






FUTURE OF OUR CITIES


roundtable

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promoting liberal constitutional democracy

roundtable

Vision

Promoting liberal constitutional democracy in South Africa.

Mission

To create a platform for public debate and dialogue – through publications, roundtable discussions, conferences, and by developing a research profile through an internship programme – with the aim of enhancing public service delivery in all its constituent parts. The work of the Helen Suzman Foundation will be driven by the principles and values that informed Helen Suzman's public life.

These are:

- reasoned discourse;
- fairness and equity;
- the protection of human rights;
- the promotion of rule of law.

The Foundation is not aligned to any political party and will actively work with a range of people and organisations to have a constructive influence on the country's emerging democracy.

"I stand for simple justice, equal opportunity and human rights; the indispensable elements in a democratic society – and well worth fighting for." — Helen Suzman

Hosted with the support of the Open Society Foundation For South Africa

Open Society Foundation for South Africa

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Contents

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Profiles

Prof Adrian Saville

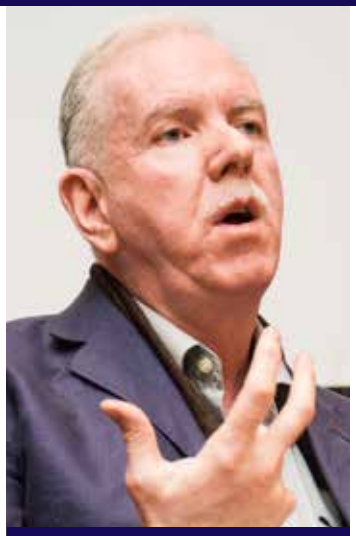
Adrian Saville has been involved in the investment management industry since 1994, when he formed an investment vehicle which later led him to establish BayHill Capital Advisors (in 1998), the forerunner to Cannon Asset Managers. Adrian is an executive director and Chief Investment Officer of Cannon Asset Managers. He has experience in managing all of the major asset classes, including equities, bonds, property, cash and derivative instruments. Alongside his career in asset management, Adrian holds a Visiting Professorship in Economics and Finance at the Gordon Institute of Business Science. He has published widely in peer-reviewed journals and books, and is a member of the Investment Analysts Society and Economics Society of South Africa.

Dr Tanja Winkler

Tanja Winkler. Before joining the Planning Programme at the University of Cape Town (UCT) in January of 2011, Tanja enjoyed a brief (sixteen month) lecturing stint at the University of Sheffield, England, and a much longer (ten-year) lectureship at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, where she still holds an honorary post. Tanja completed a PhD on resident involved and led urban regeneration in January of 2006 from the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, and worked as an urban design consultant and a municipal official in South Africa and Britain, respectively. Tanja is also an editorial board member of three international and accredited journals: *Planning Theory, International Planning Studies*, and *Planning Theory and Practice*.

Andile Skosana

Andile Skosana is a town planner with over 11 years experience and a strong knowledge of organisational development and change management from his experience in consulting for provincial and local government. Andile has both private and public sector experience that commenced with 5 years at the City of Tshwane leading the IDP and the first City Development Strategy. He has spent time at Kagiso Urban Managements and running his own companies in Mukhaha Consulting (Pty) Ltd and Andira Urban Services CC. During the past 6 years he has consulted for government in urban management, human settlements strategy, integrated development planning and other development related assignments. Andile is currently an Associate Director at KPMG and has MBA(GIBS); and BSc TRP (Wits) qualifications.



Jean-Pierre de la Porte

Jean-Pierre de la Porte is research director for the Institute of Advanced Studies in Architecture and Infrastructure. His current interest is in Cities as measures and models of policies in the Southern African Region.

Francis Antonie

Francis Antonie is the Director of the Helen Suzman Foundation. He is a graduate of Wits, Leicester and Exeter Universities. He was awarded the Helen Suzman Chevening Fellowship by the UK Foreign Office in 1994. From 1996 to 2006 he was senior economist at Standard Bank; thereafter he was Director of the Graduate School of Public Development and Management at Wits University. He was the founding managing director of Strauss & Co.

executive summary

On 30 July, the Helen Suzman Foundation (HSF), supported by the Open Society Foundation for South Africa and in association with the Gordon Institute of Business Science, hosted a Roundtable discussion on the Future of Our Cities. The HSF's Roundtable events take the form of a panel discussion – featuring a specially selected set of panellists – followed by a Question-and Answer session with the audience.

Main Themes

Prof Saville spoke about the 'the global city'. Prof Saville explained that 'connectivity' – the way the world and its cities are becoming ever more connected – has made it possible to think of a 'global community'. The internet, media, and cheap travel, have rendered distance almost irrelevant. Prof Saville pointed out that the digital age creates the potential for a borderless world. However, despite this perception (or ideal) of a 'global community', we are not there yet. There are many obstacles. Prof Saville argued that South Africa has a 'connectivity problem', which impedes its ability to reap the benefits that can be gained from greater participation in the global community. Education, for instance, could be greatly enhanced by providing learners access to online resources, and online text-books. Prof Saville argued that South Africa needs connectivity within its borders, to connect communities, in addition to the ability to connect to the global community.

Dr Winkler warned that, despite a decline in the rate of growth, informal settlements are still growing. Rural-to-urban migration and urban-to-urban migration contribute to our continually expanding informal settlements. How do we house the growing urban population? Dr Winkler argued that the population-density in shack communities is unacceptable – more land is needed, or better housing. But municipalities fail to consider the reality of these situations (for instance, preparing plans where the number of people currently living in a community are not factored in). Dr Winkler noted that the Reconstruction and Development Programme and Breaking New Ground programs of the past are unaffordable. She suggested that one way to address the problem is to work with existing legislation. The national housing code (USIP programme) proposes a four step process. This involves (1) finding land that is owned by the state and suitable for human occupation; (2) establishing the buy-in and approval of the community, and producing a comprehensive account of community members; (3) formulating a detailed plan which must take into account sustainability considerations

for the long term; and finally, (4) if previous steps have been satisfied, this plan can be (partly) funded, but may still be beyond the residents means. Dr Winkler noted that the process is cumbersome, and that attaining security of tenure requires a massive effort on the part of communities and project leaders. The legislative framework needs to be changed. Dr Winkler and her team have managed to progress to step 3 of the process in Langrug, Western Cape. No municipality has managed to get this far. Her team has done so by working with the community, and including the community at every stage of the process. Dr Winkler argued that informal communities need to be integrated into the larger community. This means schooling, health care, and transport must be made available. And residents have to play a pivotal role.

Mr Skosana argued that change and improvement of communities can only be brought about at a local level – whether that is at a municipal level, or at an urban-planning level. Creative initiatives develop (and can be observed) at a local level, however: since power resides at a higher level, these initiatives are often stifled, or not considered.

Mr Skosana pointed out that the 'social net', often considered to exist in the cities is not always there. The poor and jobless face massive obstacles as a result of their social status. Mr Skosana commented that the benefits of a government job may contribute to an unsympathetic outlook – amongst those in power.

Mr Skosana made the point that while the cities are burdened by the needs of the many jobless citizens, these citizens are, in fact, an untapped resource.

Mr Skosana drew attention to the informal economy – a whole sector that thrives below the radar. He observed that "the most interesting things happen where the state fails". This is a massive market that has not been accurately measured, and is worth many billions (perhaps as high as 14 billion rand). He mentioned that 'informal' is often equated with 'illegal' – this is a misperception. Mr Skosana also noted the sophistication of informal markets, where clear hierarchies and controls can be observed. He argued that this kind of sophistication is not reflected in our policies, and ought to be incorporated.

Ultimately, Mr Skosana argued the importance of developing public participation and getting people to work together.

Prof de la Porte was tasked with summarizing the main points of the discussion. He emphasized that it is the permanence of cities – and the ability of citizens to exploit this permanence – that allow cities to flourish (by accumulating resources and capital), and to drive development (by creating the space for enterprise). It is the permanence of cities that allows innovation, automation, and great diversity. Prof de la Porte argued that a city could be viewed as a barometer for the effectiveness of legislation.

Audience participation

The event saw lively audience participation and interaction around a number of challenges. These included:

- Maintaining cities and infrastructure;
- The real risk of 'locking people in spaces' by not creating options for citizens and not enabling them to choose where they live;
- The cost effectiveness of new housing projects, and comparisons with past projects;
- New urban developments that only cater to niche markets; and
- The big question of the night: Given serious environmental concerns, what is the future of cities?

executive summary

welcome

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. On behalf of the Helen Suzman Foundation and the Gordon Institute of Business Science, I want to welcome you to this evening's Roundtable on the Future of Our Cities. I would like to extend my appreciation to the Open Society Foundation of South Africa which has generously supported this event.

