

"development issues in cape town"



State of Cape Town
2008



CITY OF CAPE TOWN | ISIXEKO SASEKAPA | STAD KAAPSTAD

THIS CITY WORKS FOR YOU

State of Cape Town 2008

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Dedicated to the memory of CRAIG HASKINS

On 3 February 2009 Craig Haskins was tragically killed in an accident while cycling on Ou Kaapseweg in Cape Town. At the time of his death he was Manager Strategic Information having been a committed member of staff in many areas during his nearly ten years of service with the City of Cape Town. Craig produced the first State of Environment Report for 1998 and was the initiator of the first State of Cape Town Report for 2006.



CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES	3
LIST OF TABLES	3
INTRODUCTION BY THE CITY MANAGER	5
1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	6
2. DEVELOPMENT ISSUES	10
2.1 URBAN GROWTH	11
An urban world	11
Urban regions and management of growth	12
Urban growth in Cape Town	13
2.2 ENVIRONMENT	15
Energy, waste and water	15
Energy, waste and water in Cape Town	16
2.3 ECONOMY	20
A globalised world and the importance of the environmental economy	20
Economic growth, skills and unemployment	21
Cape Town's economy	22
2.4 HOUSING	26
Informality	26
Housing in Cape Town	26
2.5 TRANSPORT	29
Public transport	29
Transport in Cape Town	31
2.6 INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES	33
Maintenance and provision of infrastructure	33
Infrastructure in Cape Town	35
2.7 CRIME	38
Drugs and murder	38
Crime in Cape Town	39
2.8 HEALTH AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT	45
Poverty, HIV/Aids and skills	45
Health and social development in Cape Town	46
2.9 GOVERNANCE	49
Building partnerships	49
Governance in Cape Town	50
3. CONCLUSION	54
END NOTES	56
REFERENCES	58
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	61



CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Annual water usage in Cape Town	18
Figure 2: Annual waste disposed per capita in Cape Town	19
Figure 3: Spatial distribution of investment in Cape Town.....	23
Figure 4: Employment status in Cape Town	24
Figure 5: Number of shacks in Cape Town.....	27
Figure 6: Cape Town households with a car.....	31
Figure 7: Anticipated infrastructure capacity constraints in Cape Town.....	35
Figure 8: Main source of water for Cape Town households	36
Figure 9: Type of toilet facility available to Cape Town households	37
Figure 10: Electricity usage by Cape Town households for lighting, cooking and heating	37
Figure 11: Violent crime levels in Cape Town versus national (2007/8 crime statistics)	40
Figure 12: Murder rate per 100 000 of Cape Town's population.....	40
Figure 13: Reported murders by police precinct (2007/8).....	41
Figure 14: Drug-related crime in Cape Town versus national.....	42
Figure 15: Drug-related crime by police precinct (2007/8)	43
Figure 16: Number of Cape Town households below household poverty line	46
Figure 17: HIV prevalence in Cape Town.....	47
Figure 18: Level of adult education in Cape Town	48

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: The world's ten biggest urban agglomerations	11
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"The idea that action should only be taken after having all the answers and all the resources, is a sure recipe for paralysis. The planning of a city is a process that allows for corrections, always. It is supremely arrogant to believe that planning can be done only after figuring out every possible variable. To innovate is to start! Hence, it is necessary to begin the process. Imagine the ideal, but do what is possible today."

– Jaime Lerner, Former Mayor of Curitiba, as quoted in Worldwatch Institute, 2007.



"We can't solve problems by using the same kind of thinking we used when we created them."

– Albert Einstein, as quoted in Quinn, 1999.





INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

City Manager Achmat Ebrahim

It is my privilege to present to you the second edition of our bi-annual State of Cape Town Report. The previous edition (2006) was the first city-level publication of its kind in South Africa. The 2006 report was published amid wide acclaim – the Cape Times called it “the most progressive report to come out of the City of Cape Town this year”.

The key objective of the State of Cape Town Report is to provide an up-to-date snapshot of the most pertinent issues influencing the city. It highlights some of the opportunities and challenges facing the city within an international, national and local context, and serves as a basis to inform discussions on the choices that the City of Cape Town (City) needs to make in relation to urban management issues. It also serves as input into our Integrated Development Plan (IDP).

The first decade of democracy delivered a significant improvement in the quality of life for many Capetonians – the city has experienced significant economic growth in the past decade, with better service delivery and rising tourist numbers. However, like elsewhere in the developing world, Cape Town is also faced with a number of challenges, such as poverty, unemployment, and a high incidence of HIV/Aids and crime, which all require an integrated, aligned and strategic approach, involving continuous dialogue and co-operation between all stakeholders.

Addressing the challenges also requires the City to do long-term planning and make strategic long-term choices for the city's development. In this regard, the City is currently formulating its City Development Strategy, which will help to address the challenges, and will enable the city to seize global opportunities and minimise the risk of the external environment for Cape Town.

It is evident, though, that the biggest problem in addressing the challenges is not the absence of knowledge of what the challenges are, or what the strategies to address these challenges should be, but rather the lack of implementation of the strategies by all key stakeholders in the city.

Let us start to work together to implement the strategies, rather than just talk about them.

Achmat Ebrahim
City Manager





1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

Cape Town is faced with a range of challenges relating to the environment, the economy, housing, infrastructure, crime and other issues. These issues are all interrelated, and addressing them therefore requires an integrated approach. The city does not exist in isolation, but within the context of national and global trends and external impacts. Globalisation, an increasing urbanised population, and the global economy's pivotal role in and dependence on environmental sustainability have been some of the major universal trends in recent years. It is important to assess the state of Cape Town within this global context, as most challenges facing the city, and their solutions, are not unique to Cape Town, but are also reflected internationally, particularly in major cities in other developing countries.

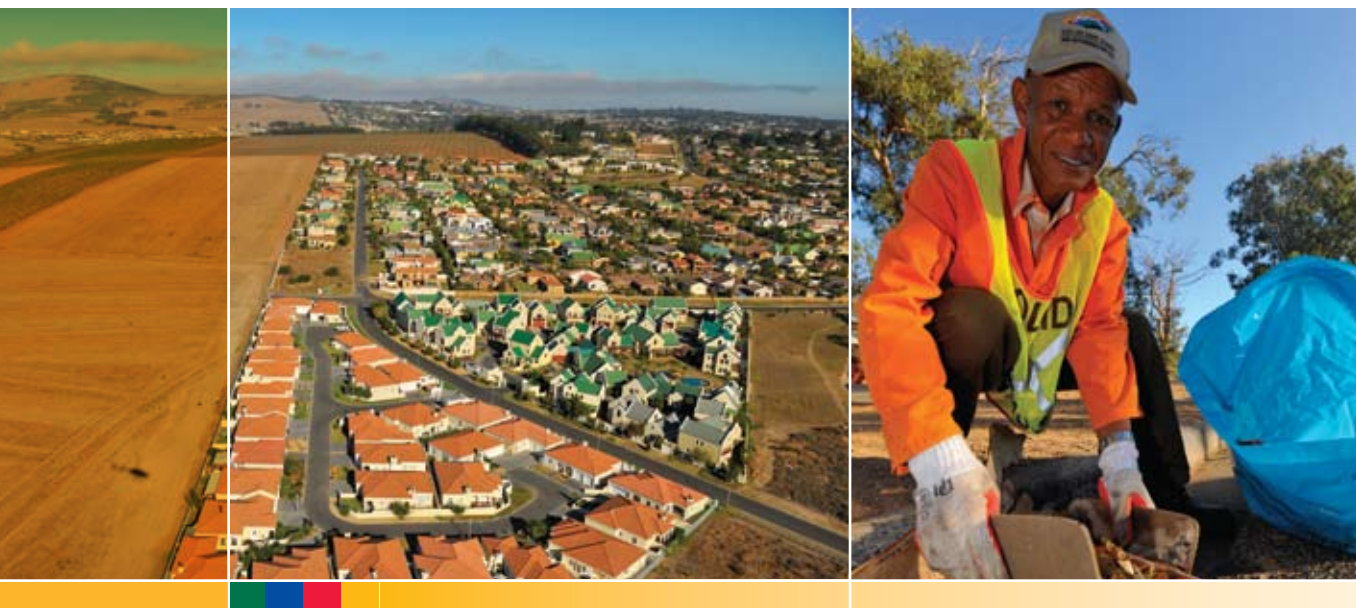
Urban growth

Cape Town's population is estimated at 3,4 million people (2008), of which 49,9% are male and 50,1% female. The city grew by 40% in developed land area over the period 1985–2005. Compared to the development rate of 701 ha per year over the period 1977–1988, the city is now developing at

an average rate of 1 232 ha per year – reflecting the tremendous development boom Cape Town is currently experiencing. Much of the recent growth has contributed to urban sprawl and relatively low-density suburban residential development.

Environment

Cape Town's environment is one of the strongest assets that drives tourism, and attracts skilled workers to the city. However, growing consumption and pollution are threatening the resource base of the region. Cape Town is under severe pressure, and will become more so in the future, with regard to energy, water availability and waste management. Increasing pollution is affecting the city's air and water quality, and directly impacts on residents' health and well-being. The transport sector remains the dominant energy consumer in the city. As local fuel prices are fixed by the international oil price the city's high level of oil dependence remains a risk. Bold and far-reaching measures are needed to mitigate the impact of environmental resource scarcity on the city, and to place the economy and society on a more sustainable footing.





EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Economy

A growing economy that benefits all the people of Cape Town is a prerequisite for attaining and achieving the objectives of a more sustainable city. The main challenge for the city's economy is the creation of productive employment opportunities in order to reduce poverty. Cape Town exists against the backdrop of a number of economic challenges, including high levels of inequity, a mismatch of skills supply and demand, and low levels of industry competitiveness in relation to global players. The city has experienced significant economic growth over the past decade – with improvements in the provision of basic services, such as water, waste management and electricity, and rising tourist numbers, which have all contributed to a growing economy. In line with international trends, the city is shifting towards the services sector, with the largest areas of growth being finance, business services, trade, catering, accommodation, tourism, transport and communication. As the factors that influence economic growth are increasingly global, as opposed to local, it is essential for the city to become globally competitive if it is to achieve sufficient levels of economic growth, and ensure that the social benefits of growth reach all residents.



Housing

There is a dire need for the provision of housing, and the upgrade of informal settlements in the city. Increasing immigration and population growth give rise to many newly settled households in the city, most of whom are poor, with income levels too low to be accommodated in the private housing system, and the rate of subsidised public housing delivery inadequate to meet the demand. As a consequence, a large proportion of Capetonians live in informal settlements with inadequate services and infrastructure, resulting in a wide range of social and economic problems. The number of people living in informal settlements in the city is growing – overcrowding is increasing, and household size declining. This contributes to an increasing housing backlog, from around 150 000 in 1998, to approximately 300 000 in 2008. The growing housing backlog has the potential to undermine social stability, slow down economic expansion, and even deter future investment.





Transport

Residents and visitors' increased reliance on the private car, and an ineffective public transport system remain Cape Town's biggest mobility challenges, and poor coordination between transport stakeholders has prevented this situation from changing. The reliance on the private car in the city is unsustainable, while Cape Town's current form generates enormous amounts of movement, often resulting in increased traffic congestion. This occurs at great financial, social and environmental cost.

Infrastructure and services

The need to provide new infrastructure to accommodate economic, urban and population growth, coupled with competing funding demands, has meant that Cape Town is suffering from a combination of bulk infrastructure backlogs, and backlogs in the provision of basic services. As Cape Town's urban growth over the past 20 years has been spatially ad hoc, public investment in infrastructure has been reactive and uncoordinated. The replacement, rehabilitation and preventative maintenance of existing infrastructure has also suffered

as a result of the persistent focus on the (often reactive) extension of infrastructure at the cost of maintenance. Now there is an urgent need to raise investment levels in city infrastructure for remedial work, upgrades and replacement of aging municipal services infrastructure.

Crime

The city is one of the crime hotspots in the country, with the highest prevalence of murder and drug-related crime in South Africa. It is crucial that crime in the city be addressed, as only then Cape Town will be able to achieve social equality, and effectively compete globally. In line with national trends, the Western Cape has experienced a slight decrease in contact crime in the past number of years. However, all crime is still at a very high level, and certain violent crime categories, like robbery, have increased. In the city, a relatively small number of police districts account for a disproportionate amount of crime, particularly violent and drug-related crime, with the highest prevalence occurring on the Cape Flats.





EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Health and social development

Decades of distorted development in the city has manifested in highly skewed distribution of income and wealth, where the poorer areas in the city are characterised by a high incidence of drug and alcohol abuse, gang affiliation, and HIV/Aids and tuberculosis (TB). This trend is continuing, coupled with increasing poverty.

Governance

Effective urban governance in order to create a well-functioning city that can effectively respond to the challenges with which it is faced, remains important. As the challenges facing the city are interrelated, and addressing them cuts across the responsibilities of all spheres of government and civil society, there is a need for a partnership between all stakeholders in the city to enhance growth, employment, social inclusion and sustainability. Notwithstanding many positive initiatives to improve coordination in the city (including a Regional Development Strategy, and the work of intergovernmental task teams and fora like the Premier's Coordinating Forum), there has not been much progress in putting in place a formalised structure for the effective management of the city and its region by a range of stakeholders.

Conclusion

A successful city must balance social, economic and environmental needs, and cannot operate efficiently in isolation from its environment. Similarly, we must guard against a sole focus on global competitiveness, and counteracting the consequences of having the highest urban Gini coefficient (level of inequality). As the City of Cape Town, or any other sphere of government for that matter, has only limited financial resources, capacity and influence to effectively address all the challenges facing the city, it is essential that coalitions be built between the different spheres of government, the private sector and civil society.





2. DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

Cape Town is faced with a range of challenges relating to the environment, the economy, housing, infrastructure, crime and other issues. As all these challenges are interrelated, addressing them requires an integrated approach by a range of stakeholders. This includes not only the City of Cape Town (City) as local authority, but also Provincial and National Government, the business sector, other towns in the region, civil society, and the residents of Cape Town.

