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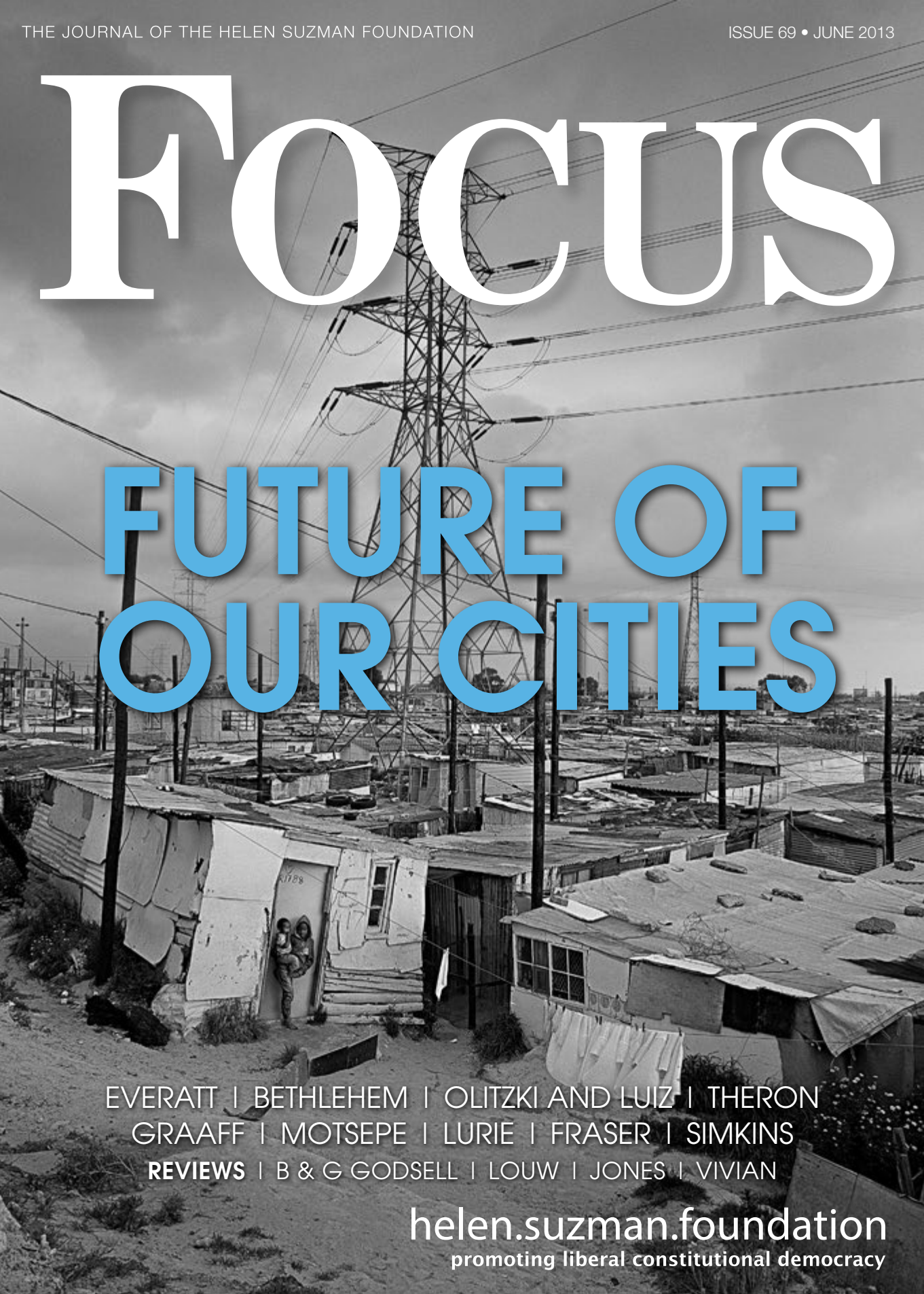

FUTURE OF OUR CITIES

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GRAAFF | MOTSEPE | LURIE | FRASER | SIMKINS
REVIEWS | B & G GODSELL | LOUW | JONES | VIVIAN

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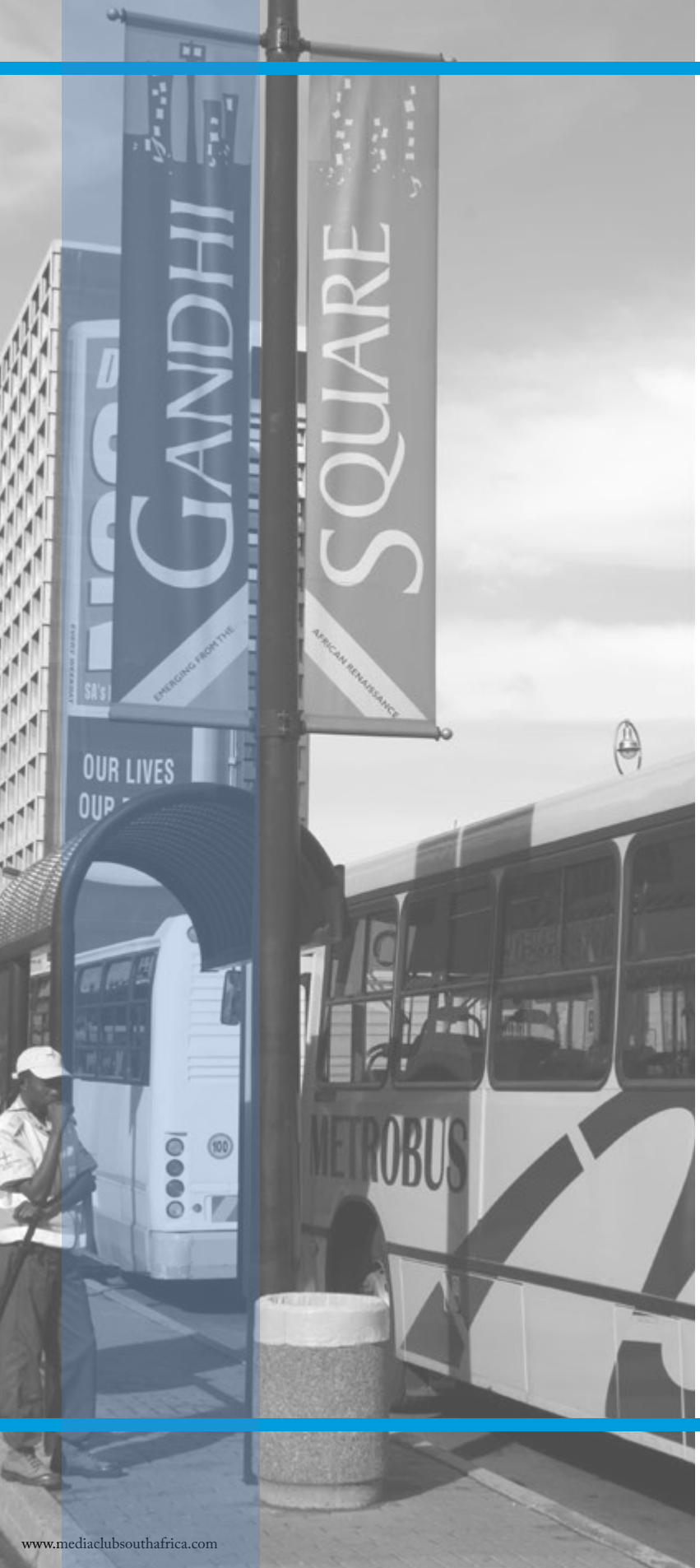

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Overview and welcome

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 is the founding managing director of Strauss & Co.

In their extraordinary tribute to the bourgeoisie in the Communist Manifesto – and whatever else that tract may be, it is also a tribute to the bourgeoisie – Marx and Engels pointed out that the bourgeoisie had rescued a "considerable amount of the population from the idiocy of their rural life".[1] For Marx and Engels the city became the locus of all that was modern and progressive, but also alienating. These twin themes of progress and alienation still characterize our thinking on cities. While those who have the means may opt – like Marie Antoinette in the 18th century – to have quasi rural retreats in 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 this edition of Focus.

The city is intimately tied up with a modernist perspective of social and economic life. Noel Annan, writing about his era, recounts the modernist view of the city. "It was the city that had dehumanized society and established degrading social relationships where human beings lived cheek by jowl yet it had never been so lonely. Surrounded by neighbours they felt insecure".[2]

Cities are also 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 the society is to remain intact and not to explode under the pressures of class or ethnic or other tensions.

Tony Judt, in his reflections on the 20th 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?"[3]. Thus urban planning was born.

One of the dominant themes of current urban planning is *sustainability*. Increasingly infrastructural development of the 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 civilization, and on ways in which to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, we need to promote creative forms of environmentally sustainable development.

South African cities face particular sets of challenges. These centre on developmental issues which are similar to those found in many other parts of the world. In addition, we also 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 councilor selection, mismanagement of municipal budgets, and recurrent billing problems, affect our perceptions of our cities in crisis.

But that is not the only story. **David Everatt** in his review of the quality of life in the Gauteng city region offers a different picture – not one of euphoria but one where careful analysis of data paints a different type of picture. He points out that "we see growing cities striving to meet the post-apartheid challenges, and he adds that while Gauteng is indeed rife with civic protests, this is not the 'have-nots' rising up against the 'haves'. If anything, he says: "it is the 'have-somethings' protesting that they want more, and certainly angry with the 'have-it-alls'".

Lael Bethlehem's lyrical piece focuses on urban regeneration in the Johannesburg CBD. She argues that many cities in the developed world have seen a steady decline in their inner city environments. This is especially true of the United States where major cities began to hollow out in the 1980s. In the developing world there have been similar examples, although these tend to be more complex, and less often associated with the rise of suburbs. The City of Johannesburg experienced a dramatic and rapid decline in the inner city starting from the late 1980s. It took ten years to reach the bottom of the cycle, by which time a large proportion of the asset value of private properties had been destroyed. In the process, many livelihoods and balance sheets had been decimated. The destruction of value also created opportunities, most importantly for the conversion of inner city buildings to affordable rental housing. This in turn has driven a major regeneration of the inner city, in tandem with the public sector regeneration programme.

Jonathan Olitzki and **John Luiz** pick up on one of the themes which Bethlehem raises as they explore the evolving retail strategies in the Johannesburg CBD. They too emphasize the significance of public-private sector involvement in addressing the challenges which the CBD faces. A picture emerges that, if stakeholders – whether council, property developers, retailers and local residents – feel they have a vested interest in the success of the city, then Johannesburg CBD can be a distinctively African, world class city.

Gwen Theron assesses South African cities as a cultural landscape. She reminds us that cities are not simply dormitories where workers, and managers, exist in order to be economically productive. Rather, cities also embody cultural landscapes which are rooted in the land but which allow for the recognition of values which go beyond matters of design to the spiritual significance of a place. This striving for interconnectedness of all aspects of human life is what makes living in cities possible.

The theme of design is further extended by **Tessa Graaff** who speaks to Cape Town as the *2014 World Design Capital*. Her reflective piece begins with a question: did the award simply allow the city – as a gateway to Africa – to acknowledge its own design excellence, or did it create the chance to start thinking about design, and the benefits thereof? She points out that Cape Town has a great landscape but asks whether Cape Town can be a great city. The challenge for Graaff is to see how being an African city "gives us permission to think differently about solutions and not just adopt western approaches".

Fanuel Motsepe poses the intriguing but important question about whether our present built environment suitably supports the human rights aims of our Constitution. He unpacks the theme of the South African Institute of Architects' 2008 Bi-annual Convention and explores how sustainable, humane and inclusionary

the built environment can and should be. He identifies the great challenge facing South Africa as creating a unified and diverse built environment where the multitude of cultural capital and knowledge systems of a diverse society can collectively define a 'truly cosmo-african, afro-politan South African built environment'.

David Lurie, as part of his exhibition *Encounters At The Edge* explores the environments that exist at the edge of the city. For Lurie, Cape Town mirrors many of the problems facing other African cities and many cities throughout the world. His central question is how does the surplus humanity improvise the survival in the city? His photos speak for themselves.

Still in Cape Town, **Ashleigh Fraser** explores issues of Identity in Kalk Bay and Simon's Town. For Fraser, understanding the history that provoked the power and identity struggles is crucial to understand the diverse identities of the region.

We conclude with **Charles Simkins'** futuristic narrative: *Joburg 2038*.

This edition of *Focus* has two review forums (by **Bobby Godsell** and **Gillian Godsell**, and by **Stuart Jones** and **Robert Vivian**) and a review by **Wim Louw**.

NOTES
1 Karl Marx and Frederick Engels (1969), Selected Works. Progress Publishers: Moscow. Vol 1. pp 112
2 Noel Annan (1990), Our Age: Portrait Of A Generation. Weidenfeld and Nicolson: London. pp 52
3 Tony Judt (2012), Thinking The Twentieth Century. William Heinemann: London. pp 334

Prof David Everatt, Executive Director of the Gauteng City-Region Observatory (GCRO), has over 17 years of experience in applied socio-economic and development research, designing and implementing monitoring systems, and programme evaluation. He has managed and/or participated in over 300 development projects, primarily in Africa. He was responsible for path-breaking research into youth marginalisation and out-of-school youth in South Africa in the early 1990s; his research into political violence was quoted by Nelson Mandela at the UN; he was the chief evaluator of the South African Constitutional Assembly between 1995 and 1997; and has served on successive ANC election polling teams since 1994 until the present. David designed civic education programmes in Kenya and Uganda, and led the Advisory Team reviewing Kenya's Governance, Justice, Law and Order Sector (GJLOS) Reform Programme. He also headed a 2-year study of sustainable livelihoods in the 21 poorest nodal areas in South Africa. He was Vice-President (sub-Saharan Africa) for the 'Sociology of Youth' committee of the International Sociological Association for 10 years, and now sits on their Advisory Board. David has published five books and his articles have appeared in local and international journals. David is (happily) married with two (wonderful) children.

Quality of Life in the Gauteng City-Region: a steady ship on a global sea of change

It seems that the pre-election low national mood is ubiquitous. As a senior government official argued recently, long-term planning for the future cannot start from 'despair'. Yet 'despair' – or anger, or scepticism, or whatever the correct adjective is – is everywhere, even in the briefing document for authors in this edition of *Focus*. Potential authors are advised that

> *The fundamental infrastructure and service delivery failures across South Africa's cities, owing to poor local government performance, point to a deep rooted complex of problems at a municipality level [sic]. The tension between issuing plans for sustainable design and urban renewal, and having to face up to the huge gamut of governance failures, presents opportunities for, as well as threats to, the future of our cities.*[1]

Governance failures, service delivery failures, failures of all sorts are apparently abounding in South African cities. Their failure – a political failure, let us be clear – is thus threatening our very survival, apparently, since sustainability or low carbon or 'green' options are a non-starter. Government is coloured with a single brush of failure, and the document feels free to assert:

> *Service delivery and infrastructure problems evident at the city level are, to a large extent, the consequences of poor governance and poor accountability within local government structures.*[2]

My piece is not a cheer-leading piece for government. But it does use *data* to make an argument. While some parts of the argument may support the notion of uneven performance across the different spheres

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and in different geographical locations, it does so not because it is politically driven but data driven. It does so by pointing to the service delivery successes that have marked Gauteng thus far, and which suggest that there is indeed a possible disconnect between a government pursuing a basic needs approach – exemplified by the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)[3] – and a citizenry who in very large part now enjoy the basic amenities and need a new discourse. This discourse requires a new narrative that talks about how to take Gauteng to a higher plane, meeting needs tangible and intangible, a genuinely inclusive, more equal, Afropolitan city of the 21st century. If there is such a disconnect it is not simply to be laid at the door of 'state failure' – the easy argument – but requires a far more nuanced analysis of state performance, citizens' changing expectations, and how to tie them together into the future. Obviously, this piece does not claim to do this, but rather attempts to start a conversation on the matter.

Census 2011 tells us that where 75% of Gautengers lived in formal dwellings in 1996, that figure has now risen – despite massive population growth – to 80%. 11% still live in informal dwellings. 98% of people now have access to piped water, 96% have access to a flush toilet, and 87% access the national grid for lighting energy.

Gauteng: the RDP realised?

By 2011, Gauteng, which enjoys just 2% of national land cover, was generating 36% of national GDP[4] and the broader Gauteng City-region (including key economic nodes completely enmeshed in the provincial market such as Rustenburg and Sasolburg) produced 43% of national GDP. The province contains a fifth of South Africa's population, which will rise to a quarter (16 million people) by 2020. Given that services are provided to households not individuals, it is notable that there was an annual average growth in household numbers of 3,6% between 2001 and 2011, with 2,9 million households in Gauteng by 2011. Getting government, governance and delivery right, in Gauteng, are fundamental to the entire national project.

In many ways, delivery in Gauteng is a success story. According to *StatsSA*, the proportion of people with no formal education has dropped from 10% in 1996 to 4% in 2011, and half of those migrated into the province from elsewhere. Census

2011 tells us that where 75% of Gautengers lived in formal dwellings in 1996, that figure has now risen – despite massive population growth – to 80%. 11% still live in informal dwellings. 98% of people now have access to piped water, 96% have access to a flush toilet, and 87% access the national grid for lighting energy.

The story can continue, but the point at issue is simply to assert that an examination of data forces the reader to question some of the assumptions that seem to have taken on the power of truisms – such as 'service delivery failure' – which are in fact un-truisms. That there are protests in communities is absolutely correct, but they do not point to absolute poverty. In virtually every instance protests occur where some delivery has taken place, but not enough or not in the right place, in the eyes of local residents. There may well be failures in many instances – but to assert that this space is one of such profound failure that we have to trade off our future because poor government performance has left us with "fundamental" service delivery and infrastructure problems, is simply untenable.

Let's see how the residents of the city-region feel about Gauteng.

Quality of life: What is it, and why do we measure it?

The Gauteng City-Region Observatory (GCRO) released its second 'Quality of Life' survey, with a massive sample of almost 17 000 respondents in 2012. This follows the first survey in 2010, and thus allows some sense of change over time. Quality of Life itself – calculated using 54 variables covering everything from security to headspace, health to employment, values to community participation, shows a small but important increase in the mean (the average score) from 6,24 in 2009 to 6,25 in 2011.

The term quality of life is commonly used to evaluate the general well-being of individuals and/or larger units such as communities, cities or entire societies. In recent years, there has been a push to move beyond using Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as the measure of the key global ranking measure for countries. This is because it only measures the economy, not the people, and takes no account of the costs of the very economic growth it is measuring, which – in environmental terms, for example – may be creating the exact opposite of a healthy society. This push has included an incorporation of elements of the now-famous Bhutanese concept of 'Gross National Happiness' and has resulted in a renewed interest in 'Quality of Life' measurements.

However, city-regions can also be alienating in and of themselves, and/or can attract recidivists who can eke out a criminal life there more easily than in far-flung rural areas.

Quality of Life and cities

City-regions provide high-level quality of life for many citizens. The Gauteng City-Region, producing 43% of GDP, is no different, with some citizens living a lifestyle that would not be out of place in any of the great cities of the world. City-regions are meant to generate high-quality lifestyles, and offer exposure to art, music, galleries and concerts, safe spaces, green spaces, as well as work opportunities in globally competitive companies. The GCR does this, for many. However, city-regions can also be alienating in and of themselves, and/or can attract recidivists who can eke out a criminal life there more easily than in far-flung rural areas.

In the midst of a large, thriving city-region, however, there are inevitably those who do not 'make it', for a range of reasons. Place that city-region in a developing

country, and in a post-apartheid context, and the potential for severe fault-lines to criss-cross the space of the city-region is immediately apparent. This is particularly true of psycho-social issues, which may be present regardless of the job someone has, or the size of their monthly wage. After centuries of colonisation, culminating in segregation and then apartheid, it would be unrealistic to expect that after just twenty years of democracy, all traces of our violent and racist past would have disappeared. Moreover, the Gauteng City-Region was the site of the most intense xenophobic violence of the May 2008 outbreak that spread across the country – low-level on-going violence against 'foreigners' has remained part of the background noise in the GCR. The GCR is also witness to excessively high rates of violent crime, violence against women, and so on, all suggesting that the fault-lines run deep indeed.

This could also be achieved if we find specific target groups needing assistance, whether these are age cohorts, gender, people in specific sectors of employment and so on; also, whether they need service delivery, infrastructure provision, psycho-social assistance or some other intervention.

Measuring quality of life

In order to try and measure quality of life in the GCR, the GCRO runs a bi-annual survey. Embedded in the questionnaire are 54 variables – subjective and objective – that we combine into 10 'dimensions' of quality of life – again to try and measure both overall quality of life, and the 'drivers' behind quality of life either rising or falling. We also try to understand this spatially – where in this large, crowded space that is the GCR are people enjoying higher or lower quality of life – as well as by socio-demographic and other variables. This spatial point is particularly relevant in post-apartheid South Africa. Under apartheid, people lived in areas designated for them according to their race, and while here has been considerable post-apartheid residential desegregation, black citizens in particular, are still, in many cases, living in the townships created for them under apartheid. For some this may be a matter of choice; but as the OECD noted in its territorial review of the GCR[5], with median suburban house prices at 22 times the median average household income in Gauteng, it is apparent that the cost of living is locking many black South Africans into townships or RDP housing. This is not automatically associated with low quality of life, and it is precisely to understand these locale-specific dynamics that GCRO has such a detailed matrix of variables to try and understand and measure quality of life.

Measuring quality of life also has policy significance. Quality of life analysis segments the population into cohorts of people doing more or less well. It also points to why this is the case (within the limitations of the variables we are using – the methodology is obviously restricted to the questions we asked respondents). It should help inform the targeting strategy of government (from all spheres), if we find that this or that municipality is falling considerably behind others – as is the case with Westonaria, for example (see below). This could also be achieved if we find specific target groups needing assistance, whether these are age cohorts, gender, people in specific sectors of employment and so on; also, whether they need service delivery, infrastructure provision, psycho-social assistance or some other intervention. It is equally important to know who is doing well, for a successful city-region unavoidably has to cater for all citizens and their (different) needs. The needy may require urgent government assistance: but city-regions need to look after the drivers of wealth, culture, growth and civil society as well, since they remain critical for the city-region to continue growing and developing economically,

socially, culturally and in other areas. Looking after those in need has to occur alongside creating the conditions for (equitable) growth and development, not at the expense of it. To make things more complex, this balancing act (replicating the national project) has to occur in a context of redistribution, attacking inequality, and lowering poverty levels.