I would also, especially, like to welcome Mr Colin Eglin this evening. Mr Eglin, as we all know, has been a man who has devoted a great part of his life to public service and we welcome him tonight from Cape Town. He is the longest serving Trustee of the Helen Suzman Foundation and today was his last formal meeting as a Trustee. We have elected to make him an Emeritus Trustee. We are not quite sure what this is but we're looking forward to future engagements with Mr Eglin.

I have two initial comments. For those people who are tweeting, the hashtag is "cities". The second comment is that Mr Yunus Carrim, who had agreed to speak this evening when he was the Deputy Minister of Cooperative Governance and Department of Traditional Affairs has recently been appointed as Minister of Communications.

Minister Carrim sends his apologies. Unfortunately he cannot be here tonight, as It is not his Ministry anymore. But I did say, "Yunus, we want to know about the SABC" and he said "you're on". So I hope next year we will have the Minister talk about the SABC and communications.

The new Minister has also sent his greetings. He would have loved to have been here and he specifically asked if we can arrange a cities roundtable next year. So my job is to persuade GIBS and the Open Society Foundation for South Africa to say we need another roundtable on cities, and that's what I want to propose – that we have one on billing and other problems but this evening's discussion is about vision.

In their extraordinary tribute to the bourgeoisie in the Communist Manifesto - and whatever else that tract may be, it's also a tribute to the bourgeoisie. Marx and Engels pointed out that the bourgeoisie had, in their famous phrase, "rescued a considerable amount of the population from the idiocy of their rural life". Now people have been quite upset about this. In fact David Mitrany wrote a well-known story "Marx: Against the Peasant" published in 1961.

For Marx and Engels, the city became the locus for all that was modern and progressive, but also alienating. These twin themes of progress and alienation still characterise our thinking on cities.

While those who have the means may opt, like Marie Antoinette in the eighteenth Century, to have quasi-rural retreats and such idyllic places as Greyton, McGregor, Polokwane or Parys, the majority of South Africans are confined to urban settings; and it is these urban settings that are the subject of the most recent edition of the Helen Suzman Foundation's journal Focus.

Cities are the economic and creative hubs that keep countries connected to the globalised world. However, they present ever-increasing challenges that need to be addressed if an economy is to grow and if a society is to remain intact and not explode under pressures of class, ethnic or other tensions.

Tony Judt, in his reflections on the twentieth century, poses the following question: "What

do you do with the very large numbers of indigenous, impoverished, disadvantaged, permanently poor people, who had moved to industrial cities and without whose labour the flourishing capitalism of the age would have been inconceivable?" Thus, urban planning was born.

One of the dominant themes of current urban planning thinking is sustainability. Increasingly, infrastructural development of a city landscape centres on creating urban space that is suitable for human living.

This does not mean replicating Haussman's Paris (the other Parys), but it is an attempt to give due recognition to human needs. And because we have become aware of the polluting effects of industrial civilisation, and focus on ways in which to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, we need to promote creative forms of environmentally sustainable development.

South African cities face a particular set of challenges. While these centre on developmental issues which are similar to those found in many other parts of the world, in addition we face a particular set of spatial challenges which are the legacy of generations of segregationist and apartheid policies.

Thus, while plans for sustainable urban development are on the policy and planning agendas, community protests over service delivery disputes about councillor selection, mismanagement of municipal budgets and recurrent billing problems affect our perceptions of our cities in crisis.

Some questions which we have asked our panellists to consider tonight, include:

- What is the current policy agenda for cities?
- What are the future economic development initiatives for sustainable cities in Southern and South Africa?
- How does one monitor, evaluate and assess city governments?
- What are the changes to demographic patterns in South African cities?
- What is the rural-urban dynamic in South Africa?

It gives me great pleasure to introduce our panellists. Adrian Saville, who will be our first speaker, has been involved in the investment management industry since 1993 where he formed an investment vehicle, which later led him to establish BayHill Capital Advisors, the forerunner to Cannon Asset Managers. He holds a PhD from the University of Natal.

Our second speaker is Tanja Winkler. She is an urban planner, as well as a Senior Lecturer at the School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics at the University of Cape Town. Tanja holds an honorary post at Wits University, where she spent ten years lecturing. She has a Ph.D. from the University of British Columbia. Her research interests include critically assessing the voice of the poor in urban policy and public decision-making processes as well as assessing the role and value of community-university engagements for the enhancement of teaching and learning.

Our third speaker is Andile Skosana. He is a Town Planner and Associate Director at KPMG. He has more than eleven years experience and a strong knowledge of organisational development and change management derived from his experience in consulting with provincial and local government. He has led the first City Development Strategy for the City of Tshwane.

Our final speaker tonight is Jean-Pierre De la Porte who is the Research Director at the Institute of Advanced Studies in Architecture and Infrastructure, whose task will be to integrate the discussion. Thank you, Jean-Pierre without much further ado I want to ask Adrian to begin our discussion tonight.

Prof Adrian Saville

Good evening everyone and thank you for the introduction. I'm not going to talk about cities specifically at the outset. I would rather like to start with talking about the context in which cities exists.

Cities are founded on the principle of migration and it's the notion of rural-urban migration that establishes cities in the first place. Maybe that's what establishes them, or finds them. But I venture to suggest that cities thrive on the basis of community, and that when we think of community, community exists at many levels. It exists at a very local, intimate, level and then it spans out from there, where - at the broadest level - communities exist across borders.

Starting from the across-border argument, some time ago in the mid-1990s Nicholas Negroponte in his book Being Digital, ventured that we are becoming increasingly a "bit world" as opposed to an "atom world" and that if we are a "bit world" it is much easier, much quicker and far less costly to be anywhere, at any time, whereas, in an "atom world," we actually have to get to that other place.

This has led to a growing recognition of the role and influence that connectivity plays in building societies and businesses; and more broadly the idea behind connectivity as being a basis for community has, let me be blunt, reached profound proportions.

Thomas Friedman, goes so far as to venture that we are essentially live in a world in which boundaries don't really matter, that we live in a world that is essentially borderless. He describes this world as flat and if the world is flat and then we've become, I suppose, a global city that you can be in any place, at any time, at exceptionally low cost.

This isn't a novel idea. All the way back, in the 1960s, it was suggested by Arthur C Clark, that there would come a time when a surgeon in Edinburgh could operate on a

patient in New Zealand and that this type of remote connectivity was possible. And in many ways, this describes community and it describes connections. It describes relationships and it describes perhaps this global city that might shape the future.

But I would venture that we might be getting ahead of ourselves. There has been a broad fascination with the digital era, and it has led to our perception that we are always online, and universally connected. If you take an intercontinental flight you can sit on wireless technology while you're flying between cities. It begs the question, I suppose, which city are you really in?

You will glean from the assessment done in the Harvard Business review readers that the way we perceive the world is as a global city, that we are one community, or starting to agglomerate as a single community.

This supports the perception, then, that we live in a borderless world, always connected, always on. Pankaj Ghemawat, a business strategist at IESE Business School in Spain, asked Harvard Business Review readers what their estimate was of different connections across borders:

- To what extent do telephone calls travel across borders?
- To what extent does capital travel across borders?
- How many people live in a country that is not their county of birth and have essentially achieved immigration?

You will glean from the assessment done in the Harvard Business review readers that the way we perceive the world is as a global city, that we are one community, or starting to agglomerate as a single community.

The estimates of Harvard Business Review readers say that about a third of phone calls, about a third of foreign capital and about one third of people have got across borders.

Those are the perceptions. Three percent of people live outside of their country of birth. This is the same number as in 1900. Ten percent of capital travels across international borders, which is the same number as in 1900, and when you eliminate double counting, just twenty percent of world GDP is exported.

If you bring the Internet into the equation, the telephone calls go up from three percent to seven percent, and this is despite the fact that the cost of a transatlantic telephone call goes from about $200 a minute in 1935 to essentially zero today using wireless technology.

We still are not as connected as we imagine ourselves to be. So I suppose I'm venturing, as a first idea, that whilst there is a perception that we might be globalised and living in this giant world city, in fact, it's a far cry from that.

In many ways this is a tragedy. The elements of exports, the movements of people, the telephone calls and the capital flows across borders can be captured by a framework that Pankaj Ghemawat describes as TCIP; namely Trade, Capital, Information and People.

When we use that TCIP framework, what we find is that as communities connect and as they achieve higher flows of each of these four elements, it translates into elevated incomes per person, lower degrees of unemployment, higher equality in income distribution and, more broadly speaking, greater levels of social welfare and general wellbeing.

This suggests that getting across national boundaries is a way in which we can elevate socio-economic welfare. And I'm at pains to underline the point "socio" in that term. There are many illustrations of how societies, communities, cities and countries can be built through these types of communities.

