South Africans to donate and assist in social relief efforts. Over time, the Solidarity Fund assisted with other needs – from protecting people from gender-based violence, which increased during the COVID-19 pandemic (Motjuwadi et al. 2022) to funding COVID-19 vaccines (Solidarity Fund 2022).

> "*I mean, for the first time, you had all of government working in unison…you had leaders that were finding themselves in regions…I think it is a new way of*

working…I hope that this thing can be sustained" (PR07); "*we were forced by circumstance to come together and forget the political baggage because we are facing a crisis…after COVID, unless we have a plan, we have nothing. We go back to the status quo?*" (PR05)

These thoughts reflect the first core requirement of place leadership – a single vision (Beer & Clower 2014). COVID-19 presented the opportunity for a common purpose, common agenda, and a single vision to fight the crisis in Gauteng – "saving lives".

3. Sense-making and Balancing the Long- and Short-term – Leaders' ability to make sense of the crisis, the risks associated with the crisis, the level of urgency required, and whether and how to act immediately versus delaying a response all become critical in this step (Glenn et al. 2020). Knowledge is the best resource during a crisis, and knowing how to use that knowledge productively is where leadership comes in.

Early in the crisis, meetings were focused on making sense of the virus, the resources available, and what would be required to respond to the pandemic. There was a sense of urgency to keep everybody safe. There was also a sense of urgency to ensure that health facilities were available and able to cope with the impending increase in patients and the requirements of the pandemic – isolation wards, quarantine facilities, PPE, COVID test kits, ventilators, and human resources. AR01 echoed the feeling that we were all in this crisis together: "*Our government did something for all of us at the same time.*" Gauteng understood early on that a balance between the long- and short-term was required, as reflected in a PMO meeting presentation. They enabled resources to ensure that both these needs were balanced while being attentive to the focus on curbing the spread of the virus locally in each space to allow for the safety of Gauteng as a whole (Figure 7-10).

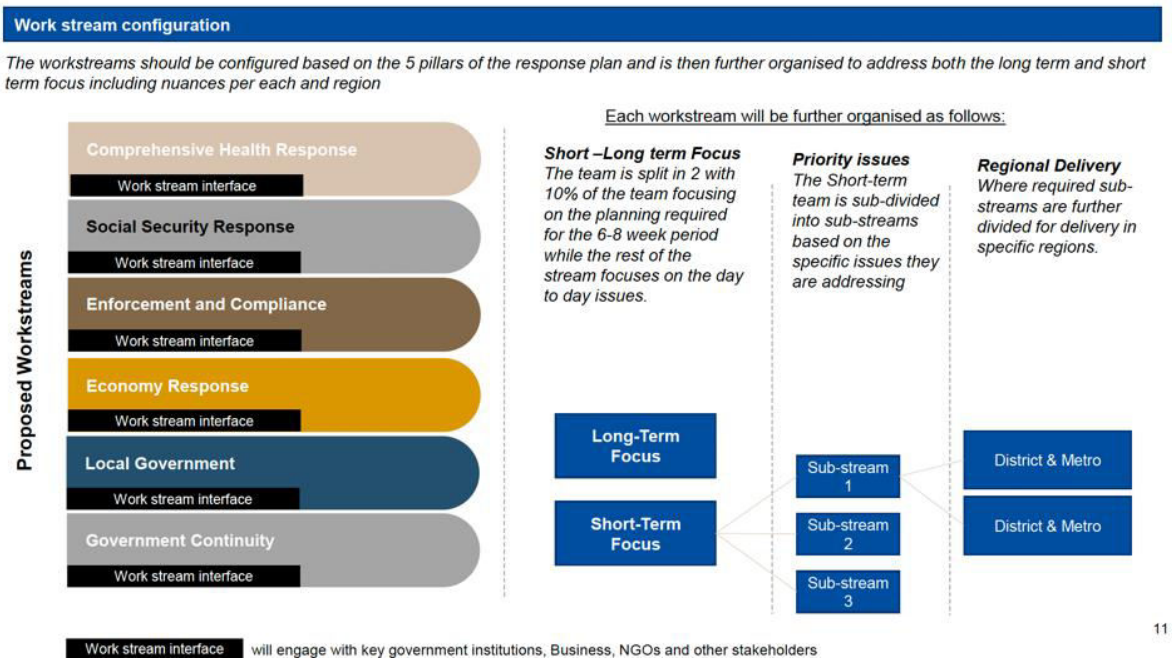


Figure 7-10. Six pillars of the Gauteng COVID-19 Response (Gauteng Provincial Government 2020: slide 14)

This type of crisis needed constant sense-making with place leadership being attentive to changing information, the ability to recognise the changing needs of the circumstances, and the ability to gather what was necessary for every stage of the crisis to ensure an effective response for place and person with some trade-offs, e.g., allocating particular sites as exclusive COVID-19 hospitals to ensure dedicated attention to patients, placing the staff at those facilities at higher risk but this was a necessary intervention to ensure targeted resource allocation and keeping residents safe. "*There was a feeling that this needed to be a health response*", but "*there was an incredible amount of political interference*" (AR01). Some respondents felt that decisions should have been left to the health professionals instead of government leaders.

"The ability to frame the issues discussed, to lead sense-making processes and hence to influence which issues are on the agenda, and also who is involved in the communication, brings a significant amount of power to an actor who can do all of this" (Sotarauta 2016:53). This crisis also required that leadership recognise what was also not on the agenda and address this early on to allow for the required capacity to be available for response – "*there were people who were genuinely scared of dying. There was an emotional flame around this virus, and it had to be recognised and addressed. You had to build the emotional resilience of people to respond*" (NR05). Thus, sense-making for this

crisis also called upon leadership to build the emotional resilience of the responders to crisis in the short-term so that the crisis could be responded to effectively by all for the long haul. Place leadership argues for leadership to ensure both a long and short-term view in assessing the needs of place (Sotarauta 2018a) and providing the mechanisms to cope with place demands to ensure sustainability (Sotarauta 2016b; Beer et al. 2019). For Gauteng, balancing the long- and short-term was debated and deliberated throughout the crisis. The long view remained – saving lives, but the immediate needs had to be attended to – from getting food to people to putting protocols in place to ensure people's safety.

4. Quick Decision-making – Making decisions quickly is paramount during a crisis. For COVID-19, it was a matter of life and death. Respondents agreed that "*decision-making was very quick*" (NR02) because "*there was closer engagement and ability for quick decision-making and implementation as a result of structure that was put together and how the structures were led and driven*" (AR02).

> "*The decision-making had to be quick because the virus was quick…we needed to keep pace with the virus…A lot of the [time], as leaders, we are never confident to make mistakes and say I'm learning. We want to look like we know it all and get all the information and wait for even unnecessary information to take decisions, but because the virus was not giving us the space to do that, we matched it in the way we behaved.*" (NR05)

It is argued that the complexity of a governance structure can diminish or enhance the efficiency of decision-making (Kezar & Eckel 2004).

> "*Decisions had to be made quickly during the pandemic – But for me, the biggest thing was that leadership from the top and from the front and that that consistency in that leadership is what made the government's decision-making machinery work. The rules were established quickly. Natjoints was repurposed, but you also couldn't go to the NCCC [National Coronavirus Command Council] if you didn't come via Natjoints, so even Ministers had to come and present it to Natjoints for them to get things approved at NCCC and then NCCC would then change its hat and become the Cabinet.*" (NR05)

Respondents commented that leaders coming together allowed for faster collaborative innovative decision-making and greater efficiency and development of interventions with "*a lot of consultation with community groups, traditional leaders, churches, [and the]*

private sector to get an informed response" (NR03), which "*didn't always hit well because there were compromises that needed to be made but I believe that those compromises were in the best interest of the majority…life took precedence…and I think Makhura was very good at that*" (NR03). These structures aided faster decision-making because people were in one space, allowing quick access to people, leadership, and structures, which aided quick decision-making.

> "*We still followed the same government, and we still followed our governance regime. But what we did was we just changed the cadence, changed the regularity of meetings, and it worked…if you needed somebody, you could walk to their desk and not get into a car and drive to their offices to ask for something, and that's also strengthened relations between staff that like the personal relations of staff that made for better collaboration.*" (NR05)

COVID-19 required place leadership for decision-making – from medical and academic to government experts who could rise to dynamic challenges presented by the virus. Respondents recognised that to offer a clear interpretation of the crisis required the scientists.

> "*We combined scientists, social scientists, and other scientists in one room, and somehow it all worked…it was people like Prof Karim [who] really stood out as extraordinary leaders in this. You know, who stepped into [a completely] unknown space and spoke to us with honesty and integrity…As an ordinary citizen, you felt empowered in understanding.*" (NR02)

The decision to include medical experts, researchers, and scientists added weight to the credibility of government in Gauteng to lead through the crisis, and it allowed people to recognise that while government may not always have the answers, it will look to those who did. "*We don't acknowledge intellectual leadership properly*" (NR05).

> "*There were descending voices also in academia and medical professionals that were very critical in, in, in shaping some of our understanding in this who actually did stand up and make their voices heard.*" (NR02)

It also reflected a vulnerability of leaders in government and openness to include those who knew more or knew better. "*Interaction has changed tremendously. Government had to make decisions but no silencing. It's been different on many levels*" (PR02) and "*the*

human side of leaders came to the fore" (PR06). There was clear recognition that senior leaders were not doing this alone but relied on the strength of fellow leaders in the background.

> "*The leadership of the Premier is very solid it's because of this background backroom staff...we work to find answers and solutions, and it's a collaboration across all spheres of government…we rely on each other…there is a camaraderie spirit – we are all together in this.*" (PR06)

This team went beyond the internal fellow leaders in government. "*I think one of the reasons why people trust the President was because he had a team behind him…people in academia formed a huge majority of that task team*" (IR01). The President was "*agile and [he] led from the front because Cabinet met every day…He stood up. He stood out.*" (NR05)

5. Orchestrating Networked Response Systems for Local Response – This task calls for leaders to work with stakeholders to enable co-operation, share power, and foster collaboration. It calls for leadership to orchestrate vertical and horizontal co-operation. It also calls for understanding local needs so that responses are targeted.

A co-ordinated, collaborative response was achieved, firstly, through "*the NCCC, Natjoints, Provjoints [The Provincial Joint Operations and Intelligence Structure] system…you know the President consulted with Premiers at all times before making decisions…government was working together*" (NR03). While a centralised system of operation is argued as the most credible way to manage crises (Glenn et al. 2020a), "*a highly centralised way of operation, in the long run, is not very sustainable*" (NR02). A centralised system, in the beginning, revealed that while "*a lot of leadership was provided during COVID[-19], there were gaps between national and how they impact on cities*" (PR05), and a local approach presented the opportunity for "*discussions like never before between local municipalities and province during the crisis*" (PR02). Leaders rose to the occasion: "*The Director-General, Phindile Baleni, stepped up and was able to play a credible role in driving the systems. She played an important role in helping set up systems to be resolutely strong.*" (AR04)

A respondent recalls that the physical space became an important space that allowed for collaboration. People were all together in one space. Nobody could be left behind in a "*bunker*" (NR05).

> "*For me, this space became so important. When the MEC was removed from this because of what happened...I felt his absence in this space…he used to sit next to me, chairing these meetings, and then he was gone from the physical space…I would look next to me, and he wasn't there. It was like a hole had swallowed him up in this physical space.*" (NR05)

Including stakeholders on the journey allowed "*collaboration to be embraced for the first time*" (NR03). Bringing experts on board lent credibility "*as leadership that is honest and has absolute integrity and took people into their confidence*" (NR02). This is consistent with the views offered by Ahluwalia et al. (2021), Blake-Beard (2021), Elkbuli et al. (2021) and Medeiros et al. (2022). Countries like Australia that were successful in dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic cited working in collaboration with stakeholders as a key deciding factor that allowed for success (Abuza 2020; OECD 2020).

While Gauteng had an incredible set of experts like the MEC of Health, who is described as "*inquisitive, curious, a combination of technical and clinical skills, humble, dedicated and not too big a politician to not care about a person and their safety…the corruption scandal denied us a leader…a clinician par excellence, so I was very disappointed*" (NR05), "*the Director-General of WHO. He was calm. He led the fight against the virus, literally from the front, with a lot of knowledge, deep knowledge. You could see the clinician*" (NR05), and *"Dr Abdul Karim, then the head of medical of the Ministers Advisory Committee, stood out for me because being a virologist…I remember he specifically said if a virus dies from soap, it's a weak virus. It's just opportunistic"* (NR05)…*"The nurses, the doctors, all health workers…everybody else dealt with COVID, but those are the people who faced it head on, risking their own lives…we must always stop to acknowledge those heroes*" (NR05), the province also understood the need to include experts from beyond the medical sector as well.

Gauteng brought on board faith-based organisations, civil society, business, and labour, as well as doctors from neighbouring countries, to assist on the ground, which showed "*interesting examples of leadership with valuable contributions*" (AR02). Like the argument of place leadership – leadership rose across society – each bringing their expertise, which helped shape the province's response. Co-created solutions arising out of logically built-up social capital networks become critical in times of disaster (Broadhurst & Gray 2022).

> "*There were people who ordinarily in their daily jobs were not managers or managers of big people, but the confidence and the courage with which they went into the job, the fact that they've volunteered to come out when everybody else was running away, the fact that they did what they did and did it so excellently.*" (NR05)

A collaborative platform with all partners became more important during the pandemic, allowing for quick decision-making and turnaround times: "*It's part of intergovernmental relations. They brought the best of leadership…one key element that came out of this was the speed at which matters were resolved because of the kind of platforms…the intergovernmental structures that were created*" (PR06) with the recognition that senior leadership was not necessarily to blame in the face of historical inefficiencies, as articulated by one respondent: "*It is not because of lack of intent from senior leadership like the Premier but results of strong systemic weaknesses in departments*" (AR02). Dartey-Baah (2014) advocates for the link between good governance, effective leadership, and sustainability, remarking that in the absence of effective leadership, sustainability cannot thrive. "*The soldiers…General Coetzee from the army; he stepped up and brought in their methodology to assist us in managing EMS [Emergency Medical Services] and hospital beds…that system he put in during COVID with the soldiers is still being used today*" (NR05).

There was also a feeling, though, that government *"was not fast enough to galvanise and mobilise civil society and work with civil society more effectively*" (PR04). At the beginning of the crisis, there were high levels of trust between people working in the crisis – trust that the person next to you was not ill and you would not be infected by being in the space with them; trust that you could work with a colleague you never knew before this time and that you would deliver what was needed together; trust that the decisions being taken by senior leadership that had to be executed would be the right decisions for the people of Gauteng; trust that people could deliver and that they were each expert in their own right knowing what and how to do what was needed. This trust allowed for collaboration. But this trust waned.

Over time and with the economy struggling, "*the old political oppositions began to unfold again*" (AR02). Businesses also started to become frustrated with government as the economic crisis worsened amidst the continued lockdown measures. "*There's a need for determined leadership in terms of how the economy precedes into the future. I think this*

leadership at this stage is not ready or equipped for this" (AR02). According to Chatterji et al. (2022), Gauteng's government found it difficult to garner support from all sectors and stakeholders because of mistrust due to a history of corruption and maladministration. The OECD (2020:80) believes that trust in government institutions plays a foundational role in crisis management, as well as health outcomes.

