

SA City Futures

FutureHood: A Project Synthesis

Report

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0. Contents



Model building preparation during *City Futures* workshop in Khayelitsha. Photo: Kim Gurney

Chapters	Pages
01 Overview: SA City Futures	03
02 Methodology: <i>Futurehood</i> toolkit	08
03 Outcomes: Common Hopes	31
04 Findings: Secret Spaces/ Big Places	51
05 Context: The Bigger Picture	67
06 Acknowledgements	75

Note to readers: This synthesis report is authored by the African Centre for Cities as part of *SA City Futures*, a collaborative endeavour to differently imagine the future of our cities to 2030 from a neighbourhood-level perspective. It is the Final Report, submitted to the project's Reference Group that steered the project at large, to reflect upon its method, process and outcomes.

1 . Overview: *SA City Futures*



'HAIR SALON, RELAX'. *City Futures* project neighbourhood walk in Alexandra, 2013. Photo: Kim Gurney

The South African government's National Planning Commission (NPC) placed the persistence and complexity of spatial inequality on the national agenda with the publication in June 2011 of the Diagnostic Reports. The findings of the NPC were not a surprise for urbanists but did drive home the degree to which urban development policy was stuck in terms of reversing and changing patterns of apartheid-era planning and investment. Urbanists also had to admit that the plethora of legislation, policies and other governmental instruments aimed at unravelling the apartheid city was hardly making an impact. As the NPC found,

spatial inequality was worsening between rural and urban areas, and within urban areas.

Urban thinking and planning also seemed disengaged from the future, besides the evident policy impotence to deal with spatial inequality. The NPC process – the diagnostic and the plan – has brought home to all South Africans the poor preparations for an increasingly turbulent and insecure future. Very few local governments, citizens or civil society organisations are engaged with the implications of future trends in terms of the economy, natural resources, materials consumption, or demographic change linked to socio-cultural transformations. The planning and urban management horizons are firmly fixed on the present, with a timeline of perhaps three to four years into the future.

Cue *SA City Futures*, a collaborative project formed in 2011¹ among organisations and individuals variously interested in futures thinking. It turned its attention on the back of these challenges to the nature of the urban planning system and institutional culture across South Africa in order to make sense of these testing conditions. It also explored how South Africa compares with the rest of the world where a number of urban planning and management innovations are finding root, changing the prospects of cities and people for the better.

This collective of public interest partners joined forces as a Reference Group to speculate around related issues and work together on developing an exploratory framework to re-imagine city trajectories in an interdisciplinary format. It was the beginning of an iterative process that culminated in a series of workshops held during 2013 and 2014 that produced some outcomes; this synthesis report is a joining of the dots between. The Reference Group comprises: South African Cities Network (SACN), African Centre for Cities (ACC) at the University of Cape Town, Architects' Collective (AC), Centre for Science and Industrial Research

¹ The appointment of a facilitation team in September 2013 commenced the workshop process in the following sequence, Rosebank (July 2013), Braamfontein (October 2013), Alexandra/Marlboro (November 2013), Khayelitsha (May 2014), Korsten/Schauderville (July 2014).

(CSIR), Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA), Mandela Bay Development Agency (MBDA), and other organisations in support.

As brief backstory, the contemporary urban planning system in South Africa has four dominant elements. Firstly, the Integrated Development Plan (IDP), which is a statutory requirement and covers the five-year term of office of the incumbent government. IDPs are meant to be a strategic planning framework produced through participatory deliberative processes but in practice they are more akin a yellow pages-like compendium of municipal sectoral plans and priorities.

Secondly, each municipality produces a spatial development framework (SDF), which is meant to be both an informant and outcome of the IDP. Again, in practice, most SDFs are classic spatial master plans that reflect the ideals of municipal planners but hardly impact on the investment decisions of private companies and households.

Thirdly, ward planning is performed to reinforce the ward-based political representation but these plans are also often meaningless. The main reason is that ward boundaries do not have any developmental logic. They simply reflect geographical catchments for a given number of voters. Since these elements are essentially short-term in scope (with the exception of the SDF) and ineffectual in addressing deep structural challenges associated with spatial inequality, it is not that surprising that urban governments are failing to solve the legacies of apartheid-era planning and regulation.

The net effect of these failures is that the *de facto* planning power resides in the large engineering departments of local government that are responsible for operating sectoral fiefdoms to deal with roads, stormwater, energy, waste treatment, water, and to some extent, public transport planning. The plans and expenditure of these departments have long lead times and the consequent projects have very long life-cycles, in the range of 60-100 years. However, these departments are driven by narrow sectoral concerns that can in fact serve to reinforce the status quo in terms of spatial arrangements, social interactions and

economic location. In this sense, sectoral plans tend to reinforce the status quo and take a very narrow view of the future.

With a sobering awareness of these deep institutional challenges, the Reference Group came together to embark upon an experimental journey to develop a more creative public pedagogy to envision alternative city futures. The founding partners agreed from the outset that the project - called 'SA City Futures' - had to be experimental and, by extension, flexible and open-ended. The project sought to promote the importance of futures thinking and exploration into the local government planning realm, with a bias to the enrolment of citizens at the neighbourhood scale. It sought to bring greater clarity to current thinking and practice by providing participants with a compelling experience of creative futures engagement. Its premise was not to offer forecasts but rather to clarify the importance of understanding and engaging with future probabilities. At its core was the belief that if the project could deploy visualisation techniques more effectively, it could induce a qualitatively different and improved social dialogue between actors with an interest in fostering more vibrant and resilient cities.

The project would, however, resist the temptation to produce firm policy conclusions and recommendations and rather offer a set of reflections that could inform and infuse various forums, processes and methodologies. It was driven by a hunch that through creative process facilitation, a way should be figured for participants to move between cognitive data and rational reasoning on the one hand and affective, emotional registers on the other. Also, participants needed to navigate between the present, the past and the future in ways that illuminated individual and collective pathways to instil confidence that alternatives were conceivable. Lastly, different levels and scales of urban development from the vantage point of the neighbourhood were to be privileged as opposed to the municipality as a whole, which is typically the reference point of local authorities.

Concretely, these imperatives were captured in the project workshop methodology as a dynamic articulation of three lenses on the South African

neighbourhood: *Future Sim* (facts, statistics, trend data and maps), *Future Form* (the built environment and space) and *Future Narrative* (storylines of contemporary and future life). How exactly these lenses would be defined and activated in situ was the focus of the first phase of the project, anchored by ACC but continuously refined through engagement with the Reference Group. The substance of the *FutureHood* methodology is unpacked in the subsequent chapter, from its first iteration to its final refinement following experimental workshops in four sites. Later in this Report, following Outcomes and Findings, we delve deeper in the Context chapter into an analysis of the planning status quo and how this *City Futures* project initiative may complement, subvert and extend those deeply entrenched practices.

2. Methodology: *Futurehood* Toolkit



A *City Futures* participant contemplates the potential of open land in Khayelitsha. Photo: Siphenati Mayekiso

2.1 Introduction

[ACC](#), an interdisciplinary research hub at University of Cape Town, was tasked with developing a workshop methodology for *SA City Futures* and to reflect upon its outcomes. This chapter firstly sketches a brief introduction of the neighbourhood sites where the *City Futures* workshops were held. It then provides an overview of the essential components of this time-travelling toolkit, which we have dubbed the *FutureHood* methodology. Our manual is integrated into the body of this extensive chapter, since it represents in itself a hard-won synthesis of an experimental, iterative conceptual process.

This chapter secondly offers key moments of recalibration (2.5) that provide a critical reflection regarding the methodology and a contextual reading for the workshop outcomes and report findings, as set out in subsequent sections. This accounting is also consistent with the learning-by-doing ethos of the project.

The idea for coding our toolkit in a manual and facilitation notes, besides being a practical measure for third-party implementation as well as a record of learning, is intended for others to take the ideas forward under a Creative Commons licence (visit: www.cityfutures.co.za) and to grow the experiment in new contexts.

2.2 Neighbourhood Site Descriptions

The workshops were held in quite different contexts, which are sketched below. In Johannesburg, selected neighbourhoods had at their heart transport nodes or interchanges and the dual workshops were facilitated by a third party, usually separated in duration by a week. Cape Town followed, which also had a transport interchange nearby. This workshop was condensed into one weekend and as an anomaly, explained below, was facilitated by ACC and Magnet Theatre. The final workshop held in Port Elizabeth did not have a transportation asset central to its geography and was conducted as part of a municipality experiment to help make more innovative a master planning proposal.

Site 1, Rosebank: Rosebank is a major mixed-use node located between major arterial routes (Jan Smuts Avenue and Oxford Road), connecting the old Johannesburg CBD to Randburg and Sandton CBD. The precinct is well connected via major vehicular routes traversing the area and indirect access to the M1 motorway. A future Reya Vaya BRT (Bus Rapid Transit) route is planned along Oxford Road to link Johannesburg CBD to Sandton CBD. The Rosebank Gautrain station located in the precinct has spurred intensive high-density high-rise commercial development in the area. The historical residential neighbourhood has transformed into a mixed-use node that offers varied amenities, including retail, offices, hotels, galleries, entertainment, a hospital, banks and corporates. The residential component caters predominantly for middle to high income earners and comprises large houses on individual stands, and medium-density apartments owned and rented. Rosebank has a cosmopolitan character and caters for the middle and upper class.



Site 2, Braamfontein: Johannesburg's Park Station is located between the historical CBD of Johannesburg and Braamfontein and is a major transportation hub in the City of Johannesburg. It is the biggest railway station on the continent serving an extensive commuter and national rail network, and considered a gateway to Africa. The Gautrain high speed rail service starts at Park Station and the Reya Vaya BRT routes link the station to the CBD, surrounding suburbs and Soweto. Park Station and Braamfontein are also well connected via major vehicular routes traversing the precinct and indirect access to M1 and M2 motorways. Braamfontein is a high density mixed use area comprising residential, retail, offices, hotels, institutions, medical facilities, a hospital, banks, the civic theatre and the Metropolitan Municipal centre. The residential component is predominantly middle and low income rentable housing and extensive student housing. The precinct has a cosmopolitan character and caters for a multiplicity of cultures and income levels. The relative spending power and amenity needs of users is hugely varied and the precinct's character and offerings reflect this diversity.



Site 3, Alexandra: Alexandra township is located between the M1 and N3 motorways in close proximity to the Sandton CBD. The Alexandra Ext.7 neighbourhood and Marlboro Gautrain station are in the north-east corner of Alexandra township nestled between Marlboro Gardens, Linbro Park, Frankenwald and Kelvin. The area is well connected via Marlboro Drive and direct access to the N3 motorway. At Marlboro station, the Gautrain high speed train connects to Johannesburg, Pretoria and OR Tambo International Airport. A planned future Reya Vaya BRT route will link Alexandra to other major nodes in Johannesburg. The area is currently served by an extensive network of minibus taxi routes. Alexandra Ext.7 was part of the Far East Bank RDP housing project and consists predominantly of small single-storey houses on individual stands although there is a proliferation of mostly illegal additions to these units. The neighbourhood has very few amenities and is separated from amenities in surrounding areas by a river, power-lines, a highway and high-speed train tracks. The area is characterised by very dense and overcrowded living conditions, low incomes and high levels of unemployment. The neighbourhood is

adjacent to the Jukskei River open space system but the banks and adjoining landscape are neglected.



Site 4, Khayelitsha: Khayelitsha was established 30 years ago about 35 kilometres outside Cape Town. It is officially home to 391,000 people, according to 2011 census statistics, but more likely 450,000. Khayelitsha is split into about 22 subsections, old and new. The former comprise formal areas dating from their apartheid origins (A-J sections) that are generally home to middle-class populations, and newer areas built around them with a high number of informal settlements, RDP houses and informal backyard dwellers. A shopping centre, various key civic amenities including the recently opened Khayelitsha District Hospital (2012) and low-density residential dwellings characterise the primary land uses. There is in excess of 70 hectares of undeveloped or under-developed land around the Khayelitsha CBD, most within 800 metres of the main Khayelitsha train station. The majority of this land is in public ownership/partnership. The station also forms the epicentre of the City Futures study area and rail is the primary medium of connectivity to other urban nodes.

The area lies within a proposed north-south corridor of integrated development and is earmarked for future Transport Oriented Development (TOD).



Site 5, Korsten/ Schadeville: Korsten and Schauderville suburbs established under apartheid lie to the northwest of the Port Elizabeth CBD. The suburbs are well connected via major arterial routes and direct access to the N2 highway. The main roads are very busy and congested during rush hour with a high number of minibus taxis and taxi ranks. The areas are intended to be included in the future integrated public transport system.

Korsten is an economic hub with extensive trading and a hectic street life. Shops located along Durban Road, Cottrell Street and Stanford Road sell everyday goods like groceries, fruit, vegetables, meat, clothes, electronics, hardware and household products. Durban and Stanford Roads have a high concentration of hawkers who have established themselves with informal stalls. Historically, Korsten was where Asian trading was allowed and the Asian influence is still dominant with businesses owned by the same families for generations, and more recently by Somalia and Ethiopia traders.

Schauderville is predominantly a 'working class' residential suburb consisting of single-storey houses in poor condition and a proliferation of backyard shacks. Limited industrial growth in the City has resulted in a high unemployment and social problems particularly among the youth. The scars of the 1990 uprisings and destruction of community assets are still visible today,

The general character of these neighbourhoods is one of decay and urban blight, vacant stands used for garbage disposal or illegal activity, creating a neglected environment with few community facilities and green or recreational spaces.



2.3 Overview

ACC built the *FutureHood* methodology informed in large part by prospective futuring methods to try and ascertain what some wishful future scenarios may look like in selected South African neighbourhoods. The approach seeks a creative riff between the spatial fabric and the imagination to walk a fine line between speculation and material constraints that together may inspire future city renderings from a local, personalised vantage point.

The methodology stands upon a tripod that aims for a 'middle space' between *Future Form* (the material built environment of the neighbourhood space), *Future Sim* (abstracted data comprising facts, statistics and maps pertaining to the site) and *Future Narrative* (personal storylines of neighbourhood participants). The project thus attempts an innovative synthesis of the spatial environment with how it is personally experienced, to create potential weaves of an urban fabric to 2030. The broad idea is through immersive playful encounters or 'urban games' to foster alternative notions of spatial literacy while creating speculative maps of possible futures.

The methodology takes an inspirational cue from recent survey findings by the Gauteng City-Region Observatory (GCRO). Its 2011 survey, conducted biannually, found overall quality of life increased slightly despite the global economic recession but core challenges appeared to be of the intangible type that are less easy to resolve -- "the energy, spirit or vision that holds together a varied and cosmopolitan population". The report suggests: "The domains pulling down quality of life are work (or lack of), family, sociopolitical sense and 'global' -- that all-round sense that the world is well, *my* world is well, and things will get better. That hope and optimism is what the survey has battled to find. Delivery alone may not be the answer."

