

THE INTEGRATION SYNDICATE

*Shifting Cape Town's
Socio-spatial debate*





The Integration Syndicate

SHIFTING CAPE TOWN'S
SOCIO-SPATIAL DEBATE

2017–2018



The Integration Syndicate
 Shifting Cape Town's socio-spatial debate
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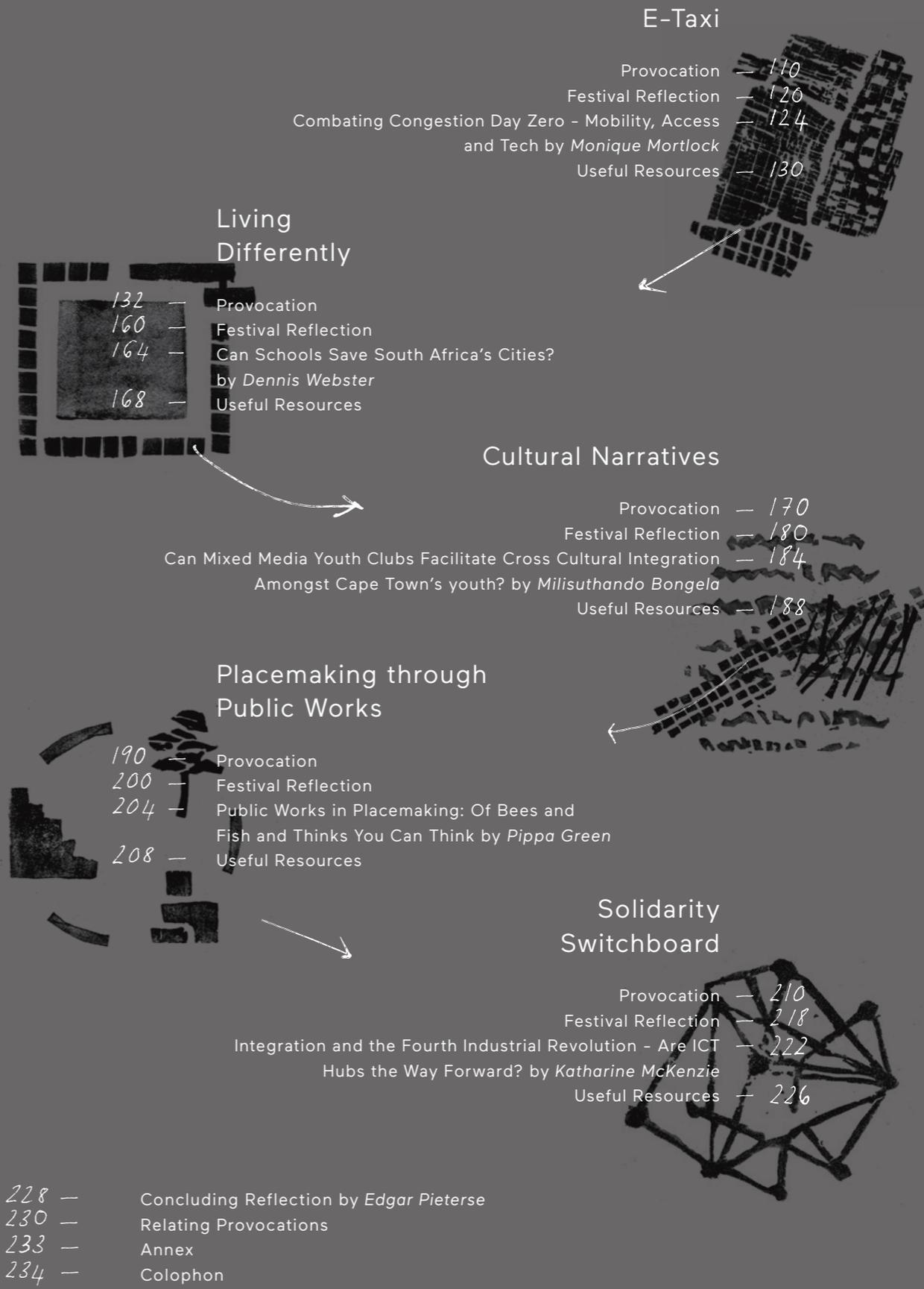
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Forewords

Mark Swilling

Although there is a long history of collaboration between Cape Town's universities and the City of Cape Town, this has usually taken one of three forms: (a) consulting work at the strategic planning level (for example, metropolitan spatial planning, etc.); and/or (b) project planning level with respect to specific projects either as consultants or members of steering committees (e.g. the Two Rivers Urban Park development); and/or (c) as researchers acting in support of and/or on behalf of communities/ social movements engaged with the City of Cape Town (e.g. Social Justice Coalition or Shackdwellers International). I personally have played all three roles at different times. The Integration Syndicate led by Edgar Pieterse was different. Initiated by the collaboration between the universities of Cape Town, Western Cape and Stellenbosch, this process marked a creative and long-overdue departure from the three traditional modes of engagement: it was not a consulting project, it was not project-level focussed and was not advocating the cause of a particular social movement. It was what Pieterse first hinted at in his book *City Futures*, namely an 'epistemic community' comprising carefully selected people, organically connected to the dynamics of the city, who chose to use the 'epistemic space' created by the Integration Syndicate.

Although none of the three traditional modes of engagement cited above are inappropriate, they all tend to assume that knowledge production is instrumentalist. In other words, university-based researchers are expected to generate/package knowledge to suit a particular strategic purpose—knowledge is merely an instrument for achieving this. Fair enough—after all, change does depend on knowledge of this kind. But what matters here is not what the researchers provide, but rather what they do not provide because it is the way the process is configured that specifies what is needed, and therefore inherently what is 'thinkable'. By definition, strategic purpose becomes the constraining condition for knowledge generation. The Centre for Complex Systems in Transition became involved in the Integration Syndicate because it provided a unique opportunity to 'think' without the usually constraining purposes at play most of the time in

the three traditional modes of engagement. With a core group meeting regularly, with provocative 'firestarters' invited to stimulate thinking at each session, a kind of 'open source' mode of thinking was able to emerge.

What struck me personally is the mere fact that it worked. By this I refer to the fact that a significant number of extra-ordinarily busy people actually made time in their diaries to meet and reflect. During a time when every second is filled (literally from the moment we wake up as we reach for our phones) by electronic signals, meetings and presentations, there is a diminishing capacity for the impossible art of imagining something really new. As our neural networks get increasingly conditioned to be responsive to the familiar, we become immune to the dull but incessant demand that we transcend what we know to be practical and possible. The Integration Syndicate became an oasis for over-active engagers who think all the time, but rarely reflect with a wider group that yearns to think in profoundly different ways. Without this, we will never shake loose the seemingly gridlocked realities of our city.

The end result of the Integration Syndicate is not merely a narrative and a set of propositions. It also leaves a legacy of great significance to all universities interested in engaging with 'their cities'. The founding of the three great universities of Oxford, Paris and Bologna around 1200 was also the start of three different university traditions: Oxford was detached from its local context, obsessed with educating an imperial worldly elite equipped to conquer the world; Bologna was the creation of an emerging bourgeoisie who wanted the university to develop the human skills needed to expand what became the capitalist economy; and Paris represented a tradition of research that is rooted in the rich diversity of a great city like Paris without being captured by local elites—instead, this context was allowed to inspire epistemic, ontological and axiological breakthroughs that had liberatory impacts. In many ways, these three traditions match Aristotle's three conceptions of knowledge: episteme (general wisdom, or what the Oxford tradition aspired to be), techné (practical wisdom to do things—the Bologna tradition), and phronesis (the capacity for sound judgement appropriate to the context—the Paris tradition). Ultimately, the Integration Syndicate was a collective phronetic process that sets a new benchmark for how universities engage the city.

Mark Swilling (Prof.)
Co-director: Centre for Complex Systems in Transition
University of Stellenbosch

Premesh Lalu

The Centre for Humanities Research (CHR) at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) is deeply grateful to the African Centre for the Cities (ACC) at the University of Cape Town for inviting us to collaborate on the Integration Syndicate, alongside the Centre for Complex Systems in Transition at Stellenbosch University. The opportunity to translate and test ongoing research and pedagogical concerns about the legacies of apartheid era planning proved invaluable from the vantage of UWC. Broadly speaking, the Integration Syndicate provided a forum to present perspectives drawn from our research on the promise of an aesthetic education by returning to the contestations of racial formations in the history of jazz, cinema and dance in the crossover spaces formed in the interstice of transport networks and Apartheid's Group Areas. While creating a space for discussing and debating the cultural sphere of the everyday and its capacity to enhance mobility across the angry divide of apartheid, we were repeatedly reminded and educated about the complex forms in which the city had emerged in the wake of apartheid. Both would prove indispensable for launching and sharpening the CHR's inquiry into aesthetic education that might lend itself to a practice of post-apartheid freedom in the city. For an effective approach to combining the arts and the nascent public sphere and encouraging a shift in the university's relationship to the city, understanding the potential and limits of an aesthetic education would prove necessary. This was especially so at the institutional site of a historically black university placed on the margins of the city by apartheid planners and where its apartheid founders only ever intended knowledge to serve instrumental ends of administering populations. The Integration Syndicate allowed us to, one, articulate how crucial perspectives from that institutional space remakes itself as a global post-apartheid university and, two, to reimagine the city.

The Integration Syndicate was a uniquely affirming exercise, not least in revealing how different constituencies of university researchers, public intellectuals, NGO representatives and city officials often shared in areas of interest and concern. This was especially true of the ways in which the Syndicate's work reflected on ongoing research of two research chairs in the CHR, one held by Professor Patricia Hayes in Visual History and Theory, and the other, by Professor Jane Taylor in Aesthetic Theory and Material Performance. Together with research undertaken by teams led by Professors Suren Pillay and Heidi Grunebaum and Dr Maurits van Bever Donker, the CHR has focused its research in asking how the humanities might prove necessary, if not indispensable, to unraveling the inheritance of apartheid. To this end, we have long engaged the problem of how a garrison city like Cape Town persisted in trapping black youth in the geographies of apartheid, even in its aftermath. To enact a breakup of this hardened and prohibitive infrastructure, researchers associated with the CHR have explored questions of migration, aesthetics, memory and movement as critical features of overcoming apartheid's project of urban and rural segregation. Specifically, this has entailed a series of very sustained visual studies of the Voortrekker Road Corridor (in partnership with Ghent University's School of Architecture and Design, under the leadership of Professor Johan Lagae, and the partnership with Handspring Puppet Company involving a combined project with CHR fellows working in Masiphumulele and the rural town of Barrydale). To the extent that the Integration Syndicate reflected on these specific sites, the CHR was reassured that its research interests were indeed shared across a wider spectrum of initiatives.

Finally, the ability to so masterfully and effortlessly bring together divergent research and political interests in a year long conversation is the product of the sheer organisational skill and intellectual tenacity of the team at the ACC. The CHR is enormously thankful for the experience, for the exchange of ideas, and for the affirming way in which the ACC team encouraged us all to return to the drawing board so that we may find ways to break through the stasis that marks this city, Cape Town, as a divided city.

Premesh Lalu (Prof.)
Director: Centre for Humanities Research
University of the Western Cape

Pippa Green

History hangs a cloud over Cape Town. Often we can't see beyond it to a future. The year-long process of the Integration Syndicate brought into sharp focus the importance—and difficulty—of escaping that fog. An example: at one session of the Integration Syndicate, University of Western Cape History Professor Premesh Lalu spoke compellingly about the central role the suburb of Athlone had played in forging a culture that had withstood apartheid. It was not only a central locale of cinema—that both those classified as African and coloured frequented—but also of music and literature.

In the late apartheid years, it was also a site of trauma, including the infamous 'Trojan Horse' incident. On 15th October, 1985, a railway truck cruised down Thornton Road, a main arterial road, in a northerly direction. On that day, students filled the streets because the government had shut down the schools. The truck turned and came back down Thornton Road. A stone hit its windscreen. At that moment, railway police who had been concealed in crates on the truck, leapt up and opened fire. Three young people were killed—Jonathan Claasen aged 21, Shaun Magmoed, 16, and Michael Miranda who was just 11 at the time. "It was an ambush in more ways than one," says Lalu. "The closure of schools in September was part of the plot because if you got students out of the schools onto the street you were setting them up."

In the same session, Lalu further recounted how the younger sister of the youngest victim of that shooting had been excluded from Stellenbosch University because she could not pay her fees. Jade Williams was born nine years after her brother Michael was killed, the year South Africa became a democracy. Her mother, Georgina Williams, a seamstress in a garment factory then and now, has since moved from Athlone to Eastridge, Mitchell's Plain. Her modest living room is dominated by a

large portrait of Michael. She has battled to cope with her son's short life and long death. "I was devastated really, I didn't expect him to be dead."

An inquest in 1988 ruled that the police had acted in an 'unreasonable' way and 13 of them were charged. But the Cape Attorney General refused to prosecute. The families brought a private prosecution, which also failed. "Sometimes I feel I've been to hell and back in (pursuing) this court case," she said. "Because it was apartheid—I had to stand this side, at court they would square off certain places and we can't sit there and can't walk here...they made us feel like we were the guilty ones." She took "calming tablets". "I was on drugs all the time. My kids were growing up and I wasn't even aware of that."^{vi} Jade's situation was somewhat more complex than simply being unable to pay university fees. In spite of being a top matric student, she had failed several courses at university. The Mitchell's Plain Bursary Fund managed to get her re-admitted, but her transition to tertiary education has been rocky.

The story of the Williams family is one sign of how heavy history hangs. Another is the unfathomable situation in the land restitution claims of District Six, an area that epitomised the destruction wrought by the Group Area Act. A community of 60 000 was uprooted and scattered over the Cape Flats. "It ripped out the heart of the community, and... it denuded the community of all the intellectuality that had resided there," said Fred Robertson, now a businessman, who grew up in the District.ⁱⁱ

But 25 years into democracy, District Six is still a wasteland. There have been court cases, petitions, attempts at monetary compensation, but the destruction appears irreparable. Between 1957 and 1980 some 150 000 people classified coloured in the Western Cape were removed from their homes under the Group Areas Act. African people were moved from District Six and other inner city locales, even before apartheid, to the settlement of Ndabeni about a century ago. And then, in the 1950s, that community was moved too, as was the nearby settlement of Windermere, to the African township of Langa.

i Green, Pippa: *Family still dealing with Trojan Horse shooting pain*; Business Day 17/7/17

ii Interviewed in Green, Pippa: *Choice not Fate, the Life and Times of Trevor Manuel*, Penguin, 2008

In 1998, about 800 Ndabeni claimants won a land claim. But they could not move back to Ndabeni, which today is an industrial area. Instead, they were offered a site near Wingfield, a South African Defence Force base. But the Land Claims Court did not make the City of Cape Town party to the agreement, and the land could not be serviced without the military agreeing to relocate. And no-one could agree on who should pay the costs. "It's the saddest story," said Edgar Pieterse in an interview. "This issue was so important for integration."ⁱⁱⁱ

Apart from the failures of restitution, post-apartheid planning has not undone the past. On the contrary, RDP housing has reinforced it. And it's been costly. Treasury's Government Technical Advisory Centre (GTAC) has shown that each RDP house costs more than the subsidy of R90 000—probably close to a quarter of a million, if the municipal service and infrastructure costs are included. And at the present rate of delivery it will take 30 years and cost R600 billion to eradicate the housing backlog using the RDP and informal-settlement upgrade model.

How do we navigate a future out of this fog? The Integration Syndicate was a serious attempt to get beyond posturing, politics, and rhetoric to examine workable solutions. The year-long Syndicate focused on the possible: developing the Voortrekker Road corridor, for instance, in a way that would include UWC and overturn its legacy as a 'bush' university; developing the Two Rivers Urban Park as a mixed-income settlement in the triangle between Observatory and the Black and Liesbeek Rivers; and establishing virtual integration between Cape Town's youth at universities. They are ideas that spur the momentum of the pragmatic. As Pieterse says elsewhere in this book: "Often a thousand pragmatic acts are required to create the conditions for effective strategic politics."

This theme of practical changes stamped the ultimate workshop in Langa, where five 'provocations' were presented: ideas to improve aspects of city life from transport to urban gardens to skilling and connecting young people.

Urbanisation and how to manage it is one of the most pressing challenges of contemporary South Africa.

Apartheid, as Andrew Donaldson writes, was "in part about retarding and distorting the patterns of urban development, and so urban investment, consolidation and neighbourhood improvements are especially important for transformation and inclusive growth."^{iv} Nearly two thirds of the population live in cities. Yet, programmes to manage urbanisation are thwarted by battles between national, provincial, and local governments, between different political parties, and in some cases—for instance in the platinum belt in the North West—by traditional leaders. It was no accident that the Marikana massacre happened in circumstances where, although wages were above the median in mining, living conditions in informal settlements were among the worst in the country. Miners could not get RDP houses because they earned too much, and traditional leaders would not give them land to build on because they were not 'from there.'

The 2019 election campaign has not inspired confidence that political parties have developed a plan to deal with the often traumatic pace of urbanisation. So the Integration Syndicate, led and cajoled and provoked and tutored by Edgar Pieterse, was like a new breeze. The focus and inclusionary approach was in step with the mission of the Poverty and Inequality Initiative at UCT, which was why we were pleased to support the initiative.

Comprising officials from all levels of government, as well as activists and researchers and community organisations, it became evident that to really tackle the project of re-creating a city one had to leave baggage at the door. Of course, the past will always be there: Mrs Williams is evidence of that, as are the hundreds of disparate communities on the Cape Flats. But this exercise has enabled us to see beyond the cloud of history to what is possible: a new and better city for all.

Pippa Green represented UCT's Poverty and Inequality Initiative in the Integration Syndicate project; She is now South Africa's Press Ombud.

iv Research Project on Employment, Income Distribution and Inclusive Growth (REDI3x3): Evidence and policy, forthcoming, 2019

v See Makgethla, Neva and Levin, Saul: *A Perfect Storm: Migrancy and Mining in the North West Province*, TIPS Working Paper, 2016

iii Quoted in Green, Pippa: *On closing the gap of spatial inequality*; Business Day, 6/4/17

Integrating Cape Town

An argument that flows from the Integration Syndicate

by

Edgar Pieterse

It is a public secret that we have no practical idea how to undo and remake the legacy of the spatial inequality apartheid has bequeathed us. Our visions, and much more our concrete plans, are constrained by private property, existing real estate market dynamics and public policies that seem to exacerbate the problem, despite the best intentions of the state. The problems of spatial segregation, inequality and exclusion have recently burst into the public sphere through a series of campaigns drawing attention to the sale of publicly owned land and the humanitarian impacts of gentrification processes. There is deep public interest in understanding why it is so difficult to shift stubborn spatial patterns. But how do we avoid simply repeating the same debates, without effecting any meaningful change in the profiles of our cities?

During 2017, an extraordinary deliberative space was created in the form of the Integration Syndicate. It was an invited forum that sought to build a safe space for critical debate, exchange and learning among a diverse group of leaders from different sectors—the public sector, business (big and small), NGOs, social movements, and academia (see page 233 for a list of the participants). The intention was to creatively use data, mapping, visualisations, case studies, policy critique and personal experience to have honest conversations not only to deepen our individual knowledge, but also to foster a shared perspective on how to find

more productive ways to confront the legacies of spatial injustice and exclusion in Cape Town.

Methodologically, we started with macro overview perspectives to understand the main features of spatial and social patterns in the city, with an eye on the structural drivers perpetuating urban segregation and fragmentation. Secondly, this picture was grounded with a historical perspective that both anchored and subverted a number of common-sense assumptions. The third step was to ensure a firm economic grounding, since the obsession of the Integration Syndicate process was the crisis of joblessness that confronts most black youth in the city. These three contextual manoeuvres allowed the process to interrogate the nodes of transformation prioritised in the Built Environment Performance Plan (BEPP) of the City of Cape Town.

Incidentally, this is a significant piece of public policy that is overlooked by many. The BEPP—produced by all eight metropolitan governments in South Africa—is the one place where the local state has to explicitly articulate how it intends to intervene in land markets to accelerate spatial integration while placing the city-region on a sustainable economic trajectory. Strategically, the Integration Syndicate was designed to explore and critique this public policy. Through these site-specific discussions, a

number of priorities started to emerge from the clutter of policies, plans, and desires scattered across various sectors and levels of government.

This chapter sets out these priorities through a reflection on five provocations to advance integration in Cape Town. The chapter starts by introducing the conceptual entry points for the Integration Syndicate before unpacking the stubborn knot of spatial inequality in Cape Town. It goes on to explore five provocations that offer productive starting points for re-thinking spatial integration in our historical context.

Integration is conceived as, first and foremost, a cultural process supported by spatial and developmental priorities and therefore a public-facing engagement in 2018 was crucial to test the provocations. Five Focus Groups were convened between February–May 2018, summarised elsewhere in the book. During each session, we actively encouraged disagreement, addition, comments, support and dissemination. This chapter incorporates refinements in our thinking based on the discussions.

CONCEPTUAL ENTRY POINTS

Two conceptual images are useful to characterise the status quo in terms of urban form and the fundamental investment agendas of both the public and the private sectors. Figure 1 paints Cape Town as fundamentally divided between the ‘Majority’ and ‘Elite’ cities. The Majority City (also known as ‘townships’) is where most poor and working class residents live and travel from to reach employment opportunities that are typically far away. The Elite City represents the suburbs where the middle classes and super rich of Cape Town live. These two worlds find a little bit of overlap in the ‘Mixed City’ which represents mixed-use zones around some railway stations and close to CBD nodes that house a growing assortment of apartment blocks and businesses. At the core of the City of Cape Town’s agenda to achieve spatial transformation through its transit-oriented development (TOD)

vision, reflected in the Spatial Development Framework (adopted in April 2018) and the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) 2018-2022, is a desire to expand the Mixed City and create more efficient transit connections between the Majority and Elite cities.

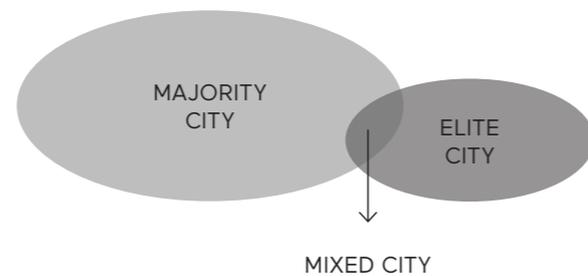


Figure 1: Urban worlds of Cape Town

The Majority City is driven by a public investment agenda that seeks to provide a minimum level of free basic services, public housing through fully subsidised RDP/Breaking New Ground (BNG) houses in combination with some upgrading of informal settlements and a growing sites-and-services investment agenda. During the last decade, this housing and basic service-focussed agenda was complemented by a major investment thrust to address the crisis of mobility and lack of affordable and safe public transport. This policy priority took on the determined commitment to grow a Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system similar to models in Latin American cities such as Bogota, Curitiba, Rio de Janeiro, Mexico City, and so on. To fully appreciate the significance of this, Figure 2 illustrates the projected expenditure on transport relative to other infrastructure sectors between 2018-2032. This priority is meant to augment public investments across the city and serve as the primary catalyst to expand the Mixed City. Put simply, massive investment in BRT infrastructure is meant to pave the way to urban integration.

The Elite City is the golden goose for the public purse of the City. The bulk of rates and taxes that enables the maintenance of infrastructure and services, and importantly, partial cross-subsidisation of free basic services depend on this. This income

stream is grown when the real estate market remains vibrant in these parts of the city. This dynamic compels the City of Cape Town to be inherently conservative when it comes to creating possibilities for greater class integration in the suburbs and acting against gentrification pressures. The real estate sector and residents of the Elite City wield enormous political clout as a result.

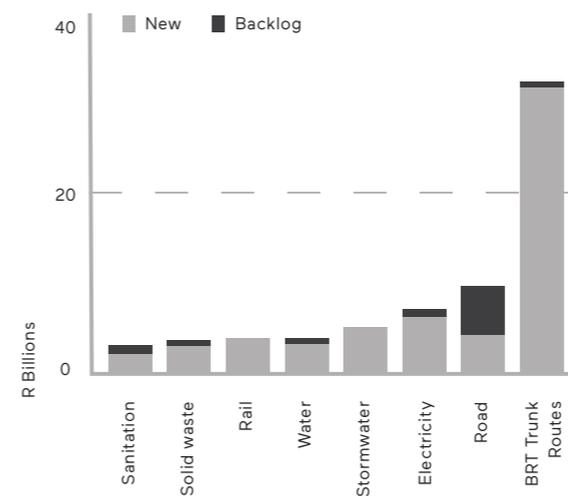


Figure 2: Capital investment for Cape Town, projection 2018-2032¹

A central conclusion produced by the discussions in the Integration Syndicate is that the TOD-based agenda for integration of Cape Town is limited because it relies fundamentally on a real-estate based strategy to achieve social and spatial integration. The path-dependency dynamics of the real estate sector in Cape Town cannot deliver radical class integration, nor ensure the transformation of township spaces into economically dynamic and safe communities that can enhance general wellbeing. Our imagination cannot limit integration to the growth of mixed-income nodes; it has to include a future where middle class families and businesses move into so-called township areas because they are desirable places to live.

ⁱ Supplied by the Planning Department of the City of Cape Town in preparation of the Integration Syndicate episodes. Source material is available from the author.

The starting point of our propositional exploration is to be both pragmatic and radical. It demands appreciating the diverse typologies that characterise the settlement and movement structure of the city. Figure 3 provides a more detailed conceptual diagram of the main settlement types in the city. The Elite City encapsulates the CBDs and suburbia. Transition Zones refer to the Mixed City, and everything else constitutes the Majority City. The latter refers to townships, which include (black) middle class suburbs, core townships, backyard shacks, freestanding shacks and new RDP/BNG housing stock and a spattering of social/rental housing. It is important to perform this further differentiation because it informs the conceptualisation of the five provocations and especially their strategic connections.

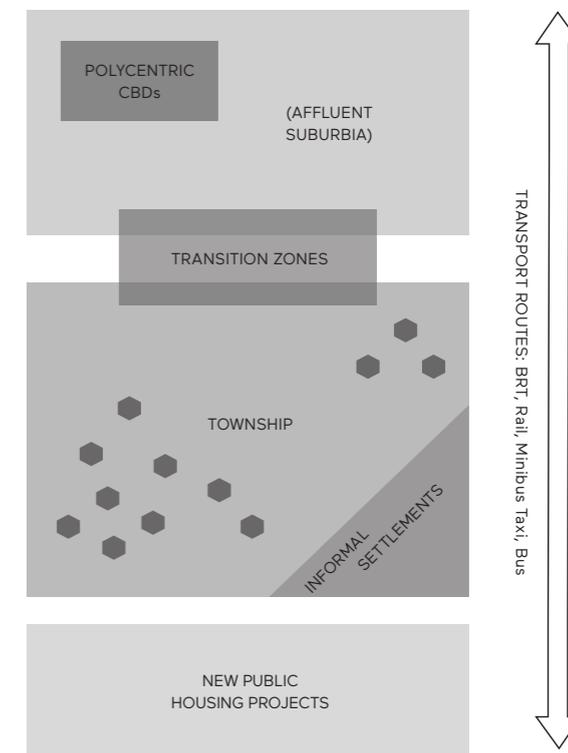


Figure 3: Typology of settlement in South African citiesⁱⁱ

ⁱⁱ African Centre for Cities and Western Cape Government (2019) Living Cape: A Human Settlements Framework. Cape Town: WCG. Url: <https://www.westerncape.gov.za/assets/departments/human-settlements/docs/research/hs-living-cape-human-settlements-framework-feb2019.pdf>

The five provocations that follow rest on a policy approach that seeks to ensure that all investments of the state and non-state actors keep the following imperatives in mind in responding to the typology of settlements in the city:

- 1 Intensify connections across these settlement categories through a deepened commitment to public transport that is truly affordable, safe, convenient and reliable.
- 2 Consolidate and blend uses (residential, commercial, social) and typologies (of built stock) within settlement categories.
- 3 Regrow the urban tissue within and across settlement types through cultural confrontation and exchange.
- 4 Underwrite these imperatives with a sustainability narrative that allows the city and its residents to imagine a new city fit for purpose and the future.

This agenda is more difficult to achieve than might appear at first glance. The structural obstacles to achieving urban integration must be confronted. Through a careful and rigorous parsing of the available data during the Integration Syndicate episodes, the following inter-related issues can be understood as our most urgent imperatives. The provocations are grounded in this systemic understanding of spatial inequality.

THE STUBBORN KNOT OF SPATIAL INEQUALITY

Four key challenges stand above everything else. The first is the problem of economic development. It is absolutely clear that, in 2018, if you are born black in a township, especially in an informal settlement, you have little prospect of achieving any kind of social mobility and becoming a productive member of the formal economy. The combination of low quality schooling, ineffective healthcare, poor nutrition, limited social infrastructure, and being caught up in all kinds of oppressive social dynamics within these

contexts, makes it almost impossible to complete school satisfactorily and find pathways into meaningful work or further education. This remains the case, the data shows, for the majority of young people who are born in and are growing up in township contexts.

This then relates to the second challenge: even if you are able to complete high school; even if you are able to access decent healthcare, or a measure of healthcare; and if, by some miracle, you end up going to a tertiary institution, whether it is a technical college or a university, you are unlikely to complete your education and you will then fall back into a condition of economic precarity. The data tells us that only one third of black children who end up, against all odds, in higher education are able to complete their first degree or diploma. This matters greatly because in the Cape Town economy, unless you have some form of post-matric qualification, it is almost impossible to find the kind of employment that will allow you to live an autonomous and meaningful life in economic terms.

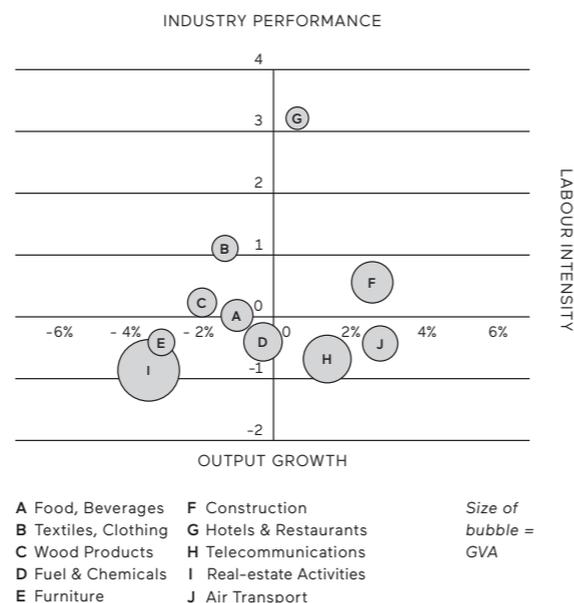


Figure 4: Size and performance of economic sectors in Cape Town, EPIC Report 2017 ⁱⁱⁱ

ⁱⁱⁱ Supplied by the Planning Department of the City of Cape Town in preparation of the Integration Syndicate episodes. Source material is available from the author.

This stems from the predominantly services-based nature of the regional economy. Figure 4 depicts the structure of the Cape Town economy that demonstrates the dominance of sectors such as finance and insurance, real estate, retail and repair, and hotels and restaurants. It demonstrates along the y-axis the output growth rates contrasted with labour intensity on the vertical x-axis. This graph reflects that the hotels and restaurant economic sector reflects the most job generating capacity, but the size of this sector is modest. By contrast, the largest economic sectors—finance and insurance—are growing above 4% but have almost no job generative capacity. This is why Cape Town has seen long-term growth with minimal employment creation.

As if these challenges are not daunting enough, underlying everything else is a growth model that adds up to a condition of systemic environmental risk. Put differently, the South African economy, and by extension the Cape Town economy, is addicted to carbon (due to our energy mix) and operates on the basis of a resource-intensive growth model. The recent water crisis in Cape Town has laid this bare: in one year the agricultural sector has shed 50 000 seasonal agricultural jobs.

This is just one indicator of a much more systemic and pervasive problem. If one places Cape Town and South Africa in a global context, it is fair to assume that over the next decade, national and local economies will be penalised within a global trading system that will begin to factor in the price of carbon and other environmental externalities (e.g. ecosystem destruction and pollution). A transition to a more environmentally sustainable growth path, i.e. low carbon and resource efficient, is imperative and urgent.

On a different footing, outside of social mobility and environmental risk, is a more complex and sticky challenge. This is something that we think is very particular to South African cities but has a unique manifestation in Cape Town because of our

history. It is the problem that can be described as a kind of cultural denial about identity, race, gender and about the nature of the intersection between these markers and inequality. This translates into an incapacity to talk frankly about cultural differences. As one would say in Afrikaans, it is an 'onhandigheid'—an embarrassed awkwardness to deal with these questions, combined with a wilful denial of institutional racism. Because there is an inability within the public sphere and various public institutions to confront the question of cultural exclusion and denial, we are not tapping the most important resource available to generate innovative solutions. The crisis of spatial inequality and exclusion in Cape Town is at the intersection of these challenges, but it requires a particular kind of historical awareness to confront it.

THINKING PRODUCTIVELY WITH THE HAND THAT HISTORY DEALT

The Integration Syndicate is interested in the spatial manifestations of these underlying challenges. This allows us to think through the systemic nature of the status quo. If we think of economic exclusion, cultural erasure, and poor social service delivery (in terms of education and health) in the township context, all of these factors feed into the core problem of stunted social mobility that confronts young black people as illustrated in Figure 5. Stunted social mobility is manifested in a vicious spatial concentration of disadvantage and inequality. It is important to understand this spatial expression because it has to inform our responses to this condition. Underpinning this spatial trap of urban exclusion and inequality is, of course, the more profound crisis of meaning and identity. In other words, most young people who grow up in these communities are really challenged to embrace the identity of who they are and to use that knowledge as a resource to transform themselves and their living conditions.

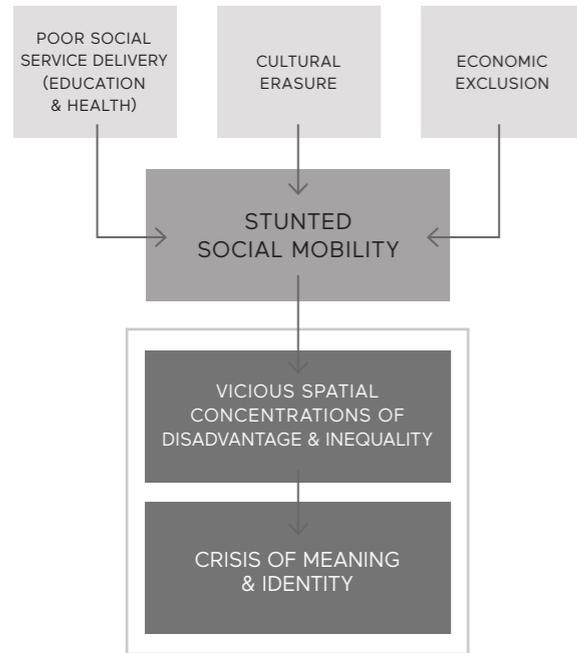


Figure 5: Systemic view on spatial inequality

Within this framing, the Integration Syndicate felt it was important to think through a propositional language and framework to build a public understanding and debate that allows us to deal with these questions, both as epiphenomena that surface in the public domain through very specific issues, but also with the potential they hold to address more systemic questions. Thus, what follows are provocations that seek to alter the spatial dynamics of the city through a focus on mobility and stimulating new residential textures, which demands a much more proactive approach to public and private land markets.

There is enough to do in these domains to focus the minds of Cape Town citizens and organisations for a good decade and more. However, these policy domains must be imbued with a youthful energy that is willing to open up the necessary cultural conflicts and conversations that can generate a democratic atmosphere more open to radical collective action across multiple lines of difference. Where appropriate, technology can and should also play a supporting

and enabling role. Lastly, any collective project must engage with the burning question of large-scale un- and under-employment. We don't see the role of the Integration Syndicate to stimulate or drive a public dialogue about job creation, but we wanted to offer a clear perspective on how the public employment policy arena can be enhanced through a more strategic approach to mobility and placemaking.

PROVOCATION 1: EMBRACE THE EVOLVED MINIBUS TAXI

In the first instance, we need to focus on a viable, dynamic and expanding public transport system that will benefit the majority of Capetonians. At the heart of this is a commitment to embrace and enhance a kind of 'home brew' public transport solution: the (inventive) minibus taxi system. We must imagine how the prolific minibus taxi can be transformed through technological innovation and transparency. In particular, we are talking about an operating system that is equivalent to Taxify or Lyft, whereby users and commuters can use their mobile devices to interact with the system. This technological enhancement can revolutionise the operating logistics of the minibus taxi system instantiating new and more effective business models. It can accelerate the shared ideal of a fully integrated public transport system that allows commuters to move between modes in a seamless and predictable fashion. Once these enhancements are in place it will be easier to establish enhanced efficiencies in integrated ticketing and scheduling.

For the minibus owners and employees, it represents significant benefits because they can sweat their assets more effectively. There will be considerably less idle time because drivers would not have to wait for a full vehicle before they move—they will know there is another fare around the corner. This will remove uncertainty and waiting time for passengers and drivers, enhancing productivity and efficiency. Furthermore, owners could use their vehicles for other purposes during off-peak

hours, e.g. providing courier services, deliveries, or any other e-hailing services that becomes possible once the technology is installed.

For passengers and public authorities, the potential benefits are dramatic. Sensor technologies are not just about optimising GPS information, but can also be used to address speeding, enhanced safety of passengers by monitoring compliance with safety belts and other aspects of roadworthy compliance. Similarly, passengers will have a powerful mechanism to provide feedback to the system if violations occur. These enhancements are all technologically feasible and can be deployed relatively quickly, concretising the Internet of Things at a micro scale. But such a step requires institutional reform and financing—the details where the devil resides.

There are many aspects to this provocation, but the most urgent starting point has to be the current public transport subsidy regime. If we come to an agreement that a minibus taxi system should be able to get a portion of the public subsidy regime, it will be possible to finance the recapitalisation of the fleet to incorporate these technological improvements. This will require a political deal whereby the minibus taxi industry players are persuaded to migrate away from a cash-based system to a smart card scheme or a hybrid of digital money and cash, similar to Uber. Without sounding too romantic or naïve, there is indeed a massively expanded and profitable industry waiting to be supported in this fashion. Moreover, this industry is one of the few economic sub-sectors that are predominantly black-owned. Surely, there is a powerful case to be made to further support and promote these entrepreneurs?

This is not a decision that can be made by state authorities in the Western Cape or Cape Town. It requires national policy reform. But the City and the Western Cape Provincial Government can become an advocate for this agenda in partnership with civil society and the taxi associations. It would be possible to find allies in other provinces and key national departments such as Treasury. The South

African Cities Network would also be a natural ally. Politically, it means that the City will have to follow through on its own conclusions that the bullish promotion of the MyCiTi system might have been an error. Due to the spatial form of the city—vast sprawl with low densities, even along transport routes—the MyCiTi plans are simply not affordable and therefore not viable. But it would be worth retaining dedicated public transport lanes. These and other armatures of a BRT model of mobility and settlements should be endorsed and promoted as part of supporting e-taxis and a strengthened rail commuter system.

The first provocation is to use the innate potential of the minibus taxi system that has emerged as an organic solution to a sprawled urban form and make an evolved version the backbone of a future, integrated, safe and affordable public transport system. This agenda, in combination with dramatically improving the Metrorail offering, can go a long way to reversing one of the drivers of spatial inequality.

PROVOCATION 2: LIVING DIFFERENTLY BY PLACING A MORATORIUM ON SPRAWL

The second proposition deals with investment into the built environment. This involves placing a moratorium on all sprawl-inducing public housing for at least the next decade. The idea is to really intensify land use and so create the necessary agglomeration and intensity of use to optimise public investments and public spaces. Practically what this means is that all public housing, whether it is the so-called RDP housing or rental accommodation that we deem social housing, can be aggregated in new typologies of public housing which are two-, three-, and four-story walk ups. These can be built in the existing ambit of public schools and public parks that are under-utilised, especially in the suburban areas.

The beauty of this is that not only are we generating greater densities, which is important for the viability of public transport and other public infrastructure, but

it also allows us to use our schools and other public infrastructures for a multiple of useful purposes. We can imagine, for instance, Early Childhood Development (ECD) crèches, laundromats and other essential small businesses that need to be in close proximity with everyday activities of communities to be clustered together. We can also envisage how such shifts would initiate greater opportunities for child care, it would enhance the productivity (and viability) of small businesses, and potentially create multiple learning possibilities, including adult education offerings. Such initiatives are vital as the labour force has to transition into more skilled occupations over the next 10 to 20 years as we move into the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

Lastly, this also allows us to confront one of the biggest cultural obstacles in Cape Town: the refusal of the middle class to allow low-income families and workers to live in the same neighbourhoods as themselves. This proposition means those in middle class suburbs would have to accommodate, in spirit and space, low-cost rental opportunities for domestic workers, gardeners, security guards, and other service workers who enable their lifestyles. People in the more privileged areas need to confront the starker manifestations of a history of exclusion and exploitation by offering residential opportunities for these workers within the suburban context.

A site in Pinelands that we explored in greater depth (see page 150-153) demonstrates the potential we have in mind in an upper middle-class suburb. Between a major retail hub-Howard Centre, a light industrial area-Ndabeni, and public infrastructure such as open green space, and generous school grounds-Pinelands High, there are ample opportunities to insert affordable public housing mixed with private rental stock. The Pinelands study site explores how the generous and under-utilised green spaces between Ndabeni train station and Howard Centre can be compacted with sensitively designed public housing, public recreation facilities and curated green spaces. Given the number of workers who travel into Pinelands on a daily basis,

this is an ideal site to demonstrate the potential of meaningful suburban integration. Furthermore, it extends the intentions of the Conradie Hospital site in Thornton, less than 3km from this location. The Conradie Hospital site is an existing 'game changer' initiated by the Western Cape Provincial government to demonstrate the potential of mixed-income and mixed-use forms of development.

PROVOCATION 3: WEAVING CULTURAL NARRATIVES AMONG THE YOUTH

This provocation deals with the question of cultural denial, and the inability to have meaningful and difficult conversations across generational, racial and class lines. Great cities nurture and celebrate robust contestations about history, culture, heritage, as well as a shared vision or dream that shapes perspectives on the future. Cape Town does not. This idea seeks to develop this capacity with a focus on youth.

In light of the fact that arts education funding has been largely removed from public schooling, we need to conceptualise a schools cultural and arts programming agenda that can activate schools, social clubs, youth centres, and other spaces where young people gather. The provocation puts forward a novel method to do this: a movement of Youth (digital) Radio Clubs. These programmes would be implemented as city-wide after-school programmes. Radio programming requires skills such as research, creative story building, reflection, technical proficiency, and openness to multiple perspectives.

The practicalities will be explored in dialogue with the Cultural Mapping initiative of the City of Cape Town. This element builds on the idea of narratives that are meaningful in the lives of young people. We hope that in the process of connecting radio stories with cultural mapping, the young people who participate may develop refreshed narratives about self, about their communities, and about what makes Cape Town such a unique puzzle.

Building on the impressive track record of the Children's Radio Foundation (CRF), we propose that all secondary school learners are taught the basic technical and aesthetic skills of story-telling as a means of creating the resources to affect the production of new narratives about self, school, social networks, and community. Once this practice is widely established across schools, it becomes easier for young people from different communities to exchange ideas and relate to each other as fellow citizens. This is essential for the generation of new narratives about the histories, present and futures of the city. This initiative can be connected with public sector efforts to establish and promote digital access in all schools because the broadcasting of the stories and programming can happen online. Lastly, youth who excel at this can also be connected to existing Community Radio Stations. If the best stories were to be featured on local radio stations in special slots, it would go a long way to creating a bridge between youth and community narratives. There is already precedent for this in the shows that the CRF compiles for SAFM and other public-service radio stations.

The variety of community arts programmes, as well as those generated at schools, can provide excellent resources for stories to drive programming. There are undoubtedly costs associated with this proposition, but a careful recalibration of resources from the departments of Education, Social Services, Arts and Culture, as well as support from private sector players such as Naspers and others, could transform this proposition into a reality. It could become the primary platform for the youth of the city to project their experiences, desires and expectations into the public sphere of the city, as well as building their skills. This is essential to remedy the cultural 'onhandigheid' mentioned above.

There is also strong potential to connect such a project with an existing initiative of the City to produce cultural maps in especially working class communities. Cultural mapping is a tool that can survey and document existing practices related to arts and culture in communities, and strengthen

public programming around heritage, the arts and culture. It can also be used to develop strong place identities in and across neighbourhoods in the city.

PROVOCATION 4: PLACEMAKING THROUGH PUBLIC WORKS

The fourth provocation focuses on the intersection between work and quality of life in the Majority City. Integration or spatial justice is impossible without the systematic transformation of typical township contexts. Safety, security, beauty and high-quality public environments must become the norm, especially in the most deprived areas. The state has a brilliant resource in the form of various kinds of Public Works/ Public Employment Programmes (PEP) to drive this agenda. This proposition seeks to harness this resource by subjecting it to a systematic methodology of placemaking.

A framework for improving the quality of public space in working class areas, such as townships, should be designed, within which the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) initiatives and Community Works Programmes (CWP) will be expected to operate. The aim should be to achieve placemaking through alternative approaches to safety and security, cultural production, especially in relation to ECD infrastructures, the promotion of informal trade, the promotion of skills development, and the expansion of green and agricultural infrastructures. If these investments come together within township contexts, we can anticipate a dramatic transformation of these living environments over the next five to ten years, which will become a precursor for expanded local and external economic investment into them.

A pertinent example of this potential is the opportunity to transform the precarious conditions under which informal ECD centres operate. Most children in the most vulnerable communities of Cape Town are cooped up in small shack-like structures for six to seven hours a day, with few toys, few trained teachers, and with

limited nutritional resources. These represent an opportunity for Cape Town to have a citywide programme or commitment to transform the life chances of our most vulnerable children.

The DG Murray Trust, in partnership with a variety of actors, has already developed a scalable programme to dramatically improve the quality of ECD. This programme should be embraced and complemented by plans to improve the operational quality of ECDs in the poorest communities. Informal ECD facilities can be reimagined with simple enhancements, which in turn would require constant maintenance and incremental improvement. Workers enrolled in various public works can be organised to support a network of such ECD centres, focused initially on installing the upgrades and thereafter maintaining them.

The supporting infrastructures in this example can easily be extended to various public spaces in typical working class neighbourhoods. Often there are many patches and strips of open land that lie fallow because they are too dangerous or unkempt. Similarly, recreational infrastructure is also often in a desperate state of disrepair. An overarching issue is the question of safety and resources to maintain these spaces. Again, with a little imagination, and an investment into intermediary organisations, it would be possible to turn the situation around. Public works can play a pivotal role in this regard if properly directed and supported.

PROVOCATION 5: DIGITALLY ENABLED SOCIAL POWER

Cape Town is wrestling with the challenges of rising inequality and structural unemployment at a moment when the global economy is undergoing a profound transition towards the so-called Fourth Industrial Revolution. The Fourth Industrial Revolution refers to the next level of technological innovation based on the digital platforms created during the Third Industrial Revolution (see Figure 6). The World Economic Forum has popularised

this idea; it argues the Fourth Industrial Revolution “is characterised by a fusion of technologies that is blurring the lines between the physical, digital, and biological spheres.”^{iv} The point about this is that future competitiveness and employability will revolve around competence and access to digital technologies. Furthermore, urban infrastructural efficiencies will also become increasingly reliant on sensor-based technologies that will enable the Internet of Things. Provocation 1 hinted at how we can reimagine the minibus taxi as an example of the Internet of Things. In South Africa and Cape Town, economic and social inequality finds further expression in access to digital technology, largely due to the cost of data and availability of internet infrastructure. The same youth at risk in the Majority City are often cut off from the digital economy due to prohibitive costs.

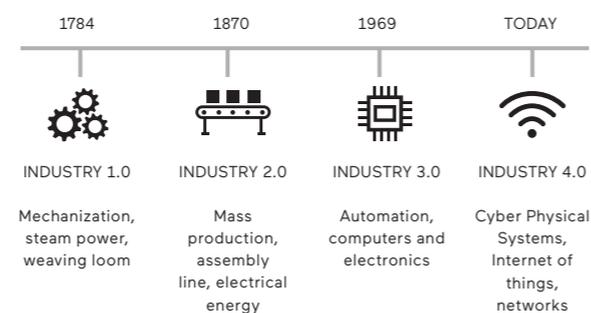


Figure 6: The Fourth Industrial Revolution^{iv}

Thus, the final provocation advances a radical vision for digital empowerment, which in turn can enable social solidarity across class lines. Our thinking for Provocation 5 is directly influenced by visionary social enterprises in the city: R-Labs and the I-Can Centre in Elsies River. These centres hint at what Cape Town must invest in to ensure there are digital hubs in each community where youth and entrepreneurs can acquire the basic skills and support to enter the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

^{iv} World Economic Forum (2016) The Fourth Industrial Revolution: what it means, how to respond. Source: <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/01/the-fourth-industrial-revolution-what-it-means-and-how-to-respond/> [Accessed on 19 June 2018]

These hubs should fulfil a number of interdependent functions to guarantee their relevance and embeddedness:

- At the broadest level, Digital Empowerment Hubs provide free high-speed internet access to anyone in the community for at least one hour per day.
- General business support services (design, photocopy, etc.) for emerging business and social associations in the community.
- Computer literacy training to ensure a generalised proficiency in basic word processing and related software. Specialised training in specific software packages in order to create a pathway to contract work with international companies that seek a steady supply of certified digital workers that can be based anywhere.
- Exposure and training of learners in basic and advanced programming, which can be connected to the digital needs of various neighbourhood organisations and services. For example, civic associations can draw on programming clubs at such centres to assist with collecting and analysing data about how residents experience the issue.
- These hubs can also be important anchor points for nurturing positive gaming cultures that aim to broaden programming abilities. And it can create playgroups where analogue (e.g. Lego) and digital (e.g. Minecraft) games interface and mutate.