The pandemic reflected the abilities of Gauteng leadership to orchestrate a collaborative approach to governance. If a lesson were learnt, this would be it. It would serve the people of Gauteng to see leadership enacted the way it was during the first few months of the pandemic when the leadership of Gauteng reflected true place leadership and networked collaborative governance.

6. Communication to Build Trust – In crises, people look to leaders for assurance. Communication is integral to how meaning is lent and interpreted, and trust is established between leadership and followers (McGuire et al. 2020; Steyn Kotze et al. 2021; Seijts et al. 2023). Trust is also built by including experts in decision-making during a crisis (Ahluwalia et al. 2021).

While provincial leadership communication was viewed as "*tremendous*", with the Premier "*going out of his way to engage with citizens*" (NR03), communicating "*consistently and regularly*" through "*honest weekly extensive media briefings*" (PR02), local government was "*terrible*" and unable to "*engage their citizens*" (NR03). Local government was viewed as "*non-existent*" (PR02) with "*zero visibility from mayors*" (AR04). National leadership was viewed as *"aloof*" (IR01), with the "*Deputy President missing in action completely*" (NR03). Transparent and open communication, according to Balasubramanian and Fernandes (2022), is imperative in a crisis, allowing the creation of a shared vision.

Ensuring timely and accurate information to all affected parties during a crisis allows people to cope with the impact of crises, ensuring they make their own decisions on how to respond. The leader's communication during crises determines whether people feel calm and assured or at risk and afraid. While in day-to-day service delivery, residents felt that they were not engaged with government (QoL VI 2020/2021), respondents felt the presence of provincial government the most during the pandemic and were included in communication and decision-making. Interviewees recognised that government understood that to succeed in this fight against COVID-19, it needed citizens on board. Every life and

action mattered in flattening the curve and curbing the spread of the virus. PR02 articulated, "*The biggest change is that people realised that government and its citizens do not function independently.*"

While "*[g]overnment did exceptionally well*" in their communication, "*I don't think we did enough to demystify the pandemic and not enough on the myths around the vaccine*" (NR03). With only 33.2% of South Africa's population fully vaccinated against COVID-19 (John Hopkins University 2022), the myths around the vaccine and the threat of the virus may not have been communicated or accepted by South Africans fully. Respondents to the survey felt that more information should have been provided on how the virus was spreading (Figure 7-11).

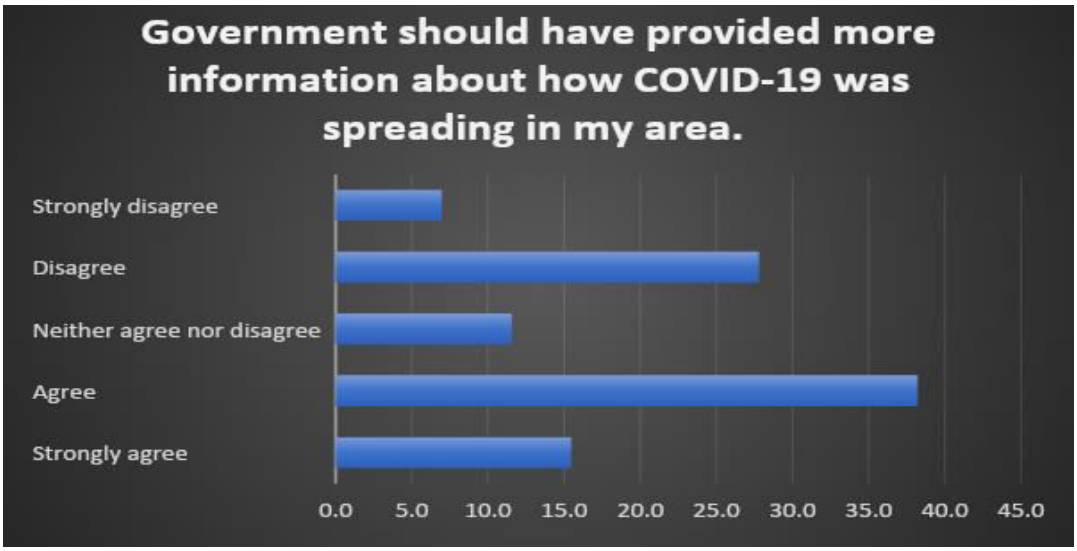


Figure 7-11. Survey results for COVID-19 communication (Author's own; source information QoL 2020/21)

Communication was also seen as "*the President telling us what we needed to do*" (NR03). It "*wasn't so great because they were not family meetings*" (NR03). The citizens were not engaged, and while the message was we are all in this together, not everybody believed that to be true. The lack of engagement was regarded as instructional; therefore, government was seen as unable to "*connect with citizens or residents the way it should*" (NR01). A respondent (NR02) felt, "*Government did take the role of Big Brother and did whatever it wanted to do without actual consultations with its citizens…So you know, I think that the missing link for me in the process was the actual conversation with our citizens.*"

Respondents felt that *"the ward-based approach is something that we should invest more time around how we make it a living reality…I think the Command Centre approach, the*

Premier's leadership, the collective leadership for the first time showing up, and I think that needs to be strengthened" (PR04).

Leaders' visibility in a crisis is important and builds trust. People noticed who was missing and who took the fight against the pandemic seriously.

> "*The greatest challenge is visibility and communication just to assure our people that we are together and things will get better…it strengthened the most important thing – trust, which was not there before.*" (PR06)

7. Transparency and Accountability – To enable trust among citizens, leaders must be transparent throughout the crisis and remain accountable for all decisions made and not made.

The frequent meetings of the various structures were seen as a way to enhance accountability and transparency through regular meetings and reporting: "*Accountability was promoted…transparency and accountability was enhanced. I think it restored good governance in the province*" (PR06). Corruption was seen as the dark cloud that masked government efforts during their fight against the pandemic: "*For every progressive move that we tried to make, there was corruption*" (IR01).

Corruption surrounding the procurement of PPE, the sanitisation of buildings and a communications service provider surfaced and eroded the efforts of responsible leadership. Criticism of poor leadership increased, and the old feelings of mistrust of government surfaced. Corruption during the pandemic supports Boin and Hart (2003), who assert that while leaders want to be caring, they tend to fall prey to their unrealistic promises and protection of self-first, making leadership selfish and likely to become corrupt through self-interest. The ability of the Gauteng Premier to remain focused on the COVID-19 fight and deal with the issues of corruption publicly did not go unnoticed:

> "*David Makhura worked hard in the public arena to assert transparency and drive a particular set of values. He made mention of the fact that he had instituted SIU investigations before the PPE corruption matter became public.*" (AR04)

The cloud of corruption did not remove the recognition of place leadership: "*There's been a dual story of extraordinary frontline heroism betrayed by forms of corruption and maladministration that were evident in the Gauteng Department of Health*" *(*AR02). A respondent reflected that in a state of crisis, delegation of duties is compromised; therefore,

conditions for corruption and maladministration are ripe. Patronage systems have been viewed as contributing to ailing corruption.

> "*We still going to see people wanting to hold on to situations where there is strong patronage. The issue of political party funding is one of the strongest drivers of corruption in our system. Proper city-region governance might require transparency and visibility about decisions, and people may be reluctant to allow that to happen.*" (AR04)

8. Building Resilience – To fully prepare for crises requires that leaders assess, analyse, process, and implement necessary systems. A leader builds resilience in place for future crises through preparation and reflection.

The response to the pandemic was seen as "*focusing on three things: response, recovery, growth because one needed to rebuild robustness, resilience and agility in the system*" (NR02). Leadership "*revealed the ability of government to implement as a discipline…we were able to be innovative and deploy resources at provincial or institutional level…hospitals showed more resilience*" (PR02). Innovation also came in through people being able to connect online as they had never before – Zoom and Teams became part of a new work conversation. A respondent remarked that the only lesson we seem to have taken from COVID-19 in Gauteng is that people can be called upon at any time – day or night for a meeting because "*being able to connect online was one of the big wins of COVID-19, which is sometimes used to the detriment of people*" (NR02). The ability and agility that came with working online allowed for lives to be saved during COVID-19, but it also contributed to a need to ensure work-life balance systems, which must be recognised as part of the holistic agenda for building the resilience of a space.

What was apparent during COVID-19 was that the value of the city-region agenda became "*more visible*" (AR04), showing that different spheres of government could work together with a place leadership agenda of leading and delivering on the city-region vision through "*determination to try and see governance functioning differently in the future, learning from how governance was exercised during the pandemic*" (AR04). While governance systems "*actually helped to deal with the pandemic, I think that there is a greater mistrust at this point between citizens and government than there has ever been*" (NR02).

The value of a developmental local approach for a city-region was one of the biggest lessons from the crisis, as "*people started seeing value in participating in [these] IGR*

platforms that were strengthened" (PR06). The second important lesson from the crisis was the value of holding a single vision as the compass for delivery as "*the city-region agenda was strengthened*" (PR02) and finally, the value of taking all stakeholders on the journey with you allows you to "*overcome a crisis if you work together*" (PR02).

The crisis "*exposed areas of significant weakness, and this may be an opportunity for government to conduct capability audits to distinguish between normal routine government and adaptive government*" (AR04). There was a recognition:

> "*I'm not saying we did everything right. I don't mind them criticising us. For me, the religious sector could have played a bigger role [in building] the spiritual resilience of the human race at a time when the human race was being attacked by a small little thing called the virus.*" (NR05)

Every crisis allows leaders to reflect and learn from what worked and what did not to allow for effective future response systems. A senior government official commented on her admiration of the many leaders during the pandemic.

> "*And normally, when we write history, we write it in the name of the Generals. But the leadership that was provided by my troopers during this pandemic has left me very humbled…this is what the history books must reflect. The troopers, not the Generals.*" (NR05)

A lack of learning means a lack of credible insight; therefore, a lack of preparation for any future crises. It would be an important task for the leadership of the GCR to truly reflect on what happened in South Africa and Gauteng during the pandemic – what were the real weaknesses, and what must be done to fix them? The respondents heavily criticised local government due to their lack of presence. Local government takes direction from national government and did just that, but it seemed that that was the extent to which they could act – on direction. No clear innovative solutions came from local government in Gauteng. What was implemented was due to initiatives employed by national and provincial governments. The question of why has to be asked and interrogated. Is local government in Gauteng disempowered to the point of being unable to conceptualise their challenges and develop solutions for them? Is local government reliant on the expertise that lies outside of their primary domain? Place leadership argues for local solutions found by local leaders to local challenges. Unfortunately, within Gauteng, the concept of local espoused for place leadership would have to be confined to a local regional view instead.

A crisis like the COVID-19 pandemic was long, and while there were infection waves, there could not be waves in terms of the availability of resources. Doctors, personnel, and leadership were susceptible during COVID-19, which meant that others had to step in and take the reins – seventeen-hour work days, including weekends and public holidays over two years continuously meant that teams were mentally and physically fatigued but could not disengage. This called for building resilience of a different nature. It also called for a leadership that understands that people are at risk of fatigue in a crisis, and this learning must allow for preparation for the next crisis to ensure that leadership does not lose people due to disengagement. Leadership must connect with followers and build resilience seated in empathy, accountability, self-awareness, awareness, connection, and understanding. This is an important part of the discourse on crisis leadership and building resilience, which includes an element of the temporality of crisis leadership.

There has to be a recognition that systems must change during a crisis, and the value of these systems to allow for day-to-day delivery, as well allows for building of resilience of space – "*The Public Service is not incentivised or rewarded for innovation. We're incentivised and rewarded for compliance, you know this. You [are] not going to change anything if you continue to have a compliance-driven governance system*". Understanding then that "*[t]here is nothing I now do that I do not use the COVID approach for big wicked problems*" (NR05) may be how everyday resilience is built into the system of governance for the city-region.

7.5 Conclusion – Bringing Crisis into Place Leadership

This chapter presented the findings of this research against a framework for assessing crisis leadership. It showed that respondents were most critical of the lack of presence of local leadership during the pandemic.

A crisis is revealing. When a system is under pressure, in a time of uncertainty, a crisis serves as the stress test for place leadership. This virus called upon a leadership that was forthright, focused, agile, adept, and uncompromising in its quest to protect people. The COVID-19 pandemic was a global crisis and took different forms at different scales. It led to multiple crises as the shocks from the pandemic impacted the economy and social relations. Gauteng experienced its impact, from the loss of lives to livelihoods and the increase in gender-based violence. The answers to the complex needs of place during a

crisis are more likely to come from local leaders, although guidance, resources, and other support from leaders higher in the government hierarchy is critical.

In Gauteng, we saw the top leadership in the province marshalling the resources needed to enable a focused response system aligned to the needs of place. In a context of crisis, a multi-scalar, collaborative, place-based governance and leadership approach is favoured. South Africa had the 17th highest recorded death rate from COVID-19 in the world. To say we won the fight against the disease would be ill-placed. While we fared better than some developed countries (the USA and Germany included), we relied heavily on a wait-and-see approach, hoping for the best outcomes. We were ill-prepared for this pandemic – from disaster centres to technology and health facilities. Our systems of governance required adaptability to allow us to fight the crisis. We relied on the goodwill of our partners in academia, business, and internationally to assist us with resources that aided our fight. The weaknesses of government glared us in the face. The real challenge will be for us to strengthen government and build the resilience of the city-region so that we are not left wanting or ill-prepared for the next crisis or disaster that the province or the country faces.

Gauteng, therefore, has some incredible lessons to learn from the COVID-19 experience. It would be a great loss if leadership across the city-region did not utilise the lessons from the pandemic to strengthen the city-region's resilience but, more importantly, to entrench the value of place-based approaches to development, to collaborate across party lines and to foster greater trust and shared power while focusing on a shared vision for the city-region.

One of the key contributions of this research that emerges in this chapter is a framework for assessing crisis leadership. It has also highlighted the gaps in leadership crisis discourse, which does not examine temporality, how leadership fatigue can impact the outcomes experienced in a crisis and how to overcome this.

Crisis demonstrated the value of multi-scalar governance for effective response to meet the delivery needs of the citizen. The next chapter will explore the aspect of multi-scalar governance further as I examine the crisis of water delivery and security in the GCR.

8 Chapter Eight – Findings and Analysis: Place Leadership in Trans-scalar Networks

8.1 Introduction

Although the terms 'local governance' and 'city-region governance' are commonly used to mean forms of governance within an area involving actors from within the jurisdiction in different associational arrangements, there are very few, if any, instances where governance happens without the direct or indirect involvement of actors operating at a wider spatial scale. Put differently, almost all forms of place-based governance are multi-level or, if arranged non-hierarchically, involve *trans-scalar networks*. By multi-level governance (MLG) and following Marks (1993), I mean a system of continuous negotiation among nested governments at several territorial tiers – supranational, national, regional, and local. By trans-scalar networks, I mean the intersection of politics, actors, and governance processes across different scales (Halbert & Rouanet 2014). The idea of trans-scalar governance is an extension of MLG, as it suggests that layers of governance cannot be easily disentangled, whereas MLG suggests a simpler layering.

Trans-scalar governance is not only an empirical reality that should be investigated when considering place leadership but is also a potential strategy for increasing the effectiveness of local or city-region governance. The development of trans-scalar networks offers new opportunities for local actors to participate in rescaling processes and multi-level leadership, potentially increasing their power and opportunities by connecting to the new infrastructure of "non-place bounded" energies (Majoor & Salet 2008:91).

Further development on place leadership literature should, therefore, incorporate the scalar dimension, recognising the complex ecosystems that involve myriads of formal and informal relationships that are constantly evolving. Further, an acclaimed researcher and author remarked in the interviews, "*You cannot divorce politics from governance. What are the interdependencies between politics and governance? There has not been enough research on understanding this dynamic*" (AR08).