Professor David Everatt, GCRO director, adds in a related interview that the 'basic-needs' approach obsessed with service delivery is not necessarily the centrepiece of how to drive development in Gauteng ("The real issue is not poverty", 2012). "You have to worry firstly about a different delivery mode. You have to worry about what is still holding us back. It does seem that the soft stuff between our ears, in other words racism, homophobia, hostility towards foreigners, gender-based violence ... those are the things that are tearing us apart." He says: "If you are very badly divided along lines of race, class, gender, country of origin, then what is 'the ghost in the machine', the thing that energises us and makes us all want to be here together as opposed to being here apart, which is what we want at the moment? And I don't know if governments are terribly good at [addressing] that. It's about building communities again and that is about starting at the local level".ⁱ

Taking these words as kickplate, the *FutureHood* methodology aims to partially unpack, from a neighbourhood perspective upwards, alternate visions about ourselves and our collective future. It does so via a series of workshops crafted to trigger imagination about what could feasibly comprise that 'ghost in the machine' through exercises in participatory speculative mapping. These future scenarios are inspired by what Ben Anderson calls "the affective signature of the

utopian” that offers a type of realism joining ground and horizon (2006: 694)ⁱⁱ. He ultimately connects utopianism to an ethos of hope, open to the emergence of something better in a world that takes place ‘in hazard’.

In practice, this means the workshops aim to explore neighbourhoods through an affective reading that prioritises a personal connection to locale. Key to opening up this kind of mapping is to read the neighbourhood through bodily senses (including the sixth sense or wishful thinking). This is balanced by introducing material constraints or so-called fixes through simulations based on evidential data at a broader scale. 'Wild ideas' are reconfigured without losing the power of imaginative personal and collective trajectories. The workshop template is conceived with this blend of approach in mind and structured giving primacy to personal encounter in ‘sensing our way back to the future’.

Basic Concepts & Logistics

--“Neighbourhood”: this is a flexible notion but for this purpose is interpreted around walkability, i.e. up to a radius of two kilometres measured from a chosen central point or neighbourhood locus that incorporates multi-use spaces, varied activities, access to mobility options and a diversity of people.

--Participants: The workshops enrol up to 25 people differently invested in their neighbourhoods, with a particular interest in the youth demographic (15--34 years) and cognisant of inclusion of elders and community leaders.

--Workshop structure: Two workshops are held per neighbourhood. Each is of one day's duration (approx. 10h00--16h00), and a week or two apart, as befits logistical procedures and participants.

--Resources: A detailed process guide in the form of facilitation notes indicates what materials need to be produced and ready prior to each workshop for the facilitators to run a smooth programme according to the devised methodology -- such as registration & consent forms, worksheets & group maps, stationery, shared digital cameras, etc.

--Completed worksheets and related workshop outcomes produced during the process are returned to the *City Futures* facilitators at the end of each day. There is also post-production work required by facilitators to create a digital archive of the same, as guided by the facilitation notes, to enable analysis and reflections and also to preserve the project legacy.

2.4 The Recipe

Key tasks in this *FutureHood* methodology are designed with a conceptual logic so that a workshop process that aligns may offer up useful outcomes, lending itself to reflective analysis and prospective findings. This overview provides a narrative account of such, supported by a workshop Manual and facilitation notes. The idea is that after the *City Futures* project has run, third parties may implement this comprehensive toolkit to similarly generate their own findings and take the process forward into new domains.

The three methodological legs in our method -- *Urban Form*, *Urban Sim* and *Urban Narrative* -- inform workshop outcomes (see Chapter 3), which in turn infuse a series of 2030 'design skins' conceived by workshop participants as prospective futures. These may all be rendered in a combination of media including visuals (e.g. photographs/ video/ drawings/ collage/ speculative mapping/ timelines), audio clips /soundscapes of the environment, textures, sensory impressions etc., according to the skills and proclivities of the facilitators and participants.

More specifically, each neighbourhood workshop has a distinct purpose as follows:

- **Workshop 1: *Sensing Place***

The first workshop is site-specific and concerns sensing or unveiling place. Participants are first 'primed' about the workshop process, its outcomes and their informed active consent is sought. This introductory process addresses any ethical and procedural concerns the group may have.

Participants then take neighbourhood walks of about one hour in simultaneous subgroups of up to eight people with a facilitator guiding each. The idea is to compile an affective neighbourhood inventory identifying perceived assets and liabilities. To accomplish this, walkers hold some specific questions in mind to help identify what is distinctive about their neighbourhood and their relationship to it, specifically:

- what do you like?
- what do you dislike?
- what is your favourite place?

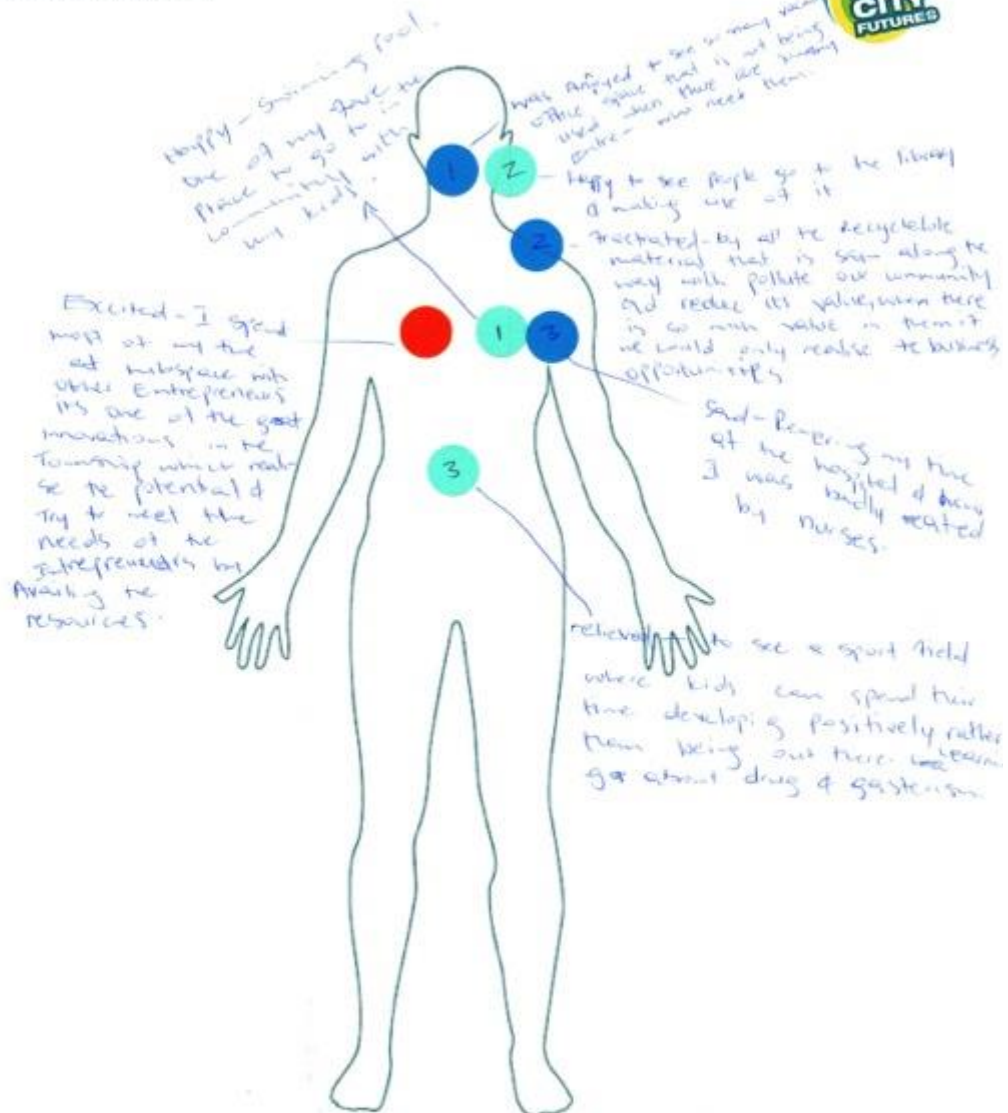
Participants record the answers to these questions with stickers on individual maps that they carry with them. Some may prefer to memorise these and label these spaces on their return. Importantly, the route of the walk is determined by visiting each person's favourite place in turn. The group takes a photograph of these sites with a shared camera to create a visual archive. This walk experience helps participants see their neighbourhood through one another's eyes as each participant gives a brief explanation of why they have chosen their particular location upon arrival at their favourite place.

Participants during this walk bring back to the workshop an object collected en route. It could also be a texture or even an ephemeral 'found sound' or a smell they write down -- anything that characterises a sense of place. These will be returned to facilitators at the workshop space where they will be labelled with the participant's code number and their source location noted. They are all stored in an archive box -- the purpose is to act as a 'time capsule' for 2030. The participants should therefore imagine the artefacts have the power to say something to residents of the future about their life in the present -- but their end function to the participants is largely enigmatic. The overall objective of the walk is to animate a sense of place by engaging personally with a locale.

The second phase of this workshop is to map such impressions for each participant in a form that links personal affect to the literal urban fabric. This will comprise a sensory map, inspired by Jane Solomon's body mapping process (see www.bodymapinfo.com), that presents in this case a generic outline of the human figure. The idea is that participants link the body to the spatial locations they have 'liked' or 'disliked' and write a brief sentence or two about why, connecting the physical environment to a feeling in turn located on their body map.

Below (Fig. 1) is an example from the Khayelitsha *City Futures* workshop to show the process. The numbers correspond with the participant's same marked numbers on an A4 spatial map (their likes and dislikes) and the red dot corresponds with a favourite place they marked out on their neighbourhood walk map. They have therefore transferred their likes and dislikes and favourite place from the urban fabric to their diagrammatic bodies, linked by short storylines as below.

WORKSHEET 2



The purpose of the next exercise is to connect your favourite place, your 3 likes and 3 dislikes to specific feelings.

So, if you look at your likes and dislikes on the left-hand map, how does each dot make you feel? Sad? Happy? Angry? Hopeful? Hurt? Jealous? Disgusted? Frustrated? Relief? Worried? Terrified? and so on? *Excited, Annoyed*

Once you've nailed the feeling, think where on your body you would place those feelings. Remember, write a little explanatory note next to each dot on the body.

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www.cityfutures.org.za/CAPE/CAPE-TOUR-2014-01-19

8.14.14

Fig. 1

Finally, the numerous individual likes and dislikes are collated on a large wall map (Fig. 2) back at the workshop venue. This group synthesis thus plots commonalities and differences in part answer to the elusive 'ghost in the

machine' quoted above. Group discussion then draws out elements that may be missing -- significant spaces that the walk did not draw out.

Spatial Paths

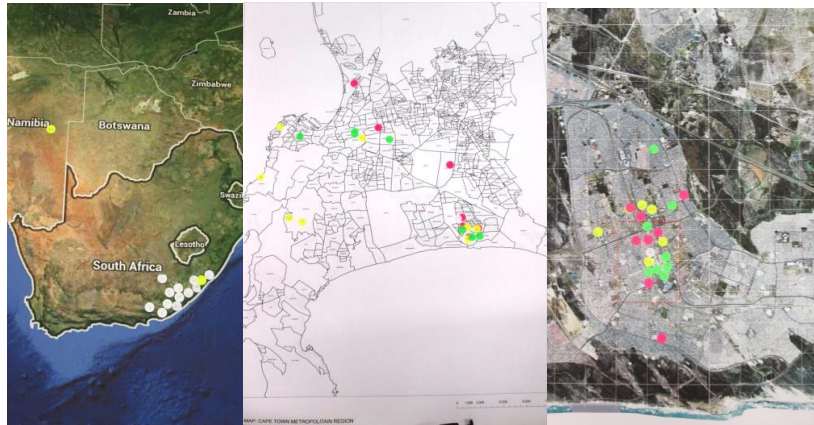


Fig. 2 Where I live: Pink, Where I was born: White, Where I work/school: Green, Where I would like to live: Yellow

The workshop ends with participants thinking about music that best describes their 'hood'. They list first the most likely songs they would hear in public spaces. They subsequently make a playlist of songs that are personal to them. The workshop concludes with participants speaking about their favourite beats and why they have a particular connection to those rhythms and words. The next week's workshop opens by playing those self-same tracks back as the participants re-enter the space and assemble for the day.

The diagram below (Fig. 3) sets out an overview structure of this first workshop process, beginning with a Hood Walk and ending with Soundtrack Beats:

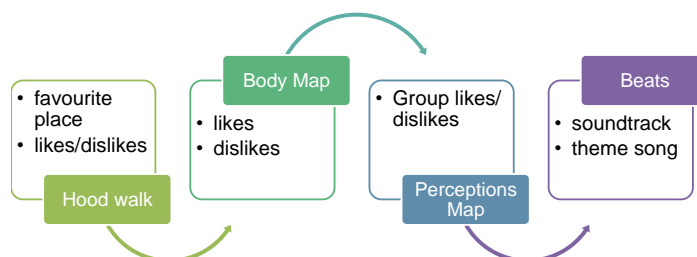


Fig. 3: First Workshop Process

- **Workshop 2: *Speculation***



Fig. 4

The second workshop is speculative mapping around imaginative desire lines into the future (2030) and potential common overlaps. This is framed as a wish-list of elements that participants would like to see in their future neighbourhood set against existing components and the workshop concludes with setting of priorities and achievable targets.

Participants first of all think about their 'wild ideas' for the future. To assist them to open up in this way, the group is shown a suitable film snippet that triggers imaginary/ utopian visions and discussions. They think up wild ideas individually and write three of these down on a worksheet before consolidating in groups the top ideas to pitch forward to the plenary.

Material constraints are then introduced by facilitators through the presentation of a future trend scenario and a development scenario with objective information forecast from the present tense. This would essentially comprise a 'dashboard type' report (including maps and statistics) for each neighbourhood - the idea is to provide a reality check against which the wild ideas may be counterpointed and perhaps turned into 'big' ideas instead.

This kind of input, in our *City Futures* workshops generally provided by the CSIR, would include data of key statistics to rating the neighbourhood against selected development indicators (e.g. accessibility, centrality, concentration, density, growth and diversity). It would include key planning proposals and investments intended for the neighbourhood and immediate surrounding areas and a description of the neighbourhood in relation to larger urban development trends (modelling results), as well as a short description of the most probable growth trajectory for the neighbourhood. Participants may also consider particular capacity factors like utilities provision as related constraints and how changing policy scenarios may influence future trajectories. An example of a CSIR report

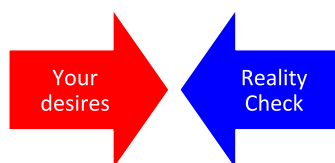
from which this information was drawn is included in this synthesis (Annexure A).

The groups consider this information - are they surprised or disappointed by the current trend scenarios? Further, what if anything would they envision differently, given this new bout of data? They discuss and come up as a group with top ideas to map out. Each group in turn then picks one 'big idea' and gives it a concept tagline, and physically maps it on a scale model (1:1000) of the area. They devise their own key with various lego blocks and other media to illustrate interventions. The next group to follow on with the scale model must negotiate with the previous group, if their vision is blocked or obstructed; otherwise they map theirs iteratively. A composite model of the area, with each subgroup having plotted their vision, is therefore the final modelled result and the penultimate act of the workshop too.

