Cape Town 2025

REPORT OF CAPE TOWN 2025 CONFERENCE
CO-HOSTED BY CITY OF CAPE TOWN AND ISANDLA INSTITUTE
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Cape Town 2025 is a visioning project aimed at promoting innovative, collective strategies for a future city that is firmly founded on the principles of equity, dignity, sustainability and integration. The project is a joint initiative of Isandla Institute and the City of Cape Town.

This report summarises the proceedings and discussions at the Conference Cape Town 2025, which was held on 14-15 July 2005, Council Chambers, City of Cape Town.

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ABOUT THE CAPE TOWN 2025 PROJECT

The Cape Town 2025 project is a joint initiative of Isandla Institute and the City of Cape Town. Cape Town 2025 envisages a city founded on a set of core social values which guide us towards the paths and tools to bring about this vision.

Developing a vision for city planning is in itself not new. In fact, it characterises many South African Integrated Development Plans and planning frameworks elsewhere in the world. Yet, such visions are often developed once every five years and refined annually by a small group of people. In the period in between, when real and perceived constraints present themselves or are imagined, urban policy makers and planners tend to turn to conventional approaches, tools and instruments. More often than not, these are de-linked from the guiding principles and outcomes set out in the vision. In the process the vision fades and loses its power to function as a beacon.

Vision planning starts with powerful, evocative, concrete and achievable images of preferred futures. This does not mean that the complexity of change is underestimated or ignored. On the contrary, visions of desirable futures for the city are informed by the complex forces driving social change.

These images of the kind of city we want to create, for our own quality of life and that of future generations, are not static, nor are these images without contestation. In fact, a key characteristic of a vibrant local democracy is that such images are open to challenge and engagement, giving rise to questions such as:

• Whose image of the city is promoted and whose voices have not been heard in the process?
• How should values, or guiding principles, and actions be prioritised and sequenced?
• What are the most appropriate actions to help bring about the desirable future?

Cape Town 2025 seeks to initiate a process of discussion and reflection on the future of Cape Town, and on the values that will guide actors in striving for this preferred future. Social equity (the reduction of inequality and poverty), sustainability and integration are the core values that guide the project.

Given South Africa's recent planning history and its legacy of systematic exclusion, disregard and discrimination, social justice and equity need to be at the core of future images of our city. Moreover, given the tendencies of current global, national and local development trends to recreate and entrench existing forms of inequality, the active pursuit of equity is even more pressing.

Sustainability is understood as sustainable resource use in the interest of a decent quality of life for current city populations, without compromising ecosystems and the rights of future generations to a decent and dignified livelihood. It assumes that all urban residents not only have rights, but also share responsibilities to enjoy a decent quality of life within existing resource limits.

Given the divided nature of South African cities in general, and Cape Town in particular, in spatial as well as cultural terms, integration has been identified as the third core value guiding Cape Town 2025.

The following outputs have been produced within the context of the Cape Town 2025 project:

• a concept note Cape Town 2025: Towards a normative approach to city development;
• an overview report entitled The status of Cape Town: Development overview, by Keith Smith, reflecting development trends in Cape Town since 1996;
• a bibliography on Cape Town research 1990-2004, by Gordon Pirie;
• five discussion papers on Lifestyle, Culture, Urban Form & Infrastructure, Urban Economy and Governance;
• a 10-minute video called Hopes on the Horizon – Cape Town 2025; and
• an exhibition on development trends, lifestyle choices and aspirations in Cape Town.

KEY DRIVING FORCES OF URBAN CHANGE

The Cape Town 2025 visioning project was taken forward at a conference in July 2005 that brought together a range of participants from the City of Cape Town, academic institutions, the non-governmental sector, community organisations and business. The discussions mainly centred around the five discussion papers on themes that had been identified as key driving forces of change in Cape Town. These key driving forces – which are clearly interlinked – are expected to have a significant impact on current and future conditions in the city:

- lifestyle;
- culture;
- urban form & infrastructure;
- urban economy; and
- governance;
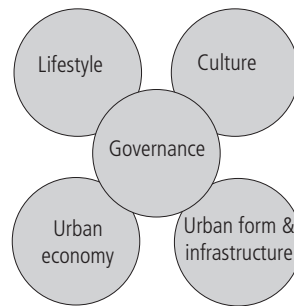
This document summarises the presentations and discussions at the conference and highlights some of the issues that emerged. As a summary document, it cannot adequately reflect the depth and breadth of issues covered in the overview report The status of Cape Town: Development overview and the discussion papers. These documents are made available in other forms. Information on all background materials prepared for the Cape Town 2025 project can be requested from Isandla Institute at admin@isandla.org.za.

PERSPECTIVE FROM THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN

In his opening remarks, Steve Boshoff, Executive Director of Strategy and Development at the City of Cape Town, said that the initiative was timeous, because if Cape Town was to meet the needs of its people, it needed a longer-term view. "Despite the best efforts and the intentions of many individuals and groups, life has not improved for the majority of our people," he said. However, he drew strength from the new team the City had in place to drive strategy and development – 32 people, of whom 50% were women and 78% black. He said this team is confronted by a number of key questions. The first question relates to the focus of the work. "What is this thing, this strategy trying to do? Do we follow the international literature on city strategies, or is there a more specific home-grown response? Is the core question not integrated human settlement?

Do we not simply have to prepare a long-term integrated human settlement framework for Cape Town? Related to this, what is the meaning of integrated human settlement on the large, regional scale? Is it one of competing cities in the South African region or perhaps one of finding the appropriate functional relationship within a network of cities, each fulfilling a specific role? Closer to home, how do we address the issue of an emerging regional Cape Town, arguably eating up everything in its way, as opposed to a Cape Town in a city region with different settlements in synergy?" He said the second question relates to what is in our hearts. "Within this focus of integrated human settlement, who receives priority? Do we try and satisfy all needs or do we shamelessly focus on the needs of the poor majority? Is David Deer not right when he suggests that a city that works for ordinary people will inevitability work for everyone? Do we share Professor Ndebele's disappointment when he writes" I have known all along that the further we move away from April 27, 1994, we will become increasingly normal and more ordinary, shedding our well-deserved sense of specialness, which we earn from our miraculous transition?" I am disappointed that we do not appear to have succeeded in defining the terms of our ordinariness, our own brand of ordinariness, or to work at a higher level."

For Boshoff, the third question relates to what, within a focus on the ordinary, deserves special attention. "What would make it easier for our colleagues in future to come to gather here to deliberate Cape Town 2050? Is it the public, those elements of cities used by the majority of people on a daily basis within a focus on a public? Is it public transport, recognising that the majority of our ordinary citizens walk, will never own a car and find themselves trapped in space? Is it also public facilities, the places of care, learning and gathering and celebration? How do we use the institution of gathering to assist the development of a new, as yet undefined South African culture? How do we deal with death? How do we deal with initiation – initiation of the youth, broadly defined? Is it the way we approach land? How can we profess to pursue a new Cape Town if we deal with public land as a commercial commodity? Is it in our interpretation of restitution? What is the good of returning District Six to former residents and their families if the rest of the central business district is inaccessible to them? How do we approach opportunities for employment? Why is there so little interrogation of projects and proposals in relation to job creation? Is it in the way that we define tourism and what is the meaning of tourism for the majority of our people? Is it in the approach to our environment? How do we sustain while unlocking value from a limited resource? What do our magnificent resources of mountains, coast and hinterland mean for ordinary citizens? Is it also public housing or, perhaps more appropriately defined, shelters? How do we move beyond a discussion of backlog? How do we increase choice where all options represent dignity? How do we move beyond a simplistic argument that just state land holdings may somehow deal with our housing issues?"