While it is impossible to address the trans-scalarity of governance in relation to the GCR in this chapter comprehensively, I use the context of water governance as an illustrative case. Writers from other contexts use the case of water in this way; for example, Abers and Keck (2006:602) reflect on Brazil, claiming that water governance is complex and multi-scalar, although they also acknowledge that the challenges require more than scalar

solutions: “Water’s natural or human-made interconnectivity means that a simple devolution of powers to local levels is unlikely to resolve the problems that cities face.”

Water governance in the GCR has historically been fraught with challenges – from managing the needs of multiple stakeholders to ailing infrastructure and a lack of technical skills to deliver on the needs of the province (Bega 2022; Bischoff-Mattson et al. 2020; Anon 2022). The recent water shortages across South Africa have provided an urgent need for attention to a volatile crisis that continues to receive little consideration from public leadership. Cape Town’s impending Day Zero in 2018 (Christian 2019), Durban’s dry taps for over 200 days in 2022 (Papaya 2022), and Gauteng’s threatening dam levels and water shedding in 2022/23 have all been met with apparent neglect from government leaders, with some exception (Bega 2022; Anon 2022; Staff Writer 2022a). While there has been some attention given to the ailing crisis by Premier David Makhura during his term of office, the focus was short-lived and did not gain traction to the point of providing a concrete way forward on how to enable effective governance arrangements for Gauteng’s water sector until recent consideration by Minister Mchunu following the near collapse of the system, which is still nowhere near stabilisation.

The propensity for effective water governance exists, but a lack of shared commitment from all parties and leadership has achieved little traction (Muller 2018). While there may be political will in pockets within individual spheres of governance, the lack of effective multi-level or trans-scalar water governance remains a serious limitation. Incorporating multi-level or trans-scalar perspectives into place leadership approaches would require collaborative efforts between leaders across scales to achieve effective governance for a particular place or context, such as the GCR (Sotarauta & Beer 2017).

This chapter utilises the responses to qualitative interviews, conducted with experts in academia, government, and the water sector, and secondary data analysis and background data of the QoL VI 2020/2021. The findings are presented within the context of the GCR, which confirms this point – it depicts the GCR as a place of complexity, differing agendas, diffused power settings, high levels of mistrust between leaders and citizens, and leaders who undermine possibilities for effective place leadership. The chapter further presents three mini-case studies of leadership to understand how leadership has managed water security in the city-region over time. This chapter addresses the final research objective:

To look at the application of the idea of place leadership by considering multi-scalar or trans-scalar leadership.

It emerged in Sotarauta and Beer's (2017) writing that effective place leadership occurs in a context of distributed leadership of shared trust, shared power, and collaborative governance with a negotiated vision for the city-region. The context of water is presented first as an illustrative case – a space of scarcity, limited resources, and multiple players and stakeholders across governance boundaries. Examining multi-level leadership and trans-scalar governance for a boundaryless resource will allow for engagement on how to cultivate place leadership in a low-trust space coupled with hesitancies to share power across space and multiple power holders.

8.2 Governance Perspectives for Place Leadership of City-Regions

Place leadership for city-regions require governance mechanisms that are widely inclusive of stakeholders within a city-region (Hambleton 2011; Sotarauta 2016; Sotarauta & Beer 2017). However, a multi-level or trans-scalar perspective goes beyond this, recognising that governance actors beyond the city-region may have active interests and involvement within a city-region.

The following sections explore governance perspectives for city-regions to understand the value of trans-scalar governance for place leadership in city-regions.

8.2.1 A multi-level perspective for place leadership in city-regions

The concept of MLG may have been first introduced by Marks (1993), providing an understanding of the complex policy-making arena in the European Union and the interactions between decision-makers from the transnational to the local through the national and regional scales. From 2008, the study of MLG has advanced with notions of environmental policy proposed by Conzelmann and Smith (2008) and Piattoni (2009), who undertook a comprehensive historical and conceptual analysis of the tensions between urban centres and their peripheries, state and society, and domestic and international realms. Kohler-Koch and Larat's (2009) exploration delved into the diverse array of research traditions within the European landscape, illuminating how MLG had been utilised as a conceptual framework in national research endeavours. In 2010, Enderlein et al. (2010) presented multifaceted perspectives on MLG, considering it from domestic and European vantage points while delving into its applicability within the context of comparative regionalism and global governance. Building on this, Bache and Andreou

(2011) investigated emergent patterns of MLG across southeast Europe. Most recently, Levi-Faur (2012), with contributions from Bache and Andreou (2011), presented a comprehensive examination of MLG within the broader spectrum of governance. This perspective encompassed considerations of risk, regulation, market dynamics, and civil society within MLG (Stephenson 2013). Thus, in the last 20 years, the concept of MLG has advanced and continued to contribute to the understanding of governance and policy needs of complex spaces.

MLG recognises that governance is not clearly located in one sphere or area of government but requires networks and relationships across and between different government partners and actors to allow for effective governance and policy to achieve shared goals (Piattoni 2009; Stephenson 2013). In line with the positioning of place leadership (Sotarauta 2020, 2021), MLG relies on ad-hoc networks (Piattoni 2009). Various authors have raised that place leadership and MLG may serve as the key to understanding why some localities fare better than others in economic performance, building resilience, and recovering easier from challenges (Sotarauta et al. 2012; Rodríguez-Pose 2013; Beer et al. 2019). Place leadership is where governance and leadership intersect, and it serves to fulfil the informal and formal arrangements of MLG (Budd & Sancino 2016). Budd and Sancino (2016), in their study of MLG and governance arrangements in the UK and Italy, reflect the vertical and horizontal bridge between political, civic, and managerial leadership.

Palle and Richard (2022) report that MLG is not enough, and scalar politics must be considered to enable leadership and governments to solve the current urban challenges. This, therefore, speaks to the relevance of holistic trans-scalar governance solutions that incorporate MLG, the required networks, and the dynamics of scalar politics for the provision of targeted solutions. As will be shown below, trans-scalar governance goes beyond just MLG and is, therefore, critical to the understanding of how place leadership must be considered within the context of complex city-regions.

8.2.2 A trans-scalar perspective for place leadership in city-regions

The study of trans-scalar governance has emerged and evolved and cannot be attributed to a single author or year. Some of the earliest writings on the concept can be found in Ostrom's (1999) work, which argued that a common resource of common interest, such as natural resources, requires co-ordinating governance efforts across scales, leadership,

communities, and government to ensure that resources are not depleted because of self-interest. Marks (1993) explained that trans-scalar governance is three-dimensional and incorporates MLG theory, network governance for the networking of actors across government and other sectors of society (Pierce et al. 2011; Montenegro & Bulgacov 2014), and scalar politics, which asserts that power dynamics between different levels of government and scale (Brenner 2001) can influence governance and policy outcomes (Figure 8-1).

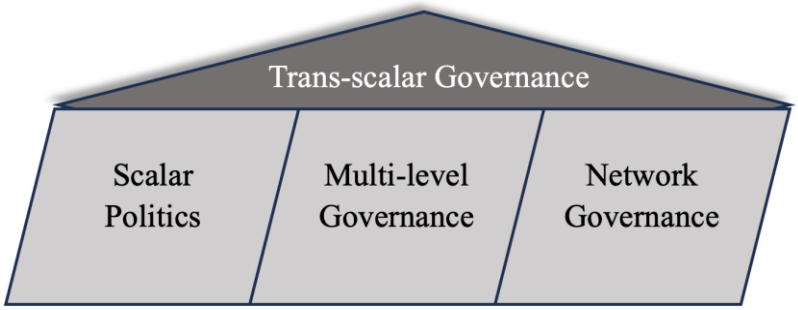


Figure 8-1. Trans-scalar governance (Author's own)

According to MacLeod and Goodwin (1999), the state is a multi-dimensional, multi-sited, and multi-scalar complex array of political, social, and economic relations. In its traditional form, the state is geographically bound and territorially governed; therefore, its activity takes place within a particular scaled geography. Mamadouh and Van Der Wusten (2008) raised the importance of adopting a trans-scalar perspective to governance in understanding the European Union and the multi-level, cross-national scales of politics and governance required, sometimes through informal networks, to enable co-operation in multiple areas of interest.

Urban governance networks present various advantages, from more efficient utilisation of resources because of shareholder co-operation to better and more effective decision-making and improved accountability (Pompili 2006). Networks may also provide opportunities for collusion and may, therefore, not allow all deserving to benefit equally. Majoor and Salet (2008:93) argue that trans-scalar networks create the opportunity for local power to be expanded as they engage beyond boundaries "in the basic notion of interconnectivity as a key to understand[ing] new forms of power and leadership". This move toward connecting and networking spurred the development of trans-scalar economic policies in the European Union (Majoor & Salet 2008). Trans-scalar governance provides for an understanding of the various mechanisms employed to enable delivery for

public value while considering the impact of power dynamics and complex social and political relations across the various levels of government, which are required to be infiltrated to allow for cross-boundary engagement aimed at delivery against policy (Majoor & Salet 2008; Norman et al. 2012).

Palle and Richard (2022) believe that with global challenges, such as climate change, the most accepted and common interpretation of politics of scale being vertical is no longer sufficient and trans-scalar governance calls for greater attention to the networks or clusters that are available within local territories to overcome climate challenges that have local impact. Politics of scale hold power, and centralised systems serve to preserve and control resources at the top tiers of government, which holds strategic economic resources that no longer serve localities as the new urban challenges call for decentralised, digitised, and decarbonised solutions (Palle & Richard 2022).

Today, the ability to solve city-region and local challenges rests in the resourcefulness of regional leadership to connect, network, and engage across territories. New urban development is thus characterised by trans-scalarity (Robinson 2023). Understanding the politics of scale allows for understanding the development of complex social and political relations, the power dynamics present in these relations, and the institutional forces required beyond territory (Norman et al. 2012). It is not clear, though, if trans-scalar governance in urban settings has created a stronger local power base but weakened local capacity in terms of innovation and development as a result of dependency on the network (Majoor & Salet 2008; López-García & Simón-Rojo 2022).

Trans-scalar governance intersects seamlessly with place leadership as it is the interaction of actors across the levels of government and in networks that allow for the politics of scale to be surpassed, but Batistič et al. (2017:3) emphasised that "leadership research still lacks some conceptual and methodological clarity regarding the application of the multi-level paradigm". While leadership in its very nature is multi-level (leaders and followers), Batistič et al. (2017) propose that a multi-level examination of leadership will allow for understanding and examination of exactly when, how, and at what level leadership is enacted and the level or multi-level outcomes and implications thereof.

Thus, while trans-scalarity is embedded within city-region functionality, the local needs of the city-region must not be ignored or compromised. Politics of scale and power dynamics, therefore, becomes an important focus, as well as the call from Batistič et al. (2017) for

further examination of the intricate developments that occur in trans-scalar governance at the various levels and points of intersection and the outcomes and implications thereof at each level.

Going forward, it would be important for the investigation of trans-scalar leadership for the MLG of city-regions to consider the impact, outcomes, and implications during crisis, automation, and technological development toward building resilient city-regions that continue to place the citizen at the centre of the decision and policy-making process and allows for place leadership and governance to impact city-region development in a globalised political economy.

8.2.3 Water as a lens to explore trans-scalarity

Ostrom (1999) defined a *common pool resource* as a natural source, such as water, shared by many beneficiaries who cannot be excluded once the resource is provided. While the initial wave of discourse and conflict over water in Southern Africa was on the war of water and its availability for all, the new discourse is on the governance of water as a scarce resource due to climate change (Swatuk 2015). Warner et al. (2017:2) assert that conflict and co-operation over water bring forth the hydro-political realities of water, and the power plays across boundaries attempting to either control or share the resource. They highlight three types of power that arise in this hydro-hegemony: decision-making power (the power to 'win the game'), nondecision-making power (the power to set the agenda), and ideological power (control over discourse or 'common sense').

UN-Water (2020) explains that transboundary agreements and co-operation govern approximately 63% of the world's shared water resources. Water is naturally a prime candidate for trans-scalar governance – it is unbounded, flowing through multiple territories, calling for multiple agents across multiple scales to co-ordinate efforts, allowing citizens to benefit in each territory. Rivera-Torres and Gerlak (2021:554) stress that "transboundary water cooperation can allow nations to benefit from implementing mutually beneficial strategies, strengthening climate resilience, and managing conflicts over water resources". Aiming to understand institutional arrangements that allow for transboundary governance has been studied for over two decades with the rising number of international water basins (Bernauer 2002; UNEP 2016; Rivera-Torres & Gerlak 2021). Rivera-Torres and Gerlak (2021) remind us that, over time, transboundary governance of water has shifted from top-down governance approaches to participatory, networked,

inclusive, and informal governance processes. Trans-scalar governance of water engages actors across boundaries and calls for conflicts over the resource to be resolved through co-operation and collaboration (Swyngedouw 2009), seeking to enable access and attain environmental and social justice (Agyeman et al. 2002).

Water thus tests how actors collaborate, co-operate or conflict over a shared, scarce resource across scales, networks, and levels and the mechanisms that become necessary to enable collaboration and co-operation to assure sustainability, resilience, and benefit for the end-user – the citizen.

The complexity of water governance in the GCR must be understood to appreciate the need to consider trans-scalar governance of water for the region.

Water governance in South Africa is viewed as "*well established*" (AR05) and "*complex*" (PR02). Meissner (2014) argues that South Africa won't advance to a sustainable water situation until governance issues in water resource management are understood. This is supported by Jankielsohn (2012) and Siebrits et al. (2014), who state that since poor governance is acknowledged as one of the causes of the current water crisis, the challenges highlighted in water management have brought to light a critical need for water governance reform.

Most functional areas of governance have an IGR or trans-scalar dimension within the broader constitutional framework[9] of co-operative governance, so water is not unusual. Between 2000 and 2003, the responsibility of water and sanitation shifted from 25 districts to local municipalities (SALGA 2016).

However, it is notable that water-related functions are divided between national and municipal governments, with provincial government having no official role in waste management and water provision. However, Section 155(6) of the Constitution does allow for the supervision and monitoring of local government by provincial government, and where an issue does affect more than one municipality in a province, regional planning and development and provincial planning may intercept, which could warrant provincial government control or oversight in how municipalities administer a particular matter (Van Wyk 2012).

[9] The powers and functions of government's three spheres are demarcated in Schedules 4 and 5 of the Constitution.

Access to water is a basic right enshrined in the Constitution of South Africa – Section 27(1)(b) of the Constitution provides that everyone has the right to have access to sufficient water, while Section 27(2) obliges the state to take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of the right of access to sufficient water (South African Government 1996). The functional responsibility for ensuring this basic right rests with national government, which has the legislative and executive power to manage freshwater resources.[10] National government has elaborated its responsibility in the Water Services Act of 1997 and the National Water Act of 1998 and has given the institutional mandate for fulfilling its function to the Department of Water and Sanitation (DWS).

However, Section 156 of the Constitution, which must be read in conjunction with Part B of Schedule 4, indicates that a municipality has the right to administer water and sanitation provision. The role of municipalities to deliver water and sanitation is also recognised in the Water Services Act and the Municipal Services Act of 2000. However, the Municipal Services Act also requires a process for determining whether the water services function is best placed in a local or district municipality.