The groups finally reconvene as a whole to map out a timeline where these urban interventions could be reconfigured to 2030. This workshop exercise brings both material constraints and a regional scale of urban simulation data into the conversation. It also introduces a play with temporality as participants break up the future timeline into suggested workable components: 2013-15/ 15-20/ 20-25/ 25-30 and prioritise their aims and responsibilities between community, government and business.

Fig. 5

Journey of Workshop 2



Intention: You literally build the future through dreaming and prioritizing...

BIG IDEA	WHEN: Never			WHO? Zonke		
	2020	2025	2030	GOV	Business	Community
1. Water Culture: waterfront, bridge	*^			* ^^^	* ^^	*** ^
2. Tusong Youth Innovation Hub: (Market place where mall was)	\$*^			***	\$\$\$^^	^
3. Safety network (police stations) & Policy station network & networks/links to facilities (group 3)	^*\$			^^^ *** \$\$\$		
4. Harvard-KL CBD University (includes housing, 50 million trees, trading spaces, satellite campuses linked to public institution, car-free zone)	\$	*	**	\$\$\$	**	\$\$\$**
5. Mall:	\$				\$\$\$	
6. High density housing	\$*			\$\$	\$	\$\$\$

Fig. 6: Example of prioritised 'big ideas' -- process slide from Khayelitsha workshop

2.5 Groundtruthing our own wild ideas

This project was essentially a thought experiment, necessarily woven with flaws, mis-steps and re-thinks but also with breakthrough moments of synchronicity, insights and some new knowledge. It began in a rather complicated and in retrospect overly ambitious way. A visual rendering of our first methodology template (Fig. 7) tells that story below.

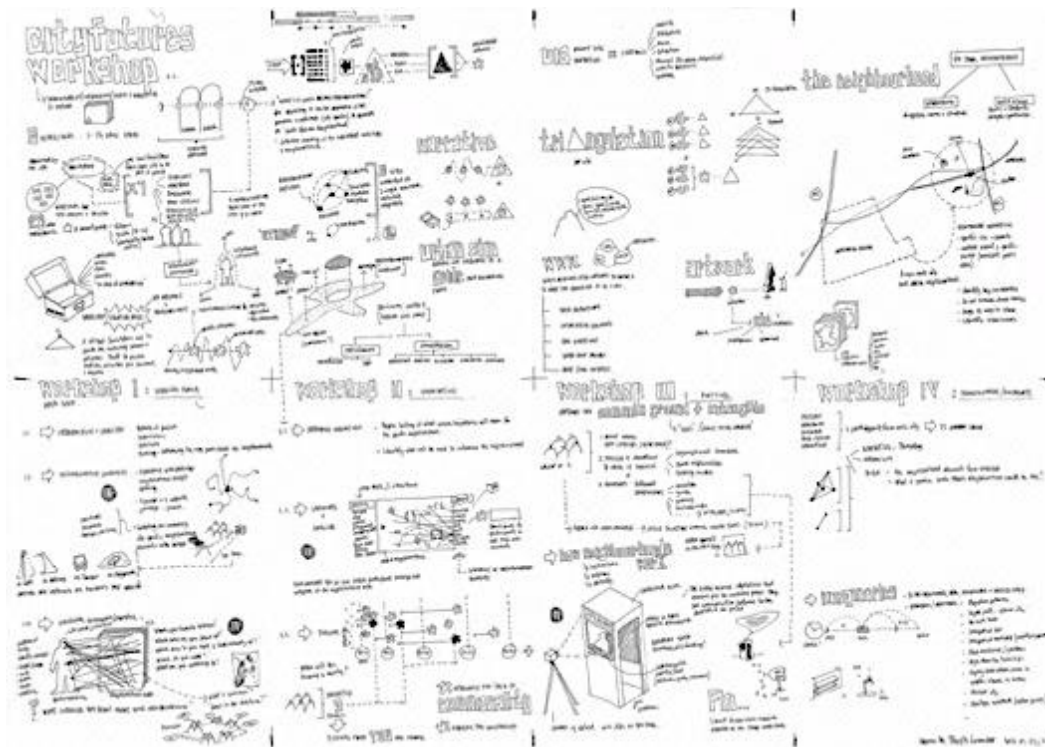


Fig. 7

As a Khayelitsha workshop participant said: "You always start with a pipe dream!" ACC refined that pipe dream and came to a simpler, more elegant solution that took grounded realities and pragmatics into account but retained a core vision. That vision was to aim for a middle space between three key methodological poles: *Urban Form* (space and built environment), *Urban Sim* (trajectories based on facts and figures) and *Urban Narrative* (storylines and personal participant experience). Our final process visual (Fig. 8) takes on more clarity, below:

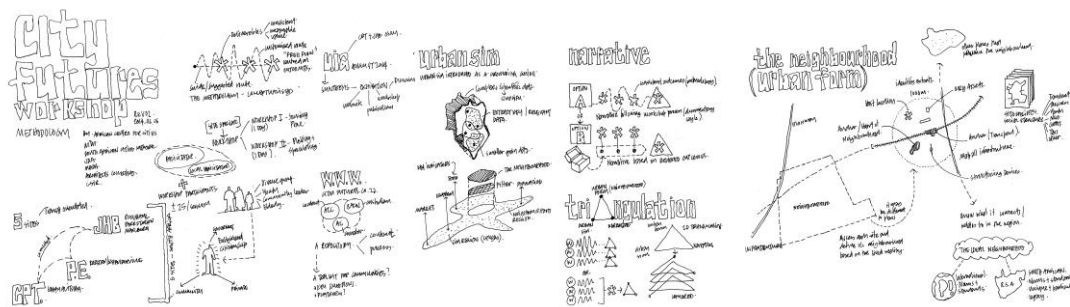


Fig. 8 Final Workshop Process drawing rendered by Thiresh Govender

The content of the following section tells the methodology journey through a few key recalibrations between the bookends visualised above. They provide a summary lens through which to appreciate the process and approach end outcomes, as well as a record of learning.

Some adjustments were made in response to third-party implementation by facilitators of the methodology for the Johannesburg workshop trilogy (Rosebank, Braamfontein, Alexandra). A final recalibration was effected when ACC conducted the workshop in Khayelitsha itself, as a once-off. This was an opportunity to finesse the manual and in particular produce detailed facilitation and post-production notes.

Firstly then, a recap following the Johannesburg workshop trilogy.

What's in a word?

To slice this open, let us take the desired end point for the project and then embark upon a time travel, in keeping with the project's spirit. A seemingly pedantic issue over a word switch may speak to the nature of the project at large and also offer a summary of both its aspiration and Achilles heel: from 'triangulation' to 'synthesis'. Understanding this semantic move is a shortcut to appreciating some broader challenges.

In brief: a process of triangulation of outcomes for *City Futures* was intended as a final analytical move. Data from different neighbourhood sites would be compared and contrasted by ACC in this report to generate prospective findings across neighbourhoods in different cities. It became evident this would be impossible and the process was better understood as a project synthesis instead, for two essential reasons.

Firstly, the workshop process was not consistent so neither were the outcomes -- there was variancy between and even within individual sites during group tasks like the walk, for instance. This affected ability for comparison of results within and between neighbourhoods. Secondly, this variancy had a close cousin. While much content of compelling interest was generated during the workshop process, the formal data capture techniques and processes to relate this real-time information back for findings analysis for the larger research purpose was for various reasons inadequate. One consequence was that an observer needed to be on-site to ethnographically collate observations, insights and nuances. This also inferred qualitative findings necessarily became more speculative and site-specific. This also affected the ability for comparison of results within and between neighbourhoods. As a result, the research reflections are assembled in a project synthesis that acknowledges this variancy.

Third voice

The *SA City Futures* project as a whole has a complex institutional structure with multiple layers, expertise in different disciplines and geographical dispersion. Its implementation was also fragmented: the methodology was internally designed but carried out (Cape Town excepted) by a third party answerable in the first instance to a contractual process. These structural dynamics arguably distorted the informational flow back to the *City Futures* project hub that required certain workshop outcomes, which the generation of a methodology manual aimed to facilitate. The major challenge was to constantly try to re-synch mutual objectives along the way. This in itself led to tensions and difficulties as expectations for all parties were variable and on a shifting matrix. The larger *City Futures* framework itself also changed shape along the way as the project found traction.

Further: by its nature the workshop process speaks back with a mind of its own, a 'third voice' if you will, from both participants and facilitators. Sometimes this was subtle and participants for instance pushed against the methodological frame in a way that offered a vital clue to the goal of sensing place. For example, one Khayelitsha participant suggested at the concluding workshop that in lieu of a 'big idea' for the neighbourhood, existing small ideas get support and encouragement. This logic nourishes what is already working to leverage existing intellectual capital. The big idea, he said, was to grow small ideas - and he brought along a video clip of a spinach entrepreneur to show what he meant. At other times it was unambiguous: a Braamfontein participant refused to map the group's suggested affective vector of 'disgust' because he considered it all part of the inner city and did not share the same normative criteria. This pushback could also lead to useful change. Workshop facilitators in Johannesburg for instance innovated the walk route to be designed by following the participants' favourite places in turn, which was an important reconfiguration.

The challenge for ACC in this methodology feedback play was when to hold on and when to let go, and bearing in mind that ACC was the conceptual and not the implementation team. Consistency was important in order to maintain conceptual integrity -- the method understandably had a considered logic that changes could disrupt in the data triangulation as originally conceived. That said, it was an untested experiment that had no trial run, which was not ideal and increased the teething problems. Alterations that were introduced, aspects that became redundant, mistakes that needed to be dropped or improvements that could be made and new innovations that were added to the mix -- these were

parts of the puzzle. It made the work both interesting but also difficult for all concerned; the method had to be flexible and adaptive to circumstance without losing coherence.

The diversity of the project was a potential collaborative boon but also a complicated project management task since the same layering that adds richness also potentially leads to fracturing of communication and lines of responsibility. The absence of a dedicated project manager with the time to ensure consistent communication and coherence across all the diversity proved challenging.

Reroute: Learning by Doing

This leads us to the Cape Town workshop, which was held in Khayelitsha. Following the Johannesburg series implemented by a third-party facilitator with ACC as observer, we decided to initiate and implement partly for pragmatic reasons the penultimate workshop set in Cape Town. Initially, ACC sought facilitators but for a variety of logistical reasons this became impractical and we decided that it might be vital to conduct the workshops ourselves supported by a facilitation teamⁱⁱⁱ. It was also important, given differences around implementation, to run with the methodology and see first-hand where challenges may lie. This learning curve helped seal the last conceptual move to refine a detailed workshop methodology and facilitation guide intended as a useful resource for others to use in a Creative Commons spirit. This workshop, held in Khayelitsha during May 2014, finalised the template (appended) with some key moves, highlighted below.

Khayelitsha Recalibrations

a. Body-space mapping: This element, a vital part of 'sensing place', got reclaimed from the original methodology template because it was considered an important missing module and it was added back into the Cape Town workshop. Concerns about potential psychological discomfort among participants, voiced earlier by the Reference Group, were addressed by pre-figuring a generic and small-scale body map that participants could complete privately. This element worked very well and is an important recovered aspect of the sponsoring ethos to tap into emotional or affective elements of 'sensing place'. (See Chapter 4 for more feedback.) This methodological step was also subsequently reintroduced into the Port Elizabeth workshops facilitated by the third-party.

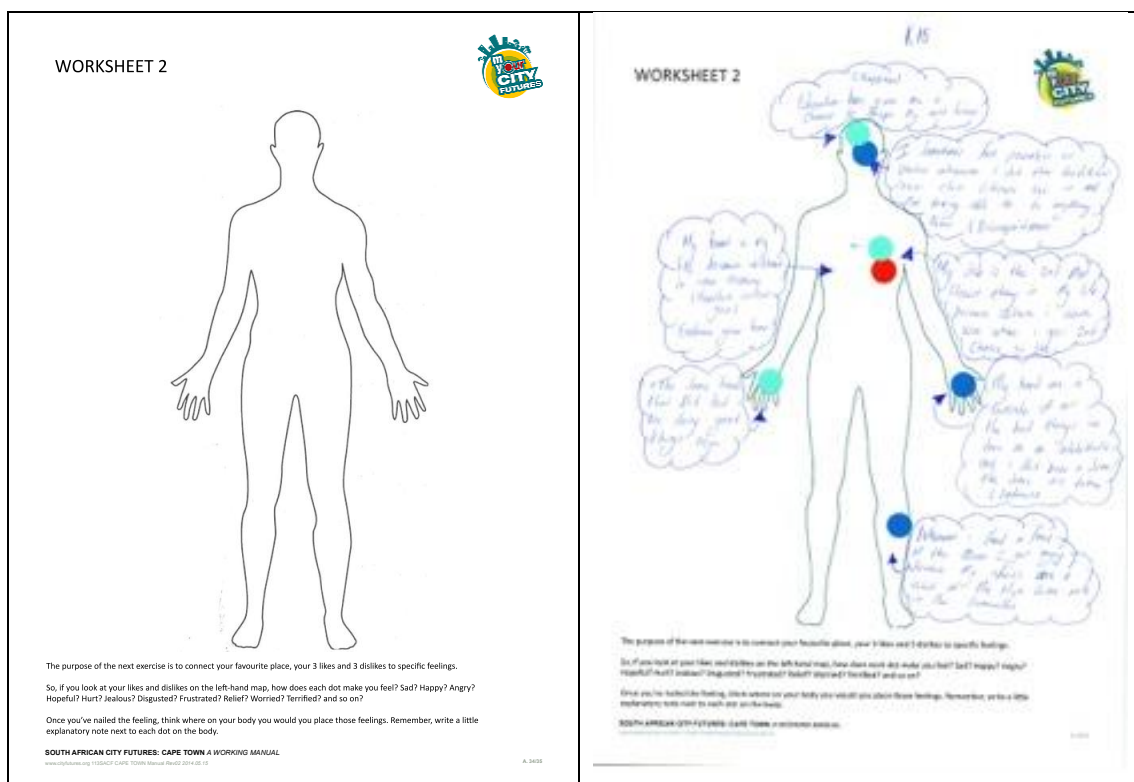


Fig. 9

b. Neighbourhood beats: This is a new module devised to end off Workshop 1, to evoke a neighbourhood soundtrack. It was one of the most successful parts of the workshop and is now a key element, in line with 'sensing place', that conjures a composite auditory soundscape. It also provides a parting gift and workshop memory for participants by assembling the tracks as a unique playlist onto a complimentary CD.

c. Perceptions map: The second group mapping exercise, after the common likes and dislikes, did not work effectively and has now been removed from the template. It was designed as an opportunity for the participants to push back and map their own vectors. It is a good idea in principle but in practice is too cumbersome and abstracted and the information sought in any event expresses itself in group dialogue regarding 'significant spaces' that follows the neighbourhood walks.

d. Postproduction & Data Capture: Facilitating the workshops helped to generate a pointed postproduction tasklist for data capture of workshop outcomes in an ordered, digitised archive. This is an essential rounding off of the workshop process, which was a prior loose end. Reconsidering the worksheets and making sure they were translated into the vernacular language also helped. Participants were also encouraged in the workshop process to participate in a language of their choice with translators on hand.

e. Priming: Showing participants clips of a Hollywood rendition of the future, a utopian/ dystopian version of life as imagined in film studios, was an effective way of priming their imaginations to think wildly and out the box about life in their own neighbourhoods unconstrained by pragmatic and practical limits.

f. Participant enrolment: The workshop sites were in large part situated where funders had an interest in project results. In Johannesburg, these were concentrated around transit nodes. The Cape Town site similarly chose a site adjacent a transit node because a lot of future investment is earmarked for this area and it is ripe for further multi-stakeholder engagement.