The fourth question relates to process. "How do we build energy around the long-term strategy for the city? Can we rely on a slow evolution process or do we need to build an investment bulge, a special energy? How do we build this energy around the need of ordinary citizens in the same way that Cape Town in 2004 at least solidified some interests? How do we build a common agenda among each other, between a city and high-price education and research institutions, between political and corporate leadership, between officials and consultants?"

The fifth question relates to the kind of instruments that will support the strategy. 'How do we achieve cultural change, new ways of doing, because surely a meaningful long term strategy is one which is sustained through behavioural change as opposed to a collection of projects? When we demonstrate and test elements of a new way of doing as we have done with the dignified places project, how do we ensure the internalisation and institutionalisation of associated principles? Returning to the environment, why should the ordinary citizen – now that we have destroyed so much of what is dear – bear the unintended consequences of our new suites of our environmental instruments? Are the outcomes of these really sustainability, or perhaps at times something far more sinister?

The final question posed by Boshoff is: "How do we deal with the different meanings that we attach to things through our words? Do we really share a common understanding of integrated access, dignity, restitution, memory, sustainability and so on? Are we as professionals using words responsibly in describing our actions, or are we diluting true meaning and sowing confusion? How do we establish this common language and commitment as a precondition for successful city strategy process?"

Boshoff said the discussions would help the city leadership to be prepared for whatever the future might bring. He concluded as follows: "Let us be bold and not afraid to confront key issues."

THE STATUS OF CAPE TOWN 1996 – 2004: TRENDS AND CONSTRAINTS

In the first years of local democracy, Cape Town has recorded some positive trends:
- The number of households with access to basic services (water, sanitation, electricity and refuse removal) has increased.
- Matric and post-matric qualifications are increasing, with 25% of adults over 20 attaining matric in 2001 as opposed to 20% in 1996.
- There is sustained economic growth.
- Murder rates are dropping from a high of 86 per 100 000 people in 1994/95, to 60 per 100 000 people in 2002/04.

However, there is also evidence of deteriorating socio-economic indicators in Cape Town, which may soon reach a point where the negatives overcome the positives:
- a sharp increase in TB-related deaths from 13 870 in 1997 to 24 129 in 2004;
- unemployment increasing to 23.2% in 2003;
- shacks in informal settlements increasing from 28 300 in 1993 to 110 000 in 2004;
- a growing number of households living in poverty, with the proportion of households living below or just above the household subsistence level rising from 25% in 1996 to 32% in 2001;
- private investment focused in established parts of the city, with very little taking place in the poorer south-east; and
- high HIV prevalence rates are high, particularly in African areas.

Trends also suggest that the sustainability of natural resources is under serious threat:
- The average per capita water consumption has increased from 106.9 litres per day in 1996/97 to 232 litres per day in 1999/2000.
- The demand for waste disposal continues to grow, with a 43% increase in waste disposal recorded between 1999 and 2004.

The city remains strongly divided and realising integration remains a challenge:
- In 2001, 26 suburbs reflected a demographic profile of at least 10% of the main population groups (i.e. African, coloured and white) compared to 17 in 1996. Yet, only 8 suburbs in the city reflected at least 20% of each population group.
- However, the extent to which these areas are truly integrated is unclear as these figures include areas that contain a mix of low income and high income areas, and where there is a high number of live-in domestic workers.
- Poverty is largely concentrated in the south-east of the city.

Among the constraints impeding the city's ability to bring about social equity, sustainability and integration are:
- rapid growth in the number of households from 651 972 in 1996 to 759 765 in 2001 (i.e. an average of 3.3% per annum).
- average population growth of 2.5% per annum; and
- the fastest growing sectors of the economy being in the services sector, where skills requirements are a barrier for many.

Overall, the trends and indicators suggest that continuing along the current development path will lead to a city characterised by increasing inequalities and unsustainable resource consumption. The factors constraining more equitable and sustainable development suggests that changing the development path of the city will not require doing more of the same, but doing things differently.

Source: The Status of Cape Town: Development Overview, prepared by Keith Smith (2005) for the Cape Town 2025 project

LIFESTYLE

Presenting his discussion paper on lifestyle, Prof Mark Swilling (Sustainability Institute) put forward the concept "a city of sustainable neighbourhoods" as his vision for Cape Town in the year 2025.

"Is it possible to address the challenge of poverty," he asked, "if we continue to have a city that provides infrastructures for an increasingly larger middle class to live unsustainably? If it is possible to eradicate poverty while others over-consume, then there may be some hope for the dominant economic paradigms that underpin a lot of urban planning."

He argued that this was an unlikely outcome for the long term and that Cape Town had a stark choice between building "consumption neighbourhoods" that promote dependence or "sustainable neighbourhoods" which can exist autonomously. He associated the first approach with the "development state option", where the three spheres of government work together to extend the "consumption neighbourhood" to all and which only achieves minor redistribution at best. This option, he argued, assumes that the price of oil, water and food is only going to increase in price at the rate of inflation – a fundamental mistake, in his view. Moreover, by pursuing this approach a project of a scale similar to the N2 Gateway project is needed every year to meet Cape Town's housing needs in ten years time.

In contrast, Swilling put forward the sustainable development option, which decouples lifestyle from consumption. Swilling suggested that the sustainable neighbourhood is becoming a primary necessity, particularly in light of global processes such as the oil peak, climate change, the degradation of eco-systems and anticipated population growth.

If one imagines the city as a set of businesses and families, one needs to take into account the massive price increases that would soon impact on the urban economy. For example, he asked participants to imagine how much money would have remained within Cape Town if the oil price had not doubled in the last year, with oil required for 56% of the city's energy needs.

He argued that the city needs to make use of the concept of "footprinting" to understand the impact that Cape Town as a whole and households of different socio-economic status make on the (un)sustainability of natural resources. Using the ClusterPlus database developed by the company Knowledge Factory, it is possible to distinguish 10 types of suburbs in Cape Town. Each of these categories illustrates connections between location, lifestyle, living standards, consumption and resource use in Cape Town. Referring to Table 1 as a summary of these connections, Swilling pointed out that if all households in the world were to consume at the rate of Cape Town's wealthiest ones, close to 15 planets would be required to sustain this level of consumption.

The sustainable neighbourhoods approach introduces eco-efficiencies to counteract oil, water and food increases at rates way above inflation. Such neighbourhoods would generate energy, produce zero waste, would be self-sufficient in water, and would be dependent on public transport and/or car pools, rather than private transport. Such neighbourhoods would also be characterised by mushrooming local food markets. The City would use by-laws to force footprint reduction in middle and high income areas to cross-subsidise poverty eradication. According to Swilling's calculation, this option would lead to a 5% saving on the City's operating budget, which is enough to cover the cost of managing the vast new rental housing stocks.

Swilling concluded by stating that poverty eradication is impossible without sustainability, and that sustainability means fundamental system change. He argued that all the technical solutions to realise the sustainable development option exist, that these solutions all make financial sense. Clearly, to achieve the vision of sustainable neighbourhoods, leadership is key.