However, the absence of provincial government within the arrangement is a challenge for the GCR. Gauteng is a water-scarce region, and there is an urgent need for effective long-term planning – and sometimes for short-term emergency responses – to ensure water security for the city-region into the future. Without functional responsibility, provincial government effectively relies on the National Department to ensure water security, which is fundamental to the future development, even survival, of the city-region. The truth is, from 1886, when Johannesburg was established, the provision of a steady water supply with the required infrastructure was not possible due to various factors – lack of state funds, lack of competency in the area to provide for the needs of the area and hence the reliance on private capacity to tend to water needs for the area (Table 8-1). Private capacity for water provision was also relied upon in the early days of New York, so it was not an unusual practice globally at the time (Tempelhoff 2003). Water was provided at great cost, which was passed on to the consumer but found to be "insufficient, ineffective and too expensive" (Tempelhoff 2003:33). By 1899, the mining of gold increased

[10] Fresh water management is not listed in Schedules 4 and 5 of the National Constitution, which address areas of concurrent national and provincial competence. This means that it is a legislative competence of national government only.

substantially, and the need for water to mine was extensive – with more than 2000 litres needed to mine one tonne of gold – around 7,3 million tonnes was being mined by this stage (Tempelhoff 2003). Supporting industries grew around mining activity, which drew on water supplies as well (Turton & Meissner 2002). Alongside the growing need for water and the scarce supply already was the threat of polluted water supply – "Industrial innovation and development, pollution and population growth were a few of the dynamic forces, which shaped the nature of the demand for water in Johannesburg" (Tempelhoff 2003:43). Concessions being granted by government to various companies for the supply of water – from Klip to the Vaal River – with no delivery, added to the frustration of consumers and industry.

Provincial government is dependent on a national agency to ensure bulk water supply. In 1903, the Rand Water Board was established through Ordinance No. 32[11] to secure a bulk water supply to the Witwatersrand. At the time, the Rand Water Board had representation from local government, the colonial administration (the Transvaal), and the municipalities on the Witwatersrand. It was effectively an agency of city-region governance with a single purpose – to represent the interests of the people of the Witwatersrand. The Board paid out private suppliers and consolidated all water sources under its authority. Local authorities did not have the money to lay the infrastructure. The Board took over this responsibility to ensure that water was piped to local areas, but supply to the area would rest within the local authority's jurisdiction (Tempelhoff 2003).

By 1910, with increasing migrancy and demand for water, the Board had to find another supply source. The Vaal River became the choice for supply. Over time, it became more technocratic, with professionals appointed to the Board who did not necessarily represent local interests (Tempelhoff 2003). One could argue that the governance of water was in some way always trans-scalar with a heavy British influence on the supply of water – from loans to piping, the British were involved in the provision of water. In 1941, following tense negotiations between the Mayor of Pretoria and the government, it was decided that Pretoria would also join the Rand Water Board and benefit from the Vaal River Scheme despite the Mayor's objections, wanting to remain independent of the existing arrangements and to extract water from Hartbeespoort Dam for Pretoria. In 1944, "the

[11] Ordinance No. 32 of 1903, "Ordinance to establish a Water Board for the Witwatersrand Area" in The Transvaal Government Gazette, 6(191), 1903.05.08, pp. 824-6; RWA, Report of the Rand Water Board to the Colonial Secretary of the Transvaal, for the financial year ended 31st March 1906, p. 2.

incorporation of Pretoria and Vereeniging into the limits of supply of the Rand Water Board marked a milepost in the regional development of the Transvaal province" (Tempelhoff 2003:166).

By 1950, the Board consisted of 34 representatives from across municipalities (16 with five from Johannesburg), the Railway Administration (one) and the Transvaal Chamber of Mines (16). Board membership meant voting rights equivalent to the number of representatives and preferential supply of water. In 1950, the Rand Water Board Statutes (Private) Act No. 17 was passed, legislating voting rights, membership, and maintenance of infrastructure provisions (Tempelhoff 2003). This led to the Water Act No. 54 of 1956, which would serve as the government's water policy. The 1950s was a time of political and racial tensions, and with the Sharpeville massacre, "[t]he government, in an effort to protect white minority rights, became more authoritarian in its system of governance" (Tempelhoff 2003:236) wanting to stamp its authority centrally, impacting the Rand Water Board.

With the Rand Water Board Statutes (Private) Amendment Act No. 29 of 1964, the state reduced the number of representatives on the Board to nine from 34, with all members appointed by the President, thereby granting greater power to the state. In a time of socio-economic and political change, the Board required "visionary leadership" who "broke the pattern of the Department of Water Affairs having a great deal of control over the Board" (Tempelhoff 2003:380-381), making way for the establishment of regional service councils and increasing membership to 12 from nine, as well as changing the Board's governing structures.

Tensions in the late 1980s over water restrictions, increased tariffs, and between the Transvaal Provincial Authority and local municipalities resulted in the establishment of the Metropolitan Chamber in September 1990 with the aim of a non-racial democratic policy for payments and services (Tempelhoff 2003). There was a sense at the time that local and regional authorities would have a greater role in ensuring water security, but the National Constitution of 1996 emphasised the national responsibility for water security, even if there was responsibility for the distribution of water at a municipal level, and Water Services Act of 1998 Act re-established the Rand Water Board as an agency of national government, with the DWS as the oversight department (Tempelhoff 2003). The overall trend from the establishment of the Rand Water Board in 1903 was towards greater

national control over water, leaving provincial authorities increasingly marginalised, even though water security was central to their interests.

At the same time, water security for the present-day Gauteng required wider and wider territorial relationships. The Vaal River Catchment, extending through present-day Mpumalanga and the northern Free State, which was tapped through the construction of the Vaal Dam in the 1930s, was soon insufficient to meet the demands of water supply in the industrialising Southern Transvaal (also known as the PWV). This led, by the 1970s, to the Tugela-Vaal water transfer scheme, which involved the annual transfer of around 630 million m^3 of water from the Tugela Basin in present-day KwaZulu-Natal over the Drakensberg mountains into the Vaal River Basin (Tempelhoff 2003).

But this, too, was insufficient, so the Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP) was conceived, which involved mega construction of dams and tunnels diverting water from the mountains of Lesotho to the GCR in the late 1990s. The LHWP was negotiated, researched and planned by the European Union, the United Nations Organisation, and the World Bank, who conducted pilot studies to determine the project's viability (Tempelhoff 2003). South Africa was determined as the end-user and would pay for the service, while additional funding would come from international agencies. The treaty for the supply of water from the Orange River by the Kingdom of Lesotho to South Africa was signed on 24 October 1987 by President P.W. Botha (Tempelhoff 2003; Vinti 2021). The project requires the management of five dams and 200km of tunnels to ensure the free flow of approximately 2000 million cubic litres of water annually beyond the boundaries of one country into another (Lesotho Highlands Water Project, n.d.). It has proven to be a complex project: "The R40bn Phase 2 of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project has been delayed by nine years. It is now under construction but is only due to be completed by 2028" (Phillips 2023: para. 4).

The Tugela-Vaal Scheme had added a new territorial dimension as it involved water transfer across provincial boundaries, but the LHWP brought the transnational dimension and even a global dimension as the international treaty between South Africa and Lesotho happened in terms of the Helsinki Rules of the Uses of Water of International Rivers of 1966 and the United Nations Watercourses Convention of 1997 (Vinti 2021).

However, having a mega project ensuring bulk support for a few decades does not necessarily ensure an adequate supply of water to consumers. A water supply system is

complex, and inefficiency, disruption, and poor planning at any point may impede water supply. As we will see below, the metropolitan cities of Gauteng have suffered shortages and periodic water disruptions over the past two years, but this is because of challenges in planning, management and maintenance at the Rand Water Board, municipal supply departments and entities such as Joburg Water, and poor co-ordination across these structures but "ultimately at the end of the day it comes down to a leadership crisis" (eNCA 2023: para. 4).

Table 8-1. Water timeline (Extracted from Tempelhoff 2003)

Time	**Development**
1800s	Gold discovered
1886	Johannesburg established
1887	Water shortage. Water sold at exorbitant prices
September 1897	Municipal Bill passed. Johannesburg's Sanitary Board is charged with infrastructure to supply water
December 1887	South Africa granted rights to James Silverlight (the Johannesburg Waterworks, Estates and Exploration Company) to provide water to Johannesburg
23 June 1888	Consumers received paid access to waterworks
1889	Barnato Brothers (Barney Barnato) took over the concession to provide water to Johannesburg
1892	Water is a lucrative business –the number of private companies supplying water to consumers increased – for example, Braamfontein Water Company, Vierfontein Syndicate
1895	The Johannesburg Waterworks company became a full subsidiary of Johannesburg Consolidated Investments (JCI)
4 November 1901	The Transvaal government appointed the Witwatersrand Water Supply Commission to investigate all possible sources of water, present and future
26 February 1902	The Commission recommends the establishment of the Rand Water Board – a public body responsible for supplying water to the Witwatersrand – with representatives from Johannesburg, the Chamber of Mines, and local authorities in the Witwatersrand (outside Johannesburg)
December 1904	Town Engineer D. Leitch was appointed as the first head of the Rand Water Board
8 May 1903	Rand Water Board established the Ordinance No. 32 of 1903, published in the Transvaal Government Gazette
26 September 1913	Vaal River Scheme approved by the Rand Water Board
1941	Pretoria joins Rand Water Board agreement
1950	In 1950, the Rand Water Board Statutes (Private) Act No. 17 passed
1956	Water Act No. 54 passed
1964	Rand Water Board Statutes Amendment Act No. 29 of 1964 passed
1974	Tugela-Vaal water transfer scheme
1982	Completion Tugela-Vaal water transfer scheme
September 1990	Metropolitan Chamber established
24 October 1987	LHWP Treaty signed

8.3 Gauteng Perspectives on the Trans-scalar Nature of Water Provision

While provincial government is constitutionally excluded from the water provision function, which is a national-municipal responsibility, it has a clear interest in ensuring the security of water provision. The future of the province and the GCR depends largely on the will and effectiveness of actors on other government scales to deal with water, and central to their dealing with water is their ability to engage inter-governmentally and with non-governmental actors.

Provincial respondents expressed their concern with the ability of actors across government scales to engage cooperatively around water. A provincial level senior official feels, "*At no point do you have people talking to each other*" (PR02). In Gauteng, these actors, including the Minister of Water and Sanitation (as promulgated by the Water Services Act 108 of 1997) and Rand Water Board (whose activities and work are overseen by the Minister), supply Gauteng's municipalities, which then supply households. It is perceived that "*[t]here's a huge gap [in] co-ordinating function[s]*" (PR02). This is not said from the frame of reference of not understanding the complexities, though, "*we have to understand that about 32 different governing agencies need to be bought into consensus and alignment in order to have [a] concerted approach towards dealing with water demand issues and address water supply issue*" (AR04).

A leading academic in the water sector felt that some of these complexities needed to be dealt with from a trans-scalar governance perspective at a leadership level:

> "*These are enormously complex issues that need to be dealt with at multiple levels at the highest political level*" (AR04) that can manage the complexity of *"high levels of fiscal management…engineering of vast systems of catchment and transmission of water across huge geographies, across national and provincial boundaries…able to navigate and align the interest of multiple users outside of the city-region, inside the city-region to think about infrastructure and engineering implications around [the] distribution of water across communities dealing with political problems on [the]provision of water, which results in under serving vulnerable communities.*" (AR04)

This highlights the need for effective leadership for the water sector's trans-scalar governance, but as indicated in the literature review, leadership is the key factor that is missing in the water governance discourse, with water governance literature only

highlighting the need for stakeholder engagement (OECD 2015b). It also highlights the argument and criticisms of the urban regime theory that powerful coalitions can influence urban policy and delivery of urban services but sometimes to the detriment of the marginalised (Stone 1989; Purcell 2007).

The key task of leadership, according to a leading academic in the water sector, is leadership that understand trans-scalar mechanisms because

> "*they have to work in a complex network of institutions and make it work or try to ascend top-down authorities over other institutions [that] don't have to co-operate if they don't want to. That's where the issue lies; this is a broader problem of leadership and governance and understanding the importance of governance in a non-hierarchical way.*" (AR02)

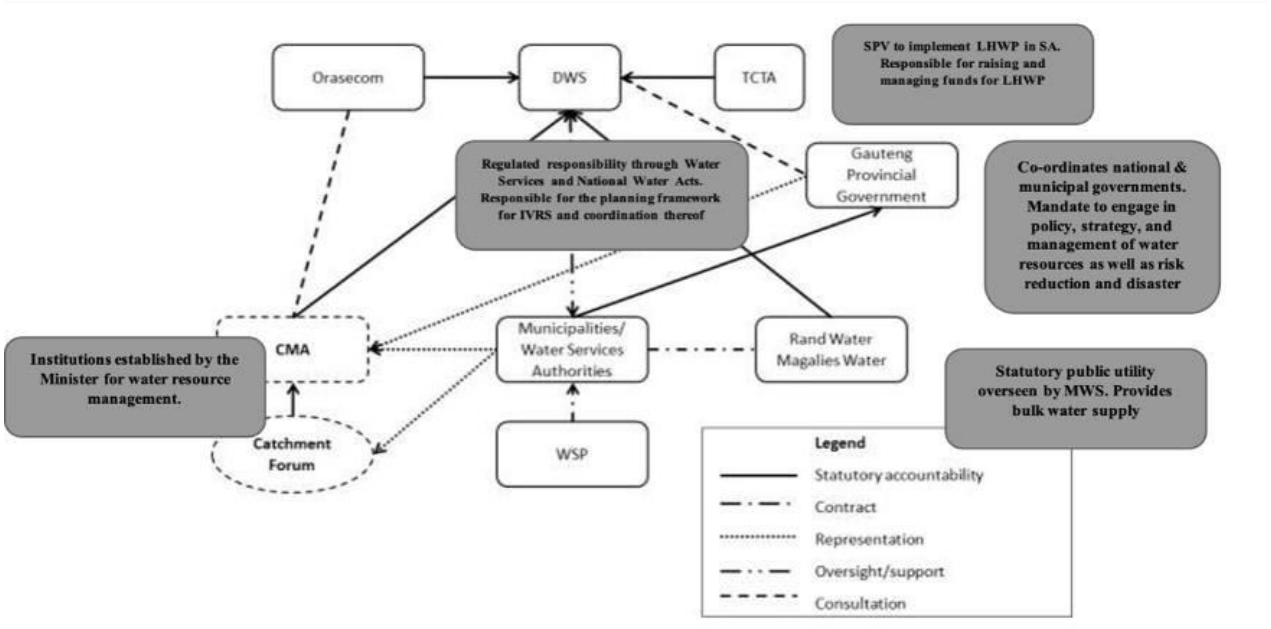


Figure 8-2. Water Institutional Governance System in Gauteng (Muller et al. 2019:14)

The complexity of water resource management is confounded when operating in a trans-scalar governance framework. Many agents or actors providing a reliable and safe passage from source to tap are required to enable water to reach the taps of households and other users (Figure 8-2). These actors include infrastructure, chemical and electrical engineers, managers, consortiums, contractors, consultants, financiers, export credit agencies, the World Bank, the European Bank, Water Board, catchment agents, municipalities and municipal technicians, and national government, as well as water users who could pollute the water in rivers and streams that flow into water sources or waste the scarce resource

(Muller et al. 2019). Thus, water governance in South Africa and Gauteng is dependent on a trans-scalar network of governance actors with consultation or regulatory mechanisms to govern their relationships (as indicated in Figure 8-2) and to enable source-to-tap delivery with "*multiple players at multiple levels starting with cross international border agreements*" (PR02).