A fantastic illustration comes from Sugata Mitra's Granny Cloud where grandmothers in the United Kingdom donate one hour of their time a week to use Skype to call kids in Indian schools and, in this one hour a week,

In this way the virtual grannies become exactly that, namely virtual grannies demonstrating, I would venture, the power of community that is often missing, and that is certainly missing in South Africa. If you think about the impact that this has on children, my argument to you is that these impacts are positive.

the virtual grannies (as they are called) are actually officially known as e-mediators. But in reality I think we can recognise them as e-grannies.

They spend an hour a week with these kids and they don't give them lessons. They are not teachers. They talk to these children about their experiences, what they did when they were at school and what countries they've travelled through. They ask what problems are you struggling with in your homework, and can I read a book to you using Skype?

In this way the virtual grannies become exactly that, namely virtual grannies demonstrating, I would venture, the power of community that is often missing, and that is certainly missing in South Africa. If you think about the impact that this has on children, my argument to you is that these impacts are positive. They are likely to be profound, and they will be permanent.

There are many other illustrations that I could highlight for you about what happens when we connect to others, and these are admittedly across border connections. If you are missing a textbook, you can email "Boundless" your school curriculum and Boundless will email you back your textbook using open access resources. The cost to you of that textbook is your Internet connection. So I would venture South Africa doesn't have a textbook crisis; South Africa has a connectivity crisis.

Let me give you other illustrations. If you give a child an e-reader they could get Michael Hart's Gutenberg Library. That's got about forty thousand books in it. The cost of admission to that library is 3-G access and massive open online forces are schools that will be available to this global city.

When you look at how South Africa lines up on this connectedness and this ranking - we essentially sit mid-table. That mid-table, I think, flattens because it is the average of a highly connected community, including people in this room, and an overarching disconnected community, for example people in De Doorns.

And if you are born in De Doorns, the reality that you face is one of living in poverty and dying in poverty in De Doorns. Social mobility in South Africa is perversely low and this, then, flags to me the far more important element of cities, and that is how we connect inside of borders more than across borders.

Going back to Pankaj Ghemawat, he speaks about the famine in India in the late 1800s where somewhere between fifteen and thirty million people died from starvation. This was a time when India was exporting food. The installation of railroad in India led to the incidence of death from famine to fall to essentially zero.

In other words, this is not about the shortage of food. It's about immobility. And if cities are based on the principle of mobility and thrive on the principles of community, my argument to you is that there are powerful forces at play here.

When we connect with Information Communication Technology (ICT), economic growth is raised by one percent for every ten percent improvement in ICT and for every ten percent improvement and physical infrastructure, road, rail, harbours, airports; you get a three percent contribution to economic growth.

If South Africa's ambition is to lift from three percent to six percent growth, I don't think the answer lies in the National Development Plan (NDP). I think the answer lies in connecting and building the ability to generate social mobility and connected communities. So, notwithstanding the

substantial strides that I think we have made as a society in the last twenty years, there's much work to be done still.

We have one of the highest levels of income inequality in the world. We demonstrate one of the lowest degrees of social mobility where the primary determinate of your income in this room is not the degree that you have obtained, but your father's income; and not your mother's income, but your father's income. So then the prospects, to me, of connecting and finding each other across borders, inside of borders and immediately in our neighbourhoods are profound.

In Kalk Bay, a restaurant called Satori hires a local busker and replaces playing DVDs with that busker who has gone from begging on the side of the road to playing for patrons in the evening.

Let me finish with two quick illustrations of what happens when we find each other inside of communities. This is an initiative started by Mark Johnson just after Hurricane Katrina, which left communities in New Orleans devastated.

He went around New Orleans. He's a music engineer. He went around New Orleans recording street art artists who beg for change. He overlaid their tracks and he put these together in the most spectacular compilations which you can now buy online in the Apple Music Store.

The music sales have helped raise, for these artists who still live in New Orleans, not a couple of dollars, but a couple of millions of dollars in music sales. If you have any interest in music, I would urge you to go and look at this on YouTube this evening and I'll challenge you not to well up in tears.

In South Africa men on the side of the road do the same thing, by gathering up information from the men standing on the side of the road and asking them "do you have a bank account number, do you have telephone number and can I get references". They have established three hundred thousand man-days of work in the space of three years.

In Kalk Bay, a restaurant called Satori hires a local busker and replaces playing DVDs with that busker who has gone from begging on the side of the road to playing for patrons in the evening. I would venture, then, that in this way we can build community and thriving societies all the way from macroeconomic initiatives down to very microeconomic principles. Let me stop there.

CHAIRPERSON: **Thank you, Adrian, for setting that scene and giving us the larger context as well as emphasising that sense of community. I'll ask Tanja to explore further this idea of community.**

Dr Tanja Winkler

Good evening. Thank you Adrian, and thank you, Francis. It's a real honour to be here this evening. Adrian, I don't know how to follow on from what you have said because I'm going to be talking on a topic that is quite different.

I am going to start off by assuming that many of us here in the room would agree, or would share the sentiment, that it would almost be farcical to talk about the future of our South African cities without also talking about the future of the thirteen percent of South African and foreign nationals who live in informal settlements in our South African cities.

This thirteen percent that I'm referring to is, in fact, an average across our cities. If we take, for example, Ethekwini, 25% of the urban population live in informal cities. By comparison with Cape Town, 10% of our urban population live in informal settlements. What's important to note is that the 13% of residents that I'm referring to, the average, is residents who live in cities, but live in backyards.

I'm also going to get a trapdoor that will suck me in, so I don't have time this evening to talk about residents who live in backyards so I'm going to only focus on residents who live in informal settlements.

Those residents who live in informal settlements, as we know, live without security of tenure and they also live with very little, if any, access to urban infrastructure, whether that's taps or functioning toilets. Hence, the ongoing toilet debacle that's happing in Cape Town, which is really creating a lot of anger amongst residents.

Yet despite the fact that we've had many years of ongoing community protests around service delivery, it has become common practice for some time now in South Africa, and nothing is changing. It was not that long ago we use the rhetoric of eradicating all the informal settlements by 2014.

We no longer use that rhetoric. 2014 is but five months away. We have not eradicated informal settlements and in fact our informal settlements are growing, both in terms of household numbers and in terms of the area that they occupy.

In 2009, our informal settlements across the board were growing at a rate of six percent per annum and currently our informal settlements are growing at around 4.3% per annum.

… more cities are growing at 3.3% to 4.3% to 6% a year and if our GDP is stuttering along at 2.2% to 2.5% a year, how and where are we going to house our growing urban population and how are we going to pay for it?

Of course, these are Cape Town's figures, but similar trends are shown for other South African cities and, as Adrian alluded, the reason for this growth as we know, really does pertain to the fact that rural to urban migration is happening.

Five years ago, the City of Johannesburg tried to make an argument that rural to urban migration wasn't happening.

It very much is. And so is urban to urban migration happening – and not just within South Africa but from other urban spaces and other rural spaces within Africa. And in fact that rate is depending on the city we're talking about, anything from 3 to 3.6% per year.

The question to you and maybe it's something we could debate later is that more cities are growing at 3.3% to 4.3% to 6% a year and if our GDP is stuttering along at 2.2% to 2.5% a year, how and where are we going to house our growing urban population and how are we going to pay for it?

The first decade of democracy saw phenomenal increases in public sector spending to try and accommodate our growing urban population. One of the approaches was via the RDP housing programme and we've almost managed to implement three million RDP homes.

In 2004 the RDP programme was, in fact, replaced by the Breaking New Ground (BNG) programme. While laudable in itself, it doesn't take rocket science to realise that we can't afford to keep going with this kind of programme, and the State realises this.

During the break, I can talk about why this mono-functional layout doesn't serve its beneficiaries, and why it just simply serves to reiterate or to reinforce the apartheid city.

Rather than talk about why these layouts don't work from an urban planning and urban design standpoint, I just want to reiterate that the cost of funding RDP/BNG programmes is just simply not affordable.

Obviously, alternative solutions are sought; and the State recognises the need to look elsewhere. One kind of solution is to work with the existing legislation and, in particular, the National Housing Code which was amended in 2009. This is precisely what we're trying to do in an informal settlement called Langrug.

Langrug is located in the Franschhoek Valley, for those of you who know Franschhoek. Seven kilometres before you enter the town of Franschhoek, an informal settlement is located there called Langrug within the jurisdiction of the municipality of Stellenbosch.

When I say "we", this is what we're trying to do. We are trying to work with the existing legislation. In particular the programme of the National Housing Code that we're working with is the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP), the UISP programme and the "we" in our collaborative project includes most importantly the residents and the community leaders of Langrug.

Equally important, we have municipality's buy-in. We couldn't do it without them. We don't have the ward councillor's buy-in, but that's another argument. I'm not going down that route tonight. But the "we" also

includes fantastic NGOs doing amazing work in the Western Cape.

The particular NGO that we're working with is known as the Community Organisation Resource Centre (CORP). Then, of course, the "we" also includes our academic staff at UCT and fantastic master students in the programmes of Planning, Urban Planning and Landscape Architecture and Urban Design.