It does not take a lot of imagination to connect the dots between these digital hubs and the digital radio concept articulated in Provocation 3. Nor, is it hard to see how these hubs can support a more intelligent design and distribution of Public Works jobs as elaborated in Provocation 4. It is for this reason that we imagine these digital hubs becoming a normal component of the basic public infrastructure portfolio in communities, alongside other facilities such as public libraries, multi-purpose centres, community

halls, and recreational centres, immediately suggesting a need to cluster these resources.

One of the critical drivers of social integration is basic human interaction around practical development and cultural processes in all communities. Once the digital hubs are in place, equipped with comprehensive community profiles and cultural maps to ensure a genuine responsiveness to community needs and opportunities, then it becomes possible to extend the potential of digital datasets.

The idea is that all Capetonians need to cross linguistic, racial and class divides to both secure their own sense of identity and place in the city and to extend a form of social solidarity and engagement with other people in the city who are different from themselves. People who speak Afrikaans and isiXhosa will be encouraged help other citizens in the city to learn their languages, and people with skills because of educational opportunities they may have had, will be encouraged to use their accounting, legal, managerial and all other forms of expertise to strengthen the capacities and impact of the thousands of grassroots organisations that keep this city together.

We believe a ‘digital switchboard’ can deal with much of the disconnect between need and resources. This can happen through established sectoral organisations (e.g. sport, cultural or religious) or by connecting individuals with specific skills and resources to organisations in neighbourhoods of the city with expressed needs. The digital hubs can serve as the node of such match-making and social solidarity. This proposition creates an opportunity for citizens involved in the design, digital and development sectors of the city’s economy to find common ground and design simple and affordable systems to enable this model. The details will have to be fashioned through dialogue and experimentation, but we have no doubt about the potential of such a mechanism for social solidarity and empowerment.

IN CONCLUSION

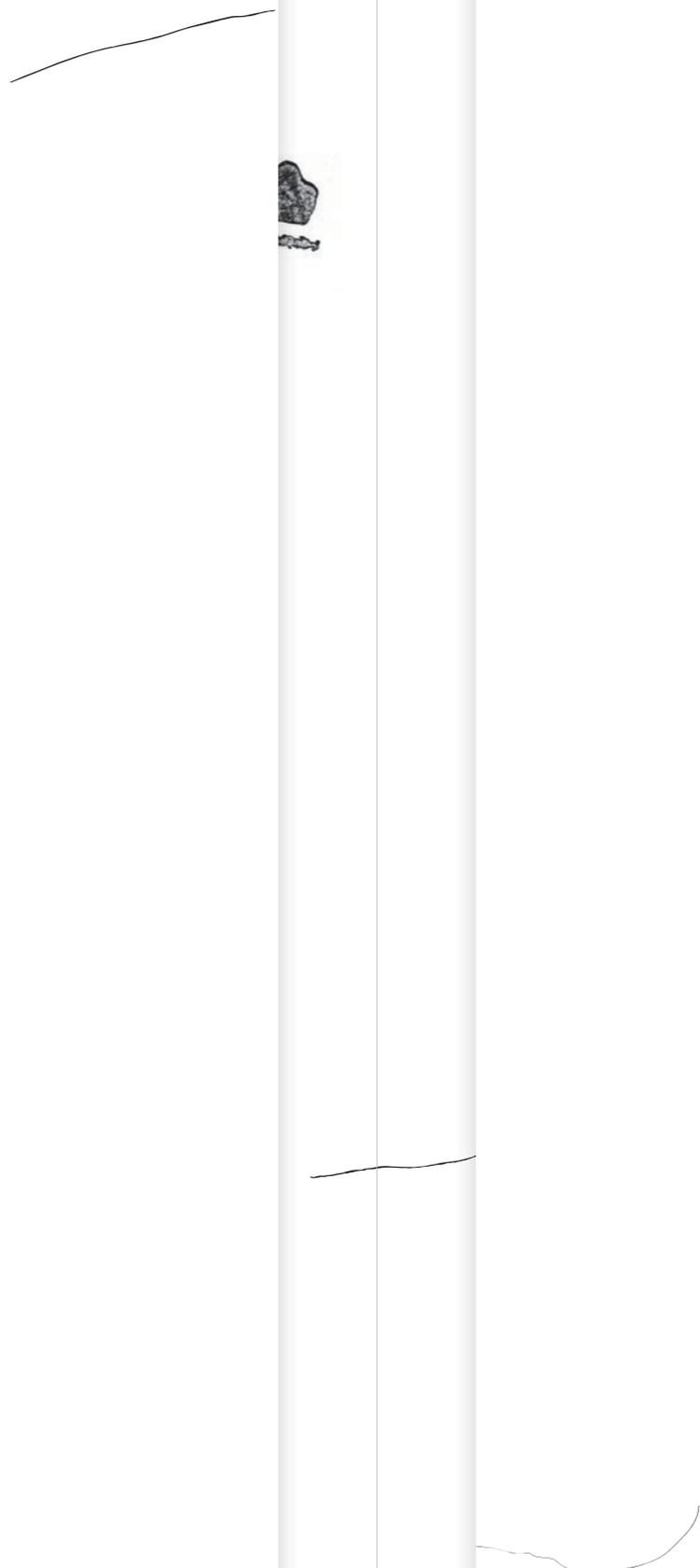
Across these five provocations there is an opportunity to have a very different conversation about Cape Town, and to foster a very different imagination about what the city might become. Of course, urban divisions are hardwired into the built and cultural fabric of Cape Town. Daily, these are reinforced through both private and public real-estate investments and supporting infrastructures. By understanding this and engaging with the momentum of these logics, we can begin to subvert them. These provocations add up to a recognition of the extant transformation nodes within the imagination of the current planning regime, but also of the need to treat those nodes as opportunities for doing things in a different way. At the same time these provocations offer an imagination for what could be done everywhere in the city, not just in the transformation nodes, but on every block, in every neighbourhood, in every school, in every public library. What ultimately is at stake, is a question of cultural recognition and all Capetonians seeing opportunities to participate in achieving a different kind of cultural webbing in the city. Urban integration can be delivered only if we have a citywide involvement underpinned by a continuously rewoven, retold narrative about who we are as Capetonians, where we come from, and what the different opportunities are for different kinds of futures.

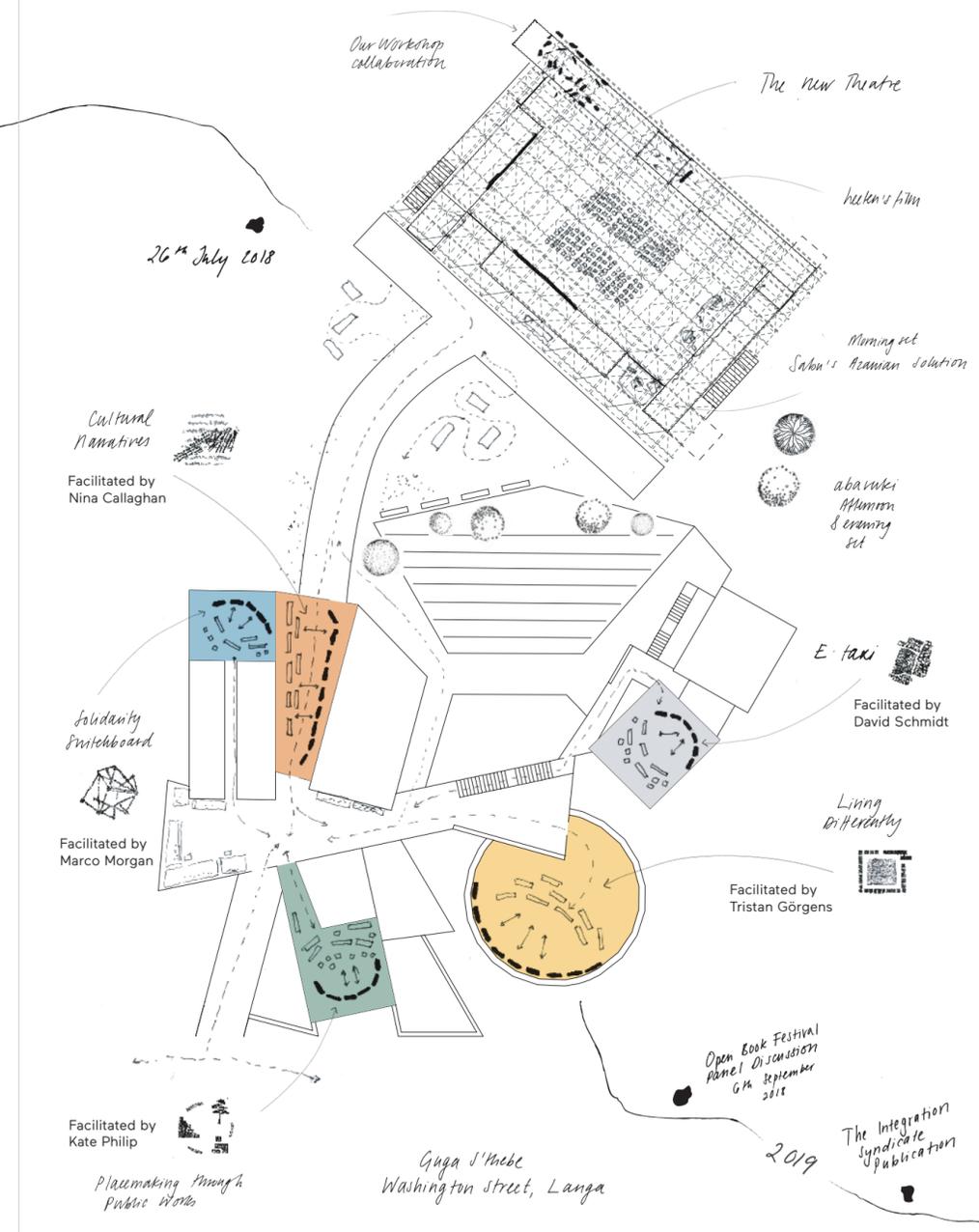
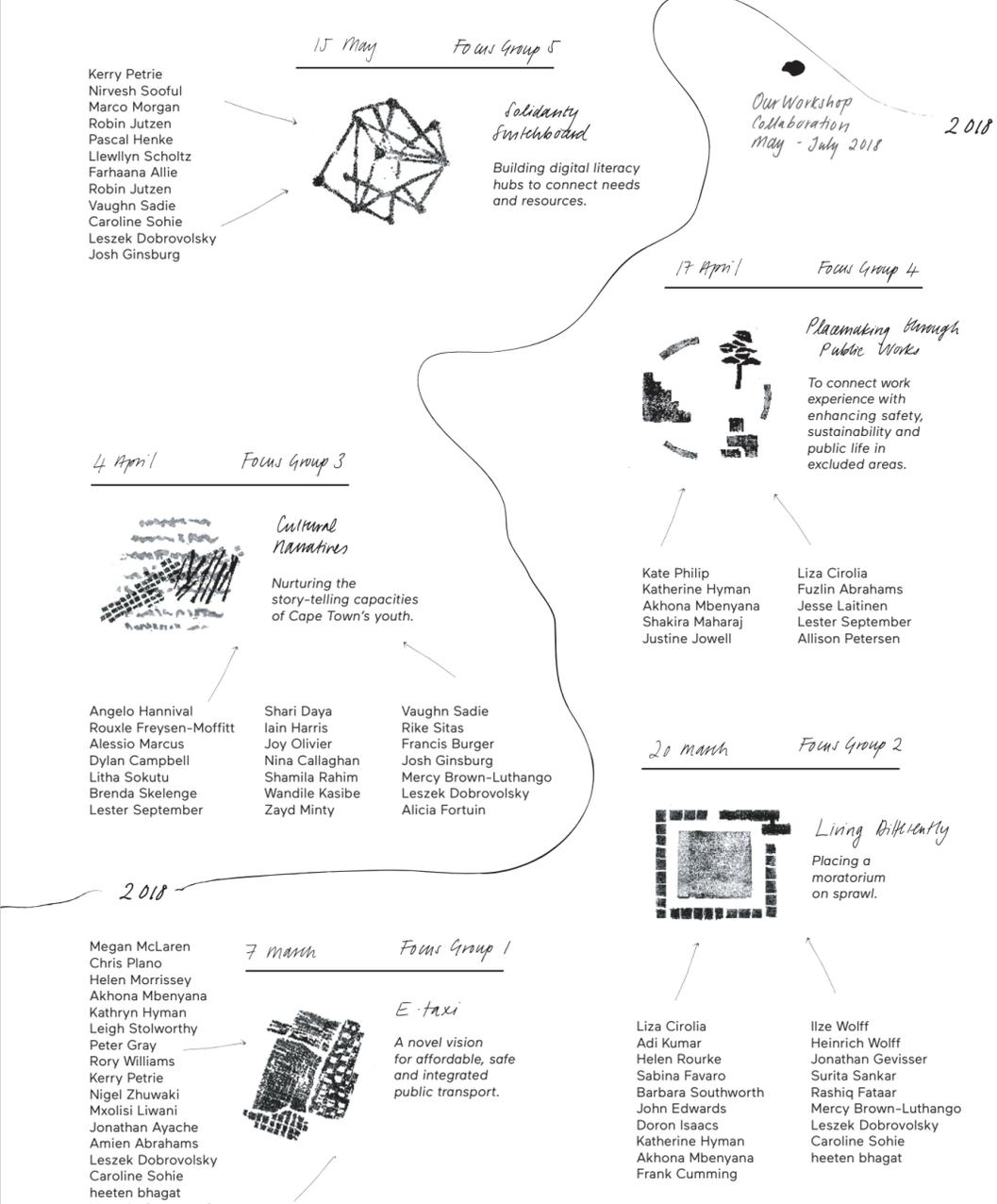
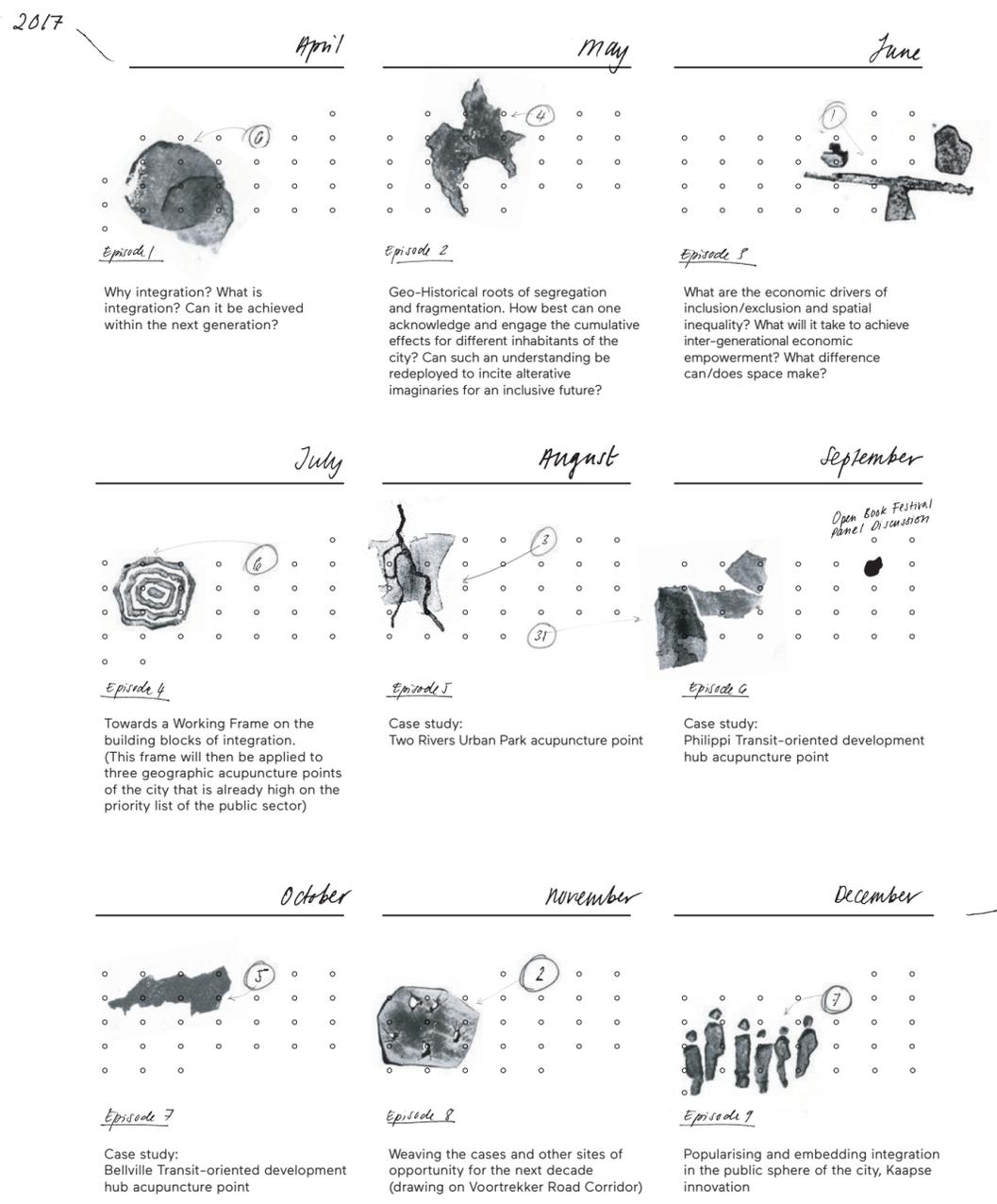
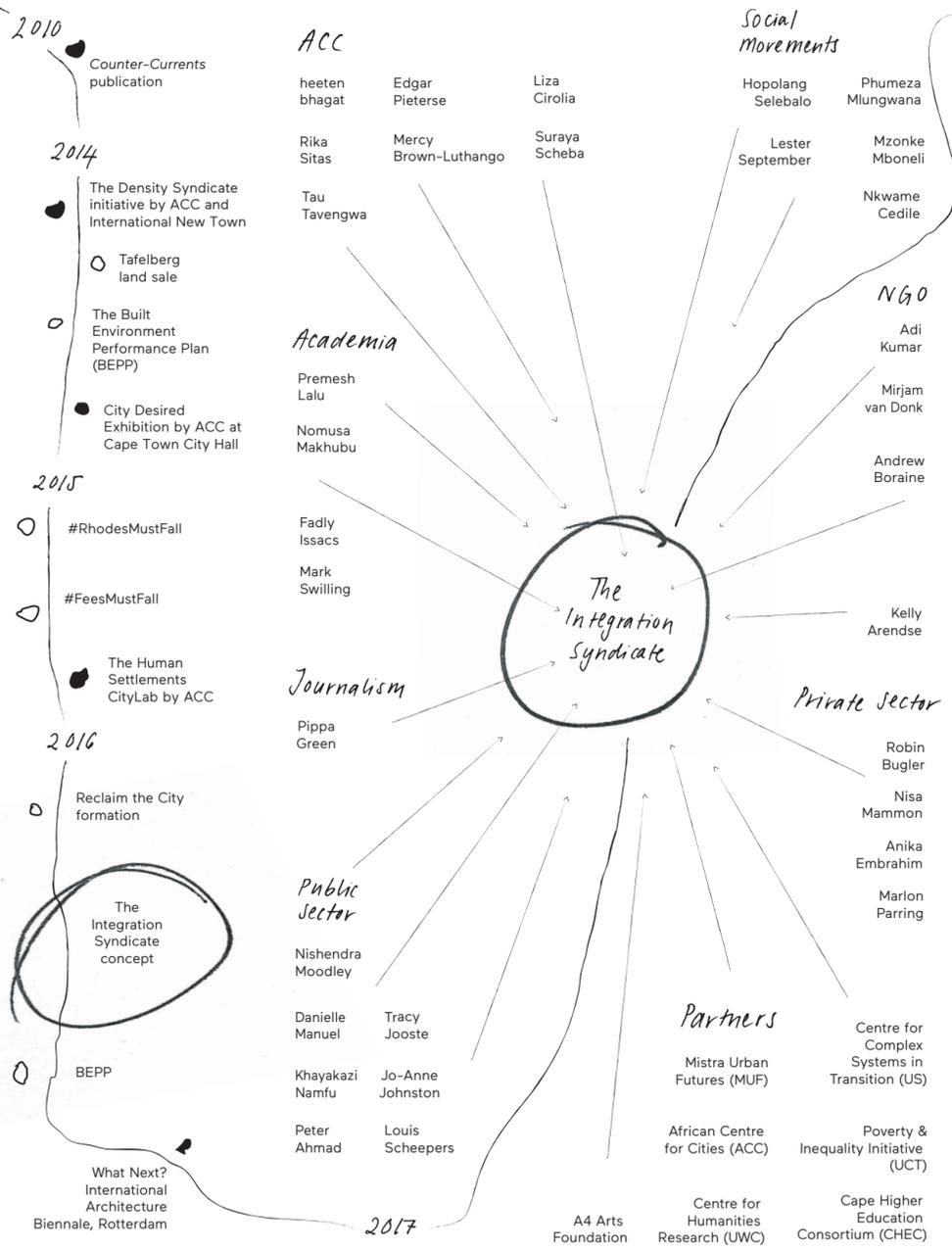
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT:

This paper is based on a series of discussions that took place under the auspices of the Integration Syndicate. It is a personal interpretation of a wide-ranging set of discussions and does not seek to synthesise or reflect all perspectives offered. I am grateful to all the Integration Syndicate participants that attended the episodes, the focus groups and the Ideas Festival who all engaged with these ideas. The drafting of the paper relied heavily on ACC colleagues that were deeply involved with the project. However, the views and articulation in this paper cannot be attributed to any individual or organisation involved. All errors and gaps are solely the responsibility of the author.

Project Roadmap

An illustration of the Integration Syndicate project journey, methodology, timeline and stakeholder community.





Prelude The coming together A series of nine 'episodes' with the Integration Syndicate over the duration of a year Five focus groups dedicated to each provocation with industry professionals A day long festival where the five provocations were publically engaged

Reflections on the Complexity of Transformative Politics

Enacting the provocations of the Integration Syndicate

by

Edgar Pieterse

Everywhere one turns, it seems as if progressive ideals are under attack and being dismantled. At the same time certain critical ideas that were almost unsayable just a decade ago are now commonplace in public discourse—inequality, land dispossession, patriarchy, to name a few. Spokespersons and commentators who come from radical political traditions and organisations are reflected in the mainstream press and unavoidable on social media feeds. The duality is bewildering. This essay is an attempt to work through this disconcerting moment. My reference points include the raging debates (in South Africa) about the expropriation of land without compensation to right many colonial wrongs, spatial integration in our cities, and the broader concerns with decolonising knowledge in the university and society at large. As a researcher/teacher at the African Centre for Cities (ACC) at the University of Cape Town, these debates are inescapable and challenging. As someone who came into political activism at a very young age, and who regards himself as still in the process of *becoming*, I feel compelled to think out loud. Fair warning: the reflection will meander somewhat before we get into the specifics of enacting the provocations of the Integration Syndicate.

For as long as I can remember, I have struggled with dogmatism and certitude. During the height

of anti-Apartheid activism in the 1980s, I straddled Marxian and Christian theories (liberation and black theology) of being/becoming and social change. I actively inhabited multiple worlds of thought, practice and aspiration and never felt comfortable in either but could always find something of value in both. I cultivated the capacity to inhabit this tension. In the first decade of post-Apartheid South Africa I straddled other worlds: those of public policy from inside the (local) state on the one hand, and argumentative organisations of civil society, especially NGOs with a focus on addressing the structural underpinning of poverty and inequality, on the other. Again, it demanded a capacity for code-switching, translation, moving between competing frames of reference, and forging a craft of intermediation. During the last decade that I have been ensconced in the university, my institutional base and role demanded a constant circulation between codified academic knowledge, practitioner knowledge rooted in experiences from diverse organisational settings, and international circuits of discourse production about the dimensions of sustainable urbanism. Across these experiences, whenever I encountered dogma coupled with rectitude, I would invariably switch off. Emotional and intellectual investment felt pointless.

In order to understand our contemporary political moment—marked simultaneously by (rightwing)

political extremism and the proliferation of radical political discourse—it is necessary to consider forms of political enrolment from the perspective of the Left. This will help us to name the assumptions and sensibilities of radical political cultures with an eye on spelling out what a more generous and inclusive politics could be. Clearly, I have real ‘issues’ with the self-righteous certitude of radical Left movements and activists. This aversion comes from a strain of theory and literature, and as much from, the example/practice of activists that I admire. As a gesture of making my vantage point more explicit, I want to cross-reference three essays that have been particularly instrumental in provoking clarity and political confidence. It is relevant for the reader to position where I am coming from, at the outset.ⁱ

This essay is an outcome of discussions with co-researchers in ACC who work with me on the Integration Syndicate experiment. This project entailed a dialogical forum on the dimensions of urban integration with 25 invited leaders from a cross-section of institutions in Cape Town. At the end of the process, we distilled five propositions to reframe public debates in the city on urban integration and deepened our thinking with five focus groups that had a direct interest in each of the propositions. We then went through another round of refinement and visualisation and convened a one-day conference with about 150 people at the end of July, 2018 to further stress-test and disseminate the outcomes of the process, before corralling it and the provocations into the publication you are holding now. Along the way we continuously bumped up against the puzzle:

when good ideas and practice are obvious and widely shared, why is it so difficult to translate agreements into practical actions?

Is it simply a matter of political will as so many people suggest or are the obstacles to systemic change in the city more complex? This essay is an inconclusive reflection on this query.

TRAJECTORIES OF THE POLITICAL

The easiest way into this reflection is a diagram (I am rather fond of diagrams as a pedagogic tool). Figure 1 suggests that most people are either ignorant or indifferent to economic, societal and cultural questions that stem from structural inequality. Critical theorists will extend this depiction to argue for an understanding that white subjects are wilfully complicit in their ignorance and/or indifference because it suits their class and cultural interests. In other words, it is just too damn comfortable to pretend that they can do anything about the ways of the world. By contrast, in an ideal scenario, a given subject will undergo a personal transformation when they are confronted with information and knowledge about what is actually going on and when they understand how capital, political elites and dominant cultural institutions actively reproduce inequality and institutional violence. At this point, the routine cultural systems that ‘manufacture societal consent’ fail to do their magic. The subject can see the bullshit and lies for what they are and is viscerally moved to outrage.

However, to sustain that insight and psychological shift—turning one’s back on decades of societal conditioning—an alternative ideological safety net has to be installed. A new narrative is called forth to locate oneself in relation to all the evil in the world, and a perspective on the ties that bind the ‘good people/movements’ who heroically take on the system as a lifestyle and political choice. However, if a given subject does not join a radical movement or collective, it is almost impossible to sustain this sense of outrage and anger at the status quo. New social practices, networks, habits and passions must be enacted to forge a fundamentally different

sense of self and belonging. Very few people who come into momentary awareness are willing to take that next step, either out of ignorance (not knowing how to join), fear about the unknown or they just can’t see how to fit it into an already busy life. Usually, it is a combination of these factors.

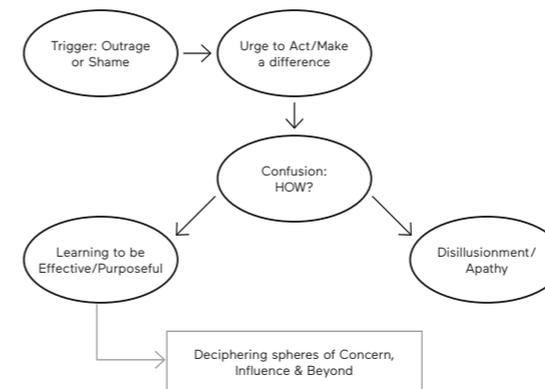


Figure 1: Diagrammatic summary of coming into political awareness

Outrage is a difficult psychic state to maintain. Anger is exhausting. It can also be corrosive if one is not able to move between affective states of resentment and the affirming state of fashioning something—proactively building an alternative, embodying the thrill of creation and novelty. An aspect of this that is difficult to convey relates to the internal turmoil of activists when they are fully committed to radical causes; they experience a deep sense of conflict because they are perpetually aware of their own psychic shortcomings to live a life free from contradiction and ambiguity—an insoluble struggle—and having announced themselves to the world as being ‘radical’ or ‘progressive’ or ‘woke’. Put differently, there is an inescapable tension between one’s firm political beliefs and one’s capacity to perpetrate micro injustices in various personal and familial relationships; that constant reminder that you might not be so different from the evils you oppose in your visible or expressed politics. This conflict is in fact healthy but often denied or repressed, manifesting as certitude and self-righteousness.

In other words, there is little room for doubt, uncertainty or confusion. Yet, this is precisely the terminus that follows coming into political awareness. The question is, where does one go from there?

The diagram suggests there are two options that follow. One option is: disillusionment that very quickly bleeds into cynicism, or apathy, in its less destructive form. As intimated before, unless one joins a movement, or project, or network, or some kind of community-of-practice, it is impossible to sustain the state of outrage. But for many, it’s difficult to find a social context that offers the appropriate mix of common purpose and enough breathing space to express one’s individuality and unique path into deeper political understanding and commitment. Furthermore, with the proliferation of social media activism, some people (conveniently) assume it is enough to express political opposition and indignity via Twitter, Facebook and other social media platforms.

A second and more productive option is a commitment to a *life of learning how to be effective* in addressing the specific injustices that make one’s blood boil. In the initial phases of coming into political awareness it is vital to direct one’s passion and energy to causes that truly matter. This can literally be anything. In the Integration Syndication, we happened on five. However, old-style Leftists often assume that there is an ideal path to political activism; a path that allows a person to understand fundamental class contradictions so as not to get distracted by surface contradictions; the centrality of working class consciousness and leadership; the importance of economic transformation linked to an expansion of political power.ⁱⁱ Many political pronouncements that emanate from old-school institutions such as trade unions, socialist movements, political parties and the like, fall into this category and they expend a lot of energy

ⁱ See: Amin, A. and Thrift, N. (2005) What’s Left? Just the Future. *Antipode*, 220–238; Bergman, C. (2018) The stifling air of Rigid Radicalism. *New Inquiry*, 2 March, url: www.newinquiry.com; Bhan, G. (2019). Notes on a Southern urban practice. *Environment and Urbanization*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956247818815792>. Furthermore, the theoretical underpinnings of the reflections in this paper are set out in Chapter 5, “Reconceptualizing the political in cities”, in *City Futures* (Zed Press, 2008).

ⁱⁱ This is very much what the entire oeuvre of Slavoj Žižek excels in. For an entertaining and disconcerting summary, see: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yaCM1NbnL0>

pointing out how their Left political opponents fall short in terms of this yardstick. Politics cannot get much more boring, predictable and self-defeating than this.ⁱⁱⁱ

Political acts and issues that do not correspond with these meta-themes of radical Left politics are often disregarded as (mere) cultural struggles that are not only ineffective but potentially complicit in hiding the 'true' nature of societal contradictions rooted in capitalism. These dynamics have become more accentuated with the recent upsurge in decolonial politics and ideological proselytisation.^{iv} The bar for what constitutes 'radical' consciousness and politics has been raised even further, swelling the number of foot soldiers who patrol the boundaries of valid/invalid or radical/reformist politics. It fuels the default culture of the (hard) Left that thrives on dogma and certitude.

THE OTHER WAY

So how do we locate a practice of politics as learning to be effective? At the outset, this disposition asks for a commitment to nurture an attentiveness to the differences between: 'spheres of concern'; 'spheres of control'; and 'spheres of influence'. Irrespective of the thematic or spatial arena of politics that one might enter, there will be an endless recursive cycle of figuring out what constitutes a strategic and pragmatic move. Pragmatic actions are often micro, manageable acts that make a difference of some kind, even if it does not alter the fundamental power relations that structure a given inequality or injustice. Strategic actions are acts that can potentially shift the terms of recognition and/or incorporation, altering the distribution and functioning of power within society or a specific (institutional) setting.

Often a thousand pragmatic acts are required to create the conditions for effective strategic politics. In other words, there is not a neat distinction between these two moves. Instead, effective political agency is all about attuning one's capacity to reflect on both imperatives and how they connect. To be effective, this reflective act has to be enacted in some collective form because politics very seldom shift as a result of one person's action. The diversity, disagreements and generosity of the collective is an essential ingredient to forge strategic and effective politics. This is another reason why there can be no room for rectitude and intolerance among progressives. Forging patience and openness are indispensable qualities for transformative politics.

Learning to differentiate between what is within an individual's sphere of influence and beyond it, is essential. Even more important is to understand what is within one's control or not. In all proactive efforts to address a manifest injustice, the protagonists have to debate what these lines are because without that knowledge and shared understanding it is not possible to identify what to do next, what to do in the medium-term, and how those actions could create a fundamentally different long-term prospect. Furthermore, any issue/action involves some sense of one's relative power as an organisation or network in relation to other players on the field, whether it be elements of the (local) state, or business, or civil society.

If a given organisation does not have a culture of learning, exploration and democratic debate, it struggles to be effective in figuring out these distinctions and how to act in ways that are consistent with its purpose. It also represents a failure to generate successive layers of leaders. In the remainder of this intervention I want to explore what some of the dimensions of 'learning to act with purpose' might be. This is not meant to be a comprehensive discussion but rather a *demystification* of what it takes to bring meaningful change into the world/city. Thereafter, in the final section, I will cross-reference these aspects with some of the concrete provocations that have arisen from the Integration Syndicate.

THE (COLLECTIVE) ART OF LEARNING AND EXPERIMENTATION

There are four dimensions to explore. First, it is important for 'change agents' to embrace complexity and ambiguity. Social change invariably involves a number of tangible and intangible factors, various scales of action, numerous institutional entanglements and a myriad possible outcomes. In other words, *uncertainty* about what is going on at any given moment in the flow of time, let alone possible outcomes of an action, is constitutive. It is in the fabric of an activist practice. Given that social/political action stem from some kind of outrage about the status quo, it means that activists are condemned to live in a confusing zone between anger and provisionality—an absence of definitiveness—that stems from accepting the predominance of uncertainty. This is of course counter-intuitive. Often, the expectation is that once you know the cause of an injustice, you can become a determined crusader to fix that ill. Yet, what is actually called for is the passionate outrage combined with a quiet thoughtfulness to figure out how the injustice was brought into the world, kept alive, and remains virulent. There will never be obvious or easy answers to such questions; only a commitment to critical exploration to inform considered analysis and actions.

Second, commit with heart and soul to *prefigurative politics*. This refers to the intentional work that goes into building organisations/collectives of common purpose that actively construct a form of organisation, decision-making and enactment that is consistent with the values that must be brought into the world—the self-same ethical source of the original outrage and critique. Recent uncovering of patriarchal practices in many progressive organisations is but one reminder of how far the disjuncture between what is preached and practiced can run in the cultural fabric of progressive organisations. It is essential that progressive organisations actively invest in nurturing cultures of inclusion, mutuality, kindness, generosity,

play (or serious fun), laughter, and enjoyment. In such organisations, distributed leadership and accountability are inevitable by-products. By fostering an *experience* of 'the future' the organisation is trying to achieve, in society at large, an embodied connection to develop between intent and outcome. It also forges the necessary solidarity for when times will get tough; and be sure, they always do if one is able to effectively expose, dislodge and supplant powerful forces.

Third, *experiment obsessively*. It is a given that the dominant system and its key agents are immensely powerful and often able to absorb criticisms and strengthen its discursive and political dominance whilst appearing reasonable, thoughtful, and adaptive. Furthermore, the tragic unforeseen outcomes of revolutionary experiments in large-scale social reform has left us with the imperative to be circumspect of big-bang change. Instead, we now accept that system change is what is needed, and it is most likely to happen when there is a proliferation of numerous small experiments chipping away at the core rationality of the dominant system; distributed waves of micro-actions and shifts that occasionally coalesce as societal cultural rifts. This is the history of struggles for gender and sexual equality, as well as numerous other domains of socio-economic rights. In light of this, it is important for progressive organisations to continuously reflect on how best they can access and utilise the distributed knowledge of their members and the networks they are enrolled in to make sense of a problem and identify a campaign of strategic and tactical actions to address different aspects of the issue.

Experimentation can be triggered and deepened by certain kinds of questions: How can the central problem best be captured and represented? Too often we rely on a single, cognate understanding of the problem without investing the time and energy to achieve a fully rounded understanding of the emotional, physical, cultural, economic, political, spatial folds of an issue, whether it be the lack of sanitation, or police harassment, or the impunity

ⁱⁱⁱ This tendency is brilliantly satirised by various films and skits of the Monty Python crew. Their film, *The Life of Brian* is probably the most on-point and hilarious.

^{iv} An insightful reflection on this tendency is provided in: Mbembe, A. (2015) *The State of South African Political Life*. Url: <http://africasacountry.com>, September.

of gangs. How can things be done differently? What are the different pathways into and out of the problem? Which pathways resonate the most for us, as the collective? Why? Apart from the questions that activate differentiated understandings of the problem(s), questions should not merely be diagnostic, they also need to inspire *proposition*. What are the best ways to codify our learning and insights that arise from different experiments? Can such aggregations help us define new parameters for institutionalisation? Can we identify alternative or different institutional formats to those that underpin the status quo? Linked to this, can we also think about 'scaling' (how an action at the level of the street or household connects with the city-region and beyond?) and inter-connection with related struggles and experiments?

Fourth, accept the value of *institutional contamination*. I am not sure if it is our political past that shapes us, but I am constantly astounded by the tendency to vilify people and institutions that we do not know very well but impinge on an issue we care about. The most striking example that comes to mind is the daily deluge of social media posts about the 'vile' intentions of politicians, and by extension, officials who work for the City of Cape Town or any other public institution, especially parastatals, in the recent past. Somehow it is okay that people can lob accusations and draw conclusions simply because the ruling party is the Democratic Alliance (or African National Congress) without any need to offer specifics when they reach judgement on an issue. Accusations that relate to land, property, and housing policies are most common, but the same kind of approach is often extended to just about anything.

I find this particularly telling since we live in a democracy, have free and fair elections, and are bound to the state as citizens of this constitutional polity with an imperative to enact the legitimacy of the state through engagement. Of course, engagement includes critique and oppositional politics, but it also demands trying to understand the inner daily workings of the public sector with an eye

on figuring out how to engage the specific nooks and crannies of the state that are relevant for the project, programme or campaign we are working on.^v The easiest option is to simply dismiss the intentions of the state through grand ideological sweeps because it keeps us on our moral high horse and shelters us from the difficult and inevitable work necessary to get things done. Achieving a different outcome from the status quo cannot be realised without getting up close and contaminated by the stench of this beast that we think is the sole cause of the problem we're trying to fix. This is a difficult stance to adopt and sustain because some of the suspicion is, of course, well founded and betrayals and disappointments are bound to happen. Keeping these four sensibilities of a reflexive praxis in mind, I will now explore some specific issues related to the provocations of the Integration Syndicate (see page 109).

FROM PROVOCATION TO EXPERIMENTATION AND BACK AGAIN...

The Integration Syndicate generated five provocations elaborated upon the pages of this book. I will explore one of them to illustrate my argument. **Provocation One** is about reframing an existing resource in the city that holds the key to creating effective and affordable public transport for the future. It insists that the loathed minibus taxis are not the main problem but the core of a sustainable solution. Since it recasts an existing institution in the city, it also implies large-scale impact in a relatively short space of time, and in this sense can be truly transformational. However, there are many factors that prevent this approach coming to fruition.

^v Earlier I wrote an extensive analysis of how to disaggregate the workings and operating logics of local government when we try and figure out how best to give substantive expression to the constitutional ideal of 'developmental local government'. See: Pieterse, E. (2008) "Consolidating Developmental Local Government." In: van Donk, M., M. Swilling, E. Pieterse & S. Parnell (eds.) (2008) *Consolidating Developmental Local Government: Lessons from the South African Experiment*. Cape Town: UCT Press.

On the side of the state, reform would require a fundamental restructuring of the transport subsidy regime in South Africa, which in turn would probably demand legislative reform. Currently, a national parastatal controls the substantial rail subsidies, which has of course been the source of enormous corruption at Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa (PRASA) over the past decade.^{vi} Provincial governments control subsidies for metropolitan and regional bus services, and they have no leverage over how PRASA sets its priorities and makes allocations. Lastly, subsidies for taxi recapitalisation are administered by the Department of Transport at national level and it has not been able to align its plans with either PRASA or provincial governments who manage the bus routes.^{vii} The people who are truly impacted upon by these investments are, of course, commuters and local governments, which are responsible in law for integrated transport planning and traffic policing. However, they can hardly get an audience with these national and provincial entities, let alone co-determine how their subsidy investments can give effect to local integrated transport and development plans that should be able to drive spatial transformation. This is exactly the conundrum that confronts the Integrated Public Transport Plan of the City of Cape Town. In this scenario of fragmented vested interests and institutional contradictions, how does one bring our provocation into the world so that it is not just wishful thinking?

In thinking through a response, the following observations can indeed be applied to any of the five provocations. This section will use

^{vi} For detail, see: Bhorat, H. et al. (2017) *Betrayal of the Promise: How South Africa is being Stolen*. Cape Town & Johannesburg: University of Cape Town, University of Johannesburg, Stellenbosch University & Wits.

^{vii} It is difficult to overstate how important reform of public transport funding and regulation is for the urban poor. Andrew Kerr's research demonstrates empirically that the urban poor spend an extraordinarily high proportion of household income on minibus taxis even though the sector only gets 1% of public sector subsidy funding (through the recapitalisation programme). For detail, see: Kerr, A. (2015) *Tax(i)ing the poor? Commuting costs in South Africa. RED3x3 Working paper*, No. 12. Url: <http://www.redi3x3.org/paper/taxiiing-poor-commuting-costs-south-africa>.

provocation one as an illustrative example, but the same thought experiment can be applied to all of the provocations, or any 'big' idea about how to advance transformation in the city.

To start, a few conceptual distinctions are required, and I will shortly fall back on my proclivity for diagrams to assist the story. If we accept the basic institutional distinctions of the state, civil society organisations, market institutions and their constitutive inter-dependency, then we can imagine two other organisational forms: 'epistemic communities' and 'policy networks'. Epistemic community is a fancy word to essentially capture the idea of a group of like-minded activists/practitioners who share a number of beliefs about why an issue matters, what needs to be done at a strategic and pragmatic level to address that issue and who commits to coordinate and share resources and thinking to advance their cause. Critically, epistemic communities are most effective when they are not in one sector or organisation but distributed across various institutions and fields in a given city (or society). The Integration Syndicate was an attempt to forge a temporary epistemic community with the hope that it will generate new ones related to the provocations or any other issue that may arise along the way.

By contrast, a policy network is simply a collection of individuals or organisations with a shared interest in a topic and that appreciates the importance of engaging with people with similar interests in order to stay informed, participate in shaping common understandings and effect greater alignment between organisations and institutional instruments that relate to the topic. For example, NGOs who work on Early Childhood Development (ECD), government departments with responsibility in this field, researchers engaged with early childhood learning and private sector social investment groups can form a large policy network with common interest. However, these networks are often bulky and unwieldy and are seldom able to achieve coherence and shared perspectives about the deep

causal drivers of a problem area. However, within a given policy network, an epistemic community can arise to try to shape the common-sense assumptions of the policy network/community and achieve new priorities and investments across the sector.

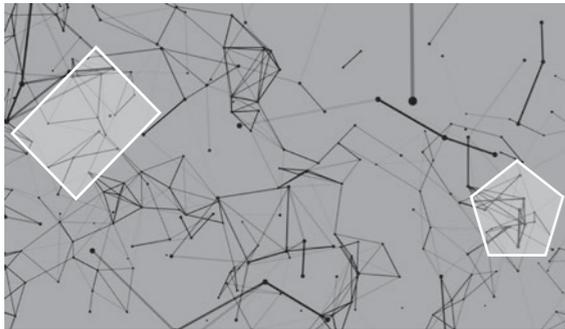


Figure 2: Policy networks and embedded epistemic communities

Figure 2 illustrates the galaxy of policy networks that would criss-cross a city (or country) and the smaller overlays of epistemic communities reflect how such (informal) groups are positioned within larger policy networks that they seek to influence. Crucially, a key function "...of an epistemic community's role [is] understanding the rationalities and governmental technologies of the mainstream whilst recognising its inherent limits and potential for critical subversion to serve more insurgent interests of the excluded and discriminated in the city."^{viii} In other words, epistemic communities allow themselves to get *contaminated* by mainstream institutions, remain attuned to the deeper logics at play, and figure out how best to advance a systemic agenda of transformation. Critically, since most issues require engagement from diverse sectors—various parts of the state, researchers, grassroots organisations, etc. — effective epistemic communities must straddle these differences. It is easier to move a certain reform agenda forward if you have committed activists distributed across various sectors. It is never just

about mounting enough public pressure through direct action and protests, to achieve transformative change. Radical Leftists are known to make this mistake and once they have won a certain demand through direct action, they are often at a loss about how best to institutionalise it. On this note, let us return to provocation number one about e-taxis.

BUILDING AN EFFECTIVE EPISTEMIC COMMUNITY FOR E-TAXIS

A cursory glance across the mobility landscape reveals a number of overlapping policy networks that prioritise different aspects of urban mobility, efficiency and access. For example, there are policy actors who focus on the different modes of public transport (rail, bus, minibus taxi) and how best to optimise them, whilst reducing private car use. Then there are policy activists who try to foreground the importance of non-motorised transport (NMT) because this thematic is often forgotten in debates about public transport, even though it impacts on the poorest of the poor. Another set of actors is interested in mobility reform for environmental reasons. Carbon emissions can be reduced if people opt out of their cars in favour of public transport and NMT. Within these broad and layered policy networks, more specific policy networks can also be identified. For example, there is a clear community of interest around the question of technology and mobility and how new e-hailing platform services such as Uber and Lyft can transform the mobility landscape. Linked to this, there are urban data analysis companies that are keen to revolutionise data collection and monitoring by tapping mobile data to better understand and regulate urban mobility as an expression of smart city solutions.

The conclusion we draw is that the urban mobility landscape is crowded and any attempt to advance the ideas incorporated in our provocation on e-taxis will have to be discerning and strategic. It will be important to foster both a dedicated policy network

on the transformation of the minibus industry that is inclusive, i.e., it draws together policy makers from all the sectors with an interest in the optimisation of the sector. This would include government officials (and politicians) from all spheres and key parastatals. Centrally, the minibus taxi associations and their various representative organisations will have to be enrolled. So will policy researchers and data analysts from universities and the private sector (e.g. minibus manufacturers, sensor manufacturers, e-hailing companies, mapping data businesses), alongside commuter organisations that have an interest in greater safety and transparency in the functioning of the public transport system. The regulatory players—those who issue minibus taxi licenses and ensure traffic rules enforcement—will have to be in the policy network as well.

A critical question is: **Who will convene and sustain the functioning of the policy network?**

Furthermore, how best can such a network avoid being too loose and amorphous but rather be active and engaged in making the policy arena more systematic and focussed on practical reform? An epistemic community would be a good mechanism to answer these questions and take initiative.

Practically, in this scenario, an epistemic community would have its work cut out. It would have to:

- 1 Convene key leaders and thinkers across the policy networks that have a direct interest and commitment to building an alternative system towards a fully integrated and affordable public transport system (for an epistemic community to be effective it cannot be too large, so only actors with a deep commitment to the transformation agenda should be enrolled initially and the group can gradually be expanded as trust and efficacy are established).
- 2 Develop a shared action agenda on how to get the provocation onto the agenda of the formal actors in the system and what the

implications are for changing the regulatory and institutional systems that govern public transport at different levels of the system.

- 3 Identify potential donors^{ix} to underwrite the process so that qualified process facilitators and research can be used to design a deliberative process that unfolds in a 'safe' space with clear rules of engagement. An epistemic community needs time to build trust and a shared perspective. This is a precondition for being able to implement step 2.
- 4 Jointly develop a shared understanding about the obstacles to advancing the e-taxi agenda in concrete terms with clear distinctions between the institutional levels where different aspects of the problem reside (local, provincial, national or some combination). This would require an agreement on the sequence of steps for the short-, medium- and long-term to shift the status quo. The earlier discussion on spheres of focus, control, and influence is particularly important during this stage.
- 5 Lastly, allocate responsibilities for who in the epistemic community will focus on what and identify mechanisms to support members whilst they execute their responsibilities.

An epistemic community has to be characterised by a commitment to experimentation, reflection and learning. Participants must cultivate trust, patience, openness toward frank debate, and generosity. This is a high bar and there will always be a risk that an epistemic community fails because it is not able to undertake the difficult work of continuously figuring out what to do when

^{ix} For example, the donors that underwrite the #fixourtrains campaign of the #UniteBehind platform would be a logical supporter for this agenda because it chimes with the outcomes of that campaign. For more information, see: <https://unitebehind.org.za/campaigns/fix-our-trains/>

^{viii} Pieterse, E. (2006) Building with Ruins and Dreams: Exploratory thoughts on realising integrated urban development through crises. *Urban Studies*, 43(2): 285-304, p. 290.

failure is a frequent visitor. Furthermore, since all the participants in the epistemic community are likely to have their respective plates full in their home institutions where they play some leadership or 'driving-change' role, it remains difficult to participate intensively in the epistemic community.