Measuring quality of life can also help point in general terms to the type of problem facing different groups since the 54 variables fall into 10 dimensions that cover areas such as work/employment, security, infrastructure, health, dwelling, connectivity, community and so on. Moreover, by measuring these over time, we can see areas of improvement. For example, 'dwelling' improved between 2009 and 2011, indicating the impact of government's investment in building houses, but 'work' dropped, showing the impact of on-going long-term unemployment as well as the global economic recession. The same point applies to time-series measurement by locale – Ekurhuleni, for example, had dropped back from 6,28 to 6,10 (out of an ideal total of 10) by 2011 to the second worst-performing municipality in Gauteng, rocked by the impact of the global recession on its economic base as well as the challenges it is facing in service delivery.

Constructing the index

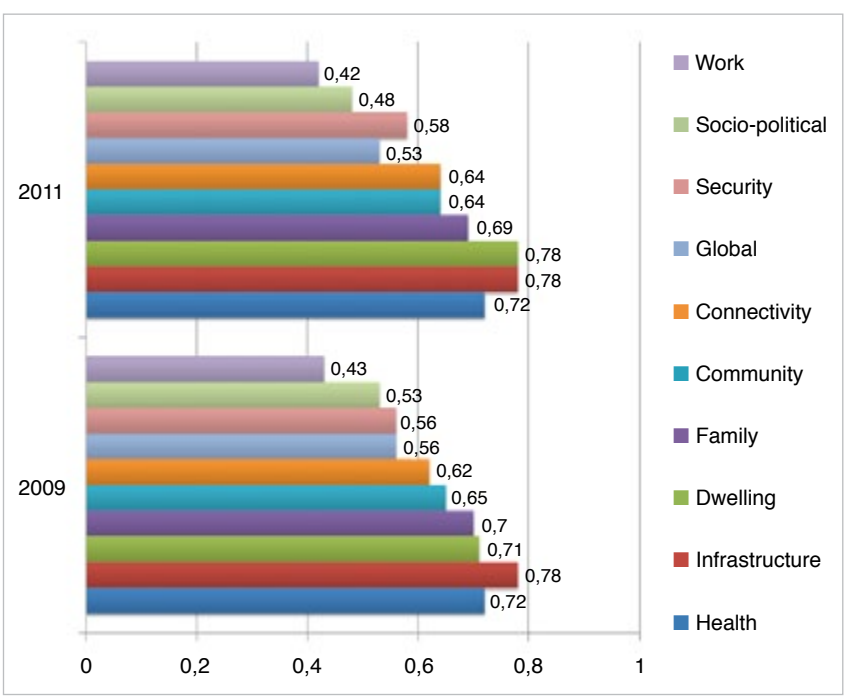
In 2001, Ross Jennings and I developed a quality of life index based on studies undertaken by other practitioners in the field of quality of life[6] and information gathered from focus groups with rural residents to tease out issues pertaining to quality of life. This approach was further developed for GCRO, to measure quality of life in an urban and city-region context. The indicators used are set out below (please note that some indicators are themselves derived from multiple individual questions). In all, there are 54 indicators, across the 10 'dimensions' of quality of life.

Broad areas	Subjective indicators (level of satisfaction)	Objective indicators
1 Global/ headspace	• Life satisfaction • Alienation • Anomie • Country going in right direction	
2 Family	• Marriage/relationship • Family life • Time available • Leisure time	• Ability to feed children/self
3 Community	• Trust community • Friends • Important to look after environment	• Membership of clubs, organisations, societies
4 Health	• Health affects work • Health affects social activities	
5 Housing	• Rating of dwelling • Rating of area/place	• Dwelling structure • Dwelling ownership • Overcrowding
6 Infrastructure	• Improvement in community • Water cleanliness • Water access • Electricity • Refuse removal • Cut offs/evictions	• Sanitation access

7	Education & connectivity	• Press is free	• Level of education • Telephone/cellphone • Radio/television • Internet connection
8	Work	• Amount of money available • Household status • Standard of living • Working conditions	• Employment status • Household income • No debt
9	Security	• Safety in area during day • Safety in area during night • Safety at home • Crime situation improved	• Victim of crime
10	Socio-political	• Politics is waste of time • Local election free & fair • Judiciary is free • Trust btw races • Foreigners taking benefits • Govt performance • Govt officials & Batho Pele	• Public participation • Voted in 2011 • Asked for a bribe

For each indicator, a score of 0 or 1 was allocated to each individual respondent in order to compute an overall score for the area. For each dimension, the score was then scaled out of 1. For each dimension, a maximum score of 1 was possible (working on the same 0-1 basis as the Gini co-efficient does). A score of 1 would reflect extremely high levels of quality of life in each of those areas. Taken together (see below), the closer to ten out of ten a respondent scores, the better their quality of life – this is a simple matter of adding the scores from the 10 dimensions together. Therefore, the higher the score, the higher the level of quality of life. The mean scores for each dimension, for both 2009 and 2011, are shown in the following graph.

Figure 1: Scores for all dimensions of quality of life, 2009 and 2011



In any exercise of this nature, the obvious question is whether or not specific variables should be weighted more than others. Given the extended unemployment crisis, for example, should unemployment – part of the 'work' dimension – not be weighted more than, say, membership of a civil society organisation, or satisfaction with dwelling, and so on. These are legitimate questions, and between 2009 and 2011 GCRO commissioned Ms Talita Greyling of the University of Johannesburg to use Principal Component Analysis – which applies weights to key variables as they emerge from the analysis – to see if our approach generated results that were very different from one using weights. The simple answer was 'no', although the nuance emerging from her analysis added value to our understanding of the quality of life index and which variables were most significant.

Given that social groups and state formations – local sphere entities – have shifted position between 2009 and 2011, it is worth noting that 'work' – which includes un/employment status, a decent work index as well as satisfaction with work indicators – remains the weakest area in the GCR, and dropped between 2009 and 2011. It is also notable that 'global' – which really refers to an all-round sense of well-being and includes alienation and anomie measures, as well as a range of life satisfaction questions – also dropped, quite significantly, reflecting the general findings of this survey, namely, a very low mood in the GCR. This is reflected in slightly lower scores for both family and community as well. Generally, psycho-social and work-related variables pulled the scores down.

Thus many of the areas in which local, provincial and national government works improved; but many of the less development-oriented issues, such as psycho-social and 'headspace' areas, deteriorated.

What pushes the scores up seem primarily to be infrastructural and other delivery projects driven primarily by government. Some may have been triggered by the 2010 World Cup, given that the GCR had three stadia hosting games, and the requisite infrastructure had to be provided. Whatever the case, while 'infrastructure' as a catch-all category remained high at 0,78, dwelling increased significantly (0,71 to 0,78), reflecting both objective and subjective indicators about delivery of houses and satisfaction with the respondents' own dwelling. Connectivity also improved, and – critical for the GCR – security also improved. Thus many of the areas in which local, provincial and national government works improved; but many of the less development-oriented issues, such as psycho-social and 'headspace' areas, deteriorated.

The results

For the 2011 survey, we had a 16 729 sample, we used the same basic methodology as in 2009. No variable or dimension was weighted above any other. Once the 10 dimensions were added together, the mean or average score across all respondents and all dimensions was 6,25 – a very slight rise from the 6,24 recorded in 2009. On the scoring matrix, a score of 10 would mean the respondent has perfect quality of life – using these variables, of course. At the other extreme, 0 out of 10 would mean that the respondent has no quality of life whatsoever. In both instances, this would entail scoring extremely high (in the first example) or extremely low (for the second example) on every variable and every dimension.

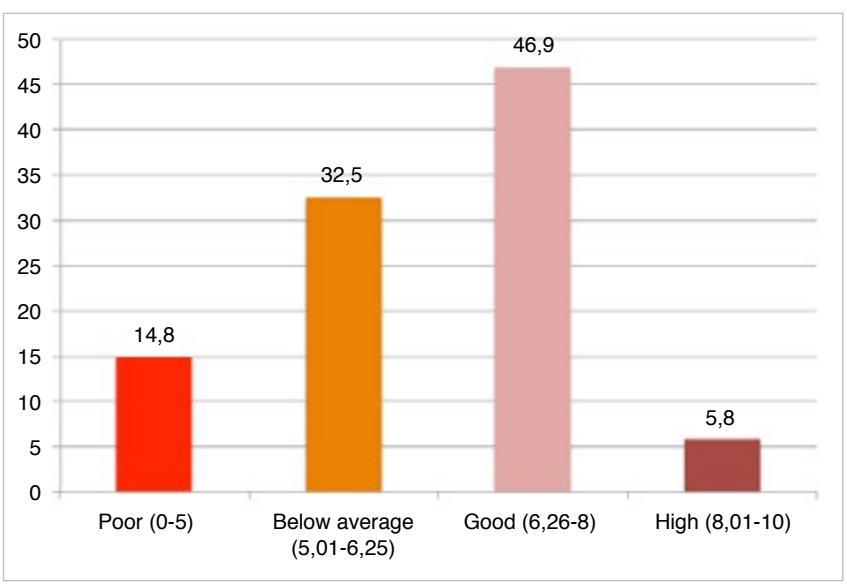
In both instances, no-one scored below 1,75 (out of 10) at all, and in 2011 – after the global damage wrought by the financial crisis – by 2,72 out of a possible 10 – do

we reach 0,5% of respondents. In other words, using this approach to measuring quality of life, and despite the deliberate impoverishment of black South Africans by apartheid, delivery of infrastructure and services has had a wide reach and helped many. At the opposite end of the scale, it is also clear that in both 2009 and 2011, the GCR had people enjoying a remarkably high quality of life. In all, 6% of respondents scored 8 out of 10 or higher.

That said, there are wide variations across the respondents who fell between the highest (at 9,55 out of 10) and lowest (1,75 out of 10). To make some sense of the data, we broke it four ways: any respondent scoring 8 out of 10 or above was taken to have "high" quality of life, a necessary product of a city-region as we saw earlier. Although an important part of the GCR, this 'high' category comprised just 5,8% of the sample – meaning one in twenty people enjoys high quality of life. The second highest category also included the largest proportion of respondents in a single category, namely the 46,9% of respondents enjoying 'good' quality of life – this was taken to be from immediately above the sample mean (6,26 – the mean was 6,25) to immediately below the 8/10 cut off for high, so they fell between 6,26 and 7,99 out of 10. Taken overall, therefore, the GCR can reflect positively on the fact that despite the global crisis and its domestic aftershocks, 53% of respondents in 2011 were enjoying high or good quality of life.

At the other end of the scale, we find another dichotomy, between those with 'below average' quality of life, and those with 'poor' quality of life. The first category are those scoring 6,24 (i.e. immediately below the mean score) down to those scoring half, or 5 out of 10. This category accounted a third (32,5%) of respondents, leaving 14,8% to score in the 'poor' category – i.e. anywhere from 1,75 out of 10 (the lowest score in the sample) to 4,99 out of 10. Where those enjoying 'high' quality of life (admittedly a smaller category) comprised 5,8% of the sample, the scale is tilted towards those doing less well, with 14,8% having 'poor' quality of life and 32,5% 'below average' quality of life. In the next section we look in greater detail at some of the psycho-social aspects of the indicators used here, where we extract relevant variables for a marginalisation index.

Figure 2: Quality of Life by category

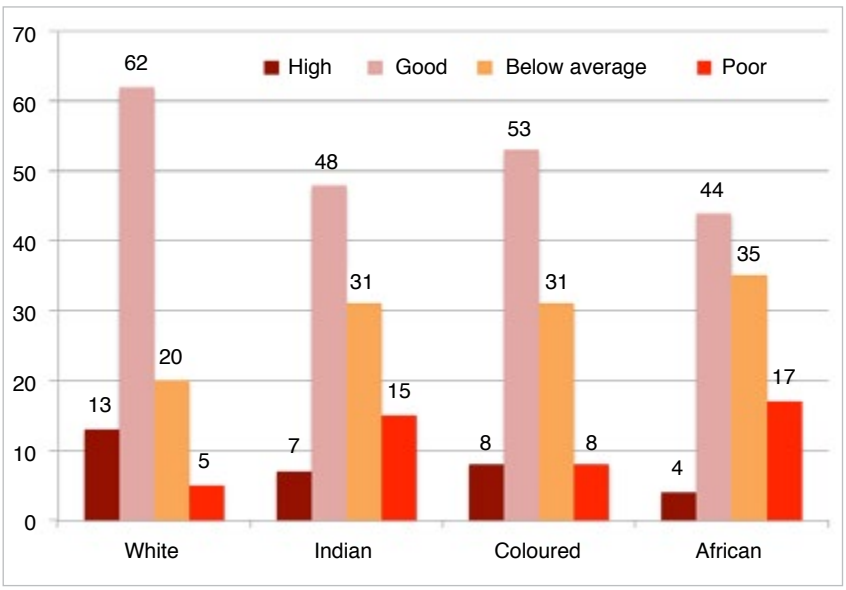


As Figure 2 makes clear, the overwhelming majority of respondents score above 5/10, but it is equally clear that almost three times as many respondents score 'poor' as score 'high'. We now briefly analyse who falls into these different categories.

Race

Given our post-apartheid context and the on-going salience of race in politics and development discourse, we start in typical South African fashion by analysing quality of life by race. It is immediately apparent that three times as many whites (13% of white respondents) enjoy high quality of life as do Africans (4%). In the middle, slightly more coloureds (8%) enjoy high quality of life than Indians (7%). Whites, coloureds and Indians are also more likely to have a 'good' quality life

Figure 3: Quality of life by race (2011)



The need for more thorough-going redistribution is apparent. Whites of course started from a higher economic base than most others, and are numerically far smaller than the African population, and have maintained their position. The intensity of the challenge is demonstrated by contrasting the 75% of whites who enjoy good and high quality of life in the Gauteng City-Region with the 48% of African respondents who do so.

Sex

Sex also makes a difference. More men (7%) enjoy high (5%) and good (49%) quality life than women (5% and 45% respectively). We have shown in a number of sections of this report how women are struggling to approach equality with men in the GCR, and this composite index merely underlines the point.

Age

Age, however, seems to matter more especially for the youngest cohort. Of respondents between 16 and 19 years of age just 3,% enjoyed high quality of life, the lowest of any age cohort, until we reach the pension age, where 4% of respondents

aged 65 and above had high quality of life. As we show elsewhere, the combination of race, sex and age – for young, African women – is a toxic mix that leaves many suffering at the wrong end of what the city region has to offer.

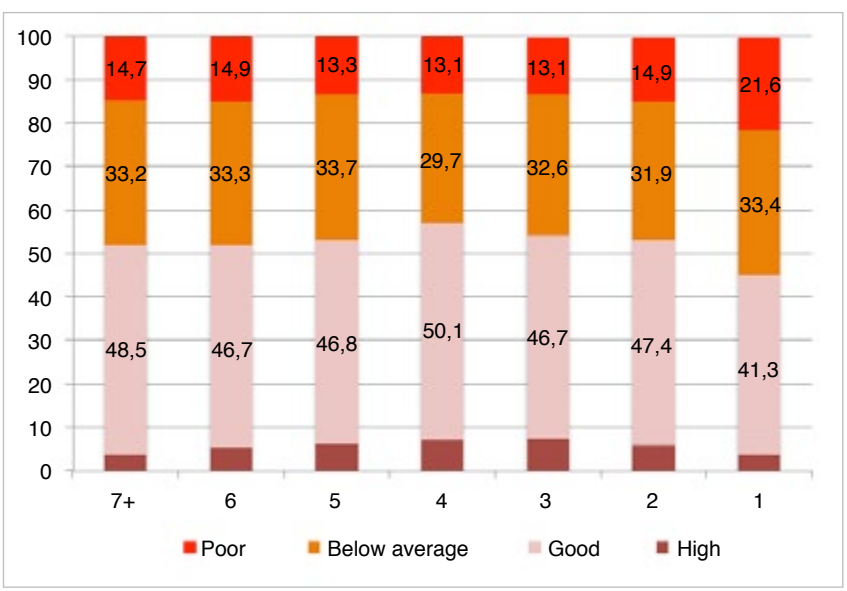
Household size and birth place

Household size also seems to have negative effects, either when people are 'living solo' – which accounts for a million people in Gauteng – or when household size exceeds 5 people. Place of birth also has an effect. People born in Gauteng are more likely to have high quality of life (6,2% of Gauteng-born respondents did so) or good quality of life (49,4%) than people born outside the province. Amongst non-Gauteng born respondents (regardless of whether they were born in or out of South Africa), just 5% enjoyed high and 42,8% good quality of life, while almost one in five (18,5%) were found in the 'poor' quality of life category.

Targeting support and interventions

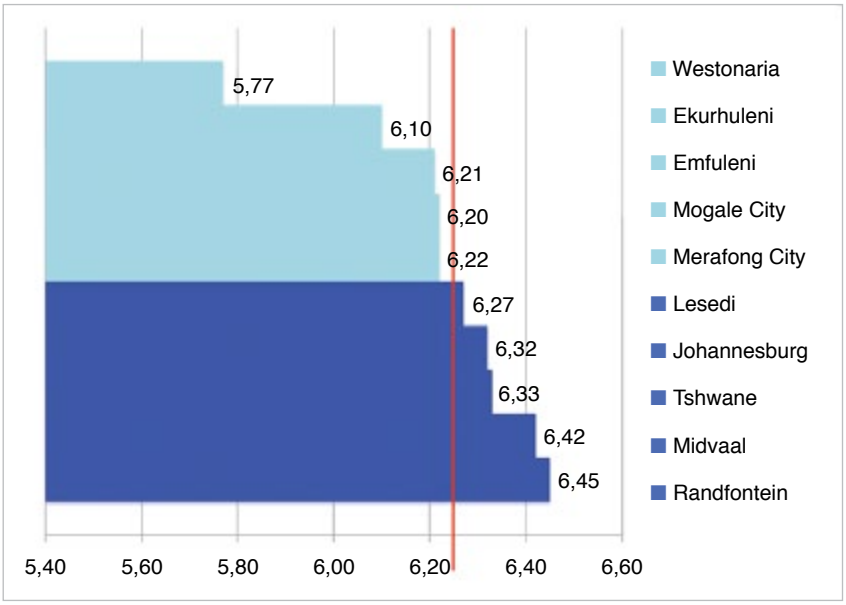
As we noted at the beginning of this section, measuring quality of life is not merely a fanciful way of looking at the top end of a city-region: it has policy implications, and should be used by local and provincial spheres of government to inform their targeting strategies. Currently, we have seen that to be at one or other extreme of the age spectrum; African, female; living alone or in a large household; and to be a migrant, all feature above average in the poor quality of life category. In contrast, to be white or Indian, living in a medium sized household, to be male, middle-aged and locally-born, is to feature above average in the 'high' and 'good' categories.

Figure 4: Quality of Life by household size



Finally, the results are analysed spatially, which is a key aspect of any targeting strategy.

Figure 5: Quality of Life by municipality



It is difficult to present results by municipality without feeding into local-level contestation and politicking, but it is equally important to note that the GCR includes some high-performing municipalities – notably Randfontein (0,2 above the mean) and Midvaal (0,17 above the mean, and having dropped from top-spot between 2009 and 2011), and two high-performing metropolitan municipalities – Tshwane and Johannesburg – but it also includes others at the wrong end of the scale. As a scale, there will always be 'winners' and 'losers', inevitable because all units have to be scored across a continuum. As such, it is unsurprising to find Westonaria propping up the bottom of the scale by some margin (0,48 below the mean). As a municipality, it consistently scores lowest in virtually all aspects of service delivery.

What is of possibly greater concern is to find one of the three cities in the GCR – Ekurhuleni – occupying second from bottom place, and some way behind the mean (0,15).

What is of possibly greater concern is to find one of the three cities in the GCR – Ekurhuleni – occupying second from bottom place, and some way behind the mean (0,15). The manufacturing base in Ekurhuleni has taken considerable stress as a result of the global recession, but service delivery has also been poor, and unhappiness with the quality of service delivery in Ekurhuleni is correspondingly high. It must serve as a focal point for investment if it is not to enter a lengthy (or even a terminal) decline. It is notable that there is only 0,12 difference (out of 10) between the mid-range cities and municipalities, from Tshwane in third place to Emfuleni, third from the bottom. If targeting is to include a spatial element, this should help inform the provincial strategy.

Conclusion

'Policy-making in a time of despair' sounds more like the title of a Milan Kundera novel than a description of where we stand in Gauteng right now; yet the 'despair', if that is what it is, seems to be pervasive. It is important, however, that the realities

of our context and situation inform policy, much as they should inform opinion. This piece suggests that while the HSF may believe itself correct in telling authors that "fundamental infrastructure and service delivery failures across South Africa's cities, owing to poor local government performance, point to a deep rooted complex of problems", the data for Gauteng suggest something very different. Here we see growing cities, striving to meet the post-apartheid challenges. While their performance is uneven – see the contrast between, say Tshwane and Johannesburg on the one hand and Ekurhuleni n the other – they have (as have many local municipalities) performed exceptionally well in meeting the long-term post-apartheid goals of the RDP, and have survived the turbulence of the global crisis remarkably well. Gauteng is indeed rife with civic protest – but this is not the 'have nots' rising up against the 'haves'. If anything, it is the 'have somethings' protesting that they want more, and certainly angry with the 'have it alls' – those we saw above with near-perfect quality of life. That there is cronyism, poor performance by councillors and corruption in private and public sectors is not disputed at all. Those, however, are not the hallmark of this spatial unit, even though this may be ignored in the pre-election phase of politicking we have already entered.