One of the biggest issues is,

> "*leadership does not quite understand its role of bringing people together, finding a common direction to follow and encouraging, mobilising, and motivating people towards a goal…it is necessary for parties of different political parties controlling different administrations to learn to work together; this is the challenge we are facing, and water illustrates this well.*" (AR02)

My respondents were clear about the trans-scalar nature of water governance and deeply concerned about the apparent deficiencies in trans-scalar engagement. They were also concerned about the apparent absence of provincial government in water-related processes; while not constitutionally empowered, provincial government is a directly interested and affected party. A respondent commented, "*[The] truth is water is a bigger crisis than electricity, but unless there is political will, nobody cares, and nothing will be done*" (NR04).

There were, in fact, three episodes of crisis, which were highly revealing of the nature of trans-scalar water governance in relation to Gauteng, which are narrated below.

8.3.1 Episode one: The Premier attempts to convene an inter-governmental forum on water security

The Constitution does not give rights to the provincial government to manage water. So, until 2014, they did not get involved in the matters of water. "*The failure to participate in operation and planning activities because the province feels it doesn't have the direct role will be [a] good example of a failure to understand the leadership potential that the province could play*" (AR02).

In 2014, Premier David Makhura was elected into office. He took on various challenges, which required MLG and cross-sectoral responses, including the Gauteng Freeway Improvement E-tolls Project and the water crisis (SAPA 2014; Infrastructurenews 2014). Following a ten-day water outage in Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni, and Tshwane, the Premier

called a meeting with municipalities to discuss the "state of infrastructure, service delivery and the unfolding water crisis" (Infrastructurenews 2014: para. 5). At the time, Rand Water claimed that there was no crisis and water shortages were due to poor pressure so water would be redirected to areas in need (SAPA 2014). But Mike Muller, a leading academic and expert in the water sector, had already warned of a water crisis in 2011(Staff Reporter 2011). He called the state of water in Gauteng "disastrous" (Staff Reporter 2011: para. 8). He said, "All stakeholders must… move into action or we're in trouble. I think we need to panic at the right time and the right time is now" (Staff Reporter 2011: para. 7).

Later in 2014, the Democratic Alliance called for a Commission of Inquiry into the water crisis, which the province responded to as "…political opportunism in its most profound form. Water supply interruptions that occurred over the past two weeks cannot be used as a political football" (Chabalala 2014: para. 9). This reflected the tensions between political parties – while the water crisis was prevalent with water cuts across the city-region affecting residents, the parties were unable to come together to work on a common agenda to find solutions to the crisis at hand. With the water supply stabilising, the crisis was forgotten about until 2018.

A respondent comments,

> "*So in 2016, we already had a problem. We had a water situation in that area, and not much was moving, and we had construction mafias also coming to the floor.[…] I had to go in and deal decisively with those issues…but we did not make a proper analysis when we were trying to solve some of those problems, for instance, the water tankers problem…we had mafias in the water tankering system where people will deliberately go and break this infrastructure, and people don't have water, and then they must be provided water through the use of water tanker.*" (PR09)

In March 2018, Premier Makhura announced, "We need to agree on setting up a [W]ater [W]ar [R]oom that will be made up of representatives from the provincial government and local government. This [W]ar [R]oom will have both a political and technical component which will be used to identify trends and respond to those" (Infrastructurenews 2018: para. 7). "Makhura did not say whether the [W]ar [R]oom plans would introduce commercial parties to [a] discussion of how to manage the region's resources, though said it would be made up of a ["*political and technical component, which will be used to identify trends and respond to those*"*]* " (International Water Association 2018: para. 9). Leadership of

Gauteng was still not considering the importance of including industry or other stakeholders and leadership in discussions of water security at this stage. Perhaps it was because the province did not have a role or voice in water security, and perhaps the Premier believed that the first step toward attempting to solve this crisis was from an MLG approach. In Gauteng, "*You will need a combination [of] political leadership headed by the Premier and some independent, strong professional administration leadership*" (PR02). "In this way, co-operation and co-ordination between actors [are] institutionalised, and therefore the success of development strategies is quite largely dependent [on] the functionality of both formal and informal policy networks" (Sotarauta & Beer 2017:6). Premier Makhura said that Gauteng was "vulnerable to a water crisis due to its location, the type of economy run, and the number of people the province attracts" (Infrastructurenews 2018: para. 6). The Premier was adamant that Gauteng should prevent a Day Zero threat that Cape Town had experienced and announced that a Water Summit would be held in June 2018 to develop a "plan to deal with water security and sustainability" (Infrastructurenews 2018: para. 9). This was the first indicator that the province was wanting a voice in water governance as there was no traction on conversations or lobbying of stakeholders following the brief attention to the water crisis in 2014. Premier Makhura approached the GCRO to analyse the state of water security in the province (GCRO 2019).

Premier Makhura could see the looming crisis, but "*the process got entangled in the politics and complexities of managing the political relations with mayors post-2016*" (PR05), and he eventually gave up the fight for the province to have a voice in co-ordinating the delivery of water to its residents because of "*politics…the DA [Democratic Alliance] took over Johannesburg and things got too tense to get consensus*" (AR05). He met with mayors at the PCF in 2018, and following a lack of buy-in from political leaders in the opposition, the water crisis did not receive further attention from the province. "*Herman Mashaba [the then Democratic Alliance Mayor of Johannesburg] rejected working with the Premier when the Premier raised the water issue at PCF…they did not want to collaborate…there was no interest in co-operating on a programme*" (PR03). "*The idea was to take the framework that the GCRO had developed and turn it into an implementation plan for the GCR, but I heard that Herman Mashaba killed it at the PCF…Johannesburg was influential, so there was no chance without their buy-in*" (AR07).

Therefore, trans-scalar governance for water in Gauteng failed due to political tensions in the GCR. The poor levels of co-operation between the different spheres of government in Gauteng were also recognised by respondents. A leading academic in water and governance said that the failures of governments and leadership in Brazil, São Paulo, and Cape Town revealed the need to co-operate to resolve the water crisis, and that would require a resolution to step away from the political agendas that divides toward a focus on the needs of communities and the provision of water security – "*The job of the politician is not to yield and use power to benefit a constituency but for public benefit and to bring people together…they need to work with coalitions*" (AR02). There is a lack of discourse between role players in the water sector: "*There's no forum that large cities regularly interact with national, there's no consideration of individual city plans at national level*" (PR02). There is a failure of efficient water delivery "*because of the leadership and the lack of collaboration and effective co-ordination amongst joint and responsible and implementing entity*" (IR03). Reasons cited for this lack of discourse and collaboration include the inability of leaders to work beyond the party's political divides.

> "*We are failing to understand the importance of recognising the need to work across party lines in [a] multi-party system and to do that first step is to accept that there is a multi-party system and ensuring co-operation…it requires political compromise, currently much attention is given to the internal party politics, which is a failure of party rather than of government, this disables the potential of political leadership…that's the failure of politics.*" (AR02)

Premier Makhura's plan would be honoured by the GCRO, who finalised the GCR Water Perspective based on five programmatic interventions: Reduce water demand; Manage variability to prepare for drought and or water scarcity; Invest in alternative water sources and tools for water conservation; Manage water quality to limit pollution and achieve environmental goals; and Effective institutions for water security. It calls for "strong coordination across government" with "existing cooperative governance structures, notably the Premier's Coordinating Forum", to provide an "appropriate overall structure for provincial level coordination with municipalities and other local organisations" and "the Provincial Disaster Management function to coordinate water security activities" (GCRO 2019:v). However, with provincial government having no constitutional powers in relation to water, the plan depended on an ability to secure buy-in from a range of actors, including those who did have constitutional powers. Provincial leadership failed to achieve

this. It should be acknowledged that the context was extremely difficult, given the newly formed political divide between provincial and metropolitan governments, especially Johannesburg, whose tumultuous politics have been detailed in Chapter Five.

8.3.2 Episode two: Providing water during the COVID-19 pandemic

With the emergence of COVID-19 in 2020, the Premier had to focus his efforts on multi-level and networked governance to aid the fight against a new crisis, and while the realities of the lack of water during the pandemic were stark, temporary water crisis measures had to be implemented instead of focusing efforts on continuing the fight over the governance of water.

Makhura said during a Command Council briefing that "Insufficient water supply in the middle of a pandemic that needs so much water. We say people should wash their hands, but the healthcare system cannot operate without an adequate water supply. And this morning I was assured by the CEO of Rand Water that the system that has happened in Johannesburg has been restored or resolved" (Staff Reporter 2021: para. 5).

The stark reality of the social divides between people is revealed in access to water. The QoL VI 2020/2021 survey results reveal that a predominant number of Indian (99.3%) and White respondents (96.8%) receive their water directly into their dwellings, while only 68.6% of Black respondents have access to piped water into their dwellings. Coloured and Blacks continue to access water via tankers (0.3% and 1.1%) or street taps (1.1% and 5.6%), with Blacks the most likely to receive piped water into their yard only (23.2%).

The realities of unequal access were felt starkly during the COVID-19 pandemic, resulting in government working fast to provide access to water so that people could wash their hands. A Water Command Centre was established by Minister Sisulu, hosted and charged for by the Rand Water Board. It comprised officials from municipalities, the DWS and water boards. The Rand Water Board was charged with procuring tankers, which would ultimately be paid for by DWS. They were also responsible for setting up and managing supply, for which they hired 28 service providers in some provinces, and, in others, they left the responsibility to municipalities (Chamberlain & Potter 2022). This emergency multi-level, networked response to water provision formed the cornerstone of the water response to the pandemic across the country by the DWS. In April 2020, "[i]n a united effort to curb the spread of the virus pandemic, the Department [of Water & Sanitation] [worked] collaboratively with Rand Water and municipalities to provide water to desperate

communities in the most densely populated informal settlements" (Ratau & Sithole 2020: para. 2).

In a media statement on 02 April 2020, Ratau and Sithole reported that the DWS had provided 852 water tankers and 20 tanks (water trucks) to communities who had no access to water during COVID-19 with Minister Mthembu citing, "the main objective…to work in partnership with every stakeholder to prevent the spread of the virus" (Ratau & Sithole 2020:12). In a report titled 'Local Government's Response to COVID-19', compiled by the South African Local Government Association for the Portfolio Committee on 28 April 2020, these numbers are significantly different (Figure 8-3). According to this report, Gauteng received the third-largest share of this deployment.

WATER TANKS AND TANKERS DEPLOYED

SALGA
Inspiring service delivery

PROVINCE	NUMBER OF TANKS ALLOCATED	TANKS DELIVERED	NO OF TANKS REMAINING TO BE DELIVERED	TANKS INSTALLED	NO OF TANKERS ALLOCATED	TANKERS DELIVERED	NO OF TANKERS REMAINING TO BE DELIVERED
Western Cape	719	709	10	191	59	59	0
Eastern Cape	5 395	4 847	584	3 196	201	171	30
Northern Cape	837	668	169	379	86	75	11
North West	1 321	1 310	11	1 073	145	145	0
Free State	2 533	1 385	1 148	949	134	134	0
Limpopo	726	625	101	382	43	34	9
Gauteng	2 812	1 938	874	1 363	56	52	4
Mpumalanga	657	653	4	277	59	59	0
KZN	4 011	4 000	11	3 150	532	527	5
Total	**19 011**	**16 135**	**2 876**	**10 960**	**1 315**	**1 256**	**59**

www.salga.org.za

Figure 8-3. Water tanks and tankers deployed during COVID-19 (SALGA 2020:14)

Government felt like this was a good response in reaction to the pandemic as it was considered helpful to those who did not have access to water: "*I participated in the local government work stream, so made available water tankers to make sure that people are able to wash their hands, which is the basic thing in terms of the non-pharmaceutical interventions*" (PR04). Government's response revealed the inefficiencies across government and the inability of government to date to provide safe, clean water to all residents of the country as promised in the Constitution:

> "*There was enormous worry around water tankers for hand washing, especially being lockdown and…people had to wait for water at a point…it became higher risk of transmission for virus*" (AR05)…"*this was a classic example of failure of*

leadership to give direction and to prepare the region to be resilient and to adapt to this uncertainty and risky future." (AR02)

The response was seen as adding to the woes of the actual pandemic, increasing the risk of exposure and transmission of the virus. People would gather around the water tankers waiting to access water and "*would socialise*" (AR02) while under strict lockdown. The realities of an unequal society were revealed – those with access to water within their homes were not allowed to leave their homes and were, therefore, not at risk of exposure.

"*To provide the tankers required co-ordination between national, provincial, and local government, as well as working with the business sector to respond to the demand on the ground*" (AR02). The Gauteng province spent over 100 million Rands responding to the water crisis with tankers that would often leak, not be refilled and had no monitoring system to ensure that people would have access to water when they needed it. It became a reflection of government's incompetency in dealing with the actual woes of society and the inability of government to protect the most vulnerable. "*COVID-19 in the water sector was a huge diversion from the core problem of ensuring that reliable water supply is regularly available*" (AR02). Government's response was half-measured and not thought through. The truth is that the challenges in the water sector have been known for years, but it is not seen as a crisis, so it does not receive the attention it deserves: "*We are a water-scarce country; it hasn't hit us yet because we haven't got to the point to where there is NO WATER [emphasis added] in the tap. So, it's almost as if we want that to happen so we can react. So that's the main obstacle. Having a reactive approach*" (IR01).

By 31 August 2020, Rand Water ceased its operations, citing that it was too expensive for DWS to continue and, going forward, emergency water provision during the pandemic would be the responsibility of municipalities (Chamberlain & Potter 2022). This decision was also due to

> "*corruption and the catastrophic failure by local government to provide water infrastructure and services to people…it is because of corruption. It is because of [the] requirement for tenders...infrastructure constantly vandalised so that certain people can get tenders to replace the equipment.*" (NR04)

The Water War Room was disbanded towards the end of the pandemic. A respondent commenting on this remarked that there was no critical need for the War Room as the COVID crisis was over. Herein is perhaps why water delivery and security will continue to

be a crisis – there is no decisive commitment to enabling water security and utilising efficient governance mechanisms to enable the provision of water across the province or country. Perhaps this commitment will only come when taps do run dry in Gauteng and Day Zero in the province is reached. The truth is that the challenges in the water sector have been known for years, but it is not seen as a crisis, so it does not receive the attention it deserves.

It must also be noted that the reopening of 67 schools following the lockdown had to be halted because they had no water and sanitation facilities (Human-Vogel 2021).

This episode of water provision reflects the ongoing water crisis in Gauteng, which is also embedded in deep historical socio-economic inequalities in the province. What was seen globally as perhaps a simple non-pharmaceutical measure of washing your hands regularly became a death sentence for those without access to the resource during the pandemic. To solve this crisis during the pandemic, a multi-scalar approach was utilised, but the lack of effective governance led to the effort being abandoned by national government and the Rand Water Board. "…the vast majority of water shortages, including the failure by municipalities to produce drinkable tap water, is a consequence of bad governance" (Ellis 2020: para. 9). Frustration between the actors at national and local government and the inefficiencies of local government in effecting delivery resulted in delivery to the citizen being compromised. It goes back to the point of the importance of communication between role players and the need for a networked response for local solutions in a crisis, as well as the need for political will to enable effective governance. The abandonment of the provision of water during the pandemic and the risk to people's lives due to actors not being able to work together was a failure of leadership.