This rendering of neighbourhood had a bearing on participants as the sites also have a nomadic aspect of people passing through. Demarcation raised its head as a related issue among participant discussions that also cut to the heart of what constitutes a 'neighbour' or neighbourliness, speaking back to the project's Findings (Chapter 4). It also invokes insider/outsider perspectives and project expectations, which the policy review section also addresses (Chapter 5) by further contextualising *City Futures*.

The workshop sites had different degrees of enrolment success. Khayelitsha was evidently the highest with over 20 repeat participants including members from business, entrepreneurs, design/ art, community activists, residents, medical practitioners, school learners, provincial government, etc.^{iv} In Johannesburg: the first Rosebank workshop is broadly regarded in this synthesis as a pilot test case where the methodology was first run. Braamfontein started with a poor turnout that gathered strength and the calibre of the participants and their engagement was strong. Alexandra had greater numbers, half of the desired target, and they represented a cross-section of community participants with a critical and open engagement. Port Elizabeth participants were committed and highly engaged in both days of the workshop. This was largely to do with the participants being actively involved in the neighbourhood through various forums. The municipality facilitated the selection of participants whereby of the 120 interested participants, 23 were selected to represent the interests and sub-portfolios of the community.

Enrolment was arguably linked to understanding the principles and intentions behind the *City Futures* project at large. A vital aspect for the successful implementation of the workshop is that facilitators communicate this larger intent to potential and actual workshop participants since it sets up initial expectations that infuse the entire workshop dynamics. The fact that this is a

speculative exercise and exploratory yet still offers value for both facilitator and participant needs to be well articulated up front for a diversity of participants and ideal engagement in sessions.

In conclusion

It was thanks to the time and effort of all the participants^v, who had to take a collective leap into unknown territory, that *SA City Futures* exists at all. ACC dedicates this synthesis report with deep gratitude to their generosity and collective insights that inform the spirit of this project at large.

[See Annexure B for the Workshop Methodology Manual or visit www.sacityfutures.co.za]

3. Outcomes: *Common Hopes*



Graffiti mural on a Khayelitsha house, *City Futures* neighbourhood walk. Photo: Kim Gurney

"South Africa shows we can live in a world defined not by our differences but by our common hopes." This excerpt from a graffiti mural in the Khayelitsha project site (above) articulates a key inspiration in the *FutureHood* workshop methodology, to seek the intangible spirit or 'gees' that invisibly binds a community and makes it want to live together rather than apart, as evoked in Chapter 2.

We have developed a simple scheme for pulling together the *FutureHood* workshop outcomes, outlined in this chapter, that offers a framework for gathering the *City Futures* workshop results and in turn a way to reflect upon its significance. In this scheme, we understand our neighbourhood metaphorically as a body comprising three key elements -- (1) skin; (2) heart; (3) breath -- that in turn link to our three methodological pillars. The skin is the physical way we interact with the world at large and represents in the methodological model *Urban Form*. The heart is our reality constraint and represents *Urban Sim*. The intangible breath is our shared experience, or commons, and similarly represents *Urban Narrative*.

This reading is inspired by Tim Collins and Reiko Goto^{vi} (2005) who define public space as having both spatial and discursive forms with a perceptible

boundary whereas the commons has no real boundary; it is part of the experience of place – “a shared experience that is processed through a social-political lens” (2005: 44). They add: “The skin is a clear and perceptible public-place of our body, we are aware of its condition, its visibility and its cleanliness. Breath is the body-commons which we all share, it sustains life. The breath we breathe, however, gets less attention than our skin ... The former is an obvious physical artifact that we are well aware of, the latter a ubiquitous necessity easily overlooked until compromised or removed”.^{vii}

The outcomes under this schematic are detailed in the ideogram below (Fig. 10) and each has a dual temporal element -- a present and future tense, in accordance with the nature of the project. Further, the entire schematic is conceived as a feedback loop, being a metabolic process that is subject to revisions and further iterations.

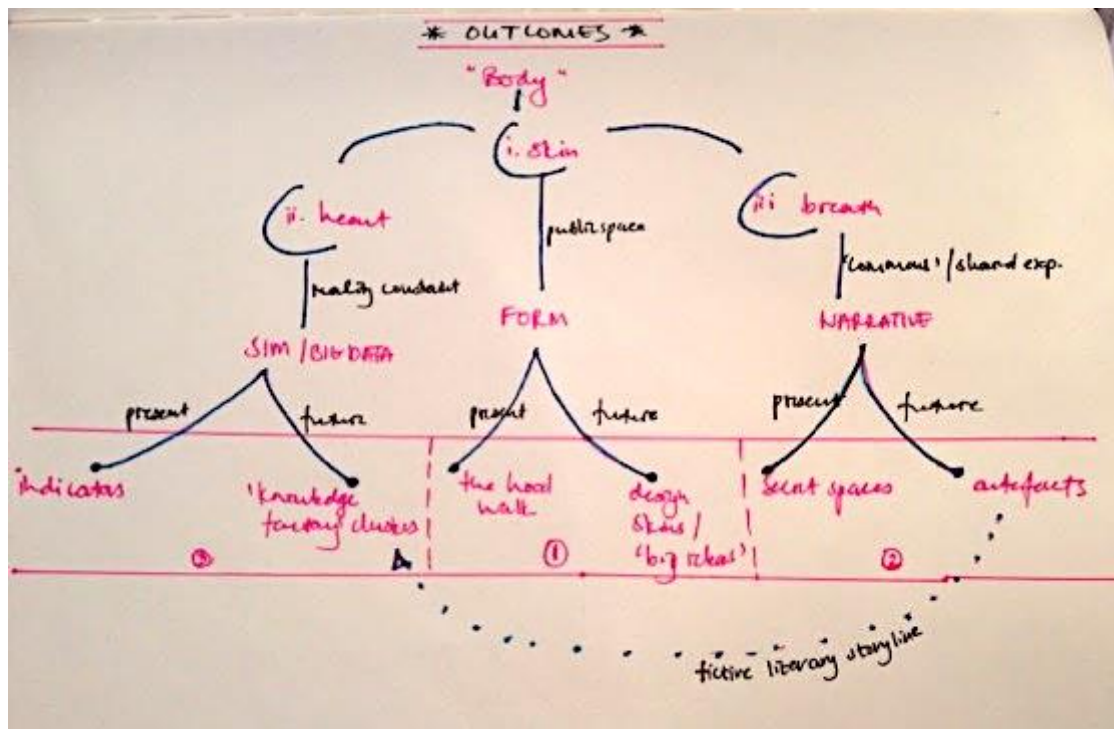


Fig. 10

Outcomes #1: Design Skins [Urban Form]

Present Tense: Participants are orientated in the here and now in this *FutureHood* methodology by taking an hour-long neighbourhood walk in Workshop 1 to ground themselves in their current reality and to see it through each other's eyes. The route is determined by visiting the 'favourite place' of each participant in turn. This both primes the participants to sensing their hood, as

they are also briefed to think about places en route that they really like and dislike, and it helps them discover new perspectives, quite literally, as they encounter places they never knew about and open themselves up to the storylines of others. Here, the experience of surprise and novelty is vital to spur a fresh appreciation of their neighbourhood in a deliberate strategy to shift perspectives and encourage people to enter new geographies. This first exploration of 'design skins' is all about public space sensed in a subjective way but opening up through affective encounter to seeing things in a different light.

Below is a selection of 'favourite spaces' from different neighbourhoods. On the one hand, they offered potential for development in a new direction but on the other they held a negative edge. Many 'favourite' sites held a kernel of duality or ambivalence that suggested something about the nature of the city, or perhaps even 'citiness', at large. Below, by way of example, are images from a Braamfontein workshop walkabout:



Trading was a big issue for participants -- some felt formalised stands made walking on sidewalks much easier while others felt they chased away informal trade and liveliness. "The vendors is what makes Johannesburg," says one, summing up the general feeling.



Joubert Park was a popular area -- "a halfway person taking a rest" as one put it while another called it "a pause". It's an open place of refuge but also vulnerability yet ultimately desirable: "You don't feel intimidated because everybody is just doing their own thing," says another.



The combination of old and new caught participants' eyes - in this case, heritage buildings with a KFC (fast food chain) banner, out of the picture frame.



Walking through busy traffic intersections, the general comments were around rhythms. "It's block by block," says one. "Different blocks tell you different stories."

Here, a selection of an Alexandra walk sequence:



This site offered a long-range view and a distant horizon line that one participant liked but it was marred by a rubbish dump and nearby sewerage.



This open ground offered potential for development into a range of possibilities including a playground for children, said another participant, but its current vacant status made it vulnerable to crime.



More memorable than a favourite spot, one participant points to this tree and says he was mugged at that spot on his way to the Gautrain station visible beyond it.



Some favourite spots were spontaneously sighted en route elsewhere -- such as this impromptu Saturday gathering of friends under a shade cloth adjacent the road.

Below is a selection of a Khayelitsha neighbourhood walk sequence. The striking take-home point in this neighbourhood as with the others was a deep ambivalence about 'favourite place'. Many people felt spaces projected one thing on the outside but their experience of it on the inside was something else entirely, which underscores the subjective experience of place. This ranged from the public hospital to the Magistrate's court and even informal trading hubs, some of which were suspected to carry on proxy contraband businesses.



Participant about this Litha Park hamlet:



Participant: "Even if you can't find work,

"It's quiet and beautiful."



Participant: "Before [the Mall was built] we had to go to Mitchell's Plain for shopping so it makes life more convenient but our population is large, there is always a queue."

there is something to do."



Participant: "I was here last year - my girlfriend was giving birth to a daughter but they made a mistake. I like it but I hate it."

Duality is also at the heart of the Korsten / Schauderville neighbourhood walk. It early on signalled a community that has an unsatisfactory relationship with its neighbourhood through recent neglect, crime, migration and lack of urban management. That said, a deep sense of nostalgia still rests in the minds of many inhabitants as they recall favourite spaces and buildings that are no longer there.



The site where the Old Post Office once stood is now a rubble heap of building material.



The well kept grounds and church building is a source of pride for the community.



Durban Road has changed in recent years transforming into a bustling trading street with vendors and vehicles. Many residents could not identify with the space through its recent changes whilst some felt it a core asset in the neighbourhood.



A rich sporting culture exists within the neighbourhood with a focus on soccer. The playing fields are important social spaces for the youth and clubs.

Future Tense: The culmination of the workshop process evokes 'big ideas' where participants map their prioritised visions around 2030 onto a scale model (1: 1000) of the neighbourhood. This is the final workshop act, realising futuristic visions working together in groups, each having to negotiate their ideas following on from a previous group's mapped vision. Below are key summaries of emblematic 'design skins' for 2030 that emerged from each neighbourhood where workshops were held for the *SA City Futures* project. We foreground the top two ideas and cluster other smaller proposals.

- **ROSEBANK**



The scale model of Rosebank at the start of the scale model process.



The model after the participants have mapped their 2030 'big ideas'.

1. 'The Fantastic Walk' -- a pedestrian route through this node that improves access and focuses activity around this hub. Its 'fantastic' quality derives from the fact that it cuts a safe, car-free and sometimes elevated pathway through the dense fabric of the area.

2. 'The Green Public Piazza' / Square -- creating the 'heart' of Rosebank in a car park nestled between the current location of The Mall, The Zone, Old Mutual and Game stores.

Note: the roofs of the buildings around Rosebank were earmarked for development of the area as an entertainment hub, leveraged around these two projects.

3. Congruent to these projects, elements that were prioritised included:

- Relocating the taxi rank to above the current Gautrain parking lot as a way to integrate the transport node;
- Green Space;
- High-density housing projects that catered for diverse income groups;
- Mixed-use developments.

- **BRAAMFONTEIN**



1. 'The Spine' -- Constrained movement along the Noord Street spine was countered by visions of pedestrianisation with landscaping and urban furniture

along Noord and De Villiers and introducing a deck over the railway to ease mobility and create space for other uses including informal trade.

2. A 24-hour neighbourhood -- a layered multi-transport hub around Park Station that includes live-work spaces, low-budget hotel, bicycle hire, widening walkways, pedestrian prioritisation, more informal trade, upgraded rail, bus and taxi networks, etc. This could also include a high-rise Park Station 'central nervous system'.

3. Elements that were prioritised included:

- Densification around the station hub;
- Low-cost housing;
- Greening;
- Opening up of street-level spaces;
- Satellite police stations/ security;
- Improving social services e.g. Hillbrow Hospital precinct

- **ALEXANDRA/ Extension 7**



1. The Floating Mall: A commercial development that includes a mall at the current Gautrain station linking over Marlboro Drive, an extended shopping centre, local markets to accommodate smaller and informal trade and a local food market. A casino site was also proposed across the N3. Part of the sponsoring ethos of this vision is better linkages, a theme that variously revealed

itself in talk around intersections, concern about vantage points and issues about neighbourhood demarcation lines.

2. River Bank urban agriculture project: This redevelopment of existing heritage involves stream cleaning and restoration of the Jukskei river and greening project, acknowledging the multifarious uses of an existing water well (religious, communal, sacred, symbolic, practical, etc.) and leveraging this as a site of community renewal taking cognisance of its historical, political and heritage value for long-standing inhabitants and existing multifarious users.

3. Elements that were prioritised include:

- Greening and parks including transforming open lots and creating recreational spaces;
- Densification & mixed-use including 'super high rise' (10-plus storeys);
- Taxi rank and mixed transport systems including a monorail around the area, BRT and cycling facilities;
- Pedestrian links and bridges;
- Community facility upgrades; &
- Satellite police stations.

- **KHAYELITSHA**



1. Youth in Action/ Water Culture hub: This vision comprises the Steve Biko channel that links a waterfront at Khayelitsha to the coast, a development that also includes three-story houses and jetties and a wifi mesh network. The model even has two sailing boats making their way to the new CBD. In this vision, the current shopping mall ("It's not a mall, it's a centre," remarks a participant, and raindrops fall on their heads) has been demolished and replaced by a central market place with small businesses that encourage local trading stalls and general greening; and a youth development hub with resources including free wifi at the existing Tusong Centre. "It's a huge market place with small businesses -- and the money stays here," the group explains. There are also a couple of well resourced police stations to improve safety and security.