The lesson seems to be that delivery has created conscious relative deprivation – i.e. people are aware of what they do have (and the results here suggest they value it) but are simultaneously aware of what they don't have, but others do. This is why most protest action occurs not in areas marked by the deepest poverty levels in Gauteng, but in areas where some 'development' has occurred. The underlying fault line that should most disturb us is less the supposed "service delivery failures" but the inequality that runs so deeply through the Gauteng City-Region – as through the country – and which presents an intractable enemy that few seem to know how to defeat. Government is obviously complicit – it sets the economic policy, tax regime, delivery framework and associated superstructure in which we operate and from which inequality derives. But it seems rather simplistic to lay all fault at the door of government. It is similarly simplistic to look to 'service delivery failure' or 'infrastructure problems' and assert that they result from 'poor governance and poor accountability'. It makes little sense to assume this is a convincing narrative merely because it is so widely repeated by the chattering classes. It seems, based on some basic analysis of empirical data, that the reverse is true: that service delivery successes – combined, certainly, with catastrophic unemployment, a sluggish national but better provincial growth rate, and so on – have created fault-lines that are breeding grounds for all types of discontent – xenophobia, homophobia, gender-based violence and the like. The point is not to deny failures, but to see them in an appropriate context.

This is not an apologia for government. It is an appeal to move away from trite truisms that are, in fact, untrue. Government has been singularly successful in meeting RDP targets. Hundreds of thousands of people are better off as a result. Could government have done better – of course, it always can and should. But people, rightly, want more than 'basic needs' – the basis of the RDP. Gauteng is a wealthy and highly sophisticated economy and society. It needs a far more sophisticated narrative to take us forward, now that so many people have had their 'basic needs' met. The narrative we need to develop may find purchase only in this space, and not in, say, Limpopo or North West. It is apparent that we need to develop a very new and improved future trajectory and associated narrative for this space, in order to consolidate gains made and to use them as a springboard to some kind of shared vision of the future.

NOTES
1 'Future of our Cities' briefing note.
2 Ibid.
3 African National Congress (1994) The Reconstruction and Development Programme (Ravan press, Johannesburg).
4 OECD: Territorial review of the Gauteng City Region (Paris, 2011)
5 OECD Territorial Review of the Gauteng City-Region (OECD, Paris)
6 See Jennings, R. and Everatt, D. 2001. Evaluation of the 1998/99 Community Based Public Works Programme: Consolidated Report.
7 Greyling, T. (2011) 'Measuring and understanding the well-being of the Gauteng City-Region's population' (mimeo, University of Johannesburg).
8 See Nyar, A. & Wray, C. (2012) 'Understanding protest action: some data collection challenges for South Africa', Transformation, 80, pp. 22-43.

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A new dynamic – urban regeneration in the Joburg CBD

Abstract

Many cities in the developed world have seen a steady decline in their inner city environments. This is especially true of the United States where major cities began to hollow out in the 1980s. In the developing world there have been similar examples, although these tend to be more complex, and less often associated with the rise of suburbs. The City of Johannesburg experienced a dramatic and rapid decline in the inner city starting from the late 1980s. It took ten years to reach the bottom of the cycle, by which time a large proportion of the asset value of private properties had been destroyed. In the process, many livelihoods and balance sheets had been decimated. The destruction of value also created opportunities, most importantly for the conversion of inner city buildings to affordable rental housing. This in turn has driven a major regeneration of the inner city, in tandem with the public sector regeneration programme.

Introduction

The decline in the inner city of Johannesburg was as rapid as it was predictable. The factors leading to this decline were partly familiar from the international urban experience, and were somewhat specific to the collapse of apartheid. Either way, the timing was unfortunate, coinciding with the larger political storm sweeping through the country. In the early 1990s – when action could have been taken – the problems of Joburg's inner city paled into insignificance as the country reeled through the interregnum between apartheid and democracy, riding out the first complex years of a new political life. It was only when Amos Masondo became Mayor in 2000, and a single local authority was created for Johannesburg, that the first real efforts gathered steam.

Inner decline in Joburg was marked, as it always is, by the withdrawal of investment from the property sector. This was due to factors familiar from the international environment: suburbanisation, poor public transport, weak administration of publicly owned properties, and ineffective management of the urban environment. In this case, however, there were specific local factors including a rigid planning regime which had effectively barred developers from producing underground parking for their buildings from the 1970s. This left a landscape of huge offices with no parking provision, and very little public transport. The City's motivation in making this decision was to incentivise tenants to use the local bus system. Instead it incentivised them to move their offices to Sandton, and then a myriad of other decentralised office locations. At the same time as Sandton began to beckon, so the apartheid edifice began to crack. The Group Areas Act, which restricted black

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Traders and minibus taxis in Bree Street in the city centre.

people to out-lying areas, became unworkable by the mid-1980s. The Influx Control Act, which tried to prevent black urbanisation, followed within a few years. A large and dynamic population arrived in the City, looking for accommodation, retail opportunities and, most importantly, well located housing. The creaking public transport system was unable to cope, giving rise to the minibus taxi industry. The taxi industry was neither predicted nor welcomed by the local authorities, which made no provision for taxi ranks, stops, or loading areas. Street traders followed the flow of commuters and the local government largely ignored this, which lead to unregulated and often chaotic trading conditions.

Many building managers were unable to cope, and management systems broke down, especially in sectional title buildings and other environments that required greater levels of social cohesion.

On the residential side, tens of thousands of people made their way into the residential districts of Hillbrow, Berea and the CBD itself, which raised density levels. Many building managers were unable to cope, and management systems broke down, especially in sectional title buildings and other environments that required greater levels of social cohesion.

Meanwhile, the City's political authorities were being displaced by the new order, and were swept aside in the democratic elections of 1994. The newly elected local authorities had a wide range of problems to deal with, and were subjected to a dizzying process of institutional restructuring which went on for six years, robbing new City management of a stable basis from which to operate. The City effectively reached the point of bankruptcy in 1998, precipitating a bail-out from the National Treasury which, in turn, led to a process of restructuring, creating a metropolitan municipality in 2000. This laid the basis for more effective local government. The long process of urban regeneration began, in tandem with other forms of urban restructuring including the proper integration of the townships and investment in township infrastructure. Urban regeneration became one priority among many, but at least it was on the radar. Thus began a long slow process of inner city regeneration

which must count as one of the world's great urban renewal stories, at least in terms of the scale and complexity of the challenge. This process is still very much in progress, but it is clear that a great deal of momentum has been built and large scale investment has returned in to the area.

Factors leading to regeneration

There are four main factors that have led to significant improvements in the inner city, and to the wave of investments now taking place:

- Public investment in urban renewal and infrastructure
- City Improvement Districts
- Institutional and corporate investment
- Private, entrepreneurial investments, particularly in the residential sector

Public investment

In April 2001 the City established the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA), tasked primarily with inner city regeneration. The JDA became a platform for public investment which has breathed new life into the area. The JDA's investments can be divided broadly into two phases. The first 5 years of the agency's life saw a focus on high profile one-off investments aimed at catalysing the process of regeneration. These included the Nelson Mandela Bridge, which quickly became a symbol of inner city renewal; the much-celebrated Constitutional Court; and the Newtown development which included the establishment of a major new events space at Mary Fitzgerald Square. Collectively these projects brought attention to the potential of the inner city and the importance of reversing its decline. They also created a sense of excitement and energy in relation to the CBD, and began to create a community of enthusiasts and investors.

Perhaps the most significant intervention of this period was the creation of the Rea Vaya, Johannesburg's Bus Rapid Transit system. A large portion of the first phase runs through the inner city.

The second phase has seen a series of less high-profile but more sustained initiatives, often aimed at supporting and catalysing private sector investments. The JDA projects in this second period included many precinct upgrades in which public spaces and infrastructure were created, replaced or improved. This includes public lighting, pavements, small urban squares, parks and community halls – all the ingredients of urban public space. This was supplemented by a programme of creating outdoor public artworks throughout the inner city and in many of its parks, helping to create a sense of place and a renewed affection for the City. Perhaps the most significant intervention of this period was the creation of the Rea Vaya, Johannesburg's Bus Rapid Transit system. A large portion of the first phase runs through the inner city. This not only means a significant improvement in the public transport linkages both to the inner city and within the area, but has also created a new visual landscape as the acclaimed Rea Vaya stations bring a creative and attractive new element to the public environment.

City Improvement Districts

The Gauteng government approved legislation in 1997 creating a platform of City Improvement Districts (CIDs). This enabled property owners in a defined area to

Rea Vaya, Johannesburg's Bus Rapid Transit system

However, some corporates and institutional investors remained in place, resisting the flight to the calmer, less diverse northern suburbs. In particular, some of the large banks played an important role by staying put.

collect levies over and above existing rates and taxes, to be used to fund private sector management of the area. The property owners establish a non-profit company to collect the levies and use the funds to provide security, cleaning, marketing, greening, park management and other services that help to uplift and protect their area. In terms of the legislation – which was modelled on the Downtown Associations of large USA cities – if more than 50% of property owners agree to the scheme, the remaining owners are obliged to participate. This overcomes the free rider problem and allows for collective management of an area.

The CID opportunity was quickly taken up by inner city property owners, under the leadership of Neil Fraser of the Central Johannesburg Partnership. There are now nine CIDs in the inner city, and they have made a huge difference to the level of safety and cleanliness in the area. The CIDs work in partnership with the city authorities including the Metro Police who operate a closed circuit TV system which has greatly assisted in bringing down levels of street crime. The CIDs are a crucial factor in inner-city management.

Investment trends

Commercial office property – Large tenants and new investors

Major capital flight took place in the 1990s and early 2000s and the office sector was the first to suffer. The CBD had been the City's premier office environment for a hundred years, and it lost this position in about five years. Unable to cope in the new environment, tenants moved north, and empty buildings were boarded up or seized by illegal occupants. In the face of these problems, and with the office market collapsing, many property owners practically abandoned their buildings. There are indeed several examples of corporates who gave their buildings away and others who sold buildings for the value of the balance on the rates and utilities account.

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The city centre's financial district.

However, some corporates and institutional investors remained in place, resisting the flight to the calmer, less diverse northern suburbs. In particular, some of the large banks played an important role by staying put. Standard Bank, Absa and FNB all remained in their large inner city premises, and were active in City Improvement Districts. All three played a role in the Central Johannesburg Partnership. FNB's Bank City is a major property that has anchored the area in which is it located. Absa has recently made some very large investments in upgrading the area in which it is located, and Standard Bank continues to maintain its head office and related complex and has recently built additional parking. Some other large corporates also remained: notably Anglo American in its Main Street and Marshall Street Offices; and Anglo Gold Ashanti whose long lease enabled Tiber to redevelop the magnificent Turbine Square in Newtown. Sappi not only stayed in Braamfontein, but played a hugely supportive role in the area. Transnet, Billiton, the Chamber of Mines and several others also remained, providing crucial support.

Perhaps one of the most important anchors in the CBD office environment was the Gauteng government. This was a new sphere of government created in 1994.

Over time, new office investors came to the fore. A number of companies, including Apexhi (later Redefine/Arrowhead), Olitzki Property Holdings, and Johannesburg Land Company all saw the opportunity of rock-bottom prices and bought up office buildings for redevelopment. They have all done well out of those investments. Johannesburg Land Company has recently completed a brand new office building for Zurich Re-insurance. This building, along with Turbine Square, represents the first brand new office stock for many years.

The Brickfields housing project in Newtown

It is a mixed use development, making use of old and dilapidated buildings and turning these into unusual retail, housing and office buildings, anchored by the arts offering which includes artists' workshops, galleries, and other creative spaces.

Perhaps one of the most important anchors in the CBD office environment was the Gauteng government. This was a new sphere of government created in 1994. However, they took over certain functions of the old Transvaal administration, which was largely based in Pretoria. In the mid-1990s, with the encouragement of the Central Johannesburg Partnership, they took the decision to move to Johannesburg taking a significant amount of rented office space. They have been a crucial presence in the CBD, as has the City of Johannesburg in Braamfontein.

Retail

The retail environment in the CBD is mixed, but has generally become a hub for low-cost goods, especially clothing. This is concentrated in the eastern side of the CBD and consists largely of imported goods. Shops are generally small and sidewalk trade continues to be a major factor. There are some specialised retail areas, such as the 'Fashion District' and the Ethiopian Quarter, which is a growing and vibrant area. There is some higher-level retail, notably at the Carlton Centre and surrounds, and along the lovely Main Street Boulevard. Some larger clothing and grocery stores and well known retail chains are represented in the CBD. Shoprite, Pick and Pay, Edgars, Game and Woolworths all have offerings and Cambridge/ Massmart has been expanding aggressively in recent years. However, retail is generally poorly organised, under-represented and constrained by the lack of appropriate property offerings with requisite delivery space, parking and the like. All of that is about to change with the building of the CBD's first mall in Newtown. Developed by Atterbury and located at the old Potato Sheds of the Market precinct, this mall is a major investment in the area, and will enable residents, office workers and visitors to the area to access all the major retail offerings. There will also be an office development which includes call centres for Nedbank. This is the largest investment in the CBD for many years.

There are also a number of other noteworthy investments like the Maboneng precinct in the eastern portion of the CBD, bordering Jeppestown. Maboneng, which started as Arts on Main, is a highly creative and ambitious project which now consists of over twenty buildings. It is a mixed use development, making use of old and dilapidated buildings and turning these into unusual retail, housing and office buildings, anchored by the arts offering which includes artists' workshops, galleries, and other creative spaces. A twice weekly market has been very successful.

Residential conversions

All of this would probably not have been possible without the key driver of investment in the CBD over the last 15 years – the conversion of office stock to residential units. Hundreds of buildings have been converted, and there are now some 40 000 new or renovated units with an average rental of about R2500 per month.

The first such units were created by non-profit organisations such as the Johannesburg Housing Company and Madulamoho Housing. More recently, the state-backed social housing grant has enabled many more units to be created in the subsidised rental market. Even these efforts are outweighed by the remarkable achievements of private, entrepreneurial developers. Starting in the late 1990s, when property prices were very low, a few individuals, and then a few companies, started to convert old office buildings into affordable residential accommodation. The sceptics were many, and the developers faced real difficulties in accessing finance and in dealing with day to day realities such as the hijacking of buildings, and difficulties in collecting rent. However, over time, the better companies (and generally those with a deeper commitment to housing) found ways around these problems, and the market began to grow. There were technological breakthroughs (biometric access control; improved building methods; heat pumps) and crucially, breakthroughs in the provision of finance.

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View westwards along the revamped and pedestrianised Main Street, city centre.

There are still many challenges ahead for the CBD. The office sector still faces major vacancies, and rental levels have been too low in recent years to attract new buildings.

The quality of units varies from one company to another. But on the whole, the companies offer an outstanding affordable housing product. Generally small, many of the units boast granite kitchen tops, fully tiled bathrooms and built in cupboards. Some offer internet connection. The demand for units is high, primarily as a result of their location and the consequent tenant savings in time and transport costs. There is no doubt that the quality of these units is also a factor.

On the financial side, there have been a number of important factors in growing this market. The Trust for Urban Housing Finance (TUHF) was established in 2003 by the National Housing Finance Corporation, a state entity, as a specialist outfit to fund the refurbishment of inner city buildings. It is an outstanding organisation which knows its market well, and has been a crucial factor in the expansion of the inner city housing market. Over the years it has been able to attract funding from Futuregrowth, the PIC, Standard Bank as well as the NHFC and the Gauteng Partnership Fund.

Over time there has been some consolidation in this market, and a number of larger inner city housing companies now exist. These include Afhco (the Affordable Housing Company, considered by many as the pioneer in this market); City Property; Jozi Housing; Jika Housing and Circlevest. There are also a number of individuals with large portfolios. Some of these companies have outstanding social programmes to support their tenants. Afhco for example, started their own school to address the difficulty that their tenants have in accessing primary schooling in the inner city, and also manages a number of parks in partnership with Johannesburg City Parks and the JDA. A number of companies run homework clubs and sports activities for their tenants.

The companies perform well from a financial perspective, with very low rates of bad debt and few vacancies. Demand still exceeds supply despite the huge expansion in the number of units. Some of these companies now have institutional backing and Old Mutual is an equity funder of a number of these initiatives. One of the companies is part of a listed entity, and there is talk of a residential Real Estate Investment Trust being listed on the JSE, in time.

The emergence of these inner city housing companies is a great example of an enlightened market response. The first movers in this market were people who saw an opportunity, were willing to take major risks, and had a genuine commitment to affordable housing, and to their tenants. On the whole the companies have been successful financially, but in achieving this success they have made an outstanding social contribution. Not only have they provided affordable housing at scale, they have also refurbished large numbers of buildings bringing these back into a positive investment cycle.

Conclusion

There are still many challenges ahead for the CBD. The office sector still faces major vacancies, and rental levels have been too low in recent years to attract new buildings. The Gauteng Government's Kopanong project has seen epic delays, and is a great source of uncertainty in the office market. The housing sector continues to grow, but needs greater support from the City, both in terms of rates and services, and the provision of social facilities such as parks, schools and clinics. There are still hijacked buildings, and slum-lords still ply their trade, especially in Hillbrow, Berea and Bertrams.

However, it is certainly true that the CBD has seen a major revival. This is evident not only in firmer property prices, ongoing residential investment and improved infrastructure, but also in the feeling of confidence and vibrancy that one experiences in the CBD. Tours of the area now take place regularly, public transport is much more efficient, and new markets are opening up. Most importantly, thousands of families live in the CBD and benefit from its revival. It has been a tough but remarkable journey so far, and one which has much to teach us. It is a great example of what can happen when a vibrant entrepreneurial market is supported by a committed public sector.

Evolving Strategies in the Johannesburg CBD

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The Johannesburg Central Business District (CBD) has evolved dramatically over the course of its lifetime. Since its origin, and the implosion in the 1980s, it saw exponential growth. Established as a mining town in the late 1800s, within a short space of time it became the commercial centre for the entire country, only to decline by the end of the following century. In response to the deterioration of the CBD, the local council began developing and implementing various revitalisation strategies in an attempt to resuscitate the area. A variety of entities were formed to this end, perhaps most prominently the Johannesburg Development Agency, bringing together both the public and private sectors. Projects were devised and hundreds of millions of Rands were spent on the gentrification of the city.

While many businesses and individuals that fled the city centre to the suburbs continue to view the CBD as inhospitable, many others have recognised the success achieved in recent years. This turnaround has spilled over into the retail sector. The inner city appears to have retained its importance as a centre of retail, although it has adjusted to the changing demographics and buying power of its inhabitants. Whilst many people perceive this to have resulted in a general downgrading of retail in the CBD, a number of national retailers have entered, or expanded their operations in the area, "operating large stores and reporting massive turnovers" (Bremner 2000:187). In this article we identify how retail has evolved in the Johannesburg CBD in the context of the city's political, social and economic evolution, the urban decline experienced, and the renewal efforts implemented to revive it. We interview a small sample of prominent retailers operating in the CBD to gain insight into the effects that the decline of the city and the resulting renewal initiatives have had on the nature and dynamic of retail. The questionnaires were structured to be open-ended so as to employ qualitative methodologies and elicit in-depth responses.

The Nelson Mandela Bridge crosses the Johannesburg Station shunting yards, linking the business districts of Braamfontein and Newtown.

The effects of renewal initiatives on the retail sector

All the respondents recognised that urban renewal efforts since 2000 have had positive consequences on the CBD space and as a result on the retail sector. They have all benefitted from significantly improved retail trading over the past decade although they stressed that this was off a lower base than their suburban counterparts because of the decline of the '90s. The factors that were highlighted by retailers as positively contributing to the improved retail conditions included the following:

There are still many challenges ahead for the CBD. The office sector still faces major vacancies, and rental levels have been too low in recent years to attract new buildings.

First, every respondent recognised an improvement in the general condition of the CBD. The urban renewal initiatives that were seen by all respondents as being the most beneficial to trade are those that focus on the day-to-day maintenance of the CBD. This is most applicable to security and cleaning and, in this regard, the City Improvement Districts have had a major effect. A point raised is that while certain parts of the city have been cleaned up and made safe, there are parts that have not. While most people in the city know which parts to avoid, some do not, and this therefore becomes a deterrent to potential tourist coming into the city, as well as some of the white collar workers from venturing out of their offices. The improvement of lighting, pavements, greenery and the general maintenance of the infrastructure around the store was noted by 65% of respondents, as being important. The reason for this (as noted by one of the retailers) is that, "If the environment is well maintained, it

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encourages people to hang around in the area, and these people become customers." Retailers identified that better security has been critical for the increase in trade. As one retailer put it, "Even if there are a huge amount of pedestrians, if they don't feel safe, they are not going to shop." Office workers are now willing to venture out of their offices to shop at lunch time, and commuters who would previously have tried to get from point of origin to destination as quickly as possible feel more comfortable to mill around. "The psychological aspect of feeling safe can also not be understated," suggested one retailer, as, "a customer that feels in danger will both consciously and subconsciously avoid making a purchase."

Second, the improvement in residential accommodation has seen an increase in "better quality tenants, with greater purchasing power." The importance of a good quality residential sector in the CBD was reported as being crucial. Although large numbers of people commute through the CBD, they are constrained by how much they can purchase as they are dependent upon public transport. However, CBD residents are able to shop for larger items such as furniture and appliances as well as making use of fast food outlets, many of which are now open 24 hours a day and deliver to the residents in the city. There was some disagreement about who had contributed the most to this, with 40% attributing this to the efforts made by the private sector, 25% by council, and 35% believing

Although large numbers of people commute through the CBD, they are constrained by how much they can purchase as they are dependent upon public transport.

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Informal traders in the city centre.

that the improvements are due to equal cooperation between the public and private sectors. Whilst the retailers acknowledged the need for the public sector to be more active and efficient, they believed that in order for the improvement to be sustained, the private sector needs to continue to drive and oversee the process. One of the respondents noted with reference to the private sector's involvement, "We know that it is the responsibility of council to enforce its by-laws, and maintain the area, since this is what we are paying our taxes for. In reality, we all know that if something is going to be done, then you have to do it yourself."

"Even though not everyone has the money to shop in our stores, and at least not often, if a small percentage of the population does, then this is still a huge market."