TABLE 1. LOCATION , LIFESTYLE AND RESOURCE USE IN CAPE TOWN

Cluster group (Knowledge Factory ClusterPlus database)	Key characteristics	% of total households in Cape Town	Planets required before/after eco-efficiency	
			Before	After
SILVER SPOONS	elite, largest consumers, getting richer	7	14.8	2-3.8
UPPER MIDDLE CLASS	established, mature, conservative, professionals, gated	9	5.8	2
MIDDLE SUBURBIA	tight budgets, mid-level jobs, bargain hunters, big spending on educating children	10	4.7–5.2	1.7
COMMUNITY NESTS	mixed, Afro-cosmo, shifting, small spaces, stylish, café culture, dense	2	2.4 – 2.7	1.1
LABOUR POOL	high-density family neighbourhoods, stable jobs, secondary education, struggling	6	1.5	1
NEW BONDS	new SA families, youngish, targets of the developers	13	1-2	1
TOWNSHIP LIVING	old places, few jobs, youth cultures, soul of the new SA, buzzy, vulnerable	11	1	1
TOWERING DENSITY	teetering, high hopes, few options, the educated leave as soon as possible, limited reinvestment	22	1	1
DIRE STRAITS	old places, overcrowded, services collapsing, high unemployment, decaying	3	1	1
BELOW THE BREADLINE	shack settlements, desperation, insecurity	15	1	1

Discussion

In the discussion, one of the issues raised concerned the role shopping malls play in local economies. Swilling pointed out that many developed and developing countries were moving away from malls, precisely because shopping malls destroy neighbourhood high streets and the smaller local businesses that are not dependent on people having cars. "So I do not think you can have continued investment in malls and sustainable neighbourhoods. Instead, malls close down local business and decrease local employment."

Another discussion point related to the need to preserve Cape Town's biodiversity. Cape Town is recognised as one of the key biodiversity hotspots internationally, but this is often seen as an issue preventing development because of rare plants. In this context, how does one enhance biodiversity and unlock its value, not only in the city, but in a sustainable neighbourhood? One way of looking at biodiversity issues is in terms of food security, and the importance of generating productive soils through organic farming.

In response to a question whether the notion of sustainable neighbourhoods would not result in a situation whereby enclaves of wealth and poverty co-exist in separate neighbourhoods, Swilling responded that his concept of sustainable neighbourhoods implies areas that are socially mixed, 'because I do not think there is such a thing as sustainable neighbourhoods populated entirely by very poor people". Using the example of the Lynedoch eco-development, Swilling pointed out that households there that benefited from housing subsidies were creating structures that were immediately worth five times the subsidy amount in asset terms, pointing to an economic reason for creating socially mixed neighbourhoods.

Finally, it was noted that making fundamental changes to the ways in which things have traditionally been done, required strong leadership.

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CULTURE

Prof Kopano Ratele (University of the Western Cape) presented a paper looking at the relationship between culture and urban form. He distinguished between narrow and broad conceptions of culture, with the narrow conception concerned with things like theatre and the arts – a concept which is 'easier to commodify or sell' than the broader definition, which refers to 'webs of meaning', values, ways of living, beliefs, heritage, trade and trust. It is the latter concept of culture that needs more attention in Cape Town.

An important theme emerging in the discussion was that of race. Ratele explored the issue of 'otherness', particularly for African Capetonians who often find themselves excluded from aspects of city life. 'While some people find Cape Town an attractive city,' said Ratele, 'others find it painful and racist, with bad experiences making you feel as though you are in the wrong city.' This was also his personal experience of the city, and he shared a recent experience of this with participants, which made him feel as though he 'did not belong' in the city.

'Racism,' he said 'is imbricated with space. Cape Town continues to be a striking example of this, and of the spatiality of race and culture.' Fear, hatred and mistrust are all part of the history that has shaped Cape Town, and this is part of the reason for the rise of the gated community. Trust and mistrust are part of the dominant discourse, impacting on culture and relating to social and cultural distance.

For Ratele, it was not so much the physical distance that separated Camps Bay and Khayelitsha, Pinelands and Langa. Rather, 'if people feel that a place is alienating, this is a place that they will stay away from – people leave Cape Town for Johannesburg because the symbolic order keeps them out. If people feel they are culturally distant from one another they tend to stay away from one another, which continues the segregation.'

At the same time, there is much power to be harnessed from culture and cultural capital with knowledge and skills (both formal and informal), as well as networks and shared understandings of the world which could be accessed. But culture can also be used as a form of power, where those who do not have access to 'culture' in this way tend to avoid a discussion of culture by 'talking about the market'.

There is a need to look at how culture can be deployed for development, both personal and societal, but the situation in Cape Town at present suggests that the city is not less likely to be troubled by the inequality of both culture and development in the future. Ratele proposed that culture should be better resourced if the city were to move beyond this. He asked, 'what could be more central or basic than people's culture? Because people understand the world in a particular way, taking care of a person's culture is taking care of their humanity.'

Discussion

In response to the paper, Mark Swilling commented on Ratele's reference to culture as a basic need, as this has very radical implications for service delivery. He argued that what is normally meant by service delivery is constructed on the basis of an assumption of what basic needs are. This was close to Maslo's hierarchy of needs, which suggests that you only think about cultural issues when all the other material basic needs have been met – which underpins the services delivery ideology.

Ratele responded that in his later work, Maslo had changed the hard hierarchy of that pyramid and begun to emphasise the interactivity between the different levels. Initially, Maslo's view was that you start with food and you go to belonging. Somewhere toward the top, and right at the end you become the person you want to be – actualisation. But he began to change that view.

Ratele emphasised that people actually do need culture. People run away from Cape Town because they need culture. So, they go to a restaurant in Rosebank or Sandton City because they want to meet certain people. And this is where they spend their money, which shows that one really has to fuse discussions on the economy, on governance and on urban form with culture.

Valmont Layne (District Six Museum) agreed with Ratele's perspective on the symbolic order in Cape Town. He also looked at some of the issues that were being discussed anecdotally, recalling how as an 'angry young activist' in the 1980s he had driven through Camps Bay and, looking at the beautiful houses, had joked about which house he was going to 'take after the revolution'. He made the point that 'the way we tell ourselves stories is about the city that has not really changed'.

He also asked to what extent we think long-term about the city as a space which generates narratives and meanings for its citizens and for people outside the city. He argued that tourism is the most potent generator of narratives. By way of example, Layne related the story of someone he referred to as Boeta Gammie, who spent time at the District Six museum as part of its ideal to invite people who were marginalised from their own history, to reclaim it and to take ownership of it. Yet, in the same space there is a high turnover of international tourists. And so, Boeta Gammie, from being an ex-resident, excluded from District Six, coming into what should be his reclaimed space has to compete with tourists for his space. What used to be a process of celebration of memory becomes commodified, so Boeta Gammie gets a tip when he starts singing songs from the old days. In this process, he is no longer Boeta Gammie; he is a local who is now subject to transaction.

Layne also pointed out that the narratives that are being created about the city through tourism can be problematic. He elaborated on the African experience in Cape Town, which is ruralised and essentialised for historic purposes. When people move from the historic city (e.g. Bokaap or District Six) into Langa, they suddenly find themselves in an a-historical space where one experiences a sangoma and one is exposed to something which in a sense still reproduces this alienation that people have about the city. He challenged those who were in a position to influence or to think about the city in the long run to address these kinds of practices and to find more challenging ways to create meaningful spaces through the discursive practices that inform the way we think about the city.

Ratele agreed that there was potential for 'voyeurism' when it came to visiting townships. An extreme example was in Harlem where bus tours arrived at churches when people were praying, and this was something that needed to be managed with regard to cultural tourism.

Vivienne Carelse (Iziko Museums) said that it was important to look at how the institutions of culture in Cape Town present themselves and how these institutions are viewed through different lenses. She argued that it is a critical factor in terms of designing and redesigning the view of the city and how the city functions.