2. Khayelitsha CBD University: This vision essentially brings a 'Harvard University' to Khayelitsha CBD along with a social compact to the rest of the neighbourhood, indicated in the model by a radiating blue line to show the positive impact it generates. It comprises university campus buildings and residences -- the faculties are built with the existing fabric in mind e.g. law next to Magistrate's Court; medicine next to the hospital, etc. Leading up to the main campus is a series of food gardens that grow edible plants for consumption. A primary school and a pedestrian walkway are part of the surrounding infrastructure.

3. Other elements that get built alongside these developments include:

- a new mall, which also houses the municipal offices;
- infrastructure like sports stadiums at schools and walking bridges to improve safety and accessibility;
- high-density housing;
- improvements to social services e.g.. new hospital entrance and more police stations; a nurse's home and more doctors;
- small business facilitation.

- **KORSTEN / SCHAUDERVILLE**



Model Exploration, *City Futures* Korsten/Schauderville. Photo: Kyle Ferguson

1. **Rehabilitation of the Pumba Game Reserve:** The existing and under utilised open space lies at the edge of the residential fabric of the neighbourhood. Whilst fond in the minds of the community – referred to as ‘Kampi’ - this space is seldom used and has fallen prey to neglect, vandalism and criminal activity. It is imagined that the space could be rehabilitated to accommodate a diversity of social and recreational functions. This is imagined to be a core public space in the neighbourhood to which other components such as housing and facilities are linked.
 2. **Rehabilitation of Durban Road:** Durban Road has undergone rapid transformation recently with new business and communities participating in the high-street activities. As a site of contention, the participants acknowledge the role of the street as an important space to do business but believe this needs to be achieved with sound urban management and appropriate spaces for trade, parking, loading, etc. This street then allows for a vibrant and diverse public life with trade, socialisation and residential use.
- 3. Elements that were prioritised include:**
- New library, community centre and play park;
 - a sports centre
 - the upgrade of Highfield Road;
 - Social housing;
 - Rebuilding of Old Post Office (demolished)

Outcomes #2: Design Heart [Urban Sim]

Present Tense: The CSIR created for the Johannesburg workshop trio a review of material constraints for participants to consider once they have speculated freely about future scenarios, in order to provide a kind of 'reality check' on their visions. These future urban simulation results are probable trajectories from the present tense based on a trend scenario and a development scenario that encompasses the neighbourhood. This review essentially comprised a 'dashboard type' report (including maps and statistics) for each neighbourhood [Annexure A].

The information ranged from UrbanSim data of key statistics to rating the neighbourhood against selected development indicators (e.g. accessibility, centrality, concentration, density, growth and diversity); key planning proposals and investments intended for the neighbourhood and immediate surrounding areas and a description of the neighbourhood in relation to larger urban development trends (modelling results); and a short description of the most probable growth trajectory for the neighbourhood. Participants were also encouraged in the workshop to consider particular capacity factors like utilities provision as related constraints and how changing policy scenarios may influence future trajectories. Each group could then reconsider their wild ideas in light of this information.

To help facilitate discussion, five key indicators were highlighted from this review for each neighbourhood. For instance, as drawn from Annexure A, Park Station in Braamfontein represents the following:

- (1) A gateway to Johannesburg or 'intermodal transport hub';
- (2) It acts as a kind of proxy for property prices with high density mixed commercial and residential land uses and predominantly commercial;
- (3) Growth in luxury accommodation within walking distance of this hub;
- (4) Low-income housing and strategic densification along mobility roads.

Future Tense: As an imaginative exercise for the synthesis report, we have taken a brief stab at creating creative typologies for future residents who may be living in the Design Skins that the participants envision, in Outcomes #1 above. A typology of current South African residents has been devised by The Knowledge Factory, a marketing insight company. As a way of 'speaking back' to the Urban Sim component of our methodology, we have added to this list and populated it with new residents from our fantastical 2030 scenarios.

We take inspiration from the geo-demographic market segmentation system called 'Cluster Plus'. It is informed by data from the Deeds Office and 2001 Census Data statistics, leveraged into insights regarding the behaviours, characteristics, lifestyles and locations of people in South Africa. It provides a much more nuanced typology than the usual division between working class, middle-class and upper class. It divides the population into 10 main groups, and further into 38 clusters according to socio-economic rank, life stage and dwelling type (Fig.11).

Socio-economic rank	income, property value, education, occupation
Life stage	age, household, family structure
Dwelling type	size, type, age of structure

Fig. 11

These factors give rise to the following Knowledge Factory groupings:

Group	Cluster	Group	Cluster
Silver Spoons	Upper Crust	New Bonds	Bond Battalions
	Pearl Strings		Developer's Dream
	Cheese and Wine		Struggler's Reward
	Fashion & Cafe		Young Blues Town
	Big Fish		
Upper Middle Class	Suburban Bliss	Township Living	Council's Clutter
	Dish & Decoder set		Kwaito Corner
	Terracotta Terraces		eKasi
	Retreat		Basic Town
	Platteland Pearls		
Middle Suburbia	Pram Pushers	Towering Density	City Strugglers
	Settled Suburbia		Modest Masala
	Small Town Families		Wilted Neon
			Tenement Trenches
Community Nests	Silver Threads	Dire Straits	Chakalaka
	Melting Pot		Poor Neighbours
	Modest Main Street		The other Town
Labour Pool	Suburban Stagnation	Below the Breadline	Tin Town
			eKaya

	Family Street		Forgotten People
	Family Strugglers		
	Rusty Blues Town		

Fig. 12. Source: Knowledge Factory Cluster Plus (2009)

This fine-grained account of diverse settlement conditions and inhabitants lends itself well to our interest in understanding the specificity and dynamics of neighbourhoods.

New South African 2030 residents

As an imaginative exercise to speak back to Urban Sim data in an exercise that could be extended, we have proposed some new Cluster categories below (Fig. 13). They in turn have inspired new Groups, since the current categories will no longer hold in 2030 as the Clusters in turn form new broader Group typologies. To their right, we have therefore renamed the Groups as well.

Knowledge Factory Group (current)	2030 Vision	2030 Cluster (new name)	2030 Group (new name)
Middle Suburbia (Rosebank)	1. Floating Mall 2. Green Piazza	1. Sky Walkers 2. Green Machines	Fantasia Fixes
Towering Density (Braamfontein)	1. The Spine 2. 24/7	1. Easy Movers 2. All Nighters	Portal Perchers
Township Living (Alexandra)	1. Floating Mall 2. River Bank	1. Rollers 2. Rejuvenators	Dream Builders
New Bonds (Khayelitsha)	1. Water Culture 2. UK (Univ. K)	1. Youth Streamers 2. Aspirers	Connectors
Township Living (Korsten/Schauderville)	1. Pumba Park 2. Durban High Street	1. Leisure Junkies 2. Vibrant Thrivers	Easy Living

Fig. 13

In this manner we can begin to appreciate the potential articulations between the Urban Sim, future tense urban skin, and narrative elements that flow from anticipating new kinds of residents.

Outcomes #3: Design Breath [Urban Narrative]

Present Tense: The *FutureHood* workshop participants without realising it often spoke about hidden spaces, or secret spaces, and this seemed in retrospect a vital indicator of desire lines. This was induced from observations of the workshop processes, where lines of interest, echoes and refrains across

neighbourhoods could be drawn together by a reflective lens (see Findings, Chapter 4).

We have consequently identified a key hidden space for each precinct, the premise being this offers a valuable clue for urban planners -- not in terms of what to develop necessarily but in terms of learning to read what may be valuable to residents and what they would like to see more of in their given precinct. Hidden spaces are often indicators of what is treasured. It is not to be understood as an indication of what should be changed or altered in some way but a more subtle reading of what could be (re)valued as bellweathers. It also underscores the value of this project's approach since it unearths intimate and personal insights that the rigidity of formal planning processes preclude. This becomes vital to considering South Africa's neighbourhoods in aspiring to be more responsive to place and people. Forthwith:

i--Rosebank: 'A window to the suburbs'



In response to the question card: 'What makes my neighbourhood unique?', one participant writes: "The views from upper floors in the buildings inhabiting the neighbourhood." Another says: "It serves as a window to the suburbs." In response to 'How do I see the future of my neighbourhood?', a participant writes: "Higher buildings/skyscrapers."

ii--Braamfontein: The Secret Garden



A participant says during a Braamfontein workshop discussion, "There is a park inside [Park Station] - - don't go inside you will come out naked!"

Photo: Thresh Govender

iii--Alexandra: The Water Well



Photo: Kim Gurney

The 'secret well' in an older section of Alexandra was the primary source of water for its original inhabitants before services were brought to the area. The well also marks political memory as nearby inhabitants were forcibly removed to Diepsloot, according to one of our participants who gives us a guided tour of its current environs. A mix of people still use the well adjacent the Jukskei River for a multiplicity of purposes, from sustenance to more sacred uses, and we pass some traditionally built houses from stone.

iv--Khayelitsha: The Hidden Shebeens



Photo: Kim Gurney

We pass by the Hollywood Tavern on our walk, one of few watering holes. A participant remarks later during group discussions: "The shebeens are hiding."

v—Korsten/Schauderville: Korsten/Schauderville: Bay-Window



On Delport Road, towards the higher parts of the neighbourhood, an open parcel of land makes way for a vast vista of the Port Elizabeth bay – the very reason for this port town's existence. The open space with its great view is identified by the group as an ideal place to meet and socialise.

Future Tense: A time capsule, ostensibly to be opened up in 2030, comprises objects that the participants collected on their walk, artefacts along the journey that speak to them in some way about their neighbourhood. This task was purposefully left quite enigmatic during the workshop process, to trigger imaginative responses in respondents and introduce a bit of mystery to the process (see Findings, Chapter 4). More pragmatically these artefacts may inspire a literary narrative to weave the neighbourhoods together. The various maps below depict these artefacts and where on the neighbourhood walks they were collected.

1. ROSEBANK



Fig. 14

2. BRAAMFONTEIN



Fig. 15

3. ALEXANDRA



Fig. 16

4. KHAYELITSHA

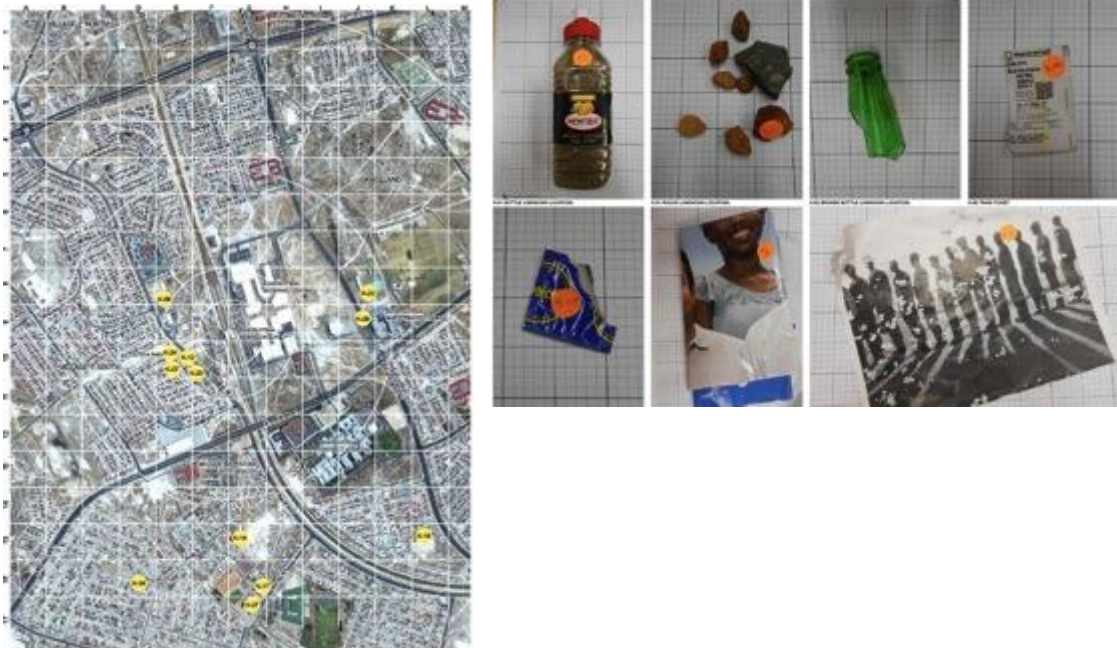


Fig. 17

5. KORSTEN / SCHAUDERVILLE (MAP PENDING)



4 . Findings: *Secret Spaces/ Big Places*



A participant in the *City Futures* Alexandra workshop finds his artefact -- a piece of hewnoff slate.
Photo: Kim Gurney

The genesis of *City Futures* was a deep dissatisfaction with the state of urban planning in South Africa. In the assessment of the project's founding partners, planning was devoid of deep engagement with future trends and how such trends circumscribe and enable the trajectories of neighbourhoods and cities at large. Urban planning was also deemed too formulaic and generalised and failed to engage with the nuances of small-scale urbanism that unfold at the level of the street and the neighbourhood. Against this recapitulation, an extended quote from the original proposal in 2011 for *City Futures* helps to frame the findings of the project:

"...we believe that unless we can identify and implement an effective methodology that can unlock meaningful engagement between stakeholders

within government, civil society, the academy and the private sector, it is simply not possible to create the governance climate that is conducive to long-term strategic thinking and policy agreement. At its core, this project is an audacious experiment to begin to define an indigenous methodology to undertake future oriented social dialogue to address the systemic challenges that reproduce neo-apartheid urbanism."

In earlier sections, this report detailed the elements of the methodology followed by the outcomes this generated and we now engage with some findings. Firstly, we explore the value of articulating our methodological pillars: *Urban Form*, *Sim* and *Narrative* as previously evoked. We secondly reflect upon whether this experiment holds any potential to enrich and enlarge urban planning processes. The third part turns to the question of the neighbourhood scale as a key site for this sort of animating work, especially in terms of the enrolment of ordinary residents and citizens in futures practices. The final section reflects upon the value of this process to uncover the intangible desires and aspirations of ordinary residents about their neighbourhood and their futures within it.

Methodological Pillars

The hunch that there was merit in bringing together three different ways of looking at cities and the future—through trend projections, spatial maps and narrative perspectives—proved correct. Most participants reflected that they had not previously been exposed to a series of dialogues and reflections that compelled them to think about the vectors of the long-term evolution of a place, alongside their own personal stories, as it pertains to a particular place embodied with diverse elements of opportunities and threats. In particular, the narrative element proved really valuable because it tends to situate individuality and agency at the core of the experience. The final part of this section will elaborate upon this dimension.

Using maps in a multiplicity of ways, and connecting these to emotional and aspirational dimensions of the participants' lives, clearly produced a new form of spatial literacy. Most participants were not familiar with maps and reading them, let alone using them as a basis for dialogue about the present and the future. Since mapping is so central to the rationality and judgement of government, it is really important that citizens become more comfortable with this form of reading, projection and discussion. However, at the same time, it is equally important to demonstrate that maps are not an absolute truth but rather a basis upon which to begin a dialogue and that they are actually highly malleable and even imprecise and represent just one way of looking. It was telling that

participants at the Khayelitsha workshop for instance were pleased that they could learn new information about the assets of the area and planned investments but this also gave them a confidence to be even more strident in what they felt was lacking and deserving of public policy attention.