8.3.3 Episode three: The current water crisis in Gauteng

At the time of writing this thesis, Gauteng was experiencing a multi-dimensional water crisis, which initially called for 'water shedding' and then 'water shifting' by Minister Mchunu. In October 2022, the Daily Maverick newspaper reported that the Minister established a Water War Room comprised of Rand Water, leadership from all three spheres of government, and business "to provide coordination, provision and management of the water system in Gauteng" (Evans 2022:4).

This War Room, though, was established too late as the crisis had been looming for a long time and became very real, revealing the weaknesses in delivery during the COVID-19

pandemic. At the time, the multi-level and required network governance measures were still not embraced – with a leading climatologist remarking that ["*he would suggest that management of the country's water supply is centralised…I do not trust municipalities to look after our water. They have proven that they are not able to do so*"]. He said this was the result of both ["*brain-drain and poor financial management*"]" (Ellis 2020: para. 21). In October 2023, following months of water restrictions across Johannesburg and Tshwane, Minister Mchunu called for water shifting to be implemented, which would require shifting the load of supply from one pumping station to another, allowing pumps to recover and providing supply once full to the area that it was primarily supplying. A leading academic in the water sector remarked that politicians should not be involved in such operations and these should be left to technical experts (AR09). The Minister called on residents to aid the situation by saving water and restricting usage but residents who did not have access to water for months and had become reliant on tankers and bottled water were screaming back as there was no water in their taps to save. The reasons for the crisis are multi-dimensional and have worsened over time. From corruption and the nine-year delay in delivery of the LHWP (Sikhakhane 2023), the lack of infrastructure maintenance (du Plessis 2023), to electricity outages and an increasing population sparking greater demand for water, the challenges that are preventing water delivery to taps are growing (Mahlaka 2023).

A multi-dimensional crisis, in this case, calls for a multi-dimensional response, like trans-scalar governance. "According to Tyrone Gray, the Mayor of Mogale City, collaborative efforts between all spheres of government are needed to ensure a stable water supply" (Staff Writer 2022b: para. 4). Another academic in the water sector commented that local government has not been able to get the basics right – fixing leaks and maintaining infrastructure (AR08). The Minister's War Room is tasked to deal with matters such as these (Makhoali 2022; South African Government 2022; Mlambo 2023). A senior government official said that when local government has requested additional water supply, Rand Water has refused as they [local government] are unable to account for water losses (PR08). This is supported by the Director-General of DWS in a recent article, "they lose 25% of the water they buy from Rand Water through leaks" (Phillips 2023: para. 8). A senior official in government commented, "*It is just the dysfunctionality and the destruction that's happening and prevalent within the local government sector…Where*

municipalities are not spending the grant, they are coming in and spending it on behalf of municipalities"(NR05).

None of the academics, researchers, or government officials that I spoke to about the Water War Room had comprehensive knowledge of the initiative by the Minister other than what they have read in the media and that it is an initiative between national and local government, while the media reports that the Minister is working with all three spheres of government and business to solve the crisis.

> "*Minister Mchunu has decided to use the law a little bit more effectively and more intrusively than it was done before…So he's using Section 63 of the Water Act without saying so. I don't know if you've seen him around the country sorting out the water problems at both ends at the reticulation end, which is where the customers meet it, but also at the water resource management, the dams, building the dams that have been legendary in the books of government...it's gotten to a point where local government is accusing national government of overreach. And SALGA is arguing very strongly that national government is overreaching.*" (NR05)

But, it seems the Minister is set on steering ahead in managing this crisis without including all key stakeholders in responding to the water crisis.

An interviewee said that provincial government has not been included, and from what has been said, it is merely an oversight role being played by national government to ensure that local government is dealing with the maintenance issues and the crisis in Hammanskraal (PR08).

> "*But Provinces are not there [at] the moment, and [this is] something that I am very unhappy about because they are also just distracted. A province like Gauteng has no reason why it's not in the Water War Room; their response to the energy crisis is so pathetic. It's so pathetic. And then for a province that represented the COVID[-19] response in such a spirited way.*" (NR05)

Another respondent advises that while Gauteng is not involved in the Ministerial War Room, Gauteng is working tirelessly to solve the water issues locally in Emfuleni. They have a commission comprising national and local government, Rand Water Board, and two delegates from the *Save the Vaal* NGO working to solve the water issues in the area. They are due to submit a report in mid-January 2024 proposing the establishment of a local

entity to resolve the area's infrastructure, maintenance and water provision issues. They have made steady progress and believe that this localised hands-on, collaborative, decisive approach can be utilised as a benchmark and stepping stone to solving other water crises locally – from Hammanskraal to Johannesburg – "*You know it's being implemented now because this is the priorities exactly what Makhura spoke about…that War Room is about analysis. We don't analyse only we implement OK, we identify all the problems and then tell the War Room*" (PR09).

In another media report, Sean Philips, the Director-General at DWS, said, "The water room is being coordinated by Rand Water, including the DWS, Joburg Water and other municipalities…It is particularly going to concentrate on improving efforts to ensure that the problems at reservoirs are addressed as soon as possible, so that people in high-lying areas can get water" (Makhoali 2022: para. 8). There is also talk that the Finnish government have approached South Africa to provide access to the technology they have developed for aquifer or underground storage of water technology (PR08; PR05).

> "*It concerns me because when the Europeans come in to offer assistance to Africa, it is usually because South Africa needs to be used as the testing ground for something new that the Europeans have developed, and they want to test it and sell it to us before they sell it to the rest of Africa…we are the guinea pigs.*" (AR08)

The Water War Room, though, seems like a restricted initiative happening behind closed doors and not open to all key stakeholders in the water sector – the crisis is, therefore, not being dealt with as a crisis but as an operational matter, which is fixing the symptoms and not the causes to the problem that persists in communities. "*Water security is beyond just how much water is available in the Vaal for Gauteng – it's about decision-making, communication, sharing information…sustainability, social justice, and economic development are integrated. You cannot do the one without attention to the other*" (AR05). Thus, if a city-region wants to advance economic development, attention to resilience, sustainability, and enabling equitability is tantamount. The provincial government has been left out of these multi-level talks, nor have experts or academia from the water sector been invited to what was initially thought to be a collective effort to solve the water crisis and would, therefore, include all key stakeholders – from business to government and civil society. "Water security must be a collective effort and must involve all Gauteng City-Region's people" (GCRO 2018: para. 3).

A shift from co-operative to collaborative governance is necessary, and the first step is to clearly define all required actors in this relationship and the scalar politics that Brenner (2001) and Palle and Richard (2022) refer to within trans-scalar governance. The identified actors' roles and responsibilities must be defined. These actors must move beyond just government and must include civil society, business, citizenry, an "*active water governance research community*" (AR05), and

> "*collective leadership, acting together in one voice, coming out supporting each other, collaborating with each other, making sure that you don't end up in a crisis. Good governance to ensure water security would be the entire strengthening of IGR relations around water security. But also bringing in civil society because I think that we are weak, and that needs to be explored more on how we begin to interface with communities.*" (PR05)

For effective trans-scalar governance in the GCR, a leading academic (AR05) remarked,

> "*The province needs to start a conversation with national government and other stakeholders. The city-region functions in an integrated way – understand institutional and co-operation levers.* We *need to move towards getting water legislation, and that hasn't happened. We need leadership to ask questions –what do you see happening in the next 10-50 years? What are the priorities? And what do we start doing about it?* I am *not sure if we currently have the leadership necessary to do that. We need to also acknowledge there's been rampant corruption within the Water Department.*"

The time is now with ailing water infrastructure and water shortages across suburbs in Gauteng (Anon 2022; Patel 2022). "*Given that water levels are currently low, it's a good project to have high-up on the city-region agenda for any efforts of city-region governance*" (AR02). The fact remains, "*South Africa is a water-constrained country; we are [the] 30th driest country in the world*" (AR03). This statement is also confirmed by the Director-General of DWS; "The reality is that SA [South Africa] is a water-scarce country with limited sustainable water resources and is among the top 30 driest countries globally" (Phillips 2023: para. 11).

But, most importantly, the mechanisms that will enable trans-scalar collaborative governance to be effective in delivering water security and efficiency in water delivery must be considered. Norman (2012) argues that most environmental issues transcend the

global scale, and the unbounded nature of water particularly, therefore, requires a trans-scalar approach to governance. For this, the elements of place leadership are important – shared power, shared trust, and a single vision to deliver clean, accessible water to all as enshrined in the Constitution and a commitment to collaborate as leadership across society. Ultimately, the *"difficulty we have is the leadership at present sees itself as leadership of a party, of a government and works on that basis and will weaken its ability to co-operate and collaborate in building partnerships across political boundaries and across governance boundaries"* (AR02).

8.4 Conclusion: Bringing Trans-scalarity into Place Leadership

This chapter sought to address the research objective *To ascertain what form of leadership is required to enable multiple stakeholders across scales to achieve sustainable outcomes and build resilience for a city-region.* The outcomes revealed the thoughts of experts and government leaders on how they perceived water security in the city-region, as well as the current levels of access to water across the city-region as surveyed in the QoL VI Survey 2020/2021.

Building resilience for water in the city-region requires trans-scalar governance. It calls for all spheres of government to collaborate and work together to aid efficient decision-making (MLG) to come together with partners across society to understand the water needs of the different sectors across space (network governance) and understand that the decisions required may transcend administrative boundaries; therefore, power plays and influence must balance end-user needs (scalar politics) for the sustainable delivery of water.

The trans-scalar governance of water was confirmed as a necessary intervention to enable water security in the city-region. Enabling this mode of governance requires a concerted effort by all parties, led effectively by city-region leadership, to work together toward the single vision of enabling water security in the region. Failure to do this will result in a severe water crisis in Gauteng, as predicted by academics and experts over a decade ago.

Responding to these issues requires a place leadership that can bring together the partners for transboundary governance while ensuring effective local delivery. It requires leadership to share trust and devolve power to enable collaboration, innovation, and building resilience of the resource, capacity, delivery, and governance. A leadership that embraces the benefits of trans-scalar governance to impact local delivery in the GCR.

Perhaps it would be opportune for the province to consider a motivation to amend the Constitution to enable the inclusion of provincial government in water co-ordination and delivery – water has no boundaries; therefore, the GCR's governance of water should be administered by provincial government that can ensure equitable delivery across the province and provide the building blocks for resilience of water in the city-region. With the GCRO as the key research wing of the provincial government, research, monitoring, and innovation in water security initiatives would be driven alongside to enable holistic co-ordination and collaboration.

The aspect of local leadership in the place leadership literature needs to be expanded in its broadest sense for city-regions. Local solutions for city-regions could be viewed as leadership acting from a provincial level for city-region solutions as opposed to local leadership at a local government level, especially in a space like the GCR with failing local public leadership, which has been shown in this research both within the dimensions of crisis and water.

Finally, while the place leadership literature speaks to networked, MLG, the trans-scalar dimension, and working across international waters and boundaries are not fully recognised within the literature on place leadership, and doing so would enrich this literature, making it more relevant to the contexts of large city-regions where trans-scalar governance is an inescapable reality. In the context of the GCR, it would be an imperative for the PCF to work with local agencies and the Disaster Management Forum to coordinate efforts to enable more secure and resilient water provision for the GCR.

9 Chapter Nine – Conclusion and Recommendations

9.1 Introduction

This thesis was borne from a need to understand the relevance of the concept of place leadership for a complex urban agglomeration like the GCR. Amidst a climate of coalition governments, differing agendas, and emerging and rampant crises, the concept of place leadership presented a substantial argument for the development of spaces, and a curiosity emerged to examine its relevance for city-regions.

Based on the evidence presented throughout this thesis, I reiterate the following key arguments of this research:

- The rise of the city-region and the interconnections between cities have raised the need to understand and discuss the complexity of relations between spaces, the actors involved in this relationship of networks, and the structures or institutions that enable functionality across political and economic boundaries (Chapters One and Five).
- Leadership is the heart of good public governance (Chapters One and Two).
- Context is an important component of the development of space. As much as leadership shapes context, context shapes leadership (Chapters Five and Six).
- Effective leadership for city-regions involves building and maintaining collaborative networks and fostering a culture of trust, shared power, transparency, and co-operation (Chapters Two, Seven, and Eight).
- City-regions require governance models that enable resilience of the city-region. Resilience governance for a city-region brings forth a leadership focused on building the city-region's sustainability, allowing it to be prepared for current challenges and adapt, innovate, and prepare for future crises and challenges (Chapters Two and Seven).
- City-regions require leadership beyond administrative boundaries that work in partnership with each other to foster development and effective functioning of the city-region (Chapter Eight).
- Place leadership is a new concept that considers the rise of distributed leadership to effectively respond to local challenges effectively (Chapter Three).

This thesis began with outlining key literature on leadership and place leadership and then moved on to provide a contextual analysis of the GCR. Place leadership is a fairly new

concept, initially referred to as shared leadership by Sotarauta (2005) and has been tested and argued within the contexts of Denmark, Finland, Australia, and Bristol, as well as, most recently, China. These studies have predominantly been done in the global North, known as high-trust contexts. The concept of place leadership has not been written about in the African context. In the knowledge economy and post the COVID-19 crisis, the role of leadership, local responses to local challenges with global impact, the need for co-ordinated, collaborative engagements beyond boundaries, and building resilient cities has become imperative in a globalised dynamic world. Leadership that can innovate, engage with political, technological, and stakeholder diversity across geographical divides and build cities for resilience is the leadership required now. The concept of place leadership was perhaps summed up best by Sotarauta et al. (2012:223) in their explanation that place-based leadership does not stem from heroic leaders but from sense-making and visionary agents acting as system thinkers, "boundary spanners", conceptualisers and connectors. This study's main research question was: *How can the emerging concept of 'place leadership' be applied in the complex and dynamic environment of the GCR?* A mixed-methods study (secondary data analysis of the QoL VI 2020/2021 survey, including study-related questions and statements as described in Chapter Four, and semi-structured interviews held with 27 key informants) was undertaken to answer the supporting objectives:

- To investigate the application of the idea of place leadership by adding a stronger temporal dimension.
- To explore the application of the idea of place leadership by adding a focus on how leadership adapts, manages, and copes with crisis.
- To look at the application of the idea of place leadership by considering multi-scalar or trans-scalar leadership.
- To explore and identify mechanisms for strengthening the application of place leadership.
- This research thus examined the main research question through three lenses – temporality, crisis, and trans-scalar governance within the case study of the GCR, with two embedded case studies – the COVID-19 crisis and water. Within trans-scalar water governance, the research explored three mini-case studies of leadership – Premier Makhura, Minister Sisulu, and Minister Mchunu.

Overall, the key to effective place leadership in a low-trust city-region context is to prioritise building trust and collaboration with stakeholders and to promote a shared vision for the future grounded in an alignment with the needs of the city-region's residents. This thesis proposes that place leadership for a city-region requires transparency and accountability to foster shared power towards enabling trust to create an environment for collaboration and partnerships across boundaries with the aim of building resilience of city-regions (Figure 9-1).



Figure 9-1. Framework for place leadership in complex urban agglomerations (Author's own)

9.2 Place Leadership Through a Temporal Lens

The concept of place leadership argues that the historical political and social context matters in the governance, leadership, and development of place. This research showed that Gauteng is steeped in institutional and relational complexity. Since 2016, the province has been faced with inter and intra-party-political divisions. Interviewees agreed that the GCR is a complex space with differing agendas and visions.

