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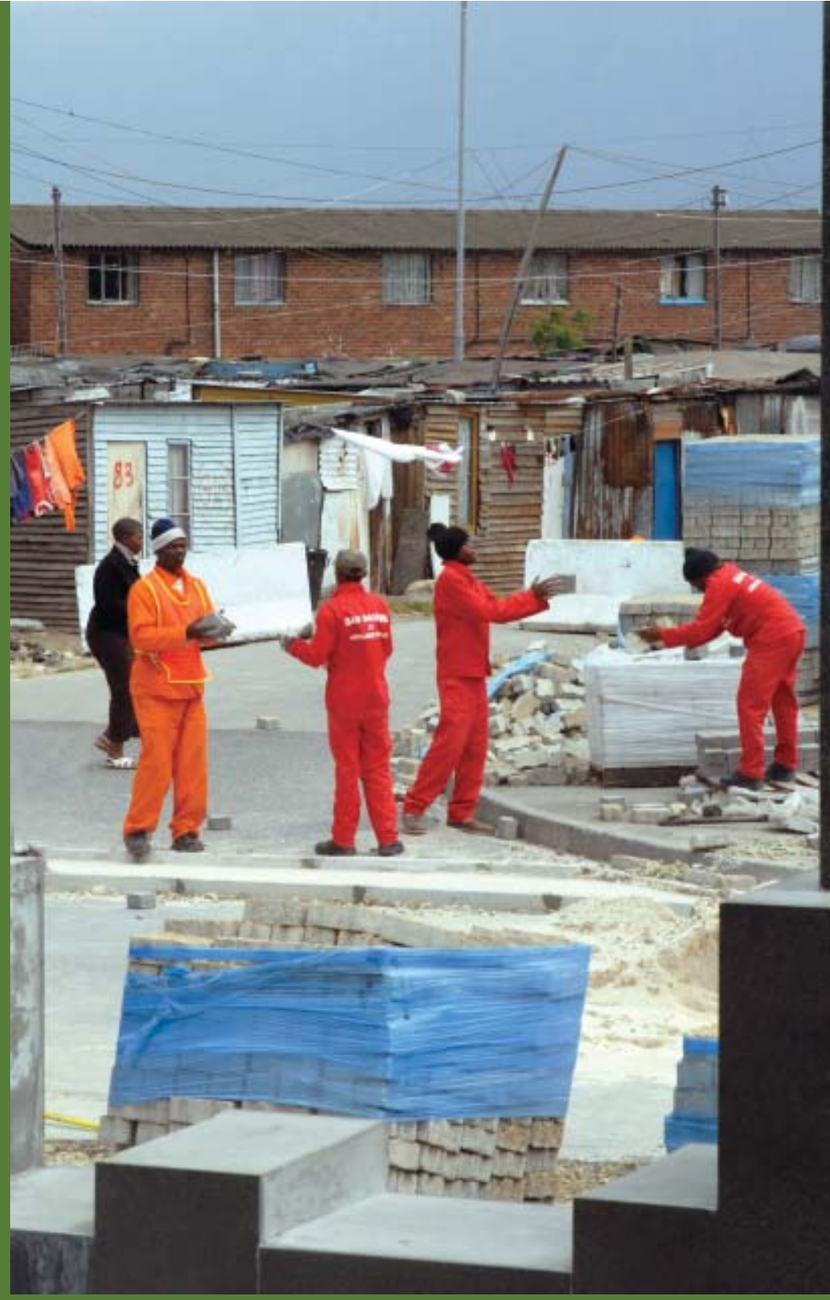

CULTURE AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY

Diversity in the cultural ecology of Cape Town

DISCUSSION DOCUMENT - 2008

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Contents

Executive Summary

This discussion document argues that culture, viewed in terms of its intrinsic value, has a vital role to play in animating cities and, in so doing, addressing issues of polarisation. It asks the question: **how can we realise the right to the city culturally in ways that lead to an appreciation of cultural diversity and a more inclusive sense of city-ness in a divided and polarised Cape Town?**

The right to the city suggests a set of notions: the right to be in the city; the right to enjoy all that the city has to offer in terms of its social, economic, political and cultural opportunities; the right to express oneself in accordance with tradition and values; and the right to create, mould and recreate the city in accordance with collective norms, values and aspirations for current and future generations.

Culture is increasingly recognised as a critical element in sustainability globally. Cultural diversity policies, which incorporate notions of human rights, are useful tools in this respect. UNESCO's Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (UNESCO 2001) and the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (UNESCO 2005) are some of many policy and legal instruments available to this end. UNESCO suggests that any **policy work in specific locations must have context-specific responses,** and provides the tools to engage with global frameworks for local specificities. A local response is needed to the global discourse on culture and its impacts. This report proposes that a strong engagement with local resources is necessary in thinking about local responses to culture.