A broader consideration is that epistemic communities cannot avoid messy politics. Whether it is the reform of the public transport system, or ECD, or the approach to cultural mapping, there will always be profound vested interests at work in maintaining the status quo. These powerful forces cannot simply be dislodged or weakened through strategic shadow boxing designed by an epistemic community. There has to be explicit political actions by citizens, organised in one form or another, directly affected by the issue. If an agenda is not socially and culturally embedded in the affected communities, deep and lasting change is simply not sustainable. This is not to say that an epistemic community cannot form and function without this level of organisation. It can. Part of its work could be to figure out how best to stimulate and support grassroots organisations, but in the long run it cannot achieve its objectives without this political force.

EMBEDDING AN EPISTEMIC COMMUNITY IN SOCIAL CHANGE

To reinforce this point it is necessary to briefly make the fundamental work of social change activism explicit. Picking up the earlier points about the nature of vested interests and dominant power relations, any social movement worth its salt must draw on the following playbook:

1 PICK A FIGHT:

The resultant conflict is crucial to bring a hidden issue into the light. Change cannot come about without some societal awareness that the status quo is wrong.

2 BREAK THE RULES:

Those in power will often find creative ways of adjusting to the new reality when a certain issue is put under the spotlight and find ways to perpetuate the status quo whilst pretending to be concerned about the issue. In these circumstances, it is crucial to identify the institutional rules and regulations that reproduce the problem and actively, visibly, and creatively break them. This induces the kind of crisis that requires negotiations but on a different plane than the one that reproduces the dominant logics of the status quo. A good example from a few years back is the campaign of the Social Justice Coalition to draw attention to the humanitarian crisis of inadequate sanitation in Khayelitsha and other informal settlements. They organised a flash mob at the public toilets in Sea Point to draw attention to the fact that the City was spending more on these tourist/middle class resources than finding a solution to sanitation in Khayelitsha. The flash mob effectively broke public assembly rules but did manage to put the issue on the public agenda.

3 BUILD THE NEW:

There is always a chasm between our imagination of an alternative and the messy real-world processes involved to instantiate it. When the new is put in place it is often rather different from the pristine model of our campaigns and slogans, but it is a step in the direction of the new (in an urban setting, genuine newness requires an interdependent movement between different topics and domains of practice, which is why a genuine alternative is never possible on the back of one campaign or issue). Most importantly, building the new is the cultural work of defining and practising *prefigurative politics* as discussed earlier. These three steps are likely to happen if the relevant movement or coalition developed an explicit campaign on their issue of concern. See Figure 3 for a diagrammatic summary of a solid campaign.

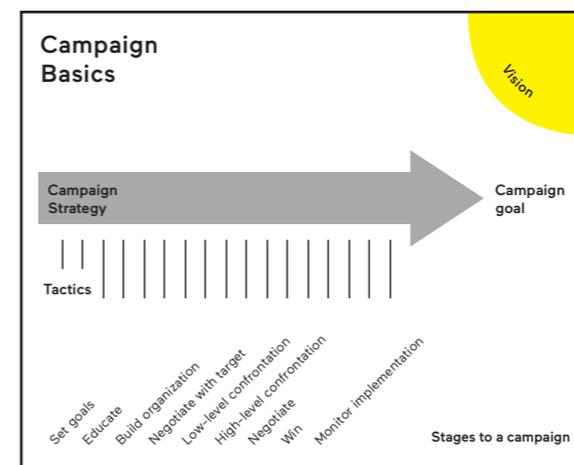


Figure 3: The basic elements of an effective campaign^x

4 CHANGE THE GAME:

Any achievement of a given campaign goal must by definition involve the establishment of new 'rules of the game' and institutional modalities. Establishing greater democracy, public oversight, bias to the poor, etc., demands institutional mechanisms to ensure implementation, learning, adaptation, and proficiency over time. This means, in terms of the substantive issue at stake, there has to be evidence of doing things differently and power having been reconfigured.

This short discussion on the ABCs of radical social action is important because the argument for epistemic communities rests on the idea that the members of such a community would seek to connect their work to the ongoing struggles and campaigns of affected social movements. Furthermore, key leaders from these movements would have to be enrolled in the epistemic community.

^x Drawn from: The Ruckus Society (nd) Action strategy. A how-to guide. Url: <http://www.toolsforchange.net/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/RuckusActionStratGuidedraft7.pdf>. However, there are dozens of good websites with excellent stories and tools on how to conduct social movement activism. For example, see: <https://www.thechangeagency.org/contact-us-2/>

IN SUMMARY

The starting point of this reflection was the question: why is it so difficult to give practical effect to the self-evident progressive ideas that emerged from the Integration Syndicate? The meandering start and flow of the essay suggested that there can be no easy answer to this question, but it demanded a reflection on a number of further questions: Who wants to bring about the change in the city? Why? How is the status-quo problem currently framed? How best can that be altered and redefined? Who else has a direct interest in the issue? Who are linked to the issue and what policy networks do they participate in? Is there scope to establish an epistemic community to focus on achieving systemic change? If an epistemic community does not exist, can I initiate one, or at least support the right people to do so?

It is only after one is embedded in an appropriate institutional setting (organisation and/or network) that the substantive aspects of a given provocation can be considered and addressed. Those progressives with a direct connection to each of the provocations will have to do the heavy lifting to figure out what the status quo is and where the strategic leverage points might be to prise open the issue to allow a different kind of light to shine in. The essay hints at what might be involved in doing that work but cannot be definitive on what exactly must be done. Politics is always about process and learning through experimentation and action—muddling through.

The primary goal of the Integration Syndicate has simply been to demonstrate that our current conflation of urban integration with public housing in the inner city and resisting gentrification is far too narrow. There is a profound metropolitan region to consider as a field of politics and action. The five provocations offer a perspective on how to activate and animate a richer landscape of urban politics, and maybe even, transformation.

Uncertainty, Rage and Incrementalism

by

Mark Swilling

For over thirty years now, Edgar Pieterse and I have intertwined our twin obsessions: our revulsion of certainty, and a passion for the complexities of radical change. Indeed, our separate-but-joined intellectual journeys have always found a confluence in our abiding fascination with cities, especially African cities. Why we ended up living and working in an African city that agonisingly insists it isn't one, explains why we cannot escape the messy creativity of dwelling in the contradictions.

Building on the Introduction to this extraordinary collection of reflexive praxis, I want to make three propositions: why uncertainty is a good thing; why we need to celebrate not suppress rage; and why incrementalism can be radical.

My first proposition is this: the two greatest threats to authentic and deep democracy are the quest for certainty and the tolerance of poverty. Certainty is not in and of itself a threat because it can never be achieved. It's the illusory promise of certainty that is irresistible for the authoritarian instinct. When the quest for certainty is formalised into a political project and legitimised with selective references to invented laws of history and science is when it becomes dangerous. And in times of the greatest uncertainty, the hunger for certainty is easily exploited by the demagogue whose quest for power knows no restraint.

The well-established European literature on authoritarianism (going back to Adorno and the Frankfurt School, but also to Erich Fromm and Michel Foucault) has always tried to understand why authoritarianism is able to mobilise popular support. The answer lay in the conclusion that the authoritarian impulse resides "within us all", as Foucault put it:

"in our heads and in our everyday behaviour...[it] causes us to love

power, to desire the very thing that dominates and exploits us".ⁱ

In short, during uncertain times the 'authoritarian personality' within us all—but in particular men—colludes with the certainties promised by the 'strong man' who embodies a collective memory of a particular past, present and future. In the writing of Frantz Fanon we find a similar concern. In the famous Chapter in *The Wretched of the Earth* on post-colonial politics entitled "The Pitfalls of National Consciousness", Fanon writes:

"The leader pacifies the people. For years on end after independence has been won, we see him, incapable of urging the people to a concrete task, unable really to open the future to them or of flinging them into the path of national reconstruction...we see him reassessing the history of independence and recalling the sacred unity of the struggle for liberation...The leader, seen objectively, *brings the people to a halt* and persists in either expelling them from history or preventing them from taking root in it. During the struggle for liberation the leader awakened the people and promised them a forward march, heroic and unmitigated. Today, he *uses every means to put them to sleep*, and three or four times a year asks them to remember the colonial period and to look back on the long way they have come since then".ⁱⁱ

In short, by requesting the people to trust the leader, the quest for certainty 'brings the people to a halt'. And as Fanon convincingly argues, once the people

ⁱ Daggett, C. (2018) 'Petro-masculinity: Fossil Fuels and Authoritarian Desire', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, (0130). doi: 10.1177/0305829818775817.

ⁱⁱ Fanon, F. (1963) *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Presence Africaine, pgs. 168-169—emphasis added.

are asleep, the elite is free to build a culture premised on the tolerance of poverty. By celebrating uncertainty, the quest for certainty is unmasked for what it is, and the myriad struggles for just futures can be celebrated.

My second proposition, to quote Chimamanda Adichie, is that “rage is good”. For Fanon and Biko, rekindling rage was a precondition for action for change. Manuel Castells has captured this with respect to contemporary protest, including the Arab Spring, Occupy movement, etc. Drawing on neuroscience, he demonstrates that “outrage” instigates solidarities that are necessary to overcome the fear instilled by dominant elites to prevent collective action.ⁱⁱⁱ Fear is what ensures docility; rage is what overcomes fear, thus preparing the way for collective action. Unsurprisingly, dominant cultures needed ways to contain and tame the power of rage.

Rage, however, is now blamed for many social evils. In his remarkable book about the “history of the present” moment entitled *Age of Anger*, Pankaj Mishra argues that “political dysfunction”, “economic stagnation” and “climate change” is resulting,

“...as [Hannah] Arendt feared, [in] a ‘tremendous increase in mutual hatred and a somewhat universal irritability of everybody against everybody else’, or *ressentiment*. An existential resentment of other people’s being, caused by an intense mix of envy and a sense of humiliation and powerlessness, resentment, as it lingers and deepens, poisons civil society and undermines political liberty, and is presently making for a global turn to authoritarianism and toxic forms of chauvinism.”^{iv}

In this increasingly popular view, rage is associated with the resentments of those who want to resist liberal tolerance, in particular a toxic mix of right-wing racists longing for a return to a golden age of white hegemony, neo-fascists who long for certainty, authoritarian populists justifying neo-patrimonial

governance, and religious fundamentalists who yearn for the restoration of imperial theocracies.

Although Mishra is critical of neoliberal globalisation and the associated enrichment of the few at the expense of the majority, he is the most recent exponent of a very long tradition in Western thought that regards rage as a threat and therefore needs to be contained. For him, like many others in this tradition across the ideological spectrum, the real danger lies in the way populist demagogues who promise certainty can easily manipulate young men and women who are “eager to transform their powerlessness into an irrepressible rage to hurt and destroy”.^v Rage, in short, can catalyse the quest for certainty. It is, therefore, dangerous.

A very different tradition—including, of course, Fanon, Biko, Castells, radical feminists and the new generation of writers who contributed to *Writing What We Like*—extols the virtues of rage as the passion that inspires the righteous fight against domination and injustice.^{vi} In his book *Rage and Time*, German philosopher Peter Sloterdijk excavates this tradition within his own Western culture, going back to its roots in the very first line of the *Iliad*—the famous Greek celebration of the hero Achilles.^{vii} In that line the storyteller calls on the Goddess to sing in celebration of the rage of Achilles—“*Of the rage of Achilles, son of Peleus, sing Goddess*”. For Sloterdijk, these words reveal a completely different conception of rage from that which is generally accepted in the world today: in this tradition, rage is the passion that gets mobilised to fight injustice against all odds.

Without rage, nothing will happen. Rage, however, is not something that the hero feels and then acts. Instead, Sloterdijk argues, like the Prophet who is merely a medium for the transmission of the divine message, the hero becomes an instrument of rage

—rage possesses the hero so s/he can act, not the other way round.^{viii}

“It is not the human beings who have their passions, but rather it is the passions that have their human beings. The accusative is still untameable.”^{ix}

If its passion that possesses the hero, where does it arise? For the Greeks, Sloterdijk shows, rage resides in the *thymos*—the organ just below the upside down V in the middle of the chest. From here it emanates outwards, beyond the control of the rational mind. For us ‘moderns’, the notion that we can be possessed by passions in service of a just cause, determined beyond the bounds of rationality, is almost impossible to accept. It is too much of a threat to our belief in the infinite power of the mind, especially if it is assumed to be the source of all rationality. It threatens the deliberative conceptions of dialogue and urban elegances of the suburb and mall. And yet, as Castells has argued using different terms, thymotic rage holds the key to collective action for change to a better society because it is the antidote for fear.

Thymotic rage, however, has been systematically tamed and repressed over the millennia. The construction of the classical notion of what it means to be Human—as symbolised by Da Vinci’s Vitruvian Man—required by necessity the systematic spiritualisation, pathologisation, psychologisation and intellectualisation of rage. Rage had to be tamed in order to suppress its power to ‘hurt and destroy’. ‘Vitruvian man’—white, male, rational, perfect and alone—embedded in the routines required to reproduce civil urban societies, could not be allowed to be possessed with rage. The routines of mass societies and colonies require docility—the ‘good servant’ is, by definition, docile. And yet, rage can never disappear—it will always surface in some way, and if suppressed it will surface in negative (often violent) ways, or become normalised as femicide, genocide and ecocide.

The taming of thymotic rage as part of the construction of what it means to be Human, also goes a long way towards explaining why collective action for a better society has been so muted despite the mounting injuries of class, race, gender and ecological degradation. It also explains why those who feel threatened by the disintegration of the old class, race and gender identities also feel rage, and vent it with increasing frequency and intensity.

I am not advocating the glorification of rage per se. Rage can, of course, cause mass destruction, suffering and humiliation. The escalation of male youth violence is a case in point. So is there a difference between negative and positive rage, and how can we tell the difference? Well, the clue (missed by Sloterdijk) may lie in those first lines of the *Iliad*: if the Goddess agrees to sing the praises of the enraged hero, then that is thymotic rage. In other words, a thymotic rage that aligns with the feminine principle of care rather than the male principle of control may well be the key passion for change. From this perspective, it may well be that thymotic rage is a vital quality of a relational way of being that transcends the gendered and racialised limits of Vitruvian Man. The thymotics of the relational self may well be the rhizomatic force that inspires us all to carry on searching, dreaming, struggling, re-assembling, collaborating and recovering from confusion and defeat.

My third proposition is that the most radical person in the room is not the one who claims to have understood the fundamental contradictions of capitalism, but rather is the one who asks: “What next?” Maybe what we need is a thymotic fascination with the evolutionary potential of the present rather than the wishful thinking premised on that abstract faith in the revolutionary potential of the masses who will rise up at some at some point in the future and detonate the collapse of ‘the system’. Until that historic moment, nothing that changes can in fact be real change. This theory of change is premised on the assumption that history is a succession of social structures (feudalism, capitalism, socialism) and therefore the only change that is real change is structural change.

v Mishra, P. (2018) *Age of Anger: A History of the Present*. London: Penguin Random House. Kindle Location 4599

vi Qunta, Y. (2016) *Writing What We Like: A New Generation Speaks*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.

vii Sloterdijk, P. (2006) *Rage and Time: A Psychopolitical Investigation*. New York: Columbia University Press.

viii Sloterdijk, P. (2006) *Rage and Time: A Psychopolitical Investigation*. New York: Columbia University Press, pg. 8.

ix Sloterdijk, P. (2006) *Rage and Time: A Psychopolitical Investigation*. New York: Columbia University Press, pg. 9.

iii Castells, M. (2012) *Networks of Outrage and Hope*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.

iv Mishra, P. (2018) *Age of Anger: A History of the Present*. London: Penguin Random House.

For Roberto Unger, the choices that follow from this 'structuralist' conception of change are either marginal tinkering to slightly reforming existing practices to, at best, improve institutional performance/efficiency, on the one hand; or on the other, revolutionary activity to totally replace the prevailing grand narrative, institutions, and practices.^x For Unger, neither of these is capable of delivering "radical reform": the former because it reinforces the status quo and the latter because revolutionaries end up using violence to force institutional change which they incorrectly assume can effectively transform institutions and usually all in one dramatic move.

For Unger, the solution lies in abandoning "structure fetishism" and the notion that institutional arrangements are indivisible. When this happens, you enter the world of the "democratic experimentalists" obsessed with the evolutionary potential of the present. In other words, instead of seeing the present as a burning platform between the past and the future, they see the opportunities in a rich and thick present for instigating incremental change.

Structure fetishism, Unger argues:

"denies our power to change the quality as well as the content of our practices and institutions: the way in which we relate to our structure-defying and structure-changing freedom. Structure fetishism finds expression and defence in an idea, hallowed in the history of social thought, that opposes interludes of *effervescence, charisma, mobilization, and energy* to the ordinary reign of institutionalized routine, when, half asleep, we continue to act out the script written in the creative intervals. An extreme version of structure fetishism is the political via negative that celebrates rebellion against routinized institutional life as the indispensable opening to authentic freedom while expecting that institutions will always fall again, Midas-like, upon the insurgent spirit...[S]tructure fetishism

represents an unwarranted denial of our power to change society, and, therefore, ourselves".^{xi}

The consequences of this structuralist and reductionist mode of thinking are the certitudes and rectitudes that Pieterse critiques in the previous chapter. The radical alternative is to recognise that institutional arrangements are in fact divisible and therefore the thymotics 'effervescence' of incrementalism can achieve radical change 'part-by-part and step-by-step'. This is why the most radical person in the room is s/he who asks: "What next?" The answers to that question guide what everyone then does when they wake up the next morning, rather than asking them to wait for a historic moment of change that never arrives.

Uncertainty, rage and the radical potential of incrementalism may help to frame the collective thinking-acting captured in the narratives and images of this book. By creating a space for a diverse group to spend time interrogating the evolutionary potential of the present, a set of provocations emerged that will surely infiltrate the bloodstream of Cape Town's body politic. This was not simply a dialogue for the sake of understanding, nor was it another one of those boring processes to generate 'policy proposals'. The collective thinking of a group of people who are actively engaged with the dynamics of a fast changing city like Cape Town resulted in a synoptic map of acupuncture points that can—in their contextual judgement—be activated by an appropriate set of interventions by specific sets of stakeholders. Instead of crafting another vision of the city using the favoured methods of the scenario builder and then 'backcasting' to the present, this group proceeded from 'what exists' without making the error of 'forecasting'. Instead, we creatively anticipated what may be possible from the vantage point of the evolutionary mid-zone between the exigencies of the shambolic present and the utopian renditions of a distant future. This uncertain mid-zone is, therefore, where incremental action can be imagined in ways that shaped the way choices get made over the longer-term.

xi Unger, R.w M. (1998) *Democracy Realized*. London: Verso, pg. 26—emphasis added.

x Unger, R.w M. (1998) *Democracy Realized*. London: Verso.

The Episodes

A key intervention of the Integration Syndicate was a series of nine 'episodes' designed to host sustained conversations over the duration of a year. The primary aim of these gatherings was to explore the various obstacles and solutions to social-spatial integration in the Cape Town metropolitan region.

Each episode examined a particular theme or obstacle with the idea of encouraging lateral understandings of the challenges and opportunities that each presented. Episode themes spanned the vast terrain of the multiple challenges that spatial integration in Cape Town present. The group began by exploring issues related to the reasons for spatial segregation, its geo-historical roots, the economic drivers of inclusion and exclusion and what could be the key building blocks towards a more integrated and inclusive city. This was followed by a deep dive into three distinct case studies—the Two Rivers Urban Park and the transit-oriented development plans proposed for Philippi and Bellville, promoted in the Built Environment Performance Plan of the City of Cape Town.

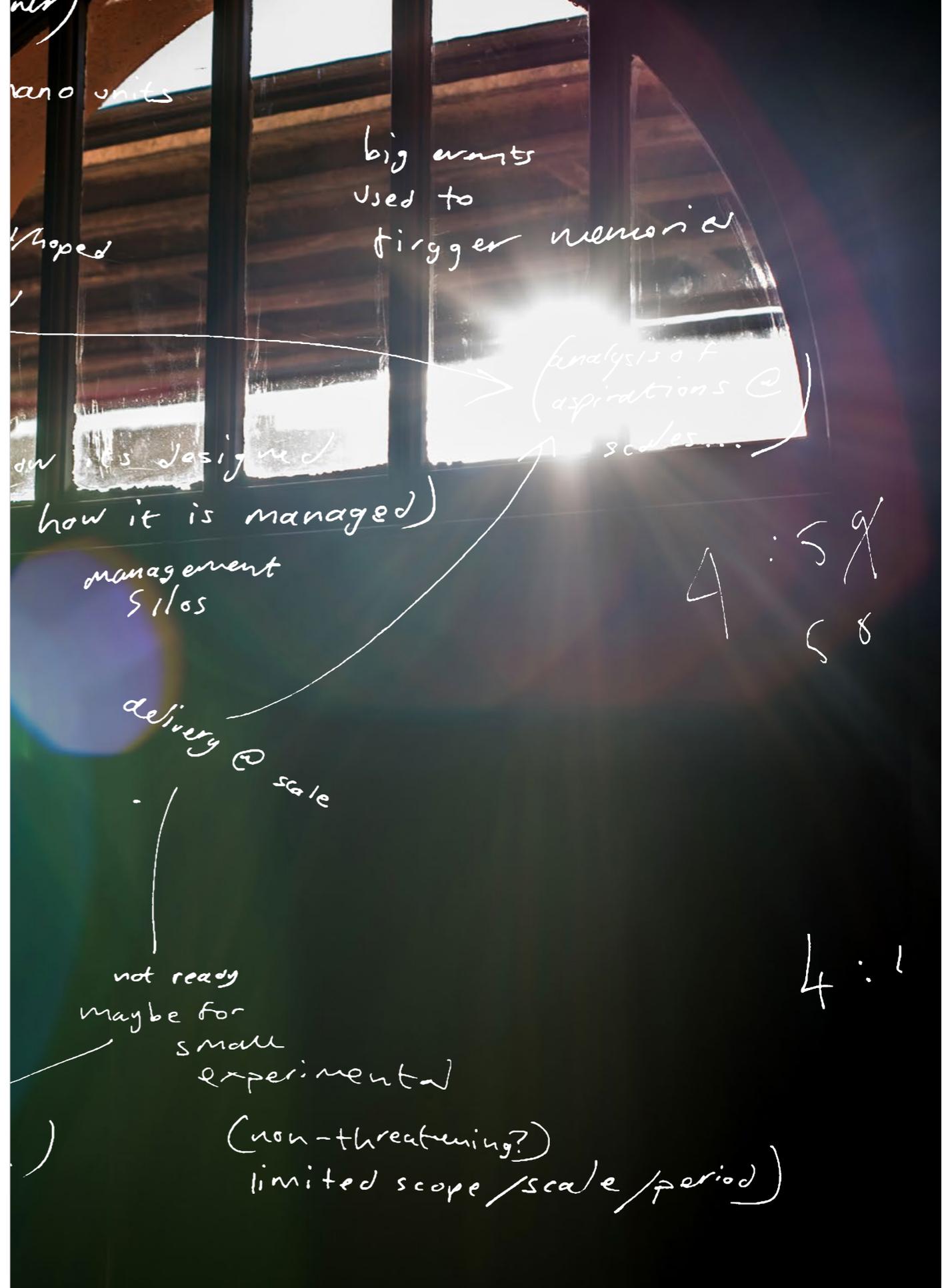
Imperative in this approach was the aspiration to foster 'action networks' through encounters in a safe and open space.

All the episodes were hosted at A4 Arts Foundation in Cape Town. Particular readings were shared prior to the gathering as preparation for the discussions. Each meeting began with Edgar Pieterse's framing of the theme, obstacle or case study. This was followed by a guest presentation that covered a particular element of the challenge at hand. The combination of these two presentations brought out the poignancy of the challenge.

After a short break, participants and presenters engaged in an open and frank discussion and debate about the information shared. Key to the success of this process was the non-partisan, safe and open space created. Additionally, there was clear and collective commitment to collaborative searching for answers. Pieterse's design ensured that these discussions would "stimulate an ongoing area of research and experimentation as part of a nascent regional innovation system on sustainable urbanism".

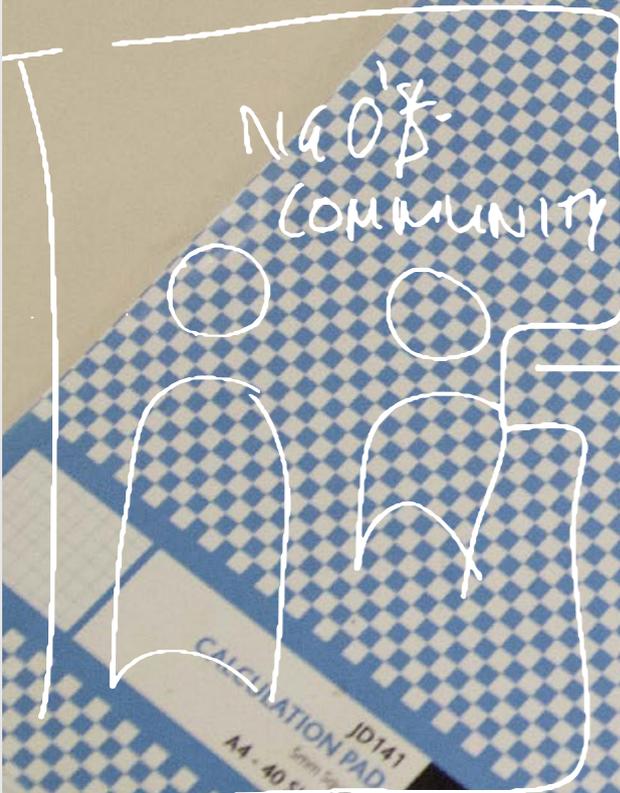
Conversations, debates and discussions continued with soup and wine.

"It is our belief that the Integration Syndicate can create a much broader, nuanced and inclusive policy community that may not all agree on what needs to be done, but at least create the basis for more effective action across diverse political and institutional settings in the city" — Pieterse, 2017



IDENTIFY
 LOCALLY
 |
 CONTEXTUALISE WITHIN
 CITY / COUNTRY / GLOBE

ISSUE NEEDS
 HOPES
 DESIRES



CHANGE

PRIVATE SECTOR

GOV

CONSENSUS/
 DISSENSUS

= EFFORT
 TIME

1. CRITERIA

- common tension ← response

- alignment of agendas + buy-in

- Strong Lship

- Flexible

- Building on what there

- BASE

- MATCHING + OPTIMIZING

opportunities



territory
 how did schools come to be like this?
 - separated controlled isolated
 'don't work'
 projects to reimagine property
 gov't. private land
 or private land
 fear of change low-cost developments being halted by existing residents
 how getting do approach
 what's the story?
 buy-in
 underutilized land
 rules + regulations (changing the boot throwin @'y)
 urgency rhetoric vs organic vs/and/or beta (test/experiment)
 what are the models that we can build?
 Digital XGIS
 - energy synergy
 - unimat
 - we xp
 not flip
 (how to try out of problem (??))
 reintegration
 ENABLERS



MOMENTS

INTERACTIONS

SPACES TO THINK / HAVE CONVERSATIONS

CIVICS

PHYSICAL SPACES

ENCOUNTERS

NEW

CHANGE-MAKERS

BUILDING NEW NARRATIVES

PEOPLE

CHAMPIONS

SKILLS

ACTORS

ENTREPRENEURS

TACTICS

LEARNING

LOCAL GOVT

PILOTS

FUNDING

COALITIONS

WHAT WE MEAN BY SCALE?

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Butternut Soup for 25 people

Ingredients

- 5 punnets cut butternut
- 3 large onions - diced
- 1/2 packed orange lentils - soaked
- a lot of garlic - 3 tbs
- 5 green chillies - cut
- 2 tsp ginger - crushed
- 1 tsp cumin
- 1 tsp paprika
- 1 tsp turmeric
- 2 cinnamon sticks
- 1 tbs salt
- 1 tsp black pepper
- 3 tbs oil
- 3 cans coconut cream
- 1 large loaf rye bread
- Toppings
 - fresh coriander
 - fresh chillies
 - pan-roasted biltong
 - seed mix

Cooking

- heat oil, add cumin ^{+ cinnamon sticks} to roast
- add onions, turmeric, paprika, salt + pepper
- sweat, then add garlic + ginger + chillies
- when soft add butternut and cook for 5-8 minutes
- Add water to cover butternut and let come to boil. Add soaked lentils - add a little more water. Boil until super soft - can crush @ steam
- Add coconut cream + blend
- serve hot @ toppings in bowls + bread.

Photographs by Andy Mkozi and Sydelle Willow Smith

Focus Groups
1-5

E-TAXI

Focus Group 1 7 March 2018

The e-taxi provocation kicked off the focus group element of the Integration Syndicate on Wednesday 7 March at the UCT GSB Philippi Solution Space. Participants included members from civil society, local and provincial government, transport NGOs, minibus taxi drivers, owners and operators, transport researchers and representatives from the technology and e-hailing industry. Regrettably, there was a noticeable absence of law enforcement representatives at the focus group, especially since law enforcement plays a significant role in regulating the everyday operations of the minibus taxi industry. The focus group provided some useful insight into the potential for the e-taxi provocation, with the most striking feedback being that these stakeholders have never, up to now, had the opportunity to speak openly in a neutral forum, such as was provided for by the e-taxi focus group. It was clear that there is a need for similar dialogues to take place in the future. Another key element which shaped the provocation was that the “e” in e-taxi should refer to ‘evolved’. The findings from the focus group helped pave the initial route of the provocation and deepened our understanding of the many intricacies of cross-cutting aspects of the public transport industry.

“Here’s an example – Mitchells Plain to Bonteheuwel trainline is down. So for those people, there are no busses going to Bonteheuwel from Mitchells Plain, there is no designated taxi association that goes to Mitchells Plain. So now what’s going to happen? Unfortunately we are not Uber – we must operate with an operating license. So if the taxi driver takes those people from Mitchells Plain to Bonteheuwel, they get pulled off, vehicles get impounded 10 or 7 grand later because we don’t have a license to operate there. That’s another issue.”
– Amien Abrahams



INVITED PARTICIPANTS

- Megan McLaren – Centre in ICT for Development (UCT)
- Chris Plano – Centre for Transport Studies (UCT)
- Helen Morrissey – Pegasys Researcher
- Akhona Mbenyana – Western Cape Government
- Kathryn Hyman – Western Cape Government
- Leigh Stolworthy – City of Cape Town
- Peter Gray – City of Cape Town
- Marcela Guerrero Casas – Open Streets
- Rory Williams – V&A Waterfront
- Kerry Petrie – Silicone Cape
- Nigel Zhuwaki – GoMetro
- Mxolisi Liwani – Codeta
- Jonathan Ayache – Uber
- Amien Abrahams – Hazeldene Shuttle Services
- Leszek Dobrovolsky – Instinct
- Caroline Sohie – Instinct
- Sean Cooke – African Centre for Cities
- Justin Coetzee – GoMetro
- David Schmidt – Strategies for Change
- Dawie Bosch – City of Cape Town
- Andrew Boraime – Economic Development Partnership
- Deidre Ribbonaar – Western Cape Government
- Danielle Manual – Western Cape Government
- Yolisa Kani – Uber
- Vernon Moonsamy – City of Cape Town
- Stacey Martin – Western Cape Government
- Mxolisi Liwani – Codeta
- Andile Kanyi – Codeta
- Adi Eyal – Civic Tech Advocate
- Zimkitha Buwa – Britehouse (SAP Systems for CCT)
- Reggie Springleer – City of Cape Town
- Johnny Copeland – Hosken Consolidated Investments
- Sinako Cetyiwe – Taxify

LIVING DIFFERENTLY

Focus Group 2
20 March 2018

The Focus Group examining the Living Differently provocation was held on the evening of Tuesday 20 March at the A4 Arts Foundation. Members from the education sector, NGOs, architects, urban designers, housing academics, local and provincial government officials and various other members of civil society attended the focus group. The overall principle of the provocation—to place a moratorium on sprawl and promote infill development—was supported. Some concerns were however raised; in particular, the focus on housing on the periphery of under-resourced schools could place additional pressure on already limited resources of many schools. The focus group participants further asked pertinent questions about the finer details of the provocation such as: Who owns the land that these projects would be located on? How would maintenance of such a project work in cases where schools are severely under-resourced? Despite the matters raised, the overarching sentiment was that schools should be the centre points of resilient neighbourhoods—where surrounding residents can provide both social and financial investments into their local schools to allow for a more holistic use of its facilities. Furthermore, schools can serve as social hubs for economic and cultural exchange and a broader process of learning.

“We’ve found that the school becomes a place for public life in a new post-apartheid set up. The hall is one of the biggest buildings and parts of a school that then becomes the biggest part of a neighbourhood, and we’ve often found that these school halls become the churches, bioscopes, and sometimes the economic driver for the school. In a way I am thinking that there is an opportunity to think of the school, the architecture of the school hall, the classrooms, as public space, as tools to integrate the immediate surroundings. Some of the key things about public life is that public life is used to set up minor relationships which is very important for democratic life...”
— Ilze Wolff



INVITED PARTICIPANTS

- Liza Cirolia - African Centre for Cities
- Adi Kumar - Development Action Group
- Helen Rourke - Development Action Group
- Sabina Favaro - Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading
- Barbara Southworth - GAPP Architects & Government
- Akhona Mbenyana - Western Cape Government
- Katherine Hyman - Western Cape Government
- John Edwards - Craft & Design Institute
- Doron Isaacs - Equal Education
- Danielle Manual - Western Cape Government
- Frank Cumming - Regenco
- Ilze Wolff - Wolff Architects
- Heinrich Wolff - Wolff Architects
- Jonny Gevisser - Extra-Mural Education Project
- Surita Sankar - Pelican Park SMT Member
- Rashiq Fataar - Future Cape Town
- Mercy Brown-Luthango - African Centre for Cities
- Leszek Dobrovolsky - Instinct
- Caroline Sohie - Instinct
- heeten bhagat - A4 Arts Foundation
- Michael Krause - Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading
- Leeroy May - City of Cape Town: Social Services
- Marco Geretto - City of Cape Town
- John Spiropoulos - Independent
- Frank Cumming - Regenco
- Mandisa Dyantyi - Social Justice Coalition
- Ntuthuzelo Vika - Social Justice Coalition
- Charlton Ziervogel - Shack/Slum Dwellers International
- Lester September - Forum of Cape Flats Civics
- Mirjam van Donk - Isandla Institute
- Mandisa Shando - Ndifuna Ukwazi
- Sarita Pillay - Ndifuna Ukwazi
- Nisa Mammon - Nisa Mammon and Associates
- Mokena Makeka - Makeka Designs
- Bradley Burger - City of Cape Town: Social Services
- Ruth Hall - Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies
- Ben Cousins - Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies
- Nomzamo Zondo - Socio-Economic Rights Institute
- Lauren Royston - Socio-Economic Rights Institute
- Werner Jurgens - Cape Town Housing Company

CULTURAL NARRATIVES

Focus Group 3 4 April 2018

Cultural Narratives was the third focus group in the series. This focus group tackled the 'onhandigheid' that many Capetonians have when speaking about issues of class, race, culture and gender. The focus group took place on 4 April at the A4 Arts Foundation. The group comprised artists, heritage specialists, local and provincial government, public art experts, members from youth radio organisations, the City of Cape Town Junior City Council Mayor, museum curators, designers and academics. A key outcome of this focus group was the role that storytelling, particularly intergenerational storytelling, could play within the Cultural Narratives provocation. A need to move towards developing skills amongst the youth in the city, to listen to and share personal and intergenerational narratives, was highlighted. The spatial dimensions of these narratives could then be shared by means of a cultural mapping project at a later stage of the provocation's lifespan.

"So much of the work that I do is based on breaking down the economies of silence. If you think about it our society was historically built on silence so even when there are opportunities to engage in the economy, there isn't the belief or the sense that we have a right to engage in the economy. One of the ways to address that deficit is to look at story, individual stories, and how do you create platforms where individual narratives are affirmed and given value and the confidence that comes from that starts to speak to the right to engage meaningfully in the economy...One of the things that our history has done is, it has depersonalised everything - so one of the ways to address that is to personalise everything."

— Participant



INVITED PARTICIPANTS

- Angelo Hannival - Zip Zap Circus
- Rouxle Freysen-Moffitt - City of Cape Town JCC
- Alessio Marcus - City of Cape Town JCC
- Litha Sokutu - Social Literacy Conversation
- Dylan Campbell - Social Literacy Conversation
- Brenda Skelenge - Isivivana
- Lester September - Forum of Cape Flats Civics
- Shari Daya - University of Cape Town
- Iain Harris - Coffeebeans Routes
- Joy Olivier - Ikamva Youth
- Nina Callaghan - Children's Radio Foundation
- Shamila Rahim - City of Cape Town Arts and Culture
- Wandile Kasibe - Iziko Public Programme
- Zayd Minty - African Centre for Cities
- Vaughn Sadie - African Centre for Cities
- Leszek Dobrovolsky - Instinct
- Mercy Brown-Luthango - African Centre for Cities
- Rike Sitas - African Centre for Cities
- Alicia Fortuin - African Centre for Cities
- Premesh Lalu - Centre for Humanities Research
- Anika Ebrahim - Naspers
- Tanner Methvin - Africa Centre
- Zukile Keswa - IkamvaYouth
- Reza Khota - Independent
- Wandile Kasibe - Iziko Public Programme
- Koleka Putuma - Independent
- Jane Taylor - Centre for Humanities Research
- Paul Grendon - Centre for Humanities Research
- Valmont Layne - Centre for Humanities Research
- Ilze Wolff - Wolff Architects
- Karen Goldberg - Reos
- Tim Conibear - Waves for Change
- Bonita Bennet - District 6 Museum
- Jenny Reznick - Magent Theatre
- Nomusa Makhubu - Michaelis School of Fine Art
- Emile Jansen - Heal the Hood
- Ncedisa Nkonyeni - Bertha Foundation
- Thandi Msebenzi - Independent
- Neo Muyanga - Independent
- Amrita Pande - University of Cape Town
- City of Cape Town Junior City Council
- Jay Pather - Gordon Institute for Performing and Creative Arts
- Robin Jutten - City of Cape Town
- Siyabonga Swelindawo - Zip Zap Circus
- Ukhona Mlandu - Mlandu Works

PLACEMAKING THROUGH PUBLIC WORKS

Focus Group 4
17 April 2018

The penultimate focus group, Placemaking through Public Works, took place on Tuesday 17 April. The focus group was attended by public employment experts, Early Childhood Development (ECD) NGOs, funders, local and provincial government officials, as well as academics. The session began with an overview of the provocation, followed by insightful presentations from Dr Kate Phillip, Shakira Maharaj from DG Murray Trust and Justine Jowell from SmartStart. The presentations provided an overview of the public employment context in South Africa, as well as the various ways in which Public Employment Programmes (PEP) can be used to create employment as well as transfer skills and build capacity. Key to this provocation is the fact that PEP are flexible and have the potential to be transformative, but when implemented through an inflexible government they cannot fulfil their potential. In order to reinforce this transformative ability, public employment interventions must be consistent in order to build systemic change. During the focus group discussion, and based on the feedback from the presentations, there are significant opportunities for innovative public employment programmes within the care sector such as ECD facilitation and care for the elderly. The focus group provided a steady foundation and network of practitioners working in the PEP space for the provocation to build on.

"The extent and provision of early learning in South Africa has reached a ceiling, and we are struggling to break through that for a number of reasons. Some of it is really how little financial investment there is in ECD...there is a clear graph that shows early investment into education gives you huge economic returns. Later investment, higher education, though important gives you much smaller economic returns. There is a strong case to be made for that investment if it is not happening."

— Justine Jowell



INVITED PARTICIPANTS

- Kate Philip - Cities Support Programme
- Belinda Bowling - Naspers
- Katherine Hyman - Western Cape Government
- Akhona Mbenyana - Western Cape Government
- Shakira Maharaj - DG Murray Trust
- Justine Jowell - SmartStart
- Zayd Minty - African Centre for Cities
- Liza Cirolia - African Centre for Cities
- Fuzlin Abrahams - City EPWP
- Jesse Laitinen - The Streetscape Project
- Lester September - Forum for Cape Flats Civics
- Allison Petersen - Provincial EPWP Coordination Office
- Stephen Lamb - Working on Fire
- Andrew Lord - Working on Fire

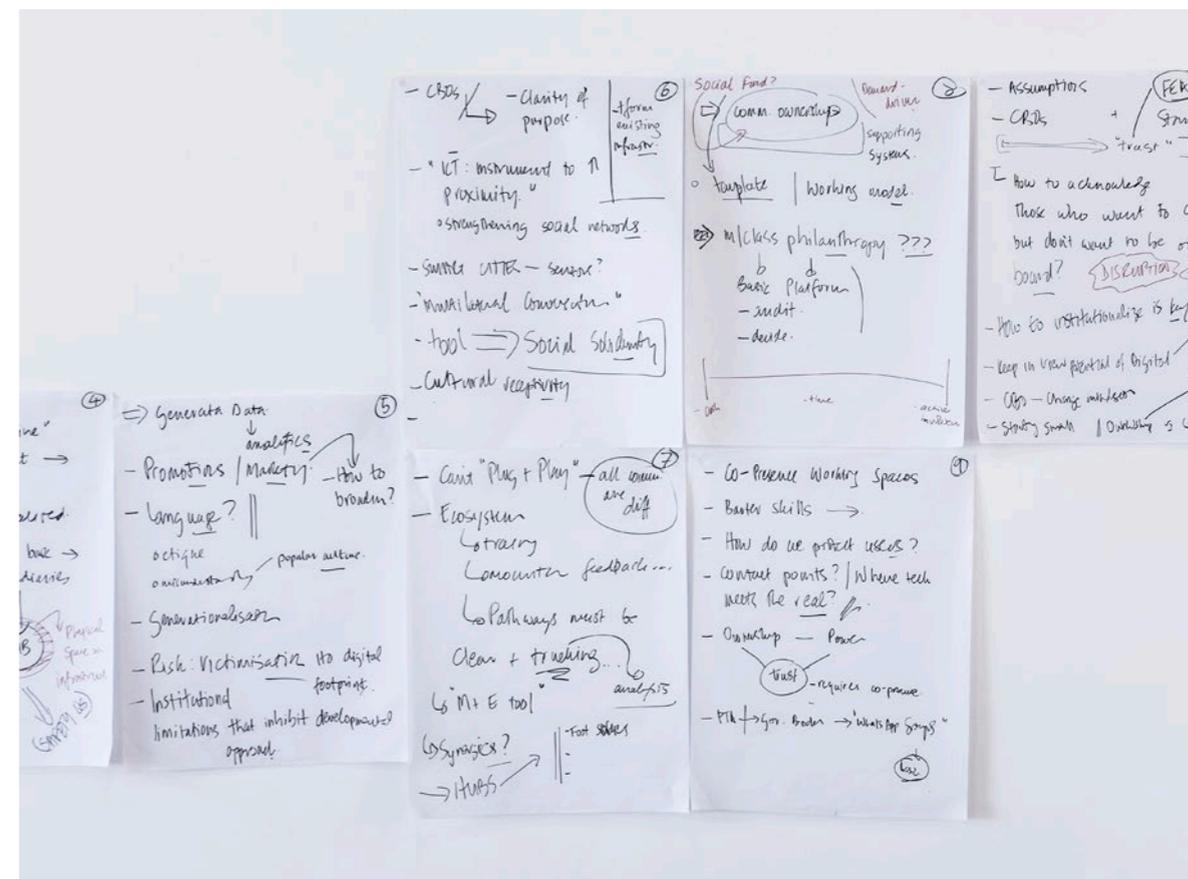
SOLIDARITY SWITCHBOARD

Focus Group 5
15 May 2018

The final focus group, Solidarity Switchboard, took place on Tuesday 15 May. The session was attended by NGOs, local and provincial government, entrepreneurs, tech industry representatives, designers and coders. Two brief case studies of organisations who currently work to promote integration across class lines in the city were presented. The focus group participants were prompted by various questions relating to the provocation such as: Do you think there is merit to use digital platforms and social media tools to facilitate interaction and social solidarity across lines? If so, who should take the lead in fostering such systems? What are the potential, unintended, consequences of a project of this nature? In addition to this, the focus group also raised pertinent questions relating to the role of digital platforms in generating trust cross class, race, culture and gender. One of the case studies, the I-Can Centre, became a key example of the type of investment that needs to occur before a digital switchboard of this nature could be developed and implemented at a city scale. The I-Can Centre operates as a digital, community-run, training and skills development centre in Elsies River in Cape Town. This model was a useful point of departure for the further refinement of the Solidarity Switchboard provocation.

"The thing with digital, is that there is no reason why you can't have an animation company based in Elsies River. In fact there are success stories already...one of the success stories is in terms of sound. There is an entrepreneur who uses a recording studio in Elsies River, and he sells voice overs. His clientele is in India and Japan. He has now had a need for additional voices. He's now got more people that he is employing. It's a very interesting notion of how you can use tech to start breaking down these bridges."

— Nirvesh Sooful



INVITED PARTICIPANTS

- Nirvesh Sooful - African Ideas
- Farhaana Allie - African Ideas
- Llewlyn Scholtz - Genesis Community IT Initiative
- Marco Morgan - City of Cape Town
- Jodi Allemier - Western Cape Economic Development Partnership
- Erica Elk - Craft and Design Institute
- Robin Jutzen - City of Cape Town
- Pascal Henke - The Happiness Network
- Kerry Petrie - Silicone Cape
- Vaughn Sadie - African Centre for Cities
- Leszek Dobrovolsky - Instinct
- Caroline Sohie - Instinct
- Josh Ginsburg - A4 Arts Foundation
- Kelly Arendse - Architect
- Anika Ebrahim - Naspers
- Nishendra Moodley - City Support Programme
- Johan Du Toit - Formula D Interactive design firm
- Scott Chapman - Formula D Interactive design firm
- Bruce Bassett - African Institute for Mathematical Sciences
- Ncedisa Nkonyeni - Bertha Foundation
- Megan McLaren - Centre in ICT for Development (UCT)
- Ravi Naaido - Design Indaba
- Deon Halls - College of Cape Town
- Emma Dicks - Code4CapeTown
- Hannes Heyns - TIMU Technologies

“The integration they talk about is first of all artificial in that it is a response to conscious manoeuvre rather than to the dictates of the inner soul [...] Let me hasten to say that I am not claiming that segregation is necessarily the natural order; however, given the fact of the situation where a group experiences privilege at the expense of others, then it becomes obvious that a hastily arranged integration cannot be the solution to the problem. It is rather like expecting the slave to work together with the slave master’s son to remove all the conditions leading to the former’s enslavement [...] It will sound anachronistic to anybody genuinely interested in real integration to learn that blacks are asserting themselves in a society where they are being treated as perpetual under-16s. One does not need to plan for or actively encourage real integration. Once the various groups within a given community have asserted themselves to the point that mutual respect has to be shown then you have the ingredients for a true and meaningful integration. At the heart of true integration is the provision for each man (sic), each group to attain its style of existence without encroaching on or being thwarted by another. Out of this mutual respect for each other and complete freedom of self-determination there will obviously arise a genuine fusion of the life-styles of the various groups. This is true integration.” — Steve Biko

Our Workshop Collaboration

Ppphhhiinnddaa kwakhona is a site-specific, print-based installation made by Our Workshop, in close dialogue with the African Centre for Cities, for the Integration and Ideas Festival¹. Our Workshop is a community-based arts studio housed within Guga S'thebe in Langa, dedicated to 'the making, fixing and sharing of things whilst spending time together in a creative environment.' Through relationships scattered across the city, Our Workshop aims to create a network of people who like making things in an attempt to decentralise the Cape Town Art scene and nurture artistic and skills-based development that responds directly to community needs.

Our Workshop's focus on learning through sharing, as a way to build knowledge and skills, strongly resonated with the Integration Syndicate project, and especially aligned with the Syndicate's tactile language of mark-making. The *Ppphhhiinnddaa kwakhona* piece, inspired by an artist walkabout with Bonolo Kavula, was made collaboratively through a series of four workshops.

Printmaking workshops were combined with Our Workshops commitment to use upcycled materials. Stamps shaped from rubber off cuts, pieces of sail fabric, discarded packaging, bottles, cassette tapes and dried reeds offered interesting ways in which a thought could replicate and adapt through iteration, often losing authorship along the way.

Making sessions were coupled with music, meals and lengthy discussions around the imparting and accruing of traces and impressions; touching on language, landscapes, the circular economy, water scarcity, a sense of home, belonging and collaboration. Gradually, larger patterns formed in the incremental coming together of many hands to create a varied and immersive installation.