A related finding was the immense appetite participants had to know about what is going on, what is being planned, and what the intentions of various investors were. The notion of user-friendly, consistent and accessible information systems emerged as a recurring theme. It was clear that the government thinks it is doing a lot to communicate and be transparent but in fact the residents had the opposite impression and experience and felt they were best placed to make decisions about their 'hood'. The processes revealed that a lot more thought needs to be invested in establishing more effective communication channels between the government and residents, as well as horizontally. The standard repertoire of public communication is clearly inadequate.

The simulation dimension of the project that introduced a reality constraint, facts and figures about current scenarios and future trajectories, proved much more complex and challenging than initially envisaged. The *Urban Sim* model of CSIR is designed to deal with metropolitan regions and as a result it could not provide sufficiently fine-grained information about how the neighbourhoods would change by 2030. It had to extrapolate from the regional dimensions of the simulation and this produced very broad categories of change in the built environment. The Urban Sim was also not calibrated to deal with the new BRT and Gautrain investments at the Rosebank and Braamfontein neighbourhood sites because it was built onto the 2001 Census data. These limitations did not render the data redundant but in future one would have to figure ways to access more fine-grained projections on how economic trends, labour market data, real estate changes, infrastructure investments, social development indicators (education and health), consumption preferences, and so on intersect at the level of the neighbourhood or at a minimum, the ward within which the community is nested. That said, there is clearly tremendous value to use evidence-based trends data to encourage more grounded negotiations between participants. It provides a basis for mediating between competing claims and it helps to calibrate the aspirations and wishes of participants, reducing the possibility of empty wish lists. It also helps participants understand the impact of broader processes and forces operating upon their wishes, desires and visions and how their neighbourhood connects to other locales and people -- in effect, that no place is an island.

Enriching formal planning

A key finding of the initiative is that *FutureHood* type processes can prove to be an invaluable source of insight and intelligence for government planners and NGO researchers. However, if this is the primary purpose of the exercise, it will dilute and distort the integrity of the process. This insight was driven home through the informal discussions of participants during the second Khayelitsha workshop. On the second day, there were two municipal planners invited to the workshop and one provided some of the projection data linked to the Sim component (as CSIR Urban Sim data was not available for Khayelitsha). Both were sensitive and open planners and despite their reflective mode during the workshop, it was clear that their participation introduced a different dynamic into the room; it made some participants less expansive than before. Furthermore, the participants who belonged to local organisations tended to now adopt that identity as primary whereas in the previous workshop, they were more content to be individuals and residents of the community. This distinction is vital because the value of this imagining process can be found in its power to uncover deeply personal experiences, feelings and desires about the neighbourhood. This affective dimension is the key to unlock a more grounded, meaningful and genuine conversation between residents who should be talking a lot more to each other in order to establish a common agenda for the future.

It was also clear that the projective part of the process that happens during the second workshop should have a strong aspirational core to it. It should not be prematurely weighed down by too much “realism”, “constraints”, “planning parameters” and so forth. This means that it is important to encourage the participants not to use official plans as a starting point or a primary reference point to critique or endorse. Instead, the bulk of effort must go into enabling them to foster the most compelling and heart-felt vision to foster a deep sense of commitment to place, co-operation and not settling for second-best. Deep urban transformation is not possible unless ordinary citizens reach beyond what governments or other interest groups consider “reasonable” or “rational”. Of course, the point is not to simply to project wild demands but rather to have a powerful vision and then be equipped to think systematically about what needs to happen, within the community, to effect that change. Government thinking and plans can then be brought into the frame as a resource. The evocative connection between neighbourhood secrets and aspirations, discussed below, reinforces this finding.

In this aspirational trajectory, it was found that a touch of the obscure and apparently whimsical also plays its role to conjure up a bit of magic. Collecting an

object or artefact along the neighbourhood walk, for instance, of significance to the participant, is a bit of a mysterious endeavour and its role is never fully triangulated. There is a loose idea it may be included in a time capsule to speak to the future, providing some kind of sketch of the area through a collection of random artefacts and storylines attached. Yet the exercise can hold a quiet significance for participants who are free to make their own private associations that prove a wonderful cue for the project at large. The participant pictured in Alexandra, above, said of his piece of slate, referring to his childhood: "It's got a long story to tell. I was staying this side -- before these houses were built. I used to play with these stones." Another Khayelitsha participant when handing back his artefact mentioned that it was not the plastic bottle but the soil inside it that held significance. Finding a bit of soil on this Cape Flats neighbourhood characterised by its sand was the important message; another wrote on their bodymap that the feeling of picking up some soil was 'amazing'.

The neighbourhood scale

This anecdote brings us to a major departure of the *FutureHood* methodology from existing participatory planning processes, which is the shift in scale from city-wide, or regional/ district or ward level, down to the walkable neighbourhood scale. This catchment or patch is also larger than the precinct level that will typically be adopted in neighbourhood development or urban renewal planning processes of local government.

On this issue our finding is unambiguous: there is tremendous value in working at this scale. It makes it possible to connect the realities and dynamics of the larger community to the everyday dynamics of participants in terms of the streets that they traverse and the issues they confront as they go about their lives. This means that they have a direct, identifiable stake in the territory under consideration and therefore have innately relevant and valuable opinions about how it is functioning at the moment and how it can be improved.

Planning at larger scales typically relies on representatives to be proxies for various interest groups and in that scenario, one also has to work with various aggregate concepts – typically determined by experts – to make the engagement meaningful. At the neighbourhood level, one can create a truly open process that take the language, metaphors, concepts, idioms, shared reference points and experiences of the residents as the starting point and the most important variable in planning conversations about the 'now' and the future. In this light, it is truly worrying that the urban planning system in South Africa essentially

erases the neighbourhood in favour of much larger chunks of city, i.e. ward or region.

What we cannot answer in this reflection is how these *FutureHood* insights and processes would articulate with existing processes beyond a general assertion that official planning can learn from it. Figuring out these connects would have to be the subject of future iterations of this experiment. However, we are also unsure because our processes suffered from at least one serious flaw. We did not have the resources or capacity to undertake preparatory research on the ground in each of the neighbourhoods. We were not able to interview key informants and build a provisional actor and influence map of the area, which in turn could then have been used by the facilitators to push the workshop conversations a little deeper. Such insights would also make it easier to identify potential connects between these processes and official procedures.

Sensing Place through the Intangible

We set out in assembling this *FutureHood* methodology wondering about the intangibles that may bind the aspirations of communities. Whatever that comprises, the neighbourhood is the fundamental canvas against which people play out those aspirations, desires and build their horizon lines to new futures. We did affirm there are multiple and rich registers to experience and relate to place. The trick is trying to tap into this diversity of expression and to tangibly document those modes in order to be able to reflect upon them later in a meaningful way so that others interested in city futures may also benefit.

Three emblematic examples, elucidated below, show how intangible findings were tapped into through the methodology and why this was valuable. The first was experiential, the second was process-based, and the third was observational, cued by group discussions.

(1) Experiential Mode: The **neighbourhood walk** in Workshop 1, where participants led us to their 'favourite places' and along the way noted their neighbourhood 'likes' and 'dislikes', created an inventory of significant spaces that were also recorded on worksheets. A collage of selected sites from three congruent walks in Khayelitsha, below, shows how this simple act taps into a database of insider knowledge about place -- not just in the literal sense but how participants feel about these spaces and what they mean to them.



Some favourite space comments:

"I spend most of my time at the hubspace with other entrepreneurs, it's one of the great innovations in the township which realise the potential and try to meet the needs of the entrepreneurs by availing the resources" [K02]

"In my mind I always think of Khayelitsha Mall because it's big and you get everything you need which makes me happy" [K03]

"The coffee shop - young people get to own the shop" [K07]

"Litha Park is basically the only that I know and it's always in my mind because whenever we come to Khayelitsha that's where we go" [K12]

"I like street vendors because they know how to create small businesses." [K21]

"I feel happy when I pass the hospital." [K28]

"I like the melting together of different tunes and arts - SA meets Zimbabwe" [K34]



Participants would explain to the others en route why they had selected their sites and this generated a lot of discussion during the walk as well as afterwards, when a list of other significant spaces was created that the walk had overlooked. These included talk of 'chill spaces' (a BMX track, the swimming pool, sports ground, park) support centres, Tusong Centre, educational spaces, library, live/work units, hub space, community centres, etc. that extended a spatial inventory further and triggered imaginations about future possibilities.

The Johannesburg sites were tethered to station precincts and at the end of the neighbourhood walk in Alexandra, we ended up at the Gautrain Malboro station, which leveraged a discussion around an unsuccessful project bid by one participant, an artist, to the City of Johannesburg to personalise the station precinct with an art project. It would use tiles to tell the story of various artists and create a station that "suits us" and how people see it. He spoke about the need for the community to get something from the station development as well. "They must incorporate a concept project that comes from the community they are situated in so they walk hand to hand with the community, not only just

walking the space we live in and making money and not giving something back. I proposed the project to have a station that suits the people," he added. His words voiced a larger frustration in the group, which was how to leverage their ideas and knowledges. Another participant added: "What about these walks. What images do we see? How can we use our walls? Our way of life to tell other stories?"

The PE neighbourhood walks in Korsten / Schauderville helped trigger the memory of social spaces during the height of apartheid by a few participants. A popular hotel and live music venue – the Alibama – was popular and the primary meeting space for locals and visitors. It was a space to sing, dance and a place of conviviality. Participants remember how safe it was to walk home after a night of revelling.

A surprising part of this experiential element was how compelling it was for people even if they knew the area really well; they still found something surprising in their neighbourhood seeing it through the eyes of another -- either literally, through a space they did not know about before, or through a storyline that was told about a favourite place (often an ambivalent place), likes or dislikes in discussions along the way, that brought a different element to bear upon it.

(2) Process-based: The second emblematic example in Workshop 1 (Khayelitsha and Korsten / Schauderville sites only), showing how intangible findings were tapped into through the methodology and why this was valuable, was process-based rather than experiential. This was the **body-space mapping**: it tapped into a diversity of registers to try understand something of this lived experience of the neighbourhood as it affects people on a personal level.

It made evident the subjective experience of space in a way that is both affecting and individualistic. The idea of the exercise was to link the experience of place, above, to the body by firstly associating it with a feeling or emotion and then linking that to a place on a generic body outline and writing a short storyline explaining why. Some participants interpreted it as a free association exercise and this too had very revealing results.

One participant [K18] for instance created a kind of biography that explained a troubled adolescence and his hands were the symbol of this dichotomy, still bearing scars from the past: "The same hands that did bad are doing good things now". The heart was a symbol in the bodymap of his job, which the participant regarded a second chance at life. Further, he marked a physical injury on his body as a reflection of a community with a high crime rate. Another participant

who treated the map symbolically, wrote at the solar plexus "Body language: when I hurt my body speaks another language." This seems like a cue to the project at large: we should learn to speak other languages and read them too, both about the places and people we want to come to know. The answers received are of course partly framed by the questions asked, and who is inside and outside that frame. These are reflexive questions the *City Futures* project must also ask of itself and factor into its findings; the methodology tried to take some of these considerations into account.

These indicators from the exercises above drew some commonalities. Some experiences were repeated, such as poor treatment at the public hospital in Khayelitsha, or the positive association with Litha Park, or ambivalence about the proliferation of empty/ open spaces that are on the one hand rest points and on the other viewed as voids awaiting development. This dualistic character was alluded to in the Outcomes (Chapter 3), where participants often held a double-edged relationship to favourite space. The train station, for instance, is both a site of relief and possibility as well as trade and entrepreneurship but also a potential site of danger where vulnerability levels increase and crime fears were raised.

Very intriguing in this particular exercise were the individual insights and imaginative responses, down to the personal way people populated their body maps and individuated them, taking care with the articulation of their very eloquent responses. The kinds of emotions evoked ranged from 'likes' in the neighbourhood that included the simple pleasures of the quietness of Litha Park (a recurring choice -[K17] describing the area was "I feel free") to the enjoyment of buying fruit from a vendor on the side of the road [K34], to the happiness of seeing people using the swimming pool or resources like the library and relief to reaching the taxi rank, or seeing a sports field where children can spend their time [K02]. There was the excitement of seeing wide open spaces - "for possible dreaming" [K34] - whereas others felt this represented under-utilised potential. There were some really innovative answers - such as one participant picking up soil, "in a place where only sand exists". This gave her an "amazing feeling" that she linked on her bodymap to her hand [K32].

Negative emotions included sadness at memories of bad treatment at the hospital by nurses (K02); another participant (K03) said her heart was broken by a similar experience -- although it's "nice and clean" on the outside while K17 liked the beauty and cleanliness of the hospital but disliked in her mind that the services were very poor: "people are dying each and every day". There was also frustration voiced at recyclable materials lying around [K02] and illegal

dumping, which one participant linked on her body map to her knees (exhaustion). Anger in the stomach was linked by another [K32] to "institutionalised poverty everywhere" but this was balanced by a heart activation of hope for the quiet optimism of a community.

Participants in feedback were unanimous that the walk technique was a worthwhile experience and they saw things anew. One comment on the bodymap puts this into a different perspective: "When I was walking through the road I was very nervous coz [sic] there is a lot of gangsters ... walking around. I even felt like going back." The same concern about territory was expressed by another [K12]: "I was nervous when we passed a particular area which was marked by gangsters. My heart started pounding because I felt I was now in their territory and anything can happen." This participant populated a beautiful body map, marking her hand for one of her 'likes' as follows: "When I picked up my object [for the time capsule] it had a picture of people waiting in line to vote in 1994, which made me happy because if it wasn't for those people in line, we wouldn't have the democratic South Africa we have today." Further, she enjoyed the station because of people on the move ... "which shows me that my people are always on the get-go despite the challenges they are faced with everyday". However, she disliked illegal dumping and electricity cables the group had to jump over when crossing a road.

(3) Observational: The resolution of the **model building** as the final creative speculative act brought various registers to a head. Its main interest is in visualising the so-called big ideas in group form, rendered spatially. Since this exercise is iterative, it also ends up being a composite of the ideas of the subgroups in the workshop. Its usefulness is partly in the negotiations this process entails and the confrontation the groups must experience with the notion of legacy plans and realities in order to realise their own visions. For our speculative and observational purposes, it was also intriguing to relate the model back to Workshop 1 and see how the neighbourhood walk and the significant spaces it collated as well as the affective registers engendered by the bodymaps (or alternative emotional mapping exercise in the Johannesburg workshop trilogy) infused these final visions. This was an intangible underscore that symbolically infused the very physical act of model-building that was apparent upon reflection.