Carelse noted that most people have historically not claimed their access and ownership of the institutions of public culture in Cape Town. For example, the public edifice of the museums that represent themselves in the history of the people of Cape Town needs to come up for discussion at some point as well. One would need to think about how Cape Town's public spaces can represent mending.

URBAN FORM AND INFRASTRUCTURE

Nisa Mammon (NM & Associates) presented a paper dealing with urban form, public facilities and public spaces. Her approach to the topic was underpinned by a definition of urban form as 'the shape or pattern of settlement in two-dimensional terms'.

She argued that the majority of citizens in Cape Town are still marginalised, with limited access to Cape Town's urban and global opportunities, and that the demands of rapid urbanisation required creative responses.

In her view, modernism and apartheid had a lot to do with the fact that we focus on numbers and quantities in trying to resolve development challenges, but for various reasons we are not getting ahead of the problems. Instead, she argued that there was a need to find the purpose and meaning of the city from a qualitative and value-based perspective in our homes, starting with ourselves and also within the built environment.

Good policies like the Breaking Ground document and the Development Facilitation Act provide some basis from which to move forward, but getting meaningful public space on the agenda was still a struggle, with the argument that there were not enough resources to manage public space and with local people on the ground not feeling that they can identify with and 'own' the facilities.

Mammon identified transport as another problem area with the traditional transport model being inappropriate and outdated against the modes and movement patterns across the city, with 36% of people walking on a daily basis (mostly in the south east part) and a large proportion using other non-motorised modes of transport. In spite of this reality, road-based transport – particularly cars and 4-by-4s – remain the priority, while the city's taxis, buses and trains are in bad shape. Between 1990 and 1999 car usage has increased by 50%. In light of this, Mammon emphasised that it is critical to consider what the increased use of private transportation is doing to our city and what it means for urban form.

With respect to housing, 30% of households in the city need decent shelter and there is an influx of 40 000 people per annum. New housing continues to be developed on the outskirts of the city, and the aspiration of 'one house, one plot' remains strong. Mammon said that the approach to housing was based on a 'one size fits all' assumption. As a result, densities are very low. If there is talk about increasing density, the discussion tends to be about numbers rather than the quality of the urban environment.

'I dream of a city that has a good nature for all, not only those that are wealthy,' said Mammon. To realise this, Mammon proposed four sets of strategies: (re)location, reclamation, restructured public transport and re-emphasising public spaces and facilities. In terms of reclamation strategies, redistribution and restitution are important. These could lead to relocation in areas of opportunity, in line with the provisions of the Restitution of Land Rights Act. Mammon maintained that 'if we pursue restitution, 12 000 households can be reinstated'.

High density and infill in traditionally white areas should also be pursued, and distribution markets should be established for people to engage in the economy and challenge the large monopolies. High-density urban development should also be pursued in the inner city, Claremont and Bellville.

Mammon further pointed out that Cape Town had many corridors, such as Klipfontein and Phillipi-Lansdowne, and investment in urban corridors should be focused on these.

Under-utilised assets such as road reserves and the Grand Parade need to be reclaimed, and investment in public transport should also be focused on urban corridors, where broad bands of mixed-use activity could have vibrancy if created well, and around transport routes with high volumes of traffic. Public investment should focus on this.

For Mammon the issue of restructured public transport was vital. International experience shows that investment in public transport makes a big difference in the quality of people's lives.

Mammon also discussed aspects of the Joe Slovo development, focusing particularly on the tension that existed to deal with the housing backlog quickly and attain particular densities. This meant that many of the longer-term actions that would address the need for a sustainable settlement may be compromised.

In conclusion, Mammon argued that policy, ideology and practice are not currently coming together, but that they will have to in order to shift the everyday quality of life for the majority of Capetonians.

Discussion

One of the issues that emerged during the discussion was the role of labour and the housing market and, more specifically, the way in which the land market, the labour market and the housing market impact on urban issues. Mammon said that while it was important to understand the market one is dealing with, it is also important to manage it, because it is as a result of the influences that market forces and operators have on urban settlement that it becomes very difficult for people to find a place in the city.

John Williams (School of Government, University of the Western Cape) asked about the role and constitutional mandate for public participation in planning decisions in Cape Town. Mammon agreed that this was an important aspect, which was 'about beginnings' and letting people make their own city spaces, 'about making cities over time with key stakeholders, with key participants and not just again excluding people and providing a product at the end of the day.'

ECONOMY

In his presentation on recent trends and future opportunities related to Cape Town's economy, Rae Wolpe (City of Cape Town) highlighted key cause-and-effect relationships in the economy, and some of the risks and constraints within the context of globalisation. One of the important cause-and-effect relationships he referred to is that job creation requires economic growth, which requires both public and private sector demand for goods and services, with relationships being increasingly global as opposed to local.

Wolpe noted that economic development trends take place over a long period of time – decades - and it is instructive to note differences in per capita income and economic growth in Africa and America over periods of time. Between 1800 and 2000 Africa's economic growth of 0.7% saw per capita income increase four times, while America's rate of economic growth increased 20 times to $30 000.

Looking forward, Cape Town could expect no immediate changes in the crisis of unemployment, which had taken 50 years to reach – and would not significantly improve in the next 20 years – but it was starting to bend slowly, by 5 000 jobs or 0.4% per annum. A six percent growth rate was required to sustain the reduction in unemployment against significant in-migration to the city. Another characteristic of unemployment is that the majority of the unemployed are young and recent entrants to the job market.

Wolpe noted that there have been improvements when it comes to poverty, with a drop in the number of households earning less than R1 068 per month from 29% to 13%, but there are still at least 500 000 people who live in extreme poverty with no income.

At the same time, economic growth has gradually strengthened over the last four years, largely linked to stronger global linkages, including exports, and sectors such as film. In 2004 the city attracted more than one million tourists and drew over R1 billion in foreign direct investment creating 3 500 jobs. This is an indicator that globalisation is likely to accelerate in importance and impact, with 'a need to look at how we participate in globalisation, not whether we participate.'

Wolpe emphasised the importance of developing global competitiveness to spread the benefits of economic growth not only to the rich and highly skilled. As a coastal city, Cape Town is attractive to creative talent and global linkages are very strong with 500 000 city jobs strongly dependent on these.

In terms of manufacturing, future job creation will primarily be in the higher skilled areas, and addressing the skills mismatch that currently exists will be very important in terms of bringing the poor into the job market. In addition, domestic and government demands, including meeting infrastructure backlogs, also have the potential to spur growth, particularly in construction.

Business process outsourcing (including call centres) has the potential to create 20 000 to 40 000 jobs, with relatively low barriers to entry for recent matriculants, although interventions regarding word processing and language may be required.

Commenting on the informal sector, Wolpe argued that this sector makes an important contribution to the economy. However, attention needs to be paid to issues around entrepreneurship, as business ownership levels are highly uneven: 25% of white males in Cape Town own a business, while only 4% of black males do. According to Wolpe, promoting business ownership means addressing the cultural and regulatory issues that make establishing a business difficult.

Constraints to economic growth into the future include the growing price of oil, global warming, global competitiveness and transport costs from the passenger and freight side. Oil dependency is a drag on economic growth and there is an urgent need to reduce dependency on oil through improving public transport and through energy diversification. Public transport is also key to poverty reduction. 'Firms will employ more people if public transport is improved,' said Wolpe.