Title: *ppphhhiinnddaa kwakhona*
(aaaaaaaaannndddd repeat)

Mediums: Donated sail off-cuts, off-cut foam and recycled material, oil based printers ink

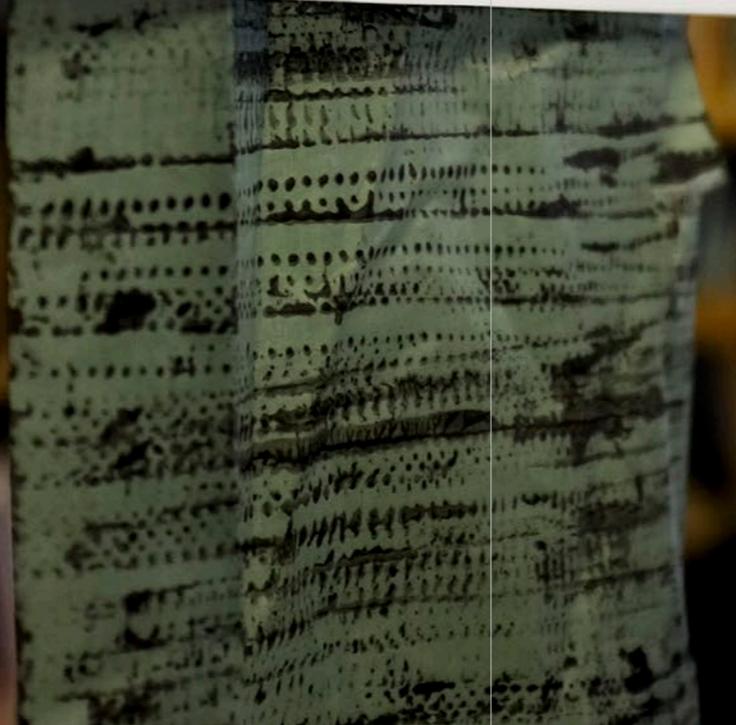
Year: May - July 2018

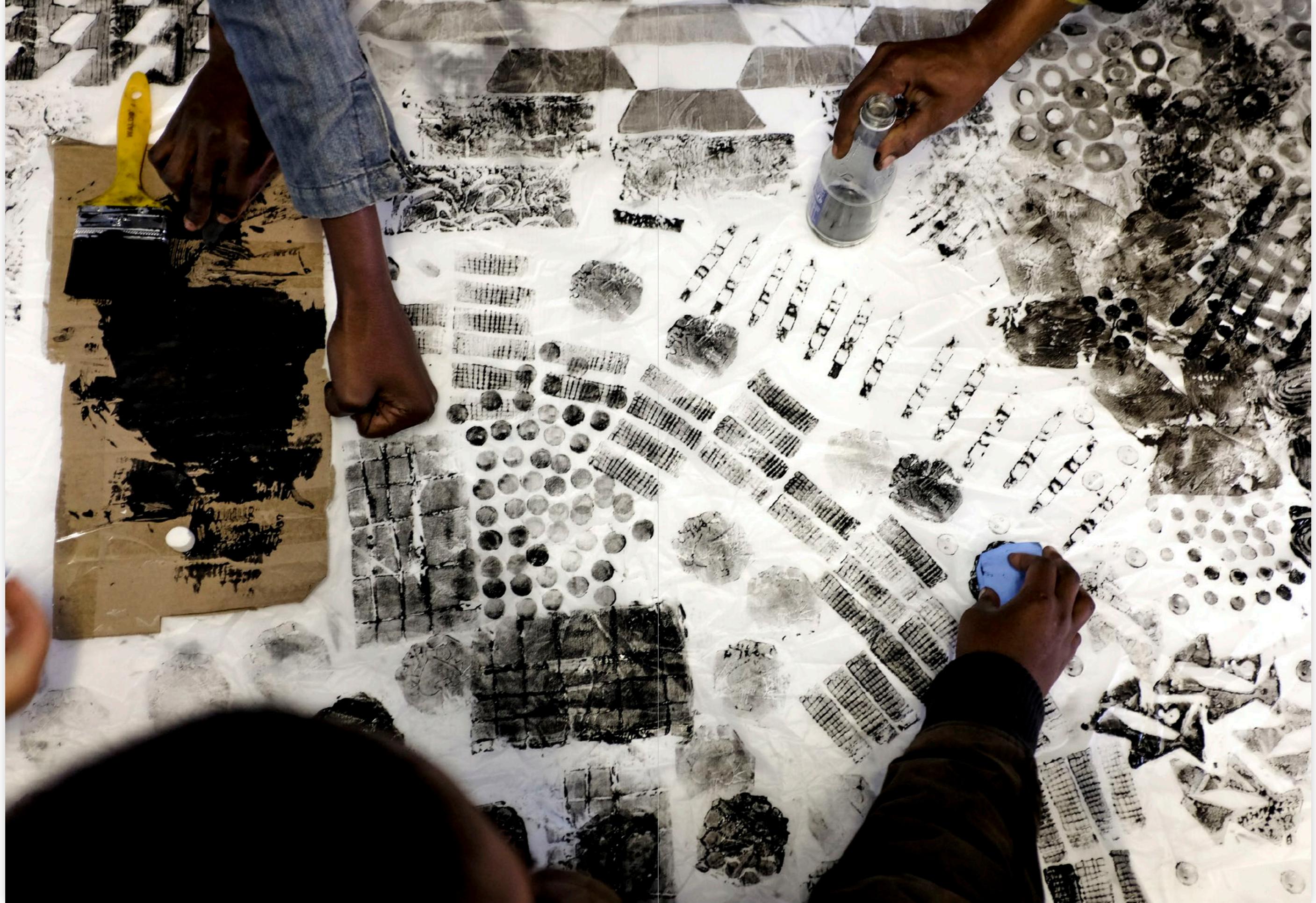
Artists: — Anathi Gqirana
— Anele Ace Nono
— Bukho Maqungo
— Chulumanco Feni
— Gina van der Ploeg
— Heath Nash
— Ivy Nhlapo
— Johnny Alvarado
— Khanyisiwe Plaatjies
— Lonwabo Vimbi
— Luvuyo Mpoza
— Nontuthuzela Mhloma
— Sinethemba Mpini
— Sizwe Shumane

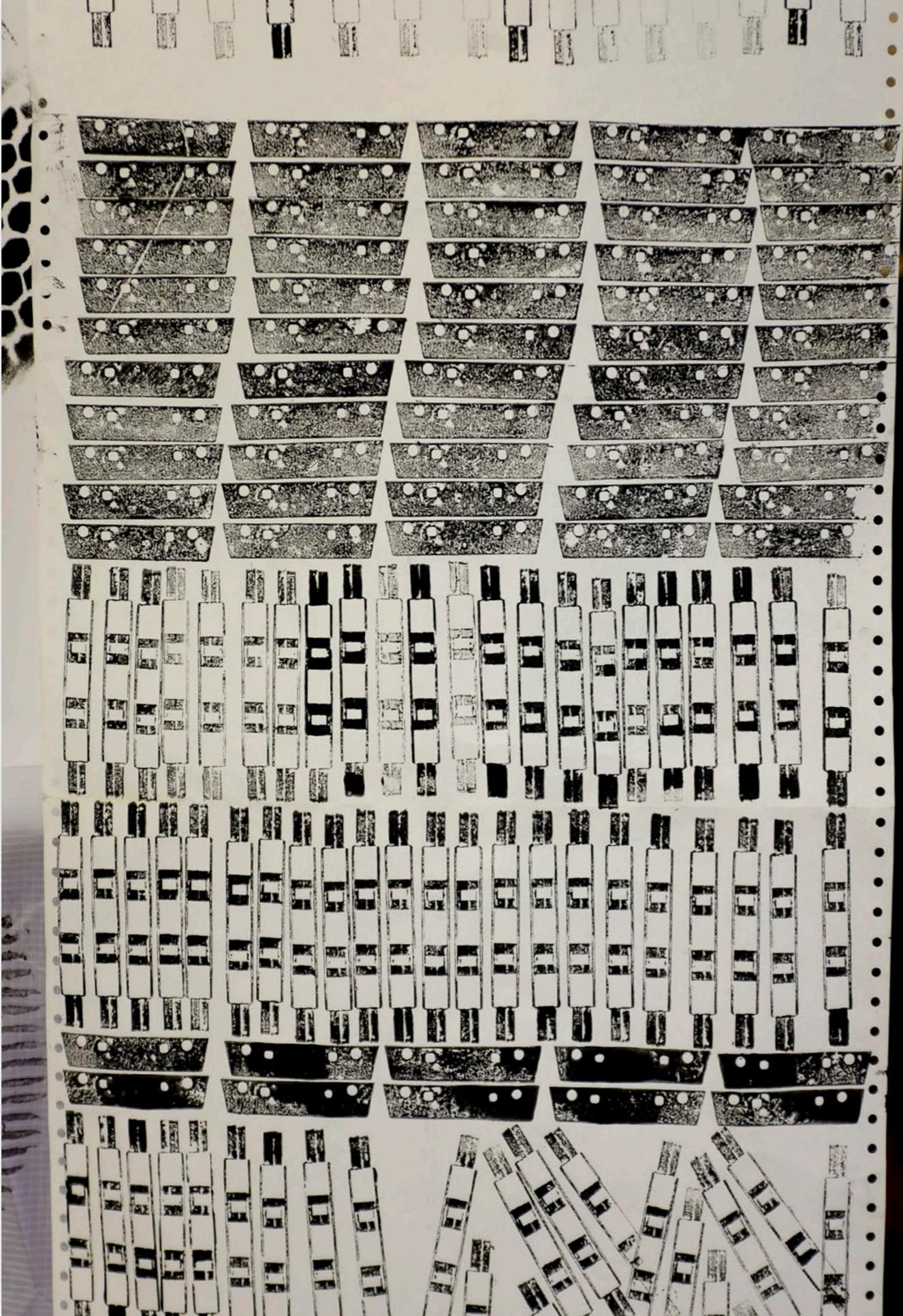


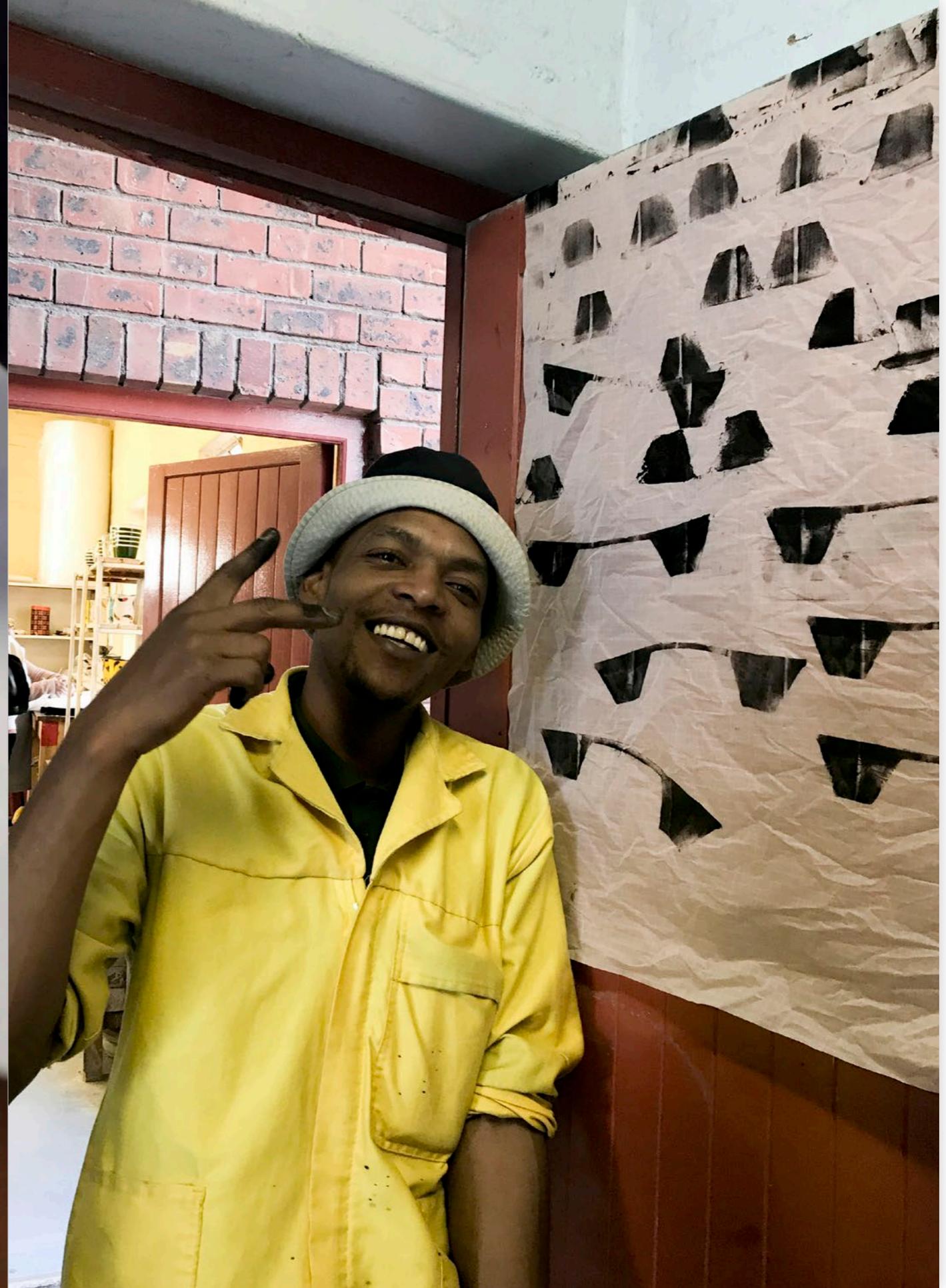
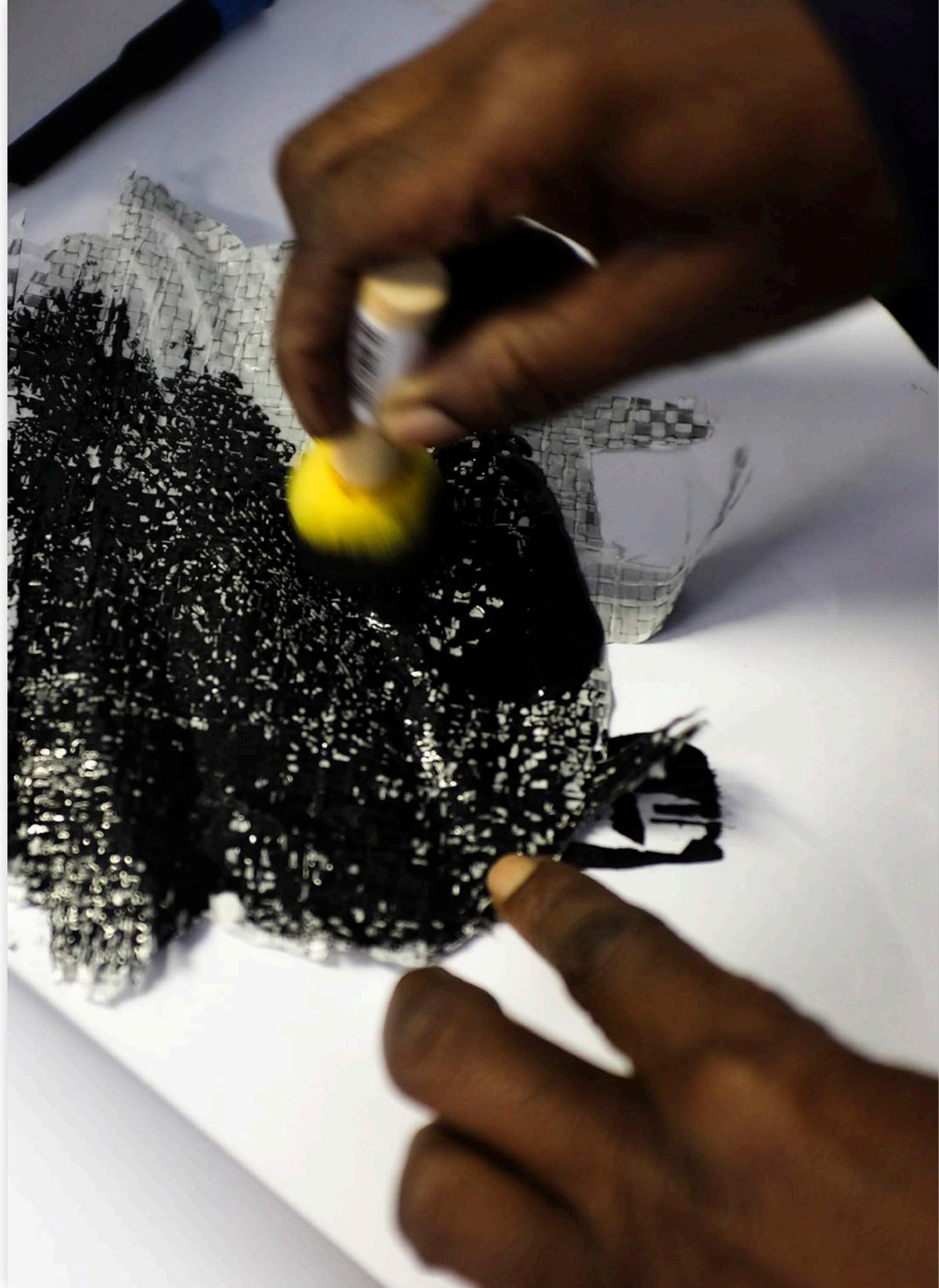
¹ A public event held on the 26th of July within which the project's five provocations could be engaged.

















Photographs by
Bella Knemeyer

The Integration & Ideas Festival

In a time when news headlines are overflowing with stories of corruption, state capture, violence and protest, these five provocations provided five rooms of hope. This is how facilitator and participant in the Integration and Ideas Festival, Kate Philip, described the day.

On the 26th of July 2018, over 100 members of the public braced the Cape Town winter to attend the long awaited Integration and Ideas Festival. A culmination of 18 months of work undertaken by the Integration Syndicate, the Festival was the first opportunity that the public had to engage with the five provocations.

Hosted at Guga S'thebe in Langa, the festival was attended by a myriad mix of members of civil society and government as well as from the private and public sectors.

Following an opening presentation by Edgar Pieterse, participants were divided into randomised rotating groups, attending each of the provocations throughout the day in a 'world cafe' approach. The sessions were an hour long; beginning with a provocation overview, followed by a set of interactive questions and then lively discussion, input and feedback. Written comments were captured via dedicated cards and shared on a communal pinboard.

Each of the five provocations was presented by someone with experience in the field relevant to their provocation, but who had not explicitly been involved in the initial thinking behind the provocation. This allowed for the presenters to both facilitate the engagement during the session while also being able bring their own expertise and critique their relevant provocations.

There was a clear atmosphere of intense participation and deep engagement with the material. One participant, Amanda Canga, a PhD Candidate at the University of Stellenbosch through the Centre for Complex Systems in Transition, said "This festival has made me think of different ways to reimagine Cape Town and how Cape Town can be more integrated." Amanda said she particularly liked the idea of technology and the minibus taxi system (e-taxi) and how this can be used as a way to make our spaces more integrated by bringing people together through both journey and destination.

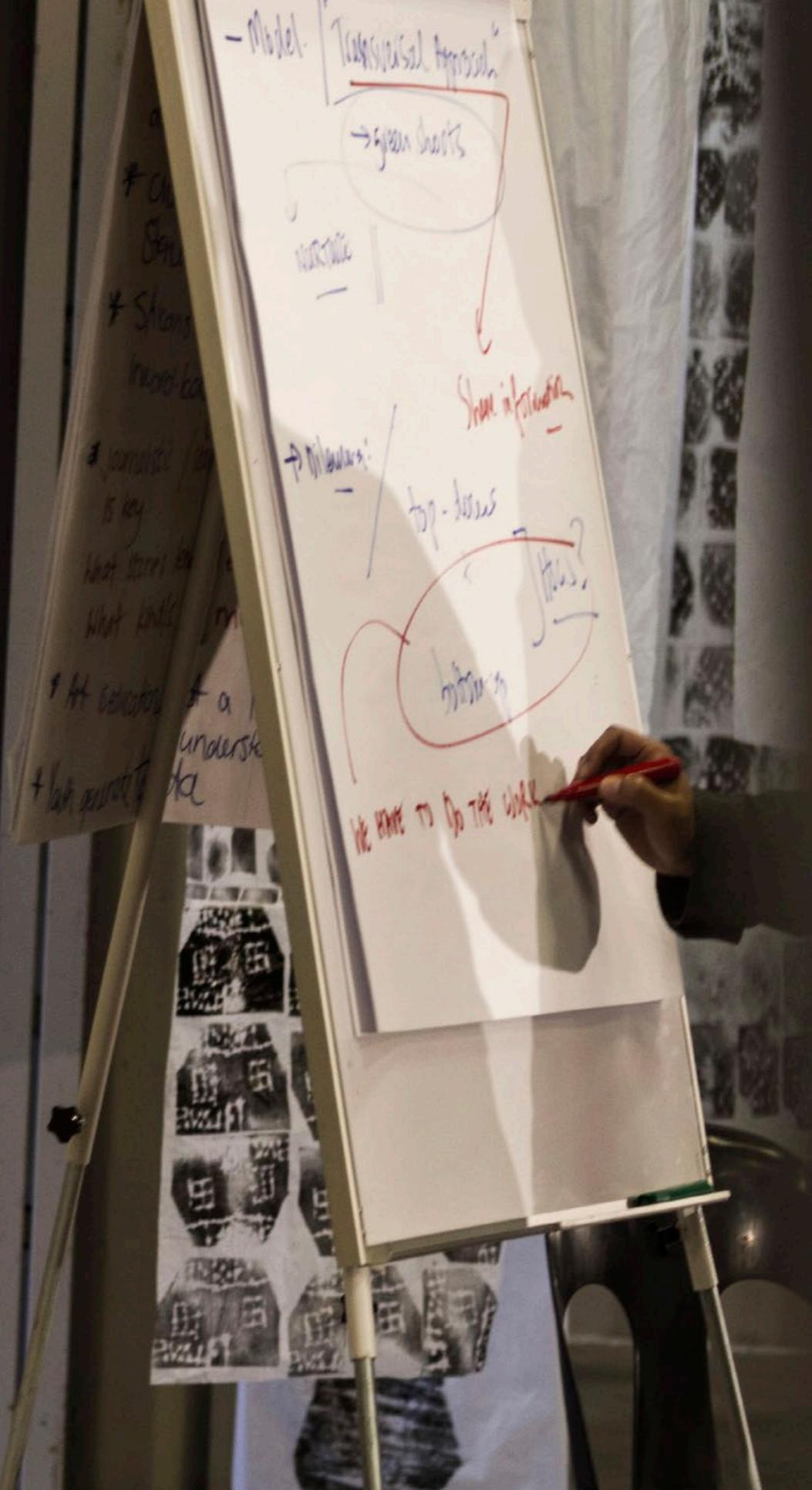
The day concluded with a plenary session where all participants were invited to share their final thoughts on the day. Tristan Görgens, the facilitator of the Living Differently provocation and a member of the Policy and Strategy Unit in the Department of the Premier, shared a final thought—"the diversity of thoughts that people have show the real ways in which we have to grapple with these issues because they are both technical and political and deeply about how people want to live in cities and in their neighbourhoods. We have to get at this from all angles and the only real way of doing this is through iterations of these kinds of dialogues so that we can get closer and closer to a language that delivers value for all of us."









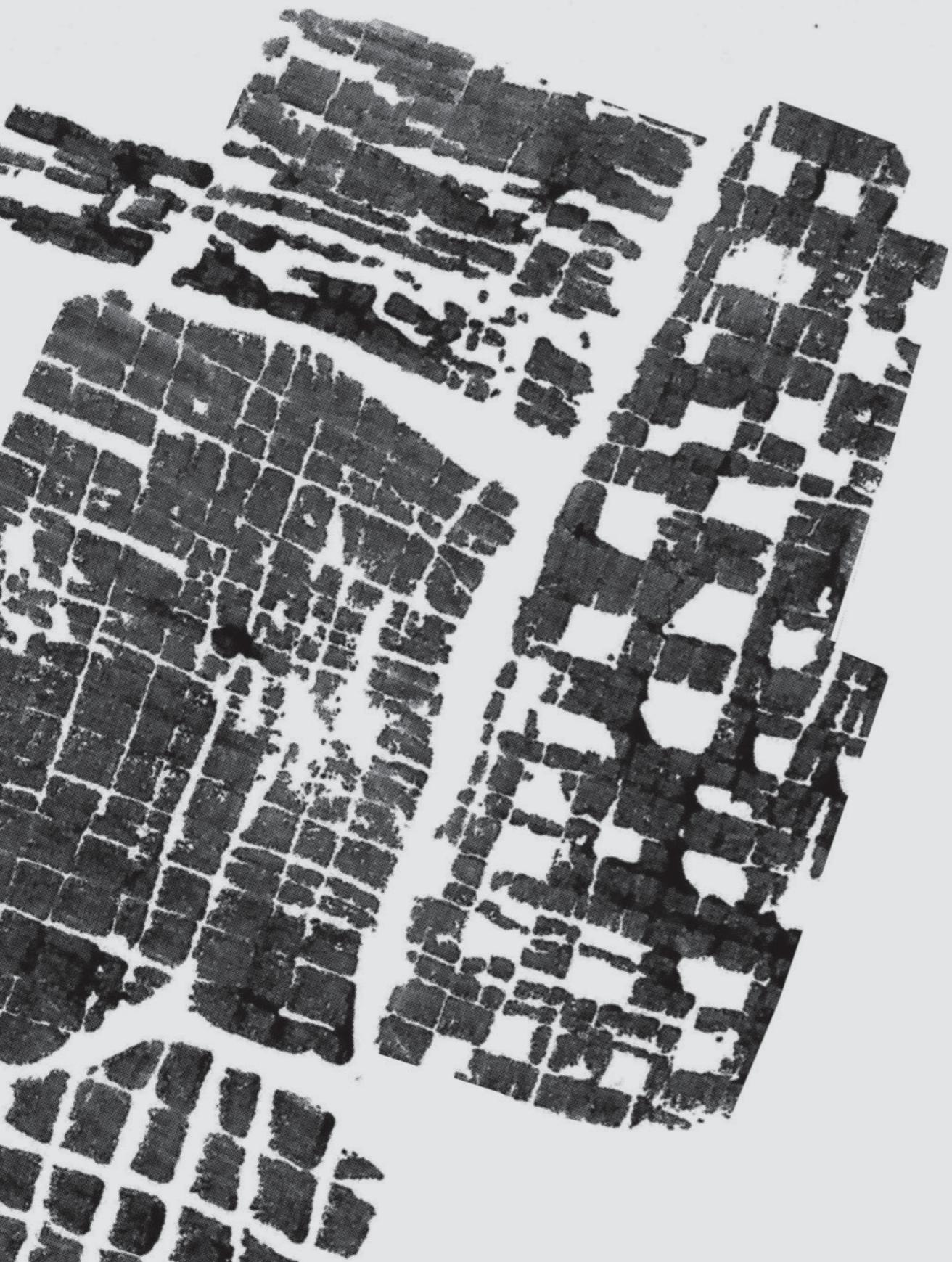


Photographs by
Andy Mkosi

Provocations



The provocations set out in this book are not meant to be comprehensive answers but serve to stimulate informed public debate and support good ideas by keeping them in circulation. The Integration Syndicate engages these ideas through the lens of socio-spatial integration and strives to foreground holism and horizontal connections between the five provocations. We hope that these ideas will be pursued by relevant actors with a direct interest in each, but such work always depends on the health of our local democracy, levels of trust and the relationships between sectors in the city.



Provocation 1:

E - Taxi

A novel vision
for affordable, safe and
integrated public transport.

OVERVIEW

This provocation puts forward the idea of enabling minibus taxis with smart digital technologies to effect the necessary transition towards safe, reliable, predictable and flexible mobility. It recognises the value of minibus taxis as an organic response to the fragmented shape of our city. The recommendation is a 5-year plan on how to recapitalise the existing system and vehicles in order to improve the efficiency and reliability of this mode of public transport.

It envisages recapitalised minibus taxis fitted with a ride-hailing platform like disruptive businesses Lyft and Uber. These evolved taxis, or e-taxi for short, would be equipped with GPS, seat sensors, speed control, roll bars and safety belts and would operate along existing and future designated bus routes in order to increase efficiency and safety.

The e-taxi provocation argues that there is no longer a need to invest in a new form of public transport, MyCiTi, but rather to redirect investment into improving an existing and well-used public transport system such as the minibus taxi system. In addition to this, in order to further sweat the e-taxi asset, these vehicles could be used as courier delivery vehicles during off-peak hours, among many other possibilities.

TRANSPORT CONTEXT

“The TOD strategic framework will reverse the legacy of apartheid spatial planning and redress the injustices of the past by stopping long travelling distances and urban sprawl as we bring people closer to residential and work opportunities.”

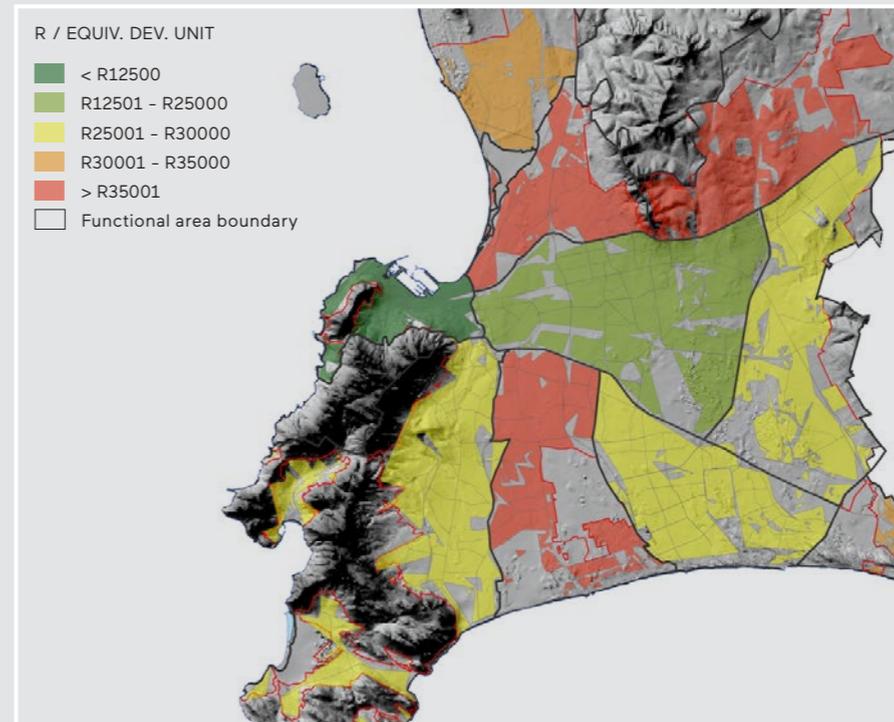
(Mayor P. De Lille, 2017)



City of Cape Town. 2018. “Map 5d: Consolidated spatial plan concept”, in City of Cape Town Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework: p11.

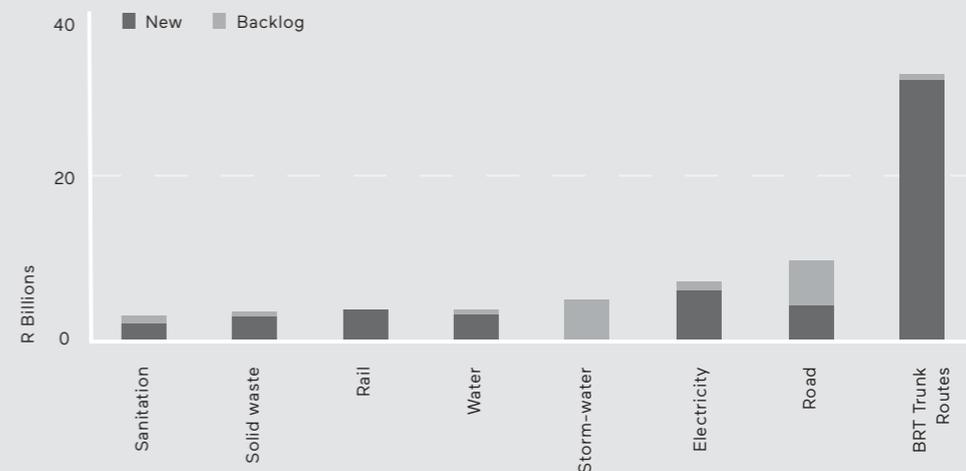
City of Cape Town. 2017. Supplied by Planning Department.

CAPITAL COST OF INFRASTRUCTURE PIPELINE



City of Cape Town. 2018. “Diagram G26: Current Infrastructure backlogs and capital cost of new infrastructure to 2030,” in City of Cape Town Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework: p238.

COST TILL 2032



TAXI RECAP PROGRAMME

“The current Minibus Taxi industry consists of three main components; formalised VOC operators (ex- minibus-taxi operators), roughly 10,000 legal minibus-taxi operators and an estimated 5,000 illegal minibus-taxi operators, mainly serving local trips.” (TDA 2017)

The Taxi Recapitalisation Programme (TRP) brought about to replace old unsafe taxi vehicles with safe compliant vehicles, by compensating operators with a scrapping allowance for each vehicle scrapped.

In 2006, the TRP launched a 7-year programme with an estimated original total budget of R 9 billion. At the end of 2017, 69 221 of 135 384 targeted Old Taxi Vehicles (OTVs) have been scrapped. According to Dr Herrie Schalekamp, it seems a fair estimate that about half of this budget has been spent given that about half of the targeted OTVs have been through the programme.

We don't have to reinvent the wheel: The Recap programme methodology can be retrofitted to meet the e-taxi ideals.

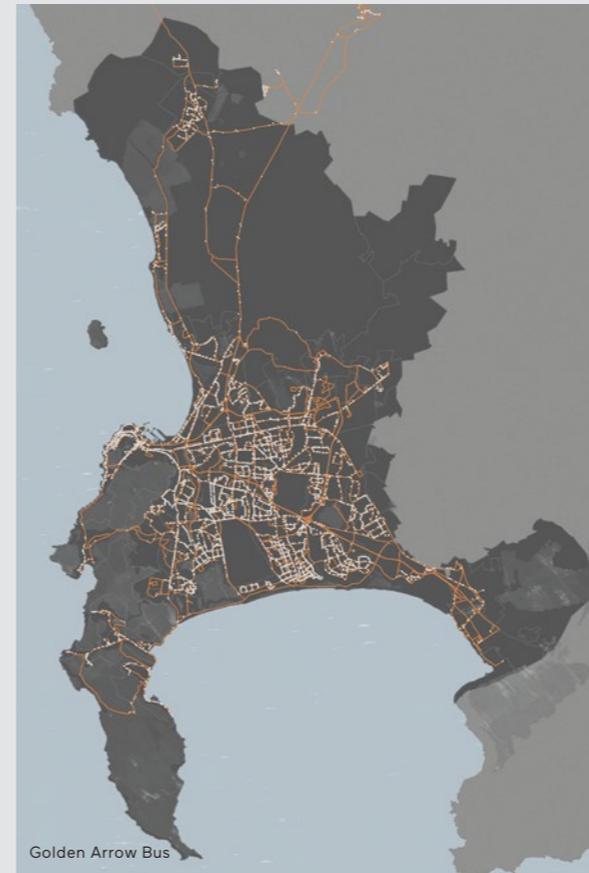
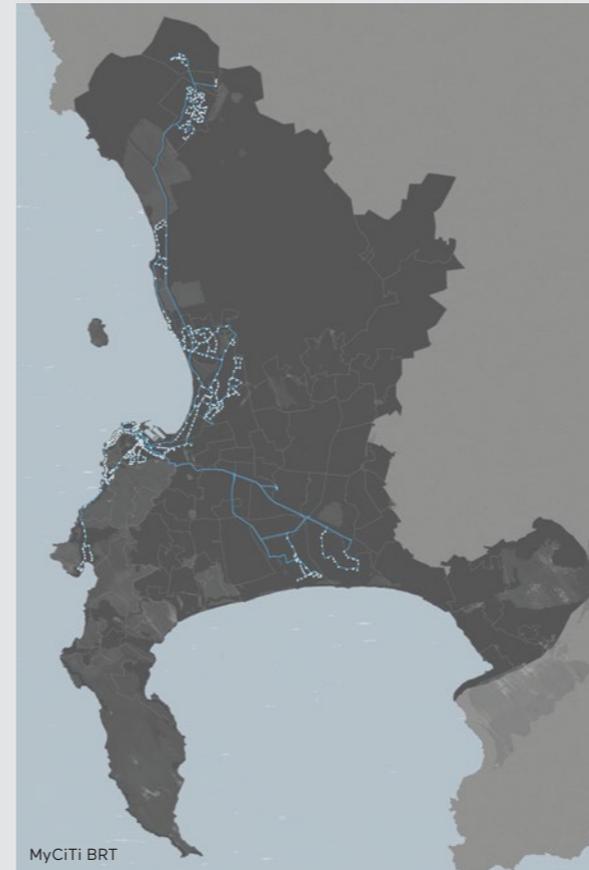
PUBLIC TRANSPORT EXTENT

An average Cape Town day in 2016 saw 2.5 million people reliant on public transport as their primary form of travel, 95% of whom are in the low-middle income brackets. 8% of passengers used contracted bus services, 12% minibus taxi, 18% passenger rail, 9% walked or cycled, whilst private vehicular transport was at 53%.

Cape Town's Transport Picture 2016.
Transport and Urban Development Authority.

LEGEND

	MyCiTi BRT
	Metrorail Trainline
	Golden Arrow Bus
	Minibus Taxi
	Station



Adapted from: University of Cape Town, GIS Library (2009-2017)



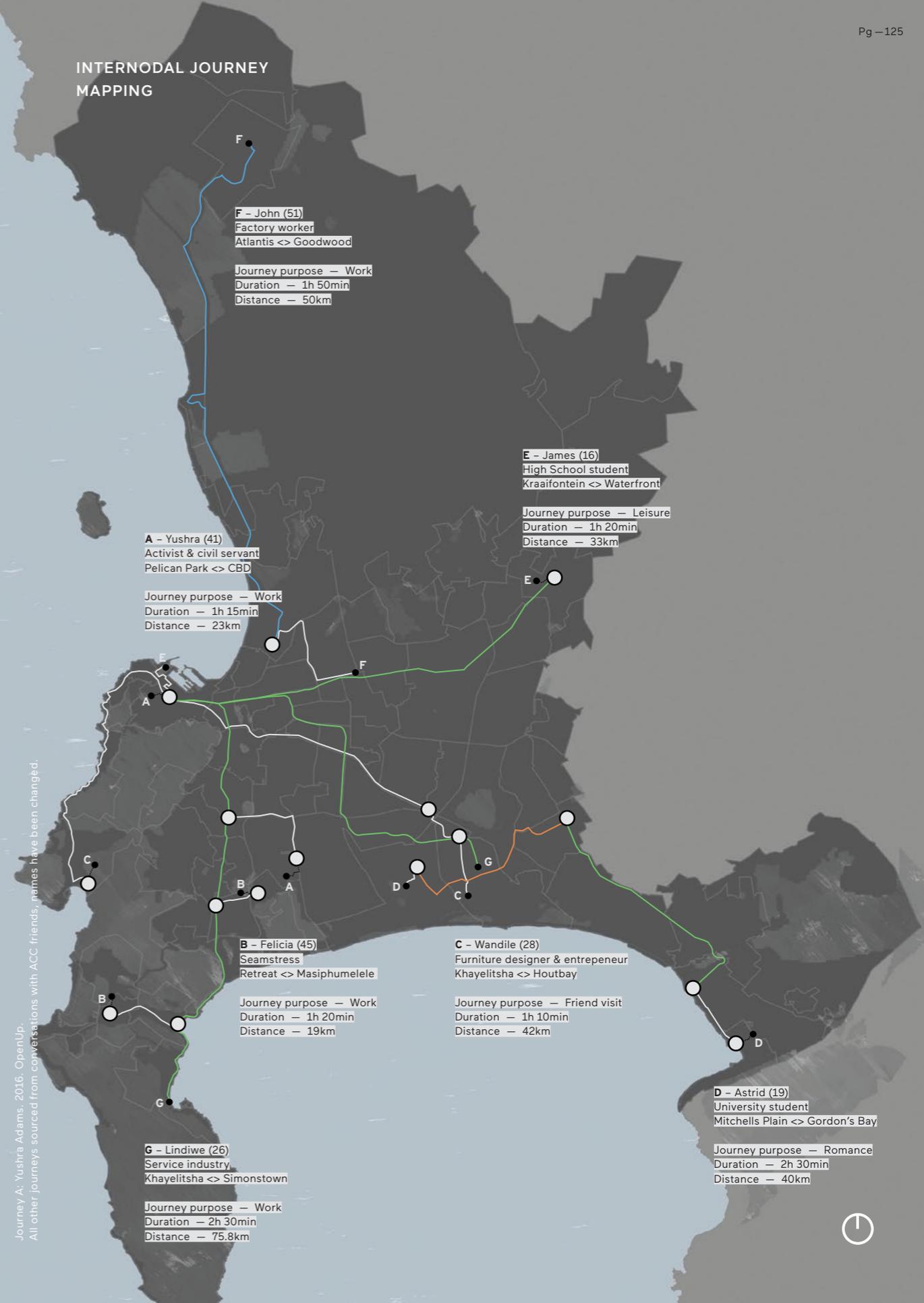
PUBLIC TRANSPORT EXTENT OVERLAYED



LEGEND

●	Start / End
○	Interchange
—	Minibus Taxi
—	Golden Arrow
—	Metrorail
—	MyCiTi Bus
—	Walking

INTERNODAL JOURNEY MAPPING



Journey A: Yushra Adams, 2016, OpenUp.
All other journeys sourced from conversations with ACC friends, names have been changed.

F - John (51)
Factory worker
Atlantis <> Goodwood
Journey purpose — Work
Duration — 1h 50min
Distance — 50km

E - James (16)
High School student
Kraaifontein <> Waterfront
Journey purpose — Leisure
Duration — 1h 20min
Distance — 33km

A - Yushra (41)
Activist & civil servant
Pelican Park <> CBD
Journey purpose — Work
Duration — 1h 15min
Distance — 23km

B - Felicia (45)
Seamstress
Retreat <> Masiphumelele
Journey purpose — Work
Duration — 1h 20min
Distance — 19km

C - Wandile (28)
Furniture designer & entrepreneur
Khayelitsha <> Houtbay
Journey purpose — Friend visit
Duration — 1h 10min
Distance — 42km

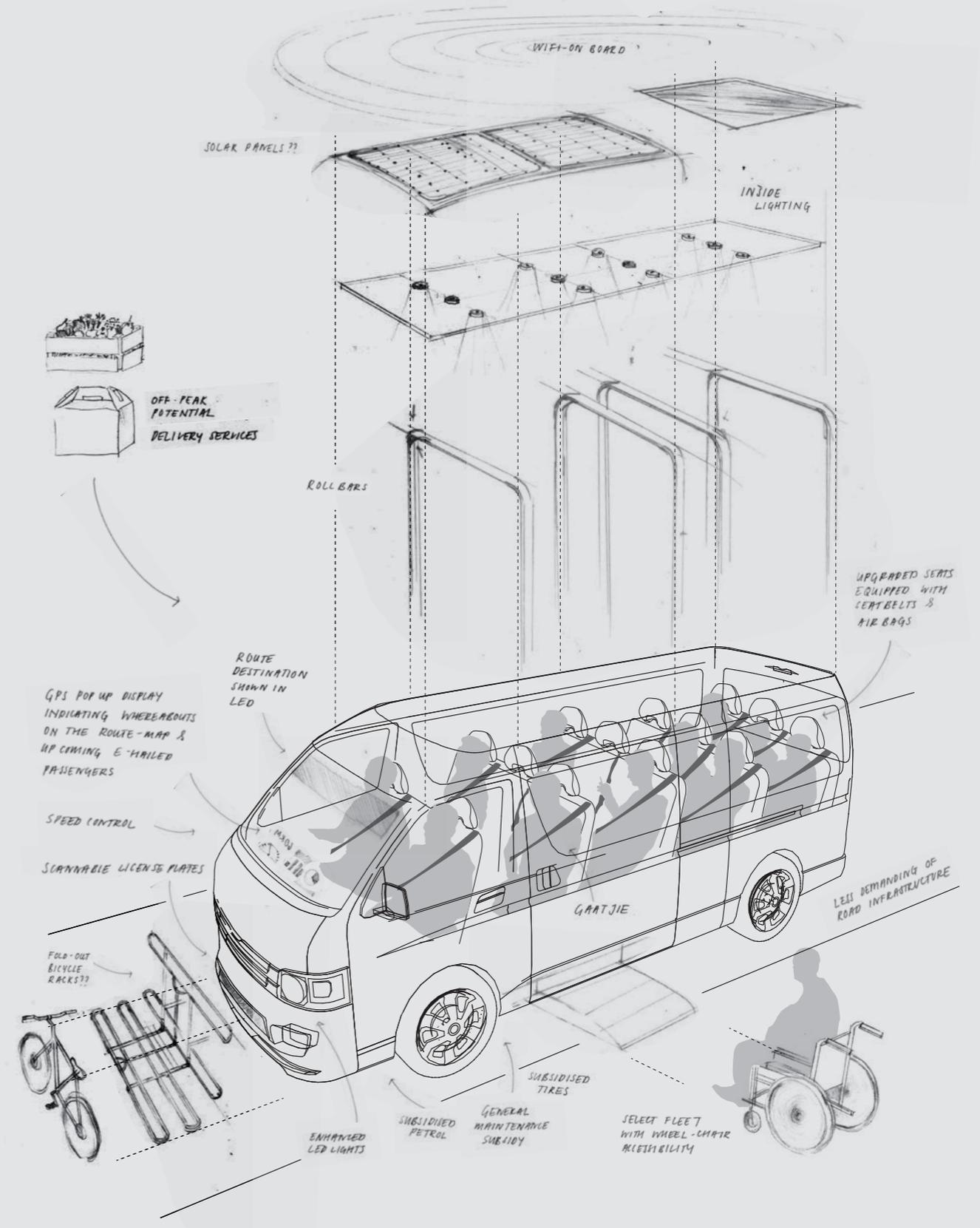
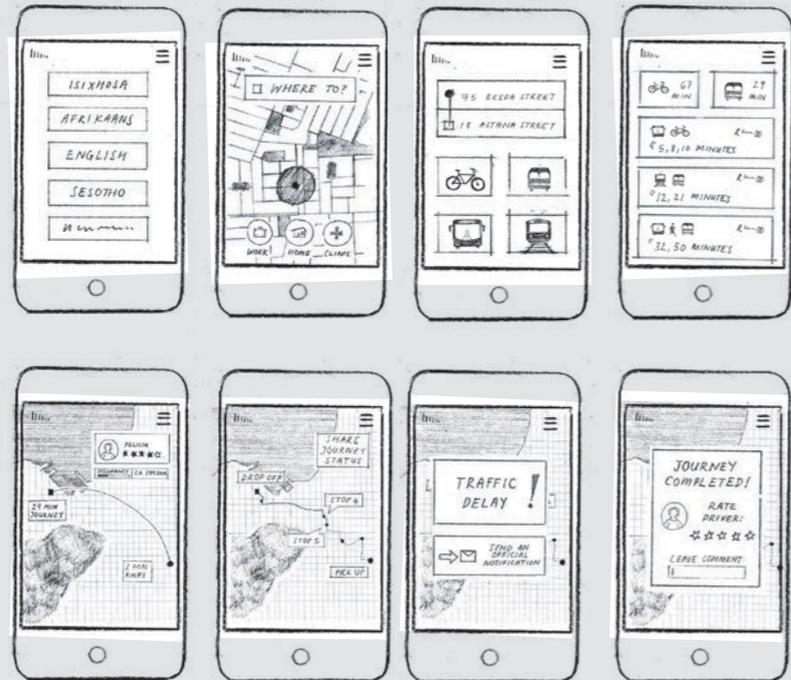
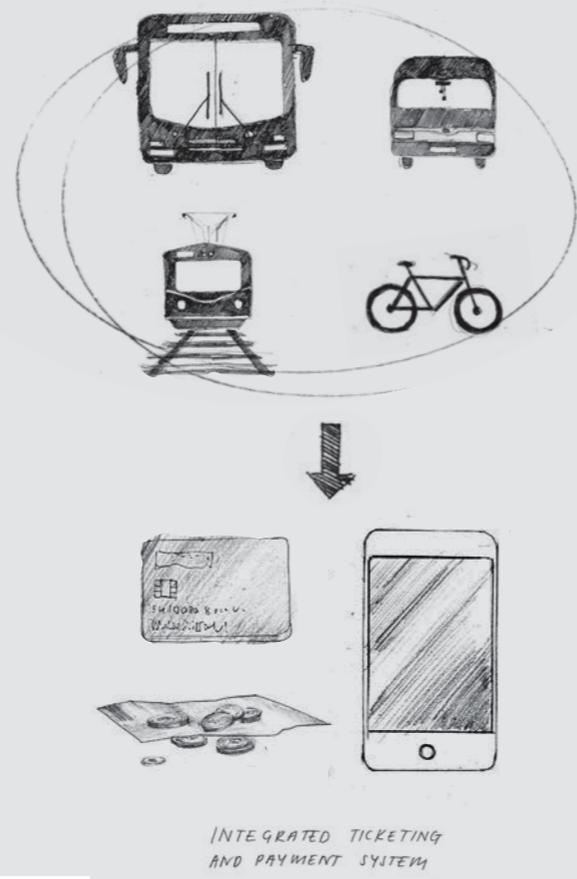
G - Lindiwe (26)
Service industry
Khayelitsha <> Simonstown
Journey purpose — Work
Duration — 2h 30min
Distance — 75.8km

D - Astrid (19)
University student
Mitchells Plain <> Gordon's Bay
Journey purpose — Romance
Duration — 2h 30min
Distance — 40km



THE E-TAXI

The e-taxi anatomy could be reimagined to improve its safety, efficiency and reliability. The adjacent illustrations show enhancements which range from introducing a smart-cash-card hybrid ticketing system that could integrate existing modes of transport, to offering off-peak services such as deliveries and chartered trips—all which would be managed by an App. Structural improvements include, inter alia, enhanced LED lighting, seat sensors and speed control.