In the case of Hamburg in Hout Bay, a number of residents still live without security of tenure and the city keeps resorting to forced evictions to prevent additional residents from joining, or new members from joining, the existing community.

Alright, before I say a little bit more about the Langrug project, I just want you to know that the existing legislation we're trying to work with is very cumbersome, and it's near impossible to implement.

For this reason, no municipality in South Africa has managed to implement all four requisite phases of the UISP programme, and you need to implement all four phases before you get State subsidy to actually upgrade, and to move from a home or a shack, to an actual permanent home. So, to my knowledge, no municipality has managed to complete all four phases successfully.

The one municipality that has come closest to doing so is, in fact, the City of Cape Town. In the case of Hamburg in Hout Bay, a number of residents still live without security of tenure and the city keeps resorting to forced evictions to prevent additional residents from joining, or new members from joining, the existing community.

For those of you who know, those evictions fly in the face of the PIE Land Act (Prevention of Illegal Eviction), the City of Cape Town is making use of the UISP to enable its right to evict.

If we are really serious about thinking about the future of our cities, and if we're really serious about having inclusionary cities, we might have to rethink the legislation.

Nevertheless, in Langrug we have managed to complete Phases 1, 2 and 3 of the UISP. We are now awaiting approval from Provincial Government for Phase 3 so that we can proceed to Phase 4, which is when you get money. You don't get money before Phase 4, and we've been waiting almost a year. In August, it will be a year ago that our Phase 3 plans went to Province.

But, to be honest, we're in no rush to get the approval. Province mustn't hear that. The reason we're not in a rush is because residents are simply not financially able to move from Phase 3 to Phase 4 at this stage. They cannot afford to start building permanent homes, even with State subsides. So we're still trying to work things out.

CHAIRPERSON: **Tanja, could you just tell us what the four phases are?**

DR WINKLER: The first phase includes lots of making sure that the land is suitable for upgrading. In Johannesburg, there would be issues around making sure that you don't build on dolomite rock.

In Cape Town, we've had cases where we've worked with residents from two informal communities where we had methane gas issues because the land used to be a landfill site. So, the very first phase is to actually make sure that the land is suitable, and that it's owned by the State. This is preferable because purchasing the land from the private sector is very expensive.

Phase 2 includes Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) processes, but also making sure that all community members have signed up, are accounted for and have been noted so that the municipality and the provincial government know of every single member and how much they earn. A lot of the enumeration processes go into that. That in itself is quite a difficult task to get to.

Phase 3 is the actual plan. To come up with a plan, one has to include the concepts

tanja Winkler

of urban infrastructure, engineering infrastructure, water, electricity, etc. You cannot plan incrementally for this infrastructure. That costs an arm and leg and once you implement that, it's there for fifty or sixty or a hundred years.

You have to think about how residents currently live, tightly packed. On land, and how they would move from this to a different kind of ownership in an incremental manner. At the same time, you have to plan for the urban infrastructure which is a long-term plan, while constantly thinking about the residents on the ground and the need for short-term development in a long-term plan.

Basically, what I want to say that in Langrug we've managed Phases 1, 2 and 3. We've got a plan. The plan is what we're waiting for approval from the municipality. In Langrug, it's a relatively small informal settlement compared to Ruimsig and various settlements in Johannesburg and Cape Town. We're talking about 4 088 residents who live in 1 874 shacks.

Just as an aside, when I use the term "shacks", I'm not being insensitive as residents refer to their homes as "shacks" so I'm just using their language. Residents live on approximately thirteen hectares. So, we're talking about a population density of around three hundred and seventeen people per hectare or, if you prefer, architects always prefer a dwelling unit density of one hundred and forty five dwelling units per hectare.

If you can imagine Sea Point in Cape Town, maybe many of you have been there, Sea Point in Cape Town has a density of roughly sixty dwelling units per hectare but folks live in tall high-rise buildings.

Langrug's density in small shacks, close to each other, is double that of Sea Point, and obviously dwelling units per hectare is what we working with. So, life in Langrug is very tightly packed. But, also just to give you some idea, it's no different than other informal settlements, and in fact, a lot of the neighbourhoods where they're talking about including Khayelitsha, Nyanga and Gugulethu, all residents live in a very dense area.

Just to give you some idea of density, most middle to upper income neighbourhoods or suburbs in South Africa are designed at around thirteen dwelling units per hectare like, Rivonia or Bellville, for example.

Returning to Langrug, it was this density issue that the municipality was really worried about and the municipality's initial reaction to density was to drastically reduce the density in Langrug and to reduce the density such that there would be thirteen dwelling units.

They were trying to create a Rivonia kind of thing, a real suburban area. It could only accommodate 172 households. Lots of money was spent on this proposal and only 172 households would be accommodated.

Again, it doesn't take rocket science. What was the municipality imagining would happen to the other 1 072 residents? This isn't a unique sort of municipal reaction to densities. Many municipalities across South Africa use this approach, and of

course, you can imagine what that means. I mean, which community leaders are going to say, you can stay, but everybody else has to leave from the site?

It was at that point that the residents of Langrug approached us – approached CORC and approached UCT – to help them come up with an alternative approach. An alternative approach meant coming up with a different layout rather than the one household one stand kind of layout. So let's move away from this suburban layout.

An alternative approach also meant that we needed to look at different densities, different typologies such as that of housing typologies. We needed to look at typologies that could accommodate residents over time, but also at higher densities. Above all else, our project was very much community-led. Residents led the process, they engaged with us and they facilitated all the engagements.

We worked for six months on this project. We're still working on the project, and we meet three times a week. We would meet with the municipality once a week. It is important to highlight that the residents also mapped their own spaces. They counted the number of residents who live in the area and how much they earn.

They collected all kinds of information, and they engaged in self-remuneration processes. Then the residents built their own models of what they imagined the neighbourhood could look like, or what they imagined Langrug could look like. I spent years trying to get students to build models, and when the residents did it then the students did it.

Our engagements are sort of mapping collaborative projects. It didn't only happen in Langrug. Residents spent a lot of time with us in our studios at UCT. Residents also attended various lectures. We facilitated specific workshops for residents around legislations, their rights, etc. In the end we came up with short-term initiatives around re-blocking, but also looking at where the longer-term infrastructure could be laid out.

The longer-term infrastructure would not be changed. Obviously, the housing unit would be changed as soon as residents could afford to start building more permanent structures. Then, most importantly, we looked at longer-term visions.

What's important here is not to create little enclaves of poor folks, and little enclaves of middle income folks, but to really start integrating our cities because it's environmentally more sustainable. It's financially more sustainable, and important to look at how we can start sharing facilities.

We looked at integrating integrating Langrug with the more formal spaces, the neighbourhoods right next door, but also integrating Langrug with Franschhoek and with Paarl and then ultimately with Cape Town and Stellenbosch. There are mountain range issues that we have in the Western Cape so we can all backpack. The notion around integration is, of course, around schooling, healthcare transport.

There are definitely limitations to our approach, and I'm more than happy to discuss those limitations. But I thought rather than end with a slide of limitations, I'd just stick up the more celebratory slide, and the purpose here is that we tried to, above all else, turn our engagement into a mutual learning and skills training initiative.

To acknowledge that not only do the students get degrees at the end of this, but also all the residents and all the community leaders were part and parcel of this learning process. What we have learnt – and I know my colleagues at UJ do this too and learn this too – is that residents play a pivotal central role in seriously thinking about and planning for the future of our cities. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: **Thank you, Tanja. This is inspirational work. Andile, over to you.**

Andile Skosana

Thank you very much. Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. It's an honour to be here and to be with a panel of people who are so distinguished.. My talk tonight is really going to be a reflection.

It's about twelve years that I've been in practice. Five years I spent in government as well as six years running my own practice. I've recently joined KPMG. When I left university, I was fascinated with cities and I was very keen, believe it or not, to work in a municipality.

That's the only place I wanted to be, and twelve years later I still believe it's the only place to be in order to make a difference and to contribute to society. When I left, we were just coming out of the euphoria of post-94. The new legislation was imminent and I think in contrast to the previous speakers, my reflection is really about the journey of South Africa now as we're talking about the future of cities.

I think we are at very important point, almost twenty years, since the advent of our democracy. We've come so far and the policies that we dreamt about – well, I came a little bit later, we were one of the first to implement them – were policies about making democracy real, about working at a local level, about beginning to serve the vast representation of what is a South African society.

It is difficult and from a policy perspective, I think policy has moved, and Tanja pointed out correctly, right now working in any municipality or any public entity is a big challenge, because there are layers upon layers of legislation to work through.