The key intervention required is a two-pronged strategy around global competitiveness and poverty reduction. Wolpe argued that Cape Town needs to access global opportunities and enhance the poor's ability to participate in the economy, through meeting basic needs, particularly health, education and housing. 'A key intervention is ensuring that the leadership understands the linkages. We need to reduce the cost of business and reduce red tape, and we need to look at how we sell ourselves in a global environment.' Wolpe acknowledged that there is some debate about whether the City has the resources to do this. He further commented on the relative inability of leaders to form partnerships between the government, non-governmental and private sectors and argued that City leadership has a big role to play in addressing this.

In conclusion, Wolpe noted that the resources of the different spheres of government are not yet sufficiently aligned to meet some of these challenges. An example is the provincial micro economic development strategy, which is not yet aligned with the City's approach.

Discussion

Responding to a question about state-driven market-assisted interventions versus market-driven state-assisted interventions, Wolpe said there was 'clearly increasing blurriness and overlap between the public sector and the private sector', particularly around the issues of global competitiveness and poverty reduction. In his view, business generally better understands the pressures, trends and needs related to global competitiveness. In this instance, it would be important for business to engage with government around what those issues are and what government's support role can be to assist business to deal with global competitiveness issues. Tied in with this is the need for networks and mechanisms for discussions and consultation for all spheres of government.

With respect to poverty reduction, Wolpe argued that the state needed to take the lead on this issue. But in his view, the state is not necessarily sufficiently leveraging the resources available in the market to address some of the poverty needs. He argued that there are creative mechanisms where the state can enable, direct and give incentives to the private sector to unlock those resources.

He concluded that there was possibly a need for a city-level organised business mechanism where the relevant bodies come together to facilitate that interaction between City and business.

In response to a question around the relationship between poverty, economic growth and environmental constraints, he said that at a number of levels the ability to export and service global markets is increasingly going to be linked to the ability to comply with environmental regulations and requirements. In his view, environmental problems and constraints at the city level were actually massive economic and job creation opportunities. For example, the need for energy and energy diversification creates all sorts of opportunities for alternative energy sources and recycling. He said there needed to be much more interaction between environmentalists, economists and economic developers to uncover those opportunities, 'so that we are proactive in terms of meeting environmental needs through the economy'.

GOVERNANCE

David Schmidt started his presentation by recalling that 'in 1999, at the time of the Unicity Commission a conference similar to this one was held, where the one critical strategic issue identified was leadership.' This concern with leadership was, in fact, a concern with the governance system. Describing governance as the 'nervous system of the city, the thing which connects the parts and makes things happen', Schmidt noted that if the governance system does not work effectively, you have a city that is not working effectively.

Schmidt further posed that good governance was key to being able to deliver on a big, bold vision for Cape Town. However, to realise the goals of equity, sustainability and integration, the 'business as usual' approach does not work. At the moment, one could see this as the attitude that says 'it is fine for government to put its resources into the very poor, provided there is no impact on the "haves".' In his view, the 'business as usual' deal is a very powerful one that constrains governance to deliver on the bold vision put forward in the Cape Town 2025 project. A critical mass of social forces is needed to bring about the changes required.

Linked to this is the reality that, in Cape Town, doing something is much more contentious than doing nothing. According to Schmidt, the recent protests in communities in Cape Town may be less about the lack of delivery and more about the fact that something is happening in the context of the N2 Gateway project.

Despite the historic legacy of a poor governance system that makes it difficult to get things right, Schmidt pointed to a number of positive aspects, such as a powerful national framework of policy and governance, which obviously takes time to embed. The metropolitan system is also still new. It is also worth noting that the governance challenges facing Cape Town are not necessarily unique. Globally, governance is changing, which has implications for governance in Cape Town.

On the issue of governance institutions, the critical question for Schmidt is how we create an integrated system of governance at the metropolitan level that is able to respond dynamically to the complex urban reality that exists at so many levels. He argued that the starting point is a metropolitan government model, which was a very important and needed change in 2000. A range of building blocks is in place in terms of the executive, ward committees, oversight mechanisms, partnership bodies, etc.

Yet, at the same time the City is experiencing, in a profound way, the teething problems of centralisation and decentralisation. Against this background, how does one empower people close to where decisions need to be made? In Schmidt's assessment, the centre is overloaded with responsibilities, while the rest of the City is feeling very disempowered: 'I do have a great deal of sympathy with top leadership in a city like this, because its hard to imagine more complex challenges and dealing with such a very wide range of functions and constituencies. But it does seem to me that at the heart our mental mind maps need some shifting.'

Schmidt pointed out that the dominant model remains hierarchical which results in command and control. Yet, it is evident from international and local experience that these models do not work. He proposed moving to a 'network form of governance'. Using a metaphor from the field of music: 'We need to move away from the orchestra, where we all play according to the score, and if you strike a wrong note then you are held to account.' Instead, the 'jazz combo' would be a more appropriate approach, 'where we know the tunes and chord progressions, but are free to improvise', with others influenced by and picking up on the improvisation. Thus, 'governance as jazz is very much the image that we need to work toward.'

Strengthening the mandates and capacities of local structures like ward committees and subcouncils and consolidating the capacity of the city administration was also required, along with the expansion of local area partnerships, like the Cape Town Partnership and other community partnerships. In Schmidt's view, to realise progressive goals requires very strong local partnerships.

On the issue of governance culture, Schmidt argued that the key challenge is to transform the very conflictual governance model into one of partnership, rather than a source of mistrust and paralysis. Schmidt argued that currently a very profound cycle of mistrust exists between the City and the province, between political parties, between the political and administrative spheres: 'It is a vicious cycle and everyone trying to do things feel they are frustrated by others. In many ways, it is the biggest governance challenge that we face.'

The current approach to governance in the City tends to be quite exclusive. Instead, what is required is a more inclusive approach in order to manage and take forward the bold ideas of the city. This would require building a more inclusive set of informal networks.

On citizenship, Schmidt suggested that a number of good things were happening such as the Imbizos and Listening Campaigns, but that many challenges remained. One specific challenge is the unspoken issue of multiple governance regimes, experienced by poor citizens in particular: 'Many people in the city, do not only exist under the constitution. For example, gangsters are often an informal form of governance, and this is a reality for many very poor people.' Shack lords were also a reality, and to run a club in the centre of town today requires you to pay a licence fee to the protection rackets.

At the other end of the spectrum, there are people who seek to outsource governance. Schmidt gave the example of gated communities and shopping malls, which are also about creating and governing own territories in particular ways. This global trend marked a disengagement from public life and Schmidt argued that the challenge was to move away from the 'ghettos for both the rich and the poor', to the city that is truly engaged. To achieve this, the public good needs to take priority over the private good.

In the public sphere, a key challenge Schmidt identified is how one creates a robust transformative public conversation about the city, particularly given the trends towards disengagement from public life. He argued that there is very little engagement taking place from city stakeholders about the challenges that the city faces. This includes powerful institutions like the media and tertiary institutions. He noted that the IDP had drawn 'very little public action that one can respond to creatively'.

Finally, on intergovernmental and international relations, Schmidt noted that cities are intergovernmental entities and that the difficult issues are usually beyond any one sphere of government to solve on its own. However, while the South African Constitution talks about spheres, the mind map still tends to be about tiers. To a large extent, it is this mind set that has bedevilled the relationship between the province and the city and there is clearly room for improvement in this relationship.

Schmidt also noted that not enough has been done to represent the city in national and global forums, leading him to conclude that 'we punch below our weight'. He argued that there is a need for Cape Town to move away from its internal focus to really being, 'a city in the world'.