FESTIVAL REFLECTION

Facilitator:
David Schmidt

The e-taxi provocation aims to explore the way in which shifting the minibus taxi (MBT) system onto a digital platform, creating a dedicated lane and route system as well as integrating the MBT system with other modes of transport such as rail and bus, has the potential to transform the spatial configuration of the city as a whole. David Schmidt, a transport consultant with extensive experience in this sector, was the facilitator for this provocation at the Integration and Ideas Festival. According to Schmidt, his first impression of the provocation was that it “provides an innovative solution to the transport challenges of Cape Town.” He further explained that the provocation resonates with current thinking both in the City of Cape Town and internationally.

On the day of the Integration and Ideas Festival, Schmidt approached each session by conveying the problem around congestion as a critical mobility challenge that affects all citizens, and is, furthermore, one which could only be solved if the vehicle occupancy rates are increased to enable more shared transport. Schmidt explains that the only way in which the congestion can be addressed in the foreseeable future would be, “via some form of taxi service, based on marrying the minibus taxi concept to e-pooling and vehicle technology innovations that have emerged over the last decade.”

The evidence that Schmidt referred to in order to support this claim comes from a “recent OECD ITF shared mobility simulation using real data from Lisbon [which] suggested that replacing all current private and public vehicles, excluding high volume transit, with shared taxis and shared minivans using e-hailing resulted in congestion disappearing, emissions reducing by a third, a total required vehicle fleet only 3% of the current size and almost all trips being direct.”

Schmidt recalls that the overall response to the provocation was positive. Jens Horber, a researcher at Isandla Institute, commented that



Photographs:
Andy Mkosi



“the provocation is a unique ground-up transport response for Cape Town as opposed to top-down impositions like (Transit-oriented development (TOD) and Bus rapid transport (BRT), and it makes a strong case for economic transformation as it supports black entrepreneurs. It acknowledges and works with existing expertise and knowledge”. Despite the positive response to the provocation, valid concerns were raised such as: Should this provocation be driven by government, via the private sector, or through civil society? How would the e-taxi provocation integrate with the current MBT? Is there, in fact, an appetite amongst operators and drivers for this type of service? How could higher capacity modes such as bus and train services be enhanced as a key complement to e-taxis? Importantly, would the digital divide and lack of access to smartphones and data disadvantage poor people from accessing e-taxis, subsequently further deepening unequal access?

In addition to these concerns, other pieces of insights and questions were raised. Schmidt recalls some of these. What regulatory measures would be required to enable e-taxis and to disincentive low occupancy vehicle use? What business model would be required to sustain an e-taxi approach and what forms of subsidy

or state incentives should be applied? How can government ensure that the e-taxi system is both attractive to middle class private car users, while not exclusionary and exclusive to wealthier residents in the city? These questions are important ones to ask as they form a portion of the future exploration of the viability of the e-taxi provocation.

In terms of the overall success of the day, Schmidt recalls that the use of the summary panels was an effective way to enable the presenters to convey the provocation’s message easily, and bring the provocation to life. The feedback cards which participants were asked to complete at the end of each session further enhanced the experience by giving participants another channel for input. While the goal of the Integration and Ideas Festival was to target everyday citizens in Cape Town, Schmidt feels that there may be scope for doing something similar with a more specialist grouping of innovative transport operators, techies, minibus taxi drivers and operators, as well as transport planners. Overall, Schmidt felt that e-taxi was a move in the right direction for transport in Cape Town. “I would say that e-taxi is a provocation that can be advanced by some additional work to further develop the idea and to popularise it amongst operators, planners, and transport policy-makers.”

COMBATING CONGESTION DAY ZERO - MOBILITY, ACCESS AND TECH

by
Monique
Mortlock

'Visionary leadership' is needed for an innovative idea to transform the urban space in Cape Town. Public transport in the country's second biggest city has become, at best, a daily challenge for the tens of thousands of commuters who live in suburbs or on the periphery of the city in townships. At worst, it is dysfunctional and reinforces the deep legacy of segregation in the city.

And even worse, it is fast approaching a scenario where a traffic 'Day Zero'—or 'Gridlock Day'—may grind the city to a halt, according to David Schmidt.

Schmidt is a director of Strategies for Change, a consultancy focused on leadership and innovation. He facilitated a discussion on one of five provocations or ideas at the Integration and Ideas Festival, where its aim was to consider practical ways to implement small-step changes that could begin to have wider effects in desegregating a city that's still burdened by the effects of apartheid.

Schmidt believes e-taxis is a viable solution, or at least one of the solutions for tackling the ever-growing congested highways and freeways in the city and for getting private vehicle users out of their cars and into taxis. According to

Transaction Capital, a financial services provider in the taxi industry, 15 million people travel in more than 250 000 minibus taxis nationwide, making it one of the dominant modes of public transport in the country. These are privately owned vehicles supporting a large bulk of the country's working class, especially those in the lower income brackets, but the industry receives little government subsidies than its counterparts in the sector (rail network and buses). This could be because government is focusing its energies on fixing a poor rail service.

In Cape Town, the municipality's Transport and Urban Development Authority, envisages delivering an "integrated, intermodal and interoperable transport" system in the city.

The City of Cape Town admits it can't do this without a functioning rail network—which the municipality views as "the backbone of the transport system." But the rail network has been beset by problems over the past few years, worsening since 2015, with a spate of attacks on infrastructure, vandalism, and cable theft. The Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa (PRASA)—the parastatal responsible for most passenger rail services in the country—has also been dealing with issues of corruption within top management over the years.

The City would like to take over management of the rail network from Metrorail (a division of PRASA), in the hopes of them being able to provide a better service. But this could still take a number of years to get off the ground, as the business plan still needs to go through various phases and be presented to national government.

PRASA has admitted there's been a decline in ticket sales over the past few years, speaking to commuters' growing distrust in the rail service. PRASA has had to answer to Parliament on numerous occasions over the root causes of the failing service in the Western Cape, which includes instability of top management at the parastatal.

And even though the situation seems to have stabilised, with no major infrastructural damage since October, Metrorail commuters must still endure daily delays and cancellations.

Schmidt says while government tries to get the rail service back on track, it should also look at new, creative solutions to fix the transport problem in the City. This is the genesis of the e-taxi provocation. As Pieterse writes, there's no longer the need to invest in a new form of public transport, but "rather to redirect investment into improving an existing and well used public transport system such as the minibus taxi system."ⁱ

It's about reinventing the wheel.

The idea of e-taxis is simple: Minibus taxis will operate in the same way as taxi cab hailing services, Uber or Taxify. Commuters will use an app to find and hail the nearest minibus taxi, and instead of waiting at one stop for a taxi to fill up, "a taxi driver will know that someone a block away, for instance, is waiting for a taxi."

The most popular mode of travel in the City is private vehicles (accounting for 53%), while those travelling by train make up 18%, closely followed by minibus taxis at 12%, and contracted bus services at 8%.ⁱⁱ

ⁱ Pieterse, E: "Reflections on the complexity of transformative city politics", 2018

ⁱⁱ https://www.tda.gov.za/docs/categories/1759/6978_Transport_Picture_2017_05122017.pdf

Passengers queuing for taxi's during a bus strike which began on the 18th of April 2018 and lasted for 27 days. Photograph by Masixole Feni

Most (95%) public transport users are in the low to low-middle income bracket. But if local and provincial government wants to persuade private vehicle users to use public transport, it is imperative to find a solution to that both improves the public transport network and reduces traffic. This could satisfy both groups.

Schmidt believes e-taxis could change urban life in Cape Town. The African centre for Cities envisions e-taxis being equipped with GPS facilities, seat sensors, speed control, roll bars, and safety belts and that they could "operate along existing and future designated bus routes in order to increase efficiency and safety."

But Schmidt says for this to become a reality, a change in thinking is needed on a local government level as well as a buy-in from commuters and the taxi industry.





Cape Town's late afternoon traffic along the N2 Highway, May 2019
Photograph by Bella Krameyer

He says the municipality already has what is needed and the “ability to provide leadership” to spearhead e-taxis.

Richard Gordge, CEO of Transport Futures (a specialist transportation and management consulting practice), says it might be more challenging to convince taxi operators, than commuters, to consider e-taxis: “If you look at the ethics to first formalise minibus taxis to be part of let’s say the MyCiTi bus service [a bus rapid transit service managed by the City of Cape Town], and the extent of the negotiations that that took to form some trust around: ‘If I’m not getting paid cash in hand for this trip, how do I get paid?’ It may well be a tougher thing to get the industry and the operating associations to understand the business model and buy into it.” When the BRT service first rolled out in 2010, the municipality entered into a long-term agreement with Vehicle Operating Companies to run the MyCiTi routes. These companies were set up by minibus taxi associations. It was a way of including taxi operators in a new transport model that potentially threatened their business.

Gordge may be right as most taxi drivers in Cape Town and Bellville, when asked what they thought of the idea of e-taxis, were sceptical. One, who wanted to remain anonymous, asked: “When will we get paid? How will the money get to me?”

Some commuters however were open to the idea. Unity Ruiters from Parow says she will make use of such a service: “[O]nly if it is safe and hygienic,” while Ray Lenders from Northpine says, “It can definitely work. What a great idea? But the thing is CODETA and CATA have wars over routes. Imagine they used location tracking technology?”

CODETA (Cape Amalgamated Taxi Association) and CATA (Congress of Democratic Taxi Associations) are rival taxi associations in Cape Town.

Lenders is right to be concerned about the instability within the minibus taxi industry.

Violence, sometimes fatal shootings, fighting between rival taxi associations, and battles with traffic and law enforcement are just some of the characteristics of this industry.

Last year, shootings related to conflict over taxi routes in Nyanga, Khayelitsha, and Wynberg, claimed the lives of more than a dozen people.

The minibus taxi industry is also far less regulated and receives fewer government subsidies compared with other public transport systems like the rail or MyCiTi bus networks.

As Gordge explains: “In this country we spend far too little on our public transport systems to keep our cities functional and economically viable.” But there is also not an unlimited budget. “We’re in a bit of a trap. The minibus taxi industry has, in one respect, assisted by not drawing any direct subsidies from the government to transport almost 40% of our travelling public every day. In terms of the investment made in it, versus how many people are being transported by minibus taxis, there needs to be a much greater focus.”

Schmidt says e-taxis won’t cost government all that much, although he’s unable to give an estimate of the costs involved. But as he says, it’s all about finding new ways to reduce congestion on the roads, to make Cape Town a more integrated city where low to middle income earners can also be an integral part of the urban space instead of spending a large part of their day travelling. Andrew Kerr, a senior research officer at the University of Cape Town’s DataFirst, says “the average commute for black South Africans is twice as long as that of US commuters and 2.5 times as long as for EU commuters. Black commuters spent an average of 96 minutes commuting compared with 60 minutes for white South Africans.”ⁱⁱⁱ

Transport delays and inefficiencies lead to a negative economic impact on the local economy as individuals lose pay and businesses lose time due to workers being late.

If the goal is to get more people travelling together in one vehicle, minibus taxis serve as the perfect conduit. The aim is also to “improve the safety, efficiency and reliability of this mode of public transport.” As one Twitter user commented, when I posed the question of e-taxis “I don’t want to be

iii http://opensaldru.uct.ac.za/bitstream/handle/11090/789/2015_156_Saldruwp.pdf?sequence=1

finding religion half-way through my trip. I'd like to get to wherever without being complicit in breaking any by-laws." Minibus taxi operators generally have a reputation of being reckless drivers.

But Schmidt believes this can change through e-taxis and will have a larger impact on the environmental and economic health in the city. He writes: "Imagine if we doubled our average vehicle occupancy rate to 2,8. Half the vehicles on our roads would have disappeared (more actually if you unpack the math). We would have on average an extra 42 minutes per day per person because there would be no congestion. Vehicle emissions would be cut by more than half. The average per capita cost of commuting would more than halve. Taxi fares would come down. This shift would result in a massive injection of a previously unproductive resource into our economy some of which could be captured to subsidise poor commuters."^{iv}

He believes a dedicated lane on roads could help navigate the e-taxis and allow operators to work alongside BRT services.

Schmidt admits though, e-taxis will only work if the system is supported, not only by law enforcement, but through incentives. These incentives, Schmidt says, should be geared towards encouraging the use of the e-taxi service or lift clubs, by making it costlier to travel alone in a private vehicle. Incentives could include higher parking fees for private vehicles, and dedicated lanes and parking bays for minibus taxis.

But again, it all boils down to visionary leadership. Schmidt believes the city has all the ingredients needed for e-taxis to be implemented, including a local government with the powers and instruments to put in place the policies needed to get fewer people travelling alone in their cars. Local government has the power to create policies that will ultimately benefit the low to middle income earners, who deserve an efficient public transport system.

These policies will require input from all role players, including commuters and taxi operators, as Pieterse writes, "It will be important to foster both a dedicated policy network on the transformation of the minibus industry that is inclusive, i.e., it

draws together policymakers from all the sectors with an interest in the optimisation of the sector."

I believe, as Schmidt does, if the municipality could get Capetonians reducing their water usage in a matter of months during a campaign to 'Avoid Day Zero', then it also has the power to shift the mindset of thousands to warm up to the idea of e-taxis.

USEFUL RESOURCES

An illustrative selection of additional resources related to the e-taxi provocation; touching on policies, projects, campaigns, analysis and critique. The assortment is by no means exhaustive and we look forward to feedback from readers about other relevant examples or resources.

POLICIES & FRAMEWORKS

City of Cape Town

Transit-Oriented Development Strategic Framework, 2016

<https://www.capetown.gov.za/>

“Transit-oriented development (TOD) is a multifaceted and targeted strategic land development approach to improve urban efficiencies and sustainability by integrating and aligning land development and public transport services provision. It promotes inward growth and compact city form with an emphasis on building optimum relationships between urban form, development type, development intensity, development mix and public transport services to create a virtuous cycle of benefits over the long-term as described in the City of Cape Town TOD Strategic Framework. Different TOD objectives, tools and outcomes are applicable at metropolitan, corridor, nodal, precinct and project scales.”

Comprehensive Integrated Transport Plan (CITP), 2018 — 2023

<https://www.capetown.gov.za/>

“The Comprehensive Integrated Transport Plan (CITP) 2018 — 2023 describes how TDA will bring about the delivery of integrated, intermodal and interoperable transport and its related road, stormwater, bridge and rail network in Cape Town, and across the functional area. In this CITP, the City explores in detail how it will build on its progress towards achieving integrated transport. In particular, it explains why the full benefits of integrated transport will not be enjoyed without the severe problems in rail being addressed, given the importance of this transport mode in Cape Town.”

City of Cape Town Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework Review, 2018

<https://www.capetown.gov.za/>

“The City of Cape Town’s Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework Review serves as the legislatively required 5-year-review of the 2013 City of Cape Town Spatial Development Framework. Despite being a review, this document is in many ways a new approach to the City’s planning outlook for the next 10 to 15 years. Significant changes in this document include: the removal of the urban edge, the introduction of spatial transformation areas as ways to guide or limit development in specific areas, as well as a clear focus on transport-led development and spatial planning in line with the TOD Strategic Framework.”

EXISTING EXAMPLES

Go Metro

<https://app.gometro.co.za/#/>
<http://www.getgometro.com/>

“GoMetro Pro utilises a mobile app for the in-field data collection of public transport operations, with a focus on the minibus taxi industry, to help determine their transport business value. The mobile application allows field collectors to quickly and easily collect the following data: trips, duration, distance, stops, passenger counts, basic passenger demographics and revenue.”

TaxiMap

<http://taximap.co.za/>

“TaxiMap is a social enterprise start-up based in South Africa that shares information about

minibus taxi routes, fares and operating hours with commuters in Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg via their website. It is incrementally maintained through public input.”

Open Streets (OSCT)

<https://openstreets.org.za/>

“Open Streets is a citizen-driven initiative, both an organisation and a philosophy for public life, working to design and promote streets which embed and generate respect for people, regardless of who they are and how they move. Open Streets challenges the paradigm of urban mobility by carrying out campaigns, Open Streets Days, temporary interventions, dialogues and walks that raise citizen awareness, spark public debate, and ultimately drive behaviour change around the role of streets in the life of the city.”

The Digital Matatus Project in Nairobi

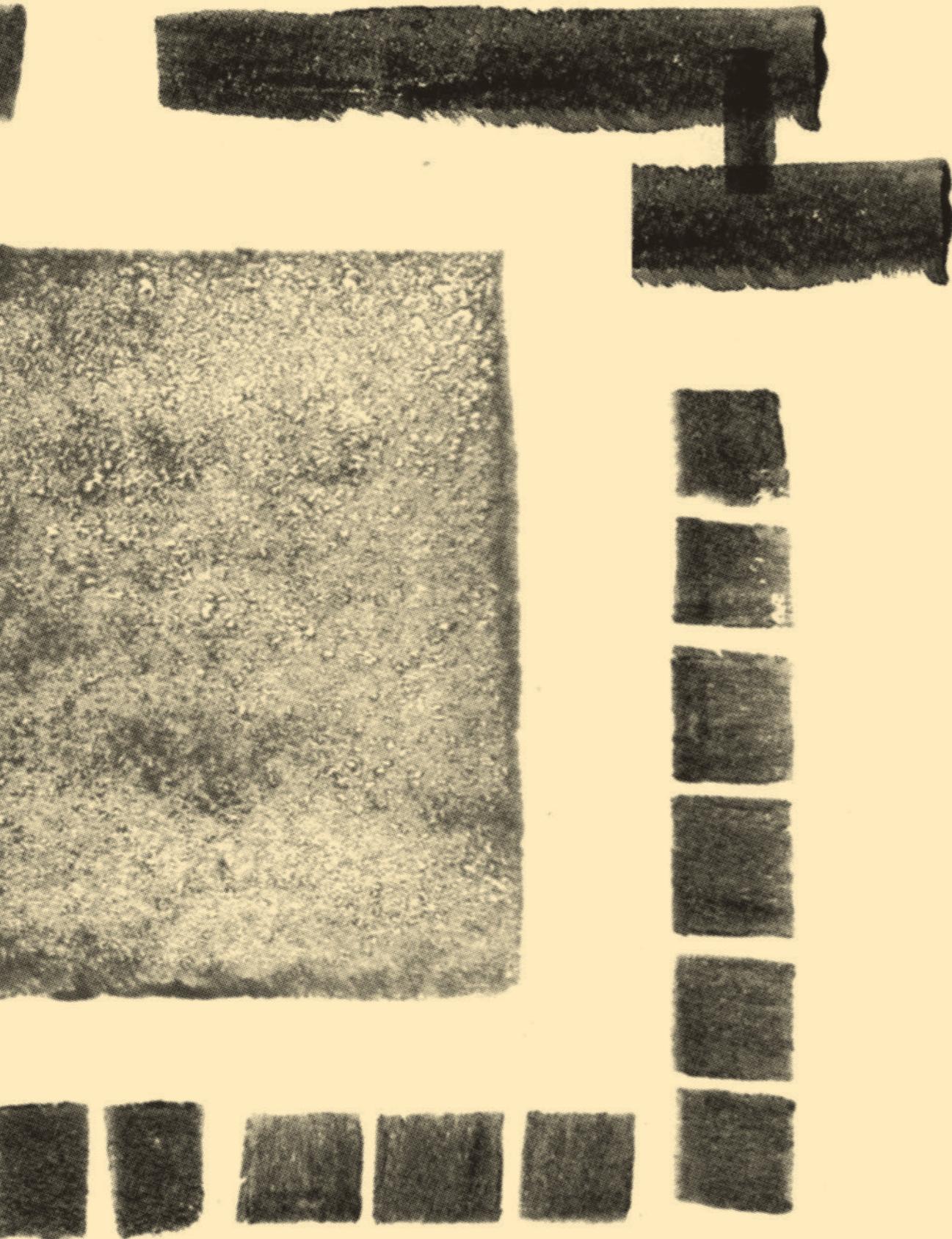
<http://www.digitalmatatus.com/about.html>

“The Digital Matatus Project collects and updates data on matatu routes in Nairobi. The scalable methodology uses technology and local partnerships to make public transit in cities more visible, legible, service-oriented, efficient, and open in cities where informal and semi-formal transit is an essential part of the public transit system.”

ImagiNation #jouerestessentiel Bus Campaign

“Launched in Dakar November 2018 by ImagiNation Afrika, a non-profit organisation, the campaign reimagines the backs of informal busses as community notice boards, with six

educational prints that spread awareness of play as critical for early childhood development. The campaign also included teacher and parent trainings as well as pop-up play sessions in various neighbourhoods throughout the city.”



Provocation 2:

Living Differently

Placing a moratorium
on sprawl.

OVERVIEW

The Living Differently provocation explores how to place a moratorium on all sprawl, especially public housing, for the next 15 to 20 years in Cape Town. The idea is to radically intensify land use and create the necessary agglomeration and intensity of use to optimise public investments and public spaces, building on the new Spatial Development Framework of Cape Town.

Practically what this means, is that all public housing, from RDP/BNG to social housing (rental), can be aggregated in new typologies of public housing in a mixed-use setting. These can be built in the existing ambit of public schools and public parks that are underutilised and neglected, especially in suburban areas. It is the only mechanism to break the back of class-based residential segregation.

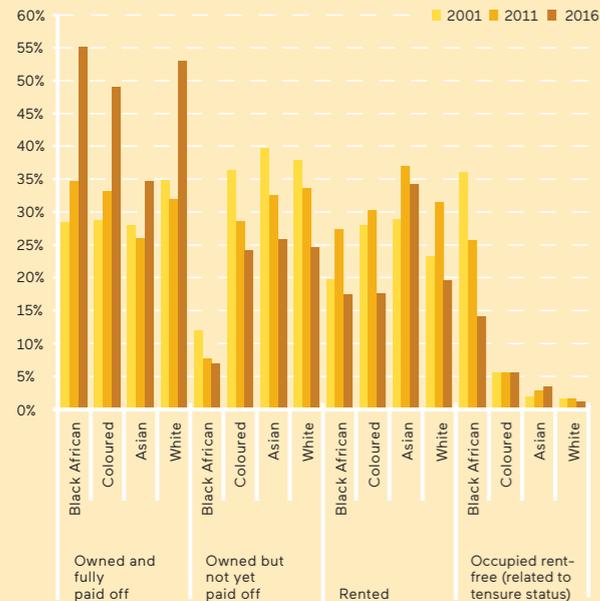
The beauty of this approach is that not only are we generating greater densities, which is important for the viability of public transport and other public infrastructure, but it also allows us to activate our schools and other public infrastructures (through multi-use) as nodes of community vibrancy.

This provocation confronts the middle class with a need to create low-cost rental opportunities for domestic workers, gardeners, security workers, and other service workers who enable the life-styles of the middle class. It requires them to deal with the fact that we have to offer living opportunities for these workers within the suburban context, and deal with what remains the starkest manifestation of a history of exclusion and exploitation.

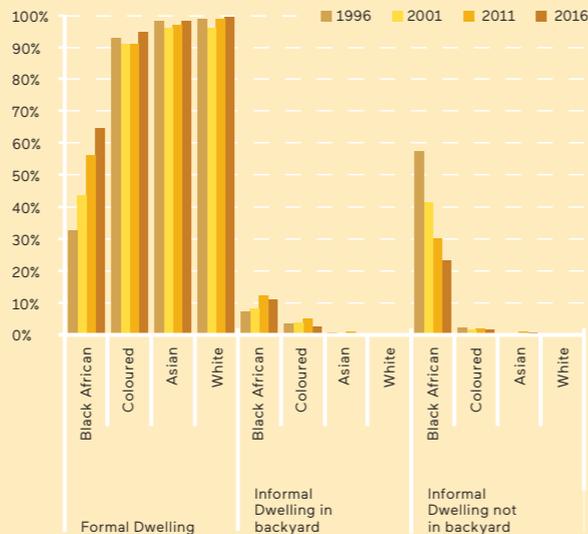
It also asks of the working class to abandon the desire for free-standing houses for more intensive forms of living and livelihood. Everyone in Cape Town will be challenged by the provocation, creating an opportunity for societal learning and adaptation in the interest of a more inclusive and sustainable future.

HOUSING CONTEXT

% TENURE STATUS BY POPULATION GROUP OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD IN CAPE TOWN 2001 - 2016



% TYPE OF DWELLING BY POPULATION GROUP OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD IN CAPE TOWN 1996 TO 2016



City of Cape Town Community Survey. StatsSA, 2016.

City of Cape Town Integrated Annual Report 2016 / 2017

In June 2017, a total of **310 290** applicants were reflected as 'awaiting a housing opportunity' on the City's housing database

3 319 top-structure housing opportunities provided

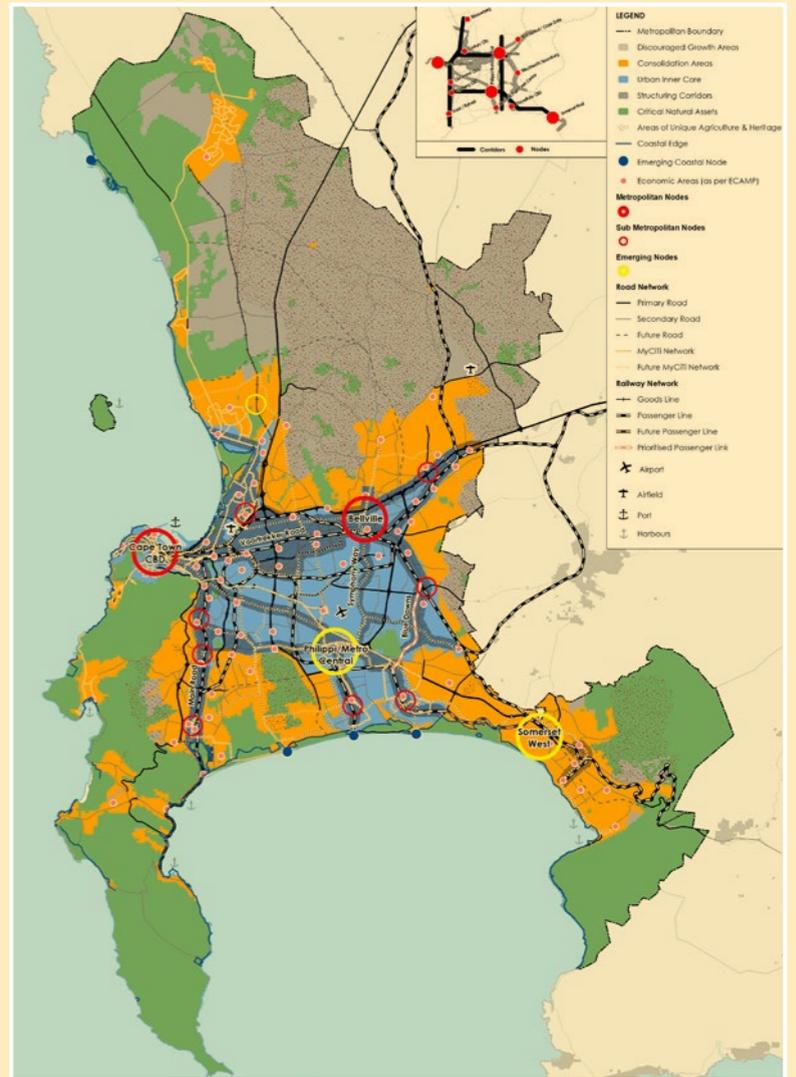
2 297 serviced-site housing opportunities provided

1 065 rental units transferred to housing beneficiaries

City of Cape Town. 2018. "Map 5d: Consolidated spatial plan concept", in City of Cape Town Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework: p71.

SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK (SDF)

The SDF is a plan to guide the future growth and change of the city. It is a package of maps as opposed to one map and no layer should be used on its own. The SDF reflects a political promise to consolidate and intensify landuse in the city. The five provocations of the Integration Syndicate reinforce this commitment.



Consolidated Spatial Plan Concept

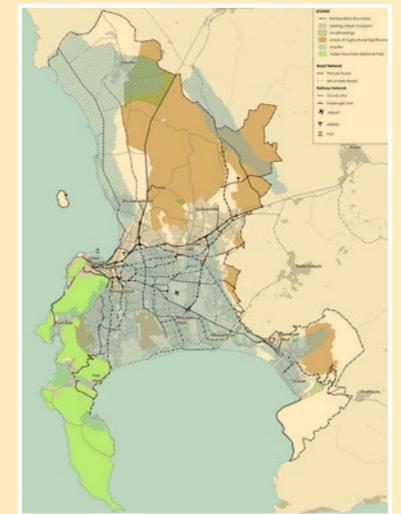
Biodiversity Network & Marine areas



Precautionary Areas including Firelines



Agricultural Areas of Significance & Aquifers



City of Cape Town. 2018. "Map 5a, Map 5b, Map 5c", in City of Cape Town Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework: p68-70.

RECONCEPTUALISING INFILL AND SCHOOL SITES

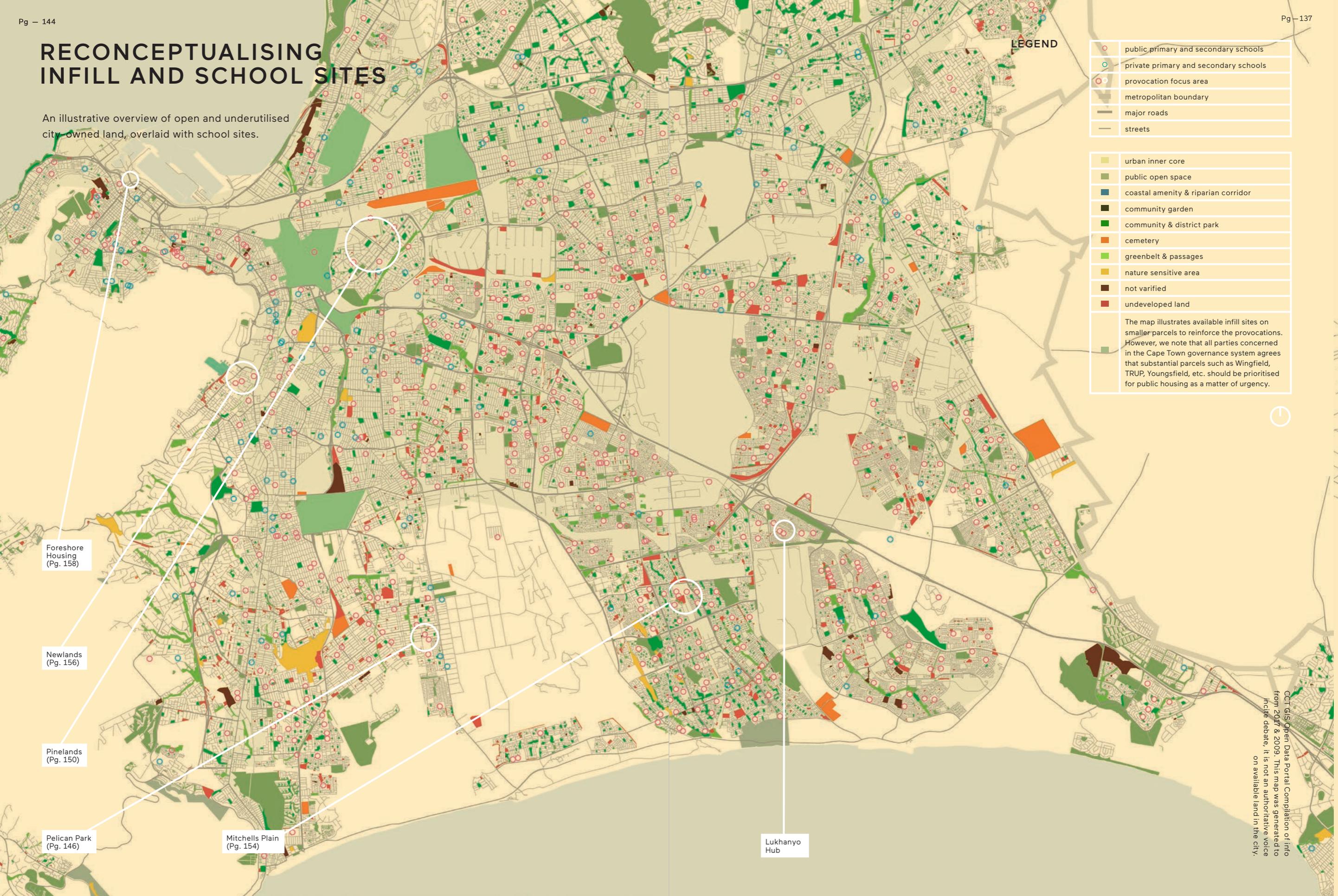
An illustrative overview of open and underutilised city-owned land, overlaid with school sites.

LEGEND

	public primary and secondary schools
	private primary and secondary schools
	provocation focus area
	metropolitan boundary
	major roads
	streets

	urban inner core
	public open space
	coastal amenity & riparian corridor
	community garden
	community & district park
	cemetery
	greenbelt & passages
	nature sensitive area
	not varified
	undeveloped land

The map illustrates available infill sites on smaller parcels to reinforce the provocations. However, we note that all parties concerned in the Cape Town governance system agrees that substantial parcels such as Wingfield, TRUP, Youngsfield, etc. should be prioritised for public housing as a matter of urgency.



Foreshore Housing (Pg. 158)

Newlands (Pg. 156)

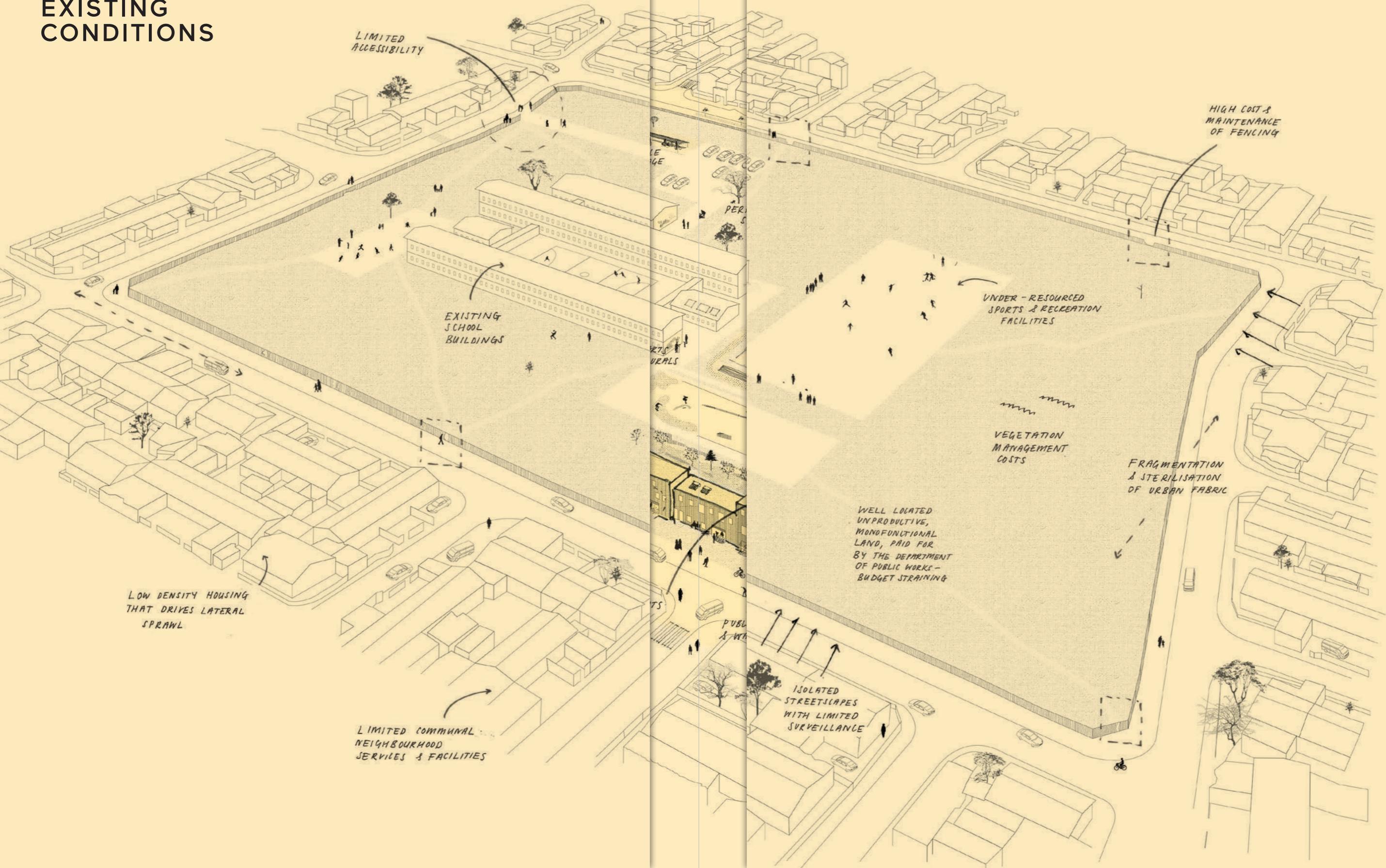
Pinelands (Pg. 150)

Pelican Park (Pg. 146)

Mitchells Plain (Pg. 154)

Lukhanyo Hub

TYPICAL EXISTING CONDITIONS



LIMITED ACCESSIBILITY

HIGH COST & MAINTENANCE OF FENCING

EXISTING SCHOOL BUILDINGS

UNDER-RESOURCED SPORTS & RECREATION FACILITIES

VEGETATION MANAGEMENT COSTS

FRAGMENTATION & STERILISATION OF URBAN FABRIC

WELL LOCATED UNPRODUCTIVE, MONOFUNCTIONAL LAND, PAID FOR BY THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS - BUDGET STRAINING

LOW DENSITY HOUSING THAT DRIVES LATERAL SPRAWL

LIMITED COMMUNAL NEIGHBOURHOOD SERVICES & FACILITIES

ISOLATED STREETSCAPES WITH LIMITED SURVEILLANCE

YES-IN-MY-BACKYARD!

The term 'YIMBY' or Yes-In-My-BackYard is a direct response to NIMBYism (Not-In-My-BackYard). The YIMBY movement, initially started in San Francisco, is a way to confront previous connotations that neighbours would not want social housing to be developed in their respective neighbourhoods. The movement soon spread to Sydney, Oxford, Austin and Seattle, led mostly by young graduates and professionals-all of whom support the fight for affordable, well-located housing in their cities. Supporters of the movement began by attending local council- and planning-meetings to lobby for social housing in opposition to the voices of the NIMBY supporters. In a 2017 article in *The Guardian*, a YIMBY supporter is quoted saying, "Often the only voices we would hear would be neighbours who were opposed," said Chiu, "I think they've provided a counterbalance. They've been changing the conversation on the local level as well as in the state."

While the situation in these cities is different to South Africa's history of displacement through forced removals and racial zoning, there are similarities relating to the lack of affordable housing in Cape Town, especially in economically well-located areas. The Living Differently provocation aims to address this shortage by developing mixed-income affordable housing on publicly-owned, under-utilised school grounds and selective parks. While affordable housing is necessary in the inner-city, housing is also required in neighbourhoods surrounding the city where established and often homogenous social groups and relationships exist. In this sense, the provocation aims to enhance these local social relationships by creating mixed-use affordable housing opportunities around public assets, enhancing social and economic integration-the hallmark of dynamic cities. In the Living Differently provocation it is assumed that these infill developments can accommodate a range of occupants: people who qualify for Breaking New Ground (BNG) housing, social housing (gap housing) and people in the private market.

LIVING DIFFERENTLY

An illustration of how the 'living edge' could be incrementally applied through community participation and cultural mapping on excess school grounds, built and maintained through Public Works programmes.

In South Africa, in order to qualify for social housing, households must have a combined monthly income between R3 500 and R15 000. Other requirements include that the applicant must:

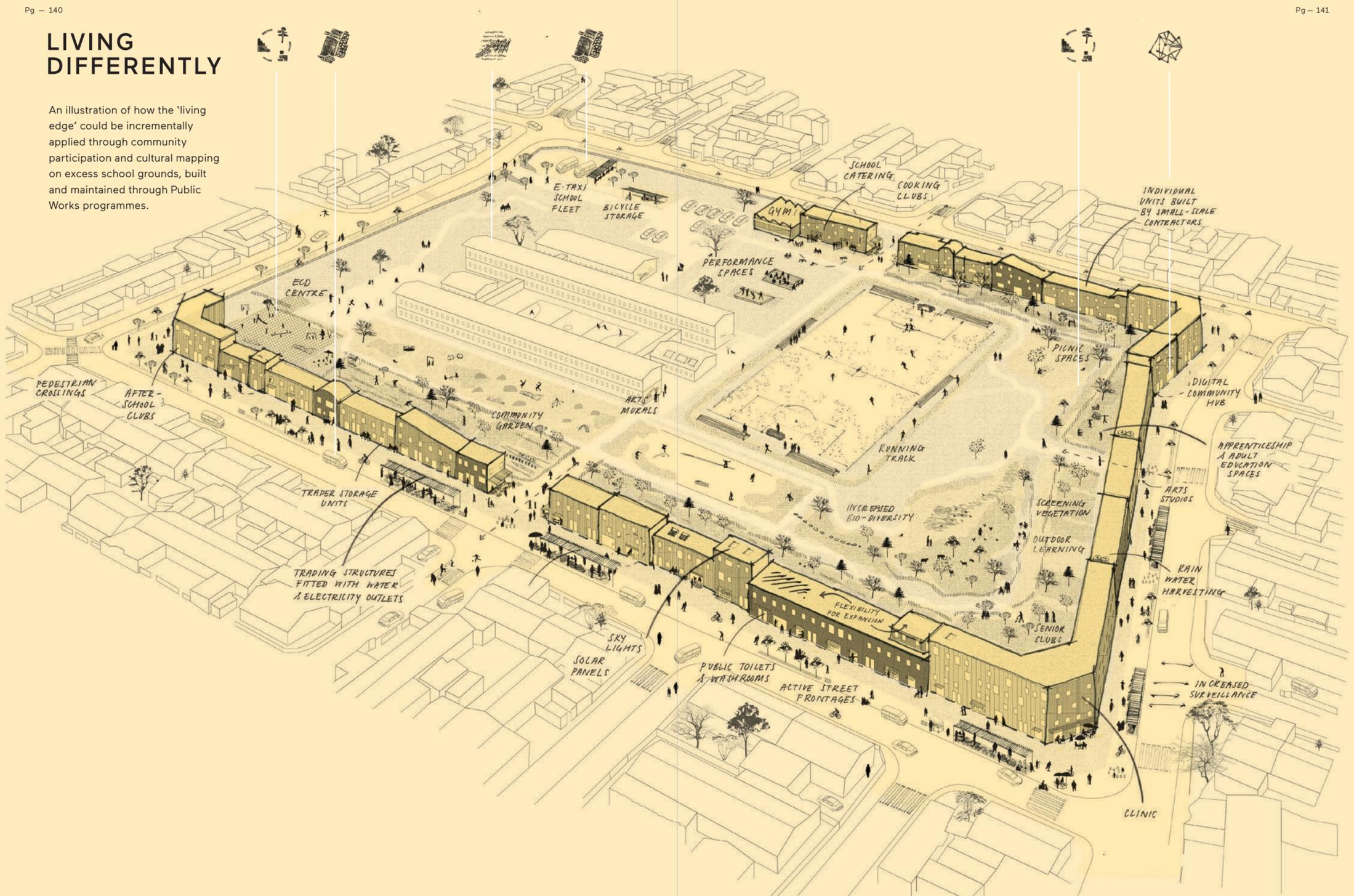
- be over 18
- be married or co-habiting
- be single with financial dependents who are able to prove they are dependent on you
- be a South African citizen or have permanent residency, and
- be legally competent to sign a contract.

The criteria for BNG housing is fairly similar to the requirements for social housing. However, BNG housing applicants must have a gross household income of between R0 and R3 500 per month and not own property or have previously owned property. In addition to these requirements, if the applicant is 60 years of age or older, or disabled, they may apply as a single person. Applicants may also not be receiving national government housing subsidy or be married to a person who does.

The table on the adjacent fold-out lists examples of occupations and associated incomes of the types of people and families who would qualify for social housing in the Living Differently provocation, either as a couple or in some cases as individuals. Based on these professions, it is clear that each industry plays a significant role in enabling the lifestyle of the middle and upper classes. There are, therefore, irrefutable moral and social arguments for greater social integration in established (upper) middle class and working class suburbs across the city.

* For more information on how you can apply for social housing in Cape Town, visit <https://goo.gl/aouHS1> or download 'Your Guide to Housing Opportunities in Cape Town' at <https://goo.gl/X1sjuL>

i McCormick, E. 2017. 'Rise of the yimbys: the angry millennials with a radical housing solution'. In *The Guardian* (2 October 2017). Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2017/oct/02/rise-of-the-yimbys-angry-millennials-radical-housing-solution>



PROFESSION	YEARLY NATIONAL AVG.	MONTHLY NATIONAL AVG.
BUILDERS	R74 000	R6 170
BUS DRIVER	R100 000	R8 330
CASHIER	R43 000	R3 580
COFFEE BARISTA	R52 000	R4 330
COOK	R38 000	R3 170
FIRE-FIGHTER	R128 000	R10 670
JOURNALIST	R145 000	R12 080
NURSE	R146 000	R12 170
PLUMBER	R118 000	R9 830
PRE-PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHER	R86 000	R7 170
PRESCHOOL TEACHER	R7 200	R6 000
RESEARCH ASSISTANT	R138 000	R11 500
SECURITY GUARD	R41 000	R3 420
SOCIAL WORKERS	R175 000	R14 580
TRAINLINE CONDUCTOR	R136 500	R11 330
WAITRESS/WAITER	R35 957	R3 000

Data adapted from: PayScale and Mywage.co.za, 2018

SITE SPECIFIC EXPLORATIONS

In collaboration with the design studio Instinct, five sites across Cape Town were chosen to test the Living Differently provocation through design-led-research. The research was driven by a desire to figure out how best one could activate sterile parcels of land in the public domain that are well located within existing communities. It produced the 'living-edge' concept, which refers to the edges of public schools and parks that can be deployed for sensitively designed mixed-income and mixed-use buildings. The applications explore how the living edge could be scaled across a range of neighbourhoods and geographical terrains whilst uniquely responding to local conditions, needs and eccentricities, with bespoke responses to density and an accompanying package of social, environmental and economic infrastructure.

PELICAN PARK

From barren lands to an educational hub and community curriculum centred around food security, biodiversity, outdoor learning and sustainable livelihoods.



EXISTING CONDITIONS



CURRENT	School Footprint		POTENTIAL	Affordable Units		Per 100 Units		Housing Provided	
	Pelican Park High	109 042 m ² / 11 ha.		Studio	10%	28 m ²	Studio	10%	10 people
Zeekoevlei Secondary	40 672 m ² / 4 ha.	1 Bed	40%	31 m ²	1 Bed	40%	80 people		
		2 Bed	40%	50 m ²	2 Bed	40%	160 people		
		3 Bed	10%	65 m ²	3 Bed	10%	60 people		
					=		310 people		
Area Population (CCT's 2011 Census)			Facilities						
Population	Households	Household Size	Sports facilities / Groundfloor commercial outlets; trading, market place / Urban agriculture school & community curriculum / Extended education program / ECD centres & creche / Pedestrian & NMT infrastructure						
12 552	3 261	3.85							

Pelican Park, a fully integrated mixed-use housing development, is located between Zeekoevlei and the Philippi Horticultural Area (PHA). While commercial developments along with social services such as a health clinic, a public library and community spaces are planned for the area, this proposal focusses on the integration of urban agriculture and biodiversity as a key component of the character of the place. The proximity to PHA means it is well-placed as a testbed for a hyper-local food system with production. A large market is suggested at the heart of the development which will provide both an off-set for fresh produce and associated value-added products, as well as function as a multi-purpose community space. We further propose that an urban agriculture curriculum is rolled out in primary schools in the area. Biodiversity and natural resources of the Zeekoevlei could also better leverage as community amenities.

HOUSING PRECEDENT



District Six Housing, single family row housing and three storey walk-ups, Cape Town. By Lucien le Grange Architects.

PELICAN PARK:
APPLIED PROVOCATION



PINELANDS CORRIDOR

Reimagine mono-type, mono-class suburbs as more dense and diverse neighbourhoods.



EXISTING CONDITIONS



CURRENT	School Footprint		POTENTIAL	Affordable Units		Per 100 Units		Housing Provided
	Pinelands High School	75 871 m ² / 7.6 ha.		Studio 10%	28 m ²	Studio 10%	10 people	
				1 Bed 40%	31 m ²	1 Bed 40%	80 people	900 units 2,790 people
				2 Bed 40%	50 m ²	2 Bed 40%	160 people	
				3 Bed 10%	65 m ²	3 Bed 10%	60 people	
						=	310 people	
	Area Population (CCT's 2011 Census)			Facilities				
	Population 14 198	Households 4 917	Household Size 2.89	Sports facilities / Groundfloor commercial outlets; trading, market place / Community gardens & parks / Extended education program / ECD centres & creche / Pedestrian & NMT infrastructure				

Pinelands is a typical upper middle-income suburb. It was previously zoned 'whites-only' and since the abolishment of apartheid, it has steadily deracialised but the new residents are from the same income group as the existing ones. Thus, today the area is homogenously wealthy and 63% white, compared to 84% a decade before. Yet, Pinelands is nestled adjacent to Ndabeni industrial area and various retail businesses. Most of the private 3-4 bedroom houses employ domestic workers, child minders and gardeners. Yet, none of these people in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations can afford to live the area. This provocation identifies under-utilised public space along a corridor from Ndabeni station to Howard Centre for considerable infill medium-density housing coupled with green open space and new opportunities for small-scale retail and markets. This will enhance the mixed-income and multi-cultural character of the area, activate streets and establish a precedent that new formats of suburban life are possible and uncontroversial.