We came to understand through a combination of these methods that the 'middle space' we sought between Urban Form, Urban Sim and Urban Narrative unsurprisingly perhaps also has 'inbetween' indicators -- conversations, passing comments, anecdotes, and ephemera that formal processes struggle to capture. This has been one of the challenges of designing and indeed refining this *FutureHood* methodology. Our neighbourhoods are also diverse and characterise themselves with particular desires. That said, a key finding to emerge is that Outcome #3 -- 'secret spaces' -- holds a key to informing Outcome #2 -- 'big ideas' -- or what we term here 'big places' (see Chapter 3).

Secret spaces are really hidden or under-appreciated but significant spaces in a neighbourhood that locals know about but outsiders have to be shown. These are often significant clues as to what the community values and in these places are symbolic signals that urban planners may find useful to help read a community at a more intangible level. We selected one example for each site in our Outcomes (see Chapter 3) where this aspect is more fully elaborated upon.

For instance: in Alexandra, two participants led us to an historic water well through a fence in an older informal part of the township, a well that in earlier days sustained the inhabitants. The area has a history of forced removals, which continued post-apartheid to Diepkloof, but a sector of the community continued as landowners^{viii}. Now, the well still serves a diversity of functions ranging from religious/ sacred to symbolic and pragmatic. It is a site of memory and symbolism as well as practical uses and evokes eloquent storytelling from participants connected to its life and functions. It seems upon reflection not unrelated that participants created with blue cellophane a 'big vision' of a floating mall that arched over the highway to connect Alex up to the other side of the N3 where a casino development would lie. Water at a symbolic level is life-giving, is mobile and flows, it is generative and clarifying and has multiple uses, is restorative and has the capacity for both positive as well as negative effects if not well directed.

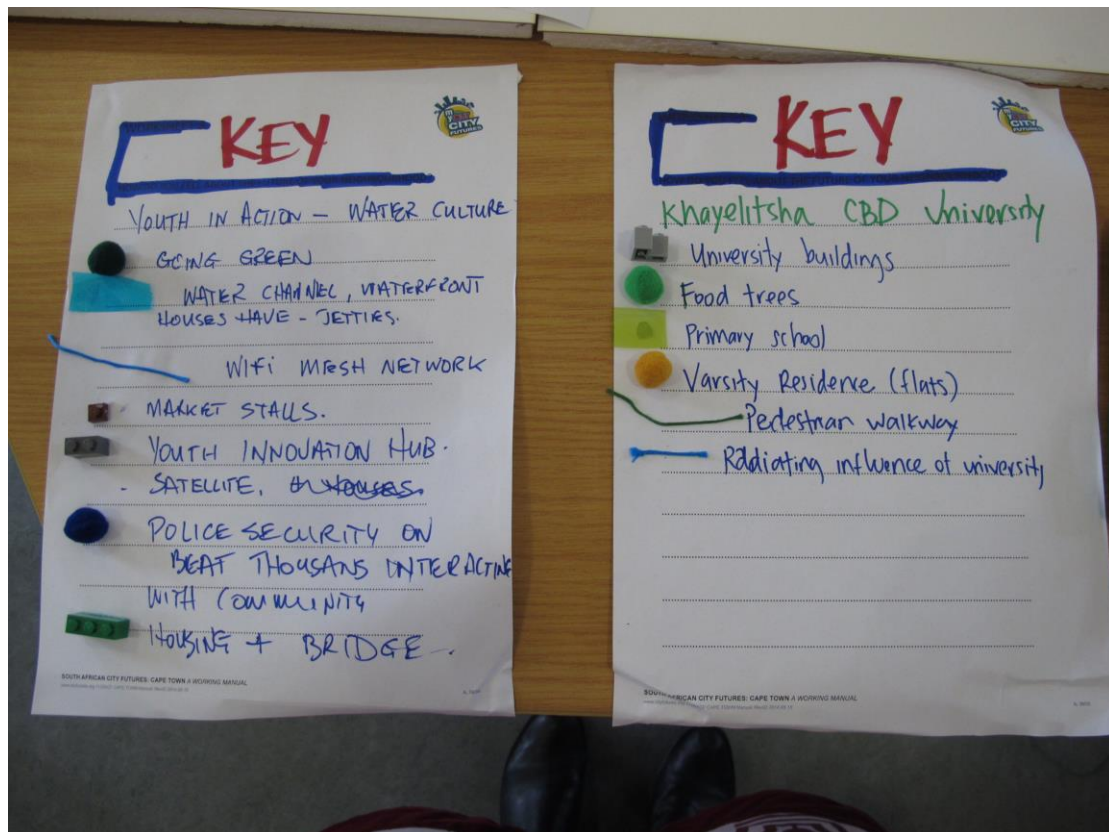
During a neighbourhood walk in Khayelitsha, we also see many spaces that elicit an ambivalence -- from informal traders' stalls to public services. It seems there is an idea of fronting or veiling at work -- the appearance of one thing in the built environment and the reality of another under its skin, whether it is the machinations of justice at the court but lost dockets in the experience behind its walls; or the appearance of a certain kind of retail selling in public while another kind of industry goes on out the back door; or the pride in a smart public hospital but distress at the long hours of waiting in a chair for attention or painful memory of a pregnancy gone wrong. These are the kinds of dichotomies at play, the dualities upon which lived experience turns and future neighbourhood wishes swirl. Back at the workshop, a discussion about significant spaces we may have missed turns into an admission that the formal tavern we passed is rare only because the informal taverns, or shebeens, have more or less gone into hiding in response to new legislation. Appearance and reality, it seems, are in constant re-negotiation.

It therefore seems related, in retrospect, that two decisive and bold gestures define for instance the first moves in the Khayelitsha model - a visionary dual act of creation and demolition. A bold new connection of a waterway with a strip of

blue cellphone (see image above) is the first visionary move the group makes when they intervene on the scale model to implement their 'big ideas' -- a waterway slicing through from the sea to Khayelitsha in order to create a waterfront and local market, complete with two sailing boats and a bridge. The mall is demolished as the second act in favour of a local market that takes its place. A blue thread of wifi is then wound around the area. This is all in the name of generating a Youth Hub that gets built in this first group's vision to create opportunities for people to gather, find information, network and get ahead. A new kind of tavern for a new generation, perhaps. It is an unambiguous move - both unexpected and very clear.

These take-home points from this futuring experiment underscore the broader value of the project's efforts to engage with the nuances of small-scale urbanism that unfold at the level of the street and the neighbourhood. Achille Mbembe, speaking in 2013 at the Johannesburg Workshop on Theory and Criticism, suggested we were living in a world where a suspension of democracy by market forces was underway, a world in which debt was resulting in the mortgaging of entire nations and the expropriating of its citizens' futures. "Recapturing the future means resisting its appropriation."^{ix} The imagination is arguably a key tool in this resistance and the *City Futures* workshop is a small step in that direction, linking back to our opening section about the NDP and the engagement of citizens in democratically crafting their own participatory futures.

The Khayelitsha workshop ended with an anecdote from a participant, at another's behest, explaining to the group about the importance of 'place-naming' that cuts to the heart of this project at large and offers an apt ending also to this Findings chapter. His subgroup had circled in their discussions for their 'big idea', constantly returning to a fierce debate about what to name their ambitious Harvard-style university. Intriguingly, and importantly, the home-brand of 'Khayelitsha CBD' eventually won over.



The participant [K32] described to the plenary: "We have this anomaly in South Africa -- how all townships and informal settlements have names that give people a hell of a sense of pride. For example: Khayelitsha, meaning 'new home', and Gugulethu, meaning 'her pride'. And while trying to name our [university], we actually couldn't outdo that. You cannot outdo Khayelitsha," he said. "A lot of people who came here got dumped here", he adds, "and the first thing they thought is to call it Khayelitsha ... It's a nationwide thing. You ask: what were the people thinking when they named this place? They were being brought to hell but they renamed hell."



The 2030 vision of Khayelitsha including Khayelitsha CBD University and the Youth Hub. Photo: Kim Gurney

5. Context: The Bigger Picture



An internet cafe on the Alexandra Ext 7 *City Futures* neighbourhood walk. Photo: Kim Gurney

Since the origin of this experiment arises from a frustration with conventional urban planning processes, it was not surprising that workshop participants often challenged its rationale. The ambit of questions included:

- How do *FutureHood* project outcomes relate to existing plans and planning processes?;
- Will the outcomes of the *FutureHood* methodology be implemented?; &
- What tangible benefit do communities and residents derive from participating?

This section addresses these questions and contextualises *FutureHood* in relation to existing urban planning processes and instruments. It firstly rehearses the structure and dynamics of urban planning systems in South African municipalities. The subsequent section unpacks some documented problems

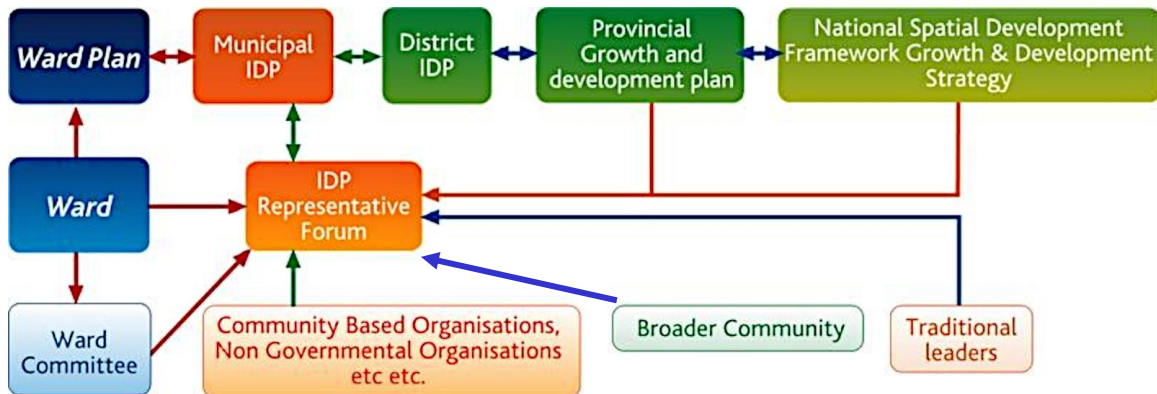
with this system with an eye upon how it advances or undermines fine-grained neighbourhood level planning and imagination. The final section explains the potential function and value of the *FutureHood* approach, through a discussion of the operational and substantive problems regarding the status quo.

Official Planning System

South Africa's participatory planning system is highly regarded internationally because it combines strategic planning with a strong participatory ethos.^x Strategic planning emerged as a more innovative and pragmatic approach to urban planning compared to spatial master plans that were the norm until the 1980s.^{xi} Strategic planning does not simply project an ideal (land-use) future, but rather engages with the existing realities – especially economic and ecological – of city-regions and plots a deliberate pathway to a desirable future. Strategic planning adopts a quasi-participatory approach that enrolls representatives of local government, business, trade unions and some well-organised civil society organisations. Strategic plans then use this shared investment and co-ordination agenda to specify what the spatial implications may be. In this regard, it also breaks from traditional spatial master plans by making land-use regulation subservient to the medium-to long-term priorities of the strategic plan. This sea change in urban planning has occurred since the late 1980s and mainstreamed across the world through the City Development Strategy approach advocated by Cities Alliance and others.

The South African *White Paper on Local Government* (1998) reflects these international debates and combines it with cutting-edge policy thinking on integrated development (as opposed to silo-based sectoral development) and proposes the institutionalisation of Integrated Development Plans (IDP) for all municipalities in South Africa.^{xii} Thus, the Systems Act (32 of 2000) legislates the imperative for all municipalities to embark upon participatory processes in the formulation of their IDPs.^{xiii} The Systems Act also requires that the IDP reflect all inter-governmental plans and frameworks. In other words, the IDP must account for the plans developed by national departments (e.g. water affairs or transport), provincial planning priorities and sectoral requirements, and local needs as defined by diverse and conflicting communities and other vested interests. A stylised summary of how the IDP is intended to be the focal point for both bottom-up needs and top-down requirements is detailed in Figure 18 below.

Fig. 18: Participation institutions within the national planning system^{xiv}



To date, most municipalities have been unable to reconcile all of these requirements and as a result the IDP becomes in effect a kind of 'yellow pages' document or compendium that reflects the needs and plans of the various sectoral departments of a municipality, linked to its budget priorities in terms of new capital investments and ongoing running costs of existing operations. Almost all strategic intent and prioritisation flies out of the window and participatory processes can become largely meaningless and performative. However, because there is a legislative requirement to conduct participatory processes to inform the IDP, these participatory processes tend to lose credibility and meaning.

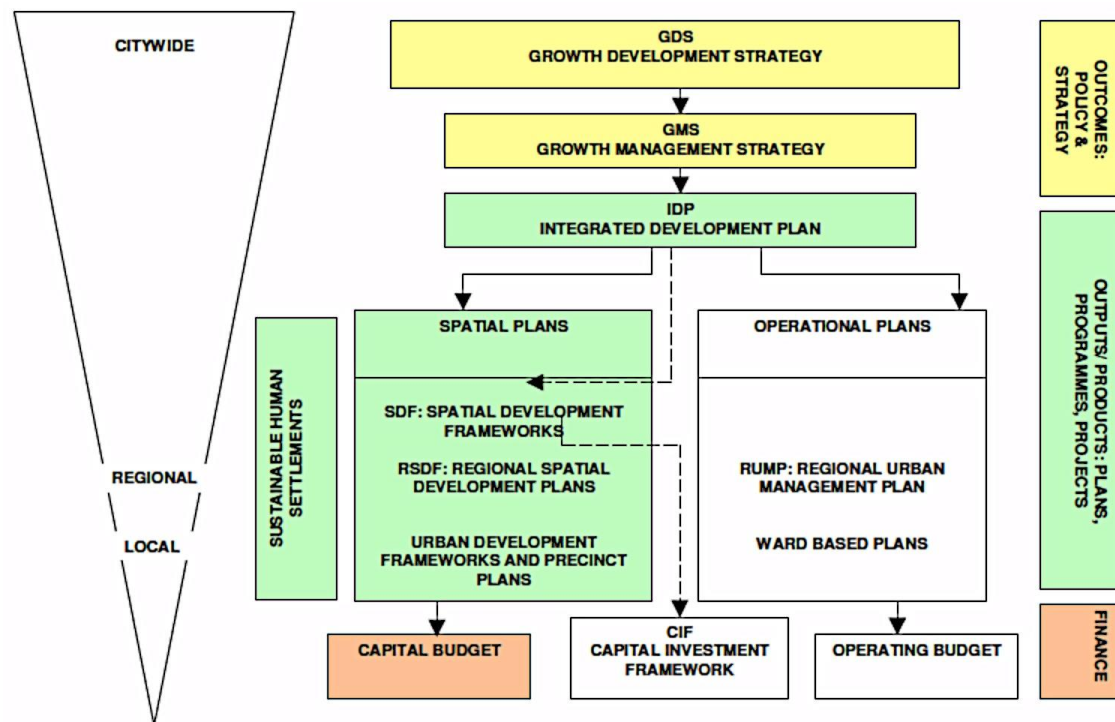
Another dimension is the function of ward plans as a key informant for IDPs. Ward Committees emerged onto the South African landscape through the Municipal Structures Act (117 of 1998), which declared that ward committees are (usually) elected bodies comprised of 10 representatives, in addition to the ward councillor. In terms of the Act, the composition of ward committees should equitably reflect the diversity and composition of the ward, with particular emphasis on women. The ward committee is chaired by the ward councillor, who also acts on behalf of the committee as the interlocutor who makes recommendation to council. In essence, ward committees ideally serve as a conduit for communication and information dissemination between the municipality and the local community and assisting the ward councillor with identifying community needs within the ward. The 2005 guidelines state categorically that no executive powers should be delegated to ward committees, which effectively reduces them to an advisory body.^{xv} However, the Structures Act does stipulate that ward committees may exercise some limited powers as delegated and overseen by council but this has rarely been invoked.