The overwhelming majority of retailers (70%) are not just bullish about the future prospects of retail in the CBD, but are actively looking to open new sites. In this regard, however, a few of the retailers indicated that the offers they have received from landlords have not been suitable. This raises an interesting point, since the expectation of retailers in the CBD appears to be the same as that in the suburbs, where the landlord is expected to provide a turnkey solution for the retailer. Owing to the nature and constraints of the infrastructure this might not be a realistic expectation in the CBD.

Retailers pointed out that the main benefit they gain from being located in the CBD is the density and quantity of people moving through the area. One retailer noted that, "Even though not everyone has the money to shop in our stores, and at least not often, if a small percentage of the population does, then this is still a huge market." It was further noted that "the population in the city is a captive one, which either comes to work in the city every day, or lives here." One retailer noted that whilst night trade and weekend trade in some parts of the city are non-existent in the CBD, weekday trade easily makes up for the down-time. Another retailer noted, "We see more passers-by on this street in one week than the biggest malls in the suburbs see in a month." Furthermore, all retailers recognised an increase in purchasing power, and believe that this trend will continue.

The effects that transport plays on the overall dynamics and success of the retail trade are highly significant. The CBD remains the hub of public transport for the entire greater Johannesburg area. The nature of the transport nodes creates identifiable locations for retail, as well as predictable pedestrian patterns.

The tax incentives and cultural activities held in the city were seen by a minority (20%) as being beneficial, but they highlighted that the long terms sustainability of successful retail would not hinge on this.

Despite the positive points raised by the respondents, it was acknowledged that the CBD "still isn't exactly perfect." The biggest complaints related to the aging, restrictive infrastructure and various disruptions that occur in the CBD. With regards to the infrastructure, numerous issues were highlighted. It was suggested that "what you find is what you get", with reference to the fact that the city is already built, unlike "greenfield" developments in the suburbs. This means that often the shop space taken is either the wrong size or the configuration is not ideal. 90% of respondents pointed to the negative effects of strikes and rioting in the CBD. Furthermore, it was pointed out that often rioters damage the shop fronts and other infrastructure in the area without any regard.

"The hawkers do what they want and then the council finds a way to legitimise it." The result is that often pavements become congested, making it difficult for customers to walk, creating a feeling of insecurity for pedestrians, and often shop entrances being blocked.

The effects of hawkers were also noted as being significant. Hawkers are seen as competition and are often located in the most strategic positions thereby intercepting trade and then cutting prices because they have little overheads. The overriding feeling was summed up by one of the retailers, "The hawkers do what they want and then the council finds a way to legitimise it." The result is that often pavements become congested, making it difficult for customers to walk, creating a feeling of insecurity for pedestrians, and often shop entrances being blocked.

Strategies of retailers in the Johannesburg CBD

According to one of the respondents, the dynamics of the CBD have "normalised, in line with the normalisation of the country as a whole." That is, the demographics in the CBD are now more closely aligned with the demographics of the greater Johannesburg area and the rest of the country. Those individuals that were previously economically marginalised are seen as the "growth market" for most of the retailers interviewed. The various respondents agree that the CBD is the best area to target this market. One retailer noted that "any retailer that ignores this sector does so at its peril." Respondents indicated that over the past decade the demographic has moved up the LSM scale with more people in the 4-6 range than before. Most of the retailers interviewed (70%) cater to LSMs 4-6; however, a small but significant component caters to LSMs 7 to 10. The former focuses on the residential and commuter market, whilst the latter focuses on the office market. Although a large number of office workers can be found in the CBD, many of these are catered for by in-house canteens. This market tends to live in the suburbs and does its shopping in the suburban malls on the weekends. They do however frequent some of the shoe shops, restaurants and coffee shops in the CBD.

The term "value-driven" kept surfacing in response to questions regarding pricing (70%). Most retailers indicated that they did not wish to be perceived as the cheapest, but rather as the retailer offering the best value.

Ninety percent of respondents preferred to be located in an improvement district. The major retail node for the LSM 3-6 market is flanked by Rissik and Eloff Streets on the west and east and by Kerk and Commissioner Street to the north and south. This area constitutes the Retail Improvement District. The busiest trading times were identified as midday and during the morning and afternoon commute. Joubert, Kerk and Pritchard Streets were reported as the busiest streets. One retailer went so far as to say that "the worst location can be a mere 50 metres from the perfect location" and thus many retailers have a sister store within a radius of 1km. Respondents indicated that whilst this does sometimes result in cannibalisation, it increases aggregate sales.

The term "value-driven" kept surfacing in response to questions regarding pricing (70%). Most retailers indicated that they did not wish to be perceived as the cheapest, but rather as the retailer offering the best value. Retailers indicated that even those individuals in the lower and middle LSM brackets were "very brand conscious." Approximately half of the retailers interviewed indicated that their product mix was the same in the CBD as elsewhere. The other half indicated that they attempt to individualise their product selection based on local preferences. A grocery store manager said that the company was still "playing around with its product offering" in an attempt to best serve the market in the CBD. All retailers indicated that "basket shopping" as opposed to "trolley shopping" is the norm. For furniture and appliance retailers, this was less of a concern, as they offer delivery services. In fact, a furniture retailer indicated that often they have a customer select and pay for an item for a family member out of town. These stores often leverage off their sister stores or central warehouses to make the delivery countrywide.

A key point made by one of the store managers was that even though the customers fall into slightly lower LSM groups than in the suburbs, it is important to treat them with the same respect and dignity, and for the quality and standard of the store and its products to be equal to their suburban counterparts.

Moving forward

After many years of relative neglect, retail in the Johannesburg CBD is seeing a significant turnaround. This is driven by two coinciding trends reinforcing each other. Firstly, the revitalisation efforts of the CBD are bearing fruit and the improved crime and grime scenario has resulted in a better trading environment. Secondly, the growing lower middle classes within South Africa and, indeed, in developing countries more generally, are precisely the markets that the CBD targets. The growing literature on strategies for penetrating the fortune at the bottom of the pyramid is relevant to this context. However, large retailers in South Africa have recognised this growing market and, as a result, we have seen a growing number of developments within the townships. For example, 80% of our respondents noted that recent developments in Soweto had affected trade negatively in the CBD by providing some of their market with closer alternatives. Yet none of the respondents believed that developments in the suburbs impacted their trade at all because it targeted a different market.

Going forward, it is important that these developments are consolidated and that the public and private sectors continue to work together to achieve a sustainable solution to the difficulties that the CBD faces. The various stakeholders need to continue to interface with each other on an on-going basis. While the private sector is ploughing millions of Rands into the CBD, which is undeniably enhancing the fortunes of the city, it cannot achieve its goals without the support and involvement of the council. The day-to-day maintenance and control of the city environment is critical. Whilst flagship projects place attention on the area, it is the continued management of the area that will determine its success.

Ultimately, if each stakeholder in the city, whether council, property developers, retailers, or the local population, feel that they have a vested interest in the success of the city, then the Johannesburg CBD can truly be world class, but still distinctively African. The city has changed. Instead of trying to change the existing dynamics and flows in the CBD, we should rather tap into them, and harness the momentum that already exists. The market within the CBD is undeniably a large one and is recognised as holding significant potential for the future.

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Assessing the South African city as a cultural landscape

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In 1992 the World Heritage Committee, the administrative body for the World Heritage Convention (WHC), adopted a definition for cultural landscapes of outstanding universal value. The members agree that ***'Cultural landscapes represent the combined works of nature and of (hu)man, illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal.'***[1]

To define cities as cultural landscapes may be contradictory to the WHC statement. For instance, the US National Park Service document titled *Cultural Resource Management Guideline NPS 28*[2] reads that *'A cultural landscape is a geographic area, including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein, associated with a historic event, activity, or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values.'* It identifies four types of cultural landscapes: historic designed landscapes, historic vernacular landscapes, historic sites, and ethnographic landscapes, describing the latter as a landscape containing a variety of natural and cultural resources.

The national Australian Heritage Commission (AHC) recognizes the unique position of indigenous heritage. Indigenous people were the first Australians. The AHC states *'Their heritage is intimately linked with the landscape, beliefs, and customs. Indigenous people perceive the natural environment as a cultural landscape which is the product of human activities over at least 60 000 years – time immemorial. Indigenous heritage includes those cultural landscapes and places, intellectual property, knowledge, skeletal remains, artefacts, beliefs, customs/practices, and languages that are important to Australia's indigenous people'*.[3]

Definition of 'place' in the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) New Zealand's new Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value also emphasises the important earlier concept of Australia's Burra Charter (1998.22). It states *'place means any land, including land covered by water, and the airspace forming the spatial context to such land, including any landscape, traditional site or sacred place, and anything fixed to the land including any archaeological site, garden, building or structure, and any body of water, whether fresh or seawater, that forms part of the historical and cultural heritage of New Zealand.*[4]

A comparison of the definitions shows that currently a city or a landscape can only be judged to be culturally significant if it is based on human activities and

influence to give it a cultural significance. This may be true, when we continue to use the term 'culture' to describe the relationship between people and landscapes. Even the definition of the Aboriginal landscape seems to have been written with a 'western' approach of a division between culture and nature. Descriptions of African cities and landscapes often suffer the same westernised approach that demonstrates a lack of appreciation for multiplicity and diversity.

Maybe in time we will be able to form a better understanding of the enigmatic relationship between people and the landscape they live in and with which they identify themselves. However, for now, cultural heritage, and therefore our cities, is universally understood to be those ideas, things, and places we have inherited from past generations and that we desire to leave as our legacy for future generations. Cultural heritage is important because it helps us to define who we are, where we have been, and where we are going. A people without a tangible, visible, knowable past are indeed poor, no matter how many contemporary riches they may possess. Preserving one's cultural heritage is an important aspect of preserving one's culture itself. Cultural heritage includes language, belief systems, knowledge, and ideas, as well as the more tangible places and things. All aspects of culture interrelate, so it is important to understand that one cannot change one part of a culture without it stimulating changes in many other aspects of culture. Cultural heritage includes not only the built environment of buildings, bridges, and other human constructions, but also the affected landscapes near such structures.

Cultural heritage includes language, belief systems, knowledge, and ideas, as well as the more tangible places and things. All aspects of culture interrelate, so it is important to understand that one cannot change one part of a culture without it stimulating changes in many other aspects of culture.

A report entitled United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) – *Recommendation Concerning the Protection, at National Level, of the Cultural and Natural Heritage 1972*[5] introduces the notion of a living environment that encompasses the health and heritage of communities as a requirement for fit living conditions for humans.

To achieve a heritage rich living environment in South Africa, communities are encouraged by the national and provincial heritage agencies, to identify and bring the landscapes and places they value to the attention of the authorities. In addition, institutions, educational bodies and other interested parties are preparing motivational statements as part of the identification and registration process of the cultural and biophysical heritage of the country. Unfortunately, most heritage studies in South Africa have focussed on the western historic and cultural landscapes. These studies have made an important contribution to the cultural landscapes knowledge in South Africa. The majority of such research has been concentrated in the major metropolitan areas associated with universities such as Pretoria, Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein. Also, the majority of work has been completed in the field of architecture and other urban structures or artefacts. Little research work has been done on developing an understanding of an authentic contemporary South African cities paradigm and its cultural foundations or its ever changing nature.

In recognition of these limitations, new and innovative adaptive management techniques are currently being developed by national and international organisations to more appropriately manage indigenous natural and cultural ecologies.[6] In the last

ten years cultural landscape management tools and techniques that can suitably address cultural ecologies in the current South African have been developed. These supplement the current understanding by combining African cultural perspectives with the western approach, and thus amalgamating the various cultural attitudes.

This contemporary (2000s) approach recognises that:

- It is possible to distinguish between cultures.
- The peculiarities among cultures make them definable.
- Cultures have varied values for varied landscapes.
- Cultures express their peculiarities both tangibly and intangibly.
- Communities are able to express their individual values and the things they value.
- Values, and that which is valued, may be distinctive from one community to another.
- Associative relationships are formed between communities and the biophysical environment they inhabit.

To be effectual in its context, the manner in which cultural landscapes, our natural environments and our cities are described and examined, must be implementable at various levels, form local-, to provincial-, to national level. It must meet the requirements of assessment, evaluation, and management and must be applicable to South African cultures while keeping in mind that the cultural landscape could be tangible as in the physical manifestations of our cities, or intangible such as stories, natural or cultural, and movable or immovable heritage.

These can be summarised as heritage that is living or intangible, historic, cultural, palaeontological, scientific, technological, emotional, religious or spiritual, ancestral, artistic or adorning, military or conflict, archival, geological, contextual or unique.

The preamble to the National Heritage Resources Act strives to encourage communities to nurture and conserve their legacy. This notion is focussed on the identification and management of cultural heritage from a local level. The idea that heritage or culture can be institutionalised is rejected for an approach that puts the power of systematics in the hands of the concerned citizens, or special interest group. To strengthen this idea, the NHRA also allows for any person to submit a nomination to South African Heritage Resources Agency, or a Provincial Heritage Resource Agency, for a place to be declared a national or provincial heritage site.[7] To comply with the NHRA the terms must fit into a category as determined by the NHRA. These can be summarised as heritage that is living or intangible, historic, cultural, palaeontological, scientific, technological, emotional, religious or spiritual, ancestral, artistic or adorning, military or conflict, archival, geological, contextual or unique.

In compiling a national estate, or a local and provincial, heritage list, the challenge lies in the ability to recognise the heritage for inclusion. To assist in the identification of those places that may currently be considered, the NHRA[8] requires a Provincial Heritage Resources Authority (PHRA) to identify those places that have special qualities that makes them significant. According to the Act, those are heritage resources that could be considered as culturally significant or of other special value. It is suggested that the evaluation procedure be completed together with the classification procedure to establish in a related manner the category, the significance and the grading to be national, provincial and local.

Table 1. Criteria for evaluation of place and city significance against proposed NHRA categories.

Items and criteria for evaluation of significance and value	a) its importance in the community, or pattern of South Africa's history;	b) its possession of uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of South Africa's natural or cultural heritage	c) its potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of South Africa's natural or cultural heritage	d) its importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a particular class of South Africa's natural or cultural places or objects	e) its importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by a community or cultural group	f) its importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period	g) its strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons	h) its strong or special association with the life or work of a person, group or organisation of importance in the history of South Africa	i) sites of significance relating to the history of slavery in South Africa
a) places, buildings, structures and equipment of cultural significance									
b) places to which oral traditions are attached or which are associated with living heritage (intangible)									
c) historical settlements and townscapes									
d) landscapes and natural features of cultural significance									
e) geological sites of scientific or cultural importance									
f) archaeological and palaeontological sites									
g) graves and burial grounds, including	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
i. ancestral graves									
ii. royal graves and graves of traditional leaders									
iii. graves of victims of conflict									
iv. graves of individuals designated by the Minister by notice in the *Gazette*									
v. historical graves and cemeteries; and									
vi. other human remains which are not covered in terms of the Human Tissue Act, 1983 (Act No. 65 of 1983);									

h) sites of significance relating to the history of slavery in South Africa									
i) movable objects, including	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
i) objects recovered from the soil or waters of South Africa, including archaeological and palaeontological objects and material, meteorites and rare geological specimens									
ii) objects to which oral traditions are attached or which are associated with living heritage									
iii) ethnographic art and objects									
iv) military objects									
v) objects of decorative or fine art									
vi) objects of scientific or technological interest; and									
vii) books, records, documents, photographic positives and negatives, graphic, film or video material or sound recordings, excluding those that are public records as defined in section 1(xiv) of the National Archives of South Africa Act, 1996 (Act No. 43 of 1996).									
Total for each criterion out of a possible 20 points.									

Management decisions taken by the City officials or the councils, should consider with Table 1 as a guide, both the natural and cultural characteristics and features of the cities, the dynamics inherent in natural processes and continued use, and the concerns of traditionally associated peoples to the landscapes of our cities. The focus of urban management should include the following: safeguard significant physical attributes; secure significant biotic systems; manage significant uses when those uses contribute to significance. Decisions for expansion and modification should be based on a cultural landscape's significance, and thus the place's and the city's significance, over time, on the significant existing conditions, and on sound preservation practices to enable long- term preservation. The treatment implemented should be based on sound maintenance practices to enable long-term sustainability of the inherent qualities and materials. The management approach must emphasise that the future utilisation of cities should be viewed according to cultural and natural sustainability in terms of its economical interests, according to cultural and natural sustainability in terms of its recreational interests, and its conservationist interests. [9]

A management plan is required for each site listed on a local level, on a provincial level and on a national level. A Heritage Resource Management Plan (HRMP) as herein suggested, must meet the criteria of sustainability.

The first step to a HRMP for cultural landscapes is the preparation of a conservation policy. As stated in the Guidelines to the Burra Charter[10], the conservation policy should identify a management structure through which the conservation is

capable of being implemented. It should identify those who are to be responsible for subsequent conservation and management decisions and for the day to day management of the place; the mechanism by which policy decisions are to be made and recorded and the means of providing security and regular maintenance for the place.

Following the management requirements, any city's development and management policy should set out the way in which the implementation of the conservation policy will or will not change the place including its setting; affect its significance; affect the locality and its amenity; affect the client, owner and user; and affect others involved. The implementation strategy of the city should be an essential part of any management planning. The strategy should adhere to the following principles as suggested under the Land Care South Africa programme: [11]

- Provide a framework for individuals, community organisation and the public and private sector, through partnerships to optimise productivity and sustainability of the natural and cultural resources through management, protection and rehabilitation.
- Develop the capacity and skills of land users through education, knowledge sharing, information, participatory interaction for better access and management of resources.
- Support institutional building at all levels of governance for improved communication, networking, financial and other support services.
- Empower all people through knowledge and understanding to take the responsibility for the care of the natural and cultural resources.
- Ensure as far as is practicable that resources are used at a rate within their capacity for renewal
- Maintain and enhance the integrity of natural and cultural systems.
- Minimise or avoid risks that lead to irreversible damage.
- Maintain biodiversity (contribute towards the maintenance of biodiversity).

As part of the monitoring and maintenance program, it is necessary to set, enforce, and monitor carrying capacities to limit public visitation to, or use of, cultural resources that would be subject to adverse effects from unrestricted levels of visitation or use. This should include:

- reviewing the conservation area purpose;
- analyzing existing visitor use of, and related impacts to, the cultural resources and traditional resource users;
- prescribing indicators and specific standards for acceptable and sustainable visitor use; and
- identifying ways to address and monitor unacceptable impacts resulting from overuse.

The United States of America National Park Service[12] recommends three types of treatment for extant cultural landscapes: preservation, rehabilitation, and restoration. These should be considered based on the desired outcome of the management strategy.

- Preservation. A cultural landscape should be preserved in its present condition if that condition allows for satisfactory protection, maintenance, use, and interpretation; or another treatment is warranted but cannot be accomplished until some future time.

It is suggested to rephrase the term "preservation" to 'safeguard' since preservation may be interpreted as being similar to "canning it", which in turn mortifies the landscape or place. It is the intention to keep the cities "alive" and to ensure the continuous use of the significant places (cultural landscapes)

- Rehabilitation. A cultural landscape may be rehabilitated for contemporary use if it cannot adequately serve an appropriate use in its present condition; and if rehabilitation will retain its essential features, and will not alter its integrity and character or conflict with approved park management objectives.

It proposes to amendment the rehabilitation option in that the place or landscape may be rehabilitated for contemporary use while it retains its authenticity and integrity of character and significance.

- Restoration. A cultural landscape may be restored to an earlier appearance if all changes after the proposed restoration period have been professionally evaluated, and the significance of those changes has been fully considered; if it is essential to public understanding of the park's cultural associations; and if sufficient data about that landscape's earlier appearance exist to enable its accurate restoration; and the disturbance or loss of significant archaeological resources is minimised and mitigated by data recovery.

It is proposed to amend the restoration option with the suggestion that together with SAHRA or PHRA the group or individual that initiates the heritage procedure identify the most appropriate time period for restoration.

In conclusion it can be said that cities that are managed as cultural landscapes are a response to the desires of peoples to know their heritage and to keep that heritage in a managed and maintained manner. These associative cultural landscapes, while rooted in land, focus recognition of values not only on design or material evidences, but also on the spiritual significance of place. In some landscapes, material evidences and design decisions relating to them will be prominent, but the spiritual values of the place may be equally important. The cosmological and mythological associations of sacred places and the continuing cultural relationship to the spirit and power of these places characterise many cities to indigenous and other people in many parts of the world. Narratives and place names bequeathed from generation to generation relate these spiritual associations directly to the land. Traditional life, rooted in intimate knowledge of the natural environment, focused on seasonal movement, patterned by movements of animals, food products of the land, marine resources and hunting. Kinship, social relationships, and reciprocal obligations linked people in this complex manner that has sustained it for centuries. The inter-connectedness of all aspects of human life with the living landscape – in social and spiritual relationships as much as in harvesting are, and remain, continuously rooted in the cultures and the land.

NOTES
1 UNESCO, 1996
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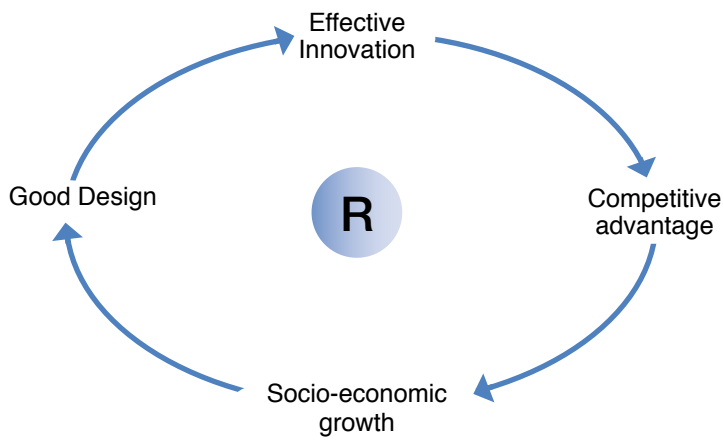
Tessa Graaff founded and is director of Montebello Craft and Design Centre, a public benefit organization dedicated to creating creative spaces for creative people to work from. The project is the result of a gift to the University of Cape Town almost 20 years ago by a donor, for the purpose of promoting design, and while recognizing that the donor was ahead of his time, she passionately embraces the idea of design thinking as the new currency for nations that will succeed in the century ahead. She also works extensively throughout the Southern African region with indigenous communities using design and entrepreneurial approaches to creating sustainable livelihoods with craft. She has served on numerous boards in the design education and cultural industries domain, is currently a board member of !Khawattu a cultural heritage and educational centre for the San.