HOUSING PRECEDENTS



Fulham Heights, infill wrapping above existing buildings in promotion of mixed-use development and residential densification, Johannesburg. By Local Studio, image courtesy of architects.



The Devland Social Housing Development, rental units developed for the Johannesburg Social Housing Company, Soweto. By Michael Hart Architects Urban Designers, image courtesy of architects.

PINELANDS CORRIDOR:
APPLIED PROVOCATION



MITCHELLS PLAIN EDUCATIONAL NODE

A major educational node that integrates seven neighbouring schools through housing and the clustering of social facilities, with a focus on sports, in close proximity to a transport hub.

EXISTING CONDITIONS



Mitchells Plain, located on the Cape Flats on the False Bay coast, was built during the 1970s for coloured people who were forcibly removed from places such as District Six under the Group Areas Act of the apartheid government. Mitchells Plain is home to as many as 85 schools, many located in very close proximity to each other. The study site draws a 10-minute walking radius around seven schools, highlighting a significant amount of surrounding under-utilised open space. Developing perimeter housing around school sites, as well as infill housing on open sites, could contribute to public safety through passive surveillance and enhanced recreational space. Shared sports facilities between schools will optimise available resources with nearby public transport hubs allowing for access by an even larger community.

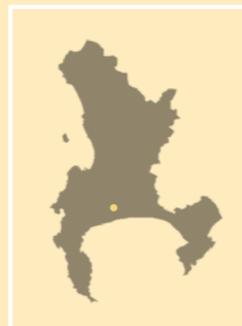
HOUSING PRECEDENTS



The street-facing edge classrooms of Usasazo Secondary School are fitted with hatches that merge training with entrepreneurship, Cape Town. By Neoro Wolff Architects. Image courtesy of Wolff Architects.



Springfield Terrace, a set of duplexes with 3 story walk-up apartments, Cape Town. By Roelof Utyenbogaardt. Image courtesy of Bloody Agency.



APPLIED PROVOCATION



CURRENT	School Footprint			POTENTIAL	Affordable Units			Per 100 Units			Housing Provided
	School	Area	People		Type	Count	Area	Type	Count	People	
	Aloe Secondary	70 425 m ² / 7.0 ha.		Studio 10%	28m ²	Studio 10%	10 people	600 units 1,860 people			
	Aloe Junior	23 677 m ² / 2.3 ha.		1 Bed 40%	31m ²	1 Bed 40%	80 people				
	Lenteguur Secondary	78 009 m ² / 7.8 ha.		2 Bed 40%	50m ²	2 Bed 40%	160 people				
	Cornflower Primary	23 648 m ² / 2.3 ha.		3 Bed 10%	65m ²	3 Bed 10%	60 people				
				=		=	310 people				
Facilities											
Sports facilities / Groundfloor commercial outlets & trading / Community gardens & parks / Extended education program / ECD centres & creche / Pedestrian & NMT infrastructure											
Area Population (CCT's 2011 Census)											
Population 310 485			Households 67 995			Household Size 4.57					

RONDEBOSCH & NEWLANDS CLUSTER

How many people can live on a tennis court? By clustering sports facilities of schools in close proximity, the possibility of affordable infill housing in well-serviced suburbs became possible.



CURRENT	School Footprint		POTENTIAL	Affordable Units		Per 100 Units		Housing Provided
	Westerford	40 835 m ² / 4.1 ha.		Studio 10%	28 m ²	Studio 10%	10 people	120 units 372 people
	Imhoff Complex	50 513 m ² / 5 ha.		1 Bed 40%	31 m ²	1 Bed 40%	80 people	
	SACS	105 553 m ² / 10.5 ha.		2 Bed 40%	50 m ²	2 Bed 40%	160 people	
				3 Bed 10%	65 m ²	3 Bed 10%	60 people	
						= 310 people		
Area Population (CCT's 2011 Census)								
Population 5 100			Households 2 034		Household Size 2.51			
Facilities								
Sports facilities / Groundfloor commercial outlets, trading, marketplace / Community gardens & parks / Extended education program / ECD centres & creche / Pedestrian & NMT infrastructure								

EXISTING CONDITIONS



The Living Differently provocation aims to take the affordable housing debate to the middle class. Through this Imhoff Sports Complex proposal, affordable housing is provided for the service workforce. The proposal puts forward a more efficient use of the oversupply of sporting amenities by placing these affordable housing units on existing tennis courts and sports fields. Further benefits to the surrounding neighbourhood include increased passive surveillance as well as green linkages through the neighbourhood. Additional amenities and businesses which support this proposal include the Montebello Art and Design Centre, University of Cape Town Upper Campus, and the emerging commercial node of Dean and Main Street.

HOUSING PRECEDENTS



Lynedoch Eco-village is an ecologically designed, socially mixed community built around the Sustainability Institute's child-centred learning precinct, Stellenbosch, Cape Town.



Princess Plots Westgate, a cluster of RDP 3-4 storey courtyard buildings, Roodepoort. By Michael Hart Architects Urban Designers, image courtesy of architects.

APPLIED PROVOCATION



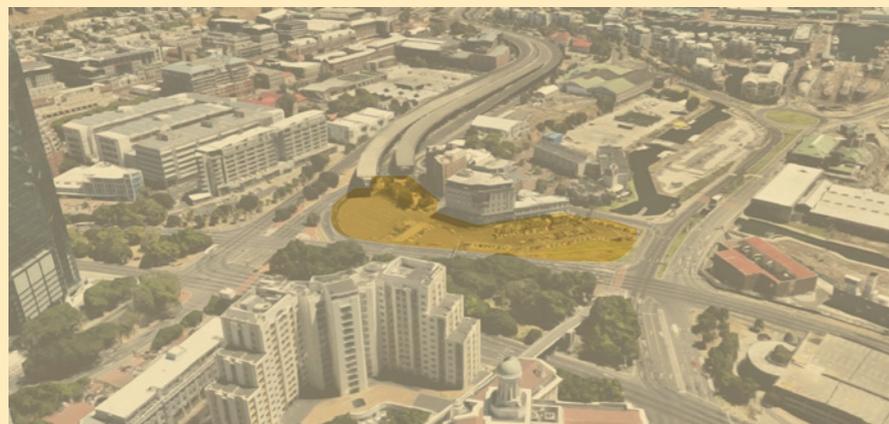
INNER CITY HOUSING

The sale of openmarket units in inner-city developments allows for the cross-subsidisation of affordable rental units in these well-located, desirable areas.



Population 5 647 <hr/> Households 1 686 <hr/> Household Size 3.35 <small>(CCT's 2011 Census)</small>	POTENTIAL	MODEL Separate legal entity established for affordable residential units, for rental only. Cross-subsidised by open market residential units for sale PROCESS Land is sold or a SPV is made with site owners to a developer. Land sold at full market value. Restrictive covenants guarantee affordable commitments. Developer builds openmarket residential stock for sale. Social amenity provision and activated ground plinth. Majority of site developed for affordable rental stock.	OUTCOME <table border="1"> <tr> <th>Affordable Units</th> <th>Per 100 Units</th> <th>Housing Provided</th> </tr> <tr> <td> Studio 10% 28 m2 1 Bed 40% 31 m2 2 Bed 40% 50 m2 3 Bed 10% 65 m2 </td> <td> Studio 10% 10 people 1 Bed 40% 80 people 2 Bed 40% 160 people 3 Bed 10% 60 people = 310 people </td> <td> 140 openmarket for sale units subsidise 342 affordable units 342 people </td> </tr> </table>	Affordable Units	Per 100 Units	Housing Provided	Studio 10% 28 m2 1 Bed 40% 31 m2 2 Bed 40% 50 m2 3 Bed 10% 65 m2	Studio 10% 10 people 1 Bed 40% 80 people 2 Bed 40% 160 people 3 Bed 10% 60 people = 310 people	140 openmarket for sale units subsidise 342 affordable units 342 people
Affordable Units	Per 100 Units	Housing Provided							
Studio 10% 28 m2 1 Bed 40% 31 m2 2 Bed 40% 50 m2 3 Bed 10% 65 m2	Studio 10% 10 people 1 Bed 40% 80 people 2 Bed 40% 160 people 3 Bed 10% 60 people = 310 people	140 openmarket for sale units subsidise 342 affordable units 342 people							
Facilities Groundfloor commercial outlets, trading, marketplace / Public space & parks / Extended education program / ECD centres & creche / Pedestrian & NMT infrastructure									

EXISTING CONDITIONS



Considering the recent cancellation of a request for proposals for the development of the six hectares of prime land beneath the unfinished bridges in Cape Town's Foreshore, it is necessary to underscore the need for developing affordable housing in the city. This site, located at the western end of the unfinished highway, is near the V&A Waterfront extended development. The proposal sees the highway transformed into an elevated public green space which gently slopes down into the heart of a mixed-use ground plane. The space below the bridge is maximised with commercial infill activating the forecourt to residential high-rises. The blocks operate on a financial model that sees affordable units cross-subsidised by high-end market-driven units. The densities and diversity achieved through this supports proposed retail and public transport linkages.

HOUSING PRECEDENT



Braamfontein Gate, a converted former high-rise office of the Total Oil Company into affordable housing, Johannesburg. By Local Studio, image courtesy of architects.

APPLIED PROVOCATION



FESTIVAL REFLECTION

Facilitator:
Tristan Görgens

The focus groups of the Living Differently provocation generated some of the more heated debates of the Integration Syndicate. Many of the initial responses to the provocation related to the loss of school facilities in already under-resourced public schools, or how building on the existing school field would take away from few natural green spaces in sometimes harsh urban environments. While these concerns may have been new to the Integration Syndicate, they were perhaps not a surprise to Tristan Görgens, Assistant Director of Human Development, Policy and Strategy in the Western Cape Premier's office. The concept of Living Differently is one element of a large provincial policy, Living Cape, which has been explored by Görgens and his colleagues.

Görgens' initial response to the provocation was that, overall, it was a strong and needed provocation with a diversity of elements which could trigger a wide range of responses. As the facilitator, Görgens could sense that most people broadly understood the issues and challenges of housing in the city quite well. He explains that after going through the general information he, "then tried to draw out the specific features of each case as it was important to highlight the

particularities of each as one of the key features of the provocation is that the use of state land needs to be based on the local context".

Görgens recalls that the groups' first reactions to the provocation were varied, but also demonstrated the applicability of the idea across the city-scape which "shakes participants out of 'business as usual' responses". Despite this, there was a wide agreement in the response in welcoming the provocation and its usefulness to drive much needed debate in Cape Town. However, there was a significant amount of focus on the *how*, in particular, the successful



Photographs:
Andy Mkosi



translation of the opportunities created by the use of this land into locally-relevant developments being completely reliant on the health of local democracy. "This isn't included in the provocation and there was wide agreement amongst participants that this is in dire straits—both in terms of governance spaces, levels of trust and relationship between all sectors of society."

This issue about the reliance on local democracy and governance was something which Görgens says he had not fully considered, but which he says makes total sense. "It would require its own provocation!" Görgens added that there is a need for a YIMBY (Yes-In-My- BackYard) movement so that there is clear social pressure for these kinds of initiatives in middle-class spaces, "otherwise this becomes a service delivery model rather than a spatial transformation strategy". Nobukhosi Ngwenya, the rapporteur for the Living Differently provocation, agreed and questioned how to change these exclusionary mindsets to bring this idea to life, and avoid the standard service delivery approach to social housing. "The idea is that it is not just about putting in new infrastructure across the city, we actually also need to think differently about how we live and practice our religions and/or cultures."

Overall, Görgens felt that the day was a success as it allowed for a large group of people to have a chance to engage with the detail of the provocations and have a discussion. The way forward now, says Görgens, would be tackling the 'so what' question in relation to this provocation.

CAN SCHOOLS SAVE SOUTH AFRICA'S CITIES?

by

Dennis
Webster

Cape Town remains deeply scarred by the spatial logic of apartheid. Researchers in the Mother City believe that part of the solution to the problem, however, has been in front of our eyes all along.

Schools have been at the heart of the project to undo the legacies of apartheid. Among the socio-economic rights guaranteed in South Africa's Constitution, the government has regularly spent the most on basic education (a pattern which only changed in 2015, when social protection took over at the top of government's expenditure).

School campuses, as a result, are rarely outside of the South African news cycle.

The deaths of Lumka Mketwa and Michael Komape, for instance—two five-year-olds who drowned in pit latrines at their schools in the former Transkei and rural Limpopo in 2018 and 2014 respectively—held a sombre mirror to the gains of the democratic era.

The fragility of the country's race relations and social cohesion were laid bare at schools in early 2019 when a photo posted by a teacher in Schweizer-Reneke in the North West suggested her classroom was racially segregated, or when political party Black First Land First reportedly toasted the deaths of four pupils in a walkway collapse at Hoerskool Driehoek.

Some researchers in Cape Town, however, are now suggesting that schools may be part of the

antidote to another of apartheid's seemingly intractable endowments: spatial inequality.

The thinking is quite simple: build affordable homes on underutilised or neglected public land at schools and parks that are nearer to jobs, and in parts of the city where infrastructure networks and public amenities are already well established. One place where the idea that school campuses should be used to provide housing is being touted is in *Living Cape*, a provincial policy launched in early February 2019.

APARTHEID'S ENDLESS URBAN NIGHTMARE

Urban peripheries—where jobs and secure title to land or homes are scarce—are still overwhelmingly populated by impoverished black people, while wealthier, generally white residents live close to economic opportunities.

Parliament's 2017 High Level Panel report on the effects of post-apartheid legislation condemned the role that South African city structure plays in perpetuating poverty, inequality and unemployment.

The authors of that report noted that “the architects and executors of apartheid worked energetically to map a racial hierarchy onto the land.”

Nowhere is this more true than in Cape Town.

The city's lack of housing has reached crisis levels. The municipality provided a touch over 6 600 housing opportunities in the 2015/16 financial year. The following year, 310 290 people were still waiting for homes. At the current rate of delivery, then, the *current* housing backlog will only be addressed by 2065 (that is to say nothing of the new housing needs that would develop in the interim).

On top of this, the city's housing market remains decidedly untransformed. In 2016, one in every three black African homes in Cape Town was informal—either in a backyard or a shack settlement—the highest proportion amongst metros by some distance. Virtually every white home was a formal house.

It is unclear whether the distance between homes and job opportunities contributes significantly to unemployment in Cape Town. Research published by the Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa in 2016 remained “agnostic” as to whether the distance between homes and jobs contributes directly to Cape Town's unemployment, due to methodological limitations (the report found that the spatial mismatch between jobs and housing in all other metros, with the exception of Port Elizabeth, is a determinant of unemployment).

Research by Sandrine Rospabé and Harris Selod—economists at the Université de Rennes and World Bank respectively—has shown, however, that the length of people's daily commutes in Cape Town does have a direct influence on unemployment. According to Andrew Kerr, a UCT economist, black South Africans have the longest daily commutes in the world.

SCHOOL'S OUT

The impetus to build better located homes goes beyond employment. When houses are built on the peripheries of cities, it means new roads, services, schools, and public amenities, which pushes the strained funds set aside by local and provincial government for the maintenance of infrastructure to the brink.

The idea that new homes could be built on school campuses—which researchers are calling the Living Differently approach—has its genesis in the recognition of just such senseless spending.

Barbara Southworth, currently a Director at GAPP Architects and Urban Designers in Cape Town, realised that school budgets were being exhausted on fencing, and other safety and anti-vandalism methods.

Sinking budgets into security measures at the expense of education is just one of the problems with the spending at school campuses.

Provincial norms and standards set land aside for sports fields at every school site, despite the dearth of teachers to facilitate sports programmes, and the lack of funds to develop and maintain the facilities. The same norms and standards established school sizes—primary schools should be 2.8 hectares, secondary schools should be 3 hectares. Many schools in the Western Cape are bigger than this. The resulting property taxes place yet another unnecessary strain on budgets.

It's for these reasons that Liza Rose Cirolia—a researcher at the African Centre for Cities and one of the authors of the *Living Cape* policy—says there is a strong fiscal argument to be made for building affordable housing on the peripheries of well-located schools. It would free up funds currently being spent on building and maintaining new services in peripheral areas, and schools would no longer need to worry about draining their budgets on fencing.

And it is precisely the houses—as-fences model that most excites Cirolia. Repurposing the perimeters of schools into active edges that are used 24-hours-a-day will transform underutilised public assets into safe spaces, she says.

A 2016 social audit conducted by Equal Education, an activist organisation agitating for equality in South Africa's schools, found that one in every six people at Western Cape schools—staff and learners alike—feel unsafe. These feelings are in part down to inimical campuses buttressed by large, unused edges and perimeter fencing. Public safety at schools fortified by housing developments on their borders, so the argument goes, will benefit from ‘passive surveillance’.

Nick Budlender, a researcher at Ndifuna Ukwazi, an organisation working on urban land justice in Cape



The hall typology of Inkwenkwezi Secondary School modelled after a religious hall, enables the space to offer neighbourhood amenity after hours and extra revenue for the school. Designed by Wolff Architects, Du Noon 2007. Image by David Southwood and courtesy of architects.

Town, is also enthusiastic about the safety, liveability, and density promoted in the Living Differently provocation.

Budlender cautions, however, that public land put to exclusive uses—golf courses and bowling greens in former white-only suburbs, for instance—must not be overlooked in efforts to spatially transform Cape Town. Budlender says that a “move away from land uses that cater to the leisure needs of a wealthy, predominantly white minority at the expense of the rest of the city” is required.

Cirolia agrees with the necessity of intervening in wealthy neighbourhoods, even if it may be a “much more contentious argument”. Indeed, reclaiming public land and services in wealthy neighbourhoods for their social value fits within the ‘same paradigm’ as the Living Differently provocation, says Cirolia, and will depend on an as-yet elusive city-wide audit that reveals these kinds of oversupply.

We know a fair amount about the under supply of public amenities in poorer neighbourhoods—where the need for housing is most desperate, where shack settlements require water and electricity, and where more policing is needed. We know very little, however, about the oversupply in wealthy neighbourhoods—where public swimming pools and parks are being enjoyed by only a handful of residents, or where swathes of well-located public land being are used for nothing more than a round of golf.

DISCIPLINING THE CONSTRUCTION GIANTS

For all of the safety, liveability and social cohesion Cirolia believes the Living Differently provocation will achieve, she questions the volume at which homes can be built on school premises. Wrapping 80% Cape Town’s public schools could provide up to 50 000 housing opportunities according

to Southworth, however, who says the approach has the potential to eliminate 16% of Cape Town’s housing backlog, far outstripping municipal and provincial housing delivery over the past decade.

Scale is precisely the principle at the heart of existing housing delivery models, which focus on swift delivery on peripheral green field sites where building is easier. Southworth says that breaking with these models has as much to do with dismantling the segregation in Cape Town’s housing market—and renewing neglected school spaces—as it does with subverting the stranglehold that major construction and engineering companies have on housing developments.

The costs of land, new bulk infrastructure and lengthy planning processes regularly absorb as much as 30% of the subsidies granted to construction giants to build homes on peripheral sites, depleting the funds available for the houses themselves.

USEFUL RESOURCES

An illustrative selection of additional resources related to the Living Differently provocation; touching on policies, projects, campaigns, analysis and critique. The assortment is by no means exhaustive and we look forward to feedback from readers about other relevant examples or resources.

POLICIES & FRAMEWORKS

Living Cape: A Human Settlements Framework, 2019

<https://www.westerncape.gov.za/>

—

“The Living Cape Framework aims to support a departure from the current housing delivery model. The focus of the Framework is explicitly on improving the quality of human settlements. Sustainable human settlements, in this Framework, are understood as holistic spaces which

bring together: Housing and land, social and economic services, networked infrastructure, communities and social fabric. Prepared jointly by the African Centre for Cities and the Western Cape Government.”

City of Cape Town Integrated Human Settlements Plan, July 2012 — June 2017

<https://www.capetown.gov.za/>

—

“The aim of this Integrated Human Settlements Five-Year Strategic Plan review is to offer the reader a clear view of the challenges and opportunities facing the City of Cape Town in terms of providing for the housing needs of Cape Town’s steadily growing and increasingly urbanised population.”

Planning for Informality: Exploring the Potential of Collaborative Planning Forums, 2013

<http://isandla.org.za/>

—

“A propositional Framework that thinks through linking local processes to city-level transformation governance processes by the Isandla Institute, Cape Town.”

EXISTING EXAMPLES

Contractor and Developer Academy (CDA)

<http://www.dag.org.za>

—

“In 2017, Development Action Group (DAG) initiated and launched a Contractor and Developer Academy (CDA) to improve and enhance the capability of emerging contractors and builders.

Whilst incubated within DAG, CDA works with key construction and development industry partners to realise new and innovative forms of affordable housing delivery.”

Lukhanyo Hub and the Resilient Civic Design Collective (RCDC)

<http://www.rcdcollective.com/lukhanyo-hub/>

—

“Lukhanyo Hub in Site C, Khayelitsha is a new ‘catalytic’ model developed by RCDC and partners to deliver high-quality education, training, recreation programmes, affordable housing and health services alongside employment opportunities delivered through innovative buildings, energy systems and outdoor spaces in economically under-resourced areas. The system is supported through public-private partnership creating an economically sustainable system. In 2018 the Western Province Department of Human Settlements made it an official government Test bed project for the Department of Human Settlements aligned with the Living Cape Framework.”

The Lighthouse Project, Working on Fire (WoF)

—

Based at the Working on Fire (WoF) station in Newlands Forest, the Lighthouse team has successfully developed a form of cement using wood chips from cleared alien invasive vegetation. In conjunction with various partners, predominantly Touching the Earth Lightly, and the WoF EPWP initiative, this fire proof,

bullet proof, thermoregulated and load bearing concrete could change the future of RDP housing and informal settlement upgrading in South Africa. Through the biomass concrete, the Lighthouse project uniquely combines the use of alien invasive plant wood chips, public employment and strategic design, to address the environmental, social and economic (unemployment) issues that Cape Town and many other South African cities are currently faced with.

Reclaim the City

<http://reclaimthecity.org.za/>

—

“Reclaim the City campaign for the redistribution of empty and under-utilised public land to poor and working class people. It is a movement of tenants and workers campaigning to stop the displacement from well-located areas and secure access to decent affordable housing.”

CRITIQUE

City Leases, Cape Town’s Failure to Redistribute Land, 2019

<http://nu.org.za/>

—

“A report calling on the City of Cape Town to redistribute leased public land (such as golf courses, bowling greens and parking lots) in well-located areas for affordable housing. In addition to addressing these issues, the report presents alternative models for what is possible on these sites to build the spatially just, inclusive, equal and environmentally sustainable City that we need.”



Provocation 3:

Cultural Narratives

Nurturing the story-telling
capacities of Cape Town's youth.

OVERVIEW

This provocation seeks to deal with the question of cultural denial, and the inability to have meaningful and difficult conversations across generational, racial and class lines. All great cities nurture and celebrate robust contestations about history, culture, heritage and imaginaries that shape perspectives on the future. Cape Town does not.

This provocation seeks to nurture this capacity with a focus on youth. In lieu of the fact that arts education funding has been largely removed from public schooling since the end of the Artists in Schools Programme in 2016, the idea is to conceptualise a city-wide schools cultural and arts programming agenda that can activate schools, social clubs, youth centres, and various spaces where young people spend their free time.

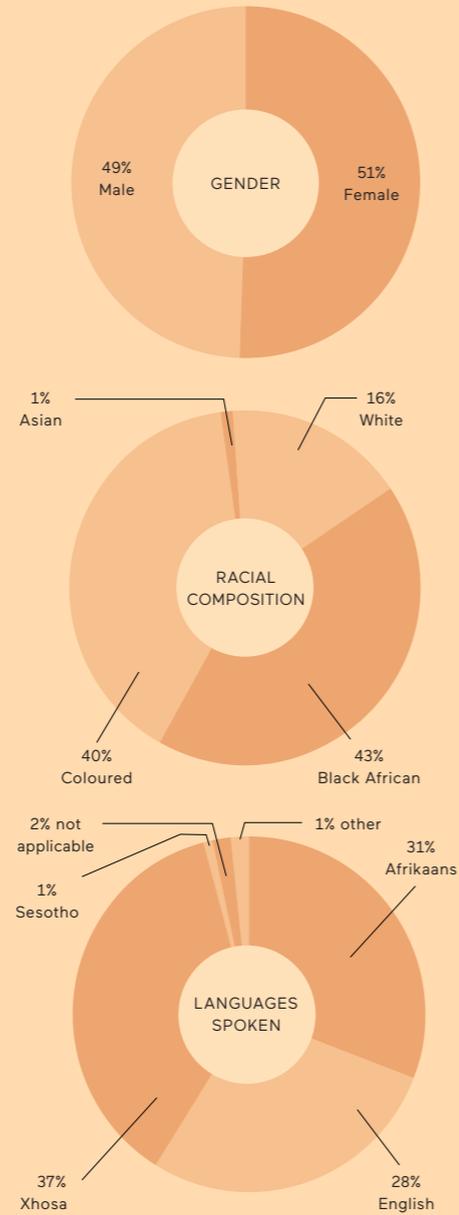
The provocation puts forward a novel method to do this through a movement of Youth Media Clubs. They can take on any form of arts expression, of which radio offers an inexpensive method. Furthermore, it harnesses skills associated with research, creative storytelling, aesthetic reflection, technical proficiency and openness to different social and political perspectives.

The implementation practicalities should be explored in dialogue with the Cultural Mapping Initiative of the City of Cape Town. This intervention builds on the idea of narratives as a way to represent stories that matter to different youth across the city.

The provocation, together with the cultural map, is a way to re-deploy cultural resources and recognition more evenly across the city. It is our hope that in the process of connecting the youth through story development and cultural mapping, the participating youth may begin to develop refreshed narratives about themselves and their self-actualisation, about their communities and what it is that makes Cape Town such a unique puzzle.

CULTURAL CONTEXT

(within Cape Town)



StatsA. 2016. City of Cape Town Community Survey.

City of Cape Town 2017/18

CITY BUDGET GIVEN TO THE ARTS & CULTURE BRANCH FOR PUBLIC PROGRAMMING

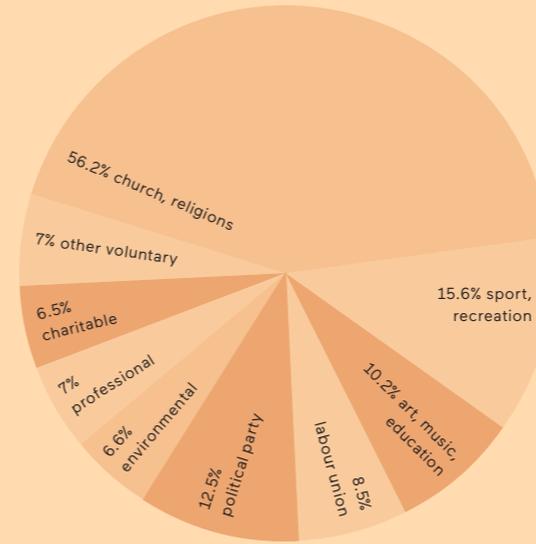
R 13 590 000

Ward Projects, Programmes & Grants

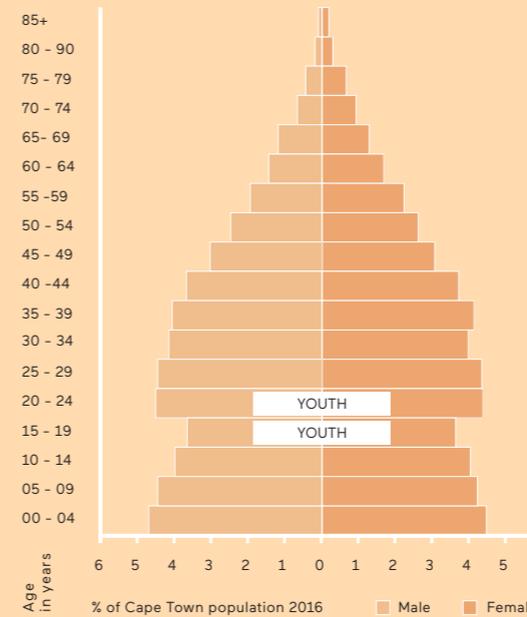
Note the total annual budget for City of Cape Town is R 37.5 Billion

PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS (SA)

Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation. 2014. Development Indicators Report: p59.



POPULATION PYRAMID



StatsA. 2016. City of Cape Town Community Survey.

City of Cape Town Community Survey.

- 16.3%** of the population are youth aged 15-24
- 42.4%** of youth live in income-poor households
- 24.7%** of youth are employed

WESTERN CAPE RADIO LISTENERS PER WEEK

4.2 MILLION

TYPES OF RADIO STATIONS

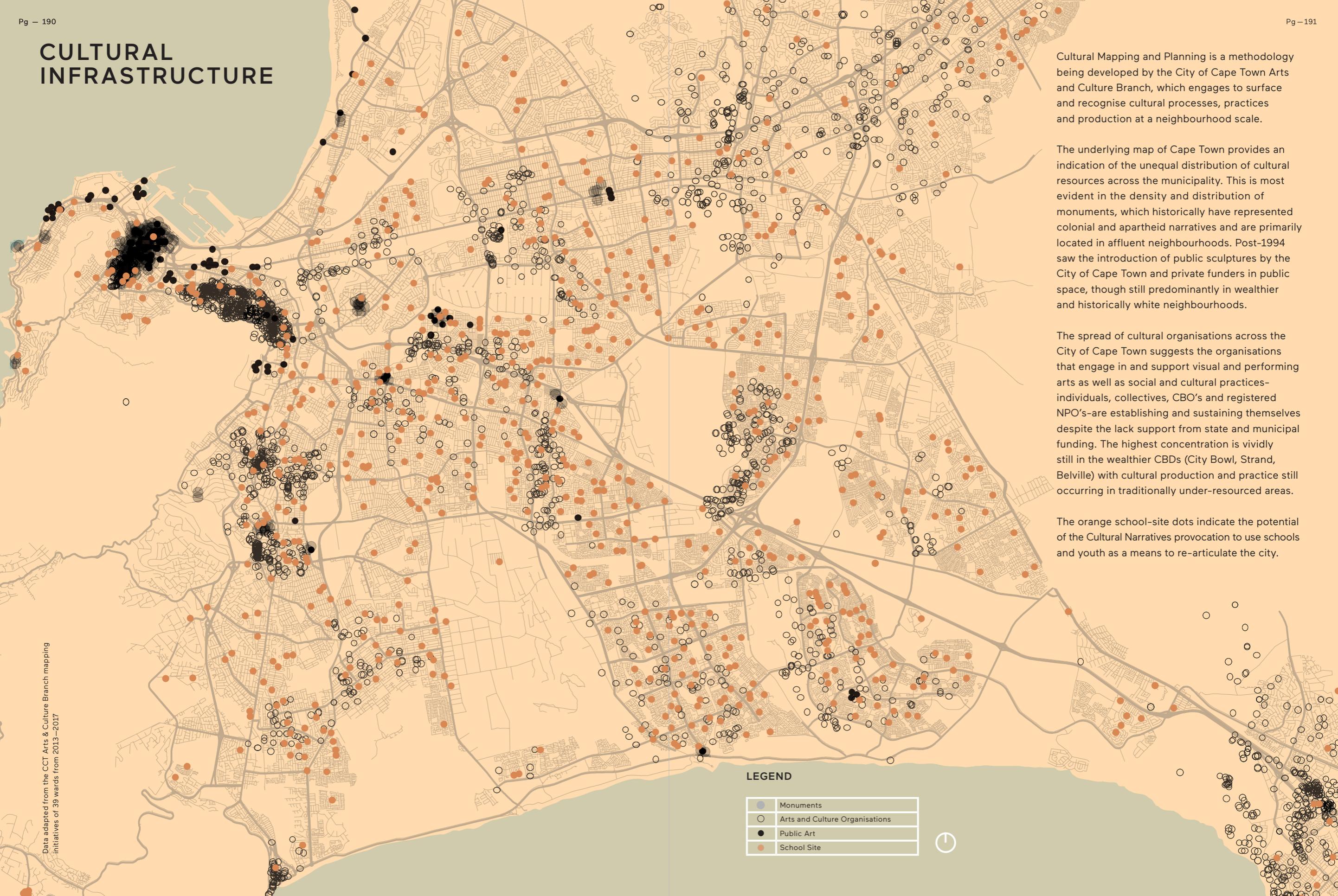
- Talk radio
- Music radio
- Faith-based radio
- University radio
- Community radio

WEEKLY LISTENERSHIP IN WESTERN CAPE

STATION	LISTENERSHIP	LANGUAGE
Umhlobo Wenene	924 000	isiXhosa
KFM	504 000	English
Heart FM	504 000	English
Good Hope	336 000	English
RSG	294 000	Afrikaans
Metro FM	168 000	English
Radio Zibonele	168 000	isiXhosa
Smile	126 000	English
Radio Tygerberg	126 000	English
Eden	126 000	Afrikaans

The Broadcast Research Council of South Africa. 2017. BRC Ram Radio Listening: October 2017 — March 2018.

CULTURAL INFRASTRUCTURE



Cultural Mapping and Planning is a methodology being developed by the City of Cape Town Arts and Culture Branch, which engages to surface and recognise cultural processes, practices and production at a neighbourhood scale.

The underlying map of Cape Town provides an indication of the unequal distribution of cultural resources across the municipality. This is most evident in the density and distribution of monuments, which historically have represented colonial and apartheid narratives and are primarily located in affluent neighbourhoods. Post-1994 saw the introduction of public sculptures by the City of Cape Town and private funders in public space, though still predominantly in wealthier and historically white neighbourhoods.

The spread of cultural organisations across the City of Cape Town suggests the organisations that engage in and support visual and performing arts as well as social and cultural practices—individuals, collectives, CBO’s and registered NPO’s—are establishing and sustaining themselves despite the lack support from state and municipal funding. The highest concentration is vividly still in the wealthier CBDs (City Bowl, Strand, Belville) with cultural production and practice still occurring in traditionally under-resourced areas.

The orange school-site dots indicate the potential of the Cultural Narratives provocation to use schools and youth as a means to re-articulate the city.

LEGEND

- Monuments
- Arts and Culture Organisations
- Public Art
- School Site



Data adapted from the CCT Arts & Culture Branch mapping initiatives of 39 wards from 2013–2017

WHY YOUTH?

Currently, youth (people aged 15–24) make up 16.3% of the city’s population. In addition to this, 26% of Cape Town’s population consists of people aged 0–14. These figures, combined, result in over a million people being below 24-years-of-age within Cape Town’s population of approximately five million. Of the youth population, 43% live in low income households, while a further 23% live in multidimensional poverty (StatsSA, 2016). In addition to this, only 24% of the youth are employed.

Based on the lack of arts education funding, the high levels of youth unemployment, and given that the youth make up a significant portion of the city’s population, youth are the obvious entry point into creating a link between storytelling, expression and journalistic exploration through various forms of media (with simultaneous skills and personal development) and active citizenship. Furthermore, recent events across the country, such as the #FeesMustFall movement, have highlighted the need for the youth to be able to constructively express themselves and to develop their own voice, narrative and understanding of self within South Africa, and the city in particular.

WHY SCHOOLS?

Due to the legacy of racial inequality in South Africa, public schools across the country remain unequally resourced, with schools in areas previously classified as white, consistently outperforming schools in low income and township areas. This is due to an uneven distribution of resources, which is perpetuated through the city’s unequal socio-spatial, economic and racial context. It is because of this that public schools provide a critical access point to engage the next generation of learners in an attempt to mitigate the impact of the city’s various manifestations of inequality.

Public schools in the city provide access to a unique network of young people from across the city. These schools are able to traverse multiple socio-economic contexts and create a web of connections that, if utilised through programmes such as Youth Media Clubs, could prove catalytic in promoting interaction across class, race, gender, sexuality and intergenerational categories. Due to the city’s spatial legacy, schools which are located within 5km of each other often represent two different socio-economic contexts.

While the catalytic potential of storytelling through youth and within schools is clear, it is important to remember that while storytelling can disrupt the tropes of people and place, it can also reinforce them.

Department of Arts and Culture. 2013. Artists In Schools Programme.

StatsSA. 2016. City of Cape Town Community Survey.

YOUTH MEDIA CLUB

The Youth Media Club concept proposed through this provocation is intended to respond to a number of issues and questions within the city’s current socio-cultural landscape.

- How do we preserve and continue sharing intergenerational stories?
- How do we continue to remember our parents’, grandparents’, and even great-grandparents’ stories of their youth in the city?
- How can the youth begin to carve out their voice in the city?
- How can Youth Media Clubs promote spaces of listening and sharing?

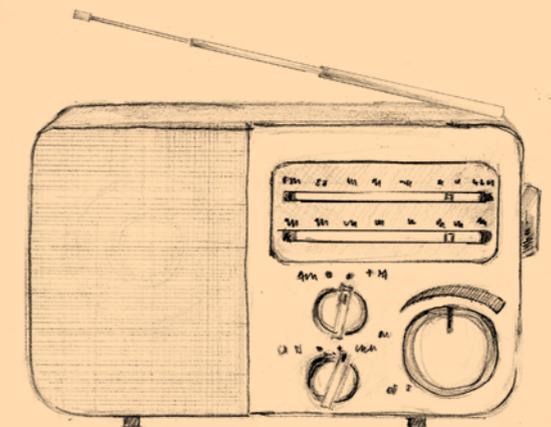
A Youth Media Club is envisaged as an addition to an existing school curriculum or after-school programme that can be added to all subjects—and should be careful not be confined to ‘typical’ understandings of arts and culture. It is also an opportunity to make school curriculums locally-based, i.e. more Capetonian and more South

African. As there is no longer funding for arts education in public schools, the Youth Media Club can respond to this dearth of funding for education by providing a platform for a myriad of forms of expression that the youth are interested in. To name a few, these forms of cultural expression could be through:

Ceramics	Gardening	Printmaking
Comic book writing	Gaming	Sculpture
Cooking and food	Painting	Songwriting & music
Dance	Photography	Storytelling
Design	Poetry & spoken word	Videography
Drama and theatre	Radio	Visual art

For the purposes of this provocation, the use of **RADIO** as a medium of storytelling and journalistic exploration will be used as an example of how one element of the Youth Media Club could be organised.

Radio is an inexpensive methodology. In the words of Nina Callaghan, “Radio skills are life skills—they are about listening, responding, understanding, researching, thinking critically.”



The additional benefit of youth storytelling and intergenerational investigations is that it will generate a specific type of local data about the city that has previously not been captured. This data can then be used to better understand the city in various ways in relation to arts, culture, heritage and recreational activities. Through this, urban planners and policy writers can make more informed decisions based the unique set of data of local knowledge generated through this storytelling. Furthermore, this surfacing of stories allows for more informed decision-making at a range of scales, from the strategic orientation of urban planners and policy writers, down to the detailed 1:1 interventions of architects, social workers and public works programmes.

These Youth Media Clubs could bridge the city’s existing socio-spatial, racial and economic divides by promoting interviews and exchanges between students to respond to the need for young people to speak to each other. The Children’s Radio Foundation has experimented with these types of interviews and have reported that the experience was both informative and fun for the children involved. By building on this existing web of schools, Youth Media Clubs can add an additional layer to this network in order to create spaces of listening and storytelling, where previously this was not an option.

RADIO TOOLKIT

HOW TO START YOUR OWN RADIO PROGRAMME AS PART OF A YOUTH MEDIA CLUB: PREPARING FOR THE SHOW

There are many ways to talk about culture and cultural narratives in Cape Town. For example:

- 1 A street in your neighbourhood—who lives there and how long have they lived there for?
- 2 Culinary cultures and roots—what are some of your family’s food practices and how have they changed over time?
- 3 Local fashion—what are the clothing and fashion trends in your neighbourhood and how has this changed over time? What has influenced this?
- 4 Local arts—are there any specific places in your neighbourhood where you can go to listen to, watch, or support local arts performers?
- 5 Sports players and teams—who is your favourite local sports team, and where do you go to support them and watch them play?

CHOOSING A TOPIC AND AN ANGLE

As a starting point, you will need to decide on what the theme is that you would like to explore through your programme. Think about what listeners like to listen to. What are their interests, aspirations, and recreational activities? Do they have families? Where do they work or go to school?

After you have a listener in mind, write a list and outline of the community-based organisations in your area. What issues do they work with and would these be a good topic for your show?

Based on this, what are some of the issues that people are most passionate about and interested in in your community? What issues in your community do you think are important but are perhaps not getting much attention? How could you cover these issues?

Once you have chosen the issue or topic, think about an interesting angle to approach the topic. To choose an angle, try answering some of these questions:

- 1 What angle is most important to my listeners?

- 2 What does our community know about the topic already?
- 3 What do we think our listeners would want to know?
- 4 What do we want our listeners to come away with once they have listened to our show?

A theme is a broad base from which to start your investigations for your radio show. From this theme you will need to choose a specific topic in relation to the theme. Because culture is a particularly broad theme, this can relate to a myriad of topics relating to your family, personal life, school, neighbourhood, friend group to name a few. When choosing a topic make sure that it is something that is interesting and exciting to you—choosing a topic that you are not excited about finding out more about is probably not going to keep you motivated throughout this process.

After you have decided on the issue or topic and thought through which angle to take, you should then think of the different ways you could discuss the angle in the show and who you can interview or talk to.

HOW TO TALK ABOUT YOUR TOPIC (EDUCATE YOURSELF MORE ON THE TOPIC)

Once you have chosen your topic, you will need to start your research about the topic so that you can approach your interviews, or storytelling, from an informed position. For this example, you could use some of the information provided in the infographics at the start of this section (Page 172–173). Decide on a few ways to talk about your chosen topic. For example:

- 1 Why is your chosen street named after someone? Who were they?
- 2 Where does your family buy the ingredients to make their famous dishes, and where do they come from?
- 3 Who are the local designers and seamstresses? How and where did they learn how to sew?
- 4 What kind of spaces do artists need to perform? How do they prepare before a show?
- 5 What makes your favourite local team a team?

FIND PEOPLE TO SPEAK TO IN YOUR COMMUNITY

- 1 A local government representative or ward councillor; a young person who lives in your neighbourhood.

- 2 The person who is responsible for cooking and buying food in your family.
- 3 A local fashion designer.
- 4 A local artisan or performing arts practitioner.
- 5 A local sports player; a young sports fan.



STRUCTURING YOUR SHOW

When organising your show, make sure that the show has a clear beginning middle and end.

BEGINNING	MIDDLE	END
Intro show and topic	Intro commentary	Intro interview
Intro audio profile		Interview: with a local community member about your chosen topic
Audio profile: on one of your chosen people to interview	Audio commentary: on the topic you have chosen	Outro interview
Outro audio profile	Outro audio commentary	Music transition and jingle
Music transition and jingle	Music transition	PSA: about any stories which may have harmed the listeners
		Music transition
		Outro to the show
		Music end

HOW TO PRESENT YOUR SHOW

When preparing for your show, make sure you listen to other radio shows to get inspiration from the hosts before writing your own script.

INTRO

-  Host 1: You’re listening to [Name of show] on [radio station]. My name is [Your Name]
-  Host 2: And my name is [Your Name]. Today we will be talking about cultural narratives and [your topic]
-  Host 1: Did you know that [fact from fact sheet]
-  Host 2: [Name] met with [interviewee name] to find out more about this.

[PLAY AUDIO PROFILE]

OUTRO

HOW TO PRODUCE YOUR SHOW



Once you have recorded your show using a cellphone or other recording device, you will need to edit and upload it to a digital platform so that you can share it far and wide.

For more information, resources and examples of themes and topics for your radio shows—please visit the Children’s Radio Foundation website.

DISCLAIMER

Engaging in other people’s personal stories and narratives could surface a wide spectrum of experiences and emotions. It is important to understand that care and responsibility have to taken both for oneself and for others. If certain topics emerge that are beyond your expertise, remember that you can go the extra step in reaching out to registered professionals with the permission of others.

Childline – 031 201 2059 (National line) or www.childlinesa.org.za

Lifeline – 011 422 4242 OR 0861 322 322 or lifeline.co.za

FESTIVAL REFLECTION

Facilitator:
Nina Callaghan

In recent years, through student and youth protests across the country, it is clear that there is a voice of the youth that needs to be listened to. However, the avenues for expression are few and far between; a situation that is exacerbated by the lack of arts education funding in public schools in South Africa. While cultural and artistic forms of expression are as multiple and fluid as the concept of culture itself, one important element of this provocation is the idea of narrative—both personal and intergenerational. The provocation of Cultural Narratives aims to address the lack of access to exploring and sharing these narratives through various different media. Subsequently, this provocation puts forward the notion of Youth Media Clubs as one way to begin to share and listen to youth narratives. Youth Media Clubs are envisaged as an addition to the existing school curriculum or after-school programmes that can enrich all subjects. It would be an error to confine it to 'typical' understandings of arts and culture. Radio is one medium that youth can be exposed to in these Media Clubs. It is a particularly powerful medium of storytelling and journalistic exploration. Additionally, radio is an inexpensive methodology. According to Nina Callaghan, the Associate Director of the Children's Radio Foundation (CRF), "Radio skills

are life skills—they are about listening, responding, understanding, researching, thinking critically."

With the focus on narrative and the youth, the Integration Syndicate was fortunate enough to have Callaghan present the provocation at the Integration and Ideas Festival. Callaghan found the use of radio data describing listenership patterns in the Western Cape as the most beneficial part of the day. Some data findings include: Umhlobo we Nene has the biggest share of provincial listenership, followed by Good Hope, Heart, RSG and KFM; three of these are public broadcast stations and two—KFM and Heart FM—are commercial,



Photographs:
Andy Mkosi



mainly music stations. This contradicts anecdotal assumptions that Cape Talk and similar talk show stations are the city's most popular radio stations. The data also reveals that there is a large isiXhosa speaking listenership in the city, and that isiXhosa and Afrikaans are the most dominant languages in broadcast (see page 173). There are also several community stations, such as Radio Zibonele and Radio Tygerberg, which have a smaller footprint. These listenership patterns attest to the popularity of radio, and by extension, its potential to be deployed as a tool to surface and disseminate the stories of all youth in the city, especially those from working class communities and schools.

In trying to sell the idea of Youth Media Clubs to the different audiences through the day, Callaghan said the groups found that the provocation did not go deep enough into exploring the implementation of this provocation. As a result, a number of questions emerged such as, how does radio fit in with the idea of cultural narratives and Youth Media Clubs? Why and how are schools decided on as the entry point? Many also questioned whether young people listened to radio and if not, what alternative digital platforms could be used. Furthermore, could storytelling really disrupt dominant tropes, or would it simply reinforce it?

Despite this initial response, participants soon came to see how the sharing of radio products needs to happen intentionally and across spaces of racial and economic difference in the city.

When faced with these questions and concerns from the groups, Callaghan says she found it difficult to keep the space open and not defend the idea too strongly, based on her own experience with the transformative potential of radio. She goes on to explain that, "youth-led and produced radio can be potent, and that it actually has a large national and continent-wide audience". Callaghan felt that many thought it was a foregone conclusion that CRF would take the provocation forward.

Throughout the day, Callaghan says she was able to tailor her approach to help liven the conversations. Even though the day was long, she reflects that the audience members really 'gave it stick' and thought that the many participants lingering at the end to round off the evening was a testament to how the content, vibe and people had held their attention.

A grid of 20 'INPUT' cards, each containing a survey question and handwritten responses. The questions are: 'Describe what you consider to be your culture in five words?', 'Do you think with more time and resources this idea could be transformative for Cape Town?', 'Where do you live out your cultural life?', 'List 5 places in Cape Town that you regard as culturally significant', and 'Where do you see your culture reflected in the cultural life of Cape Town?'.

Selection of Participant Input Cards

INPUT

Do you think with more time and resources this idea could be transformative for Cape Town?

Yes No

This idea could work if:

There is co-ordination with education dept around pro-active language education so youth have shared languages (that are not English) ^{Need ideas with subtitles}

The consequences (good or bad) of implementing this idea might be:

support of the self-actualisation of youth, skills to help youth to be more confident in job seekers - decentralised cultural production

INPUT

Describe what you consider to be your culture in five words?

The foods, the way I raise my kids and the way I was raised

Where do you live out your cultural life?

Within my home

List 5 places in Cape Town that you regard as culturally significant. (Can be a cultural institution, heritage site, a street, a neighbourhood, a museum, theatre, church, mosque, temple, synagogue, natural space, virtual or digital platform and more)

A neighbourhood,

Where do you see your culture reflected in the cultural life of Cape Town? Not really reflected as I'm in the minority in the Western Cape

INPUT

Do you think with more time and resources this idea could be transformative for Cape Town?

Yes No

This idea could work if:

There was also a civic education aspect -> it is so critical that youth learn more about how our democracy functions, how they can influence gov decisions, be part of influencing policy through public participation -> be enabled to be part of

The consequences (good or bad) of implementing this idea might be:

more empowered, skilled, knowledgeable, confident + young people

INPUT

Describe what you consider to be your culture in five words?

socialisation, community, collective identity, artistic expression

Where do you live out your cultural life?

cafes, galleries, public space

List 5 places in Cape Town that you regard as culturally significant. (Can be a cultural institution, heritage site, a street, a neighbourhood, a museum, theatre, church, mosque, temple, synagogue, natural space, virtual or digital platform and more)

Lower Main Road (Obs)
South African National Gallery
Baxter Theatre
Black Renaissance Film Festival
Greatmore Studios

Where do you see your culture reflected in the cultural life of Cape Town?

everywhere (my cultural values are too often privileged...)