When you talk about cities, cities are where the takkie meets the tar, as people say. Cities are at that point where our legislation is supposed be real. It's supposed to be tangible. You should be able to feel part of a community and know that now you live in South Africa, now you are enjoying all those joys.

andile skosana

At the city which i am going to mention the City of Tshwane, it was a fantastic place because we got a chance to begin to put together a vision of the future. The City Development Strategy was admittedly a bold vision and with that there were a couple of fundamental issues which are still the same fundamental issues facing municipalities today.

It's about power, and it's about authority. I think I'll reflect on power and authority, and the fact that where all the responsibility for making development happen sits is at a local level, but the power and the authority to make it happen doesn't sit there and it doesn't yet.

This is a discussion that is going on that I feel if more people understood, if more people were part of, we'd be able to push for municipalities with all their glory, their greatness and their failings to be the place for integrating and making development real. So the City Development Strategy was the first time that we were trying to put together a longer term plan beyond the five years.

If any of you know, the Systems Act of 2000 has as a requirement that municipalities must plan over a five-year period at the very least, and they have to have much longer term plans. At the moment, most cities are talking about a 2030 vision. Gauteng has a 2055 vision, which the City of Tshwane has followed and most of the cities – there's about six African cities – have also taken the cue of 2030.

We've got Nairobi, Windhoek, as well as Kinshasa I think. But we've got cities that are beginning to understand that we are at a point where we can't afford to carry on doing what we've been doing anymore. So there is a will.

On the flip side of that, when I left the city, I went into completely the opposite area. I went into urban management and urban management is really dealing with the neighbourhood level. It is smaller than the ward and it is dealing with property owners focused really on clean and safe cities, and City Improvement Districts.

With these city improvement districts, I think what is important is that property owners have realised and accepted that municipalities cannot do everything for everyone and that maybe the profit motive is the key.

For those of you who don't know, most of our CBDs here in Jo'burg, have City Improvement Districts which are basically Section 21s (Non-for-Profit-Companies) run by property owners that elect to pay additional rates and taxes to be able to pay for additional security and additional cleaning on the street. Sandton and Rosebank are examples. There's a couple in the Johannesburg CBD as well.

With these city improvement districts, I think what is important is that property owners have realised and accepted that municipalities cannot do everything for everyone and that maybe the profit motive is the key.

But property owners take charge. They say, look the city can only do so much, let's hold them to that and let us now provide a little bit more for our communities, and really interesting things have happened, for better or for worse.

As the model is evolving, I'm finding that people are getting involved. You can actually shape a lot of what happens in your area for your own benefit and for the benefit of those that you identify as your community (because there are many communities), and for others. So there's that kind of work happening.

But what is also interesting is that the same model is being used in parts of Hillbrow, where communities – feel as I understand it, that the environment that they live in is not as safe as they would like it to be.

Rather than a property-driven model but via a community-driven model they pay a nominal fee for security guards: to look after their children; so that the street is safe

when they come home and that they are not trapped in their buildings in the area that they live. So much as the model is based on legislation and has one background; there are other applications for it. Now that's the one part of the private sector.

The other part which has always fascinated me is the part of informal settlements, informal trade and a whole underworld of our cities that moves and thrives without the majority of us knowing how it is moving and how it is changing.

People come to cities for two reasons, basically. They leave the rural areas to look for jobs and hopefully to have a bit of a social net, because there is a perception that when you get to the city there is access to healthcare, and to the social grant that would be somewhat improved in comparison to the rural areas.

This social net is not always there when they get to the city. What happens is that there's another level of enterprise that drives and services the large population of poor people in the cities and, from my experience, in this part of town. It's where the most interesting things happen, where the State fails to be able to deliver its service. It's not very popular to talk about the State failing but I think it's one of the best places to study, as what Tanja is showing.

I think some of the latest stats around unemployment are that fifty two percent of youth between the age of sixteen and twenty-four are unemployed.

For me, those areas around informal trade, around informal settlements and the social net, it's an interesting convergence of thinking where for us as African planners and I think the task is very much different for us when we think about cities of the future. Our cities are very much burdened by the need to provide for the masses who are not working.

I think some of the latest stats around unemployment are that fifty two percent of youth between the age of sixteen and twenty-four are unemployed. They are sitting around. This is a huge resource that is sitting, there that is agitated and that is agitating for a change, as we are seeing in our political landscape of late.

But, from a perspective of the city's future, for me, I'm well aware of the challenges

that we are facing and as a professional, as people who are interested in our communities, I'm also very much inspired by how people respond and – dare I say – I think when people forget that there's a government, forget or put it in its place, there's much more that is at our disposal.

An example is the informal traders in the CBD in Nelspruit. There's a project that we're involved in, in Nelspruit, where we are enumerating informal traders. The most inspiring thing is that there's an order about who sits where, about whose allowed to trade in what and at what time, and that level of sophistication is nowhere in our policies.

… it's almost a fact of what happens when you enter government, you become hopelessly middle class and when you're hopelessly middle class, you cannot relate.

I have a personal reflection, because the understanding was that, with the transition in 94, we would be better placed to provide and understand the people on the ground a little bit more. But what has happened is effectively that most people – and this is a fault of the people who are serving in the State – it's almost a fact of what happens when you enter government, you become hopelessly middle class and when you're hopelessly middle class, you cannot relate.

You cannot imagine what the policies should be like for people who don't have a salary, who are living on less than two or three dollars a day. It just becomes out of your realm of imagination. So I think there's very important things that are beginning to happen in the different municipalities in the way people think about implementing or achieving South African cities.

An interesting project that we're involved in right now is the City Futures Project which is led by the Johannesburg Development agency (JDA) and the City Futures Project is, for me, one of the first projects that is exploring how to do public participation better, the very first that I've come across. It's in the same city with one of the biggest billing crises that we've seen in recent history.

We have a city that, in parts of it, is able to confront the fact that it's not doing some of the stuff that it should be doing well. Maybe there's different ways to do it and with the project, such as the City Futures Project, it's built on exploring different methodologies of how to do public participation.

It's built on being able to take that and put a bit of distance and have an academic task team that looks at it and says, "what are we picking up from these trends?": from how people interact in the group, how people of different races, different classes, different genders begin to talk to each other as South Africans, people who work in the same area, but who work, live, play in the same area but actually never really get to be in touch with each other.

My experience is that, as much as we've got challenges, which everybody will hear about, there's quite a lot that we can all grab on to and focus on and begin to focus our energies and drive towards a future that we want. I think let me end there and then we can talk about more.

CHAIRPERSON: **Thank you for bringing that energy and that hopefulness back to the debate because very often it is missing when we discuss cities and towns. Thank you for reminding us that we don't only have challenges, but we also have resources and these resources can be used.**

I've never seen the issue of fifty-four percent youth unemployment as a potential resource. Thank you for reminding us about that.

Jean-Pierre, may I ask you to bring together these divergent themes.

Jean-Pierre de la Porte

jean-pierre de la porte

Good evening, everyone. I have had the pleasant task of summarising these three very brilliant and energetic contributions and perspectives in some way this evening and I've been sitting here, as all of you can see, racking my brains on how to do justice to everybody's passion and their expertise and their tremendously stimulating contributions.

I wish it was always like this in the discussion of cities and it occurred to me that we should perhaps ask ourselves a very simple-seeming question: what it is about cities that allows them to host or to instigate or to stimulate such diverse and such exact kinds of discussions? What problems do cities raise such that they bring about such different and such intensive and detailed perspectives?

We tend to forget that the one thing which cities contribute in human history and human affairs is permanence and this permanence, is not some kind of mysterious thing to do with bricks and mortar and beautiful monumental buildings. It is a permanence introduced into human relations such that humans don't have to constantly renegotiate things with one another.

Bruno Latour tells us that in baboon society where there are very few tools and implements, it's almost like a Machiavellian world in which you have to be a cross between a stand-up comedian and JR Ewing in order to keep your place in that society from day to day simply because there is nothing which can stand in for your place from day to day.

Of course, crucially in the cities from the very simplest kind of city to the big ones, they remain manageable and they are capable of growth because things can stand in for us. A room like this stands in for the possibility of gathering. For me to get you all here on WhatsApp would be very, very difficult

indeed. But you all know this place and this venue and you come here because it is able to sustain a certain focus and expectation and so on and so forth.

Down to the trivial, the door opener, the automatic door closer, you know instead of having someone stand there, or you having to reach back and close the door, a little gadget can take the place of a human action.

So, in general, cities produce permanence in human affairs because something about them allows them to take the place of a human action. Not all human action, but some tiny ones like the door opener or a human congress such as this one to get together and hear ideas and share ideas and points of view.

You have humans able to create a highly efficient and algorithmic and quite modular way of using other human beings.

So, having said that, if cities are able to introduce permanence by equating human and non-human agents, then what are the consequences of this? What does this give us and why do we hang around these thorny problematic things called cities? Here our speakers have really given me the clue and given me a way out, so thank you very much.