Cape Town does not function in isolation, but within the context of national and global trends and issues. In this regard, globalisation, an increasing urbanised population, and the global economy's pivotal role in and dependence on environmental sustainability have been some of the major universal trends in recent years. It is important to assess the state of Cape Town within this global context, as most challenges facing the city, and their solutions, are not unique to Cape Town, but are also reflected internationally – particularly in major cities in other developing countries.

For easy reference, key issues will be discussed under the following themes:

- Urban growth
- Environment
- Economy
- Housing
- Transport
- Infrastructure and services
- Crime
- Health and social development
- Governance

Although the themes are intended to include all relevant issues, it should be noted that the discussions under each theme are in no way purported to be all-inclusive, but are only a reflection of the current key concerns. All information contained in the report was selected to best illustrate and substantiate the matters in hand. The themed discussions also include input from a range of key international, national and local sources and stakeholders. Their contributions should be seen as their point of view (to achieve an overall balanced view and promote dialogue), and are not necessarily the City's official stance.





DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

2.1 URBAN GROWTH

An urban world

While globalisation is changing the face of the global economy, urbanisation is changing the face of cities. The twentieth century was seen as the century of urbanisation; the year 2007 is significant in that it represents a watershed in this complex and ongoing global urban revolution. This year, for the first time in history, more than 50% of the world's population will live in urban areas (International Monetary Fund, 2008). The United Nations predicts that, if current urbanisation trends continue, it is likely that the urban share of the global population could reach a staggering 60% by 2030 (International Monetary Fund, 2008).

"For better or for worse, the development of contemporary societies will depend largely on understanding and managing the growth of cities."

– Ghulam Nabi Azad, Minister of Urban Development, Government of India, Inaugural Address: A Global Convention of Agenda for Urban Infrastructure Reforms, 2004.

Of the global urban population, about 84% lives in small and intermediate-sized cities. The rest lives in large or so-called 'megacities', which are cities with more than ten million residents (Worldwatch Institute, 2008). Table 1 outlines the current (2007) ten biggest cities in the world. A major global challenge is the fact that the majority of these large cities or agglomerations are, and will in the future be, situated in the developing world¹ (Worldwatch Institute, 2008).

With an estimated population of 3,4 million people, Cape Town is significantly smaller than these world cities.

Table 1: The world's ten biggest urban agglomerations

No	City	Population (million)
1	Tokyo, Japan	35,2
2	Mexico City, Mexico	19,4
3	New York, United States of America	18,7
4	Sao Paulo, Brazil	18,3
5	Mumbai, India	18,2
6	Delhi, India	15,0
7	Shanghai, China	14,5
8	Calcutta, India	14,3
9	Jakarta, Indonesia	13,2
10	Buenos Aires, Argentina	12,6
-	Cape Town	3,4

Source: International Monetary Fund, 2008.





Although many commentators view the fact that more people are now living in urban areas as a positive development, as cities are seen as important engines of growth that could create certain benefits, the current and predicted growth in cities in developing countries is leading, and will still lead, to many chaotic cities with slums and squatter settlements (Worldwatch Institute, 2008).

In line with global trends, South Africa's population is rapidly urbanising. Stellenbosch University² estimates that up to 80% of the country's population will reside in urban areas by the year 2026 (Tilley, 2008). Urban growth in South Africa does not only take place from the rural to the urban areas, but also from other African countries – with an as yet unknown effect on South Africa's resources and infrastructure (Institute for Security Studies, 1997).

"If you base progress on per capita income, then the developing world will not catch up with rich countries for the next three or four hundred years. The difference between our incomes is growing all the time. So we can't define our progress in terms of income, because that will guarantee our failure. We need to find another measure of success – which is our happiness. And what are our needs for happiness? We need to walk, just as birds need to fly. We need to be around other people. We need beauty. We need contact with nature. And most of all, we need not to be excluded. We need to feel some sort of equality."

– Enrique Peñalosa, former Mayor of Bogota, as quoted in Montgomery, 2006.

Urban regions and management of growth

Effective urban growth management is essential to achieve sustainable cities, in which the urban form contributes to the protection of the environment, the productivity of the economy, and the standard of living of city residents. Some of the key trends relating to urban planning globally include an emphasis on urban regions,³ and the management of the growth of cities to curb urban sprawl. Sprawl contributes to increasing commuting times as well as the loss of valuable agricultural land and areas with high biodiversity conservation potential, while more dense development benefits cities by greatly reducing the unit cost of piped water, sewers, drains and roads (City of Cape Town, 2006a). Effective growth management needs to address transport, agriculture, education, health, economic development, natural resources, crime prevention, and other policy areas. It is important that growth management be undertaken through a coordinated approach by the different spheres of government, business and the public (NGA Center for Best Practices, undated).

Effective regional planning

In order to achieve effective regional planning, which will enhance the global competitiveness of cities, Greg Clark⁴ suggests that cities and urban regions provide the following:

- Leadership that communicates the future path for the city and region, and accurately understands its assets, endowment and opportunities, taking bold decisions and implementing strategies fully
- Willingness to make diversity, proximity and density key drivers of growth and change
- Opportunities for people to acquire new skills, knowledge and abilities, and to access meaningful employment
- Quality of life that builds upon distinctive local identities and good housing choices for people and families
- Innovation in institutions that can produce new policies, services and tools, and can communicate well with multiple stakeholders and audiences
- Collaboration between different parties and organisations, including neighbouring areas, spheres of government, business and civil society

(Clark, undated)



DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

South Africa has also not been exempted from the harmful tides of urban sprawl, and of scattered, low-density development in its cities (Britz & Meyer, 2007). In order to promote a more sustainable urban form in South African cities, national legislation⁵ requires cities, including Cape Town, to formulate “land development objectives”, which outline the key performance measures for land development and management in their respective areas of jurisdiction (City of Cape Town, 2007a). These land development objectives include inter alia the following:

- The integration of communities, especially low-income communities, into the urban area as a whole
 - Overall densification of settlements, with due regard to the context
 - The sustainable utilisation of the environment, and working harmoniously with nature
 - Access to and the planning of appropriate transport
- The improvement of the planning system, including integrated planning and development, local decision making, effective public participation, better resource utilisation, administrative fairness, and coordinated land use management.

Although there is value in setting national objectives as outlined above, the real value of these lies in the extent to which they are implemented. It is therefore important to be realistic on what can be achieved, considering the political and socio-economic circumstances in South Africa.

Urban growth in Cape Town

Cape Town grew by 40% in developed land area over the period 1985–2005. Compared to the period 1977–1988, when the city developed by an average of 701 ha per year, it is now developing at an average rate of 1 232 ha per year (almost double previous averages). This reflects the tremendous development boom the city is currently experiencing. Much of the recent growth has contributed to urban sprawl and relatively low-density suburban residential development, with its associated disadvantages (City of Cape Town, 2006a).

“Move away from the business as usual scenario and slowly implement a more dynamic and creative approach to city-making in Cape Town.”

– Nisa Mammon, Principal Planner, NM & Associates Planners and Designers, personal interview.

In Cape Town, low-density urban sprawl has had a particular impact on the city's perimeter to the north, east and northeast, and has resulted in the loss of large amounts of valuable agricultural land,⁶ increasing commuting times, increasing pollution, and the loss of some natural resource areas and cultural landscapes. A key component of growth management, i.e. densification, should be a priority in order to address urban sprawl. Densification is linked to a broader strategy of compaction, which also includes infill development and containment of growth.





This is a challenge for a region dependent on its natural resources, with tourists⁷ drawn to its beauty, agriculture as its most important primary sector, and a unique biodiversity requiring protection for environmental and economic sustainability (City of Cape Town, 2007b).

Middle and upper-income housing are largely responsible for the sprawl on the perimeter of the urban area, while low-income and affordable housing have largely tended to concentrate on the Cape Flats and the southeast metro, albeit in some environmentally inappropriate places. Middle to higher-income residential land development far exceeds that of low-income development, although there has been a recent trend towards higher-density developments, such as town houses, group housing complexes, etc. for reasons of security and maintenance costs (City of Cape Town, 2007b).

"As domestic workers, we cannot afford to buy houses in town. Only those who are working in offices can afford to buy in areas closer to town. What about us who do not work in formal jobs?"

– Andiswa (44), Khayelitsha, personal interview.

In order to promote a more sustainable Cape Town with an effective urban form, urban and regional planning for the city should inter alia promote the following objectives:

- Promote integration between areas to improve access, and increase the economic potential of marginalised areas
- Improve the accessibility and efficiency of the city's resources and opportunities for all communities through appropriate investment in transport infrastructure
- Protect, manage and enhance valuable natural resources
- Focus on improving the quality of the public environment in degraded areas
- Promote all new settlement areas as mixed-use, mixed-income, sustainable developments supported by public transport

- Promote densification in selected areas and along appropriate portions of major public transport routes
- Manage urban expansion by containing the urban footprint, and carefully directing all new development areas to appropriate and viable locations (City of Cape Town, 2007a).

"City planning was not right because it created problems for people who cannot afford transport to go to look for employment. We live far from the city. There are no jobs where we live. We are forced to come to town."

– Andiswa (44), Khayelitsha, personal interview.

Having these objectives is all good and well; the real test, however, lies in implementing them effectively, and having the commitment to, and political will and public support for such implementation.

Achieving a compact urban form in Cape Town

According to Nisa Mammon, urban planning in Cape Town should achieve a compact urban form driven by sustainable development principles, where the natural systems are protected and respected. It should also be acknowledged that the city is shaped by a number of components that are part of the same system – the city core with its inner and outer perimeters, as well as the hinterland or region within which the city is situated. It is essential that strategies be implemented to enable the majority of residents to move closer to the heart of the city, merging the 'formal' themes of tourism, entertainment, commerce and finance at the global level, with the perceived informality and arbitrariness of the new participants.

N. Mammon, Principal Planner, NM & Associates Planners and Designers.



DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

2.2 ENVIRONMENT

Energy, waste and water

Unsustainable use of energy and water resources, and unprecedented waste production are some of the key environmental issues in the world today.

“The message is clear: We need to act now, both individually and collectively as a nation, to reverse environmental deterioration. If we do not act decisively, we run the risk of losing the environmental services that we all depend upon.”

– Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 2005.

Cities' energy consumption has increased significantly over a period of a few generations since the industrial revolution, in which cities were transformed from dense areas of narrow streets with small, low dwellings, to skyscrapers and sprawling suburbs. The advent of the fossil fuel age, which provided power for electric lights and motor vehicles, enabled many cities to become what they are today. Now it is essential that more sustainable energy use be pursued, especially within the context of global climate change and the imminent peak in oil production (Worldwatch Institute, 2008).

Fast facts about the peaking of world oil production

- Oil is a finite, non-renewable resource that must be discovered before it can be produced.
- Discoveries of oil have been on a declining trend since the 1960s.
- Approximately two thirds of the oil-producing nations have passed their individual peaks.
- While it is uncertain precisely when global oil production will peak, and what the post-peak rate of depletion will be, available evidence suggests that global oil production will probably decline between 2007 and 2020, with a significant risk of rapid decline and price spikes.
- Because oil is an input into most products (including food), and in the form of fuel also serves as the basis of the modern transport system, shortages of oil will have significant impacts on the economy and financial markets, transport and mobility, agriculture, food, politics and conflict.

Energy Bulletin, 3 August 2007.





In addition to increased energy consumption, UN-HABITAT predicts that especially cities in the developing world will experience extreme water shortages by the year 2010, threatening the life and health of inhabitants. According to the United Nations, the three main causes of the impending global urban water crisis are rapid urban population growth, the fact that as much as 50% of all potable water is wasted or lost, as well as the impact of pollution (N'Dow, 1996). In addition to the energy and water crises, the proper management of solid waste is also becoming a critical issue that is affecting the health of urban residents – with the urban poor being affected the most (USAid, 2008).

The South African scenario is similar to the global one, and is characterised by a lack of adequate and sustainable provision of energy (electricity), water and waste disposal. The recent failures in the electricity and water provision sector that had an enormous impact on the country's economy and people, raise the warning that things can go wrong, and highlight the fact that effective provision requires proper long-term planning, and the provision and maintenance of appropriate infrastructure (Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, undated).

Like electricity, water is essential to promote economic growth, and to address poverty alleviation (Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, undated). Waste disposal is also becoming a serious problem, as waste disposal per capita is increasing in many municipal areas in the country, which is exacerbated by inaction, lack of management, as well as an absence of knowledge of the fundamental principles of integrated waste management (The South African Civil Society Information Service, 2008).

Energy, waste and water in Cape Town

Cape Town's environment is one of the strongest assets that drives tourism and attracts skilled workers to the city. However, growing consumption and pollution are threatening the resource base of the region. Similar to the national and international trend, Cape Town is under severe pressure, and will become more so in the future, with regard to energy, water availability and waste management. Growing pollution is affecting the air and water quality in the city, with a direct impact on residents' health and well-being (City of Cape Town, 2007a).





DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

Energy

With regard to energy provision, Cape Town is highly dependent on external national and international sources – electricity, coal and liquid fuels are supplied or generated nationally, whilst enriched uranium is generated internationally. Most of the city's electricity is supplied by Eskom. Energy consumption in the city is dominated by three main sectors, namely transport, commerce and industry, and domestic households. The transport sector remains the dominant energy user, and uses 36% of available energy, mainly due to the city's sprawling nature and its poor public transport system. As local fuel prices are fixed by the international oil price, steep increases in the oil price may continue. If that happens, the city's high level of oil dependence may result in outward cash flows that could otherwise have been inwardly invested (Sustainability Institute, 2008).

"Electricity provision in Cape Town has been problematic in the past year. The city is often experiencing electricity cuts, which are negatively affecting businesses and contributing to unemployment as workers lose their jobs. Increasing the price of electricity is not the answer, as people still earn the same wages – rather, Government should subsidise Eskom more, so that prices remain the same."

– Janet (35), Sea Point, personal interview.