CAN MIXED MEDIA YOUTH CLUBS FACILITATE CROSS CULTURAL INTEGRATION AMONGST CAPE TOWN'S YOUTH?

by
Milisuthando
Bongela

One of the most perplexing legacies of apartheid is how long it has taken for us as a society to appreciate how racial segregation has impacted on our ability to understand and thus *know* one another from our various vantage points. Our efforts to embark on physical desegregation is frustrated by this legacy of apartness: we may have developed racially and culturally diverse office spaces, schools and public parks in the past 25 years, but even here, in terms of how people organise socially in these shared spaces, segregation is still the norm and interracial and intercultural socialising the exception. This is one of the many reasons why movements such as #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall emerged in the post-Mandela years of our democracy—to highlight the persistence of the ideological, cultural and segregationist legacies of the past.

In simpler terms, the crisis of social cohesion in South Africa, and particularly in more starkly segregated cities like Cape Town, pivots around the fact that there have not been significant 'hallmark' events or social practices to replace the long history of segregation with intercultural, interracial and intergenerational exchanges. Much of the detail of how apartheid affected various groups of people has been lost in the grand narratives about apartheid as a historical event that began in 1948

and ended in 1994. There have, of course, been numerous documentary processes about various aspects of apartheid and the TRC itself, but this has hardly permeated society in any discernable way. It impacts on our everyday imaginations of who we are, which are yet to be fully understood, let alone healed. In crude social terms, we still do not really *know* each other as diverse groups of people who have shared space for 400 years. In the past 25 years, the burden to *know* and change has largely been placed on every other race and cultural group but the white population, which still largely remains economically and socially privileged, as well as largely monocultural and monolingual in a way that black children cannot afford to be. James Baldwin articulates this sentiment about race relations in the civil rights era in the United States where, in the documentary *I am Not Your Negro*, he says: "You know, the question is really a kind of apathy and ignorance, which is a price we pay for segregation. That's what segregation means... you don't know what's happening on the other side of the wall because you don't want to know."

The confrontational posture that the 'Fallist' movements took at their most active moments in 2015 and 2016, spoke to the underlying exhaustion and resentment of this ignorance about

multidimensional poverty, exclusion, and inequality that the historically denied groups still face.

Why is it important for this intercultural and interracial knowing to take place? Who does not know? What do they not know? Why do they not know?

Over a period of 12 months, beginning in 2017–2018, the African Centre for Cities held a series of workshops attended by researchers, academics, civic organisations, government officials, and activists to explore the myriad ways in which the City of Cape Town, as well as provincial and national government, could address the historic legacies of spatial inequality. Out of the five provocations that emerged at the end of the workshops on how to make Cape Town more inclusive, one of these sought to address Cultural Narratives. Its aim was to create opportunities for intercultural dialogues, exchanges and knowledge-sharing through youth-based media programmes. The provocation proposes a "city-wide schools cultural arts programming agenda that can activate school social clubs, youth centres, and various spaces where young people meet".

Facilitated by Nina Callaghan—Associate Director of the Children's Radio Foundation (CRF) which uses radio broadcast as a platform to train youth across six African countries in leadership, community building and change making—the provocation to create Youth Media Clubs was presented at the Integration and Ideas Festival in July 2018 at Guga S'thebe in Langa. In various sessions throughout the day, the Cultural Narratives provocation focused on addressing the lack of access to cultivating and sharing different narratives and stories through traditional and new media. "Cultural Narratives is about creating the meta story that influences and shapes what spaces like cities become. Radio is able to reflect diverse voices, use natural sound to represent place and create atmosphere and nuance, and reach far and wide—perhaps more so than any medium", said Callaghan in an interview. These proposed Youth Media Clubs could be one way to facilitate the sharing and listening of diverse narratives among the city's youth, who make up 16.3% of Cape Town's population. With cross-cultural and cross-generational dialogue as the goal, it could involve a group of pupils from a high school in Khayelitsha producing radio content that might be aired at a Jewish high school in Vredehoek; or pupils at a high school in Camps Bay co-creating

radio content with learners from a school in Delft that would be aired on local isiXhosa, English and Afrikaans radio stations. Satellite stations could be hosted on platforms that pupils in particular districts have access to. Callaghan recommends the provocation in actual project form "would live at schools in a Radio Club, where teachers and peer leaders would need to be motivated about this, to hold this and give it a 'home' at their school." The youth would also "need to be taken through a curriculum of media making that is logical and cumulative so that they are able to grow into a craft with some lasting integrity." She adds: "There also needs to be links to their scholastic curriculum—maybe with history, art, design and life orientation."

To build on the model of the after-school arts programme, as seen in previous models such as the Keletla! Library Media Arts Project (in Johannesburg)—the provocation also intends to incorporate other forms of expression including poetry, art, music, dance, cooking, design, storytelling, videography, photography, ceramics, comics, printmaking, visual art, and other creative forms of cultural reflection. With this in mind, the promotion of meaning-making through culture creates opportunities for different identities and histories to be scrutinised and expressed, creating the conditions for youth voices, needs and angers to be caught earlier and documented better than they were in the lead up to #FeesMustFall.



Field recordings in Tanzania.
Image courtesy of the Children's Radio Foundation



Field recordings in Zambia.
Image courtesy of the Children's Radio Foundation

According to a cultural mapping initiative by the City of Cape Town—with the objective of expanding this traditional medium to newer, younger audiences—Youth Media Clubs could develop inclusive programmes relevant to the diverse concerns of the youth in various parts of the city, incorporating specific and universal youth trends and lifestyles. Furthermore, this kind of initiative could also facilitate the learning and sharing of skills associated with media production such as research, interviewing, and technical skills, which can contribute to employability down the line. Overall, though, its key role would be to promote the role of storytelling in archiving and historicising excluded cultural groups. “Using radio as a medium provides ample opportunity to develop [critical and self reflective practices] skills, and we at CRF have found that once young people gain confidence in these communication skills, they also develop a sense of agency, purpose, and even a sense of belonging. The ability and confidence to articulate oneself must not be underestimated,” says Callaghan.

That said, the Youth Media Clubs would need to be conceptualised along what one might call different social neural pathways, i.e. they would prioritise the destabilising of existing and historical power and resource dynamics between the cultural

groups. There are long cultivated stereotypes that maintain a social order, which keeps access to resources and learning opportunities in historically defined unequal terms. How can the notion of redress underpin the actioning of this provocation in practical terms? Callaghan says “working with and through stereotypes is a longer process of self-reflection and interrogation. The radio work needs to be facilitated by practitioners well-versed in process work so that youth participants don’t make a superficial jump like most South African adults attempted to do in the 90s from Apartheid to Rainbow Nation. Telling a story for broadcast is a huge responsibility—besides all the tenets of journalism applying here—there is also the work of grappling with self-conscious and unconscious bias.”

So, what is the viability of this provocation, given the various logistical disparities created by apartheid city planning in terms of how different people commute, commune, and communicate? How will learners be carted up and down between suburbs, townships and the City bowl? Will this give rise to alternative modes of telecommunication and ensure that the internet has an important role to play in creating meeting spaces? Asked about potential challenges to the implementation of this provocation, Callaghan

says they could include this idea of the platform. “Where will these youth hang out together, virtually or on air? It is envisioned they will choose who they want to engage within a school network and what is most pressing that they would want to share, to build on or break down a perceived narrative.”

Perhaps the most exciting challenge for the Youth Media Clubs is to fairly represent the city’s racial and cultural demographics in the production and distribution of content. The fact that *Umhlobo Wenene* has the largest radio listenership by far in the Western Cape generally and Cape Town specifically, followed by *Good Hope FM*, *Heart FM*, *RSG*, *KFM Radio Zibonele* and *Radio Tygerberg* (the last two being community stations), it is crucial to determine the strategic objectives and outcomes of the project. What will it mean for the representation of historically underrepresented voices? How will different languages be used as a tool to cut across the cultural and generational divides? How will popular musical genres like hip hop, trap and pop be used to build bridges between the cultural and generational divides? Might this be the opportunity for facilitators to employ the cohesive faculties of music, choir, poetry, or speech and drama as vehicles to drive intercultural and intergenerational exchange? Callaghan does not see these divides as necessary barriers. “By a margin of 6%, isiXhosa is the most spoken language in the city of Cape Town so it would stand that most of the content would be in or include isiXhosa, followed by Afrikaans. The provocation is envisioned to begin in schools and form a network of students who make and exchange radio programming. Languages used must reflect the demographics of students at schools, not just the language of instruction. By extension, that means a diversity of languages and mixed language use”, she says.

Because of the importance of oral histories as the repositories and sites for specifically African histories, there are challenges and opportunities to revitalise oral histories and traditions as a medium within such imagined spaces where dialogue, storytelling and intergenerational exchange are centralised. But as Callaghan points out, “oral traditions are not very strong in our everyday lives, unless we live with elders or in an unsaturated media environment.” How does this translate into the way knowledge is produced and transferred, and who produces and disseminates it? This is perhaps why a

youth-driven approach to exploring the possibilities and limitations of this provocation is important. Drawing inspiration from the work of the CRF, Callaghan says youth are the central actors in this provocation, drawing in intergenerational voices. “Youth experiences of their place, what they lack and what is important to them, their understanding of shifting or rigid racial and sexual identities, their sense of agency, hope and future will be encouraged. Giving their experiences voice—this is the storytelling the provocation envisions.”

Where will the money come from to sustain the functioning of Youth Media Clubs? Will it be a mandate of the City of Cape Town or educational institutions such as schools and universities, funding organisations, local and international guilds and foundations that fund cultural exchange programmes? How could existing arts foundations and spaces like Langa’s Guga S’thebe or the A4 Arts Foundation be roped in to support the Youth Media Clubs in practical ways? Do the city’s diverse youth even need the help of fledgling arts institutions? And what would be the role of established media institutions like SABC radio or Primedia in facilitating training, workshops, mentorships and hosting facilities for satellite and internet radio stations?

The implementation of institutional or government mandates largely relies on a structural framework to support it, such as the funding and human resources responsible for transforming those mandates into the improvement of people’s lives. In order for historical narratives to change, they rely on the implementation of these frameworks, but they also rely on the will of those responsible to envision, activate and follow through on collective, big picture goals. The City of Cape Town, like most places in South Africa, might not change its notorious narrative of being “beautiful on the surface and ugly on the inside”—based on its slave, colonial and apartheid legacies—if the will to know the historical “other” is not an inherent aspect of the social and spatial architecture of the city’s present and future. The potential for new cultural narratives can certainly be realised by the crafty pairing of old media, such as radio, with the sheer hormonal force of new blood, whose role in a new country is to transform the way its vestiges look, feel and sound. Nowhere is readier for this than Cape Town.

USEFUL RESOURCES

An illustrative selection of additional resources related to the Cultural Narratives provocation; touching on policies, projects, campaigns, analysis and critique. The assortment is by no means exhaustive and we look forward to feedback from readers about other relevant examples or resources.

POLICIES & FRAMEWORKS

Arts, Culture, and Creative Industries Policy, 2017
<http://www.agenda21culture.net/>

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“The policy aims to provide guidelines for developing mechanisms with which the City of Cape Town can support the development of the Arts and Culture sector, and guide internal transversal coordination between City departments providing arts and culture services. It establishes a framework to develop an enabling environment based

on partnership building with relevant stakeholders as supported by relevant research, funding mechanisms and marketing efforts.”

Cultural Heritage Strategy for The City Of Cape Town, 2018

<https://www.capetown.gov.za/>

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“To date there has not been a consolidated and coordinated approach to managing the cultural heritage of the new City of Cape Town. This document presents the City of Cape Town Cultural Heritage Strategy. The document sets a policy and framework for the management and protection of the cultural heritage resources of the City of Cape Town. The document also provides a response from the City to the obligations of local government contained in the National Heritage Resources Act. Finally, the document provides a framework for cooperation between the national, provincial and local spheres of government in managing and protecting heritage resources in the City of Cape Town.”

Western Cape Living Atlas

<https://www.westerncape.gov.za/dept/cas>

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“This online interactive archive provides a spatial overview of the Western Cape’s Arts, Culture,

and Sport’s Facilities. In addition to providing its location, the Arc GIS map allows users to find out additional information about the arts, culture, or recreational facility they are interested in visiting.”

EXISTING EXAMPLES

The Children’s Radio Foundation

<http://www.childrensradiofoundation.org/>

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“The Children’s Radio Foundation uses radio training and broadcast to create opportunities for youth dialogue, community-building and leadership. Working with mentors in their community, youth create well-informed radio programs in local languages that are broadcast on local stations. In the process, they enhance their communication, critical thinking and problem solving. Reporters take on issues that resonate with youth including HIV/AIDS, education and the environment.”

RX Radio at Red Cross Children’s Hospital

Radio, for and by children

<http://rxradio.co.za/live>

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“A radio station run by and for children, operating from the Red Cross War Memorial Children’s Hospital in Cape Town. It is the first radio station in the world to train child/youth reporters to broadcast from within a hospital. The aim of the radio is to make us feel better and get better. We do this by bringing our families and friends together to talk, listen, question, share and act on things that are important to us.”

District Six Museum

<https://www.districtsix.co.za/>

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“In addition to being a space for ex-residents to gather and get involved in programmes, the Museum has also

become a space for telling the story of District Six to visitors from near and far. Opening its doors in 1994, the diaspora of District Sixers played an important role in shaping and contributing to the Museum’s exhibition and programme, and they continue to be pivotal to the ongoing work of memory and holistic restitution. Their desire to return and re-member is ever present in this work.”

Coloured Mentality

<https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC1bL50P7GzQKhorkDC6cdyg>

<https://www.facebook.com/colouredmentality/>

—

“A 6-part web series created by Kelly-Eve Koopman and Sarah Summers in which they debate their own complex identity as coloured 20-somethings in Cape Town with guests, in preparation of a 1 000km liberation walk from the Eastern Cape to the Castle in Cape Town.”

Pumflet, art, architecture and stuff

<http://oharchitecture.blogspot.com/>

—

“A publication and interventionist platform formed by architect and curator Ilze Wolff and artist Kemang Wa Lehulere in 2016. Through Pumflet editions they research marginal architectural histories, to cultivate a diverse audience and public culture around lost spaces, art and modern architecture.”

South African History Archive (SAHA)

<http://www.saha.org.za/>

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“The South African History Archive (SAHA) is an independent human rights archive dedicated to documenting, supporting and promoting greater

awareness of past and contemporary struggles for justice through archival practices and outreach, and the utilisation of access to information laws.”

Pan African Space Station (PASS)

<https://panafricanspacestation.org.za/>

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“Founded in 2008, PASS is a periodic, pop-up live radio studio; a performance and exhibition space; a research platform and living archive, as well as an ongoing, internet-based radio station. PASS seeks to challenge the concepts this present has of Africa and to excite new transitory and transient communities with each journey, bringing focus to collective experience and targeting an investigation into how we locate ourselves and how we mediate our human and historic commonality.”

Chicoco Radio as part of CMAP /

The Human City Project

<http://www.chicoco.fm/>

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“Chicoco Radio is powered by volunteers from Port Harcourt’s waterfront slums who are trained as citizen journalists, writers, sound engineers, programme presenters, studio operators, music producers, drama directors, news casters, station managers and community correspondents. Together within the Chicoco Collective, People Live Here and CMAP, this work helps inform mapping, planning and advocacy.”



Provocation 4:

Placemaking Through Public Works

To connect work experience with
enhancing safety, sustainability and
public life in excluded areas.

OVERVIEW

This provocation returns to the question of work. It tries to optimise existing investments in public works programmes to dramatically improve the impact of these interventions so that a much higher quality of placemaking, particularly in ‘townships’ and informal settlements, can be achieved. A placemaking methodological framework is designed, within which various Public Works Programmes will be expected to operate.

This framework will be focused on achieving placemaking through: alternative approaches to safety and security; cultural production especially in relation to Early Childhood Development (ECD) infrastructures; the promotion of diversified

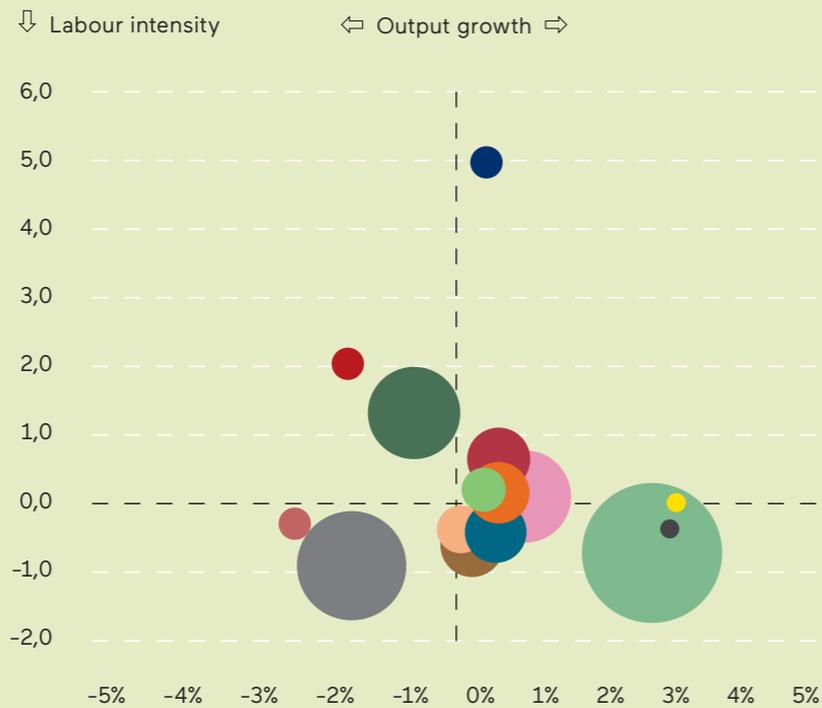
informal trade; the promotion of skills development; and the expansion of green infrastructure to enhance the physical beauty and psychic health of neglected neighbourhoods. Within this framework there is a unique opportunity to address the precarious condition that informal ECD centres operate under.

This focus represents an opportunity for Cape Town to come together as a city, across our many fissures, to build a system that can transform the lives of our most important citizens. By building on innovative initiatives across South Africa in general and in Cape Town in particular, this provocation seeks to promote the growth of a city-wide movement to transform makeshift ECDs into places of laughter, exploration, care and love.

EMPLOYMENT CONTEXT

LABOUR INTENSITY & OUTPUT GROWTH OF CAPE TOWN

- Air transport and transport supporting activities
- Food, beverages
- Textiles, clothing
- Wood and wood products
- Fuel, petroleum, chemicals
- Electronic, sound and vision
- Furniture
- Construction
- Hotels and restaurants
- Post & telecommunication
- Finance and insurance
- Real estate activities
- Other business activities
- Retail trade and repairs of goods
- Fishing, operation of fish farms



City of Cape Town, 2018. "Diagram 11: Cape Town's GVA, labour intensity and output growth" in City of Cape Town Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework: p24.

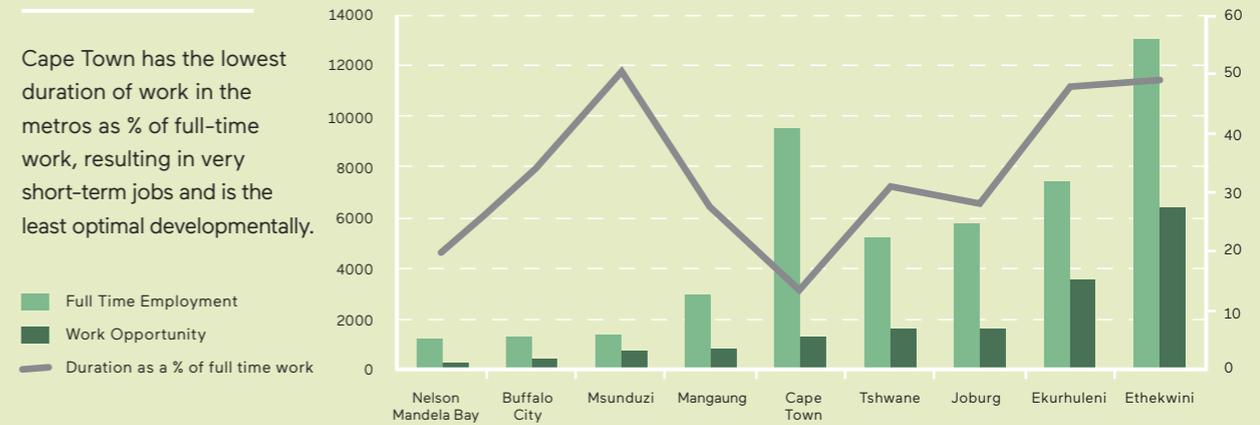
PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMMES

Public Employment Programmes (PEPs) are flexible development programmes that provide short-term, publicly-funded employment for under/unemployed people. In South Africa, these programmes consist of:

COMMUNITY WORK PROGRAMME (CWP)	EXPANDED PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAMME (EPWP)
CWP offers a job safety net for unemployed youth and others in the form of community work while they are actively looking for employment opportunities.	EPWP creates work opportunities in four sectors, namely, Infrastructure, Non-State, Environment & Culture and Social.
R88 PER HOUR OF EMPLOYMENT 2 DAYS / PER WEEK 8 DAYS / MONTH	PROJECT DEPENDENT WAGES 8 HOURS / DAY 55 HOURS / 5 DAY WEEK

WORK OPPORTUNITIES AND DURATION OF WORK IN THE METROS 2015/16

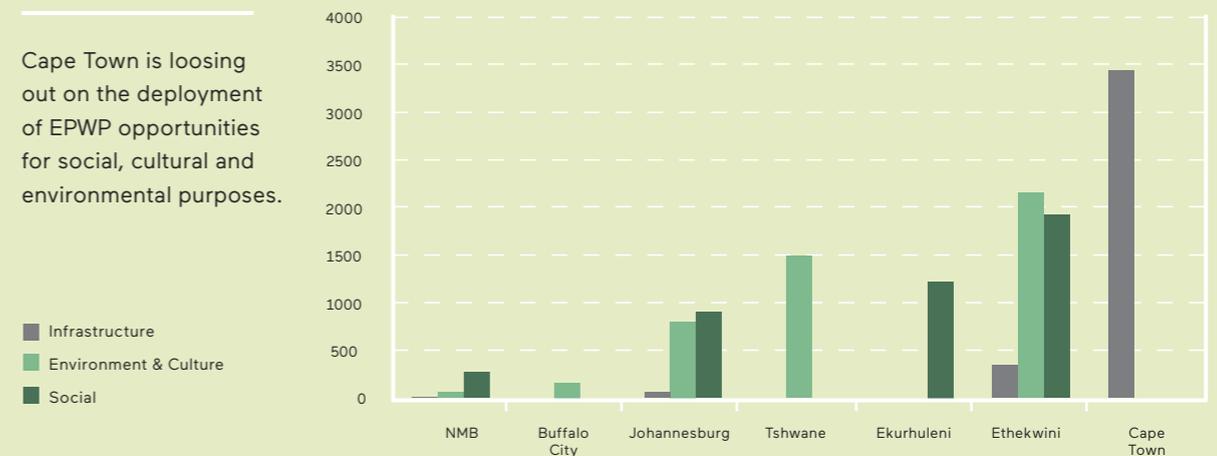
Cape Town has the lowest duration of work in the metros as % of full-time work, resulting in very short-term jobs and is the least optimal developmentally.



South African Cities Network. 2016. State of South African Cities Report 2016. Johannesburg: SACN.

SECTORAL COMPOSITION OF EPWP PROJECTS PROPOSED IN METROS 2016/17

Cape Town is losing out on the deployment of EPWP opportunities for social, cultural and environmental purposes.



GTAC. 2017. "Performance Information B" in GTAC Annual Report 2016/2017: p14.

CURRENT LIMITATIONS AND MISSED OPPORTUNITIES OF THE PROGRAMMES

In the delivery of PEPs there is a tendency to keep workers busy on an arbitrary and menial collection of projects. The intervention is not designed to enhance the economic or environmental potential of neighbourhoods and communities. Nor are workers supported with learning productive skills that can lead to permanent employment.

WHAT IS PLACEMAKING?

“When you focus on place, you do everything differently”-Project for Public Spaces, 2018.

In recent years, placemaking has become a buzzword associated with commercial ideas of branding a space, or placing a generic value on public space, often through top-down government processes. This can dangerously lead to placemaking meaning everything and nothing in urban policy documents. In order to maintain the value of placemaking, the roots of the process must be reiterated during placemaking initiatives.

At its core, placemaking is a collaborative, community-led approach to improving, planning, designing and managing public spaces in a neighbourhood, city or region (Project for Public Spaces, 2018; Placemaking Chicago, 2018). While it encompasses elements of urban design, placemaking is also about facilitating community creativity and patterns of use in order to create spaces that intertwine physical, cultural, ecological and even spiritual qualities and uses. Placemaking can be used as a tool to collectively inspire local community members to reimagine their local public space based on the needs of all community members. Despite the ability to generate creative ideas for spaces, it is important that the placemaking process is an intentional and productive process.

The value of placemaking extends beyond the end product of an improved, well designed, locally relevant space. The placemaking processes,

when implemented correctly, has the potential to generate employment opportunities, skills development, increased community cohesion and care as well as produce many other positive spin offs.

The placemaking process highlights the difference between space and place. Spaces are abstract geographic areas; however, once value, meaning and significance is applied to the space, it can become a place. Placemaking has the ability to turn ordinary spaces in a neighbourhood, into places with value and significance to, and decided on by, the community through which it is collaboratively planned, designed and managed.

Placemaking Chicago. 2018. What is Placemaking? Available at: <http://www.placemakingchicago.com/about/> March 19, 2019.
Project for Public Space. 2018. What Is Placemaking? Available at: <https://www.pps.org/article/what-is-placemaking> March 18, 2019.

WHAT ARE PEPs?

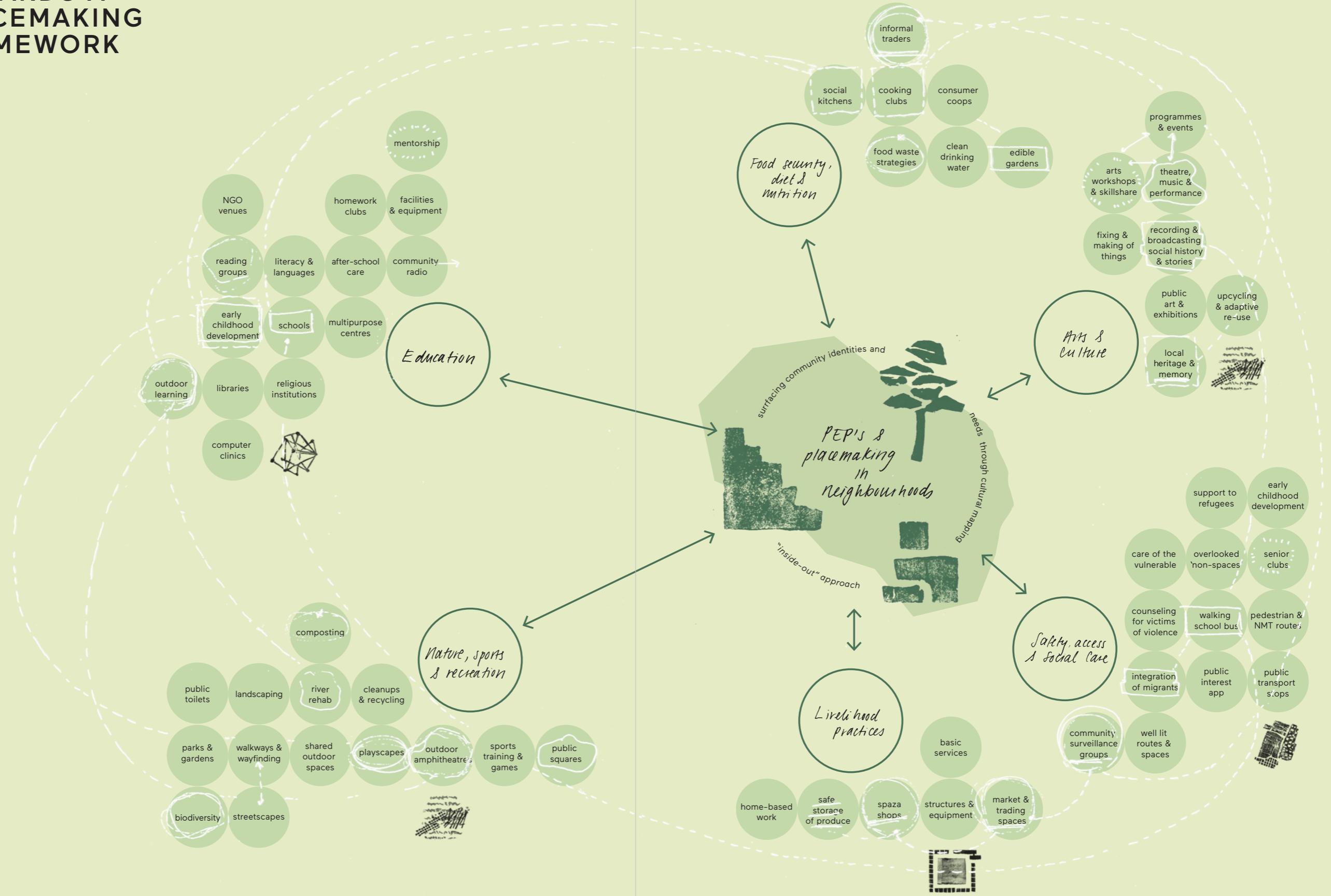
Public Employment Programmes, or PEPs, are flexible development programmes that provide short-term, publicly-funded employment for under/unemployed people. These programmes can often be emergency relief programmes. However, in South Africa, these PEPs offer guaranteed publicly-funded employment for a limited number of days per year. At their core, PEPs target poverty alleviation amongst vulnerable populations through a rights-based approach to employment in order to create income security.ⁱ In these instances, PEPs provide a predictable income by generating employment and creating needed or useful public goods and services. These services and public goods could be maintaining or rehabilitating public assets and infrastructure or providing services that are identified by the community in which the PEP is based.

In South Africa, these programmes consist of the EPWP, and the CWP. A PEPs maximum working hours and type of labour vary depending on the country. EPWP employment has predominantly been labour intensive employment, often in rural areas of the country. This provides individuals with no more than 55 hours of work in a week, usually through a temporary government tendered project-resulting in a continued precarious employment status. CWP participants, in contrast, receive 2 days of supplementary paid community work per week. The work that is undertaken in communities must be identified through a grassroots process. In other words, the community working in the CWP programme must identify the type of work that is need in the area. Community participation and identification of work areas is a critical part of the CWP process. The role of government is also key in achieving successful PEPs. Government must be dynamic in order to appropriately respond to economic cycles, crises and disasters. Government is also responsible

for providing the legislative framework for PEPs in order to legitimise the employment programme; thereby, creating an implicit guarantee of work. PEPs have the ability to be catalytic and transformative in many countries when planned and implemented effectively in the context in which they are operating.

ⁱ International Labour Organisation. 2018. *Implementing the Paris Agreement through Public Employment Programmes (PEP): A Just Transition for All*. Green Public Employment and the Future of Work Workshop. Double Tree Hotel: Cape Town, delivered 9 April 2018

TOWARDS A PLACEMAKING FRAMEWORK

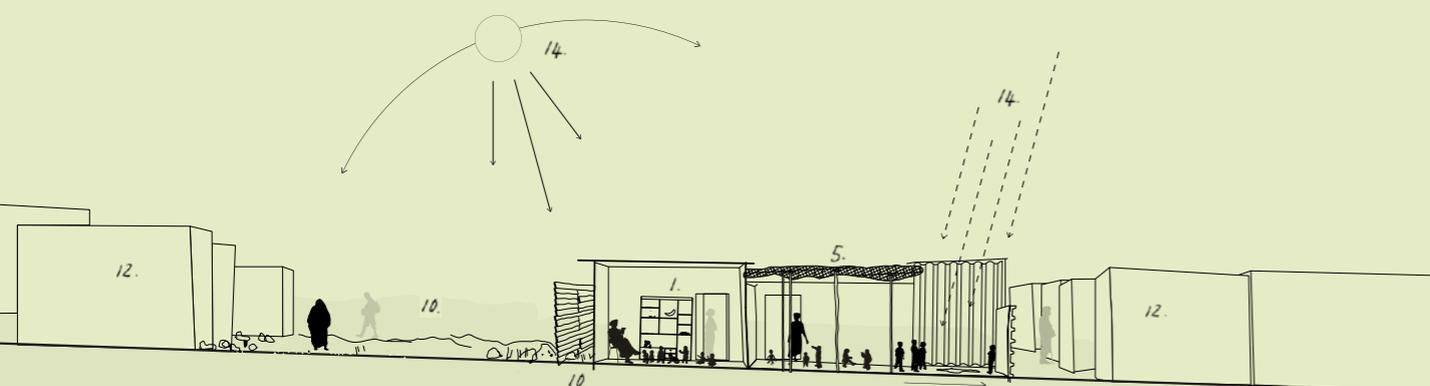


PLACEMAKING THROUGH PUBLIC WORKS

A typical unregistered ECD centre operating out of a cluster of self-built structures, that accommodates over 100 children. The adjacent illustration explores how a centre could be spatially supported through diversified Public Works programmes.



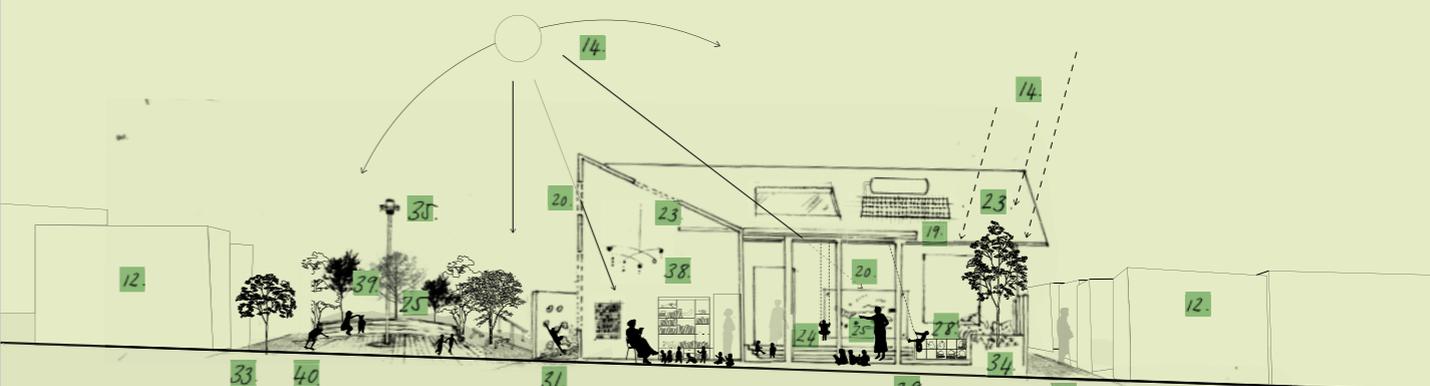
- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 1. Classroom 1 | 10. Underutilised outside space |
| 2. Classroom 2 | 11. Streetscape |
| 3. Classroom 3 | 12. Surrounding neighbourhood |
| 4. Bathroom area | 13. Drainage & flooding |
| 5. Courtyard partly covered by sheet | 14. Environmental elements |
| 6. Kitchen | |
| 7. Storeroom; sleeping mats, equipment | |
| 8. Private home | |
| 9. Entrance area | |



Section AA



- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| 15. Protected transport stop | 24. Stepped stoep | 32. Sense of arrival |
| 16. Prefabricated / Biomass structure | 25. Outdoor learning | 33. Permeable pathways & landscaping |
| 17. Toilets & washing up area | 26. Mobile furniture | 34. Seating & planters |
| 18. Edible garden | 27. Soft textured surfaces; rubber, astrotuf, wood-chip, carpetting, mulch | 35. Lamppost |
| 19. Slatted courtyard cover | 28. Child lockers | 37. Demarcating bollards |
| 20. Sky light & dappled light | 29. Drainage | 36. Speed bumps & pedestrian crossing |
| 21. Fire extinguisher & first aid kit | 30. Water harvesting & storage | 38. Play equipment |
| 22. Admin, sick-bed, digi-educare | 31. Interactive murals | 39. Free public Wifi |
| 23. Extra storage-space | | 40. Skate-ramps, micro-terrains |



Section BB

FESTIVAL REFLECTION

Facilitator:
Kate Philip

The success of the communication of each provocation was a true testament to the quality of the facilitators that generously gave their time to assist at the Integration and Ideas Festival. For the Placemaking through Public Works provocation, the Integration Syndicate was fortunate enough to have Kate Philip, an expert in the public works field with extensive experience in the developmental sector, to present the provocation.

The world café format of the Integration and Ideas Festival meant that each facilitator was challenged to energise the groups throughout the day while they were presented a crash course on each provocation. Philip approached the conveying task by using the Dr Seuss quote “oh the things you can think if only you try” to provoke the audience. Philip explains: “I wanted the audience to leave their comfort zone and imagine new ways of using an existing development instrument—public employment—that is often used in a rather tired and predictable way.” This approach was based on Philip’s own initial response to and thoughts on the provocation. “I loved the idea because it was an opportunity to promote the idea of re-imagining public employment as a development intervention.” This, Philip suggests, was a rare opportunity for imagination because so often we are trapped and mired by the limits of what exists.

The Placemaking through Public Works provocation is a not an easy topic to convey, as before the reimagination of the system can take place, a general understanding of what exists needs to be reached by all in the room. Philip highlighted that this was a challenge she experienced when presenting the provocation to the public at the Integration and Ideas Festival. “The existing EPWP arrangements are unfortunately pretty opaque to outsiders so a lot of time was spent explaining what currently exists and what works.” In addition to this, Philip explains that many people who attended this provocation presentation had not heard of the CWP either. With the original prompt to reimagine what exists still guiding this session, Philip says she encouraged the



Photograph:
Andy Mkosi



group to think beyond the current constraints to what could be. “It is important to demonstrate that a bridge does exist or can exist between the real and the imagined”. One reason as to why participants could not be imaginative in this session was perhaps due to the conventional idea of labour as having strictly market value. While this is true in part, the social value of labour as an element of being employed should not be ignored. There is a need to shift away from the notion that labour only has value when it has market value to seeing labour as, intrinsically, a social good, and furthermore, that public employment is an instrument that can unlock that social value.

The value in presenting these provocations to the public is that questions and potential unforeseen consequences are raised that, as the Integration Team, we would otherwise not have noticed. For this particular provocation, Philip mentions that the participants highlighted the risk that the ‘placemaking’ lens locks people into their current circumstances. “In the context of spatial inequality which is so closely correlated to race and class, how can area-based initiatives be designed in terms that transcend this limitation?” While this is an interesting challenge and an important insight, Philip is confident that it is not insurmountable, particularly in relation to the four other provocations.

Despite being a long day of input, with a barrage of information and thinking being presented to the participants of the Integration and Ideas Festival, overall, Philip reflected positively on the day. Participants were able to grasp the potential links between each provocation as well as realise that public employment could support and enable the implementation of these provocations. According to Philip, “many people in the sessions made links to the other provocations...which really highlighted the value of the event outline of people going from session to session—it meant everyone’s spark plugs were firing in joined up ways!”

Speaking at the end of the Integration and Ideas Festival, Philip described the sessions and each provocations as five rooms of hope, especially given the current local, and global social, political and environmental climate.

INPUT

Do you think Cape Town is a family-friendly city?
 Yes No NA

Why?
 There aren't enough outdoor activities, spaces & cultural spaces.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 More integrated, interactive where housing, outdoor spaces and cultural facilities are public or supported, mental & risk relief by environment.

INPUT

Do you think Cape Town is a family-friendly city?
 Yes No

Why?
 It is not accessible, if pedestrian friendly, school parks, more play areas and more to entertain & have fun for the area.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 Increase recreation and activities in recreation, play areas, school buses & transport. Monitor & controlled public playgrounds to be safer and friendly.

INPUT

Do you think with more time and resources this idea could be transformative for Cape Town?
 Yes No

This idea could work if:
 People who are involved with city should be given a chance to make decisions to improve environment.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 The consequences (good or bad) of implementing this idea might be:

INPUT

Do you think with more time and resources this idea could be transformative for Cape Town?
 Yes No

This idea could work if:
 deal with institutional challenges - corruption
 build capacity to deal with social issues, diversity, conflict often found in places.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 May disrupt social culture, social interactions of children with diversity & needs, which needs are important for community.

INPUT

Do you think Cape Town is a family-friendly city?
 Yes No

Why?
 Not many safe, welcoming public spaces.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 Pedestrian streets like summit.

INPUT

Do you think with more time and resources this idea could be transformative for Cape Town?
 Yes No

This idea could work if:
 NPOs or Community Organisations could have access to these. Gov. Does Work + EPWP.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 The participants would be trained & have livelihood skills. More than 20% of budget for training.

INPUT

Do you think Cape Town is a family-friendly city?
 Yes No

Why?
 It is a uphill Cape Town is going at best. But in the poor communities and development by first class cities are not structured in the same way.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 Transport and other facilities that are public projects and a need of both parents.

INPUT

Do you think Cape Town is a family-friendly city?
 Yes No

Why?
 Less than 10 minutes walk to school, lack of sports, no support for young families.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 Walking, transport, park amenities, street lights.

INPUT

Do you think with more time and resources this idea could be transformative for Cape Town?
 Yes No

This idea could work if:
 remove some parking, the entrance to the playgrounds (to allow) - different location of parking with other amenities, with other parking to private and public spaces on the same area, street - security & maintenance issues.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 The consequences (good or bad) of implementing this idea might be:

INPUT

Do you think Cape Town is a family-friendly city?
 Yes No

Why?
 Children don't have opportunities to experience safe public space.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 Programs for parks, bicycle lanes.

INPUT

Do you think with more time and resources this idea could be transformative for Cape Town?
 Yes No

This idea could work if:
 There is a way of creating a capital city group that will provide challenges in the city, which is collaboration with other cities.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 The consequences (good or bad) of implementing this idea might be:

INPUT

Do you think with more time and resources this idea could be transformative for Cape Town?
 Yes No

This idea could work if:
 Structural organisation of projects are required. Partnerships (private / some of ownership) community initiatives.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 Local ownership of placemaking, public spaces & neighbourhood improvement, safety.

INPUT

Do you think with more time and resources this idea could be transformative for Cape Town?
 Yes No

This idea could work if:
 First projects should be to not accessible from community, about needs, values, ideas, and these are interpreted, implemented, should be treated as social workers.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 People in leadership positions will be required to deal with conflict, comparison of concepts.

INPUT

Do you think Cape Town is a family-friendly city?
 Yes No

Why?
 Limited amount of public space, lack of safety, lack of security, lack of public space.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 The consequences (good or bad) of implementing this idea might be:

INPUT

Do you think Cape Town is a family-friendly city?
 Yes No

Why?
 There is a lack of community and public amenities, trees and public space.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 Green infrastructure, education centres/schools, community centres.

INPUT

Do you think Cape Town is a family-friendly city?
 Yes No

Why?
 Depends what you would like your family to be shaped like.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 The consequences (good or bad) of implementing this idea might be:

INPUT

Do you think Cape Town is a family-friendly city?
 Yes No

Why?
 Creating more open spaces to play & learn. Learning creative programmes to challenge brains of learning - thinking out of the box. Create 'Space' through ECTS with professionally trained educators.

INPUT

Do you think Cape Town is a family-friendly city?
 Yes No

Why?
 Lots of it. For example, beaches are family friendly but for too many families are too costly for families.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 PARKS, YOUTH COMMUNITY CENTRES, BUT NOT FOR SPORT BUT LEISURE, PRODUCTION OF ART, DRAMA, FILM PRODUCTION, ETC. INVOLVE CHILDREN IN PLANNING - WHAT DO THEY NEED?

INPUT

Do you think Cape Town is a family-friendly city?
 Yes No

Why?
 Because children are a social language, the city is not part of it, it is a social language, parks.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 Toys, things and all the things that provide physical programming, like 'base' skills, walk, run, jump, etc.

INPUT

Do you think with more time and resources this idea could be transformative for Cape Town?
 Yes No

This idea could work if:
 There are subgroups, some groups, they are not well, the community are not well, the community are not well.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 The consequences (good or bad) of implementing this idea might be:

INPUT

Do you think Cape Town is a family-friendly city?
 Yes No

Why?
 Limited specific, too many 'umbrella' parks in city.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 Yes, safe, public spaces, can allow children to play and grow together, create opportunities for physical personal care, drug introduction, and fear.

INPUT

Do you think with more time and resources this idea could be transformative for Cape Town?
 Yes No

This idea could work if:
 Better coordination in local ways and with local development.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 The consequences (good or bad) of implementing this idea might be:

INPUT

Do you think with more time and resources this idea could be transformative for Cape Town?
 Yes No

This idea could work if:
 If assets, which might be interpreted as 'checking out'.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 The consequences (good or bad) of implementing this idea might be:

INPUT

Do you think Cape Town is a family-friendly city?
 Yes No

Why?
 CHILDREN ARE ALMOST ENTIRELY EXCLUDED FROM THE CITY - CHILDREN NOT ARGUINGLY GARDENERS.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 A RANGE OF POTENTIAL ACTS - A SPACE FOR MUSIC EDUCATION.

INPUT

Do you think with more time and resources this idea could be transformative for Cape Town?
 Yes No

This idea could work if:
 More self-organising, more to be done, need to look to area - based planning, so you can address skills & levels of education.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 The consequences (good or bad) of implementing this idea might be:

INPUT

Do you think Cape Town is a family-friendly city?
 Yes No

Why?
 Because you can find what you looking for by asking people along the way.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 - Programmes each & every one weekend for kids that roam-around the streets.
 - Kids to be around other kids, so that they can know each other, like we up top.

INPUT

Do you think Cape Town is a family-friendly city?
 Yes No

Why?
 MANY NEIGHBOURHOODS ARE LOCATED SUCH THAT FAMILY NEEDS TO TRAVEL FAR AWAY FOR WORK/SCHOOL, FAMILY TIME SPENT COMMUTING.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 - DECENTRALIZED EMPLOYMENT HUBS
 - SAFE & ACCESSIBLE GREEN SPACE
 - SAFE & RELIABLE PUBLIC TRANSPORT
 - WELL STOCKED & ACCESSIBLE LIBRARIES/ INFORMATION RESOURCE CENTRES IN NEIGHBOURHOODS

INPUT

Do you think with more time and resources this idea could be transformative for Cape Town?
 Yes No

This idea could work if:
 Unemployed & employed people worked ~~side~~ together on these programmes to build social networks, foster integration by support skills sharing by awareness of employment opportunities by requirements.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 The consequences (good or bad) of implementing this idea might be:

INPUT

Do you think Cape Town is a family-friendly city?
 Yes No

Why?
 Does not enable experiences of a diversity of families, and families experiencing a diversity of culture.

What public infrastructure investment would improve the lives of children in Cape Town?
 (work for parents)
 • More areas of informal trade - linked to NMT, public transport and public open spaces that have space for 'child minding' and ~~strong~~ interaction in safe spaces.

Selection of Participant Input Cards

PUBLIC WORKS IN PLACEMAKING: OF BEES AND FISH AND THINKS YOU CAN THINK

by
Pippa
Green

Jeremy Jones stands in the vegetable garden he tends in Khayelitsha and talks about getting bees. “If we had bees, we could cross-pollinate; I used to work with bees and they did nothing to me, left me alone.”

The garden is in an unlikely setting. The neat beds of spring onions, sweet potatoes, carrots, and shallots among other crops, are located in the grounds of Intlanganiso Secondary School in Khayelitsha. It is an oasis of green in an otherwise bare school yard, lightly strewn with plastic packets and broken glass that comes from the windows of the three-story school above it. Jones also shows off his nettle crop to visitors: “One thing you don’t see in any garden is nettle: I sell it at the market for people to make tea.” Jones has managed the urban farm for about three years, with the help of local members of the CWP in the area. The CWP is a public employment programme that provides regular and predictable part-time work to participants. The work is meant to be decided through local community consultation, and to improve the local quality of life.

Jones is supported by the organisation that initiated the garden, the Lukhanyo Hub, which in turn is conceived and funded by the NGO, the Resilient Civic Design Collective (RCDC). It is the seed of a much more ambitious project, which is also supported

by funding from the Dutch government, to install what they term a “Climate Adaptive Toolbox” at the school.

The plan is to harvest rainwater from the school roof, direct it into an underground well point, already in use to irrigate the garden, and to rechannel the excess into the school plumbing system to use for sanitation. The school will have a ‘green wall’ and solar panels installed. Pipes covered with greenery will run down a wall and be directed into the well point; the excess water could be used for flushing toilets. The planned reticulation system could save the school about R50 000 in water bills, says RCDC’s managing director, Byron Hanslo. It’s a massive bill because of the numerous toilets and pipes that leak. He says many of the other 50-odd schools in Khayelitsha face similar challenges, costing the Department of Education, and the City of Cape Town, hundreds of thousands of rands in wasted water every month. The Lukhanyo Hub project at Intlanganiso Secondary school, in conjunction with the work the Community Work Program puts into the vegetable garden, goes to the heart of one of the five provocations presented last year at the end of the year-long Integration Syndicate at a workshop in Langa. The provocation was presented by Kate Philip, a development strategist and expert on

PEPs. She told the workshop, PEPs should be more than simply temporary employment programmes. They could also play a catalytic role in reshaping the city into more equitable and pleasant spaces.