Design in the economic system



"This strategy thus proposes that the development of an interconnected design ecosystem will stimulate the usage of design across sectors, generate more competitive products and services (both commercial and public) and drive socio-economic growth." (Design: Driving competitive advantage in the Western Cape. A strategy for design to unlock innovation. 2nd Draft 15 January 2013.)

World Design Capital 2014

"You should never hesitate to trade your cow for a handful of magic beans" **Tom Robbins**

During 2014 the City of Cape Town will be World Design Capital. Cities focusing on innovation creativity and design have an advantage, and the City of Cape Town is looking to use the event to catalyse innovative and creative projects.

The definition of design that the city has adopted is the following:

> *"(Good) design is an activity that uses creative and iterative processes to take account of a range of factors and needs in the innovative development of products, services, systems, environments and communication, in response to the human condition and society's needs."*

Helsinki.

Why Cape Town?

The previous city to get the award was Helsinki, the sort of city one might expect to receive such an award steeped as it is in the design conscious culture of Northern Europe.

Why would Cape Town get such an award is the first question Capetonians ask when the subject of World Design Capital 2014 comes up. Was it the equivalent of a Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) deal? Did it have more to do with giving the city, as a gateway to Africa, the chance to start thinking about design and the benefits thereof, than any design excellence we might already have? We have great landscape, but can we claim a great city?

So while the award may not be honouring us for our great architecture or solutions to low-cost housing, we can certainly claim history, heritage and a long relationship with design as our early ancestors shaped, possibly, some of the very first human tools.

It is an early winter day in the coastal suburb of Llandudno, the slate grey green sea moves in towards the shore with its endlessly permeating pattern of swells and sprays of surf. Great banks of clouds gather and dissolve with the same endless permutations. The sky casting patches of light and shade. Large granite boulders glinting with quartz jut into the sea. These are some of the oldest boulders in the world. They form the edge of the back of one of the oldest mountains in world, known to the first people, as Hoerikwagga "the mountain in the sea", Table Mountain with its surrounding coastline is one of the most iconic landscapes of any city in the world. It forms the heart of the city like an enormous cathedral would in a European city. Only it is a monument to the design of nature with its constant shaping by weather rather than the design of man.

From this landscape a number of aspects related to design and the city arise:

The design of nature

The design of nature in relation to the city might be a good place to start Not only is the mountain the dominant natural design feature of the city, it is also home to the fynbos kingdom – the most variety filled of all the plant kingdoms on the planet. Design is a Darwinian process and diversity always creates the strongest ideas. Capetonians might do well to adopt this principle as a 2014 idea. Homage to nature and inspiration from nature.

The origin of human design

The mountain and its coastline are also probably one of the oldest sites of human habitation and one could argue the origin of early design with the stone hand tools, ceramic vessels and jewellery representing the beginning of design thinking. Products shaped by humans to be beautiful and useful. So while the award may not be honouring us for our great architecture or solutions to low-cost housing, we can certainly claim history, heritage and a long relationship with design as our early ancestors shaped, possibly, some of the very first human tools.

What is the x factor in generic terms that if understood could take the city and its inhabitants forward into a better future?

Bad contemporary urban design

What is so striking about the suburb of Llandudno settling into this glorious natural world is how ill considered the architecture is and how ill-fitting to its natural setting. Llandudno is one of the wealthiest suburbs of Cape Town and what is patently obvious from what my friend who lives there describes as "the appalling architecture" is that having money and resources is not enough. Not enough to create a good house, a good suburb or a good city. You cannot just buy good solutions, you need other considerations too. Money cannot buy taste as the old adage goes. "The houses in Woodstock are better" my friend from Llandudno goes on to say.

Money but no love

"There is lots of money but no love here" he also says. I find this a very interesting remark. I had never quite thought about it like that. Is it possible that we could think of good design as that human process of making that is imbued with love – with consideration for the natural environment and its human interface.

Wisdom versus resources

So a consideration in design is the consideration of the wise use of resources. If even the rich of Llandudno cannot get it right, what of the huge concerns facing a city that is mostly made up of poor people? A city often dubbed "The tale of two cities" to describe the very different lifestyles of its inhabitants – one of the most unequal societies on earth. Yet from a design perspective the challenges are the same – to design with care and to use resources wisely towards meeting human needs while respecting the environment.

Design as a generic idea

"Design is not just what it looks like and feels like. Design is how it works"[1]

What then are the components of the design process? What is the x factor in generic terms that if understood could take the city and its inhabitants forward into a better future? The thing about thinking of design in generic terms is that it is not just about designing a city, it is personal too. Designing a better life has the same principles as designing a better city.

In a commencement speech given at Berkley's Graduate School of Information Tim Brown CEO at IDEO, gives some advice on how to design your life. As a designer he was taught how to use his skills to create products that were more attractive, easier to use and more desirable, and spent the first few years of his career "doing exactly that"[2] only to find most of them obsolete within a few months or years and now occupying landfill. He considered himself fortunate to discover that he could apply the same sort of skills to many other problems. "Problems that if solved might have greater impact on the world".[3] As there is not much we can do about the rate of change in the world, he believes a better investment is to prepare for it.

But I think the principles' of design thinking might help you create a life that is more rewarding, interesting, creative, and perhaps more meaningful".

"I am not going to paint some beautiful detailed picture of a perfect life that you might wish for. Designers sometimes do that. We create a perfect picture of a possible future. We hide it under a metaphorical black cloth and "ta-da "! We pull off the cloth and expect the audience to swoon in wonder. We then expect our clients to go and perfectly execute our vision. And while it may be possible to approach the design of a car or a house that way, it isn't appropriate when designing one's life. But I think the principles' of design thinking might help you create a life that is more rewarding, interesting, creative, and perhaps more meaningful".[4]

"Here are a few things you might think about" he goes on to say, and suggests the following:

Don't ask what – ask why?

Designers have a habit of being awkward on this subject he says. They ask, why is this even the right question. Solutions flow from questions so getting the questions right before creativity is invested in.

Open your eyes

Re-look at things with fresh eyes. Ask questions about everything. "Good design thinkers observe" and he goes on to say "Why are man hole covers round? Why do I dress this way to go to work? How do I know how far back to stand from the person in front of me in the line? What would it be like to be colour blind? You will be shocked how inspirational it is to look at mundane things.[5]

Make it visual

"Being visual allows us to look at a problem differently than if we rely only on words or numbers" he says.[6]

Build on the ideas of others

"Great ideas evolve. They do not spring fully formed in the mind of geniuses" is another of his tenants.[7]

Demand options

Think of multiple solutions that can compete with each other, the same principle of biodiversity seen in nature and its extraordinary display in the Cape fynbos plant kingdom.

Balance your portfolio

Finally he suggests that you keep a record. Document the process in whatever form it takes, sketches, writing, videos, photos etc as it unfolds. It is your own reflection of your own life. What you do and what you stand for will become more conscious.

What this all adds up to is a more mindful way of being.

"Dan Pink talks about being mindful as a strategy for reaching the right balance between actively affecting your future without trying to achieve a futile level of control. I think that mindfulness is at the heart of design and that's why I think it is possible to design a life".[8]

"… and while some may see them as the crazy ones, we see genius, because the ones who are crazy enough to think that they can change the world, are the ones who do".

So it starts with the way individuals allow themselves to be and the way workplaces and institutions create the space and respect that allows these qualities to develop and be rooted in their ways of doing things.

Steve Jobs of course has the last word to say on this:

> "Here's to the crazy ones, the misfits, the rebels, the troublemakers, the round pegs in the square holes... the ones who see things differently – they're not fond of rules – You can quote them, disagree with them, glorify or vilify them, but the only thing you can't do is ignore them because they change things... they push the human race forward, and while some may see them as the crazy ones, we see genius, because the ones who are crazy enough to think that they can change the world, are the ones who do".[9]

Back to Cape Town

The purpose of the design strategy that has been developed "is to unlock in the Western Cape the globally recognised potential of design to play a role in economic development by embedding design processes in business and organisational practices across sectors."[10]

The award offered by ICSID (International Council for the Society of Industrial Designers) is really nothing more than a bag of magic beans. It does not offer anything more than a cluster of ideas around the notion of design and what design can do to help manage the issues cities deal with, and, being in the world spotlight for the year. helps to provide focus.

While this may not seem like much, it is in fact a very powerful idea that any city would do well to embrace. Design can be a powerful tool for change and betterment within a city.

Most of the issues that cities work with can in fact be seen as design problems for which design thinking and methodologies can help to find new or better solutions.

Housing, public open space, transport, service delivery, street lighting and park benches, drain covers and the distribution of libraries are all design problems.

The magic beans in the bag could then be described as the where with all of working with what is at hand to conjure, to invent, to innovate, to create, to conceive, to plan and to realize in such a way as to shape and form ourselves and our city for the better.

The award to Cape Town focuses the City then on innovation, creativity and design. With the main objectives being:

- Support by establishing mechanisms and pilot projects to build the design infrastructure and create an enabling environment

- Promotion by building a strategy to market and promote design competencies and its value as a tool for innovation and competitive advantage
- Education by developing a design education strategy for the WC that meets current and future needs of sectors

World Design Capital 2014 has adopted four themes for the event. The themes, whatever they are interpreted to mean, are:

- African Innovation. Global Conservation
- Today for tomorrow
- Beautiful Spaces. Beautiful Things.
- Bridging the Divide

But I think the principles' of design thinking might help you create a life that is more rewarding, interesting, creative, and perhaps more meaningful".

Over 570 submissions have already been submitted for consideration to the team of appointed curators and The Bank, a collaborative design space between Harrington and Canterbury Streets, has become the hub for the evaluation of these projects. The space known as the Bank Canvas, previously used as a workshop, exhibition and storage area, has now been re-purposed as the Curator's Hub where the blank canvas of possibility will start to unroll.

The City has appointed Alayne Reesberg as the Chief Executive Officer of Cape Town Design the World Design Capital's (WDC) implementing agency to work closely with Richard Perez, the City of Cape Town's WDC director. She wants the accolade to spotlight Cape Town's design community, showcasing local innovation on the international stage.

While this is worthwhile, I see the award as something different. I see it as honouring our potential to be a great city. I do not think we are one yet.

What of the future

… the Conference is seen as an opportunity to explore the latest facts and findings on the creative industries in Africa, and the huge potential of the industry to create jobs and help the sustainable development of the continent.

On the foreshore is a freeway built in the 1970's. There is a bridge that was never completed which has become something of a landmark. It starts and then just stops in midair. The official explanation was that there was just no traffic demand for the additional flyovers and that the cost of finishing them could not be justified. As a symbol of ridiculously poor past planning and future potential it will be interesting to see what ideas are put forward for it during 2014. UCT engineering and built environment students have adopted it as a World Design Capital 2014 project that will consider the needs and priorities of city residents. So watch this space.

In the build-up to 2014 the City is also planning an African Creative Economy Conference in October this year (2013). In response to research which indicates that only 1% of the global creative economy is represented by Africa, the Conference is seen as an opportunity to explore the latest facts and findings on the creative industries in Africa, and the huge potential of the industry to create jobs and help the sustainable development of the continent.

The strategy sees potential projects that will leverage the event in the following areas:

- **Export Visual Communication Services**
  Marketing and selling visual and communication design capabilities internationally – setting up Cape Metro as a one-stop-competitive-shop for all branding and marketing needs
- **Entrench design in agri-food industry**
  Building collaborative projects with agri-industry in food products, food packaging and food processing materials.
- **Design and film collaboration**
  Researching and assisting in building the film industry "by investing in and up-skilling the various design disciplines that interlink into film production. Initially research in the types of films planned in South Africa and determining which areas could benefit the most by design disciplines."[11]
- **Alternative and green energies**
  Determining design's potential in alternative and green energies and involving design in current projects.
- **Fast-track Cape Town Spatial Development as 24-hour city**
  Collaborating with and building spatial design projects that enhance the Cape Metro's capabilities and user-experiences.
- **Service Design**
  Developing capability in services design. The My City is an example of a potential an pilot project.
- **Quality of Life & Sustainable development**
  Systems design or systems thinking projects could assist government in resolving real social issues that would help give 2014 a higher profile in terms of what design can do for quality of life.

- **Public Sector procurement**
  Rigid procurement processes have been identified as a major inhibitor and a pilot project aimed at providing a methodology to unlock this could have major value.

So World Design Capital 2014 in Cape Town, BEE deal or not, if the BEE is a way to create a great buzz for design, the honey jar of better possibility for an African city can start to fill up. There has also been a ripple effect to other cities with Pretoria supported by the SABS Design Institute now declaring itself 2014 Cool Capital.

If the city also builds design thinking and methods into its long term approaches, the World Design Capital year could become a powerful legacy for the way the City approaches issues in the future.

The strategy recommends that planning and implementation should take place over five year increments with an initial preparation period from 2013-2014. The periods 2012/13 and 2013/14 are positioned as a preparation in which the foundation for the platform for design will be laid. Specific goals for the remaining periods have been outlined to support the vision

What will be interesting to see is how being an African city gives us permission to think differently about solutions and not just adopt Western approaches. *Rogue Urbanism: Emergent African Cities*[12] (ed by Edgar Pieterse and Abdoumaliq Simone) is a new book on the shelves arguing that dominant knowledge and discourse on city are largely inappropriate for Africa and that there are multiple alternatives in approaching and understanding the African city, where those working with the urban condition and spatiality can find new entry points for their creativity – another discussion that 2014 World Design Capital will no doubt be able to take forward in the hope of better understanding the African city.

NOTES
1 (Steve Jobs, Business Week, May 25 1998)
2 (Class of 2013: Start Designing Your Life – Linked In. Tim Brown CEO at IDEO)
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
8 Dan Pink. The adventures of Johnny Bunko
9 (Steve Jobs Business Week, May 25 1998)
10 (Draft Report Design: Driving Competitive Advantage in The Western Cape, 2nd Draft – 15 January 2013)
11 Ibid.
12 Rogue Urbanism: Emergent African Cities- edited by Edgar Pieterse and Abdoumaliq Simone

Fanuel Motsepe lectured at the University of the Witwatersrand Johannesburg for four years and has practiced as an architect and urban designer since 2005. As director of Motsepe Architects (M Arch) (Pty) LTD, he heads significant city rejuvenation projects in Johannesburg's inner city and South Africa's capital city, Tshwane, as well as charity projects in villages and historically black townships. Fanuel is the founder of Motsepe Architects Research Unit and Practice Unit Learning Apprenticeship (MARU a PULA).

Fanuel is the Immediate-Past President of the South African Institute of Architects (SAIA). He is also an executive councillor at the South African Council of the Architectural Profession (SACAP). He served 10 years at the South African Heritage Resources Agency – Gauteng (SAHRA-GP) where he provided heritage conservation architectural services. He is an executive board member of the Black Business Council in Built Environment (BBCBE).

"Unity in Diversity". The Built Environment

"If we look into the future [of South Africa], is it not a heritage we have to leave to posterity, that all the different races co-mingle and produce a civilization that perhaps the world has not yet seen?". **– MK Gandhi**

Current debates around our built environment concerns raise questions about whether our present built environment suitably supports the human rights aims of our Constitution, as well as our economic needs and opportunities. We all agree that we build spaces so that we can function in these spaces effectively. We recognise that our houses, neighbourhoods, towns and cities are like tools, that we use to attend to our living needs. We also agree that the spaces that we build, often if not always, attempt to acquire a particular desired aesthetic appearance, which is an expression of our individual and collective inspirations and aspirations.

With the above in mind it becomes evident that the built space aims to support our lifestyles and the needs thereof and that it is also an expression of who we are i.e. our identities. This article aims to discuss how the changes in the South African building culture's discourse culminate in built environment practices that attempt to support and represent a culturally adequate spatial structure and expression of our society. Further, how can cultural adequacy spatially advance the lifestyles of those previously marginalized in our society by stimulating entrepreneurial growth opportunities, pervasive within their cultural capital/s. Such entrepreneurial growth if correctly managed can naturally equate to an economic growth from which we can all benefit.

At the 2008 South African Institute of Architects (SAIA) Biennial Convention, the theme of the convention was adopted as an ongoing process towards developing a legacy for South Africa's future generations. The theme, "A Sustainable, Humane and Inclusionary Built Environment (SHIBE)", highlights these three aspects as key principles towards a built environment that can harness the longevity of all living species by upholding social values that strengthen relationships of people amongst themselves and their world.

This should not be confused with a Utopian ideal because SHIBE acknowledges conflict and difference as instruments that present opportunities for understanding and contesting ignorance.

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Evander, Mpumalanga province: Low-cost housing has replaced shacks and other temporary dwellings.

South Africa has come to realize that RDP settlements will develop into future dilapidated or slum settlements unless these settlements are remodeled to incorporate the necessary amenities and infrastructure to make them stimulate economic activity and a dignified lifestyle.

Sustainable

This article will avoid reducing the current global discourse on sustainability into theoretical ventriloquism on energy efficiency, greening and recycling. Safe to say that concern around this subject has leap-frogged with such immense dynamism that it has, on the one hand, come as a welcome relief yet, on the other hand, fallen prey to rogue commercialization. Though the latter has often proven to be a catalyst for creating awareness, it has largely been at the expense of genuine practice and understanding of the matter at hand. Fortunately despite the unsavory aspects surrounding sustainable industries, South Africa now accepts that RDP settlements are not only an environmental scourge but that they are unsustainable because they provide no social or infrastructural framework to ensure that end users are able to maintain and develop their homes, settlements and the natural environment. South Africa has come to realize that RDP settlements will develop into future dilapidated or slum settlements unless these settlements are remodeled to incorporate the necessary amenities and infrastructure to make them stimulate economic activity and a dignified lifestyle.

Current thinking and shifts in the implementation of housing by the Department of Human Settlements (DHS) is to ensure that housing programmes are accompanied by urban infrastructure that would afford end-users environments conducive for socio-economic development. What we hope is that these programmes will entail, amongst others, the simple provision of, at the very least, a single main arterial route where mixed-use activities such as commercial, retail, education, training, health, entertainment, recreation, worship, burial and other public assembling indoor and /or outdoor spaces can take place. Added to such a route/s should be urban nodes with scaled down mixed-use spaces for convenient related activities and amenities within short walking distance.

These urban nodes need not duplicate or replicate each other but can offer a range of permutations of mixed-use activities and amenities proportioned and related to the immediate neighbourhood/s that make up the overall human settlement. Aside from the fact that these urban nodes need to be strategically located within the settlement, they also need to be effectively linked by secondary arterial routes that gravitate to and disperse from the main arterial route/s. Complementing these secondary routes are a network of general streets as well as pedestrian and cycling paths which are prioritized only for residential use to allow calm and distance from the urban nodes.

The main arterial route/s and urban nodes would allow those residents with the given recourses, skills and expertise, spaces from where they can exercise their skills and expertise whilst employing local settlement dwellers, thus also encouraging employment within the settlement. This will go along way to address the brain-drain commuting at high expense from their settlements to the city where they are employees instead of being employers or employees in their own settlements.

At the public scale, examples of how humaneness can be infringed ranges from bucket systems, as provisions for ablution facilities, to gated communities as solutions for safety and security havens.

None of the above is new urbanism or new settlements planning. Rather it is common sense spatial structure planning. Locally we witness these planning approaches applied in the development of human settlements that are inhabited by our privileged middle to high income communities. Surprisingly these planning approaches are abandoned in the creation and development of built environments for our lower income communities.

Humane

The principle of humaneness serves to meet as broad as possible the functional and spatial requirements which are conducive to supporting individuals, a family or community to function constructively, albeit with the challenges that are presented by socio-economic, political and/or natural events.

At the domestic scale it suffices to use the example of a one roomed RDP house that restricts an individual or his/her family into a resource-less enclosure where day and night activities compound into a clamour of cooking, eating, sleeping, studying, working, washing, entertaining, celebrating and even mourning. Perhaps most humiliating is when the intimacy of parents translates into an insidious act in the presence of their children as adult privacy is compromised by the limitations of these shelters. At the public scale, examples of how humaneness can be infringed ranges from bucket systems, as provisions for ablution facilities, to gated communities as solutions for safety and security havens.

Both these examples serve to illustrate the deprivation of individual and social dignity that communities can be subjected to when human settlement developments neglect to consider the "human" factor in human settlements. As humans we need to identify with intrinsic values that affirm our being through the expression and experience of our individual and or collective identities. Identity is the embodiment of our personal or shared values. These values can either be for the betterment or corrosion of the self or society depending on how the values are observed and practiced.

Humaneness is about the betterment of individual and social relationships through values such as, amongst others, dignity, hospitality, order and sharing. The spatial expressions of these four values have been identified through the philosophy of botho/ubuntu as part of ongoing research at MARU a PULA. This research investigates the spatial expression of intrinsic social values that promote social cohesion and progress. Available documents and studies have afforded MARU a PULA to be able to develop built environment theories around these four values of humaneness. With time MARU a PULA will extend this research into other values of humanness such as those mentioned in the quote below.

It is said to reflect a deep-rooted African maxim; "A person is a person through other persons" – "Umuntu ungumuntu ngabantu" – ["Motho ke motho ka batho"]. Those who have proposed "humaneness" as translation for ubuntu come close to its essence but, as this saying hints, there is much more to it'.

'The Nguni concept ubuntu (and its Sotho equivalent botho) in essence describes an attitude, a way of life. Its richness in meaning creates all kinds of difficulties for those of us who would want it translated into any one of our European languages. It often evades definition but encourages one to savour intellectually its pith in human acts of respect, recognition, concern, compassion, forgiveness, sincerity, generosity, hospitality, brotherhood, sisterhood, caring, sharing and many more such concepts depicting similar experiences. It is said to reflect a deep-rooted African maxim; "A person is a person through other persons" – "Umuntu ungumuntu ngabantu" – ["Motho ke motho ka batho"]. Those who have proposed "humaneness" as translation for ubuntu come close to its essence but, as this saying hints, there is much more to it'. David Olivier, Faith and Earthkeeping. "Earthyear"; June – 1998

Where there are no documents or studies to assist, guide and inform the identification of the spatial expressions and applications of other values of humaneness such as, amongst others, those mentioned in the above quote, MARU a PULA will venture to create and, if necessary, invent such studies.