In conclusion, Schmidt said that there was a need to 'regenerate connection' as a crucial element of how one builds a governance system. This would empower the City to embark on the exciting journey away from the bleak picture that comes through when looking at Cape Town's demographic trends and indicators[1] (see the .

Discussion

In the discussion, Robyn Rorke (University of Cape Town) raised the issue of how to improve the relationship between the intellectual and academic community and practitioners in the city. She also raised a concern related to the impact of current policies and interventions and how these are measured. She argued that 'there is a concern that if we keep moving on the same path we are seeing a lot of social dislocation as a result of policies. But we keep saying we are only going to see results in 10 years or 15 years.'

David Schmidt responded that evaluation is a problem of government in general. He noted that a lot of money is spent and many good initiatives are launched, but good evaluation; good research; a good understanding of the impacts, is hardly ever built-in. As a result, one of the big policy problems at the moment is that we simply do not have a good sense of what works and what does not. There may be lots of anecdotal evidence as to maybe why this was probably not such a good programme or this seems to be the effect of that. But it is certainly not collated and pulled together in the kind of policy or evidence that is required to improve policy. Schmidt argued that this is where the academic institutions have a very important role to play and where partnerships are so crucial.

Colin Boyes (Cape Chamber of Commerce) said the debate did not take into account the reality of a globalised economy. He argued that 'at the end of the day the bottom line for our economy, for the City of Cape Town and for South Africa as a whole, is to accelerate our economic growth. Without accelerating our economic growth from a somewhat pedestrian level of 3-4% to 6-7% we cannot start to make a dent and roll back poverty.'

He detected cynicism in the City government's attitude to the formal economy: 'The formal economy, particularly as far as the City is concerned, pays rates and taxes. And we look at the IDP and the budget and there seems to be a massive skew towards the social side of the equation. We are saying that that is not bad, that is good indeed, but we need some kind of balance here. Also we need to come back to the basics, that government particularly at local and provincial level should give greater attention to infrastructure, such as improving roads, ports and a metropolitan transport authority that really works. These are things that will help the City create an environment which is conducive to growing the economy and to get a business-friendly approach up and running.' In his view, a space needs to be created where business is identified as a major stakeholder and player and where relationships based on real partnership can be built.

David Schmidt commented that Cape Town does not have the right set of business forums to engage, a situation that needs to be addressed urgently. In his view, there are things both the City and the business sector can do to create a more conducive situation in that regard.

On the issue of economic growth, Schmidt said that in the absence of a bold strategy to address poverty, equality, growth and sustainability, the default position is that we put our money into settlement. This is dangerous because other cities are aggressively competitive and will out-compete Cape Town, which would suffer poor growth rates, which would in turn restrict options for development.

REPORTING ON THE COMMISSIONS

The purpose of the Conference was to try and push the imagination of policy makers and professionals working in/on the city and to create a space for reflection and constructive dialogue on alternative development trajectories for the city. To facilitate more direct engagement and dialogue among participants, plenary sessions were followed by discussions in commissions. Participants returned to the same commission for the duration of the conference, to continue their conversations on the values underpinning alternative futures for Cape Town and on the paths or actions for realising such a vision. Each commission had a rapporteur assigned to it, who reported back on the discussions and proposals from the commission in plenary.

Commission 1, by Luyanda Mpahlwa (MMA Architects)

The need for leadership
Without a strong and bold commitment, the city is likely to remain on its current path of development. The city needs leadership that is decisive and is prepared to take steps based on a clear vision for the city. On the political front, there is a need for political stability. Senior officials and politicians need to adopt a hands-on approach to be able to identify leverage for change. We need a city leadership that thinks outside the box. Examples were given, including the use of incentives for change rather than regulations as a way of penalising people.

Sustainability
Capetonians need to be aware of the effects of what Mark Swilling called a 'consumption neighbourhood'. This includes information about the impact of consuming too much oil, electricity and water. Some people felt that positive crisis was needed – that if the price of petrol becomes so high that it becomes impossible to drive your car, people will adopt coping mechanisms. These coping mechanisms become levers for change and change the nature of development. Cape Town also needs to learn from cities internationally to see what changes were made in those cities, rather than trying to re-invent the wheel. The 2010 Soccer World Cup can become a significant lever for change, if it is regarded as more than just a sports event, but rather a way of bringing significant change in the programmes of the city.

Perceptions of Cape Town
There is a need to change how the city is viewed and perceived. Currently it is seen as a city for recreation and leisure, rather than a business venue. Cape Town is not comfortable with its own identity.

Strategic thinking
There is a clear requirement for a strategic plan. That gap results in a shallow approach and shallow thinking that leads to a fragmented developmental approach. The current IDP document does not lead to a cohesive strategy for implementation. Strategic choices are important, and some of these are not being made currently, because of political sensitivity. Partnerships must be formed to help the city leadership to identify and make those choices, and differentiation made between city leadership and council leadership. One gap that was identified was communication with the private sector; the city needs to better understand and be able to use private sector resources to implement some of its programmes.

Commission 2, by Bulelwa Makalima-Ngewana (Cape Town Partnership)

Lack of shared strategic vision
There is a frustration among professionals about the difficulty of making an impact in terms of urban planning, arising from papers presented and in the discussions. A cause may be the gap between politicians and planners. Planners have a long-term view of urban development, whilst politicians require short-term and immediate results due to the pressure of delivery. This is a dilemma facing the new dispensation, because of the need to undo the discrepancies of the past. There is a lack of shared vision among all stakeholders and there is a need to galvanise social forces from various disciplines.

Informal settlements
The N2 Gateway project is one of the most current issues of urban development in Cape Town. In the discussion it was said that the project is a reality that we have to live with, but it has its short-comings. The question is, how do you deal with shack settlements and squatter environments? Do you demolish or find ways to try and manage them; do you criminalise them; or do you find integrative ways of dealing with settlements? It was pointed out that the recent housing conference that was held in Cape Town included participation from countries like Brazil, which have been living with squatter settlements for many years and there is a need for a South-South dialogue. The N2 Gateway was not conceived in the normal, conventional way, because it is a presidential project. The role of planners and consultants and many stakeholders needs to be reviewed in terms of their involvement and evaluation of the project. The main thrust of the discussion was not critical of the N2 Gateway, but looking at what alternative ways can be found to deal with the identified constraints and shortcomings.

Role of urban planners and other stakeholders
What can we do as this forum, as people involved in urban development and planning? There was criticism of the role of the planning

profession, which needs to be an advocate for possible alternatives, rather than being just reactive. The need was expressed for a legislative framework, a by-law that would govern urban development. The city also needs a commitment to sustainability and to implement legislation in this regard. South Africa is a signatory to Local Agenda 21. There is a need reduce the gap between the public authority and civil society and identify platforms of urban dialogue. The Cape Town Partnership is a possible mediator between different stakeholders, broadening its focus beyond business to look at the role of civil society and social movements in issues of urban development.

Commission 3, by Valmont Layne (District 6 Museum)

Attitudes, culture and leadership
A dominant theme was attitudes, culture and leadership. How do you talk about culture in planning discourse? The critical issue is not so much about culture, but about creating ways of enabling the mobilisation of cultures within the city. This includes cultures within the decision-making processes, governance and the thinking processes of the city. There was a very strong response to the presentation about culture and the 'spatialisation' of race; the notion of insiders and outsiders, with the example of a placard which said 'stop the buses from the Eastern Cape'. A major challenge for the city is to address and perhaps think about ways to manage a discussion around these issues. The point was raised about a brain drain of young black professionals and business people or skilled people out of the city, and this is not only a cultural loss, but also an economic loss.