“I wanted the audience to leave their comfort zone and imagine new ways of using an existing development instrument—public employment—that is often used in a rather tired and predictable way,” said Philip in an interview. “I loved the idea because it was an opportunity to promote the idea of re-imagining public employment as a development intervention in support of placemaking.”

The Lukhanyo Hub vegetable garden and its planned ‘green wall’, which may take the school largely off grid, is a good example not only of how public employment programmes can be used in ‘placemaking’, but also of how the private sector and civil society can work with various government structures to effect significant improvement—and greening—in townships which have, in some areas, been dangerous and unpleasant places to live.

WHAT IS PLACEMAKING?

‘Placemaking’ is a community-driven process that aims to strengthen the connections between people and the places they share, through collaborative processes that reshape public spaces to create shared value and meet people’s needs.

PEPs already have strong potential for changing the character of places and improving lives, as Philip showed in her presentation to the Langa workshop.

In poor communities, there is typically no shortage of work to be done in improving public spaces; but a process of joining the dots is needed to link community consultation about what needs to be done with the work undertaken in a PEP. This also needs to go hand in hand with community involvement in the evaluation of outcomes.

When the work has meaning to the community, it has more meaning for PEP participants, enhancing its impact.



Jeremy Jones and the CWP workers in the garden.
Image courtesy, Lukhanyo Hub / RCDC



on gradual or small-scale adjustments, undertaken over time.”

Nearly two-thirds of the province’s population of just over six million lives in the city of Cape Town. The rapid urbanisation since the end of apartheid, and the collapse of repressive influx control laws that kept African people locked in poverty-stricken rural areas, has resulted in vast urban sprawl on the periphery of the city. Although the national government has invested substantially in low-cost housing and infrastructure, most of this is located far from work and business opportunities. “It is widely recognised that the state’s investments have not created integrated, sustainable human settlements as envisaged by guiding policy documents such as Breaking New Ground, the National Development Plan and OneCape2040.”ⁱ While more integrated settlements closer to the city centre are an ultimate prize, there is no doubt that townships, in their current form, will continue to exist for perhaps several decades.

As Edgar Pieterse remarked in an interview, development of the township economy and improving safety and public transport would enhance the value of property in townships. Currently the gap between township and suburban property markets is massive partly because the former are generally unpleasant and unsafe and the schools “are in a shocking state”.ⁱⁱ The CWP’s involvement in the vegetable garden at Intlanganiso is one example of how employment programmes can be used as “development interventions.”

The CWP, a programme intended to address community needs, currently gives participants work for two days a week, on an ongoing basis. Too often, said Philip in her presentation at the Langa workshop, “workers are kept busy on an arbitrary collection of projects, with limited community input or social impact”. Yet the intervention is designed to enhance the social and environmental potential of neighbourhoods and communities. This is a lost development opportunity.

So the Lukhanyo Hub project, in particular the garden supported by CWP workers, is a fresh approach infused both into the school and into the community. Still

ⁱ African Centre for Cities and Western Cape Government: Living Cape: A Human Settlements Framework, 2019.

ⁱⁱ Green, P: On closing the gap of spatial inequality; *Business Day*, 6 April, 2017

An early childhood development centre overseen by independent SmartStarters in partnership with the Community Works Programme. Image courtesy of SmartStart

In the Langa workshop, stakeholders brainstormed a wide range of work activities that a PEP could undertake as part of placemaking. This included alternative approaches to safety and security, cultural activities, public art, ECD “and the expansion of green infrastructure to enhance the physical beauty and psychic health of neglected neighbourhoods.”

The working partnership between the CWP and the Lukhanyo Hub in the Intlanganiso school vegetable garden is a clear example of the latter. In fact, there is more potential. The Green Wall, or Climate Adaptive Toolkit, will not only provide a green space inside the school, and locally grown organic vegetable for local markets, but will also ensure that the well point, currently used for irrigation, is regularly replenished by the harvesting of water. The water could then be recycled for use in flushing toilets.

If the programme is successful and expanded to other schools, it could save hundreds of thousands of rands in school water bills. The greening project at the school fits in with the provincial government’s idea, spelt out in its Living Cape Framework, of “incrementalism...an approach to change that focuses

there is a long way to go. RCDC is in the midst of negotiations with several government departments, as well as the province, to continue its Green Wall Climate Adaptation Toolkit project (the Green Wall is one part) at the school. Hanslo says RCDC is in talks with the Department of Education to install solar panels and the water recycling system at the school.

There have been other improvements recently, such as a substantial new sports pitch and basketball court within the school grounds. Previously much of this ground was covered by rubble and fenced off—too dangerous for learners to use.

But the new facilities, built by the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sports at a cost of some R10 million after an intervention by RCDC, are still fenced off from the surrounding community and learners can use them only at specified times. “Core to our concept was the principle of building high-quality infrastructure with a system that enabled the facilities to be used solely by the school during school hours,” says RCDC’s director, Benjamin Mansfield. But after school hours, the idea was the facilities should be made available to local residents.

The Public Works department owns the land and the Department of Education leases it. This means there are complicated negotiations to be pursued. Currently the sports facilities cannot be used by the community on the other side of the fence. Hanslo says it could be an ideal space to be shared by pre-school children, of whom there are many “on the streets” around the school. The school, for its part, is worried about vandalism if it opens access.

But this is just one of the many points that have to be negotiated among several stakeholders. Even though the provincial government’s Living Cape Framework document stresses the importance of working with private sector organisations and NGOs, progress on projects is often slow. RCDC was one of two private sector organisations invited to the official launch of the Provincial government’s Living Cape Framework plan (the other was Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading). The Lukhanyo Hub has since been appointed as the “official Living Cape Framework Innovative Test Bed for Infrastructure Activation.”

The document is a “very progressive framework because government is saying they can’t do everything themselves,” says Hanslo. “But not

unless we translate all these words into people can we do something. We have these documents, they all amazing, even our National Development Plan is brilliant but (we) are not translating them into children, into people, into our future.”

Even the school itself needs to be persuaded of the project. At a recent meeting between the Dutch NGO, Okra, which has raised money for the Green Wall, the Lukhanyo Hub, Isidima, an engineering consultancy, the school principal and secretary of its School Governing Body, there was much discussion about how the proposed reticulation and recycling project would benefit the children.

As Hanslo and Jonny Harris of Isidima explained how the tanks would be used to harvest rainwater to replenish the well point, their vision broadened. Aquaponics, says Harris, was mentioned by President Cyril Ramaphosa in his State of the Nation Address. It would be “a natural progression...we could see if we could include an initial fish tank.” Imagine, says Hanslo, if people could cook locally farmed fish in the surrounding neighbourhood, as well as being able to buy vegetables. Children could get a certificate in aquaponics or agriculture, as well as a matric.

But the secretary of the SGB, Mawethu Malindi, needed more persuasion. First, he thinks the garden should “benefit learners more.” But then, says Hanslo, the gardening project has to be incorporated into the curriculum and that depends on the Department of Education.

So even apparently simple projects to improve public spaces that involve an array of stakeholders are invariably complex. By the end of the meeting, Malindi also began to see new possibilities: “We need to think of a way to involve learners in the programme.”

PEPs can play a critical role, not only in the gardening project, but also in future projects, such as aquaponics. But these small, incremental steps require big imagination. The little oasis in the otherwise bare yard of Intlanganiso is part of a vision that stretches from bees to fish and the ways in which they can enhance a community. It is evidence of the children’s poem by Dr Seuss, with which Philip prefaces her provocation: “*Think left and think right and think low and think high; oh the thinks you can think up if only you try.*”

USEFUL RESOURCES

An illustrative selection of additional resources related to the Placemaking through Public Works provocation; touching on policies, projects, campaigns, analysis and critique. The assortment is by no means exhaustive and we look forward to feedback from readers about other relevant examples or resources.

POLICY FRAMEWORK

Public Employment: A Development tool for Cities, 2019

<http://www.csp.treasury.gov.za/>

—
A compilation by Kate Philip for the Cities Support Programme, National Treasury

part-time employment. Programme participants do community work, thereby contributing to improvements that benefit all community members.”

Working on Fire

<https://workingonfire.org/>

—
“Working on Fire is an Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) aimed at providing work opportunities to young men and women. The Programme resides under, and is funded by, the Department of Environmental Affairs. Working on Fire manages an Integrated Fire Management Programme which includes fire management planning, detection, prevention, suppression, dispatch and coordination and community fire awareness activities.”

Working for Water

<http://www.dwaf.gov.za/wfw/>

—
“Since 1995, Working for Water, an Expanded Public Works Programme, has focussed on environmental conservation through over 300 projects in all nine provinces to control invasive alien plants, through job creation efforts and the poverty alleviation. Short-term contract jobs, created through the clearing activities, are undertaken, with the emphasis on endeavouring to recruit women (the target is 60%), youth (20%) and disabled (5%). Creating an enabling environment for skills training.”

SmartStart with DG Murray Trust

<https://www.smartstart.org.za/>

—
“Recognising the importance of the first six years in a child’s life and the huge gaps in provision, SmartStart provides a pragmatic, affordable solution to rapidly expand access to quality early learning. The franchised

programme is delivered through playgroups, day mothers and Early Childhood Development (ECD) centres to improve children’s readiness for learning, school performance and overall life success. Since May 2015, SmartStart has enabled unemployed women and men to run their own programmes, and that empowers parents and communities to seek out and support this quality programme.”

Walking Bus Initiative

<https://www.westerncape.gov.za/>

—
“The Walking Bus Initiative was brought about to ensure the safe and supervised trips to and from school, for learners in Cape Town communities that are ridden by gang-related activity. The initiative is undertaken by parents, community volunteers and The Department of Community Safety in the Western Cape.”

Open Green MAP

<https://www.opengreenmap.org/greenmap>

—
“An interactive map that catalogues green living sites, nature, social and cultural resources. The Open Green Map is designed to be explored, customized and enhanced by public insights, ratings, suggestions and images to promote inclusive participation in sustainable development.”

Mmofra Foundation

<https://mmofraghana.org/>

—
“Founded by Ghanaian writer Edua Sutherland, Mmofra Foundation develops programs and products in inspiring environments in order to promote cultural awareness and learning outside the classroom for the benefit of children living in Ghana and Africa, so that they may become capable and creative change makers for a better world.”

RESOURCE GUIDELINES

Shaping Urbanization for Children: A Handbook

[on Child-responsive Urban Planning, 2018](https://www.unicef.org/publications)
<https://www.unicef.org/publications>

—
“Shaping urbanization for children, a handbook on child-responsive urban planning, presents concepts, evidence and technical strategies to bring children to the foreground of urban planning. By focusing on children, this publication provides guidance on the central role that urban planning should play in achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), from a global perspective to a local context, by creating thriving and equitable cities where children live in healthy, safe, inclusive, green and prosperous communities.”

Supporting Informal Livelihoods in Public Space: A Toolkit for Local Authorities, 2018

<http://www.wiego.org/>

—
“This toolkit draws on the research and advocacy work of the global research-action-policy network Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO). For 20 years, WIEGO has focused on building capacity among informal worker organizations, expanding the knowledge base on informal work, and influencing local, national and international policies.”

EXISTING EXAMPLES

The Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP)

<http://www.epwp.gov.za/>

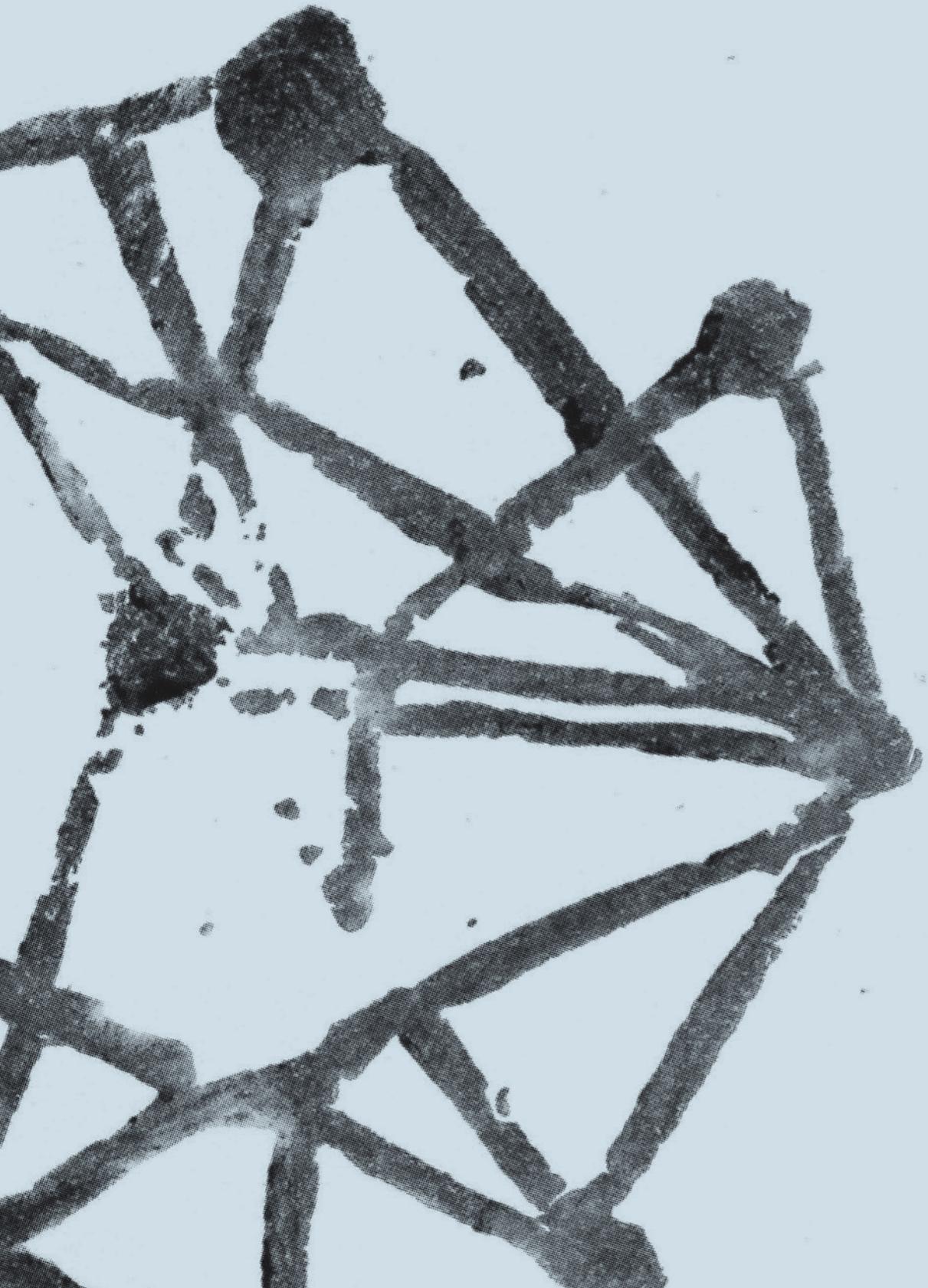
—
“The EPWP is a nationwide programme covering all spheres of government and state-owned enterprises. The Programme provides an important avenue for labour absorption and income transfers to poor households in the short- to medium-term.

It is also a deliberate attempt by public sector bodies to use expenditure on goods and services to create work opportunities for the unemployed. EPWP Projects employ workers on a temporary or on-going basis either by government, by contractors, or by other non-governmental organisations.”

Community Works Programme (CWP)

<http://www.cogta.gov.za/?programmes=community-work-programme>

—
“The CWP is an innovative offering from government to provide a job safety net for unemployed people of working age. It provides a bridging opportunity for unemployed youth and others who are actively looking for employment opportunities. The programme provides them with extra cash to support them in their search for full-time or



Provocation 5:

Solidarity Switchboard

Building digital literacy hubs to
connect needs and resources.

OVERVIEW

This provocation addresses the imperatives of the Fourth Industrial Revolution but from the perspective and needs of the most marginalised communities in Cape Town. It is focussed on addressing the mismatch between need, resources and skills within the Cape Town economy.

The first element of the provocation is to proliferate digital hubs that offer ICT training, services, safe gaming spaces, recording facilities, linked with DIY makerlabs, but driven by community needs and priorities. Our thinking is inspired by the practice of R-Labs and the I-Can Centre in Elsies River.

Practically, these hubs offer a place for unemployed youth and learners to gather to learn software packages, coding, gaming, entrepreneurship, cultural production (e.g. recording and mixing music), and so much more.

It opens them up to the new possibilities of the digital economy and the power of digital tools to potentially

transform their communities. Once these hubs are in place, even in embryonic forms, it becomes possible to activate the second element—the Solidarity Switchboard.

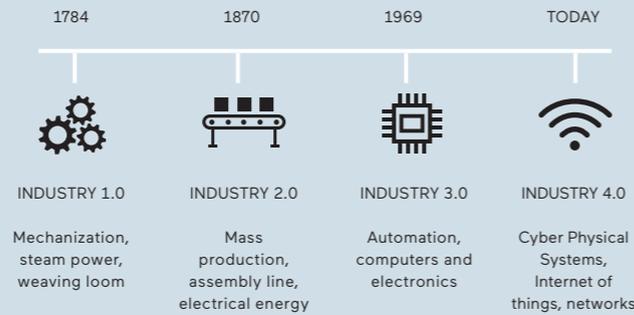
Cape Town is endowed with remarkable human resources across all communities, and we like to believe, a culture of generosity and exchange that has been suppressed. By providing tangible nodes—the digital hubs—where needs and resources can be brought together, a match-making switchboard can be built over time.

This can operate at the neighbourhood level, but can also be extended to the city as a whole. In time, the vast networks of religious solidarity, of sport engagement, of cultural interest, whether it is in choral music or in other forms of cultural expression, will be activated to begin to cross, what seems, impervious divides in the city.

DIGITAL CONTEXT

THE FOURTH INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Cape Town is wrestling with the challenges of rising inequality and structural unemployment at a moment when the global economy is undergoing a profound transition towards the so-called Fourth Industrial Revolution. The Fourth Industrial Revolution refers to the next level of technological innovation, characterised by The World Economic Forum, “as a fusion of technologies that is blurring the lines between the physical, digital, and biological spheres.”ⁱ Future competitiveness and employability will revolve around competence and access to digital technologies.



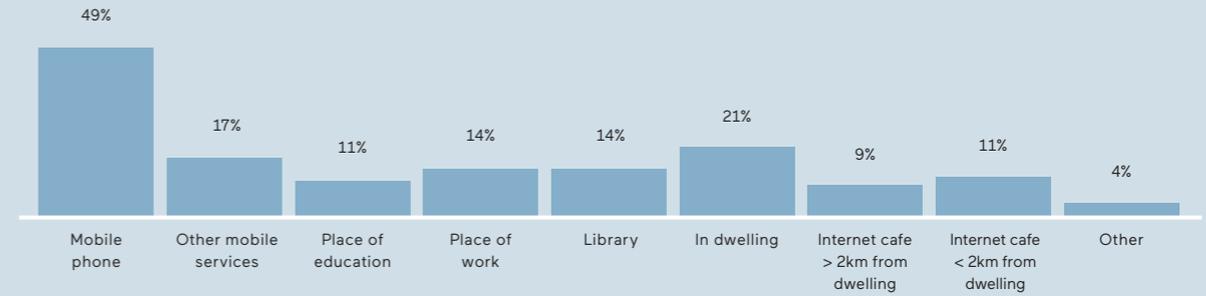
Furthermore, urban infrastructural efficiencies will also become more and more reliant on sensor-based technologies that will enable the Internet of things. In South Africa and Cape Town, economic and social inequality finds further expression in access to digital technology, largely due to the cost of data and availability of internet infrastructure.

ⁱ World Economic Forum (2016) The Fourth Industrial Revolution: what it means, how to respond. Source: <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/01/the-fourth-industrial-revolution-what-it-means-and-how-to-respond/> [Accessed on 19 June 2018]

World Economic Forum 2016

MEANS OF INTERNET ACCESS IN SOUTH AFRICA

StatSA. 2016. City of Cape Town Community Survey.

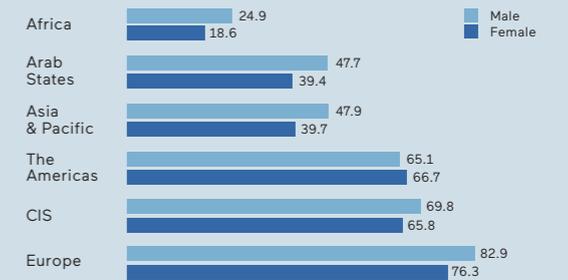


Left: Internet World Stats. South Africa Internet usage and Population Statistics. 2017. Right: ITU Telecommunication Development Bureau. 2017. ICT Facts and Figures 2017: p3.

IN 2017, THE FOLLOWING NUMBER OF SOUTH AFRICANS WERE ACTIVE INTERNET USERS:

52% (28.66 MILLION)

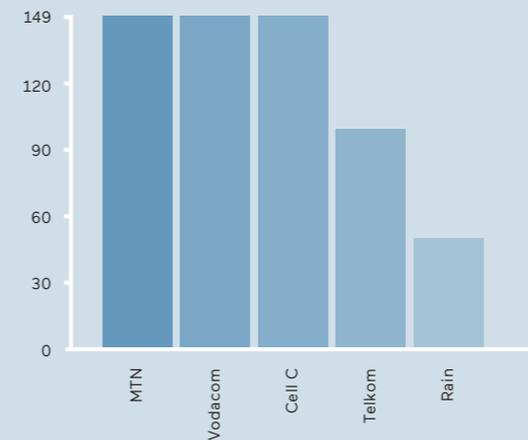
INTERNET PENETRATION RATE FOR MEN & WOMEN, 2017



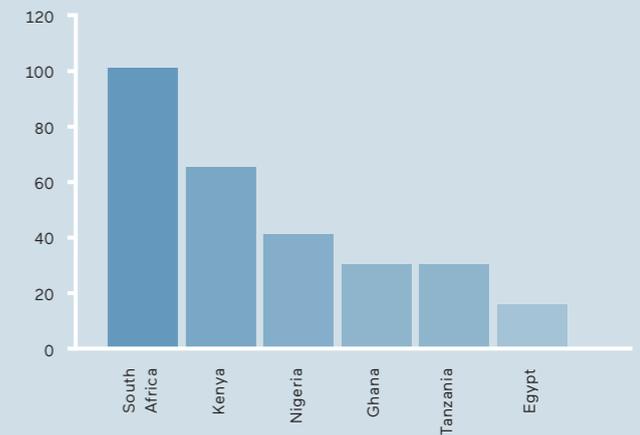
“While the gender gap has narrowed in most regions since 2013, it has widened in Africa. In Africa, the proportion of women using the Internet is 25% lower than the proportion of men.”

COST OF 1GB PER MONTH ACROSS SA'S NETWORK PROVIDERS

Left: MTN, Vodacom, Cell C, Telkom & Rain, 2018. Right: Research ICT Africa. RIA Africa Mobile Pricing (RAMPP) Indices Portal.



CHEAPEST 1GB PREPAID DATA PRICES IN SIX LARGE AFRICAN MARKETS (RANDS)



ICASA UNUSED DATA ROLLOVER RULING:

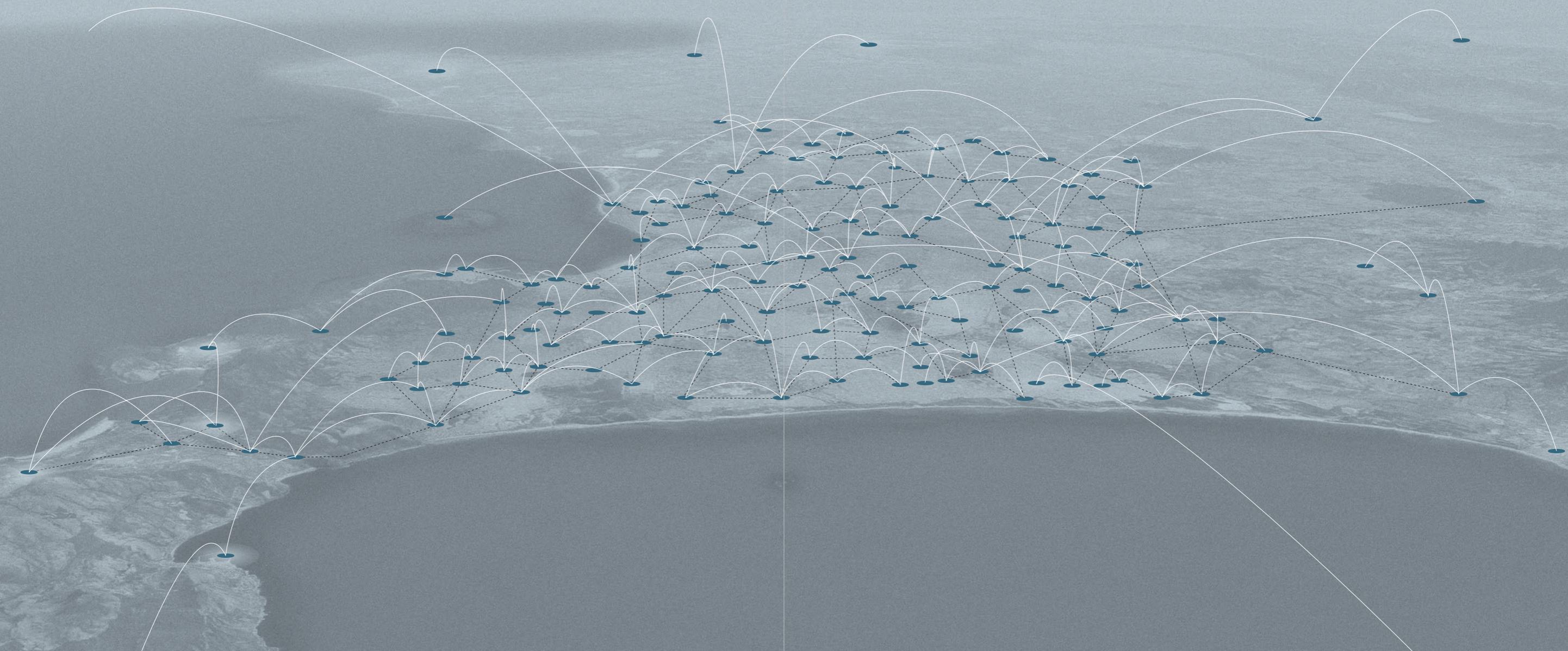
June 2018 saw a new ruling by the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (Icasa) that allows consumers to rollover unused data.

CITYWIDE SOCIAL SOLIDARITY NETWORK

Digital hubs at a community level can be grafted onto:

- public libraries
- marketplaces
- religious spaces
- transport interchanges
- school classrooms
- business parks
- senior care spaces
- multi-purpose centres

They can anchor community intelligence, capacity building and mutual support. A smaller number of tertiary digital hubs (like I-Can) can support micro hubs with operational, capacity and programmatic support, as well as delivering online training.



FESTIVAL REFLECTION

Facilitator:
Marco Morgan

In a city with such vast and visible inequality and social and cultural divisions, the idea of a Solidarity Switchboard, or an ICT-based solution in Cape Town, was met with scepticism—this was the initial response from many of the participants according to Marco Morgan, the facilitator who led the Solidarity Switchboard provocation at the Integration and Ideas Festival. On a day-to-day basis, Morgan is responsible for various cultural facilities across the city, as part of the City’s Arts and Culture Branch, one of which is the Guga S’thebe Arts & Culture Centre in Langa where the festival was hosted. But Morgan is not your average City official, or ‘unofficial’ as he calls himself. With a passion for skateboarding, Morgan is seldom seen without his board in-hand or underfoot as he travels through Cape Town. The Integration Syndicate team was fortunate enough to have Morgan involved to draw upon his experience of managing community facilities and connecting people in different parts of the city.

Morgan’s initial response to the provocation was a similar scepticism as the participants. “It was my assumption that government would play a key role in the coordination, investment, or possibly the implementation and management, so I guess this fuelled my hesitation to buy-in

whole-heartedly”. With his experience in working in both local and provincial government, Morgan’s scepticism was not unfounded. It was clear that Morgan had a difficult task ahead of him to guide participants, and himself too, to see the potential for this provocation.

During the sessions, Morgan found that many participants were not familiar with the concept and many were perplexed by the challenges presented and faced by most marginalised communities living in Cape Town. Morgan feels that this was one of the many positive elements of the event as he explains that, “most of the participants were unexpectedly put into a space in which they were called to provide input into a subject they were not familiar with. I particularly enjoyed this element of the day and wouldn’t change it.”

While there was resounding agreement that everyone should have access to digital technologies and the opportunities that are connected to these technologies, questions about the Solidarity Switchboard provocation were raised by participants. Morgan explains, “the Switchboard concept came under scrutiny with concerns of ownership, management, funding, feasibility and appetite for such a product and

Photograph:
Andy Mkosi



service.” Furthermore, Morgan reflected that some participants felt that there were certain assumptions that the provocation made about society’s desire for unity, reconciliation and its culture of generosity. They felt that these concepts needed to be unpacked and understood further in order to design the Solidarity Switchboard as a product to catalyse and enable Cape Town in addressing the impervious divides in the city.

INTEGRATION AND THE FOURTH INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION—ARE ICT HUBS THE WAY FORWARD?

by

Katharine
McKenzie

The widening inequality in South Africa's oldest city takes many shapes but an abiding feature is the city's pernicious urban form which, two decades after the formal end of apartheid, continues to define its inequality.

For poor African and coloured communities in Cape Town, the city's sprawling footprint acts as a physical and economic barrier to education, jobs, public services and private goods.

Efficient public transport is one way of clearing these barriers but hamstrung by poor governance and management, the major formal public transport service—rail—is in a steady and well-documented decline.

Instead, the dynamic technologies shaping the Fourth Industrial Revolution might have even greater potential to overcome barriers to inclusion.

These disruptive tools and knowhow include new goods and services with the potential to mitigate the barrier of distance, shrinking the world into a readily-connected global community.

Middle class communities take for granted the ease with which it is now possible to reach out to friends,

family and colleagues anywhere in the world; to gather news from multiple sources and to access jobs, goods and services from a global market. In contrast, when new technologies are not readily available to a broad swathe of people and communities, inequality deepens even further.

Efforts to bridge this are being achieved on a modest scale, with one project standing out in Cape Town with a successful model that others can learn from.

THE I-CAN CENTRE IN ELSIES RIVER

An initiative successfully tackling the digital divide is the I-Can Centre, a digital hub in the heart of Elsies River on the Cape Flats.

Elsies River is an area with a long history. Its origins are in the 17th century when it was a rural farming community. By the mid-1800s, Elsies River was connected to the rest of the growing city with a major rail stop, which became a hub of small commerce. This 'rail halt' gave its name to Halt Road, the address of the I-Can Centre and home to an assortment of businesses and establishments located along the area's main spine.

Elsies, as it's known in Cape Town, continued to grow in the 20th century, attracting a diversity of African and coloured households making their way in city with little help from the state. By the 1950s the area was in the sights of the authorities. The Pass Laws were being aggressively enforced and Africans were being pushed out of Cape Town, including Elsies River, where the Goodwood municipality began systematically to destroy the homes of African households, with very little notice.

As the years went by, the Group Areas Act steadily reshaped the area and the city. With the forced removal of 60 000 people from District Six and other established parts of the city to the outlying townships of the Cape Flats, a set of dormitory suburbs were established on Cape Town's periphery. This too swelled the number of Elsies' residents transforming, in time, into a dense predominantly coloured 'group area'.

The social and economic injustice meted out by Cape Town's forced removals, continues to

reverberate decades later, contributing to systemic unemployment, school dropout rates, gang violence, crime and a dearth of opportunities and activities in many parts of the Flats.

Located amidst several poor communities, the I-Can Centre is tackling some of the challenges bequeathed by apartheid and failures in public education.

It acts as a multi-purpose ICT facility and community hub that has made important progress in establishing Elsies River as a destination for a diversity of people seeking digital skills. This reverses the apartheid logic of making the Cape Flats only a source of cheap labour for the city's core, and providing little reason for non-residents to visit it.

The Centre is now the *alma mater* of a hundreds of people—mostly youth—from across the city and beyond.

With its brand now well-established in Elsies, the Centre is also attracting older users who were not exposed to computer technology in the past.



The centre offers a range of free, funded and paid digital skills and entrepreneurship courses. Image courtesy of I-Can Centre.



For youngsters unable to access tertiary education, or who have not completed matric, the I-Can Centre can help to provide a solid pipeline to digital employment. In this respect the public-private partnership at the heart of the organisation is delivering measurable results.

The Centre is run by the Genesis Community IT Initiative, a non-profit company dedicated to achieving digital inclusion. The organisation receives grant funding from the Western Cape Government and is based in a facility that is owned and managed by the City of Cape Town. Partnerships with established international technology companies like Microsoft, Google and Adobe mean that the Centre can offer training that is recognised globally.

In effect, this two-pronged approach assists members of the local community to achieve digital participation—from making use of basic technology to help run a small- or micro-business or for personal development, to opening up opportunities for full participation in the digital economy to a group of people who might otherwise not access them.

For Leon John Barnard, who is still figuring out what he wants to do with his life, the multiple courses on offer have exposed him to a range of options. He is completing a Google course and an accelerated Microsoft applications programme and hopes to move on to a graphic design or IT technician course—a six-month, hands-on offering that meets a growing need in the market.

An office administration course provides soft and hard skills to equip new entrants to the job market with three, six and 12-month options. Leroy Beukes, who is doing the six-month course, spends two days a week at the Centre, while Annalisa Tomsana, from the Eastern Cape, is completing the six-week IC3 digital literacy programme and hopes this will open new doors for her.

A skills impact study based on 915 recent I-Can graduates, undertaken by the Western Cape Government, found that 51% of the Centre's graduates were in formal employment, 21% were studying further, 10% were self-employed and 17% were without jobs. The Western Cape government believes that the Centre has played an important role in new job creation in Cape Town and the province, which also happens to be the province

Onsite recording facilities are used by musicians. Image courtesy of I-Can Centre.

responsible for the majority of new jobs being created in South Africa right now. Although the I-Can Centre is not an employment panacea, it is able to make a tangible difference to the careers of its graduates.

An important attribute of the I-Can Centre's success is the affordability of its courses. In addition to offering free entry-level digital courses, as well as free Wi-Fi and internet services, special arrangements exist to enable students to pay off their courses over time. Grant funding from the Western Cape Government supports this.

The Centre has also managed to achieve a high retention rate among its enrolled students. The team is alert to the difficulties that face some students when they sign up and is quick to follow up if learners miss a class. Being attuned to the social and economic challenges that face many of the student body, and providing practical help to overcome them, sets the institution apart.

Although the Centre is only three-years old, it has already notched up many successes. An average of 1 893 students make use of it each month, with 89 new user registrations per month. More than 5 000 students have benefitted from the free courses offered, while more than 1 600 students have enrolled in the paid and funded courses, the latter supported by the provincial Department of Economic Development and Tourism.

Other facilities available to the community for use at no cost include a well-equipped recording studio that is very well used, an outreach facility for local schools, and Winter and Spring schools for high school students focusing on coding, animation and web design. A 3-D printer is another part of the suite of technology available for use.

Activities for very young children are also on offer including an onsite ECD centre and digital educare.

For Llewellyn Scholtz who runs the Centre, and grew up in the area, technical empowerment is a tool for personal growth. His passionate approach to the work is echoed by the team of young facilitators who work at the Centre, some of whom started out there as students.

VISION FOR THE FUTURE

The I-Can Centre represents a successful model which could be copied in other areas. The Centre's regular newsletter documents the intense interest in the Centre by the businesses, politicians and different government departments who frequently visit to experience the Centre in person.

For Nirvesh Sooful and Farhaana Allie of African Ideas who provides strategic support to the Centre, its business orientation is an important part of its success to date, along with the support by government which enables the provision of free services to communities that would otherwise face digital exclusion. By scaling up the initiative to reach a broader audience, Allie and Sooful believe the model can play an important role in revitalising township economies and contributing to social solidarity through digital inclusion.

By offering online training, the reach and impact of the Centre can also extend beyond the physical space it occupies now, and the development of online training modules is well underway. The opening of a second facility in the Bellville area is also being explored.

As the Fourth Industrial Revolution takes hold, technology is disrupting established features of society and the world of work. Too often poor communities are left behind as a result but the I-Can Centre, in a modest but important way, has combined digital inclusion with community-building and is reaping the results.

USEFUL RESOURCES

An illustrative selection of additional resources related to the Solidarity Switchboard provocation; touching on policies, projects, campaigns, analysis and critique. The assortment is by no means exhaustive and we look forward to feedback from readers about other relevant examples or resources.

POLICY

City of Cape Town Digital City Strategy, 2015

<https://www.capetown.gov.za/>

—
“The next phase of the Smart City Journey, focussing on the digital government, economy, inclusion, infrastructure”

libraries in 2005 offering connected computers to email, type CVs and assignments, apply for jobs, do research and recreate online.”

Cape Digital Foundation

<http://digitalfoundation.org.za/>

—
“The Cape Digital Foundation believes that townships are South Africa’s Smart Cities of the future. This informs our mission to facilitate on-the-ground projects that enable township citizens to become Smart Citizens—born of access to reliable and affordable data, digital skills and everyday use of the Internet.”

GirlHype

<http://girlhype.co.za/>

—
“Girlhype a registered NPO based in Woodstock, Cape Town that aims to empower girls and youth in the ICT sector. We aim to provide fun, hands-on opportunities for girls and women to get engaged with technology. The Clubs Programme offers free after-school clubs for 6th-12th-grade girls to explore coding in a friendly environment.”

OpenUp

<https://openup.org.za/>

—
“We believe that an equal society starts with equal access to information, and that access to relevant information creates an active citizenry. You cannot change something if you don’t know what it is, how it works, or that it even exists. This is why we are opening data. We build online tools to help contextualise data for government, civil society and human beings and support them working together, as well as offering data-driven storytelling training

for people working in the public and private sectors who need to communicate information in an effective, impactful and easy-to-understand way. We advise government and civil society on effectively using open data and technology for real impact.”

CitySpec App

<http://vpuu.org.za/>

—
“Cityspec is a mobile ICT inspection tool that puts the power of knowledge into the hands of communities for practical conversations that lead to improved public services. The App is flexible to monitor a wide range of services such as taps, toilets or street lights and can be user-customised with specific fault report codes. The App, Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU), aims to co-create safe and sustainable neighbourhoods to improve people’s Quality of Life and advocates for evidence-based violence prevention strategies.”

African Robots

<https://africanrobots.net/>

—
“African Robots is a project to intervene in street ‘wire art’ production in Southern Africa (particularly South Africa and Zimbabwe), bringing DIY electronics knowhow and cheap components to produce interactive and kinetic forms of work; African automatons such as birds, animals and insects.”

EXISTING EXAMPLES

RLabs

<https://rlabs.org/>

—
“Established in 2008 in Bridgetown, Cape Town, RLabs is a social enterprise that operates in marginalised communities through innovation, technology and education. RLabs strives to build capacity of the youth through 40 different, but contextually relevant, training courses.”

I-Can Centre

<http://i-can.org.za/>

—
“Since its launch in August 2014, the I-Can Centre has provided a space to digitally empower the residents of Elsies River and surrounding neighbourhoods. The I-Can Centre is a digital public access facility offering various digital services, entrepreneurship support and courses.”

SmartCape

<https://www.capetown.gov.za/>

—
“SmartCape is an Internet service designed to help citizens of Cape Town access free Internet at various points in libraries and WiFi hotspots around the city. The SmartCape service began in

Concluding Reflection

by

Edgar

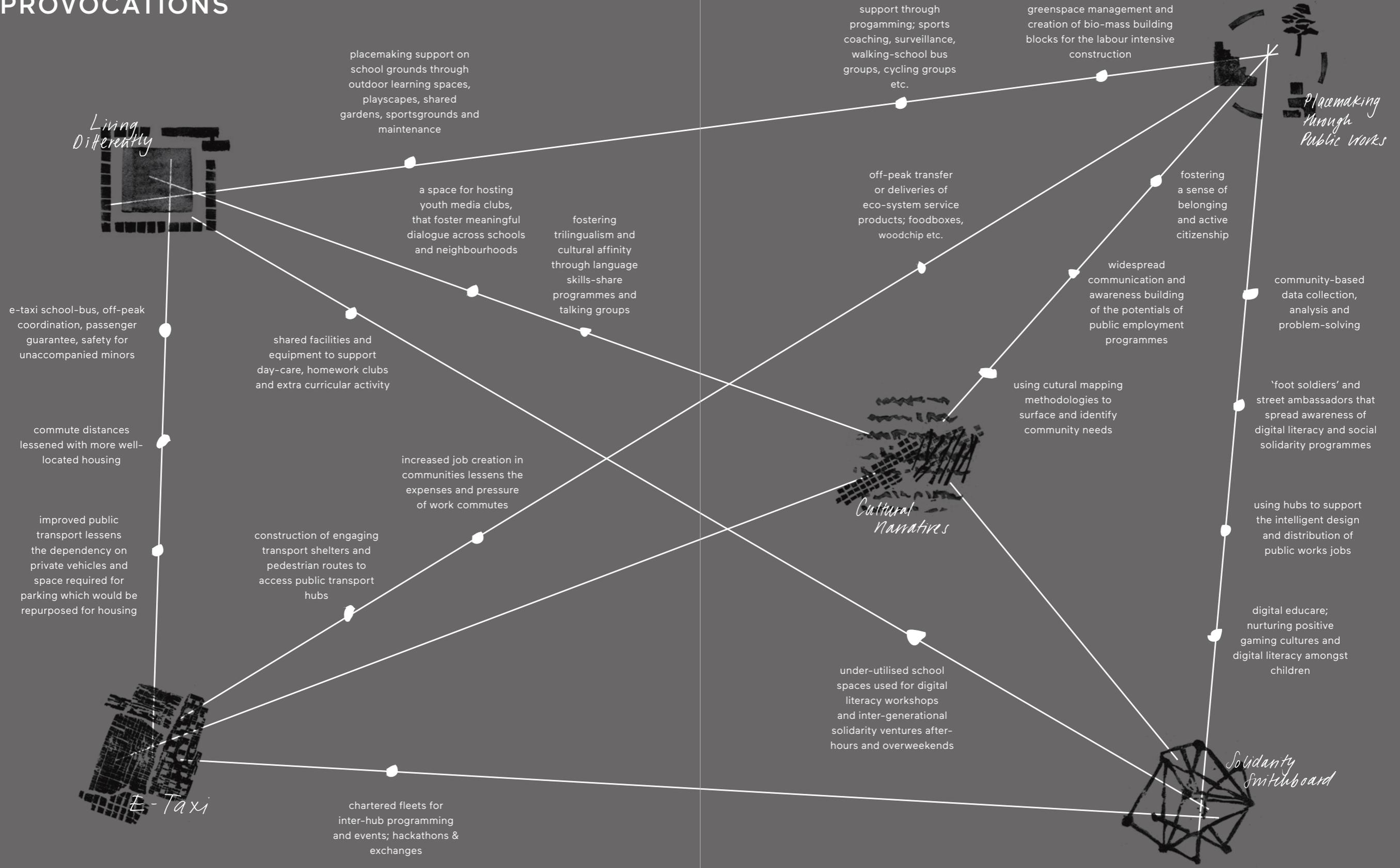
Pieterse

When we first embarked upon the process of curating an ongoing discussion on 'how to undo and remake the legacy of spatial inequality', we were very aware of the tension between knowing what you are against but not being clear about how to fix that ache. Like everyone else in Cape Town, we knew the obvious answers: release public land for social housing purposes (linked to increased investments) in associated social development infrastructures (schools, parks, health care, etc.), along with regulating against obscene gentrification impacts. However, in the back of our minds we always knew that the question of spatial justice could never be reduced to social and economic integration in the traditional core of the city, especially when 96% of the city's almost 4 million population lives somewhere else. Spatial justice had to also be about transformation in the multiplicity of economic nodes in the city as well as the ordinary spaces where the most vulnerable and excluded are likely to remain for the foreseeable future.

One the clearest outcomes of the Integration Syndicate is to hold this tension between the so-called centre and periphery. The five provocations, offered as a gift to the city, seek to pay attention to the structural drivers of social and spatial inequalities—inequalities in work, education, and mobility—whilst insisting that there are profound matters of the soul that are equally important. It is for this reason that the three provocations, Cultural Narratives, Placemaking through Public Works and Solidarity Switchboard are about voice, identity, aesthetics, beauty, love, kindness, cultural pride, and most importantly, taking ownership of the future of the infrastructures and spaces that are most significant in the daily lives of Capetonians. This is not to deny the importance of intervening decisively and strategically in land markets, as argued for in the Living Differently provocation, but rather to recognise that whilst coalitions battle for structural change around matters of metropolitan and national significance, we can activate the collective project of making the most neglected and unsafe parts of our city more liveable and conducive to wellbeing. It is this work and its effects that will create the political constituencies for long-term structural transformations.

As we make clear in the format of the book, the provocations are not uncontested or resolved enough to offer final or definitive answers. The summaries of the discussions during the Focus Groups and the Integration and Ideas Festival attest to the many questions that these provocations incite. That was the point. Enabling critique and debate is part of the design and legacy of the Integration Syndicate. We believe that more urgent, more propositional and action-oriented conversations are possible. The final illustration on the pages to follow (230–231) demonstrate just how much can be done, how many horizontal connections can be activated, and how there is a place for every Capetonian to get involved, not just in debating, but also in doing. Beyond everything, we hope that this process and book can incite an imagination of a different praxis, to not only confront the stubborn legacies of segregation and exploitation, but also to invent an alternative urbanism.

RELATING PROVOCATIONS



ANNEX: PARTICIPANTS IN THE INTEGRATION SYNDICATE EPISODES (2017)

NAME	SECTOR
– Adi Kumar	NGO
– Andrew Boraine	NGO
– Anika Embrahim	Private sector
– Danielle Manuel	Public sector
– Louis Scheepers	Public sector
– Edgar Pieterse	Academia
– Fadly Issacs	Academia
– heeten bhagat	ACC
– Hopolang Selebalo	Social movement
– Jo-Anne Johnston	Public sector
– Kelly Arendse	NPO
– Khayakazi Namfu	Public sector
– Lester September	Social movement
– Liza Cirolia	ACC
– Mark Swilling	Academia
– Marlon Parring	Private sector
– Mercy Brown-Luthango	ACC
– Mirjam van Donk	NGO
– Mzonke Mboneli	Social movement
– Nisa Mammon	Private sector
– Nishendra Moodley	Public sector
– Nkwame Cedile	Social movement
– Nomusa Makhubu	Academic
– Peter Ahmad	Public sector
– Pippa Green	Journalist
– Premesh Lalu	Academia
– Phumeza Mlungwana	Social movement
– Rika Sitas	ACC
– Robin Bugler	Private sector
– Suraya Scheba	ACC
– Tau Tavengwa	ACC
– Thembalani Terra	Social movement
– Tracy Jooste	Public Sector

COLOPHON

The Integration Syndicate
Shifting Cape Town's socio-spatial debate
April 2017 – July 2018

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Statistics South Africa continue to classify people in terms of four population groups: Black African, Coloured, Asian or Indian, and White in order to monitor progress, or not, in moving away from the apartheid-based discrimination of the past. Since this book draws on official statistics in order to foreground the intersections of race, class and space, we also use these four population group designations. The designations are merely instrumental for we do not subscribe to a belief in the biological possibility of race.

This publication is based on the research undertaken by the Integration Syndicate initiated by the African Centre for Cities, (UCT) in partnership with the Poverty and Inequality Initiative (UCT), the Centre for Humanities Research (UWC), the Centre for Complex Systems in Transition (SUN), Mistra Urban Futures, Instinct and A4 Arts Foundation.

The Integration Syndicate was conceptualised and coordinated by Edgar Pieterse, DST/NRF South African Chair in Urban Policy.

—

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Design: Bella Knemeyer

The Integration Syndicate Episode Series
Project Manager: heeten bhagat

—

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AFRICAN CENTRE FOR CITIES

"The Integration Syndicate is exactly what we mean when we insist that UCT will excel as an inclusive, engaged and research-intensive African university. It demonstrates that rigorous scholarship can be used to animate creative, challenging and vital public conversations, and applied research can be fuelled by pressing public concerns. This is the approach that must drive the 21st Century university."
— Professor Mamokgethi Phakeng, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cape Town

"A quarter century beyond our democratic breakthrough, class, racialised and gendered inequalities remain embedded in the spatial realities of a South African city like Cape Town. It's time to ponder anew, to pose heterodox questions. If we are to overcome the segregations of our cities, we also need to break down the disciplinary ghettos of the academy, and abolish the hard boundaries between different spheres of the public sector, the university, and community activism. These are the challenges this book takes on with its intriguing Integration Syndicate approach and with the five provocations it poses."
— Jeremy Cronin, poet and longstanding political activist

"...the Integration Syndicate provided a forum to present perspectives drawn from our research on the promise of an aesthetic education by returning to the contestations of racial formations in the history of jazz, cinema and dance in the crossover spaces formed in the interstice of transport networks and Apartheid's Group Areas. While creating a space for discussing and debating the cultural sphere of the everyday and its capacity to enhance mobility across the angry divide of apartheid, we were repeatedly reminded and educated about the complex forms in which the city had emerged in the wake of apartheid."
— Professor Premesh Lalu, University of the Western Cape

"The end result of the Integration Syndicate is not merely a narrative and a set of propositions. It also leaves a legacy of great significance to all universities interested in engaging with 'their cities'.
— Professor Mark Swilling, University of Stellenbosch



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