The research reflected on the changing political landscape in the GCR and how today's politics is entrenched in a context of corruption, leadership challenges, infighting, and party divisions. The shift toward coalition governments in the region reflects Gauteng's political landscape, and while we see the rise of the minority political parties and new leadership, we also see that continued competitive politics does little to serve the needs of Gauteng's residents.

Interviewees agreed that the leadership, particularly the vision of leadership, has changed over time, shifting from one that was *brave and bold* to one that has become conflated and unfocused changing constantly based on the political agendas or pressures from the outside. The extensive literature on leadership reviewed in this research shows that leadership of place requires focused leadership and a single vision to allow for the successful development of space. This research has also shown that, unfortunately, shifting focus and changes in vision for the GCR have come from changes in leadership. A lack of engagement with key stakeholders has meant no buy-in from residents and other key stakeholders to enable the establishment of collaborative working relationships between actors and agents in the city-region.

Co-creating an agenda with all actors in a city-region was reflected as the means through which public value is created. One of the foundational aspects of co-creating a common vision and agenda is cultivating trust between actors. This research has also shown that building a relationship of trust among key actors in the city-region has been overlooked by political leadership in the GCR. Further, this research has shown mistrust of leaders in the city-region. Wang et al. (2014) believe that when leaders work together over time and build a collaborative relationship, the possibility of agreeing on a single agenda or vision is increased as trust in the relationship is built over time between the leaders. The current study's findings support this, as leadership in Gauteng has not been consistent in co-creating an agenda and shared vision with stakeholders, which could contribute to the high levels of mistrust reflected by the study's respondents.

The key findings of this study reflect leadership in the GCR who, over time, have been unable to:

- share power;
- cultivate trust;
- work collaboratively with each other;
- co-create an agenda with key stakeholders by including actors in key decision-making; and
- develop and enable a shared vision for the co-creation and development of the GCR.

According to the current study's findings, relationships and the ability to work together, build trust, and share power to create a shared vision have deteriorated over time. Place

leadership assists us in understanding that context matters. It adds to our understanding that Gauteng's historical socio-political context has hampered relationship building among key actors. Going forward, leadership is required to acknowledge this history toward acceptance and agree to build collaborative relationships. Creating an environment of mutual acceptance and trust will begin to allow for building relationships that enable networked and collaborative governance systems for the good of the city-region's development agenda.

In line with the first study objective, this section aimed to investigate the application of the idea of place leadership by adding a stronger temporal dimension. Place leadership argues that context matters; therefore, the historical development and present circumstances of place matter. The literature on place leadership does not explicitly reflect studies through a temporality lens. Future research should consider how, over time, place leadership is shaped by context and how leadership have enabled mechanisms to build place leadership with successful outcomes for place. Further research could also consider both historical and longitudinal studies that investigate regions or countries where place leadership has been investigated and how place leadership in these spaces has evolved over time. This would provide us with insights into how different temporal contexts may influence leadership effectiveness. Longitudinal studies would be useful to track changes in leadership and governance over time and perhaps assist in our understanding of how place leadership changes over time and the influence of moments in time on the concepts of place leadership and governance.

9.3 Place Leadership and Crises

The COVID-19 pandemic was presented in this thesis as a crisis that required leadership's attention. The purpose of this was to *explore the application of the idea of place leadership by adding a focus on how leadership adapts, manages, and copes with crisis*. Notably, place leadership literature generally does not provide an understanding of how leadership should respond to crises, nor does it talk about the type or form of leadership required to prepare place for crises effectively. However, it is not entirely absent and could be surfaced more explicitly. Sotarauta (2016) comments that place leadership is about living and coping with continuously emerging phenomena, which include strange incidents or crises.

This research, by examining literature, developed and presented a framework to assess crisis leadership for place.

In the early phase of the pandemic, the government's approach seemed to work. But the pandemic was long, and leadership was tested. There were clear limits to a hierarchical, directive, and expert-led approach. Without a more grassroots engagement, government could not adequately tap the knowledge, energies, and commitments at the local level. When the population tired of the restrictive measures and voluntary compliance waned, government had to rely on regulation. Also, without genuinely collaborative processes in developing responses, the government had a limited stock of ideas. It could not go much beyond its undifferentiated (spatially uniform) lockdown approach. The experts were important, but they offered a predominantly clinical approach to managing the pandemic, whereas the effects of the pandemic were manifold, affecting food security, basic livelihood, social relations, mental health, and much more.

Most serious were the corruption scandals. These scandals were huge and involved the very top – the national Minister of Health and provincial MECs, among many others. The self-serving nature of many leaders had been exposed, and levels of societal trust in government plummeted. The lack of transparency and openness in the initial stages of the pandemic response provided the environment within which corruption could flourish.

The decline in trust had a rebounding impact on the ability of governmental leaders to navigate the crisis. In this context, new thinking about leadership was fostered, which had, for example, a gender dimension. Females were more likely to adopt a relational and interdependent approach to leadership with the required competence and knowledge, which fostered trust. Their empathy, transparency, responsiveness, and communication in a crisis allowed female leaders to enable trust further. In places like New Zealand and some Scandinavian countries, a more feminine approach seemed to work more effectively than the masculine approach of hierarchy and dictation adopted in South Africa, even if it softened and moderated over time.

Common to the understanding of place leadership is the need for a collaborative, negotiated approach. Initially, the pandemic seemed to challenge this approach. What was needed, it appeared, were leaders who could take charge, make quick decisions, and issue directives. For a while, this seemed like the correct approach when uncertainty around the nature of the pandemic was greatest.

However, it became clear over time that the most important resources for managing a crisis over the longer term are societal buy-in and trust, and a more partnership-based and collaborative approach would have allowed for the sustained legitimacy of government response rather than the peak and trough of legitimacy experienced in South Africa.

But crisis response also requires cohesion, and the challenge is to develop a collaborative, cohesive approach to leadership. It was clear that one of the advantages of the pandemic period was how the crisis focused the attention of governance actors in a way that transcended individual interests. The COVID-19 pandemic was focused on that single vision – *saving lives*. This was expanded to include *saving livelihoods.* The task, though, was tantamount; all stakeholders – from government to residents focused on one common goal – one common vision in the city-region. This focus allowed all actors to rally together, work collaboratively, share power, share trust, and work in a governance structure that enabled cohesive delivery. The crisis revealed leadership that could work together with stakeholders and not engage in power play or *turf wars.* Unfortunately, this cohesion was not sustained as government's focus on a common vision did not translate into a practice of real partnership, and the scandals of corruption dissipated any trust built in the early days of the pandemic.

Other contexts will have different dynamics, but the GCR case has indicated how effective a crisis is in providing a lens into governance and leadership. During a crisis, governance and leadership come under pressure, so its real nature comes to the fore. For this reason, place leadership literature could helpfully take on board a crisis lens for future research. Future research into the understanding of different leadership styles and how this influences governance and place leadership within regions would also be useful in understanding the evolution of crisis. Research on the role or influence of gender on collaboration, trust and leadership through crisis would also be an interesting area of research.

9.4 Place Leadership and Trans-scalar Governance

Examining trans-scalar governance is a key component underplayed in the place leadership literature. How does leadership navigate delivery for local spaces amidst the complexities of multiple governance boundaries and multiple intersecting levels of governance? The findings from the QoL VI 2020/21 and the qualitative interviews were presented within the context of the GCR. It depicted the GCR as a place of complexity, diffused power settings,

and high levels of mistrust between leaders and between citizens and leaders, undermining possibilities for effective place leadership. The other dimension of complexity is that governance of the GCR does not only involve actors within the GCR. There is a strong trans-scalar dimension.

This dimension has been addressed to some extent in the place leadership literature. Sotarauta and Beer (2017), for example, argue that a balance of centralised and decentralised systems of government are shown to be most successful, as seen in Finland, in accomplishing place leadership and governance mechanisms that aid regional development. Their work indicates that coupling centralised and decentralised systems at work and a balance of relationships across scales supports resilient, sustained delivery.

I used the context of water as an illustrative case of trans-scalarity – a case of scarcity, limited resources, and multiple players and stakeholders across the boundaries of governance. In terms of its trans-scalarity, water security for the GCR involved international agreements (allowing for water transfers from Lesotho), trans-provincial water flows (the Tugela-Vaal Scheme), and national policy and direction (DWA, the Rand Water Board). Within the region, municipalities have an operational role, but provincial government is constitutionally excluded from the water domain despite having a direct interest in water security within its territory. As an incidental recommendation, I suggest that provincial government should be given legal status within the governance arrangements for water security, which may include, for example, a legal right to participate in water planning by the DWA and a significant role on the Board of Rand Water. I also recommend that the Premier continue with efforts to convene an inter-governmental forum to address water security.

This research revealed that examining trans-scalar governance for a boundaryless resource will allow for engagement on how to cultivate place leadership in a low-trust space coupled with hesitancies to share power across space and multiple power holders. We know from this study that leadership is imperative to finding solutions to matters that command trans-scalar governance and that the inability of leaders to navigate trans-scalar networks is a severe limitation on effective governance. Further research should consider examining specific cases of successful trans-scalar governance both within and beyond the context of water management and provision. The investigation of power dynamics within the place leadership and trans-scalar governance context would also be a useful research

area to understand how different levels of governance local, national, regional and international – manage power dynamics, are influenced by it and how power balances or imbalances may impact collaboration and decision-making.

Trans-scalar governance is not only an empirical reality that should be investigated when considering place leadership but is also a potential strategy for increasing the effectiveness of local or city-region governance. Leadership participation in developing trans-scalar networks offers new opportunities for local actors to participate in rescaling processes and multi-level leadership and potentially increase their power and opportunities by connecting to the new infrastructure of boundaryless energies, which should be adequately explored within place leadership literatures.

9.5 Concluding Comments

The key finding in this research is that place leadership can be utilised to study and implement effective governance during crises and build sustainable resilience for a city-region in the global South. However, the literature, with its origins in the global North context, needs to be adapted and strengthened. In fulfilling the last objective of this study, this study has shown that there may be many dimensions of contextual adaptation needed, but I have focused on three areas of possible strengthening – a stronger focus on temporality, leadership through crisis, and trans-scalarity.

I have, through the research, recognised that these themes are not completely absent in place leadership literature, so I am not addressing absolute gaps in the literature. However, there is much room for enhancing attention to these themes in place leadership literature, which will strengthen the literature and make it more relevant to contexts including mine. Expanding the geography of knowledge will help make the literature more sensitive to context and increase its thematic scope.

My overriding recommendations in this thesis are thus: 1) Place leadership literature should be utilised in studying complex contexts such as the GCR; 2) Place leadership literature should be strengthened through greater attention to thematics, including temporality, crisis, and trans-scalarity; 3) Place leadership literature should be strengthened through explicit expansion of literature's geographic reach by bringing a range of contexts into the literature (here, my particular interest is in bringing more contexts from Africa, but there is an equal need to explore place leadership in contexts in the Americas and Asia).

For the GCR particularly, a recommendation arose from this study to reconsider the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. While the Constitution was written to empower the country's citizens, it has disempowered governance. Place leadership argues for the empowerment of local government and strengthening governance, but this study has revealed that local government within both crises in Gauteng – the COVID-19 pandemic and water – have failed. Provincial and national government must institute effective governance mechanisms to enable better, more effective and efficient governance for delivery at the local level.

Finally, I have given particular attention to the question of trust. This is because trust is a deficit of particular concern in the GCR, and trust in leadership relations is critical.

In conclusion, this study demonstrates that place leadership offers a valuable framework for analysing and enhancing governance, particularly in crises and for fostering sustainable resilience within city-regions of the global South. The key finding of this research highlights the need to adapt and expand the predominantly global North-centric literature to better address the distinctive challenges faced in our contexts. Specifically, this study emphasises the importance of three areas for strengthening the place leadership discourse - temporality, leadership during crises, and trans-scalarity. Although these themes are mildly present in the existing literature, there is substantial potential to deepen their exploration and application, thereby enhancing the literature's relevance and scope. This research advocates for broadening the geographical and thematic scope of place leadership literature, including more diverse contexts from Africa and Asia, to ensure its applicability across various global settings. The study also suggests a critical re-evaluation of the South African Constitution to better support local governance. Effective governance mechanisms in all spheres of government in South Africa are crucial for empowering local governments and improving governance outcomes. Furthermore, the study underscores the importance of trust in leadership and governance, highlighting it as a significant factor in enhancing relational dynamics and effectiveness in the GCR. Addressing these recommendations will not only advance the theoretical development of place leadership but also contribute to more effective and contextually responsive governance practices.

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Annexure A – Approval to Conduct Research in Government

GAUTENG PROVINCE
OFFICE OF THE PREMIER
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

INTERNAL MEMO

Enquiries: Ms Nalini Naicker
Directorate: Gauteng Planning Division
Tel: +27 (0)11 298 5609

TO: **Ms Phindile Baleni**
Director General

FROM: **Mr Mduduzi Mbada**
Head: Policy, Research & Advisory Services Unit

DATE: **07 July 2020**

SUBJECT: **REQUEST TO ATTAIN PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH ON LEADERSHIP FOR THE GOVERNANCE OF LARGE AND COMPLEX URBAN AGGLOMERATIONS – THE CASE OF THE GAUTENG CITY REGION**

1. Purpose

1.1 The purpose of the memorandum is to request that the Director General grant permission to Ms Nalini Naicker to conduct research in Government on *"Leadership for the governance of large and complex urban agglomerations – the case of the Gauteng City Region"*.

2. Background

2.1 Ms Naicker is currently enrolled for a PhD in Town and Regional Planning at the University of Witwatersrand (WITS). She has successfully completed the first phase of her studies which was defending the topic to a research panel of Professors and is now in the second phase which requires ethics clearance and fieldwork to be undertaken.

2.2 She is conducting a 2-step triangulated process to study the forms of leadership and governance required to build globally competitive, sustainable, inclusive city regions. This research combines both quantitative and qualitative approaches to achieve depth and breadth of understanding of the concepts under study.

1

Specifically, she will be utilising concurrent semi-structured interviews with a focused chosen sample of interviewees and a face-to-face survey study with a broader population.

3. Deliberation

3.1 The title of the research is Leadership and Governance in Complex Urban Agglomerations – the case of the Gauteng City Region. The research utilises a triangulation method consisting of semi structured interviews with approximately 50 key informants from the three (3) spheres of government as well as academics and practitioners who are familiar with the water security sector in Gauteng. Thematic questions have also been included in the Quality of Life Survey VI which will be rolled out to residents of Gauteng.

3.2 The study aims to understand the perceptions of both key informants and residents on the role of urban governance and leadership in a city region and the role of these constructs on advancing the competitiveness, inclusiveness and sustainability of Gauteng as a global city region. The case study is Gauteng. Leadership and governance will be explored from two angles – leadership and governance in motion and leadership and governance in crisis. These concepts will be explored through the lens of water security delivery under normal day to day circumstances and under the circumstances of COVID-19. Following your response to her request she will be applying for ethics clearance to the University of the Witwatersrand.