The purpose of researching these values through the philosophy of botho/ubuntu is to contextualize them in the African perspective and perceptions of the continent's batho/ubuntu people whose spatial concepts, theories and practices of design and construction have been historically marginalized due to political ideological programmes of South Africa's pre-'94 separatist rule. This marginalization permeated through every sphere of life from the doctrines of South Africa's built environment learning academies, as well as the Institutes of the built environment fraternities, through to professional practice.

Unless our built environment is layered with these previously marginalized social values it will continue to serve to advantage and disadvantage the citizens of this country in accordance with the objectives of the pre-'94 separatist ideologies, which have today ingrained classist manifestations. It is through layering our separatist built environment with the social values of the spatial structuring concepts and applications of the previously marginalized cultures that South Africa's built environment will transform into a true culturally adequate SHIBE that supports an equitable production, and which gains from South Africa's diverse cultural capitals.

Inclusionary

This brings us to the question of the continued practice of islands of urbanization, which our South African society is redefining: what used to be on the one hand

white islands – cities, towns and suburbs, and on the other hand, black, Coloured and Indian islands – townships. Our society is redefining these islands from race based islands into ones ranging from islands of extreme poverty to islands of immeasurable wealth. The former are experienced as Khayelitsha-like slums whilst the latter as Dainfern-like golf estate gated suburbs.

Cosmo City north-west of Johannesburg is perhaps a first case attempt at inclusionary housing in South Africa as it brings together the aforementioned range of islands. Despite its well intended aims, Cosmo City's failure is brought about by its precast panel walls erected between the classes just as the pre-1994 green belts and buffer strips separated the race based islands. As such Cosmo City maintains a class separatist concept and it effectively also advances the marginalization of black South Africans now that class has become synonymous with race.

… I have learned to appreciate the significance and integral role played by society, government, teachers, and parents. They form what I like to call a sacred square, within which the learner may thrive.

True inclusionary human settlements need to centre around the co-existence of different classes and cultures in the same street as is the case in normative urban traditions. When Napoleon III briefed his notorious architect/urban designer, Haussman, to transform Paris from the sewer-filled slum city it was into what Napoleon termed "the most beautiful city in the world" Haussman developed mixed income mixed used six storey residential buildings. These are the earliest models whose idea of class inclusionary live (floors 1 to 6 residential) and work (ground floor commercial/retail) housing, continues to be successfully applied in the developed world and can serve as tangible precedents to guide our built environment transformations.

The time has dawned upon us to stop practicing the so-called "housing" and (black) "township" models which were developed in the 1950's to stunt social growth at a cognitive, material and spiritual level.

In a publication titled *"blank… Architecture, apartheid and after"*, we are presented with numerous case studies, which unpack the political intentions and practices, that saw to the creation of our racially segregated environment and in particular township housing. Derek Japha, one of the many authors in the book, demonstrates how township housing and planning was in the early 50's a result of *"two modernisms"*: *the modernism of apartheid social engineering"*, as was the practice of the then government and *"the modernism of the creation of subjects through science"*, as was the dominant global philosophical approach and trend in Architecture and Urban design.

With regard to the creation of subjects through science, Japha elaborates by referring to Paul Rabinow's *"two archeological moments in modernist planning: techno-cosmopolitanism and middling modernism"*. According to Rabinow, these concepts *"shared the imperatives of industrialization and welfare"*, as Japha put it *"the project to regulate society through art and science"*.

Where techno-cosmopolitan modernism *"was tailored to the local context, middling modernism sought to create… New Men, purified and liberated to pursue the new forms of sociality that would inevitably arise from the creation of healthy spaces and forms"*. Through these concepts of modernism, Japha states that "science would define humanity's needs and technical planners would meet them."

In so far as the modernism of apartheid social engineering is concerned, Japha

identifies the awareness of the then Nationalist government's Eiselen, the Secretary of Native Affairs, and Verwoerd himself, *"that the implementation of apartheid depended on the development of a successful urban housing programme. As they put it, 'Orderly housing is a prerequisite of proper control, whereby vagrants and parasites who always flourish in slum conditions can be cut out. This scheme to house all workers under control, co-ordinated with the control of influx, which must be made effective by means of the labour bureau … will radically improve the conditions of the Native populations of the towns".*

Japha's paper exposes how the philosophical approach of Rabinow's modernisms in professions such as Architecture and Urban Design were sincere aims to appropriately home the *"natives"*, but instead these earnest intentions were crudely manipulated by the government of the time.

Aside post-'94 private sector alterations and extensions to South African townships, their 50s footprint and the dwellings of the time bear testimony to this crude manipulation, which was achieved by the applications detailed in the 1951 government's *"Minimum Standards of Accommodation for Non Europeans" document.*

These are aspects and issues professionals such as Dr Xolela Mangcu tackles when he speaks of South Africa's built environment as being a product with little if no input from previously marginalised communities in the make up and definition of this built environment. Another expert in the field, Steven Robins, goes so far as to speak of "White Space" or "White Cities", questioning why it is our South African cultural diversity is not reflected in our built environment.

As previously mentioned at the opening of this article, there are progressive shifts in built environment discourse and our political sphere that recognize the wealth of resource still dormant in the hearts, minds and hands of previously marginalised societies. These shifts assert that the future of our success as a country also depends on their concepts of sustainability as defined in their social value systems and cultural practices.

What is sorely needed is for the current and future South African governments to aggressively invest in researching practical methods of re-appropriating our separatist built environment into a unified and diverse built environment where the multitude of cultural capital and knowledge systems of a diverse society can collectively define a truly cosmo-african, afro-politan South African built environment. Whilst social engineering through space planning does present challenges of political indoctrination and subordination of a government over its citizens perhaps there is a level of built environment social re-engineering that needs to be applied in South Africa and the continent to undo colonial and pre-'94 ideological practices.

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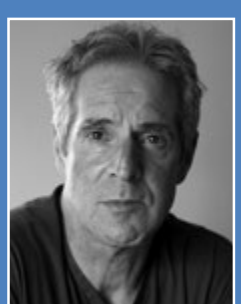
Ndlovini, Khayelitsha, Cape Flats. 2007

Encounters at the Edge



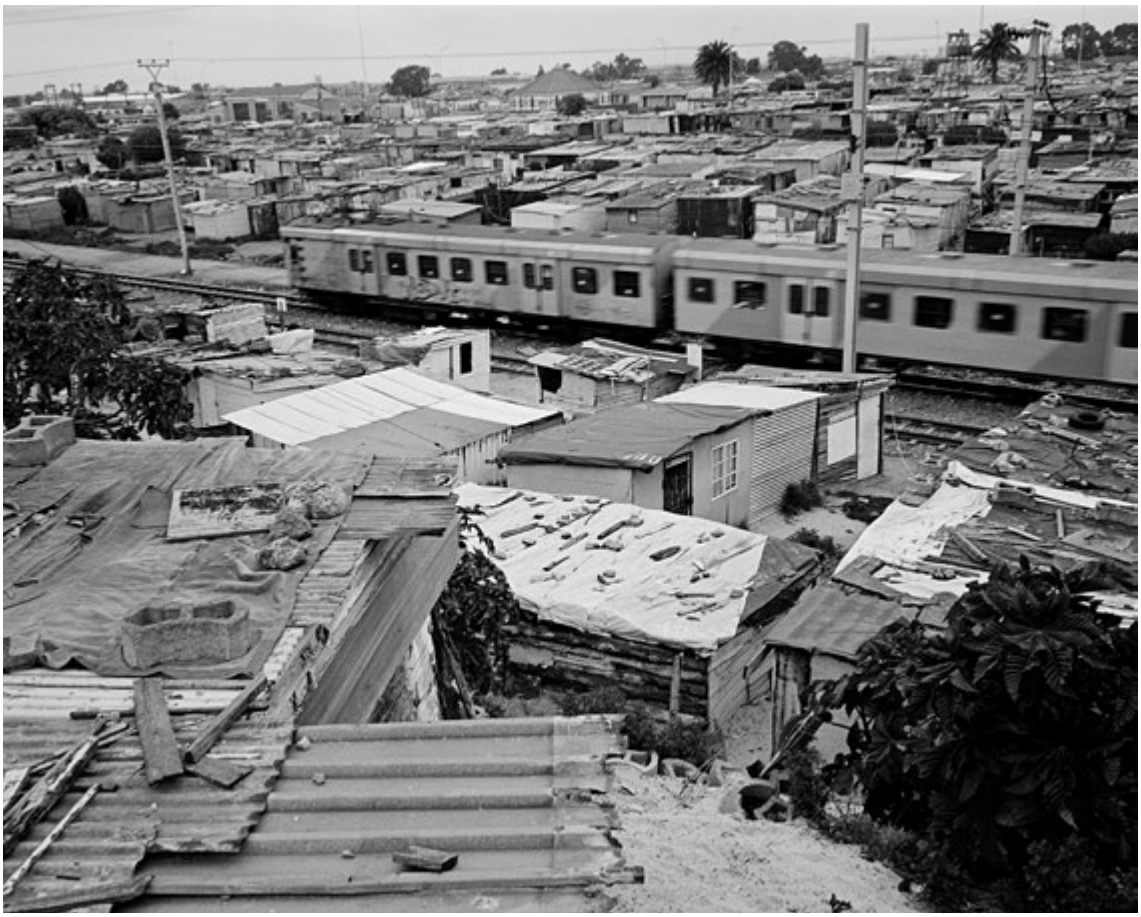
David Lurie was born in Cape Town. He studied economics, politics and philosophy and taught philosophy at the University of Cape Town. From 1980 to 1985 he undertook research in the Department of International Relations at the London School of Economics, and co-edited *Millennium, Journal of International Studies*, after which he worked as a consultant-economist in London. A self-taught photographer, he began doing documentary projects part-time in 1990 and full-time in 1995. He is represented by Heidi Erdmann – Erdmann Contemporary / Photographers Gallery ZA.

Enkanini, Khayelitsha, Cape Flats. 2007

The images for this exhibition are from David Lurie's forthcoming book, to be published by Fourth Wall Publishing in 2013.

According to the United Nations, the majority of the world's population today live in cities. Out of a world population of 7 billion, 1 billion people live in slums and more than 1 billion are informal workers, struggling to survive. These figures are staggering if you consider that 95% of the future growth of humanity will occur in cities, overwhelmingly in poor cities, and most of it in slums. This creates a crisis for this global urban, informal working class, or mass unemployed people – especially, but not only, in the developing world – who have no formal connection to the world economy, and no chance of ever having such a connection. Inexorable forces are expelling people from rural areas, most of who migrate to urban slums on the peripheries of cities.

Mass movement from countryside to cities is not new. What is new – aside from the sheer magnitude of this movement – is how it is driven not by industrialisation or even economic growth but by sheer desperation. Recent studies (for example, *The Challenge of Slums* by UN-Habitat and *Planet of Slums* by Mike Davis) have alerted us to the fact that the global urban unemployment crisis is as serious a threat as climate change to our collective future. They have sounded an authoritative warning about the worldwide catastrophe of urban poverty. The informal proletariat constitutes



Khayelitsha, Site B. 2007

the fastest-growing social class on earth – the truly 'excluded'. This phenomenon, which has been driven by neo-liberal economic policies and a thoroughgoing retreat of the state, clearly deserves more attention than it is getting from urban planners, sociologists, environmentalists, epidemiologists and demographers.

Cape Town mirrors many of the problems facing other African cities and cities in the developing world. How does this surplus humanity improvise survival in the city? These photographs are an attempt to distil my experience of these fragments of life – of unfinished stories – on the precipice beyond the edge of Cape Town. It is a study in informal survival, in a world of unstable, sprawling squatter camps, "informal settlements", garbage hills, and the sand dunes of the Cape Flats, (and more recently, for me, in Hout Bay where I now live) where urbanisation has been disconnected from industrialisation and even from economic growth.

These photographs portray a vast humanity living on the edge of Cape Town. I focus on the excluded, warehoused in shantytowns and exiled from the formal world economy, a habitat largely constructed out of crude brick, recycled plastic, metal sheets, cardboard, cement blocks, and scrap wood – surrounded by pollution, excrement, and decay. The photographs attempt to capture the variety of responses to this environment.

The future evolution of slums or 'informality' needs to be determined by political and a variety of other interventions on the ground, rather than by uncontrollable economic and political forces. These issues, if left unaddressed, will not just wither away, but will go instead in search of more radical answers. Are these urban slums volcanoes waiting to erupt?

As unappealing as this might be to public taste this is nevertheless the way I see these issues. *"No [artist, photographer] is ethically excused from their own circumstances. We are all participants in our own time and place and cannot retreat from it"*. [Tony Judt, *Thinking the 20th Century*]

Khayelitsha, Site B. 2007

Blue Waters Refugee Camp, Strandfontein. 2009

New arrival, Imizamo Yethu, Hout Bay. 2007

Imizamo Yethu, Hout Bay. 2012

Imizamo Yethu, shackowner. 2012

Bungalows, Hangberg, Hout Bay. 2012

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Some Reflections on Identity and Cities

Ashleigh Fraser is an Intern at the Helen Suzman Foundation

The future of cities is rooted in historical relationships of power and is framed by continual change in identity and ownership. One can see that, in Cape Town today, a diverse and vibrant mix of people live in the city and the surrounding areas. The city has no precise identity but is filled with a historical mix of eastern, western, northern and southern individuals who have influenced the Cape Town identity. The future of Cape Town city, in part, is dependent on the identity of the dominant groups of individuals. These groups of individuals will influence infrastructure, language, policy, rights and demographics, as has been done in the past. This article reviews briefly the influence of different identities over the last several centuries, a cyclical trend that is to continue into the future.

Identity and Power

Identity in the Cape is far more complex than just black, white, Indian and coloured. Cape Town is steeped in rich and vibrant character, culture and *identities*. Over the years, some identities have been totally abandoned whereas others have lasted. Dominant groups of individuals have had continual sway over the direction of development and progress in the city, and this will continue to occur as the effects of globalisation are felt.[1]

Since colonial times, identity and power have battled against each other. Politics has been a main factor in the change of identity and the major role that different powers play in the transformation of the Cape's overall identity. Thus Rosalind Brunt (1989) has argued that "politics whose starting point is about recognising the degree to which political activity and effort, involves a continuous process of making and remaking ourselves and ourselves in relation to others."[2]

Many identities have been forced to change over the years as power and politics overrode any identity that was seen to be inferior. The change in identity has also come about due to individuals wanting to subsume different identities to fit in.

Many researchers have challenged the meaning of identity and how it is shaped. Some say that it is socially constructed and others believe it is rooted in an individual's "pre-given" essence. [3] Drawing on the work of Freud and Marx, Keith and Pile argue that "identity is constructed through structural processes rather than being natural".[4] In this article this approach will be used to examine and explain the different identities of Kalk Bay and Simon's Town.

Brief History of the Cape East Coast

The colonial and apartheid eras have had significant influences in dramatically altering communities such as those of Kalk Bay and Simon's Town, and the varying and vibrant distinctions between communities along the Cape east coast.[5] Many historical buildings and towns still exist along the Cape east coast and the demographics of today are primarily due to the colonial power play of the 1700/1800s. Today's infrastructure and location of ports, such as Simon's Town and Kalk Bay, were built to link colonial settlements along the Cape east coast with the main city.[6]

The railroad was built in 1883 and by 1913 Kalk Bay grew both economically and demographically as the early post colonial era saw the construction of more houses, hostels, and shops.

It is important to understand that Kalk Bay and Simon's Town where integral in the functioning of colonial powers in the late 1600s to 1800s.[7] The Dutch proclaimed Simon's Town Bay an anchorage for their ships during the winter months from as early as 1742 as the bay allowed for protection from harsh winds and sea swells. It was named after the Dutch Governor of the Cape, Simon van der Stel (1677 – 1699) who expanded "Jan Van Riebeeck's garden". Kalk Bay name derived from the Dutch word for "lime". Limekilns were built to produce kalk from the shore's shell deposits. The kalk was then transported to the city to be used as construction material.

Due to the harsh climate conditions, the quick sands and rough terrain with little or no infrastructure, it was difficult for supplies to enter and leave the Bay. Therefore, in time, Kalk Bay became a mini port that transported all raw materials, and construction matter from the city across to the Simon's Town Bay where ships, from the Dutch East Indian Company, where docked.[8] The town of Kalk Bay began to grow until the occupation by the British after 1795, and a proper road was constructed straight to Simon's Town, by-passing Kalk Bay all together.[9] By 1820 Kalk Bay became the central attraction for whaling as it had been banned in Simon's Town due to the horrendous smell and unhygienic nature of culling.[10] Kalk Bay became famous for its whaling stations in the Cape, while Simon's Town and the rest of the Cape became prominent for its agriculture, military defence and wine

production.[11] However 1835 saw the almost total extinction of the Southern Right Whale as whaling became an industrially focused activity all around the east coast. By this time, the British had full control over the Cape area and buildings such as the Holy Trinity Church of 1873, highlighted the area as an Anglican Christian area under British control and dominance. The railroad was built in 1883 and by 1913 Kalk Bay grew both economically and demographically as the early post colonial era saw the construction of more houses, hostels, and shops.[12]

Identity challenge and change in Kalk Bay

Three main occasions in the last 200 years has seen the shift and change of identity due to changing power relations in the Kalk Bay region. The Khoisan of the Cape Peninsula are considered to be the first inhabitants of the region, before the Portuguese, Dutch and the British colonials.[13] They were widely dispersed over the Cape area and were dependant on their rudimentary agricultural farming practices and the local wildlife.[14]

The first wave of identity change occurred when the colonials first came upon the Khoisan who, in time, were alienated from and marginalised by the colonials as they had neither strong political organisation nor economic holdings.[15] As colonial companies started to establish farms in the area, the Khoisan were displaced and eventually started to diminish in population. This led to the breakdown of an indigenous society and the consolidation of the powerful Dutch "conquered" territory. The Khoisan people were forced into slavery by the Dutch Military control in the 1670s as they were the main source of income labour.[16]

The expansion of the Filipino community is still evident in Kalk Bay today. Names such as de la Cruz and Fernandez, all descendants of the Filipino families are seen in schools, shops and clinics in the area.

In 1713, the Sonqua, another indigenous group who also resided in the region, lost their battle over territory against the more powerful Dutch. They too eventually lost their rights to live in the area and were forced into slavery, working for the Dutch. Over time, the cohabitation of the Dutch with the Sonqua and Khoisan led to the reproduction of a new identity of people, the Cape Coloureds. These individuals created their own communities and adopted cultures and identities from the Dutch and the indigenous population.

The second wave of identity change accorded when, in 1840, a Filipino ship sunk and most of its crew managed to swim to the shores of Kalk Bay. The Filipinos quickly adopted the land as their own and with time, a dominant figure, Felix Forez developed further infrastructure and extended the port. The 1850s saw a mass exodus of Filipinos fleeing the Philippines due to political instability, riots, and food insecurity. Many Filipinos relocated to the Cape east coast and Kalk Bay, in particular, to join their families in an attempt to provide a better livelihood.[17] The identity in the region was now a mix of Sonqua, Khoisan, Dutch and Filipinos. Again, cohabitation of all identities resulted in intermarriages.[18] The expansion of the Filipino community is still evident in Kalk Bay today. Names such as de la Cruz and Fernandez, all descendants of the Filipino families are seen in schools, shops and clinics in the area.

A third wave of identity change occurred when the Dutch East Indian Company brought in slaves from Batavia, Malaysia and Java.[19] Many of these individuals were agricultural farmers or skilled fisherman who were integral to the survival and

development of the fishing town of Kalk Bay.[20] There was no longer a predominant culture of identity in Kalk Bay but rather a mingling of inhabitants, slave or free, indigenous and colonials, North, East and Western civilisations.[21]

The society of Kalk Bay and, indeed in the wider Cape Region was seen as very diverse in nationality, race and language. This, in turn, created new identities. Thus Dutch Reform Ministers, the Dutch Company officials, the Afrikaner trekboers and colonists, the minority of Khoisan and Sonqua still surviving, the slaves of diverse nationalities and the newly formed Cape Coloured people, all shaped the identity profile of the Cape.[22]

The Afrikaans language emerged and became the new form of communication around the area. It is important to highlight that Afrikaans is a variant of Dutch. Afrikaans was understood by the Dutch but shows that the Dutch colonials were also subject to and influenced by the adaption of the behaviour patterns of the surrounding culture and identities even though they controlled the region.

Modern Times

With the creation of the Union in 1910, and with the pre-existing rights of the former colonials carried over into the Union, the indigenous population was effectively excluded from the formal political processes as South Africa was launched on its apartheid trajectory. The South African Native National Congress, the ANC of later years formed to resist this exclusion.[24] The underlying identity politics also manifested itself up north when Hertzog formed the National Party in 1912 to ensure that the identity of the Afrikaners was protected and preserved.

Since the abolition of apartheid in 1994, Kalk Bay has yet again changed in character and identity. It no longer primarily operates as a large fishing village but as a tourist attraction for many foreigners as well as locals.

During the post colonial apartheid era, the area of Kalk Bay Town was minimally affected by the Group Areas legislation enforced by the South African government.[25] The area was diverse in culture and identities and many "white" South African's didn't actually reside in the area. In addition, the amount of fish available was diminishing and therefore the survival of many people became hampered as they could not longer provide for their families and had to move on.[26]

However, the area of Simon's Town was heavily hit by the Group Areas Act as white people (Afrikaners and British) were allowed to reside, but many coloured families, whose family history dated back to the era of Dutch Governor of the Cape, Simon can der Stel, were relocated to areas such as Kalk Bay or forced to live elsewhere.[27] Much of the infrastructure in the area, such as houses and shops, became dilapidated and were eventually removed and new buildings built. In addition, Simon's Town because the focus of naval activity. This is important as today museums and other societies are trying to claim back and restore the identities of history and culture that once lived there.