I'm on the spot in having to summarise and make this point about permanence but it happened that one of the great scholars of cities - a self-taught scholar by the way - Lewis Mumford pointed out that this permanence of cities allows us to embark on quite ambitious long-term projects such as slavery.

In slavery you actually have, apart from its obvious injustices, you have the first managerial revolution. You have humans able to create a highly efficient and algorithmic and quite modular way of using other human beings. So for a long time the city is a massive accelerator or a kind of laboratory of slavery and it keeps all these things permanently in their place.

But then cities also create automation, because automation simply provides machines connected to other machines that take over the role of slaves. Cities have been hosts to industrial processes for a long time by essentially exchanging their slavery-type of permanence for a machine-to-machine-type of permanence, sometime in the last part of the eighteenth Century.

Of course any discussion of cities, any Wikipedia account of cities, will tell you that in the ancient world there were these places of tyranny and despotism and slavery, and recently that theme has carried on - according to Karl Marx - through automation, which has created its own kind of slavery.

There are exchanges that happen around the permanence of cities such as that between the first managerial revolution and the industrial revolution where machines, thanks to the permanence of cities, machines can talk to machines.

Your cell phone can talk to the exchange far better than it talks to you when you're struggling to switch it on and switch it off and so on, and that is almost an elaboration on the permanence of cities. It's a way of exploiting the permanence of cities.

Then, in Adrian's talk, he reminds us that a great deal of contemporary discussion of cities turns around the way in which they superimpose on media. Media cities lie upon one another and inform one another in different ways. It's possible to use media to create flash mobs or Egyptian protests or organise subversion or compliance. So the media seems to provide either a threat to cities or a resource to cities.

But Friedrich Kittler, the great media theorist, pointed out that cities are media. All the characteristics of media, including the very sophisticated media today which is a computer which can house all media, had their models and were experimented and tried out in cities where such things as a logic of routes and circulation was established, a typology and the idea of each point, an element having a unique address and interacting in a certain way.

Pierre de la Porte

In the ancient world, the first thing to be established was a fort, and the fort then mutated into a city, and then everything was sent back to create the grand capital cities, the capital being the capitus, the head of the ancient world.

In some sense, the city is the basis of all media; with the media, in a sense, reflecting something already established in the permanence of the city for a very, very long time. But, because of this kind of equation, we have the problems today, or the city is able to allow us to think about and inform the problem of how media allows people access to resources or migration in cities at the rate of circulation of information, and with that the rate of circulation of opportunities which are also made permanent in cities.

Then, of course, there is the history of cities in colonialism and in one sense cities today and the colonial cities of the past are synonymous with one another. In the ancient world, the first thing to be established was a fort, and the fort then mutated into a city, and then everything was sent back to create the grand capital cities, the capital being the capitus, the head of the ancient world.

Subsequently, in modern colonialism, the city became a point where every resource in the world could be accumulated, studied, systematised and managed, whether it's all the plants in the world in Kew Gardens or whether it's all of the minerals in the world in the Northern Cape.

The city became not only a place of power over the colonies but a place, the only reliable place, where things could be seen at a distance and things could be packaged into knowledge, and administrative decisions based on that knowledge could be made very far away. The person in England who decided to colonise India had never set foot in India and, in fact, never did.

It shows you the effectiveness of cities as ways to accumulate, make permanent, rearrange and make very powerful bases in knowledge. Of course, cities also have a long history and involvement in management and administration going back to slavery and the industrial revolution but the idea of city management and participation, the balance between rights in society which normally either get cashed in when you go to court, or are exclusively an affair of the State.

Andile said in a very striking way that the city is the other place where rights become tangible and where legislation becomes tangible, and with that rights become tangible. I find that a very attractive and very extraordinary model because when we think of rights, we think of the State protecting us from one another. When we think of the city, we think of something aesthetic or some

brawl on the level of policy or some crisis. But, to think of the city as a barometer or as a metric of legislation and its effectiveness, I think is a very, very powerful new suggestion and something which should be taken up and which should be refined and elaborated.

Thanks to the permanence of the city, we can have these kinds of discussions. We can have them for a long time. We can see other worlds and other peoples at a distance, bring them close to us, dominate them and destroy them, or on a little colonial model, bring the so-called rural into the urban which is just an echo of the kind of colonial relations of cities since time in memorial.

But all these things are part of the legacy of permanence in cities and what the human imagination has been able to make of this permanence; and, hopefully, in the future of our cities we will free our imaginations and make something unique of the South African cities, and of the SADC cities and do something with the permanence that we, and all those who've gone before us, have sacrificed so much to create and to endow us with.

To the panellists, thank you very much for your stimulating thoughts, to you, Francis, thank you for getting me off the hook with permanence. So I guess that's about it and I hope I haven't caricatured your contributions too much.

CHAIRPERSON: **Thank you. Now it's time for discussion, questions and answers. To the people who are commenting or asking a question, I ask you please to be as brief and succinct as possible and also to identify yourself for the record. Thank you. Could we begin with you, sir?**

discussion

MR GAMTENDA: *Hi, my name is Admire. I'm an engineering student at UNISA. I've been doing researches and I think what is crippling the future of our cities is maintenance.*

Everyone wants to eradicate poverty and we've seen companies donating computers, for instance, for libraries and internet cafes but they have been struggling to maintain these systems.

We have seen water projects for poor communities and the following year you see newspaper articles saying all those systems have been damaged or they're no longer functioning. So I think we need to have 'maintenance' in our minds when we're structuring the way forward.

The second point is that there are too many assumptions in the system. Let's pretend like people don't know anything when we're structuring any programmes because you find that, for instance, people don't know how to use computers. So I think that's what is also affecting the future of our cities. Thank you.

MS BRAUDE: *Claudia Braude, Helen Suzman Foundation Research Fellow. Thank you for a really great panel and I want to say, as somebody who has observed the constant reinvention of Johannesburg in the last 15 years, I'm struck by the notion of permanence because it seems to me that Jo'burg so consistently reinvents itself that it puts into question that notion of permanence.*

Just a couple of months ago I drove into the inner city on a Sunday afternoon expecting to find it pretty empty and derelict and if I had tried to park my car I wouldn't have found parking space. The city is pumping. I think it's a story that many of us are missing.

I really must compliment Mr Skosana on the presentation and I question this notion of connectivity, the inner city of Johannesburg is actually a cosmopolitan 24-hour, 7-day a week.

comment

questions

QUESTION: *My question to Mr Skhosana is for those of us who want to be part of the discussion around the use of the city and its current usage and the economy around it. How do we become part of that discussion? Thank you.*

QUESTION: *My question is about African Cities in particular. A lot of the reports that have come out, if one looks at the KPMG or Mckinsey reports for instance ... both of them focus quite heavily on the big mega urban centres, the Kinshasa's, Lagos and all of that.*

If I compare it to Asia, I spent 6 years in Asia, that's very much part of the debate but there's another debate going on and that it's about second/third tier cities and rural environments and that is how to reach people in rural environments.

My question is this, are we're seeing different types of urbanisation compared to what we're seeing in Asia, because there are some great examples? In China, particularly, companies that avoid the major cities and focus on second/third tier cities are very successful.

I mean if you look at India, there are a lot of companies focusing predominantly on smaller communities and manage to tap into the growth in there. Is that something that's still coming, or is urbanisation in Africa very different from what we see in Asia?

CHAIRPERSON: **What I would like to suggest is not only a conversation from this side of the room to that side of the room but also within the room. So if people wish to comment on previous speaker's observations or questions, please feel free to do so.**

MS JOSEPH: *I'm Stacey-Lee Joseph. I'm with the South African Cities Network. As much as the speakers seem to allude to this, I almost felt like they were not really specifically speaking about the physical connectivity issues, especially across a broader city scale.*

So when we talk about rights and belonging in cities, etc, it's also about how you're able to access spaces within cities and, you know, unintentionally our housing programmes over the past 20 years have locked people into spaces.

I think we can't lose sight of the conversation of mobility around land, because it's about 'locational' advantage. It's about how we manage our land within our cities to ensure that we have a different sense of connectivity across the scale.

Then just a final point that's sort of connected to that is that I also don't hear the issue of locking people into spaces being addresses. What is the alternative in terms of accommodation, in terms of people's ability to choose where they live in cities at different times according to different needs?

The conversations around rentals, around the actors within cities that facilitate that, including the private and public sector, but also the public's general understanding of the different sort of shelter mobility considerations that we need to grapple with. Because there are tough questions in South Africa, and they're the ones that sort of manifest, right there, at that city scale and if you don't actually engage with them, I think we're missing the boat a bit around built environment especially.

CHAIRPERSON: **I very briefly raise this question again of land usage and land ownership. It is one of a forthcoming roundtable which we will have, which I've entitled "Entitlement."**

It will be about title deeds, who owns the land and this is especially acute in rural areas, and we know about the Traditional Courts Bill and it's those developments that brought this issue to the fore about ownership of the land and title deeds ownership especially. I'm going to ask our panel to respond to the questions as they would.