Mechanisms to promote sustainable energy

Megan Euston-Brown from Sustainable Energy Africa is of the opinion that there are a number of mechanisms that can be implemented to promote sustainable energy use in Cape Town. These are:

- the establishment of a city public-private partnership energy entity to drive sustainable energy implementation;
- the establishment of an integrated public transport agency, involving the provincial and local government and other agencies, to promote public transport;
- a budget and project prioritisation of public transport and non-motorised transport;
- the creation of energy efficiency by-laws, regulations and processes to support sustainable energy use; and
- the establishment of local renewable energy generation entities similar to the Darling wind farm.



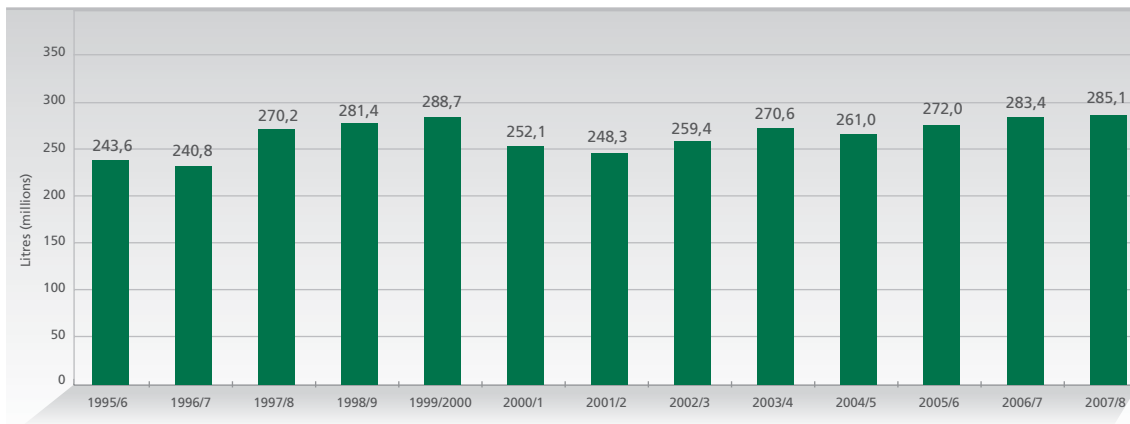


Figure 1 - Annual water usage in Cape Town

Source: City of Cape Town 2009b.

Water

In the past eleven years, annual water usage in Cape Town has remained at a relatively stable level, ranging from 240 billion to 288 billion litres per year (City of Cape Town, 2006b). However, the water usage per capita decreased sharply in 2001 due to water restrictions to the current daily per capita usage of 200 litres (see Figure 1) (City of Cape Town, 2007a). To meet its goal of becoming a sustainable city, water usage per capita needs to remain at these relatively low levels, or be reduced.

Residential water usage makes up the bulk (51%) of the demand for water, while the second biggest user, i.e. non-revenue demand (or unaccounted for water),⁸ accounts for up to 23%. The third biggest water user in the city is commerce and industry, which accounts for 15% of water used (Sustainability Institute, 2008).

Waste management

As seen in Figure 2, waste disposal per capita in Cape Town has grown substantially over a number of years, with a 60% increase since 1999. This is indicative of the growing city economy – as more people become economically active and able to consume manufactured goods, the rate of waste generation increases (City of Cape Town, 2006b). Some commentators are of the opinion that although the City has a fairly effective waste management service, which covers 96% of all households and businesses, its dominant mode of waste management, i.e. traditional landfill technology, is an expensive and inefficient manner of waste disposal that ignores the fact that waste can serve as productive input for recycling value chains (Sustainability Institute, 2008). The City has a very low level of recycling, with only 13,2% of Cape Town households who recycle their waste (City of Cape Town, 2008a). Also, the City landfills are rapidly running full, which means that the City needs to increase Cape Town's recycling capacity in addition to making available more services and sites for waste disposal (City of Cape Town, 2007a).



DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

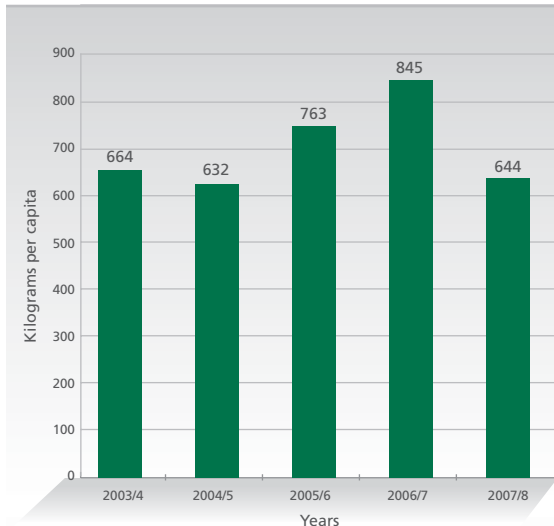


Figure 2 - Annual waste disposed of per capita in Cape Town

Source: Barry Coetzee, Solid Waste Management, personal interview, 2008.

Bold and far-reaching measures are needed to mitigate the impact of environmental resource scarcity on the city, and to place the economy and society on a more sustainable footing (City of Cape Town, 2007a). All Cape Town residents have the right, but also a shared responsibility, to enjoy a decent quality of life within existing resource limits. Cape Town should not continue to be a city in which infrastructure is provided to enable an increasingly larger middle class to live unsustainably. The city will only become sustainable if the concept is mainstreamed, and understood and supported by all residents (City of Cape Town, 2005). According to the *State of Cape Town Report 2006*, measures in this regard could include the following:

- More rigorous water demand management practices, including the introduction of grey water systems in new developments
- The introduction and promotion of integrated waste management systems across the urban area
- The preparation of a comprehensive energy plan for the city and region
- The introduction of financial incentives (e.g. rebates for introducing sustainable technologies for households and business) and disincentives (e.g. step tariffs for electricity, by-laws for sustainable practice, etc.) to support more sustainable consumption patterns
- The fast-tracking of sustainable technologies, and support for the green economy through responsible tourism and developing industry for sustainable technology (e.g. solar water heater factory, biodiesel refinery, etc.) (City of Cape Town, 2006a).

The introduction of these measures should create economic opportunities for local businesses, and will help to position Cape Town as an innovator in sustainable city-building, and a global growth sector that could considerably enhance the city's global competitiveness (City of Cape Town, 2006a).

It should be said, however, that although it is clear what should be done, the real challenge is to move beyond saying what needs to be done, towards commencing with the implementation of these measures, which requires commitment and action from all stakeholders in the city.





2.3 ECONOMY

A globalised world, and the importance of the environmental economy

Globalisation has shifted the focus away from the traditional nation state, to cities. It also results in a shift from the formal economy, to the growth of the informal economy. The removal of trade barriers, cross-global investment flows by multi-national companies, and opening up of domestic markets have led to nation states being weakened as global economic actors. Although countries remain important, cities are increasingly seen as 'enablers' of economic growth (South African Cities Network, 2006).

"The changes now under way in the earth's atmosphere are the greatest and widest-ranging market failure ever seen."

– Nicolas Stern, former World Bank Chief Economist, 2007.

"Continued human progress now depends on an economic transformation that is more profound than any seen in the last century."

– Christopher Flavin, Worldwatch President, 2008.

In addition to globalisation, which is affecting the economies of all cities, and an increased urban population with a growth in slums, our planet is also faced with environmental challenges with increasing economic consequences. Most cities are environmentally unsustainable, and many cities with their sprawling nature contribute to pollution and climate change (International Monetary Fund, 2008). The environmental problems in cities also have economic consequences, as the global economy is now also destroying its own ecological base (Worldwatch Institute, 2008). Recent international studies have concluded that the damage from global climate change could equal as much as 8% of global economic output by the end of this century (Worldwatch Institute, 2008).





DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

Economic growth, skills and unemployment

While urbanisation in South Africa presents challenges of poverty, homelessness and marginalisation, it also presents opportunities for economic growth and social development. As a middle-income, developing country, South Africa possesses a higher level of resources to address a range of urban challenges than many other developing countries. However, the difficulties and challenges facing South African cities, particularly in the context of the impact of globalisation, are enormous (Tilley, 2008). With a large proportion of the country's population living in urban areas, and between 70% and 80% of gross domestic product already being generated in the cities, the economic viability and sustainability of the country's cities is critical for the country's national economic performance (Tilley, 2008).

Economic implications of the energy crisis

According to Professor Philip Lloyd of the Energy Research Centre at the University of Cape Town, the electricity supply crisis is likely to last at least five years until old electricity power stations have been brought back to use, and new ones have been built. The biggest impact of the crisis will be felt in the services sector, although other sectors will also take a knock. In fact, foreign direct investment in primary and secondary sectors will probably decline, as so much of their operations are absolutely dependent on reliable power supplies.

"Staffing is the new speed limit to growth. It is not the access to capital or technology that will constrain the growth of enterprises or the South African economy, but rather the lack of adequate skills to support organisational growth plans. The traditional channels of education and training are no longer providing skills in sufficient numbers nor are they necessarily aligned to organisational needs. Organisations must participate in the development of relevant skills if they are to survive."

– Italia Boninelli, HR Director: Netcare Group.

In South Africa, unemployment and the mismatch between available and needed skills remain key challenges. The unemployment rate in the country declined from 25,5% in September 2006, to 23% in September 2007, while the percentage of working-age South Africans with jobs rose from 42,7% in September 2006, to 43,5% in September 2007 (Statistics South Africa, 2008).





Cape Town's economy

A growing economy that benefits all the people of Cape Town is a prerequisite for attaining and achieving the objectives of a more sustainable city. The main challenge for the city's economy is the creation of productive employment opportunities, so that poverty can be reduced (City of Cape Town, 2007a).

However, the city's economy functions against the backdrop of a number of economic challenges, including high levels of inequity, a mismatch of skills supply and demand, and low levels of industry competitiveness in relation to developing cities (City of Cape Town, 2007a). Recently, the city's economy has also been affected by high oil and food prices, the electricity crisis, the Zimbabwe crisis and the recent xenophobic attacks.

The city has experienced significant economic growth over the past decade (a 4% average annual increase in gross geographic product, with a 6% increase in 2004 and 2005, and 5% in 2006). Some infrastructure investment and rising tourist numbers have all contributed to a growing economy. (The importance of Cape Town as an international tourist destination was confirmed recently by the announcement that the city was voted Africa's leading destination by the prestigious World Travel Awards.) In line with international trends, the city is shifting towards the services sector, with the largest areas of growth being finance, business services, trade, catering, accommodation, tourism, transport and communication (City of Cape Town, 2007a).

Finance and business services remain the dominant sectors in the city, accounting for 32,3% of total economic activity. Manufacturing, which accounts for 16% of employment in the city, has declined. Although the manufacturing sector underperformed the average growth rate of 5,9% in 2005, it remains an important source of employment (Provincial Government Western Cape, 2007a). The construction sector expanded by 13,5% to become the fastest growing sector in 2005, followed by transport and communication (6,7%), wholesale and retail trade (6,3%) and the finance and business services sector (5,9%) (City of Cape Town, 2007a).

Growth management analysis by the City shows that between 2004 and 2007, development in the city (in terms of investment value)⁹ was dominated by four sectors of the city's economy, namely tourism and accommodation, business services, property development and construction, and business process outsourcing (BPO) and call centres. As can be seen from Figure 3, the distribution of investment in terms of value is heavily influenced by just three high-value locations: the V&A Waterfront, Somerset West and Claremont. If these three investment locations are excluded, the Cape Town central business district (CBD) would dominate, with 12,9% of all investment value derived from a large number of smaller, diverse investments (City of Cape Town, 2008d).





DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

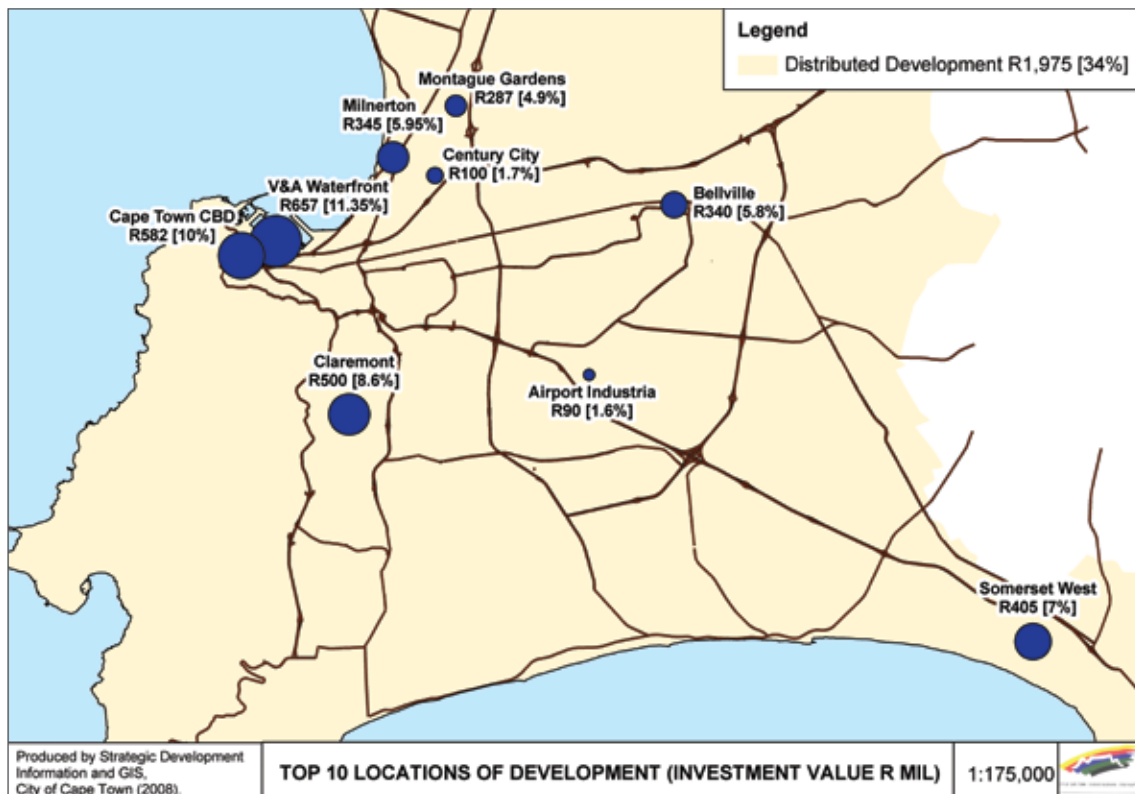
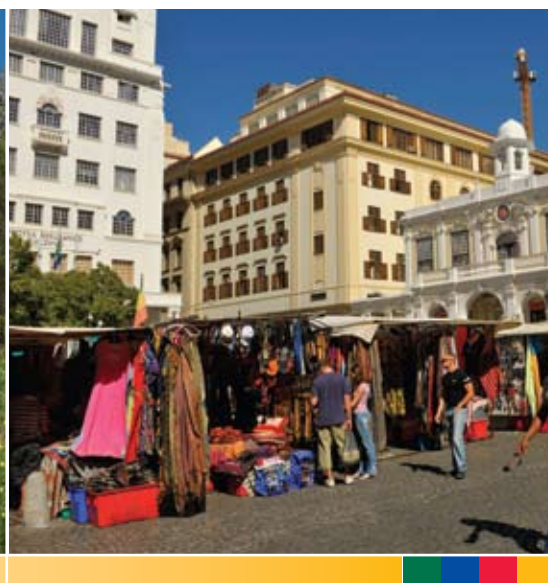


Figure 3 - Spatial distribution of investment in Cape Town

Source: City of Cape Town, 2008d.