Since the abolition of apartheid in 1994, Kalk Bay has yet again changed in character and identity. It no longer primarily operates as a large fishing village but as a tourist attraction for many foreigners as well as locals. Kalk Bay also boasts a large number of antique shops. Many fishing trawlers still operate but only provide for the local community. The majority of the population are Coloured people and well as people

Simonstown.

who are descended from British, Dutch and Filipino waves of migration.

Without understanding the history that provoked the power and identity battles in the Cape Region, and specifically Kalk Bay and Simon's Town, one cannot fully identify the deep cultural, political and social connotations that shaped and formed the diverse identities of the region. Kalk Bay and Simon's Town are just two examples of continual identity change that occurs in most regions around the world, contributing the diverse culture, landscape and development of cities.

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A narrative: *Joburg 2038*

Sam opened the window, winced, and pressed the weather button on his watch. Five beeps, a real scorcher, a high of more than forty on the way. The heat these days was even worse than the scientists of thirty years ago had predicted. International wrangles had failed to prevent a rapid rise in greenhouse gases. Modern mankind was less sensible than Galileo, Sam thought. It sufficed for him to be shown the instruments of torture. We have to endure it.

Normally Sam worked from home, interacting with colleagues through the screen in his study. But today he had to go into the office. The contract between his company, Southern Moonshine Minerals and the Mongolian Nanochip Corporation was to be signed at a lunch time ceremony and Sam, as head of his company's legal department, had to be present. The negotiations had been tough, with the Mongolians storming out on more than one occasion. And Sam, as the permanent negotiator for SMM, had not been above throwing some carefully calculated tantrums himself. The quantity needed was not a problem. It could easily be extracted by the minerbots working thousands of metres below the surface. Achieving the purity of elements required by the Mongolians had been much more challenging for SMM. But the technical difficulties had been surmounted and the bargaining storms navigated. Today would be all smiles and toast the co-operation between "our great countries."

Sam threw on a dressing grown, left the apartment, went down the lift, crossed the lobby and walked to his greenhouse. Given how erratic rainfall had become – long periods of drought interspersed with violent storms – the only reliable way to grow plants was to put them under glass, or more precisely under specially formulated Perspex, designed to withstand the roughest hailstorms and let in the most beneficial light. The old northern suburbs had transformed thorny veld into an urban forest during the twentieth century. The forest had in turn thinned out as exotic trees had succumbed to the harsher climate and gardens had become greenhouses. Many of the old mansions had been subdivided into flats with small greenhouses like Sam's. However, some of the large properties had been kept intact. Sam had spent an enchanted afternoon once at the Kubla Khans'. The walls of their greenhouse went up for ever, lined by all manner of tropical trees and vines, and the orchid collection was legendary. Brightly coloured birds could be seen all over. To protect the guests, a

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green and white porcelain pavilion had been built in the centre and provided a place where elegantly dressed guests could sip cocktails and converse.

Sam's raspberries had been good this year, and he picked a number for his breakfast. His asparagus and artichokes were coming on well. From peasant to peasant in three generations, he always thought. Sam's grandfather had farmed in Zululand. He had had no time for city life. But he managed to get Sam's father enough education to enable him to move to Joburg and carve out a modest living there. University had been tough for Sam. He remembered the long commutes in those rough anomic taxis which had long since vanished. He had studied before the insights of modern neuroscience made the lives of students much easier. Despite the obstacles, he had graduated well with a fascination for commercial law.

Eating his breakfast, Sam considered strategies for avoiding the yak pate which the Mongolians would certainly bring with them. They regarded it as Mongolia's signature contribution to global cuisine. Sam had been obliged to consume some while in Ulan Bator and it had made him violently ill. He settled on the story that his doctor had advised him to stick to a vegetarian diet. At least the vegetarian diet part was very nearly true. Meat prices meant that fifty grams of meat on high days and holidays was all that even the upper middle class people could afford. The chic way of eating it was to dip tiny pieces in one of a number of hot broths, roll it in couscous, interspersed with bites of choice vegetables. The Japanese had even invented a ceremony for it. Salt water fish had altogether disappeared from the global diet. The report of a comprehensive study of fish stocks in the world's oceans had been published eight years earlier. It was so alarming that a unanimous decision of the United Nations had banned salt water fishing for twenty years to allow stocks to regenerate – where they could.

Salt water fish had altogether disappeared from the global diet. The report of a comprehensive study of fish stocks in the world's oceans had been published eight years earlier.

Sam put on his lightest white agbada with a purple stripe and sandals. Senatorial, suitable for an attendant lord, he walked the short distance to the light rail which would take him from Diepsloot to the company offices in Sandton. As usual, he didn't have long to wait. Running the metropolitan transit system was one of the few remaining functions of the old Johannesburg City Council. Most had been devolved to smaller regions, which competed with each other by offering different

combinations of publicly provided goods. This set off other forms of competition. Sam was fond of the annual cultural competition. At the last one, Diepsloot's performance in the praise song and Indian dancing was flawless, better than nearest rival's Orange Farm rap and Schubert songs. Sadly, Diepsloot's last item, the Hallelujah chorus, was sung with more enthusiasm than accuracy, ending a tone sharp and giving Orange Farm a narrow overall victory.

As the train approached the top of the Kyalami hill, Sam dropped two fifty rand coins into the drinks dispenser and pulled out a small bottle of water. A glint in the distance caught his eye. It came from the corrugated iron roofs of one of the East African settlements at the edge of Johannesburg. The twenties had been boom years for South Africa and domestic unemployment had dropped markedly. At the same time, population pressures in East Africa had become intolerable. Despite warnings, East African fertility had hardly declined in the second and third decades of the century. A series of severe droughts had swept large numbers into overcrowded cities and pervasive and persistent riots had followed with much loss of life. An African Union commission had recommended emigration as part of the solution to the problem. South Africa had agreed to accept a large annual quota of immigrants who lived in emergency settlements until they were ready to move into the wider South African society. Some never would move and the settlements were slowly consolidating. East Africans were prepared to do jobs that South Africans no longer would, and were cheerful enough about it.

One prick and your GIS co-ordinates were transmitted to pick up vehicles. You later woke up in a deportation centre, awaiting transport home.

At least, thought Sam, South Africa had managed to get its illegal immigration under control. The key had been the miniaturization of drones to the size of small birds and a radical reduction of cost. The government had cleared a strip of land ten kilometres wide along all its land borders and hundreds of thousands of drones carrying small anaesthetic darts patrolled it, ready to target any human sized animal. One prick and your GIS co-ordinates were transmitted to pick up vehicles. You later woke up in a deportation centre, awaiting transport home.

The train arrived at Sandton central and Sam took a tuk-tuk to the office, steeling himself for several hours of boredom. The Mongolians had done well out of their membership of the Greater Chinese Co-prosperity Sphere, but their manners and interests remained rustic. They had none of the subtle and charming Confucianism of China itself which, after surviving the cultural revolution and go-go industrialization, had blossomed in recent decades. You had to know your analects to deal with it, but if you did, the thrust and parry of polite interaction was a delight.

As it happened, the formalities were brief. The CEOs had agreed that neither would speak for more than fifteen minutes. After the memorandum was signed, the auditorium darkened for a fast-paced floor show which catered to all tastes. An excellent lunch followed, so Sam was in a good mood to work on the merger agreement with Western Horizon Minerals. The trick was to strike an agreement which would subtly enhance market power, without triggering nullification by the Competition Court. The work was complex, challenging and absorbing.

At seven o'clock, Sam closed up the company reports and his law books. He showered in the executive suite as preparation for a night in town. The Gautrain took him from Sandton to Park Station and, since the heat had abated, he walked down to Commissioner Street and the Two Ducks Club. It would have been dangerous, especially at night, when he was young, but town was much more agreeable these

days. Johannesburg had been flush with public money during the booming twenties and it had decided to restore a part of the old city as a tourist attraction. Like Shanghai before it, it understood the value of nostalgia and had decided on a Jazz Age theme. In fact Johannesburg in the 1930s had been known internationally as an Art Deco city. A number of the old buildings still stood nearly a century later, though in need of a face lift and reorganization of their internal space. Some of the largest buildings had functioned solely as movie palaces, perhaps having their finest hour when screening 1950s spectaculars, such as Ben-Hur and Lawrence of Arabia – movies that Sam had watched many times. The Commissioner Street area had become a hive of chic shops and restaurants by day and a vibrant clubs by night.

Once the redevelopment had taken place, there had been a continuous exchange between Shanghai and Johannesburg. African jazz musicians were loved in Shanghai and many had been there. South Africans had come to love the bright, slick cabaret of the Chinese, and had even learnt to enjoy the quarter tone singing that went with it. Sam was a valued patron at the Two Ducks and he was ushered to a table near the stage. He had just enough time to unwind over a champagne cocktail before the show started. He waved to several friends and acquaintances across the room and sank back in his comfortable chair.

As usual, the show was good. The Two Ducks rotated numbers quickly from a seemingly infinite catalogue. The management had also understood that the edgy pleasures of Jazz Age night clubs came from being portals to the underworld. Al Capone, protection rackets and illegal booze had had their day. But a discrete word to a waiter would have had him ushered in to the presence of Madam Sin, ready to dispense happiness by the gram. Not tonight, he thought, I have other plans. The milder effect of inhaling the club's smoke would do.

The show ended. Sam finished his drink, paid and left. A tuk-tuk waiting for custom took him, several blocks to the south, his ultimate destination for the night. Outside, the Garden of Joy looked like what it had been: an office block which had seen better days. The inside was entirely different. There, one could enjoy a brandy and cigar in a well-stocked library, or swim in an indoor pool, or join a poker school, or listen to an African jazz band not snapped up by the Chinese, or play computer games not on the market or many other activities.

Sam chose to swim first. He was tall and lean and once he had the opportunity to learn to swim, he had been rapidly become a champion in his younger days. Now he warmed up with a few leisurely lengths, followed by some faster swimming. He heard a shout and realized that he was being challenged to a race. Within the first five seconds, he knew he was under pressure. A desperate spurt and he won by a head. Again the challenge came, and this time he lost. Best of three, and he lost again. He bowed his head in graceful acknowledgement of defeat, shook hands, and went to get dressed.

Sam entered the jazz lounge. Jazz had everything for him – the rhythmic complexity of African music, great melodies and harmonies and the always varying improvisations. Usually the players focused on a period or a great jazz artist for a session. Tonight was an Abdullah Ebrahim night, a style he particularly liked. About half an hour slid by before the lights went up.

A voice at his elbow. "Hello, Sam".

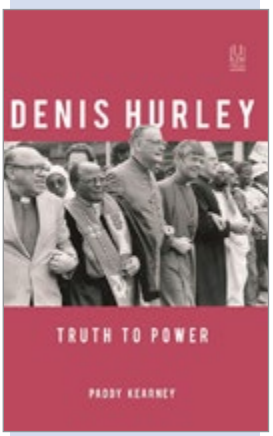
"Ah, you're here." Sam smiled. "There's cold champagne upstairs."

Bobby Godsell
Bobby Godsell is a distinguished South African businessman. He is currently the chairman of Business Leadership South Africa, and a member of the National Planning Commission.

BOOK REVIEW

Denis Hurley *Truth to Power*

The American sociologist Peter Berger has produced, more or less, in every decade of his adult life an important book about religion. On the cover of one of these he put a picture of the place of great Italian beauty, Lake Como. Berger asserted that this place of beauty was reason enough to accept that our world had a creator whose design for our universe and our lives was good.



DENIS HURLEY:
TRUTH TO POWER
By Paddy Kearney
ISBN: 978 1 86914 219 3
Publisher: UKZN PRESS

I would argue that the lives of some people – saints in the broadest, oldest and most inclusive sense – is reason enough to believe that this creator continues to love our crazy, troubled world and inspire those who love him to act in it.

One such saintly person is Denis Hurley. Paddy Kearney's abridged story of his life tells a remarkable story of: where this man of God began his journey, what he became, his achievements, his failures and most, of all, of that deep and abiding love which inhabited his heart and character until the moment of his death.

Hurley began his journey in South Africa as the son of a pretty poor immigrant family (from Ireland). His father was a lighthouse keeper leading therefore, a life that was itinerant, isolated and lonely.

Hurley's family circumstances required an active search for quality schooling, leading to time spent first in Ireland and Rome in preparation for ordination as a priest.

Hurley's achievements in terms of both office and activity are huge. According to Kearney, at the age of 32 he became Bishop, and just 3 years later the then youngest Archbishop of the Church globally. He played critical roles in the great twentieth century Council of the Catholic Church, Vatican II. Hurley lead the Catholic Bishop's Conference from its earliest years until 1987, making this body one of the foremost Church structures campaigning against racism and Apartheid and for inclusive political change in South Africa. He was equally energetically involved in congregational activities within the church in helping to develop new forms of worship and witness, with a particular focus on the role of the lay Christian.

If these achievements are impressive so is the list of failures. Hurley, time and again, found himself on the wrong side of issues within the Church. This was true of individual issues such as contraception, the ordination of women and the celibacy of the priesthood. It was perhaps more true of his lifelong commitment to a spirit of collegiality in both the use of power and the pattern of decision making within the Church. Vatican II began with the promise of the search for collective wisdom amongst those called to the Council, and ended with a reaffirmation of the authority of the Pope. Hurley remained candid in his areas of disagreement. Perhaps this candor is one reason why this young Bishop and young Archbishop was never to be made Cardinal.

In his witness for social, political and economic justice, in his country of birth, Hurley had to contend with a Church hierarchy very conscious of both its minority status in South Africa, as well as it dependence on non-South African clergy. A contest between prophetic courage and cautious diplomacy continued in the debates, words and actions of the Bishops' conference throughout his leadership. Perhaps of even greater import his efforts to persuade white Catholics to embrace what Hurley's faith demanded of Hurley were largely unsuccessful. His most passionate and faithful disciples within the Catholic Church were to be found, perhaps quite predictably, amongst South Africa's excluded majority. It must be noted that the Catholic Church shared this failure to achieve adherence to its social policies amongst the majority of its white members with other denominations of the Christian Faith.

This last failure is well illustrated by two personal encounters that I had with the Archbishop. The first was an extended Black Sash initiated lunchtime protest against the death in detention of Achmed Timol. This protest took place every lunchtime for a period of several weeks outside the Cenotaph Gardens in front of the Durban City Hall. This location exposed the protest to a high volume of pedestrian traffic. It drew on the Second World War sacrifices of South African Citizens. It also faced the then offices of the Security Branch of the South African police, making their surveillance much easier. A cohort of both local and national leaders, including the then President of the Methodist Church, took their stance each lunchtime in silent, dignified and impressive protest. However if we were to measure the protest in terms of white opinions changed it was clearly a failure.

The second illustration is from a more indirect yet more extended engagement with this man Hurley. In 1977, whilst he was President of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Hurley called for the establishment of a programme that would work expressly to help white South Africans prepare for the changes in their country which justice required and history made inevitable. The Human Awareness Programme was the result of this call. For a number of years I worked with the Joburg based director of the programme, Marion Nell, both helping to raise some funds and also support the activities of this small and noble group of social activists. Though much good work was done, an objective assessment of white attitudes throughout the life of this organisation would have to judge it a failure on the grand stage of history.

The "South African" and "white" failures of Hurley are the common experience of many. They attest to challenges which remain to be addressed. Many white South Africans are yet to become root and branch citizens of our new non-racial republic.

In the end a human being's life is much more than the peak events of his journey, both successes and failures. One of the best definitions I know of education is contact with significant adults. From my contact with Denis Hurley, three of his ways of being in this world have shaped me.

The first is the way in which he saw his world. Seeing is the first step on the Young Christian Workers mantra for responsible life. Hurley saw in a way which simply combined faith and reason. A huge heart and a very sharp mind connected this man to a world which he delighted to discover with each new day.

The second was the way in which he judged the world. His fearlessness in pursuit for justice and truth was combined with a deep and unbounded compassion for the people who are history. This profound inclusiveness enabled him to escape the racism of his white working class background. It ensured his faith was as catholic in the same sense as it was with the capital C. My deepest visual memories of this man are of him participating in an all-faith political protest in his Cathedral, which combined Christians of all types, with Islam, Judaism, Hinduism and Zoroastrianism. A second vivid memory is of Hurley co-presiding at Rick Turner's Hindu rites funeral. This man lived the ecumene.

The third was his capacity to act. Neither despair nor doubt undermined his constant capacity to 'go out', to be at and with and for his fellow man. This in turn was fueled by a hope that not even the absurd cruelty of Apartheid could douse.

How much we need these qualities now.

Paddy Kearney, in this shortened version of the definitive Guardian of Light has made available the life and light of this very fine human being.

Gillian Godsell
has a PhD from Boston University and works Graduate School of Public and Development Management. She chairs the board of the Wits Council of Education, an education NPO; hosts a weekly programme Jozi Today on community radio station Radio Today, and is the author of a schools' biography of Helen Suzman in the series They Fought for Freedom.

BOOK REVIEW

A Church for the Future: South Africa as the Crucible for Anglicanism in a New Century: Harold T Lewis

This book made me think.

It is ostensibly a history of the responses to ethical dilemmas over 150 years within the Anglican Church of Southern Africa[1]. However, the dilemmas, their solutions, and in particular the process of those solutions, are relevant for any institution trying to move from colonial control to equality and interdependence.

The book starts from describing the life and work of Bishop Colenso, Bishop of Natal 1853 – 1883. Colenso was a man of strong views and combative words: he once wrote a 100 page letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the subject of polygamy. In 1863[2] Colenso was declared an heretic. His excommunication, later overturned by the Privy Council, was based on a host of theological and political transgressions, most of them entirely unremarkable in the 21st century. The most interesting, from a modern perspective, was his belief that "missionary endeavor should be based on the interchange and not the imposition of ideas" (p 19).

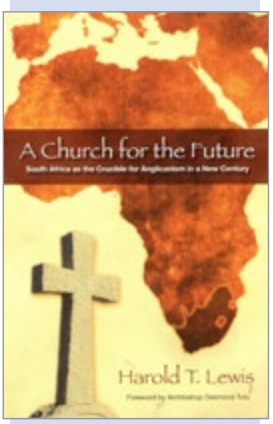
In theory, this is also a view which would not raise an eyebrow today. This book highlights the painful dilemmas which emerge in practice, within a two-way traffic of ideas and values between Africa and the West. When Western churches, as a stand of highest principle, espouse the ordination of women and homosexuals, and the African churches, on equally high principle, oppose this, what is to be done?

The author, Rev Canon Harold T Lewis, has recently retired as Rector of Calvary Church Pittsburgh. He spent a sabbatical year, in 2004, in Grahamstown, at the College of the Transfiguration (COTT), the Anglican seminary.

Lewis came to South Africa specifically to try and understand why the Southern African province[3] supported the ordination of homosexual clergymen and bishops, while all the other African provinces were in strong opposition on this issue. African views matter: 40 million of the world's 80 million Anglicans live here. The future of Anglicanism will be shaped in Africa.

To his credit, Lewis does not dismiss African opposition out of hand, although he himself supports ordination of homosexual priests and bishops. He lays out the pressures and viewpoints which have shaped this opposition:

- There is a great rage against a 'new imperialism' from the West. The first missionaries imposed a Victorian sexual morality, contemptuously disregarding existing African beliefs and practices. Now the Anglican church is apparently disregarding, and imposing, once again, having inexplicably changed its mind about acceptable sexual practices.



A CHURCH FOR THE FUTURE: SOUTH AFRICA AS THE CRUCIBLE FOR ANGLICANISM IN A NEW CENTURY
By Harold T Lewis
ISBN 13: 978-0-89869-566-3
Publisher: CHURCH PUBLISHING

- Many African Christian churches are trying to hold their ground under pressure from fundamentalist Muslims, who condemn homosexuality out of hand.
- There is a literal biblical interpretation, shared with some Evangelical and fundamentalist US Episcopalians. These Americans have put themselves under obedience to the bishop of Nigeria, in order not to be part of a church which ordains homosexual bishops. This kind of literal biblical interpretation is one of the issues on which Colenso fell out with his superiors. It was taught rigorously by the missionaries, and learned faithfully, and has come back to bite everyone.[4]

Why does Lewis see South Africa as "the crucible for Anglicanism in a new century?" He describes a crucible as "a place, time or situation characterized by the confluence of powerful intellectual, social, economic, political or spiritual forces" (p127). He sees South Africa as such a crucible as much because of the processes by which this province has encompassed change, as the particular stand on a given issue. So schism is not an option, not with the Africans, and not with the Americans. Rather than walking away, we must learn to stay put, and live in tension. This capacity of the church to live in tension, Lewis sees as one of the most important legacies of Colenso's challenges to church orthodoxy and hierarchy. Lewis describes the strength of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa as the "ability to hold onto one another, despite differences" (p127).

This holding onto one another occurred throughout the struggle against Apartheid, when some of the church leadership and laity spoke out against Apartheid, but more did not. Yet black and white Anglicans held onto one another, and the church as an institution and a community both endured and changed.

There will be parts of the book which irritate South African readers, on matters of both opinion and fact. Not everyone would agree that Archbishop Desmond Tutu "did more than any other South African to bring about the eventual collapse of apartheid" (pxiv).

There will be parts of the book which irritate South African readers, on matters of both opinion and fact. Not everyone would agree that Archbishop Desmond Tutu "did more than any other South African to bring about the eventual collapse of apartheid" (pxiv). The continued reference to the *two-thirds world* instead of the *third world* is laudable but annoying. These minor quibbles should not be allowed to detract from the intellectual, ethical and spiritual challenges which the book outlines.

In describing the journey of the Anglican Church from an instrument of Empire to a partnership of equals, the writer has a fine eye for colonial absurdity. He notes that until 1948 the Anglican community in South Africa resided under the jurisdiction of their near neighbour, the Bishop of Calcutta. He records that at a Lambeth[5] conference delegates are invited to a garden party at Buckingham Palace. The invitation prescribes a dress code: bishops are to wear cassocks; wives are to wear hats. What, muses Lewis, should a lady bishop wear? A cassock and a hat? And what about the husband of a bishop?