Ward-based planning is different in each municipality but it typically involves ward consultation processes on communities' development priorities, the ward-by-ward prioritisation of capital expenditure projects in the annual budgets of municipal departments, and even in some cases the allocation to each ward of a ward-project fund with the ward-committee given the power to decide how the fund should be spent. These experiments with ward-based planning are important. Over the last decade, however, they have proved less successful than their proponents have anticipated. This suggests a number of weaknesses in both conceptualisation, and implementation, of the idea. A key weakness intrinsic to the idea of ward-based planning is how to understand what can rationally be planned for at the *scale* (i.e. territorial ambit) of a ward. While wards can be fairly large in some areas, they are fundamentally designed as units of 'electoral representation' and not units that make sense for development planning purposes. They are typically too large to ensure sufficient proximity to the needs of the "street" and the "hood". They are also overly politicised (in party political terms), which make them ill-suited to deal with difference and diversity that characterise everyday life.^{xvi}

Another dimension of local development processes that is of relevance is the potential for participatory input into the spatial development planning process. As mentioned before, the Municipal Systems Act demands that every municipality produce both an IDP and a Spatial Development Framework (SDF) that is consistent with the IDP. In both the case of Johannesburg and Cape Town, the SDF is broken down into three levels of spatial detail. The SDF typically covers the full metropolitan territory with some reference to spatial connects with adjacent municipalities. It is then further detailed into regional (in the case of Johannesburg) or district (in Cape Town) SDFs that aggregates a number of suburbs and wards. For example, in Johannesburg, Alexandra and Rosebank form part of Region E. The third level of detail could be "precinct plans" that relate to priority development areas, typically around transportation hubs or within designated urban renewal areas such as Alexandra or Khayelitsha. It is only precinct plans that deal with the fine-grained detail of walkable neighbourhoods and therefore comparable to the scale of engagement of the *FutureHood* process.

The hierarchy of spatial plans and development plans is graphically summarised by the Johannesburg municipality as follows:

Fig. 19: Hierarchy of Plans of Johannesburg Metropolitan government^{xvii}:



Limitations of Official Planning Systems

This diagram clearly illustrates that on the side of operational plans (white box), the closest the municipality gets to local level engagement is ward-based plans. As we demonstrated before, wards are far too big and unwieldy to facilitate meaningful community engagement about issues that matter at the neighbourhood scale. The lesson we draw from this is that there is a profound mismatch between the imperatives of intimate, neighbourhood-level (up to 2km in *FutureHood*) engagements with the prospects and dynamics of an area and the levels at which formal municipal planning happens.

Furthermore, official planning processes are completely embedded in development jargon, technocratic points of departure, and forms of knowledge that are dominated by experts. For example, some of the keywords that appear in the district SDF of the CCT that encompasses Khayelitsha include: “accessibility grid, biodiversity network, civic precinct, destination place, activity corridor, ecological buffer, nodal development, overlay zone, open-space system, structuring element,” among others.^{xviii} Our point is not that residents cannot learn the meaning of these concepts but rather that the engagement with communities is predicated on the assumption that these technical concepts are

the starting point, and to some extent the end point, of engagement on spatial futures and options for neighbourhoods.

Apart from the technocratic language and assumptions of formal spatial planning discourses, a number of further problems of formal systems of community participation in terms of the formulation of IDPs, SDFs and ward-level plans are envisaged. Firstly, in the same vein as the issue of technocratic language, ward level plans and certainly regional or district level spatial frameworks are alienating and therefore serve to simply reinforce the power of professionals and planners.

Secondly, planning frameworks at the metropolitan or sub-metropolitan or ward levels are by definition very coarse—they foreground major elements of the built and natural environment. By definition, they cannot pick up on elements that matter in the micro environments of the street or walkable neighbourhood—elements that are most important to residents and small businesses, especially informal traders.

Thirdly, the layers of development and spatial plans, combined with sectoral plans (e.g. water, energy, roads) produce too many strata of information and knowledge vectors that it collapses under the weight of its complexity and density. Also, it essentially privileges the vantage point of the state and ensures that its perspective is the terms of engagement between government, civil society and residents.

Fourthly, most formal spatial development frameworks suffer from a serious credibility problem because they have been so ineffectual in shaping or guiding the investment priorities of the private sector. Many urban commentators observe that despite IDPs and integrative spatial frameworks, South African settlements have either become more segregated by class, or at least remained as affected as during the apartheid era. This indictment raises the question: why bother to engage spatial development frameworks that have limited material impact in the real world, especially when so much effort must be expended to make sense of these documents for an ordinary resident or small entrepreneur?

Value-add of *FutureHood*

It is important to underscore that there are various layers of development, spatial and sectoral plans that impact on the lives of ordinary citizens and residents and there is considerable merit in improving the techniques and

processes to ensure effective participation. However, this is not what *FutureHood* is primarily about. *FutureHood* is more experimental and radical.

It shares a premise with Anthony Dunne and Fiona Raby that the world has been emptied of dreams and radical aspirations. They draw an evocative distinction between fully-fledged dreams and mere hopes...

It is hard to say what today's dreams are; it seems they have been downgraded to hopes—hope that we will not allow ourselves to become extinct, hope that we can feed the starving, hope that there will be room for us all on this tiny planet. There are no more visions. We don't know how to fix the planet and ensure our survival. We are just hopeful. As Fredric Jameson famously remarked, it is now easier for us to imagine the end of the world than an alternative to capitalism. Yet, alternatives are exactly what is needed.^{xix}

FutureHood is rooted in a belief that ordinary citizens can be equipped with basic skills and perspectives that can empower them to think beyond the parameters of the given, the status quo, the terms of debate and engagement established by official discourses.

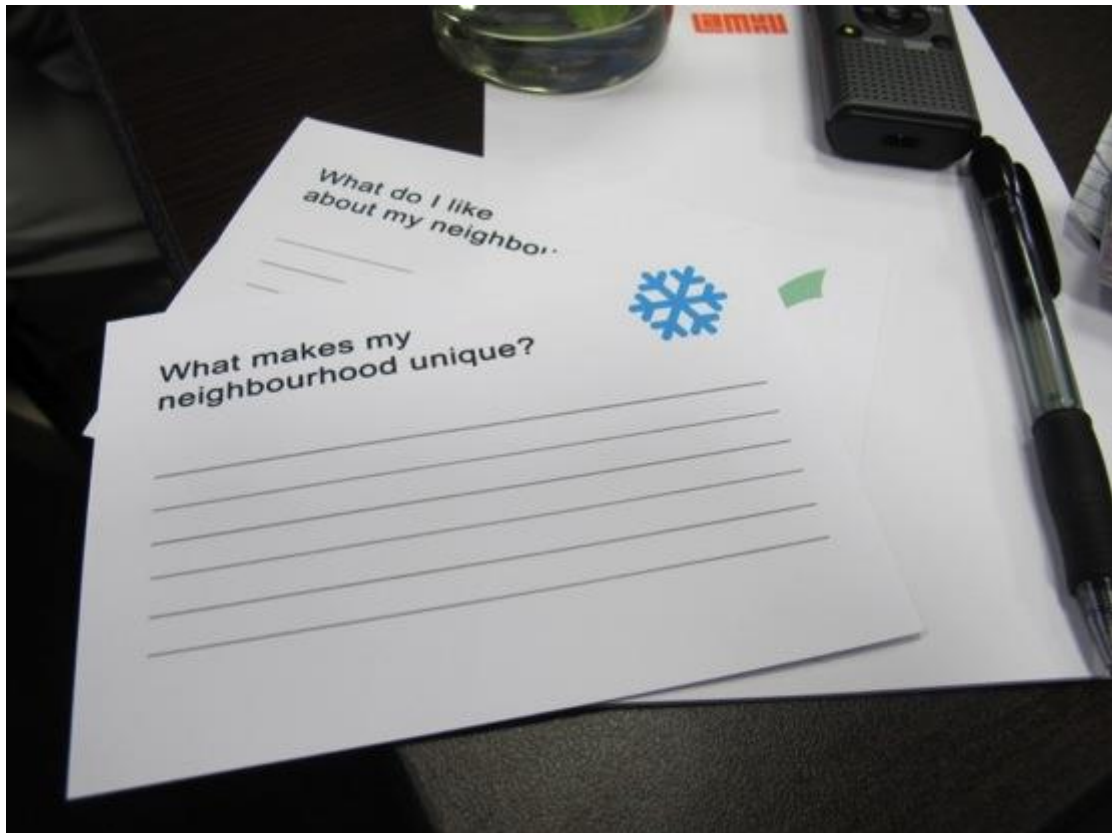
We believe that such engagement and exposure can be fun and profound; it can open up horizons of imagination and thought that is well beyond the professional tropes and habits of formal development discourses. However, these capacities and insights remain undiscovered gems unless processes are established to uncover and amplify these latent desires and wishes for the future. These capacities and insights are effectively the “hidden transcripts” in the words of James Scott regarding these neighbourhoods and our cities at large (see Outcomes #3)^{xx}. As long as they are not tapped at significant scale, official processes will remain stultified, uni-dimensional and marked by little emotional or affective resonance for ordinary residents.

So how does the *FutureHood* processes connect with official processes? In the first instance, it does not substitute or obviate the need for the full gambit of conventional government-driven planning processes. It can certainly enrich those processes as long as they are not designed or executed with that purpose in mind. In the second instance, *FutureHood*-type initiatives contribute significantly to the autonomy and confidence of residents which in theory can make them much better equipped to engage with official processes. *FutureHood* experiences can give residents a sense of clarity and confidence that they have valid opinions that don't have to be expressed in the formal language of official

planning frameworks or the agendas of ward committees or other official forums or even organisational representation but in their personal capacities. In this sense, it strengthens at a deep level the autonomy of citizens viz-a-viz the state, which is healthy for building democratic cultures.

Finally, *FutureHood* can play a significant role in opening up genuine alternatives to the status quo, especially proposals that flow from the blinkered and predetermined logic of state planners. This is premised on the assumption that speculative alternatives are indeed rooted in the experiences, desires, emotions, priorities and hopes of residents as they respond to the playful provocations of the *FutureHood* methodology. Thus, the greatest potential value of this approach is that it can give birth to genuine alternative ways of thinking, talking, envisioning, which in turn can then speak back to the status quo, and hopefully, make official thinking and planning more transformative and grounded.

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- ⁱ 'The real issue is not poverty, it is inequality'. Kim Gurney [Online]. 9 October 2012. Available: <http://www.urbanafrica.net/news/real-issue-not-poverty-it-inequality/>
- ⁱⁱ Anderson, B. 2006. *Transcending Without Transcendence: Utopianism and an Ethos of Hope*. In: *Antipode* **38**(4). Blackwell Publishing: Oxford
- ⁱⁱⁱ See Acknowledgements section.
- ^{iv} This was achieved by approaching a variety of organisations active in the area to identify people who live in the neighbourhood who may/ not be organisationally enrolled, starting with Social Justice Coalition to secure a core and then canvassing broadly using the stakeholders involved in the BRT consultative processes as an entry point. People involved referred other people.
- ^v Their names are listed in the Acknowledgements section.
- ^{vi} Tim Collins and Reiko Goto. 2005. An Ecological Context in: *New Practices New Pedagogies*, p. 44.
- ^{vii} Collins and Goto, op cit. 2005: 44.
- ^{viii} Titlestad, M. (2013). Approaching Johannesburg. (Review Article). In *African Studies*. Available: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00020184.2013.851469>
- ^{ix} Co-author's notes: Gurney, K. Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research: Johannesburg.
- ^x Harrison, P. (2006) Integrated development plans and Third Way politics. In Pillay, U., Tomlinson, R. and du Toit, J. (eds.) *Democracy and Delivery: Urban Policy in South Africa*. Pretoria: HSRC Press.
- ^{xi} Barcelona is often considered the most influential case study on the power of strategic planning. That experience informed a seminal text on the topic: Borja, J., and M. Castells. (1997) *Local and Global. The Management of Cities in the Information Age*. London: Earthscan.
- ^{xii} This point is fully explored and substantiated in: Parnell, S. & Pieterse, E. (1999) Developmental Local Government: The Second Wave of Post-Apartheid Urban Reconstruction. *Africanus*, 29(2): 68-85.
- ^{xiii} For a detailed exposition on the participatory elements of the IDP, see: Steytler, N. and De Visser, J. (2012) *Local Government Law of South Africa*. Durban: LexisNexis.
- ^{xiv} Source: DPLG (2005) Draft National Policy Framework for Public Participation. Pretoria: DPLG. The Figure is drawn from a draft discussion document on participatory planning development produced by the department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA) in 2005 but never finalised.
- ^{xv} Smith, T. 2007. Community participation and empowerment within the realm of local governance in South Africa: An assessment of current practice and possibilities for strengthening participatory local governance. Input paper for the dplg review of the White Paper on Local Government. Cape Town: Isandla Institute. In 2012 new guidelines were issued by COGTA that softens this stance.
- ^{xvi} The following article provides useful insights into the political dynamics of ward committees in Johannesburg: Bénit-Gbaffou, C. (2008) Are practices of local participation sidelining the institutional participatory channels? Reflections from Johannesburg. *Transformation*, 66-67: 34-60.
- ^{xvii} Source: City of Johannesburg (2010) RSDF: Region E. Johannesburg: Department of Urban Planning and Development Management, CoJ. Url: <http://www.joburg-archive.co.za/2010/pdfs/sdf/regionalsdf/regione/regione1.pdf>. Accessed on: 03 June 2014.
- ^{xviii} City of Cape Town (2012) Khayelitsha, Mitchells Plain, Blue Downs District Plan. Spatial Development Plan and Environmental Management Framework. Final Draft. Cape Town: CCT.
- ^{xix} Dunne, A. and Raby, F. (2013) *Speculative everything. Design fiction and social dreaming*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press. Kindle edition: loc 46.
- ^{xx} Scott, J. (1990) *Domination and the Arts of Resistance. Hidden Transcripts*. Boston: Yale University Press
- ^{xxi} Only workshop participants who signed consent forms have been personally named in the acknowledgements.

LIST OF ANNEXURES:

(To be added in final report)

1. Annexure A. CSIR Urban SIM Report – Park Station (Workshop 2 Speculation; Pg 19)
2. Annexure B. Final Khayelitsha Workshop Manual (Re-route – Learning by Doing; pg 24)
3. Annexure C. Final PE Workshop Manual