Unemployment and the mismatch between available and needed skills remain the key economic challenges in the city. Due to the shift in the economy from the manufacturing sector to the services sector, it is likely that this mismatch will become more critical. Although the official unemployment rate has eased to 16,9% (September 2007) according to the Labour Force Survey data, it remains high (City of Cape Town, 2009a). When one adds to this the number of discouraged work seekers, the employment scenario in Cape Town seems far from ideal (see Figure 4).

“Many people with spaza shops have given up their businesses because of robberies.”

– Mellissa (41), Lyden-Delft, personal interview.

Strategies should be implemented to address the challenges of unemployment and skills shortages to enable the economy to achieve shared growth. Pro-market interventions should be complemented by pro-poor interventions. In order to spread the benefits of

economic growth to all residents, support should also be provided to the poor, including skills development and training, and by addressing their basic needs, such as health, education and shelter, which will enable them to more actively participate in the economy. Effective and affordable public transport will also assist them to access economic opportunities (City of Cape Town, 2006a).

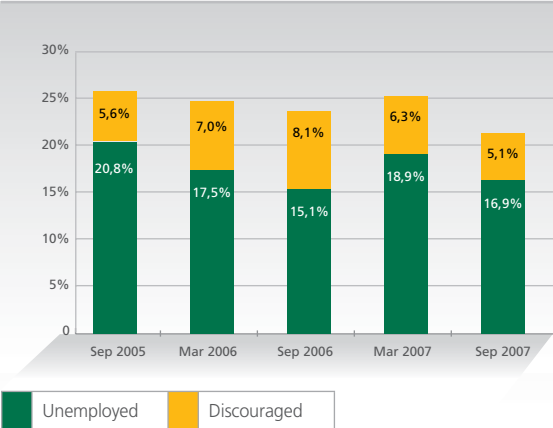


Figure 4 - Employment status in Cape Town

Source: Compiled using STATSSA Labour Force Survey 2005, 2006 and 2007 data.





DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

The link between the environment and the financial services industry should be recognised. Companies choose to locate their offices in Cape Town because of the environment and the associated quality of life it offers. However, what the city also needs is employment growth at semi and low-skilled ends if it aims to address the unemployment problem. It is expected that a great proportion of unemployment will be absorbed by the small, medium and micro enterprise sector, and the City should therefore ensure that it supports the development of this sector.

Support for the creative industries should be accelerated, particularly for existing initiatives that have flourished in certain parts of the city, notably the east and central precinct and new opportunity areas. The energy crisis presents an opportunity to grow the city's renewable energy economy, and promote carbon credit projects. Cape Town now has an opportunity to position itself as a leader in green technologies, green building and industries, environmentally friendly hotels, etc. European companies and individuals increasingly choose to do business with environmentally conscious businesses.

The knowledge economy is likely to become even more important. A significant number of highly skilled people choose to live in Cape Town, as learning and innovation have become coupled with lifestyle choices. This trend should be fostered and encouraged as part of repositioning Cape Town as a design and service hub.

Growing visitor numbers and highly skilled jobs

According to David Schmidt, Director for Strategies for Change, and one of the authors of the Cape Town Regional Development Strategy, the economic focus areas in the city should be growing visitor numbers and highly skilled investment jobs. According to him, there exists no proper economic strategy for Cape Town. In many similar cities globally, there is a considerable focus, both politically and administratively, on the growing of visitor numbers, as well as on the creation of new firms and highly skilled jobs. For every sustainable and competitive highly skilled job, many more lower-level jobs are also created.





2.4 HOUSING

Informality

The provision of housing is one of the greatest challenges facing cities today. In fact, the problem of non-existent or inadequate housing has reached crisis proportions globally. UN-HABITAT estimates that about 600 million residents of global cities in developing countries currently live in overcrowded housing, often in informal settlements (United Nations, 2005). With the world population expected to reach between 7,9 and 10,9 billion by 2050, with the majority in urban areas, it will put enormous pressure on cities' ability to provide adequate housing to their residents, particularly in the developing world (Brown, 2003). As the general health of any family is directly related to the quality of housing they enjoy, this increase in the number of people in inadequate housing is likely to have a dramatic impact on the health of urban residents (Development Action Group, 2006).

"One of the biggest weaknesses in some municipalities is contract management and project management. Another is the quality of monitoring on site."

– Shanaaz Majiet, Head of Department of Local Government and Housing, Provincial Government Western Cape, as quoted in Hartley, 2007.

Although some 2,6 million houses have been delivered since 1994,¹⁰ the housing situation in South Africa is still far from satisfactory, as a large proportion of people still live in informal settlements (Department of Housing, 2007). Of the new housing opportunities created, approximately 290 000 have been in the Western Cape province. The rapid growth of informal settlements in urban areas poses significant challenges to both National Government and municipalities. The current housing delivery mechanisms cannot cope with the increasing demand, and it is unlikely that the demand for housing will be appropriately addressed within the next 25 years. New strategies are thus required to reach more people within the constraints of state resources.

Housing in Cape Town

Increasing immigration and population growth give rise to many newly settled households in the city, most of whom are poor, with income levels too low to be accommodated in the private housing system, and the rate of subsidised public housing delivery inadequate to meet the demand. As a consequence, a large proportion of Capetonians live in informal settlements with inadequate services and infrastructure, resulting in a wide range of social and economic problems.





DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

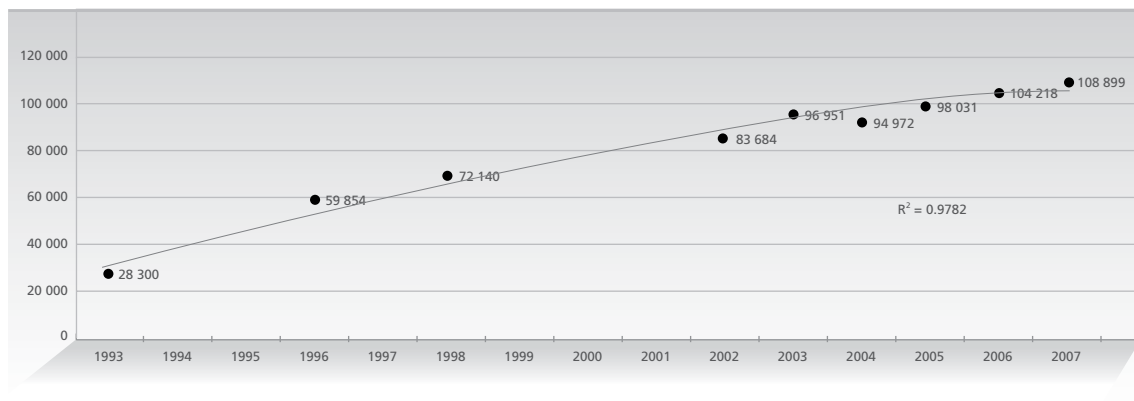


Figure 5 - Number of shacks in Cape Town ¹¹ (actual counts)

Source: Compiled using data captured by Strategic Development Information & GIS Department.

“Stop saying that we can give everybody a house.”

– Professor David Dewar, Department of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics, University of Cape Town, personal interview.

The number of people living in informal settlements in the city is growing (23 000 families in 1993, to approximately 109 000 families in 2007) – overcrowding is increasing and household size declining. (See Figure 5 for the increase in the number of informal structures or shacks in the city.) This contributes to an increasing housing backlog, from around 150 000 in 1998, to approximately 300 000 in 2008. The balance of those in need comprises ‘backyarders’ and others within the formal urban fabric. The growing housing backlog has the potential to undermine social stability, slow down economic expansion, and even deter future investment.





It is estimated that about 22,4% of households in Cape Town live in informal dwellings, of which about 58,2% are situated in informal settlements, while about 41,8% are informal dwellings in backyards (City of Cape Town, 2008a).

Cooperation between the City of Cape Town and commercial banks

The City of Cape Town/Banks Co-operation Agreement to promote the provision of housing was concluded on 16 May 2006 with three major national banks. In terms of this agreement, the City handed over land at accessible locations to the banks, who will then build and develop affordable homes on the land (so-called 'gap housing') for households earning more than R3 500 per month, with a special focus on those earning between R3 500 and R7 000 per month. As a starting point, more than 2 500 affordable housing units will be built, and the selection of land parcels will support the principles of integration in the city (City of Cape Town, 2006c).

"The City doesn't have a timeframe to deliver houses to the people because they don't know who came first to an area, and don't have proper arrangements in place to deliver houses fairly."

– Vera (54), Crossroads, personal interview.

The financial implications of addressing these and future housing demands are high, and will require significant additional capital investment. It is clear from the growing backlog in housing, the prevalence of informal settlements in the city, and the lack of adequate funding

to address these problems, that it is not possible in the short to medium term to provide formal houses to all residents who need them. It is thus necessary to be realistic, and implement an incremental approach to the development of housing, including the upgrade of informal settlements, the provision of basic municipal services to all, encouraging and supporting communities to complete their own homes over time (with a measure of security of tenure) and the development of social housing in the right locations for those who can afford it (City of Cape Town, 2006a).

Again, the focus should be on actual implementation, as with most of the proposed solutions to the challenges facing the city.

A shift in the provincial housing policy

According to Shanaaz Majiet, Head of the Department of Local Government and Housing in the Provincial Government Western Cape, there has been a fundamental shift in the provincial housing policy, and in the way Provincial Government approaches housing provision.

"We are talking about a policy shift; a new human settlement strategy for this province. At the heart of our new housing and human settlement strategy for the province is how to change the apartheid spatial pattern that we've had in the province, so that people in new housing developments don't just go up on the periphery. How do we use vacant state-owned land as a whole where it exists in the built-up urban areas, and also fundamentally take on the skewed property market in the province, which forces out most people starting off their careers. These people, who earn a reasonable income, will under the current conditions never be able to afford property or land. It is important that people understand that the new housing and human settlement strategy is in response to intense urbanisation."



DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

2.5 TRANSPORT

Public transport

An efficient, sustainable transport system that improves access and mobility in an equitable and sustainable manner is essential in any city. Although the transport sector makes an important contribution to the economic and social development of cities, the widespread use of private cars over the last half century has had negative consequences (United Nations, 2002). On average, urban car travel uses nearly twice as much energy as urban bus travel, and 6,6 times more than electric train travel, and contributes to local and global air pollution (Worldwatch Institute, 2008).

“Adding highway capacity to solve traffic congestion is like buying larger pants to deal with your weight problem.”

– Michael Repogle, transportation director of the advocacy group Environmental Defense, as quoted in *New York Times*, 30 January 2000.

In an effort to change the current dominance of the private car, many cities have begun to implement new forms of urban development, where private cars are not the primary mode of mobility. A city needs a variety of transport options, including increased use of public transport, and the use of alternative modes of transport (e.g. walking, cycling, etc.). Providing a wide range of options can equip an urban area with a measure of resilience, especially when it is faced with crises like climate change and a peak in oil production, increased congestion, a threat to the historic built environment, as well as the need to address a wide range of economic and social functions through transport (Worldwatch Institute, 2008).





"I love traffic. First of all, it's a sign that you have enough density to support transit. Second, it is one of the best ways to get people out of their cars. Anywhere you look in the world, when people use public transport, it's not because of some high level of consciousness. It's because private driving is restricted. What is the easiest way to restrict private cars? Traffic. Just look at New York."

– Enrique Peñalosa, former Mayor of Bogota, as quoted in Montgomery, 2006.

In line with global trends, South Africa is also experiencing increased reliance on the private car as incomes rise. In response to this trend, Government has started to implement a transport policy¹² that promotes the use of public transport over private transport. This aims:

- to ensure that public transport services address user needs, including those of commuters, scholars, tourists and the disabled;
- to promote and implement a system of regulated competition for tendered public transport routes;
- to assist and economically empower disadvantaged operators to participate meaningfully in the public land passenger transport system; and
- to promote safe and secure, reliable and sustainable public transport (Department of Transport, 1996).





DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

Transport in Cape Town

Residents and visitors' increased reliance on the private car, and an ineffective public transport system remain Cape Town's biggest mobility challenges, and poor coordination between the stakeholders involved in the transport sector has prevented this situation from changing. The reliance on the private car in the city is unsustainable, and the city's current form generates enormous amounts of movement, often resulting in increased traffic congestion. This occurs at great financial, social and environmental cost to the City (City of Cape Town, 2006a). In 2006, 43,2% of all households in the city owned a car – just another indication of Capetonians' current preferred mode of transport.