MR SKOSANA: Thank you for the question on maintenance in the cities. In the work that I'm currently involved in, we're working with cities and budgeting on how we can prioritise projects and budgets – work with them better so that we can deliver on the future as much as we can while dealing with the current crises.

Now the challenge there is that there isn't enough money to go around for everything we need to do, and all municipalities, all governments have far too many needs, the needs exceed the resources that are there.

The decisions that are being made right now are not always the best to lay the foundation for the future, as much as they are protecting the investments that we've got now. So a very important observation – we need to work harder and more deliberately at it.

The second one is one that excites me a little bit more, that there are too many assumptions in the system. I'm going to pick a very topical one, which is the non-payment of rates. There's an assumption that people don't pay because they don't have money or they don't want to pay. Poor people pay much more for services in the city than you and I.

In many instances, sophisticated developers, people like us can play the system in such a way that we take public resources for our own benefit and it happens. It happens every day and it is poor people who pay for that.

It's the grannies who go and pay the R40.00 a month for their rates and taxes, because there are a lot of them, there are not many people maybe who pay high rates. If you treat public funds as all our money, a lot of the public funds are coming as much from poor people as they do come from well-off members of society.

So there are assumptions in the system and it's not that people are not willing to pay. People will buy airtime for R5.00 but there's no model, right now, in government that allows you to buy public services for R5.00 because you have R5.00 that day. Our models of providing services tend to be for people who are salaried. So that's a very important point that we need to focus on.

comment

comment

On getting involved in the city, it's a very interesting question that I don't have an answer to. Many things are happening in the CBD of Joburg. For example, about two years ago, the JDA put out a report where they tried to quantify the size of informal trade that is on the streets of Joburg.

The number that they came up is somewhere in the region of R12 billion of trade that is being conducted on the pavements that is being put on buses, people coming from neighbouring countries buying photocopiers, buying engines, loading them on a bus and taking them across.

It is not formal. It is not captured anywhere and that huge energy, that huge, economic resource that's not being taxed right now, it escapes the system. Right now there's no way to capture it and the people who are the main actors in there, they don't feature anywhere formally in our system.

I must also reflect that at the moment in most cities, there's reluctance and an inability to talk about informality because informality is sometimes equated to illegality, which is not the case at all.

Then on the question about whether our urbanisation is different, my gut feeling is that it's not. Megatrends are very much easier to study now that I sit in a KPMG corporate type environment. Megatrends are much easier to study there. You've got the data there and really in Africa the issue is data.

We don't understand who's in our cities, what they are doing, and how much are they spending. We don't know. We don't have ways of capturing that. Our tools of getting this data and understanding our cities better needs to evolve.

CHAIRPERSON: **Thank you.**

PROF SAVILLE: If I can come to the point that you made about physical infrastructure and connecting cities and establishing mobility, I made a brief reference to this when I was speaking about the role physical infrastructure plays. For every 10% improvement in physical infrastructure in aggregate, you get a permanent uplift in economic growth, of about 3% per annum. That's what the evidence shows us.

South Africa, I think, is well off the pace in terms of installed infrastructure, and it then echoes back to the point about maintenance, which I'm going to corrupt. Absolutely, the infrastructure that is installed has to be maintained otherwise its worth is questionable.

I venture that much, I'm not sure how much is it, that South Africa carries as part of the legacy of infrastructure, that is built around the dislocations and atrocities of apartheid, still perpetuates the dysfunctions of our society today. So I'd venture that there are some parts of installed infrastructure in South Africa, I'd very happily see disappear.

I'm going to get the quote wrong, but I'll have a go at it, and the quote goes something along the lines of:

"You can measure the well-off-ness of a society by its public transport, and the public transport is where you see rich people on public transport, then you've got a functioning city."

I disagree, where you've got everyone on public transport, then you've got a functioning city, and it brings about that mobility. So, Claudia, your point about the vibrant inner city, I think that's spectacular, but I don't think that it's the rule. I think that's the exception and to get from Nelspruit to the inner city is an incredibly expensive task that leaves people essentially immobilised.

If you think about the infrastructure of South Africa, our largest industrial engine is in a perfectly wrong position. It should be in Durban where the stuff lands. Instead we add a massive transport bill which we now insist on moving to road and then bringing it inland.

So we are carrying these deep legacies that I think have to be unwound and I'm not sure if that's a 10 or 20 or 50-year enterprise, but as it unwinds, it will contribute more to the vibrancy that Claudia speaks about.

DR WINKLER: Stacey-Lee, could I ask you to elaborate a bit more about your concern because I think your concern speaks directly to my concern that some of the legislation and the policy work has to change.

MS JOSEPH: *I have just recently left the Department of Human Settlements, but when I was there, one of the big things that they're meant to be doing is a new Green Paper on Human Settlements.*

While upgrading in informal settlements is incredibly important, quite big numbers of people who live there actually earn between 3 500 and R10 000, but can't access bonded housing or qualify for the below 3 500.

Now I'm not going to quote stats here, but we need to unpack some of that a bit and then start offering alternatives, like located rentals. We've got a social housing rental programme, but it hasn't been delivered to the scale that I think is necessary that allows people mobility choice access, etc..

DR WINKLER: So on that, you know that in order to qualify for the subsidy, you can only live on one grant-in order to upgrade and to qualify for the subsidy for upgrading, you can't have another resident and that's half the issue and that's exactly the problem that you're picking up on. So, absolutely, and actually my call is that we need to re-think this, which is exactly what you're saying.

Then my other comment to Claudia. Why don't you live in the inner city and I'm not being facetious because I used to live in Braamfontein. In fact, when I lived in Joburg I didn't own a car for the five years that I was here and that's how I got involved.

questions

I think the best way to get involved is to actually live in the space and you know what's going on and then you decide how to get involved. I mean whether you want to get involved as a ward councillor or less obvious.

MS JOSEPH: *Can I elaborate my concern? To elaborate my concern I am actively involved in the inner city, I don't live there but I do work there. I spend a lot of time there and that's my point about impermanence. I have watched the inner city in the last 15 years change from an exclusively white city into a non-racial, radically mixed economically diversity city.*

I was very much part of it, I go there today and I feel totally alienated because it's changed again, and it's become a totally international cosmopolitan city and I simply can't read the signals.

So that's what I'm asking about and I can see Andile nodding his head. It's become the pride of the inner city of Joburg. It's totally fascinating. It's a case study for a global story. But frankly I feel illiterate so that's why I'm asking for guidance on the topic.

MR SKOSANA: Just on that I have two reflections. Personally, I'm from Vosloorus in the East Rand. I grew up there. I wanted to be there and when I worked in the City of Tshwane, I travelled 80k's each way because I didn't want to use my ability to earn, to take it out of the township. I failed.

I now live in Fourways and I bought into the market. I bought into the market and I'm like you, I can't read the signals in the CBD because it's so diverse and it alienates people like me as well. So it's a discussion that we have to continually have.

Another part of the discussion that Stacey started is the issue of people who are locked in certain areas. Land and creating land for lower income earners in the right locations becomes a "not in my backyard syndrome." Dealt with it in doing Spatial Development Frameworks, all communities think 'why must my investment go down?' and that's how communities approach it.

If these people are coming here, they earn less. They're going to be crowded in high-rise developments and they're going to be all over the place doing things that I don't

understand. Please not here, go down the road. So it's very much part and parcel of the dialogue right now in planning.

MR NEL: *I'm Dion Nel. A quick question for the panel: I think the big question is what are the quick wins right now?*

We've heard some mention made of the negatives, including legislation issues, political issues, maintenance issues, and on the positive side, there is an underlying underworld of some positive structure as well as the presence of knowledge and expertise. How do we converge those aspects into quick wins that we can actually move forward with practically?

MS LESOGO: *My name is Lesogo from the Office of the MEC of Finance. You have all raised very important issues, especially Tanja, when speaking about the level of involvement.*

I think it's very important not only to speak in forums such as this one, but also to actually vigorously engage the State. The City Manager of Ekurhuleni is among us here, and his door is always open. Similarly, the MEC for Finance is always open for us to engage on these issues.

I think we should not observe on the sidelines but rather vigorously engage the State. We need to say that these are the issues we've identified, and these are the quick wins that we are proposing as professionals, as academics, as entrepreneurs, who are living within the City of Johannesburg, or living within this Gauteng city region.

We need to explain that these are the things we would like to see happening. I think we need to be more proactive and if there are policy issues that need to be resolved or considered – we've got the legislation to consider those policy issues.

I think my point is that we really need to elevate our discussions from here on and get involved. Just what you've just said, Tanja, get involved, identify with the city, find the quick wins. Let's communicate, let's get involved.