We talk about the city which has a culture of patronage that allows some unhealthy assumptions about decision-making and leadership. For example, politicians who confuse elected positions with the notion of more traditional forms of leadership – elected leadership versus chieftainship, if you like. There is also a tyranny of language, the discourses that we employ which limit and inhibit people from engaging in debates and encourage rather defensive behaviour.

Around public spaces, there was discussion around finding enabling environments and ways of talking about engaging public spaces in the city. There were also issues about networks, about connectivity, about the inadequate responses that the city has had to challenges such as restitution.

A vision for the future
It is important to have a vision, images of the future. We seem to be starved of strong images of the future that we can all sink our teeth into, to move beyond rhetoric, which sketches a future in generic terms. There was a comparison to a jazz combo, the idea that it needs to be composed of a small but well-informed group of people, who have a strong visionary leader, but who also share a language and a vision. A good jazz group needs to know its global context, the history of the edifice, of the practice of the music. So too a successful city needs to be well in tune with its global personality, but it also needs a very strong knowledge base in the local situation.

Commission 4, by Vivienne Carelse (Iziko Museums)

The notion of 'community' and community participation
There were concerns around how we read the level of participation and the definitions of community, how the community is perceived, either in terms of its utilitarian value for research, or in terms of its utilitarian value in terms of consultation. There is also a need to assess issues of culture, identity and location and to take stock of issues of access, which has a role to play in a future vision of how we effectively manage and maintain what is brought to those various environments as an expression of development.

We need to look at how we quite often, almost inadvertently, place artificial templates over that which already exists as organic and already exists as indigenous practice, and which communities might find fairly alien in terms of their own experience and attempts to manage what is there. In terms of real planning, we need to find a way of incorporating the community as it presents itself.

Public space
The social and cultural factors that we looked at focused largely on the mutuality around various processes and products that emerged. Urban spaces need to be considered in terms of the people that populate those spaces, and their own needs and desires for what already exists there. Also, the aesthetic of the city should take account of the people who inhabit it.

There was also concern around the attitudes of public safety when we talk about the various systems within development that need to be considered; around how we ought to manage and maintain our communities and spaces more effectively.

Economic development
We need to look at the expanded public works programme as an area where the city's programme should tie into a sustainable programme of implementation. Discussions around the first and second economy led to quite a number of contributions and a call for an integrated approach; for us to explore creative synergies rather than competing agendas. There were a number of proposals sited around sustainable projects, which could enhance both economic development and urban development in terms of the landscape. There are also concerns around the connectedness of the economy and institutional mechanisms.

A city for children
We need to clearly look at the role of children, and whether the city is in fact a city for children. So, we are beginning to look at exploring how the sustainability arguments can be factored into the heart of the city and into the fringes of the city simultaneously. We need to begin to explore the city as a possible ecological habitat that in real terms will throw up all of those areas that we possibly not have reflected on. However, people felt that families, the majority of families, are fairly dysfunctional. In itself, that should be a warning to ourselves and we should be concerned about addressing some of those possible pitfalls.

PANEL DISCUSSION

Threads of the conference were drawn together in a panel discussion, comprising four members – Osman Asmal from the City of Cape Town, Mokena Makeka from Makeka Designs, Sue Parnell from Isandla Institute and Zayd Minty from the District Six Museum.

Osman Asmal opened the discussion by saying that, coming from an environmental background, one of the most refreshing things was to see how sustainability issues are starting to become mainstream thinking.

He raised issues flowing from the quest for much-needed economic growth and the consequences of following the US economic model. 'A colleague mentioned to me that our current solid waste is growing at 6% per annum, double the population growth. If we are moving in that direction we are starting to move in terms of US production of solid waste, and consumption of water. We are not going to have enough water. The same can be said for energy.'

He said that the City was retro-fitting sustainability into some of its current programmes and planning. 'Taking lessons from Mark Swilling's presentation, the question is how we mainstream sustainability into a planning system and into the things that we do on a daily basis.'

Global climate change is an important issue. 'We are probably recognised internationally and in Africa as a leader in energy and the renewable energy sector. How do we take this as a particular area and how do we position ourselves as a city? For example, the issue of solar water heaters, which are being retro-fitted into houses, and using by-laws and incentives to create that market and industry.'

He said that one issue that had not been touched on in the conference was biodiversity, which needed to be mainstreamed into planning processes. This was something Cape Town was recognised for internationally, yet this uniqueness had not been turned into an economic strength. In places like Rondevlei and Zeekoevlei on the Cape Flats, there was strong community activity, and promoting ownership of biodiversity was important.

One of the interesting issues for him was the discussion on culture. He argued that it was important to look at culture – from the kramats to the current discussion around initiation sites and other important cultural areas and activities in Cape Town.

Asmal also raised the question of the youthful nature of Cape Town's population. 'If we do not have an education and training link from a city level and a stakeholder level, we are not going to reach that key group in the city.'

He concluded that in the next decades, public transport would play a key role, but it needed to be safe for everyone to use: 'Public safety and public transport go hand in hand.'

Mokena Makeka welcomed the opportunity for people to gather and speak about the future of the city. He said he was excited about the concept of 'race as a coordinate of culture' and what this meant in terms of space and one's interaction with the city.

He agreed with Nisa Mammon on the urbanisation of poverty and the need for critical interventions that begin to change the nature of the city: 'If we merely ameliorate certain conditions and operate on the fringes of the city in piecemeal without fundamentally rethinking the spatial distribution of different communities, are we not rearing a city of ghettoes in the long term?' He said that the question of fragmented planning vision is one that needs to be answered sooner rather than later: 'To paraphrase the President, what we should find is that we are creating sustainable positive trends.'

Makeka felt the discussion around the economy had not been taken far enough, and that there was the potential for amazing synergy between business and the development sector.

Leadership was a fundamental issue, and this extended beyond the governance systems in local government to civil society, especially in the planning and creative sectors. In his view, 'alternative visions need to be developed and shared.' Without this it is difficult for people to understand developments such as the N2 Gateway, and they were likely to be suspicious of such developments.

He raised issues of spatial separation between the haves and the have-nots. Regarding the debate on whether shacks could ever be eradicated, he posed the challenging question whether in 2025 there would still be different sets of building standards applied in some parts of the city and others – and whether this would be deemed acceptable.

He proposed a series of 'strategic design hives' with representatives from different sectors or stakeholders to ask the question "what if?". 'This could generate a set of hypotheses and alternative conditions which can then inform a shared vision of how the city can actually proceed. Unless we get together a broad range of stakeholders to participate in a neutral forum with open discussion about the nature of the city and the country, we are going to end up talking to ourselves, preaching to the converted, then talking to other sectors and finding ourselves either outnumbered and not listened to, or totally ignored. The future of our city is at stake and we need to take the discussion forward beyond this road.'

Sue Parnell shared three reflections on the conference. The first was about culture, which she said had dominated in particular ways. 'The fundamental question is that it is unclear that we know who we are. We do not know who we are, certainly at a city scale. And because we do not know who we are, we do not know who we want to become. We have conducted this entire conference in English. And I think for some people that has been a very strong silencing dimension. Kopano talked about the silent minorities struggling to find a voice and place in the city. It seems to me we also have a silenced majority. There is a silenced white minority who has simply gone to the suburbs or to the beaches or to the malls and the silenced coloured majority whose internal politics about race and identity seem not to engage with the rest of the city.'