3.3 The aim of the interview phase of the study is to engage directly with purposively selected key informants (KI), recognised through their work and contribution to the field of politics, governance, leadership and administration of local, provincial and national government in South Africa. The experts will provide deeper insights into the preliminary findings of the analysis of the case study and the literature review. Semi-structured interviews (Annexure A) will be held with fifty-three (53) senior officials in government – across national, provincial and local spheres, including political and administrative leaders and nine (9) key stakeholders from civil society and academia that have a clear and deep understanding of water security efforts in the GCR. The key informants envisaged for this study is listed in the Table below:

Key informant group	Roles and Responsibilities	#
National Government	Politicians	
	- Deputy Minister (Co-operative Governance)	1
	- Deputy Minister (Water and Sanitation)	1
	Administrators	
	- Director-General (Co-operative Governance)	1
	- Director-General (Water and Sanitation)	1
	- DDG: Co-operative governance	1
	- DDG: Water and Sanitation	1
	- HOD: National Treasury	1
Provincial Government	Politicians	
	- Premiers (past and present)	3
	- MEC (Human Settlements, Urban Planning & COGTA)	2
	Administrators	
	- Director-General	2
	- HOD: Treasury	2
	- HOD: Infrastructure Development	1
	- DDG: Development Planning	1
	- DDG: Planning (COGTA)	1
	- DDG: ESSM	1
	- Chief Director: Intergovernmental Relations (COGTA)	1
Local Government	Politicians	
	- Mayor (Metros)	6
	- Mayor (Districts)	4
	- Ward Councillors (Metros)	6
	- Ward Councillors (District)	6
	- Johannesburg Water	1
Agents	Trans Caledon Tunnel Authority Catchment	1
	Rand Water Board (Head of Research)	1
Academia/Research Institutes	Head: GCRO	1
	Research Manager: Water GCRO	1
	Head: School of Governance	1
	Mike Muller (Wits School of Governance)	1
	Anthony Turton	1
	Inge Jacobs-Mata (IWMI)	1
	Ash Patel (CSIR)	1
Total		**53**

3.4 The identity of all participants and their individual responses will be kept confidential.

3.5 Attached are the draft questions that will be posed to key informants (Annexure A). All interviews will be recorded for transcribing and thematic data analysis.

4. Recommendations

4.1 It is recommended that the Director General grant permission to Ms Naicker to conduct research in Government on *"Leadership for the governance of large and complex urban agglomerations – the case of the Gauteng City Region"*

Nalini Naicker (Ms)
Director: Long Term Planning
Date: 2010.07.07

REQUEST TO ATTAIN PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH ON LEADERSHIP FOR THE GOVERNANCE OF LARGE AND COMPLEX URBAN AGGLOMERATIONS – THE CASE OF THE GAUTENG CITY-REGION

4. Recommendations

4.1 It is recommended that the Director General grant permission to Ms Naicker to conduct research in Government on *"Leadership for the governance of large and complex urban agglomerations – the case of the Gauteng City Region"*.

Recommendations in Paragraph 4 supported/ ~~not supported/supported with amendments~~

.....
Mduduzi Mbada (Mr)
Head: Head: Policy, Research & Advisory Services Unit
Date: 93/07/2020

Recommendations in paragraph 4 approved/n~~ot approve~~d/ ~~approved with amendments~~

.....
Phindile Baleni (Ms)
Director General
Date:: 14/07/2020

Annexure B – Ethics Approval

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Wolaganandan

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: H20/08/44**
PROJECT TITLE	Leadership for the governance of large and complex urban agglomerations - The case of the Gauteng City-Region
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Ms T Wolaganandan
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Urban and Regional Planning/
DATE CONSIDERED	21 August 2020
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved Risk Level: Minimal
EXPIRY DATE	14 September 2023

DATE 15 September 2020 **CHAIRPERSON** J Knight
(Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor : Professor P Harrison

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical)

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

Signature _____ Date 15 / 09 / 2020

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

Annexure C – Interview Codebook

No.	Interviews	Level	Code	Name	Position
1.	Government	Provincial	PR01	ML	DDG
2.	Government	Provincial	PR02	TN	CD
3.	Government	Provincial	PR03	RS	Head
4.	Government	Provincial	PR04	AM	CD
5.	Government	Provincial	PR05	KM	DDG
6.	Government	Provincial	PR06	KK	CD
7.	Government	Provincial	PR07	DD	Advisor
8.	Government	Provincial	PR08	PN	CD
9.	Government	Provincial	PR09	MX	Advisor
10.	Government	Local	LR01	MN	Former Mayor
11.	Government	National	NR01	NS	Director
12.	Government	National	NR02	SC	DDG
13.	Government	National	NR03	MB	CD
14.	Government	National	NR04	SH	CD
15.	Government	National	NR05	PB	DG
16.	Academia	University	AR01	CS	Lecturer
17.	Academia	University	AR02	MM	Lecturer, Advisor
18.	Academia	University	AR03	AT	Lecturer, Advisor, Board member
19.	Academia	Research	AR04	RM	Head
20.	Academia	Research	AR05	GM	Researcher
21.	Academia	Research	AR06	JdK	Researcher
22.	Academia	Research	AR07	GG	Researcher
23.	Academia	Research	AR08	RM	Lecturer
24.	Academia	Research	AR09	PN	Lecturer
25.	Institute	Programme	IR01	MN	Programme Officer
26.	Institute	Programme	IR02	JD	Programme Officer
27.	Institute	Research	IR03	AS	Programme Specialist

Annexure D – Interview Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

Consent Form

LEADERSHIP FOR THE GOVERNANCE OF LARGE AND COMPLEX URBAN AGGLOMERATIONS – EXAMINING THE CASE OF THE GAUTENG CITY-REGION

I, ……., agree to participate in this research project. The research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation will involve. I agree to the following:

(Please circle the relevant options below).

I agree that my participation will remain anonymous	YES	NO
I agree that the researcher may use anonymous quotes in his / her research report	YES	NO
I agree that the interview may be audio recorded	YES	NO
I agree that the information I provide may be used anonymously after this project has ended, for academic purposes by other researchers, subject to their own ethics clearance being obtained.	YES	NO

…… (signature)
…… (name of participant)
…… (date)

…… (signature)
T. Wolaganandan (name of person seeking consent)
…… (date)

Annexure E – Interview Questions

Appendix B: Informed Consent for Study Participants

Informed consent form for key informants who have been invited to participate in the study entitled: '**The role of urban governance and leadership in building a globally competitive, inclusive, sustainable city-region**'

Name of Principal investigator:	Ms. Thilgavathie Wolaganandan
Name of Organisation:	Gauteng Provincial Government
Name of Sponsor:	Gauteng Provincial Government

This informed consent form has two parts:

- **An information sheet to share information about the study with you**
- **Certificate of consent for your signature should you choose to participate in the study**

Part 1: Information Sheet

Introduction

I am a PhD student conducting the above-mentioned study and currently employed by the Gauteng Provincial Government. The purpose of this form is to provide you with information about this study and to request your participation in the interview. The interview will take about 60 – 90 minutes.

Purpose of the research

The field of governance in city-regions is still in development. Various theorists have sought to understand what forms of governance is required for city-region development. Very little is known though about the impact of leadership on governance and the role that leadership and governance plays in city-region development. This research aims to understand the forms of leadership and governance required to build a globally competitive, inclusive and sustainable city-region. This study aims to fill the gap in understanding the link between territorial governance and territorial leadership and how together these build the platform for advancing city-region development. I hope that the findings generated from this study will inform policy actors' understanding of how to best build leadership and guide governance aimed at improving development of the Gauteng city-region.

Participant Selection

You are being chosen to participate in this study because of your knowledge, experience and role in leadership, governance and economic development of the Gauteng city-region.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntarily. It is your choice to participate or not. You should not feel forced to participate. Your participation, or refusal to participate, will not affect your job or your work-related evaluations or reports. During the interview you are free to stop at any time or refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer. You are free to stop participating even though you have agreed to participate.

Procedures

You are being invited to participate in this study. This will involve an individual interview. The discussion will be guided by myself, *Thilgavathie Wolaganandan*, making sure that you are comfortable. I will answer any questions that you may have. The discussions will take place in your offices or a place most convenient for you. During the interview I will ask a few questions from a list that was prepared relating to leadership and governance of the Gauteng city-region and questions that may arise from your responses. This interview will be recorded on a digital recorder in order to transcribe (write it out in full) later. The information from this interview is confidential and only core research team members will have access to the recordings or transcripts. All research material will be kept under the custodianship of the Principle Investigator and in a secure manner.

Risks

The questions I would like to ask you, relate to your knowledge, experiences in and perceptions of leadership and governance in the Gauteng city-region. I do not foresee any personal risk through the information you provide to me. However, there is a risk that you may accidentally share confidential information or feel uncomfortable answering certain questions. I do not wish for this to happen. You do not have to answer any question or take part in the interview/discussion if you feel the question(s) make you feel uncomfortable.

Benefits and Reimbursements

There is no direct benefit to you for your participation. The information you provide will be used to gain a deeper understanding of leadership and governance in the Gauteng city-region and will help the Gauteng Provincial Government as well as researchers, theorists and practitioners with their future decisions regarding the status of governance and leadership in Gauteng and similar city-regions.

Confidentiality

The information that you provide will be used strictly for the objective of this study. Your details and all the study information will be kept strictly confidential and will only be accessible to the researcher. Your name and affiliation will be deleted from the questionnaires and will not be revealed in any report or publication that may arise from this study. All your responses will remain anonymous outside of the researcher and supervisor team. The transcripts and records will be destroyed after a period of five years.

Ethics

This proposal has been reviewed and approved by the ethics committee of the School of Architecture

and Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand, which is a committee whose task it is to make sure that research participants are protected from harm.

Who to Contact

If you have any concerns about your rights as a research participant or the ethical conduct of this study you should contact BREC at:

School of Architecture and Planning, John Moffat Extension, Building, 0B, Yale Rd, Johannesburg, 2000 Private School of Architecture and Planning, University of the Witwatersrand Bag X3, P O Wits, 2050
Tel: 27 11 717 7623

If you wish to ask questions later, you should contact the researcher, Ms Thilgavathie Wolaganandan (082 728 5943 or email Nalini.naicker@gauteng.gov.za) or Supervisor of the research, Professor Philip Harrison (011 717 7678 or email thammy.jezile@wits.ac.za / Philip.harrison@wits.ac.za).

Appendix C: Research Study Introduction and Orientation Guide

Introduction

Brief recap of the purpose of study, consent, confidentiality and anonymity.

Hello my name is Thilgavathie Wolaganandan. I work in the Gauteng Provincial Government and am undertaking research on the role of urban governance and leadership in building a globally competitive, inclusive, sustainable city-region. I am particularly investigating the past and present leadership and governance forms in the GCR and the impact thereof on the city-region and provision of water security.

Purpose of the study:

As per my prior communication, the purpose of this study is to examine the role of urban governance and leadership in building a globally competitive, inclusive, sustainable city-region. To this end, this study aims to understand the forms of governance and leadership to date in the GCR and how this has impacted either of the afore-mentioned concepts. This study hopes to understand what forms of leadership and governance are required to enable such forms to be built if not already present to assist the present and future leaders of the GCR in creating a more competitive, inclusive and sustainable city-region.

You have been selected to participate because of your experience and role as a leader, policy maker and/ or implementer in Gauteng. I would like to ask you some questions with regards to your understanding of leadership and governance of the GCR. The interview will take about 60 90 minutes.

I would like to spend a brief moment going through the consent form **[go through consent form if participant wishes].**

Do you have any questions you would like me to clarify before we begin **[confirm that participant has consented and that form signed by both parties]?**

[Press record on voice recorder]

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this study **[ensure statement acknowledging consent is recorded].**

Appendix D: Key Informant Interview Guide

Introductory questions

1. What is your current position?
2. How long have you been in this position?
3. What does your position entail?

Main questions

I will begin by asking you a few questions about city regions. Please answer this based on your knowledge.

1. What is your understanding of what a city region is?
2. Do you think that the concept of a city region is important for Gauteng and if so why?

Based on answers above, questions will continue or interview will end

I will now ask you a few questions about governance. Again, please answer this to the best of your knowledge.

1. How would you define good governance?
2. Given your view of city regions and governance how do you believe governance should be framed for a city region?
3. Does it need to be institutionally reorganised or is it just a way of working?
4. In your mind what are the current governance arrangements in Gauteng that lend themselves to the city region concept? Is it working in pursuit of the city region agenda?

My next set of questions relate to leadership.

1. When I say leadership – who do you think of? What do you think of?
2. What is an effective leader?
3. In the context of a city region who would you regard as key leaders?
4. To what extent have the leaders in the GCR been able to draw actors together to achieve the objective of economic prosperity of the GCR?
5. How does a leader allow for distributed leadership?

I will now turn to political leadership in the GCR.

1. What are some of the words you would use to describe the key political leaders in Gauteng?
2. Please describe the political leadership style/approach to date in Gauteng since 2002 (since the decision to adopt a GCR approach?)
3. Has political leadership to date been effective in achieving a city region agenda of economic prosperity?
4. Can you highlight examples of where leadership across the GCR have been effective in bringing together multiple actors? Please provide examples of projects or instances where this has occurred.
5. How do you believe leaders (that have occupied political and higher levels of administrative office) have fulfilled the GCR agenda to date?
6. If one of the dependencies of good governance is the quality of leadership, do you believe that Gauteng currently has within its realms the basic leadership qualities (trust, transparency, integrity, accountability) for achieving good governance?

I would like to take you to the COVID-19 pandemic and ask you to reflect on the occurrences of leadership and governance during the crisis.

1. Do you believe that there has been a different response from government (compared to the day to day running of service delivery) during the COVID-19 pandemic? Please explain
2. Do you believe that the different levels of government worked differently with each other during the crisis? Please explain
3. How do you believe the structures established to manage the COVID-19 pandemic in Gauteng assisted or hampered governance?
4. What did you note in terms of engagement between government and citizens?
5. How was leadership capability distributed during COVID-19?
6. Comment on the way leadership revealed itself during COVID-19 – please provide your perspective and reflection on national, provincial and local government.
7. Considering leadership and governance…
   7.1. To what extent did COVID-19 reveal the inefficiencies and/or strengths of government?
   7.2. To what extent did it reveal new ways of working?
   7.3. To what extent do you believe the city region agenda strengthened or weakened?
8. Are you aware of how water security was dealt with during COVID-19?
9. Did you find that the delivery of water services was treated with greater urgency or differently during COVID-19?
10. Can you perhaps provide examples of where water services were delayed previously and if in these same areas, water was delivered during the pandemic?
11. What do you believe were the contributing factors to delivery of this service during the pandemic?
12. Do you believe that the overall response seen during COVID-19 is sustainable? How?

Do you have specific knowledge of the water sector in Gauteng and South Africa?

No - Thank You, Summary

Yes - I will now turn to leadership and governance arrangements for water security provision in the GCR

The following section is only relevant to those officials who are responsible for ensuring water security or have done research related to water security in the GCR…

1. Please explain your understanding of governance arrangements for ensuring water security in the GCR?
2. How effective have efforts to achieve water security been in bringing together multiple actors?
3. What has been the main obstacles to GCR governance of water security in the province?
4. Given the current constitutional arrangements for water sector do you think there is role for city region governance in relation to water?
    a. What should this role be?
    b. How effective should arrangements be?
    c. Within the water sector across the spheres of government what role has leadership played – how has leadership assisted? Please provide examples of assistance or inefficiencies?
5. What do you believe needs to be done to solve the challenges to ensure governance arrangements that allow for efficient delivery of water services to people?

Summary

What is effective leadership?

What is effective leadership for good governance?

What is effective leadership for good governance of a city region?

What is good governance to ensure water security?

Is there anything else you would like to share?

Thank you for participating