"Cape Town has two alternatives: It can continue along its current path, and end up gridlocked like cities such as Mexico City and São Paulo, or it can do what is possible now, and promote sustainable transport."

– Lloyd Wright, Executive Director, Viva, personal interview.

The existing public transport system is inadequate in meeting growing consumer needs. Poor integration between different modes of public transport as well as issues of safety merely reinforce the trend of private car usage. The split between private car and public transport use in the city is approximately 50% for peak periods (06:00–09:00/16:00–19:00). Like elsewhere in South Africa, few middle to high-income residents rely on public transport (City of Cape Town, 2006a). As shown in Figure 6, private car ownership figures range from a significant 90% of more affluent, white households, to only 7% of poorer black African households. For those residents who cannot afford a car, life is inconvenient and expensive. This increases poverty and inequality, as people, especially the poor, have little access to economic and social opportunities.

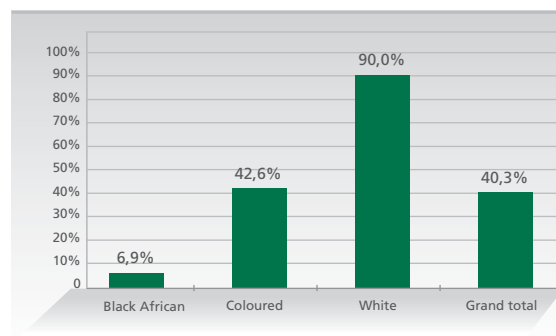


Figure 6 - Cape Town households with a car

Source: Compiled using STATSSA General Household Survey 2007 data.





To improve access and mobility in the city, there is a need to transform and restructure the current transport system, and to improve public transport, so that the city's economic opportunities in all areas of Cape Town could be unlocked. An effective, sustainable transport system¹³ should thus be the key objective for all stakeholders in the city, as it is a key requirement for the creation of integrated human settlements, for achieving social inclusion, and for enhancing the city's economic competitiveness (City of Cape Town, 2006a). Transport could and should be used to enable all residents and visitors to enjoy the full social, economic and environmental opportunities that the city has to offer. To achieve this, the public transport system needs to be transformed by changing it from the historic commuter system, where services are designed only for peak periods, to a public transport system with greater route permanence outside the peak periods and over weekends and public holidays (City of Cape Town, 2007a).

"Buses are not effective because Golden Arrow doesn't have enough buses to cater for their passengers. Most of the time passengers remain standing until they reach their place of employment – the bus company should conduct some surveys to establish how many people use their services."

– Advocate (41), Parklands, personal interview.

As the responsibility for managing public transport services is fragmented, the establishment of a metropolitan transport authority is a prerequisite to achieve an integrated public transport system in the city (City of Cape Town, 2007a). The key test, however, is how stakeholders will be able to move from discussions on what needs to be done, towards practical implementation of improvement measures, as the creation of a metropolitan transport authority has been on the cards for years without any success. Again, a lack of implementation has been hampering progress.

Transport planning for the 2010 Soccer World Cup

Lloyd Wright, Executive Director of Viva, who is assisting the City with its preparations for 2010, states that transport plans for the 2010 World Cup are to include a bus rapid transit bus system in the city. This can be implemented at a cost of about R20 million per km, and within two years, with similar benefits of a rail network system, which costs around R250 million per km. Because of the 2010 event, the City is focussing on the inner city first, including the CBD, the City Bowl, Camps Bay, Sea Point, Green Point, Woodstock as well as the airport. This will be expanded over the next 12 to 15 years to eventually cover the whole city, which will enable 70% of residents to be within 500 m of a bus rapid transit stop. The project is progressing well, but Wright points out that the secret with the rapid transport system is the participation of minibus taxi operators, who will be incorporated into the system. Also crucially important is the participation of both the City and the Provincial Government Western Cape. According to Wright, both have similar visions for public transport in Cape Town – it must be rapid, frequent, affordable and safe.





DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

2.6 INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES

Maintenance and provision of infrastructure

Globally, rapid urbanisation and urban growth have resulted in an increase in the number of households requiring basic services and infrastructure. In most developing countries, there is widespread poverty and inequality in cities, with millions of people living in slums without adequate basic services. By 2030, three billion people, or about 40% of the world's population, will be in need of basic infrastructure services (Willoughby, 2006).

South African cities are also suffering from a lack of proper infrastructure in many areas, especially informal settlements, as well as a lack of maintenance of existing infrastructure. A recent evaluation of the country's public infrastructure undertaken by the South African Institution of Civil Engineering (SAICE) shows that

“At the core of efforts to improve the environmental habitability of slums is the need to invest in infrastructure – to provide water and sanitation, electricity, access roads, footpaths and waste management.”

– UN-HABITAT, 2008.





although a significant amount of infrastructure has been provided since 1994, much of the good work is going to waste due to poor infrastructure maintenance (le Roux, 2007). Chronic underspending on public infrastructure maintenance is reflected in the poor condition of some of the country's drinking water systems, sanitation, roads and electricity reticulation. It is therefore critical, especially with regard to Government's current spending of R400 billion on infrastructure, that adequate budgets and maintenance management plans be made available for existing infrastructure (Le Roux, 2007).

"Our government is committed to promoting the development of the country, and is therefore investing in infrastructure to eliminate service backlogs in under-served areas."

– Thabo Mbeki, former President of South Africa, 1998.

The skills shortage

According to Dr Kevin Wall from the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), one of the most pressing challenges facing the upkeep of South Africa's public sector infrastructure is an acute shortage of skills. A recent SAICE survey indicates that there are currently more than 1 000 vacancies for engineering practitioners in municipalities, and that more than a third of South Africa's 283 municipalities do not have a single civil engineer, technologist or technician in their employ. This situation has the potential to worsen the already critical lack of adequate infrastructure and maintenance in many areas of the country.

Source: Le Roux, 2007





DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

Infrastructure in Cape Town

In Cape Town, the need to provide new infrastructure to accommodate economic, urban and population growth, coupled with competing funding demands, has meant that Cape Town is suffering from a combination of bulk infrastructure backlogs, and backlogs in the provision of basic services. As growth in the city over the past 20 years has been spatially ad hoc, public investment in infrastructure has been reactive and uncoordinated. The location of informal settlements along the city's periphery has also placed immense strain on the City's finances, as these areas require new bulk and link infrastructure extensions (City of Cape Town, 2007a).

The replacement, rehabilitation and preventative maintenance of existing infrastructure have also suffered as a result of the persistent focus on the (often reactive) extension of infrastructure at the cost of maintenance. Now there is an urgent need to raise investment levels in city infrastructure for remedial work and the upgrade and replacement of aging municipal services infrastructure. This is compounded by funding problems emanating from unresolved intergovernmental arrangements (City of Cape Town, 2007a). Figure 7 shows the areas of the city that could experience infrastructure capacity constraints if no capital investment is attracted in the next five years.

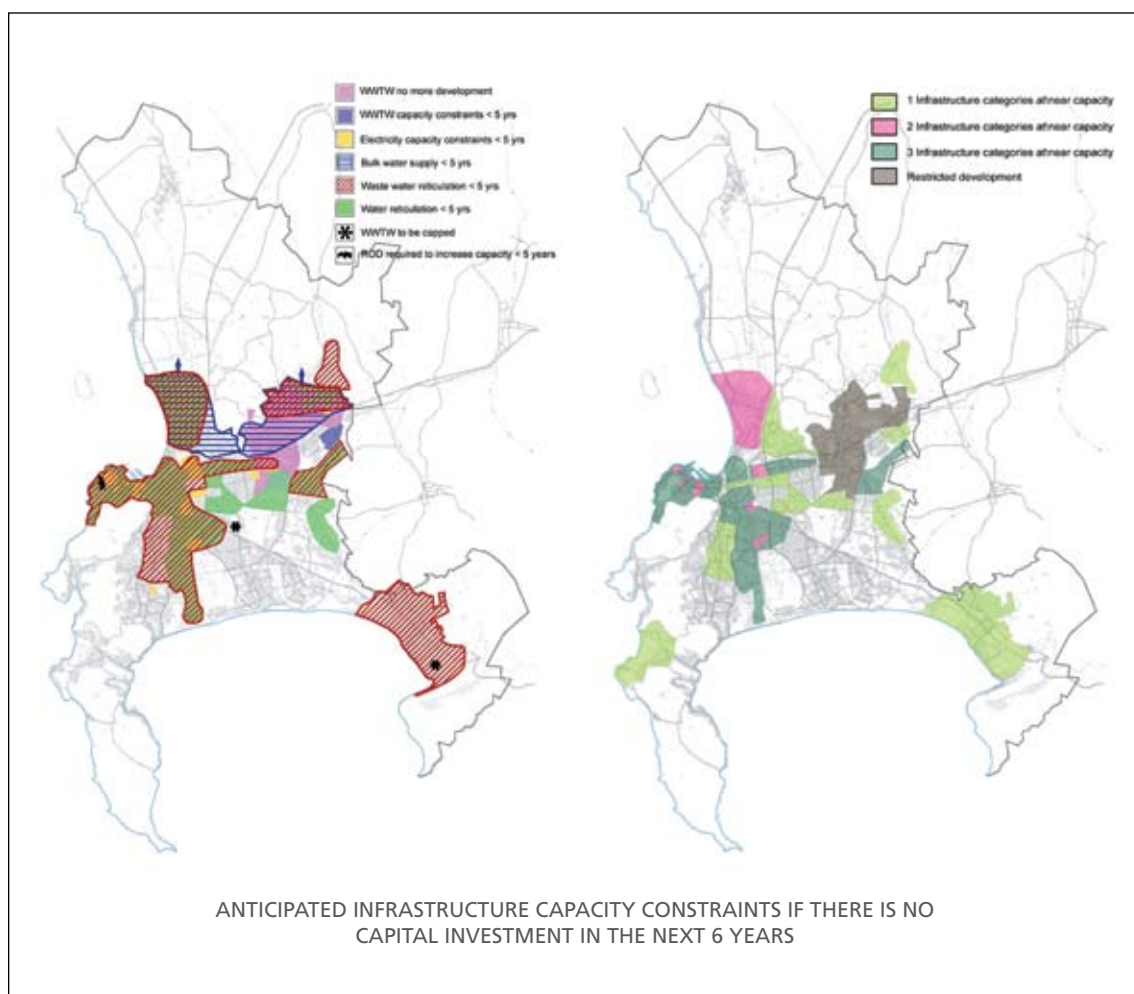


Figure 7 - Anticipated infrastructure capacity constraints in Cape Town

Source: City of Cape Town, 2007a.



The financial implications of addressing the infrastructure backlogs in the city are high, and will require significant additional capital investment. It is therefore essential that the City explore new and innovative funding mechanisms to meet its infrastructure investment challenges. A key challenge will be to balance the financial cost of addressing backlogs, and the opportunity cost of upgrading aging existing infrastructure that supports services to the established parts of the city (City of Cape Town, 2007a).

“Estimated water usage causes water meters to show a higher amount of water used. The City must not calculate water without coming to our houses.”

– Cindy (41), Athlone, personal interview.

Access to basic services

Figure 8 shows that although the majority of households in the city have their own piped water in their dwelling, a large proportion of residents still have to use outside and public taps (City of Cape Town, 2008b).

As can be seen from Figure 9, although over 95% of households in the city have access to a flush toilet, only 78,5% of black African households have a flush toilet in their dwelling, in contrast with all white households having access to a flush toilet either in their dwelling or on site.

Figure 10 shows Cape Town’s electricity usage by household. The most significant differences are noted for black Africans – 87% of black African households use electricity for lighting, and only 57% use electricity for heating.

Medium to high-density development required

According to Lloyd Wright, Executive Director of Viva, achieving sustainable infrastructure provision in Cape Town requires medium to high-density development, which will allow the City to provide effective and more affordable public services to as many people as possible.

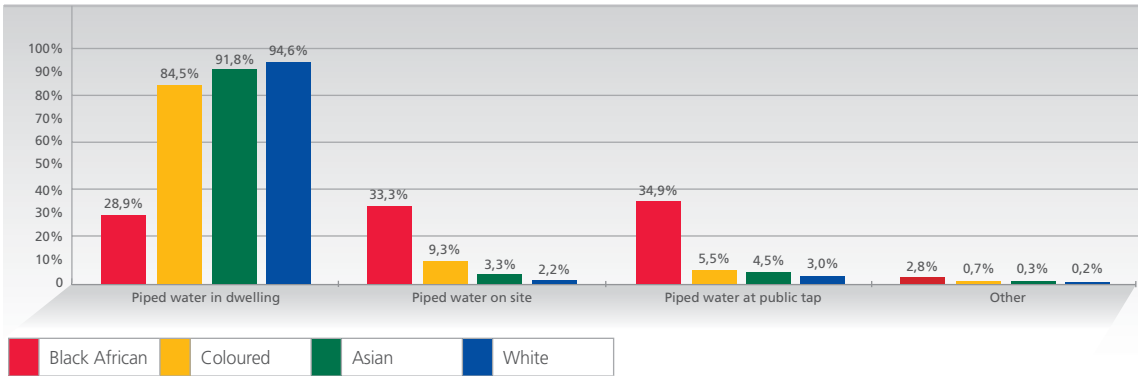


Figure 8 - Main source of water for Cape Town households

Source: Compiled using STATSSA Community Survey 2007 data.

DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

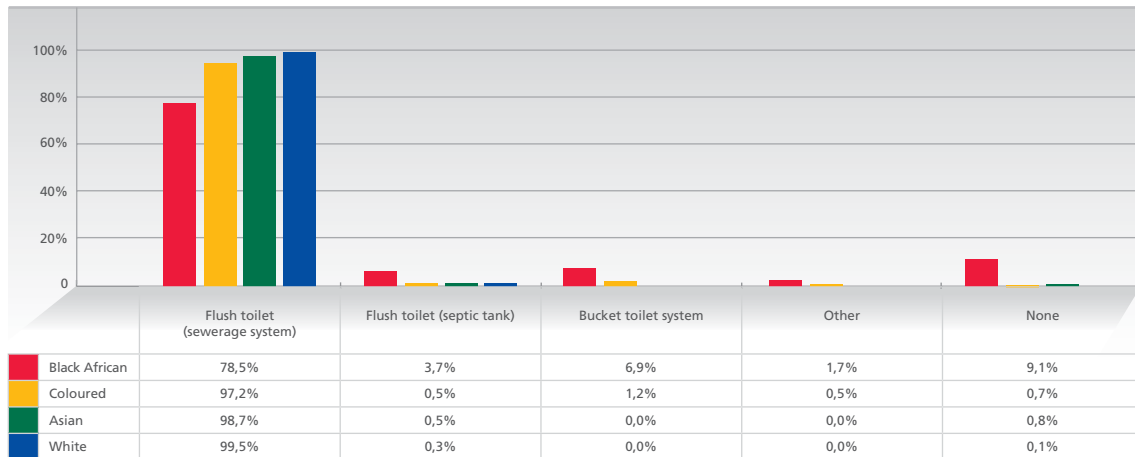


Figure 9 - Type of toilet facility available in Cape Town households

Source: Compiled using STATSSA Community Survey 2007 data.

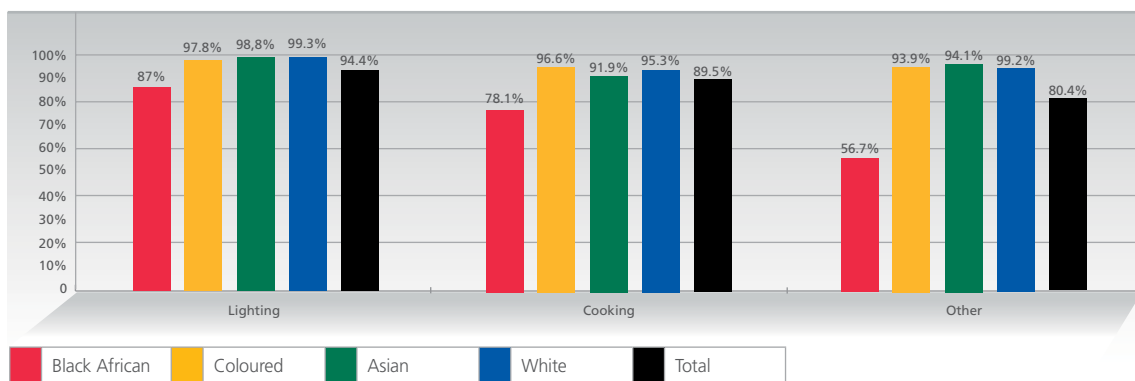


Figure 10 - Electricity usage by Cape Town households for lighting, cooking and heating

Source: Compiled using STATSSA Community Survey 2007 data.





2.7 CRIME

Drugs and murder

Crime has become a key social and health concern to public policy makers and citizens in urban areas throughout the world. While crime has direct health impacts on those who are hurt or killed by violent acts, it also affects the ability of individuals and households to access services and employment, and increases household stress and the deterioration of general well-being, particularly mental health (World Bank, undated).

“The difference between the crime situation in 2006, and the crime situation in 2008, is that the South African Police Service is totally unmotivated now, which wasn’t as bad in 2006.”

– Peter Gastrow, South African Institute for Security Studies, personal interview, 2008.

South Africa has a high incidence of crime, especially violent crime,¹⁴ which is one of the most disturbing problems challenging the country at present. Although crime statistics at a national level indicate that the total of all reported crimes had steadily increased from 1996/7, stabilised during 2000/1, and has decreased since,¹⁵ South African crime levels still are of the highest in the world, and violent crimes, like robberies at home and at business premises, are on the increase (City of Cape Town, 2007c).

Crime has reached crisis proportions

According to Temba A Nolutshungu, Director of the Free Market Foundation, there is no disputing the fact that the incidence of crime in the country has reached crisis proportions. According to Nolutshungu, the response to crime has so far largely focussed on the punitive aspect of crime management, which is necessary. He however sees prevention as equally important, and proposes the following preventative measures:

- Massive deployment of plain clothes police personnel
- Improvement in remuneration and employment conditions, and adequate insurance cover for the entire police force
- Separate detention of first-time, petty offenders, and hardened prisoners
- Devolution of policing powers to provincial and local levels
- Establishment of a culture of the rule of law

Source: Cape Argus, 2008





DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

Crime in Cape Town

Cape Town is one of the crime hotspots in the country – in fact, it has the highest prevalence of both murder and drug-related crime in the country (City of Cape Town, 2006a).

“Finding a solution to crime goes beyond just law enforcement. It is a community issue rather than a law enforcement issue alone, and it is therefore essential that everybody work together to solve crime – law enforcement can only deal with the symptoms of crime.”

– Commissioner Mzwandile Petros, Provincial Commissioner of the South African Police Service (SAPS), Western Cape, personal interview, 2008.

“Due to the high crime rate, and the Government’s inability to deal effectively with the crime rate, communities want to take things into their own hands.”

– Owen (59), Blue Downs, personal interview.

In line with national trends, the Western Cape has experienced a slight decrease in contact crime over the past number of years. However, all crime is still at a very high level, and certain violent crime categories, like robbery, have increased. In the city, a relatively small number of police districts account for a disproportionate amount of crime, particularly violent and drug-related crime, with the highest incidence on the Cape Flats (City of Cape Town, 2007c).

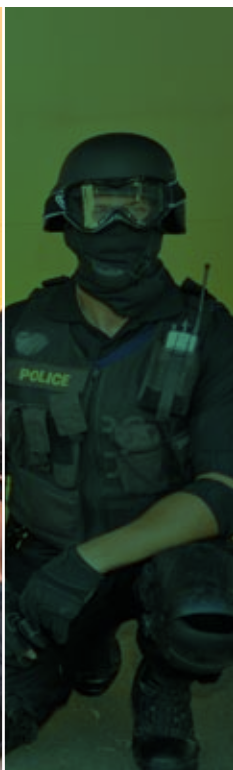




Figure 11 clearly shows that the city has a higher incidence of murder and robbery with aggravating circumstances than the rest of the country.

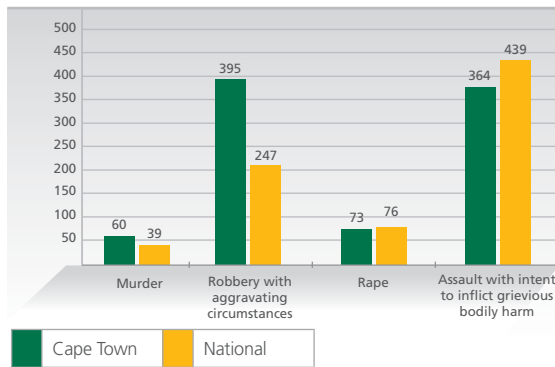


Figure 11 - Violent crime rate per 100 000 in Cape Town versus national (2007/8 crime statistics)¹⁶

Source: Compiled using South African Police Service data.

The incidence of murder in the city, as shown in Figure 12, has stabilised over the past number of years, albeit at an extremely high murder rate of 60 per 100 000 of the population. Figure 13 shows the spatial distribution of murder in the city. One of the possible explanations for this pattern is the high number of

gang-related deaths in certain areas of the city.¹⁷ However, as gang violence is cyclical in nature, it is important that the situation be closely monitored, as a drop in murders could indicate the resolution of turf wars, a shift in gangs' focus to income-earning activities,¹⁸ as well as a possible capturing by gangs of the functions of the state (City of Cape Town, 2007c).

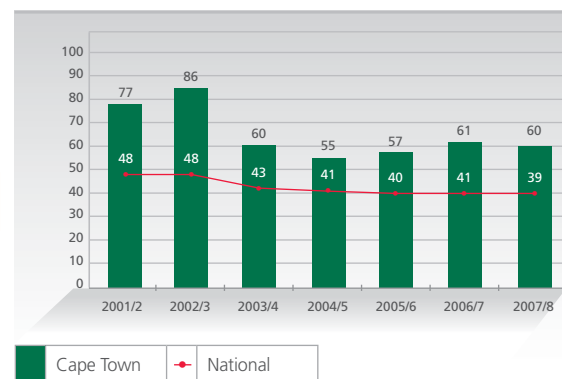


Figure 12 - Murder rate per 100 000 - Cape Town vs national

Source: Compiled using South African Police Service data.



DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

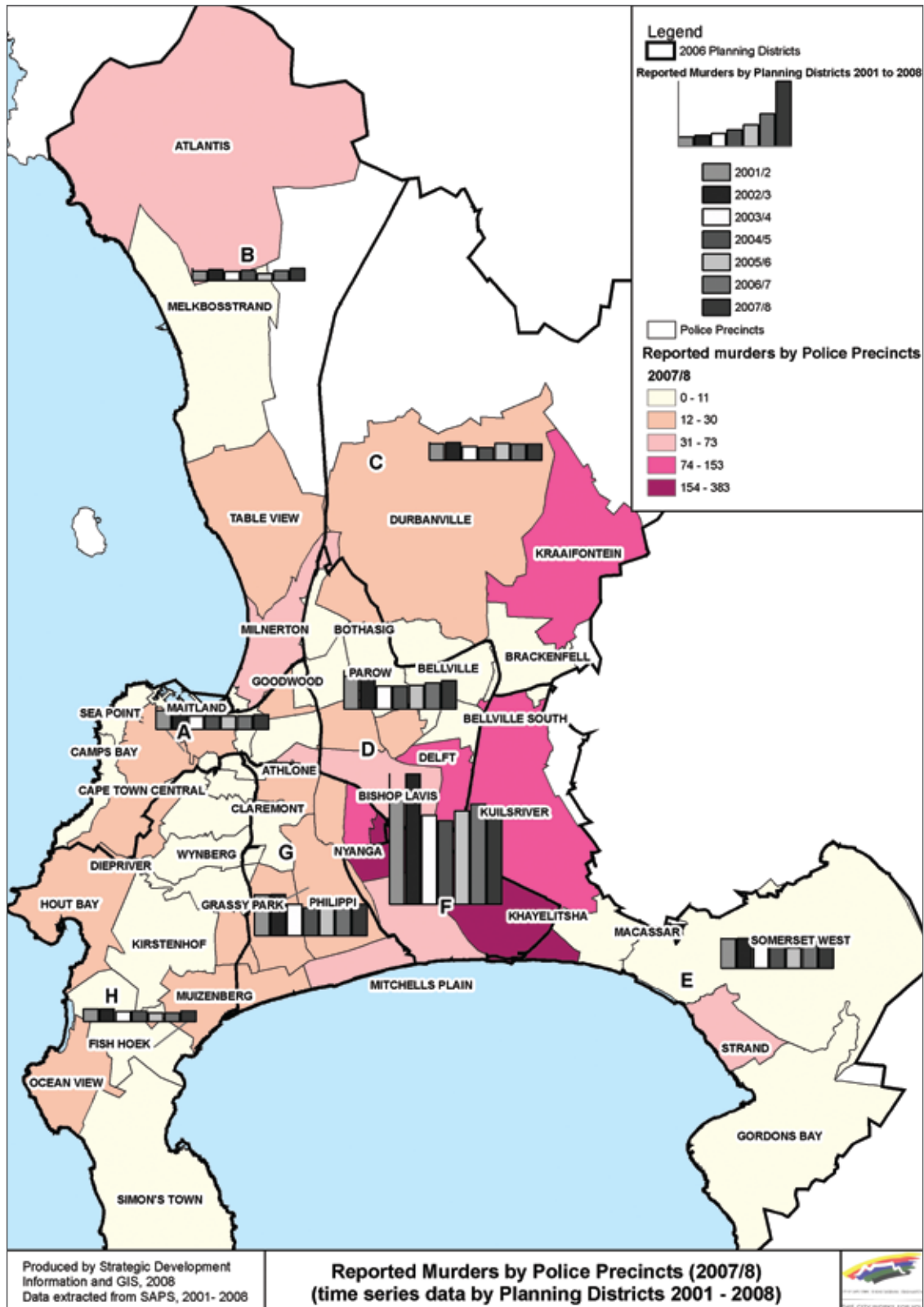


Figure 13 - Reported murders by police precinct (2007/8)

Source: Compiled using South African Police Service data.



Cape Town has retained its dubious record as South Africa's murder capital, with a higher murder rate than that of Durban, Pretoria and Johannesburg. Pretoria has the lowest murder rate of major South African cities – 19,4 per 100 000 (Cape Times, 2008).

Drug-related crime has increased dramatically in recent years, which is one of the most alarming aspects of the crime situation in the city. Again, as with murder, drug-related crime is particularly prevalent on the Cape Flats. Figure 15 shows the spatial prevalence of drug-related

crime, while Figure 14 shows the dramatic increase in the rate of drug-related crime over the period 2001–2008 – from 241 per 100 000 in 2001/2, to a staggering 830 per 100 000 in 2007/8. The national increase over the same period was substantially less at 118 per 100 000 in 2001/2, to 228 per 100 000 in 2007/8.

Causes of crime must be properly understood

According to Commissioner Mzwandile Petros, Provincial Commissioner of the South African Police Service (SAPS), Western Cape, it is essential that the causes of crime be properly understood. The underlying socio-economic issues in many communities must be addressed so that the causes of crime, and not just its symptoms, are properly dealt with. Underlying issues, such as the lack of infrastructure in certain communities, high unemployment, drug and alcohol abuse, and especially the prevalence of many illegal shebeens¹⁹ are all contributing to crime in the city. According to the Commissioner, integrated planning between communities, law enforcement agencies, the legal system and SAPS is crucial if crime is to be effectively tackled.

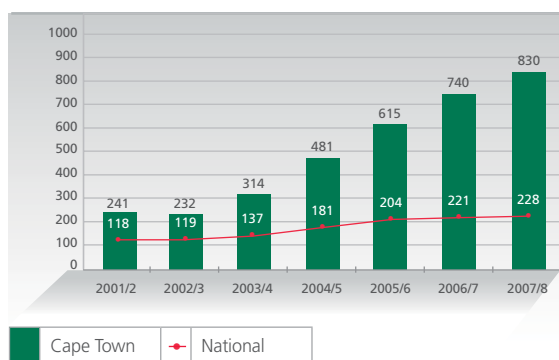


Figure 14 - Drug-related crime in Cape Town versus national

Source: Compiled using South African Police Service data.



DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

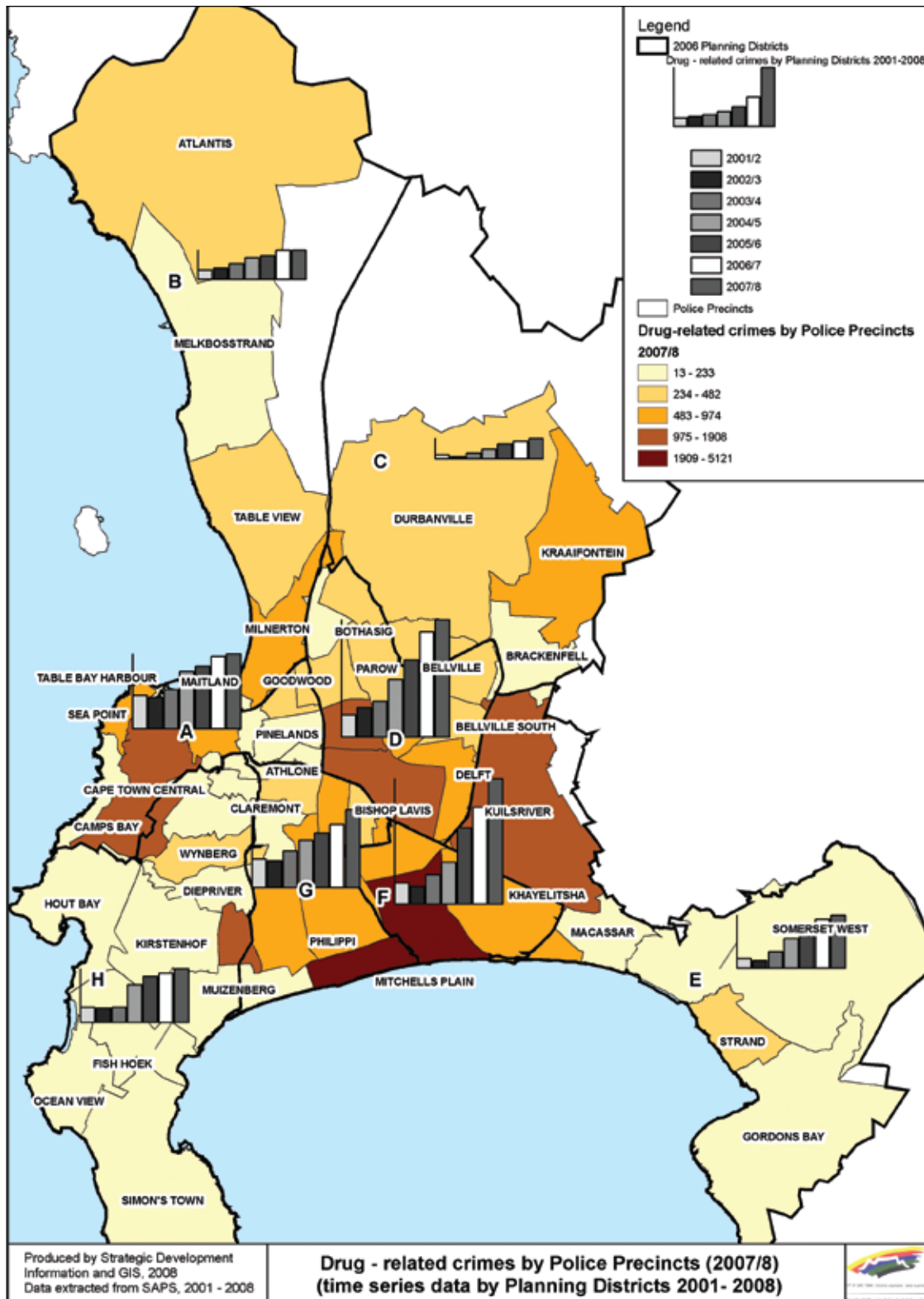


Figure 15 - Drug-related crime by police precinct (2007/8)

Source: Compiled using South African Police Service data.



Crime is a complex issue

According to Peter Gastrow from the South African Institute for Security Studies, crime is a complex issue that cannot merely be blamed on poverty in a city, or inequality between rich and poor in a country. Rather, many issues play a role in high crime rates. In South Africa, these include the history in which people were forcibly removed from certain areas, and where the main breadwinners from rural areas were often forced to work in cities without their families, which contributed to the breakdown of the family structure, and which affected males' self-esteem (a contributor to violence). The large percentage of youth in the population plays a role, as does the prevalence of gangs, the misuse of drugs and alcohol, an ineffective criminal justice system, and the free circulation of guns.

According to Gastrow, it is essential that crime be dealt with through a multi-sectoral approach. The fight against crime should start with active efforts to restore the standing of the police in the community, which has been tarnished by recent influences, like political interference, the conflict between the Scorpions and SAPS, and the corruption charges against senior police members. All types of crime should be severely dealt with, including crimes committed by gangs, drug-related crime, and white-collar crime. Crime should also be targeted in all areas, from Camps Bay to Khayelitsha, and not just in the richer areas.

Cape Town's crime statistics should be viewed within the broader context of a number of external socio-economic factors that impact on crime fighting (South African Police Service, 2007a). In fact, in order to effectively address crime in Cape Town, the city's problems relating to inequality, poverty,

unemployment, youth development, and the unabated settlement of communities in areas where there is non-existent physical and social infrastructure should be addressed first (South African Police Service, 2007a). This should be underpinned by the involvement of all relevant stakeholders (City of Cape Town, 2006a).

The City Metro Police

Crime in the city cannot be effectively addressed without an effective police force. In this regard, SAPS as well as the City Metro Police can play a part.

According to Peter Gastrow of the South African Institute for Security Studies, the Metro Police plays an important role in the fight against crime in the city, and should stand in a complementary relation to SAPS. In order to avoid duplication and chaos, however, it is important that the roles and responsibilities of the Metro Police and those of SAPS be properly defined and communicated to the public, who should understand the different roles of the two agencies. (Personal interview, 2008)

There have however been a number of incidents involving Metro Police members in 2007 and 2008, which necessitated disciplinary action against such members. These include the mass protest action and blockading of roads in the city in August 2007, and other incidents of misconduct that headlined in local news. In order to address the problem, a task force was set up in February 2008 to perform an oversight role under the direct supervision of the City Manager (City of Cape Town, 2008c).

"There are no quick fixes for complex problems that have developed over a long period, but we have to rectify them."

– Achmat Ebrahim, City Manager, City of Cape Town, 2008.



DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

2.8 HEALTH AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Poverty, HIV/Aids and skills

Living standards have risen globally over the last decade. In the developing world, the proportion of the population living in extreme economic poverty²⁰ has fallen from 28% in 1990, to 21% in 2001. Life expectancy in these countries has risen from 60 to 65 between 1980 and 2002, while infant mortality

rates have fallen from 86 per 1 000 live births in 1980, to 60 in 2002. However, progress with reducing poverty and extreme socio-economic conditions has been far from even, with large regional differences (World Bank, 2008).

In line with global trends, it is estimated²¹ that the proportion of people living in poverty in South Africa has not changed significantly between 1996 and 2001. In fact, households living in poverty have sunk deeper into poverty, and the gap between rich and poor has widened. This poverty gap²² has grown from R56 billion in 1996, to R81 billion in 2001, a faster growth rate than that of the economy, which indicates that poor households have not shared in the benefits of economic growth (Human Sciences Research Council, undated).

“Poverty devastates families, communities and nations. It causes instability and political unrest, and fuels conflict.”

– Kofi Annan, UN Secretary-General's message on the International Day for the Eradication of Poverty, 2005.





Health and social development in Cape Town

In Cape Town, like elsewhere in South Africa, rich and poor live side by side. Decades of distorted development in the city has manifested in highly skewed distribution of income and wealth, where the poorer areas in the city are characterised by a high incidence of drug and alcohol abuse, gang affiliation, and HIV/Aids and TB (City of Cape Town, 2007a). This trend is continuing, coupled with a rising trend of poverty in the city. Figure 16 shows the increase in the number of households living below the poverty line – from 25% of households in 1996, to 38% in 2005 (City of Cape Town, 2007a). Poverty in the city is also reflected in the total monthly household expenditure²³ of below R1 200 for 36% of all households, with another 19,1% spending between R1 200 and R2 500 per month²⁴ (City of Cape Town, 2008a).

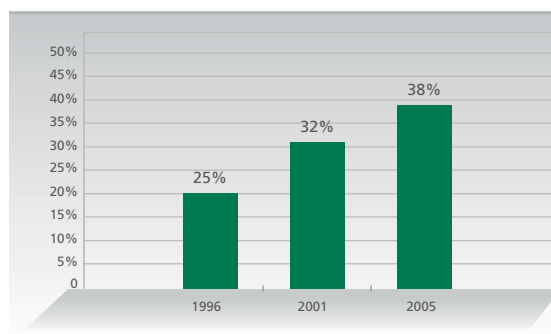


Figure 16 - Number of Cape Town households below poverty line

Source: Compiled using STATSSA Census 1996 and 2001, and General Household Survey 2007 data

Limited success in fighting poverty

According to Edgar Pieterse, Director for the African Centre for Cities, University of Cape Town, one of the main reasons for the limited success in fighting poverty is the institutional uncertainty and lack of rigour that characterise most development organisations, in and outside the public sector. Poverty is multi-dimensional and complex, and thus requires sophisticated responses, which means that we have to reconsider the interface between the state and the private sector. According to Pieterse, unless we become more precise in our understanding of how structural poverty is reproduced on a day-to-day basis, and change our institutional efforts accordingly, we are unlikely to make much of an impact in reversing poverty. The key is for stakeholders to work in partnership and alliance.





DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

“Clinics are far, filthy and unhygienic, with few doctors.”

– Thulani (22), Delft, personal interview.

The HIV/Aids epidemic continues to be one of the major challenges facing the city. Since 2001, HIV/Aids has overtaken violent deaths as the leading cause of premature death.²⁵ Like many trends in the city, it is the poorer areas that are worse affected. For instance, Khayelitsha, with its HIV prevalence of 33%, is one of the worst affected areas, not only in Cape Town or the Western Cape, but also in the country²⁶ (Provincial Government Western Cape, 2006). The city-wide data reflected in Figure 17 seems to indicate a stabilising trend. The stabilisation of HIV prevalence at high levels in certain areas may be attributable to the increased HIV mortality rates, as evidenced from the city mortality trends, where increasing HIV deaths may offset the number of new infections, resulting in the stabilisation of prevalence trends; it could however also be the result of the increased number of infections averted as a result of the various HIV prevention interventions (Provincial Government Western Cape, 2006).

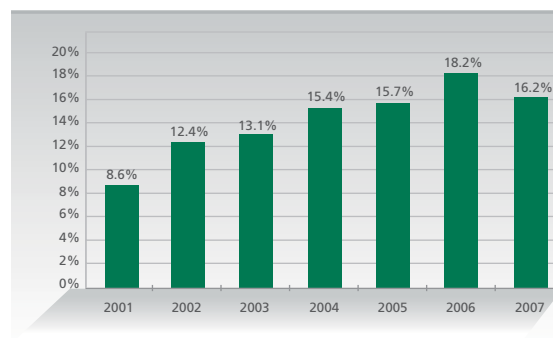


Figure 17 - HIV prevalence in Cape Town

Source: Compiled using Department of Health Western Cape HIV data.

“A large proportion of our school children receive such poor education that their ability to access opportunities is very limited.”

– David Schmidt, Director: Strategies for Change, personal interview.





Education

Figure 18 shows that compared to the rest of the country, education levels in Cape Town are relatively high. However, the market in the city is demanding much higher skilled workers than those available. With an incomplete secondary school education,

people in the age group 15 to 24 have a 75% chance of being unemployed, while those who have a tertiary qualification (not a degree) have a 50% chance, and those with a degree a 17% chance (Provincial Government Western Cape, 2007b).

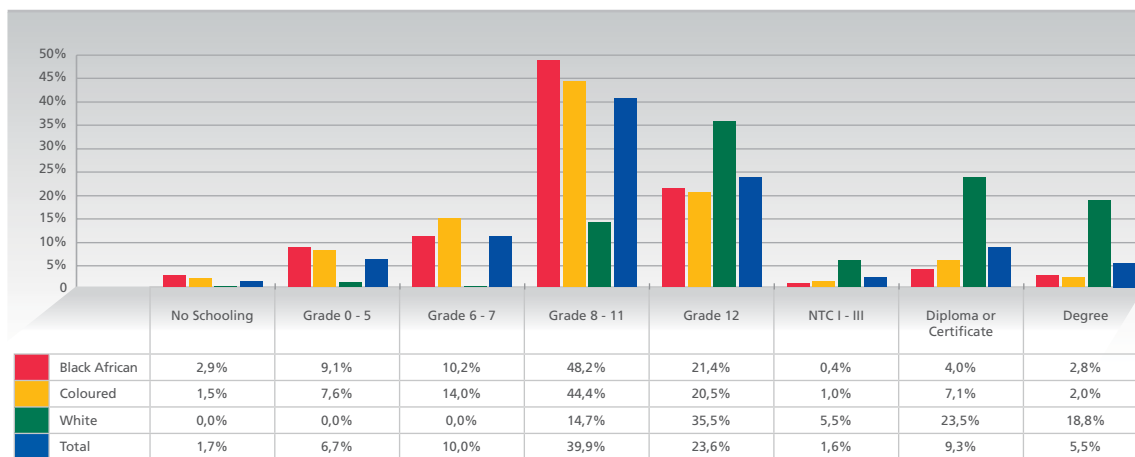


Figure 18 - Level of adult education in Cape Town

Source: Compiled using STATSSA General Household Survey 2007 data.





DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

2.9 GOVERNANCE

Building partnerships

The complex issues associated with cities, including accommodating urban growth, enabling cities to compete globally, addressing poverty, and promoting environmental sustainability, require effective governance. Urban governance concerns include technical issues, such as urban planning, design and management of mass transport systems; public finance issues, such as ensuring that cities get access to the resources they need to provide services of acceptable quality; and regional issues on how cities relate to the broader region in which they are located. As much responsibility in urban governance rests in the hands of policymakers, they will need to increasingly adopt a team approach to problem solving. The solution is to design institutions that can deal with all of these complex issues strategically, yet be close enough to the residents to provide local public services effectively (International Monetary Fund, 2008).

In South Africa, the most important aspect of governance emerging in recent years has been the issue of intergovernmental cooperation (partnerships between the different spheres of government), but also increased cooperation between government and civil society (City of Cape Town, 2006a). A key aspect of the issue of intergovernmental cooperation has been the drafting of legislation²⁷ to introduce a single public service for the country. According to the Department of Public Service and Administration (DPSA), this will improve the state's ability to deliver services to the people, and develop the country. This controversial legislation, which is opposed by some opposition parties, seeks to ensure greater alignment across the three spheres of government in the areas of human resource management and development, service delivery, information and communications technology, and anti-corruption measures (South African Government Information, 2007). Whether this legislation will in fact be successful in its objectives of creating a developmental state by improving intergovernmental cooperation, remains to be seen.





Governance in Cape Town

Effective urban governance in order to create a well-functioning city that can effectively respond to challenges, remains a key objective for Cape Town. As the challenges facing the city are interrelated, and addressing these cuts across the responsibilities of all spheres of government and civil society, there is a need for all key stakeholders to create an integrated system of governance at metropolitan level that is able to respond dynamically to the complex challenges facing the city (City of Cape Town, 2006a). The key institutions in the city and the region (government, private sector, labour, civil society, and the institutions of higher education) should collaborate to enhance growth, employment, social inclusion and sustainability, and in the process create a place able to inspire the world; a place that is highly competitive, socially just and ecologically responsible (City of Cape Town, 2008e).

“There is a lack of institutional partnership between Province and the City .”

– Muntu (36), Nyanga, personal interview.

“We can say we have good governance only if we can have accountability, political stability, no violence, and control over corruption.”

– Muntu (36), Nyanga, personal interview.

In order to create a well-governed Cape Town, where good governance is a reality, the city should be characterised by transparent decision making, sound financial management, public accountability, equitable resource allocation, and the decentralisation of power. The way in which priorities are selected, budget allocations are made, revenue growth is promoted, and the poor are assisted, is the test for good urban governance. Also, the manner in which decisions are taken is central to the building of consensus, and the demonstration of accountability in the city. Effective participation by all stakeholders in formal decision-making structures can help build consensus on development priorities, improve the equity and efficiency of resource allocation, and ensure the transparency and accountability of the City, as well as the sustainability of interventions (City of Cape Town, 2008e).





DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

The objective of any governance partnership should, however, move beyond just talk and good intentions, to real implementation. Notwithstanding many positive initiatives to improve coordination in the city and in the Cape Town region, there has not been much progress with putting in place a formalised structure to effectively manage the city and its region by a range of stakeholders. Initiatives to promote cooperation in recent years included the following:

- The formulation of a Regional Development Strategy (RDS) for the Cape Town region – 2006
- The setting up of an intergovernmental task team by the City and the Provincial Government Western Cape – 2006
- The Premier's Coordinating Forum – 2006/7
- The development of the municipal Integrated Development Plans and other policies – 2006
- The development of the Provincial Growth and Development Strategy – 2006

- Enhanced investment in the state-owned enterprises of the region, particularly Portnet and the South African Rail Commuter Corporation
- The emergence of significant private sector initiatives and investments, such as Dubai World (Provincial Government Western Cape, 2007b).

Intergovernmental cooperation

According to Susan Parnell, Professor of Geography at the University of Cape Town, intergovernmental cooperation around strategic initiatives is one of the key challenges facing the city. This is, according to her, due to the lack of long-term consensus on generic public priorities. In order to address this, it is important that gradual and careful assessment of areas of governance reform be implemented in order to change the long-term trajectory for the city.





One of the most significant of these initiatives, the formulation of a Regional Development Strategy (RDS) for the Cape Town region, was commissioned by the City and the Provincial Government Western Cape after the need for an overarching development strategy for the region emanated from the December 2005 Presidential Imbizo for Cape Town. The draft RDS acknowledges that there had been no effective mechanism for collaborative integrated planning at the level of the functional region, and that the various statutory mechanisms had not provided an adequate platform for mobilising private sector resources. It proposes the following key focus areas to promote the economic development of the region:

- **Inspirational destination** – repositioning the region as an extraordinarily inspirational place to visit, work, study and live, and using this to rapidly expand visitor numbers as the immediate growth driver, and to attract investments in niche knowledge sectors
- **Creative hotspot** – generating and attracting new jobs in the creative and innovative sectors, based on being an inspirational destination, and having strong higher education institutions
- **Ecological leader** – taking bold measures to promote the region as a global leader in sustainable development practice to enhance the destination, catalyse innovation, grow jobs, and mitigate risk
- **Employment accelerator** – partnership efforts via employment intermediation, accelerated internship programmes, and second-economy bridges to accelerate employment uptake
- **Connections and networks** – growing community, city-region wide and national/international networks and partnerships to connect our first and second economies, and to connect our economy more strongly to the national, African and international economic processes
- **The fundamentals** – ensuring that the regulatory frameworks and mechanisms, urban infrastructure and social services required to be competitive and to provide a decent quality of life for all, are in place.





DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

Again, like with so many previous strategies, the political buy-in and implementation of the RDS has been weak.

Another key initiative is the formulation of a City Development Strategy (CDS) by the City to promote development in the city. International evidence suggests that the performance of cities can change enormously within a relatively short time, and that only cities with

focussed strategies are likely to return to good health, while cities without a coherent direction have problematic track records. The CDS will aim to effectively influence the future development path of the city by addressing the challenges facing it, taking advantage of global opportunities, and minimising the risk of the external environment for the city (City of Cape Town, 2008e).

Building coalitions to effect change

According to David Schmidt, Director of Strategies for Change, the solution to better governance in Cape Town is not to put one's trust in individuals – a mayor or premier – and expect them to solve everything. According to Schmidt, due to the conflict between political parties within the City, and the strained relationship between the City and the Provincial Government Western Cape, it is important that a middle ground be found. However, the middle ground is becoming an increasingly difficult place to occupy, as senior leaders are then perceived as taking the other party's side.

Schmidt argues that what is needed is a structured dialogue. A possible way of achieving this is to build coalitions – successful mayors internationally are those who are good at building coalitions in order to effect change for their cities; in order to focus on the real issues facing them. According to Schmidt, we need a coalition between local and provincial governments and the business sector, we need a coalition between government and communities, and we need a coalition between the different spheres of government.





3. CONCLUSION

Cape Town has experienced significant economic growth in the past decade, with improvements in the provision of basic services, such as water, waste and electricity, and rising tourist numbers, which have contributed to a growing economy.

However, like many other cities in the developing world, Cape Town is struggling with the problem of urbanisation, which places considerable pressure on the City's ability to provide housing, services and infrastructure, and on the city's economy to provide employment for all its residents.

A successful city must balance social, economic and environmental needs, and cannot operate efficiently in isolation from its environment. Cape Town, a sprawling city situated in an ecologically sensitive environment, is becoming less environmentally sustainable, with increasing pollution and consumption of valuable resources. The city has, like other cities in South Africa, experienced a severe energy crisis, which has affected its image and its

economy. It is likely that, similar to the electricity crisis, the issue of waste disposal and water will become major challenges in the future. The increased reliance on the private car, and the lack of an effective public transport system are also having a detrimental effect on the city's environment and economy.

Although the city has experienced good economic growth, this should be seen against the backdrop of sizeable challenges, including high levels of inequity and poverty, a mismatch of skills supply and demand, and low levels of industry competitiveness in relation to global players. High unemployment in the city, and the impact of the electricity crisis on the city's economy, together with the global trends of high food and oil prices, have also been key concerns.

Decades of distorted development in the city has manifested in highly skewed distribution of income and wealth. In large parts of the city there is a high incidence of drug and alcohol abuse, gang affiliation, and social and health problems, such as HIV/Aids and TB.





CONCLUSION

Crime remains one of the biggest challenges facing the city, and apart from negatively affecting Cape Town residents, it also negatively affects the city's image, its economy and competitiveness, as well as integration in the city.

Housing, the need for truly integrated human settlements, and the provision of infrastructure and services also count among the challenges facing the city. The number of people living in informal settlements is growing, overcrowding is increasing, and household size is declining.

Many of the city's challenges can only be addressed within the regional context. Cape Town cannot be seen in isolation, but should be seen as a city within a region. Issues like water, energy, waste, logistics and communication, economic development and settlement planning are all issues that require collaboration at a regional scale, across territorial and functional jurisdictions.

Similarly, due to the fact that the City, or any other sphere of government for that matter, has only limited financial resources, capacity and influence to effectively address all the challenges facing it, it is essential that coalitions be built between the different spheres of government, the private sector and civil society.

The problem facing the City of Cape Town is one of implementation and not awareness. The necessary strategies to address the challenges of Cape Town are generally understood. What is therefore of critical importance is that key stakeholders actively and effectively implement policies and solutions in working together for the greater good of this city.



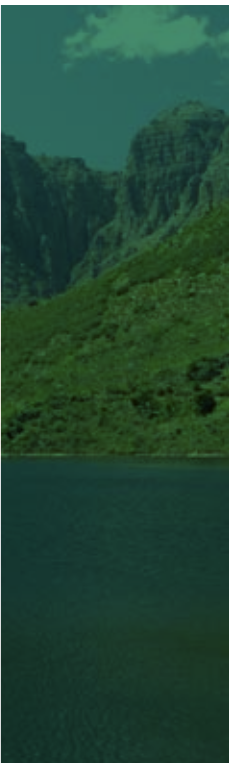
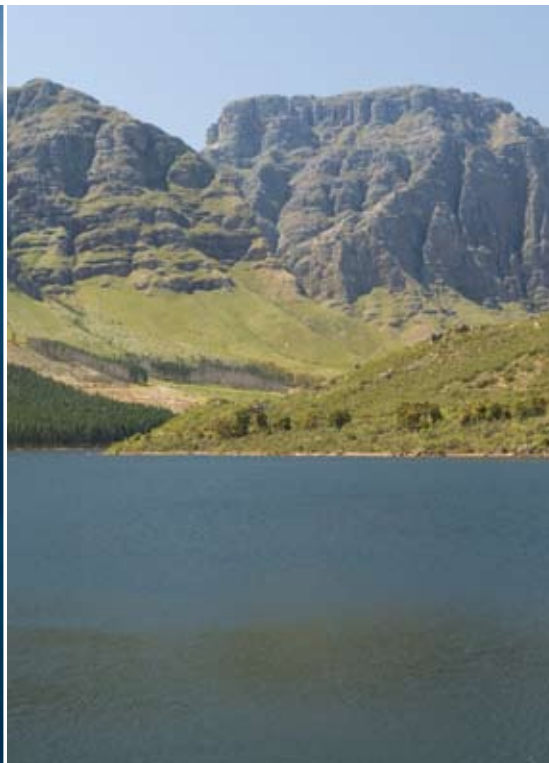


END NOTES

- 1 'Developing world' is a term used to refer to poor or middle-income countries, based on the average income per person.
- 2 Institute for Futures Research.
- 3 Urban regions consist of the rural, suburban and other urban centres that typically surround cities, which collectively make up a regional mix of residential, industrial, commercial, agricultural, recreational, and municipal services.
- 4 Greg Clark is one of the leading regional planning experts in the world – see <http://www.gregclark.net/>.
- 5 Development Facilitation Act, No. 67 of 1995.
- 6 10 000+ ha (gross).
- 7 Tourism and lifestyle are expected to become the biggest contributing sector of the economy in the future.
- 8 Unaccounted for water in the city is largely used in informal settlements and for fire-fighting purposes, and includes leaks.
- 9 These four sectors accounted for 74% of all investment in the city.
- 10 The housing backlog was reduced from 3 million units in 1994, to 2,2 million units in 2006/7.
- 11 A large proportion of Capetonians live in informal settlements (17%) and in backyards (17%).
- The number of people living in informal settlements is growing (23 000 families in 1993, to approximately 110 000 families in 2007/8) and overcrowding is increasing (approximately 190 000 families).
- This contributes to an increasing housing backlog – from 150 000 in 1998, to 300 000 in 2008.
- 12 White Paper on National Transport Policy, 1996.
- 13 Sustainable transport means the ability to transport people and goods effectively, efficiently, safely and most affordably, without jeopardising the economy, social matters and environment, today and into the future.
- 14 Violent crime includes murder, robbery with aggravating circumstances, rape, and assault with intent to inflict grievous bodily harm.
- 15 Between 2004/5 and 2005/6, national crime statistics decreased by 10%.
- 16 Due to a changed definition of sexually motivated crime resulting from the implementation of Act 32 on 16 December 2007, rape figures are only provided for the period April to December 2007.

END NOTES

- 17 Some of the areas that suffer from gang-related violence include Philippi, Elsies River and Kraaifontein.
- 18 Income-earning activities in which gangs are involved usually include the drug trade, vehicle theft and robberies.
- 19 Shebeen is a township term for an informal tavern.
- 20 Poverty is defined as people living on less than \$1 per day.
- 21 By the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).
- 22 In order to give an indication of how far below the poverty line poor households are, the HSRC has used a measure called the poverty gap, which measures the required annual income transfer to all poor households in order to bring them out of poverty.
- 23 As the General Household Survey only included salary or pay for the main job of all workers, household income is not available.
- 24 Statistics for June 2006.
- 25 According to an analysis of the leading causes of premature death in the city for the period 2001–2004.
- 26 The metropolitan average is 18,2%, the provincial average 15,7%, and the national average 30,2%.
- 27 The legislation is contained in the Public Administration Management Bill.





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