We know that in South Africa we need to build bridges. We also need to seek out and celebrate existing bridges. That is what this book does. It is a clear-eyed view of some of the difficulties human beings must overcome to meet one another. And a celebration of this happening within the Anglican Communion in South Africa. Lewis sees Southern Africa as embodying the Anglican *via media*, which he describes as "not a path between but a bridge across". (Others see it as a fence, upon

which Anglicans are all too wont to sit!)

The book begins with Bishop Colenso, and ends with Archbishop Njongonkulu Ndungane[6]. Lewis sees Ndungane as a natural successor to Colenso, as both men "represent the possibilities for creative dialogue and fusion between the indigenous culture… and the emerging global culture of the West" (p125). It is in this fusion, Lewis believes, that the future of the church lies.

NOTES
1 Formerly known as the Church of the Province of Southern Africa (CPSA), this province includes Angola, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mocambique, Namibia, South Africa and St Helena.
2 In 2002 he was, in a rather cumbersome process, de-excommunicated.
3 Africa is divided into 12 Anglican provinces
4 An interesting aspect of Lewis' book is his study of the social gospel preached by the Anglo-Catholic Oxford movement, who through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel provided many of the clergy who came to South Africa, such as Trevor Huddlestone. East Africa, by contrast, drew clergy from the evangelical Church Missionary Society. Lewis identifies first Colenso, and then the Oxford Movement, as early exponents of Liberation Theology.
5 The Lambeth Conference, which meets once every 10 years, is attended by bishops from around the globe and ecumenical participants. The very first Lambeth conference was convened in 1867 to deal with problems around the deposing of Bishop Colenso.
6 Njongonkulu Ndungane, successor to Desmond Tutu, was elected Archbishop of Cape Town and Primate of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa in 1996,and served until 2007, when he was succeeded by Archbishop Thabo Makgoba.

Some reflections on church history

What do the different Archbishops whose story is told in these books have in common? Do their histories have any relevance to institutions outside the church?

Patient inclusivity is perhaps the hallmark particularly of Ndungane and of Hurley. They did not turn away from the communities which rejected their ideas; nor did they jettison the ideas others found so offensive. The personal cost was high: Archbishop Hurley was denied the Cardinal's hat many felt was his by right. Even more painfully, his most cherished ideas appeared to fall on stony ground. Archbishop Ndungane was described by an opposing African bishop as not even worthy to be called an African. These rejections came from the communities which provided the context for both men's lives, which they loved dearly.

Perhaps, as with bishop Colenso's life, their meaning and purpose will only become clear in another 100 years. But there is one small area in which their influence, and that of like-minded colleagues and predecessors, is clearly visible. White South Africans appeared to sturdily reject the prayers and persuasions of clergy opposed to apartheid. But in the referendum on 1992, the two-thirds majority required for change was achieved: 68,935 of white votes were cast in favour of power-sharing.

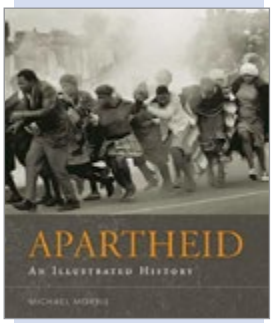
What made the whites change their mind? Fear, hope, overseas pressure or internal unrest? Whatever it was, the reasons to do so, the language in which to clothe new ways of thinking were ready and waiting for them.

Perhaps those patient, inclusive clergy, committed both to holding on to their whole flock and articulating coherent and powerful post-apartheid values, played their role too. They spent their lives lovingly crafting new wineskins, ready to securely hold the new beliefs when they finally came.

Wim Louw is an intern at the Helen Suzman Foundation.

BOOK REVIEW

Apartheid: An Illustrated History by Michael Morris



APARTHEID: AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY
By Michael Morris
ISBN 978-1-920289-41-6
Publisher: JONATHAN BALL PUBLISHERS

Michael Morris is an author and the Assistant editor for the Cape Argus.

Michael Morris presents South Africa's struggle for democracy in an engaging and accessible way. The book combines an easy journalistic-style with a rich collection of photos – retracing South Africa's journey from 1948 to 1994, in five chapters.

In the book he briefly discusses colonialism, Union, and then covers in greater detail the terrifying rise of Afrikaner nationalism and the construction of the Apartheid machine, the unrelenting struggle against it, and the eventual falling-apart of everything, up until the euphoric but complicated transition to democracy. In the postscript Morris notes that South Africa's history, while familiar, is complex and imperfectly understood. Morris does not attempt to analytically interrogate historical events or to pursue matters in any great detail from a specific perspective – the book is an engaging retelling of South Africa's story. Morris draws from a number of academic and newspaper sources and presents events as they were observed.

Morris' presentation employs a time-line, along the bottom of each page, indicating significant dates and creating a chronological context for the events and themes he discusses in the main text. The time-line is very useful, and often encourages the reader to flip back and forward through the book. Perhaps unavoidably, the time-line and main-text do not always run in-step. The text is accompanied by many captioned photos, head-lines, illustrations and cartoons that are well-selected and interesting. The style is concise, and factual.

The history is well known, but Mr Morris' choice of presentation engages the reader. There is nothing new here. But, the text is not dry- Morris incorporates quotes, anecdotes and extracts. Morris also commits to a linear narrative, and avoids digression. The result is an easy 183-page, visual documentary with a text that is uncluttered and informative.

Although Morris presents some of his views in the introduction and postscript of the book, the book, while good on context, offers little on analysis. Instead it lets the history speak for itself.

Stuart Jones
holds a History degree from the University of Oxford. He studied economic history at the University of Manchester and holds a PhD from the University of British Columbia. He came to the University of the Witwatersrand in the late 1960s and was Acting Head of the Department of Economic History from 1978-1983 and Head of the Division of Economic History from 1987 to 1900. He was professor at the University of South Africa from 1993-2004 and an Honorary Professor at WITS from 2005-2011. He is the founder of the South African Journal of Economic History and was the Editor from 1993 to 2011.

Now retired, he lives in Johannesburg, keeping a close watch on the South African economy and development in the Western World, having long held the view expressed by Niall Ferguson in The Great Degeneration.

BOOK REVIEW

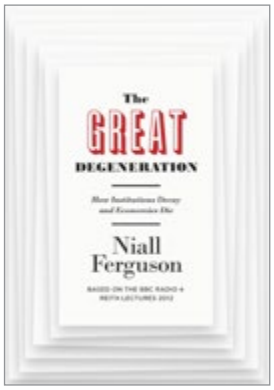
The Great Degeneration – how institutions decay and economies die
By Niall Ferguson

Readable, immensely erudite and deeply disturbing, The Great Degeneration is a brilliant and convincing analysis of why the west is declining and why this is happening so quickly. Ferguson argues that this process is probably irreversible, as the only way it could be arrested is for politicians to change the way they approach the process of raising and spending taxes; for them to stop trying to micro-manage the economy with excessive regulations; and for civil society to undergo a radical change in the way it reacts to the increasing intrusion of the state into people's daily lives.

The book is a sequel to *Civilization*, published in 2011, in which Ferguson identified six sets of circumstances; he calls them "killer apps", which led to the rise of the West, namely, competition, science, secure property rights, medicine, the consumer society and the work Ethic. These circumstances are now giving way to Adam Smith's *stationary state*, in which sustained economic growth is increasingly difficult to achieve, and in which laws and institutions have degenerated to the point that the elites' rent-seeking increasingly dominates the economic and political process. Ferguson analyzes the causes of this degeneration and is inspired by Adam Smith's insight that both growth and stagnation are in large measure the result of laws and institutions. Identifying the key components of Western Civilization as: democracy, capitalism, the rule of law and civil society, Ferguson proceeds to analyze each of them in a separate chapter in a way that makes one wonder whether democracy inevitably contains within it the seeds of its own destruction.

The first chapter provides an analysis of what caused the divergence between East and West; with England leading the way, because it was the first country to adopt inclusive rather than extractive political institutions, with an open access pattern of development as opposed to a limited access pattern of development. North, Wallis, Fukuyama and Acemoglu and Robinson see the break coming in the late eighteenth century at the time of the American break with Britain and the French Revolution, but Ferguson argues that the great divergence began in the sixteenth century and then widened at the time of Glorious Revolution of 1688. Here his chronology becomes a little confusing for he argues that the sequence of development is clear: "first the Glorious Revolution, then agricultural improvement, then imperial expansion, then industrial revolution" (p.33). He sees the changes taking place after England had adopted inclusive institutions, in 1688, when it may be argued that

these had been adopted a century and half earlier and that the events of 1688 were a consequence of economic growth. Agricultural innovation began at the beginning of Elizabeth I's reign followed shortly by the transformation of the English wool industry and trade – all of which were well under way before the first colonies had been acquired. This led to London becoming Europe's largest city by 1640, and England becoming the world's largest exporter of wheat by 1688. England had appropriate institutions in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Henry VIII may have been a tyrant, but he was also a very constitutional ruler. He could not raise taxes at will and neither could Elizabeth I. Property rights were already reasonably secure, which supports Ferguson's argument, but Ferguson places it in a longer framework and sees the later political changes of 1688 as a consequence of economic growth, which was more dynamic in the later sixteenth and seventeenth century than it was in the first half of the eighteenth century.



THE GREAT DEGENERATION – HOW INSTITUTIONS DECAY AND ECONOMIES DIE
By Niall Ferguson
ISBN 978-1846147432.
Publisher: THE PENGUIN PRESS (JUNE 13, 2013)

The political dispensation of 1688 led to the government being able to tap into the nation's resources by means of a national debt in a way that was not possible in non-constitutional Europe. The ability of the government to borrow in times of war enabled Britain to defeat France and to establish a world-wide empire. Importantly, economic growth in the nineteenth century was always higher than that of the interest paid on the national debt, thereby allowing the country to provide evidence of Edmund Burke's dictum that society is a contract with the state in a partnership between the living, the dead, and those not yet born.

Governments should adopt the Generally Accepted Accounting Principles and draw up generational accounts. The present system is fraudulent and misleads the public.

It is this that has changed today. The enormous intergenerational transfers implied by current fiscal policies are a breach of this partnership and they are not caused by wars. Japan's total debt amounts to 512% of GDP, the United Kingdom's to 507% and France's to 346%. And these totals do not include unfunded liabilities of social security and health schemes. The net present value of future U.S. federal government liabilities, for example, is $200 trillion. That is thirteen times the debt stated by the U.S. Treasury. Unfortunately attempts to reduce them by cutting expenditure are likely to fail in our modern democracies because they run up against two well-organized opposition groups: the recipients of public sector pay and the recipients of government benefits. A possible solution proposed by Ferguson is to force governments to alter the way in which they present their accounts by comparing assets with liabilities. Governments should adopt the Generally Accepted Accounting Principles and draw up generational accounts. The present system is fraudulent and misleads the public. If this is not done Ferguson sees two possible future scenarios: default and inflation like Argentina, or more quantitative easing with borrowing costs kept down by foreign money flowing in leading to low growth and Adam Smith's *stationery state*. An "Inglorious Revolution" will occur, with China adopting most of the "killer apps" analyzed in his *Civilization* and the West reverting to China's condition in the eighteenth century.

Excessively complex and intrusive regulations reinforce the damage done to the economy by excessive government debt. Krugman and a host of other neo-Keynesian economists and TV commentators blame lax regulation for the current financial crisis and see a solution in more regulation at time when excessive regulation is strangling western economies. As Ferguson wryly notes, Bear Sterns and Lehman Brothers could have collapsed even if the Glass-Steagall Act had remained in force, while Countrywide, Mutual and Wachovia blew up without moving into investment

banking. The current financial crisis was caused by bad banking practice and inadequate supervision by the Federal Reserve in America, and Brown's bureaucrats in Britain. The latter claimed to be the saviour of the world's financial system in 2008, In fact, he was the principal architect of collapse in Britain by removing supervision of banks from the Bank of England and giving the task to bureaucrats in the Financial Service Authority

The lesson of the 1990s in Britain was not that deregulation is bad but that bad regulation is bad; the same applies to the United States today (p.54). The crisis of 2007-12 was a regulatory crisis, in which excessively complex regulation is the disease of which it pretends to be the cure (p. 59). Regulation should make banks less fragile; but in the West in recent years it has made them more fragile. Ferguson's advice is to strengthen the authority of the Central Bank, giving it considerable latitude in the use of banking tools, to teach bankers financial history, and make them pay for their transgressions '*pour encourager les autres*'. This would meet the requirements of banks today, but it would not significantly reduce the flow of excessive regulations that is inherent in the degenerative process steadily overwhelming Western countries. Think of the role of Brussles in the European Community, where the Commissioners are virtually out of control and their departments spewing forth a veritable tidal wave of regulations. Nor would it arrest the declining competitiveness of the U.S. economy.

It does not however solve the fundamental problem: there are too few independent schools in both Britain and America to maintain effective competition to the failing state system and that this lack of independent schools is itself a consequence of the decline of local initiative that is a symptom of the general degeneration taking place in the West.

In the last chapter on civil society Ferguson looks at the decline of local enterprise in both Britain and America. The stifling of local initiative by the ever increasing power of the centre is very recent and has had far reaching consequences in America, where as de Tocqueville noted a century and a half ago, America's myriad of local political associations acted as a counterweight to the tyranny of the majority. This decline in social capital is widespread in the English speaking world; it was never so strong in Europe, and is perhaps most damaging in education. In America the state virtually monopolises school provision and does so badly, lacking a vibrant independent sector to act as a yardstick by which the public schools may be measured. Without effective competition the standards in the public schools have steadily declined while the teachers' unions have become the most reactionary force within society, blocking as far as possible the reforms that have in recent year transformed the schools in Scandinavia and the Netherlands. At the university level there is competition and this has forced the state sector to maintain standards.

In England it is the reverse. Independent schools set the standards and expose the failings in the state system against a torrent of abuse from the teachers' unions but, at the university level, the universities have been reduced to becoming agencies of the National Higher Education Service. The increasing number of charter schools in America and academies in Britain, forced through by the central government in Britain and regional or local reformers in America offers hope for the future. It does not however solve the fundamental problem: there are too few independent schools in both Britain and America to maintain effective competition to the failing state system and that this lack of independent schools is itself a consequence of the decline of local initiative that is a symptom of the general degeneration taking place in

the West. The state has lost the battle to monopolise the production of manufactured goods but it has not lost the battle to control the provision of services where public sector unions have now become public enemy number one.

The decline of once dominant states is a well known historical phenomenon. Where Ferguson brings light to it is in drawing attention to the speed with which it occurs. Real life is not like Kenneth Clark's art history in which civilizations rise slowly to maturity, then flourish before gradually declining. In real life the collapse occurs suddenly; Examples include the experience of Rome at the beginning of the fifth century, of Spain twelve hundred years later and earlier still Ur in 2004 B.C, and both Babylon states around 1750 B.C. and 539 B.C. Ferguson's explanation for the suddenness of their collapse is by way of a comparison with the natural world, in which one small input can produce unexpected changes.

The threat to the West comes from within, from the growing debt burden, the unending expansion of the bureaucracy, the greed of bankers and parasitic lawyers and an increasingly supine civil society.

When England and America were pace setters for economic growth with constitutional government, neither of them were democracies, but they were able to prevent the tyranny of the majority and to restrain the power of exploitative elites in a way that does not seem to be possible in our more democratic age. Constitutional states were also more aware of the need to live within their means than their democratic successors. The threat to the West comes from within, from the growing debt burden, the unending expansion of the bureaucracy, the greed of bankers and parasitic lawyers and an increasingly supine civil society. Not surprisingly politicians everywhere are losing respect. They and their acolytes in business talk of the seriousness of the debt crisis and immediately propose to solve it by more borrowing with low interest rates maintained by their central bankers. Is this self- deception evidence of western societies' degeneration? Low interest rates do not cause growth (think of the 1930s). Growth is caused when managers and entrepreneurs see the prospect of increased profit from borrowing. Politicians like low interest rates because they reduce the cost of servicing the debt burden. They do not tackle the real problem which is the loss of confidence in the economy and in its managers. The inability of western governments to get to grips with their overspending may be the result of career politicians replacing men of conviction in modern legislatures at a time when the complexity of both business and government is increasing rapidly. Neil Ferguson has identified the problem and is rightly pessimistic about the prospects of finding a solution; but he has not provided an explanation of why it is happening. Older civilizations, that were just as intelligent as we are today, could not prevent their decline and that seems likely to be the West's fate. It may be an inherent part of way societies develop.

Robert Vivian is a professor of finance and insurance at the School of Economic and Business Sciences a position to which he was appointed in 1989. He is the author of numerous books and academic articles. He is a past president of the Economic History Society of South Africa.

BOOK REVIEW

The Great Degeneration – how institutions decay and economies die
By Niall Ferguson

THE GREAT DEGENERATION – HOW INSTITUTIONS DECAY AND ECONOMIES DIE
By Niall Ferguson
ISBN 978-1846147432.
Publisher: THE PENGUIN PRESS (JUNE 13, 2013)

The Great Degeneration derives from Ferguson's BBC Radio 4 Reith Lectures which were broadcast under the title of the Rule of Law and its Enemies. The series of annual Reith Lectures started in 1948 and are given by selected leading figures of the day. By selection, Niall Ferguson is thus a leading academic of the day; a leading world economic historian. The Great Degeneration is a continuation of his earlier insightful works. It is a short and readable book – a mere 152 pages. It requires little specialist knowledge and the message set out in the book is accessible to the general public. In his earlier book Civilization he attempts to answer the question why the West Won. In this book he gives reasons why he believes the West is in decline.

He places his analysis firmly within the institutional framework brought into prominence by the Nobel Laureate Douglass North (p19). The central premise of institutional economics is that Institutions matter. If the West is degenerating then it is because "Western institutions have indeed degenerated (p11)." This review will examine Ferguson's treatment of the institution of the Rule of Law and his application of this degeneration to explain the world financial crisis.

The Rule of Law

Ferguson argues that the Rule of Law, as an institution, explains the success of the West after the 1500s (p31). He points out that at the heart of the battle over parliamentary power was the protection of individuals from arbitrary expropriation by the Crown. This differed from states where state power was used by the rent-seeking elite to grab property for themselves. So at that point in time, in line with the philosophy of the age expressed by John Locke, the rule of law started with clear purpose and laws protecting life, liberty and property. In the modern age in developed countries it has degenerated into something vastly different: 'the rule of law has degenerated into the rule of lawyers (p77).' The fundamental basis had changed. The economic approach to the rule of law required that "property rights more than human rights are fundamental (p85).

His detailed analysis of the Rule of Law starts off by pointing out that China does not lack laws. It lacks the rule of law (p78). The existence of laws and rules does not equate to the rule of law. As to what the Rule of Law should be, his analysis uses the recent publication by the late Lord Chief Justice Tom Bingham. It is unfortunate

he does not discuss the publication in greater detail. Had he done so he would have pointed out that the late Chief Justice to his surprise found that the idea of rule of law had ceased to have any clear meaning. He set about to redefine its meaning. As to the current state of the rule of law in the US, it reflects the problem: it is over-complex or rigged by legislation and rampant abuse of the system (p99). He laments the fact that at one time the US was the rule of law – a shining example for the world to follow. Now it is simply the rule of lawyers, something vastly different (p109). He doubts if the system can be reformed from within (p110).

He sees a difference in developing countries where the rule of law is developing along the lines it developed in England before the degeneration. It is developing to end violence, protect property rights, and impose constitutional checks on government (p105).

Explaining the financial crisis

A popular view of the financial crises which started in the US in early 2007 was that it was caused by deregulation. Ferguson will have none of that. To him the 'excessively complex government regulation of markets is in fact the disease of which it purports to be the cure'. The rule of law he notes has many enemies and among its most dangerous foes are the authors of very long and convoluted regulatory laws (p48). In the US the blame for the crisis is often attributed to the 1999 repeal of the Glass-Steagall Act of 1933 which separated commercial and investment banks. This narrative he holds is mostly wrong (p53). All of the major events of the crisis starting with the collapse of investment banks Bear Stearns and Lehman Brothers, continuing to the collapse of commercial banks such as Countryside, Washington Mutual and Wachovia which would have taken place even if the Act had not been repealed. Investment and commercial banks collapsed; these were not unified institutions. It was not the absence of regulation which caused the crisis he maintains but the existence of over-complex regulation (p54). He discussed the raft of legislation in place at the time of the collapse including the Basel rules, Central Banks' lopsided monetary policies and distortions created by government sponsored entities such as Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. He concludes; 'Banks were the key to the crisis, and banks were regulated (p57).' Clearly he argues it was not the absence of regulation which caused the crisis. It was the opposite the existence of over-complex regulation.

These and many other things contained in the Act have nothing whatsoever to do with the promotion of the financial stability of the United States. Clearly this new wave of legislation simply adds greater complexity – the source of the problem to start with.

The proposed solution to the crisis was the passing of the Dodd-Frank Act in 2010. This, he argues, is simply much more of the same. This is the addition of even more complex legislation on the already existing complex legislation. This is one of the Rule of Law's enemies – bad law (p59). He illustrates the additional complexity added by this Act. Regulators are to create an additional 243 rules, conduct 67 studies, issue 22 periodic reports. It eliminated one regulator and created two new ones. Section 232 stipulates that each regulatory agency must establish an office of minority and women inclusion to promote minority and women owned businesses. These and many other things contained in the Act have nothing whatsoever to do with the promotion of the financial stability of the United States. Clearly this new wave of legislation simply adds greater complexity – the source of the problem to start with. So, he concludes, the regulators of the post-crisis world are doomed to

fail (p70). They will merely learn from one crisis to create the next.

In short his message is clear. Society started with the ruling rent-seeking elite who used their position of power to expropriate property – an attack on property rights. The West raced ahead when it had simple institutions imposing constraints allowing the development of successful economies protected by the rule of law. The rule of law is now but a ghost of its former self. It now consists of a vast complex of unintelligible rules presided over by regulators and lawyers. The solution to the current crisis is to impose much more of the same. It will not solve the problems. Ferguson's understanding of the financial crisis is vastly different to that usually portrayed in the media as being caused by deregulation, the free market and bankers' greed.

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

Helen Suzman

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yours sincerely

Francis Antonie
Director

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