She said that there do not appear to be safe forums to begin having those kinds of discussions: 'This is particularly acute at the level of leadership, because it is precisely at this point that we would expect leaders to be forging those kinds of spaces where we can begin to talk about being a Capetonian in the 21st century. It is going to be difficult, it is going to be tense, it is going to be hurtful maybe to begin to have some of those further discussions. But without it we do not get to that question of where we want to be.' She said without such engagement, 'we cannot start making priorities about how we get to where we want to be'.

Secondly, Parnell said thinking 20 years ahead challenged her to reflect on where Cape Town was 20 years ago: 'A coloured labour preference area, influx control not quite yet done, apartheid still intact. That city did not work.' She said that based on what had come out of the conference, it was clear that what was in place now would not work in 20 years time. 'There are a huge range of really boring, really important fundamentals that we have to address. They might be by-laws, zoning or administrative systems but if we leave that out, and if we leave out the kind of politics David was talking about in terms of governance questions, the sexy stuff does not happen. And it seems that is one of the things that has been implicit but not explicit in our discussions throughout the conference.'

Her last point was about the realm of work as a catalyst for a better future: 'How about work as a site of culture? One of the wonderful things about employment equity is that people actually get to mix with others that they have never ever spoken to before. When we talk about skills development, we are talking about putting people into training institutions, into schools and into universities where really important relationships are forged. When we talk about work, think about the journey to work. What does the way we get to work do for our collective consciousness about Cape Town when some people never get on transport at all? If we are going to forge new kinds of identities in the city it seems to me that the journey to work is a really, really important part of that process. Work is also a site for a major intervention for changing the way that we do business. Changing it in places where we know people can begin to afford to innovate, can begin to lead the way and to fundamentally rethink what we understand about our vision of the city.'

Zayd Minty said he had started to think about what integration means in terms of our history as a nation that has been torn apart. He quoted from a book that said 'children raised in homogenous environments are less and are less likely to develop a sense of empathy for people from other walks of life, and are ill prepared to live in a diverse society. The other becomes alien to the children's experience and is witnessed only through the sensational eyes of the television'.

He said what had struck him about the video Hopes on the Horizon, which was developed for the Cape Town 2025 project, was the woman who said: 'We are living in a neighbourhood which is fairly integrated at the moment, rich and poor. But do our children play with each other? They don't.'

He said that the issue of integration had been implicit rather than explicit in the discussions, because it was difficult to talk about. 'People have spoken about the explicitness of integration in various ways. Swilling has discussed it in terms of facilitating an authentic cultural diversity in a sense of community by participatory culture. Mammon has spoken about it as restitution and reclamation, the idea of creativity, diverse and democratic systems. Ratele has spoken about the recapitalisation of culture, putting meaning back into place. And he focussed very strongly on the ideas of forums, debates, dialogues, the idea of policies and programmes and education. But he also spoke about the idea of media and the way images of Cape Town can be created. Schmidt's input was very strongly rooted in the ideas of equity and also looking in terms of images at another way of thinking about integration. The terminology in the film was also very interesting. It starts with the notion of three races in Cape Town and I think that's very telling.'

He asked, 'how do we build a city of people and not races?' Other forms of integration not really discussed include issues of recent migrants, minority cultures and age groups, especially children, people with disabilities, youth and women.

'The notion of connectivity is an important one in dealing with integration. It is a useful term. Not only is it connectivity in terms of transportation, whether it is by train or by rail, which is probably one of the most important structural things that is needed in the city, but it is also a social form of connectivity. How do you reach across boundaries whether it is a racial boundary, whether it is an age boundary, an otherness boundary? The connectivity between two economies, two worlds, different knowledge systems.'

He concluded with an image from an artist who turned the word 'race' into 'care', asking a question about a caring city: 'How do we reach a caring city through dialogue, the kind of critical or constructive dialogue conducted at the conference?'

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Edgar Pieterse of Isandla Institute closed the conference. He referred to the work of the philosopher Brian Masumi who writes about 'affectivity'. Pieterse saw the affective city as, 'a city that we interpret, or an urbanism that we think about through the five senses.'

He also spoke about the seemingly contradictory notions of 'rebellion' and 'slowing things down'. In a recent issue, the publication Popular Mechanics presented a global scenario for 2025, according to which 56.8% of the population in Africa will be younger than 25 years old in 2025. In China 30.5% of the population will be under 24 in 2025, and 28% of the European Union will be under 24. Thus, as Pieterse noted, 'So we sit with a young city … How do we build a city for young people and children? How do we make a city that allows the energy to escape, to create the kinds of spaces that we can not even begin to fathom, precisely because we are over 25.'

This reality led him to conclude: 'The city should not work for us. The city should be working for people not represented here. And this takes me back to Kopano's prescient notion of mistrust. At the end of the day what it comes down to is, do we trust ourselves and our young people enough to create a city for them that we know we can not control?'

Pieterse said that the people present at the conference had the ability to make a real difference, and the question was how to move forward: 'For me the first issue is to give up on the ambition, on the thought that it lies in planning, it lies in design, it lies in intentional programmes.'

He proposed investing in a different affective notion which he called 'the slow city' which could incorporate Mark Swilling's idea of a network of food gardens across the city, linked with food stalls. Food can be linked to the idea of engaging with people in a context that pleases the body and promotes connections between people. 'For me you do not get more affective than the idea of a nourished body, the sensation of wonderful textures and odours that pleases the palate. So what I want to suggest is that we have got to be thinking through the smaller, more affective, manoeuvres of music, of food, of things that really connect us with the ordinary as Steve Boshoff suggested at the opening of this conference.'

A key question therefore was how one instils the ordinary into thinking and imagination. Pieterse suggested that the criterion for assessment should be what we are currently doing for young people and children to create an affective urbanism: 'In other words, are we getting out, are we connecting, are we feeling the city? Are we making the city? I want to put it to you at the end of the conference: how much of Cape Town do you know? How much of the city do you create? How much of the city do you feel? How much of the city do you smell? How much do you hear? How much of it repels you, how much of it disgusts you? I want to put it to you lastly, unless you can begin to feel the city, it is not possible to really begin to remake the city. If we do not in our own lives, in our affective engagement with the city, begin to cross, to transgress, to experience the other cities we are talking about, the kind of diversity and the kind of integrated city we are saying we are longing for, this alternative city, will remain at the level of discourse.'

How do we address the issue of an emerging regional Cape Town arguably eating up everything in its way as opposed to a Cape Town in a city region with different settlements in synergy?
Stephen Boshoff, Executive Director Strategy and Development, City of Cape Town

The discourse on nation building isn't actually very helpful because we don't live in a nation, we live in a city … Is nation building really a useful concept? It's great when there is rugby and football, but actually it is neighbourhood stuff and city stuff that for me is more important.
Sue Parnell, University of Cape Town

One of your key economic sectors relates to tourism, so there's putting out a look and feel for the city that is attractive – a packaging and branding for most cities. And the question that often arises is: How can you put a package and a brand out there when there are unresolved issues between different communities about what the city is and what it means to them?
Frank Meintjies, Isandla Institute

If we do not in our own lives, in our affective engagement with the city, begin to cross, to transgress, to experience the other cities we are talking about, the kind of diversity and the kind of integrated city we are saying we are longing for, this alternative city, will remain at the level of discourse.
Edgar Pieterse, Isandla Institute

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(Footnotes)
[1] See The Status of Cape Town: Development Overview, prepared by
Keith Smith (2005) for the Cape Town 2025 project, which was
presented at the start of the Conference as a way of grounding the
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Cape Town 2025