MR CHAUKE: *My name is Hastings Chauke. I'm from the African Leadership Group. Adrian, you mentioned connectedness. I'd like to know how to bring that into the connectedness of cities globally and of course in African cities that move into the future.*

The question that I'd like to ask to get some insights from you is, how do you feel about African cities in terms of their ability to sustain the global connectedness with other cities? To me, cities for the future are those cities that are adaptive enough and also responsive enough to the changing times.

Listening to experiences from Tanja, on legislation that has led us to continuously be in a bottleneck for some time and listening to Andile on the progress made on data collection, I get concerned as to whether African cities with cumbersome legislative processes and with inadequate data are well positioned or adaptive enough to actually remain connected in a first world. May I have your reflection on that?

MS MOHAMED: *My name is Basheerah Mohamed and I'm from Oxfam and my first question is directed at Dr Tanja Winkler. I wanted to know what the cost effectiveness is of the new model that you propose compared to the RDP model?*

The second question is directed to the panel as a whole, and it builds on something that Dr Winkler said about layout in urban areas and how it shouldn't perpetuate economic divides, and I was thinking about the urban development initiative that has been taking place in recent years in South Africa.I was thinking specifically about the Maboneng Precinct in Johannesburg, and I want to know what your thoughts are on that kind of development because it is only accessible to a specific economic group and could or does alienate the majority of urban residents.

MS MABUSA: *My question is about the eco system. No city can be sustained with a dying eco system. We haven't heard anything about cities and the long-term effect they have on the eco system and how these planned developments will help address issues of pollution, including insufficient*

comment

landfill sites, illegal dumping, air pollution, and people using open fires in the informal settlements to cook on a daily basis.

MR PHILIP: *I'd like to be practical here. My name is Philip. I'm the Chairperson of a Body Corporate in Jabulani, Soweto the first of its kind in Soweto. We're talking here about plus or minus four thousand units, and in practical terms there are a number of issues that don't really come into being. For an example, I would like to challenge the architects, the people who design. There are those units where everybody pays rates. Now when you pay rates there's an amount of service you should receive to protect your wellbeing. There's no way you can have four thousand beings in that area without waste management becoming a problem. There are also social issues and childcare issues that people who design do not take into account. When architects start to design do they take those things into cognisance because I hear people talking about problems, talking about issues but in this day and age, we don't have those things in place?*

MR GREG: *My name is Greg, I'm an industrialist. My concern is this: I want to focus on the title of why we came here tonight, the future of our cities. I haven't heard a lot about that.*

If you take a look at how the boundaries of Johannesburg have increased, we've got layer upon layer of new informal settlements, and it just stretches out in every direction.

My question is, is there a plan to eventually ring-fence Johannesburg, has the state got an urban plan involved, where are we're going with this? How far are we're going to go? That's question No. 1.

Some will say the second statement, which is partly a question and partly a statement, sounds like influx control, but on my travels elsewhere in the world, the only way I see to solve unemployment is to take industry into the rural areas. Is this on the cards or is it seen as an old apartheid trick which nobody wants to look at?

DR WINKLER: Alright, I will try and lead but I want my colleagues to assist in this leading. I'm going to start with the last questions first. It only makes economic sense if we have industry where the source happens. Therefore, trying to move out of cities and to try and move populations out of cities to enable some kind of industry to happen elsewhere and then only have mono-functional kinds of economic activities is also not environmentally or economically sustainable. So there's very little of that thinking and it does have a very bad taste in South Africa because of apartheid kinds of approaches.

In terms of the growth and the sprawl that happens, Johannesburg is particularly bad. In Cape Town we can't sprawl simply because when we cross the urban boundary that's the only place that we can actually grow our food to feed us.

So because Johannesburg should in theory not even be here, because we don't have water in Johannesburg and we have very little really fertile land in Johannesburg, it has been allowed to sprawl.

But the City of Johannesburg has realised this, and in fact has got an urban edge. The difficulty in Johannesburg is that in Gauteng there are different municipalities competing with each other, hence there are many different municipalities that fall under the Gauteng City Region.

MR SKOSANA: To add to that, it's very difficult to talk about where to locate industry because it is a competition, as Tanja says, between the different cities. They compete for investment in their areas and there isn't yet a model for cooperation which says, for example, "Ekurhuleni you guys do the industry, Tshwane you be the official head, Jo'burg you be the commerce". There's no agreement as yet around how to make the investments and share the benefits of investments in different areas.

But, I think the current plan for the Corridors of Freedom is one of the more logical approaches to stitching together a city that is dispersed and that has many different centres.

In the literature locally and internationally, a lot of people are talking and writing about satellite cities. The way Joburg has developed is with little satellite nodes, and perhaps people living in and around and being serviced from these satellite nodes.

What has happened in Gauteng is that this has been a complete accident. It has happened despite the planners and their good intentions, and it's only now that we're beginning to try to understand how to do it.

DR WINKLER: There was an excellent question around architectural design. I'm not an architect so I'm not even going to even pretend to try and answer that. But, I think so many of us as South Africans have lived in dysfunctional cities for so long that we don't even realise that we're living in a dysfunctional city. For example living in gated communities, or living on plots of land where one household per land is a norm and a standard. I don't think we've ever lived in a functional urban environment as South Africans, and that's across the board regardless of the income that we earn.

One of the very first issues faced by the community residents, whether community residents in Gugulethu, Hillbrow, or Langrug, is around aspirations – folks aspire to live in one home, one unit, one plot of land.

I think we need to start thinking about different approaches and that comes back to some of the earlier questions that were so brilliant about different tenure, different ownership options and just different typologies. So maybe, as the architect amongst the panel, Jean-Pierre, would you want to answer that?

PROF DE LA PORTE: I can only answer that by indicting myself and my colleagues. Architects are mis-educated. They design and they integrate the information like colonists sitting at Amsterdam in the seventeenth century. It's got to come to them, and then they don't visit the building after its built, so they have no idea of how buildings learn and what happens to them after they're inhabited. So the idea of a building capable of learning is not normally a requirement for architects in design. There are also fewer and fewer opportunities for referenda.

Tanja pointed out a brilliant example of what she created with models. Hopefully that infects the architecture students with a slightly better perspective in the long-term. But architects need to become more like helpers, and less like planners from some kind of distant perspective.

Another issue we need to address is the problem of obtaining more and more perfect data in order to be able to make more and more informed decisions while at the same time trying to avoid bottlenecks.

We need to accelerate the circulation of things, hence that is the good old libertarian approach, the markets must be unblocked, etc, but it's not compatible with planning.

These two legacies which we have, the legacies of the Cold War basically, need to be brought together in some kind of common perspective within cities so that we can take the accumulated understanding of planning right down to architects, and somehow the efficiencies of marketst. In South Africa, planning is supposed to unlock markets and in China markets are supposed to unlock the objectives of planning, so it's not a fixed issue anywhere.

DR WINKLER: There were brilliant questions around the model that I'm proposing as being more cost effective than rolling out RDP or the Breaking New Grounds housing. The cost effectiveness comes into skills training and residents' labour. Some of the participatory projects that we found are not part of RDP but are certainly about people-driven housing.

I actually did have figures in terms of RDP but I, of course, don't have them right now with me. However, I think it's simply about land usage.

MR SKOSANA: I can talk about the Maboneng Precinct. It is under the highway close to the Johannesburg CBD towards the west. But the Maboneng Precinct is a development that's driven by a particular owner with a particular view.

On the one hand, yes, it does exclude people, most of our developments tend to take one view and cater to one audience. But from a practical sense, if that development was not there, what would we have in the city? I'd rather encourage a city that will have these very different identities.

Some of them you don't have to agree with, but it is an investment in the city. It is an energy that is drawn into the city that must change as the city evolves. It will change from its own forces.

CHAIRPERSON: **I am acutely aware that we've gone over the time. I think this conversation is very varied and it says to me we have to invite the Ministr here. We need another roundtable on cities. Before we close I am allowing the audience to have the last word and thank you.**

MR BENJAMIN: *My name is Marvin Benjamin and I'm with Siemens. I have a shorter private sector perspective perhaps – there was a lot of talk earlier about urbanisation and I have just one or two thoughts on that.*

At the end of 2011, the City of Cape Town recorded 3.8 million people in the population. They expected that number in 2015. Lufthansa sends its largest plane in its fleet to Johannesburg every day. It's full, and so is the plane from Air France. The systems that function in our cities, water, energy, healthcare need to absorb that additional demand all the time.

Perhaps a thought I could leave you with is this. What kind of municipal structure manages this place called the City of the Future? What kind of financing conversations do we have today so that we can deliver the City of the Future? What kinds of skills sets are concentrated in our municipalities to deliver this thing called the City of Future?

With that I'd like to thank our panellists, Adrian, Jean-Pierre, Tanja, Andile and also Francis. Thanks for your inputs. They were most insightful. Thank you to the audience, thank you to GIBS for arranging all of this and until next time. Drive home safely.

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