Facilitating **intercultural communication** and **greater urban connectivity** has become a critical necessity for cities grappling with the impacts of a rapidly globalising and diversifying world. Central to urban transformation is the necessity for **mindset changes**. Equally important is the need to recognise and foster connectivities in our societies as a response to cities that are becoming increasingly segregated and fortified in the global world. The divided city is a phenomenon not unique to South Africa, although our country's history of inequality and Cape Town's specific histories require locally specific considerations. In South Africa in general and in Cape Town in particular, where deep-seated divisions in the city's cultural ecology threaten to disrupt important processes of social change, cultural diversity and intercultural communication are important issues to engage with.

This discussion document argues that **cultural diversity in the South African context is a poorly developed area in terms of state strategy and implementation.** This has to do in part with the complex issues of race and inequality that the country has had to deal with; in part, it is also due to a low level of engagement with global discourses on cultural diversity. Cultural diversity in South Africa is **generally understood too narrowly along problematic ethnic/anthropological lines that limit the ways in which it could be positively mobilised**. Other than race and class, issues such as size of organisations, disciplinary subsectors (for example heritage, performing arts, etc.) and the diversity of actors in the cultural ecosystem (such as those working with disabilities, children and alternative sexualities) are equally important.

Adopting a diversity approach provides opportunities for opening up new channels of implementation.

The document argues that the local cultural context is poorly researched and understood and that **engagements with cultural diversity are usually tokenistic and narrowly nationalistic, at the levels of signs rather than textures**. Moreover, **culture has been reduced to arts and heritage** and, across the spheres of government, is located in departments with the weakest capacity and lowest profile. While similar trends are evident in many other countries, it is suggested that South Africa's **unique history of racialised economic oppression and its cultural implications** require particular vigilance and suitable responses from all areas of society. A particular issue that warrants attention is the **lack of coordination within and between spheres of government and with civil society** when it comes to issues of culture and urban transformation.

Cape Town is a culturally diverse and creolised city, rich in cultural resources, the result of unique movements and mixings of peoples, forms and practices. There are a large number of important institutions, projects and programmes in the city, each engaged in important, relevant and necessary intercultural work, but they are working in isolated ways against the backdrop of a weak policy arena. Understanding the city in respect of its **cultural ecology** and its **specific local cultural resources** will enable us to better engage with its realities as a **unique African City**. This knowledge will enable us to effect meaningful mindset changes. The role of culture in the spatial development of the city needs to be recognised and **approaches should be fostered that make engagement with city, culture and space transformative.**

A number of **principles relating to intercultural practices and urban connectivities** are proposed. These suggest the need to recognise and understand diversity locally; to promote interculturalism and foster practices that cross boundaries and borders; to promote debates, dialogue and research and to promote local role models; to develop locally relevant best-practice models of training and education; to foster the development of convivial and interactive spaces; to support creative practices that work with the symbolic; to foster sustained and ongoing engagement rather than only one-off projects; to target youth; to make positive mindshift change happen through supporting progressive networks; and to recognise the importance of necessary infrastructure such as good public transport and affordable communication to make better connectivity a reality**.**

Short-term recommendations are formulated around four broad areas:

1. hastening the **completion of policy reviews** involving culture at a local and provincial government level, and ensuring new models of effective implementation of these policies;
2. recognising that the creative industries can be effective implementers of state programmes and so urgently **address barriers** to the development of a more vibrant creative industries sector;
3. beginning a **more extensive and clear process of research and mapping** for definite purposes, aimed at developing a more intercultural city;
4. developing a **spatial framework and approach for promoting cultural diversity in the city**.

The discussion document culminates in the proposal of three new **interventions that will make the intercultural city a real possibility**. These are:

1. setting up a specialised funding and research unit on cultural diversity and the intercultural city (**financing change**);
2. creating an institute of intercultural thinking (**fostering change**);
3. creating a high-profile cultural complex to promote the intercultural city (**a place for change**). The Athlone Power Station is proposed as an ideal space for such a cultural complex.

1) Introduction

We wish to remember
that we can all
together and by ourselves
rebuild a city
which belongs to all of us
in which all of us can live not as races but as people

Section from a contextual board at the entrance to the District Six Museum

Cities are playing an increasingly important role in a connected global system. At the same time, migration has become a significant global factor, impacting on urban change. Culture is being recognised for its abilities to animate cities and positively affect the types of urban polarisation that result from a rapidly globalising world.

Understanding and proactively engaging with a city's cultural diversity – the various ways in which culture manifests itself – is an important means of creating better, more enabling environments for citizens. In South Africa, inequalities have been sharpened by decades of racialised economic oppression. In Cape Town especially, centuries of movement and mixing of people have resulted in a cultural ecosystem that is diverse and complex. If our aim is to create a city that is more tolerant and equitable, engagement with local culture and diversity is vital.

This document puts forward the proposition that, for people to fully attain the right to the city, diversity needs to be fostered. The right to the city is the right to be in the city; to enjoy all that the city has to offer in terms of its social, economic, political and cultural opportunities; to express oneself in accordance with tradition and values; and to create, mould and recreate the city in accordance with the collective norms, values and aspirations of current and future generations.

The framework used in this document follows the one presented in a UNESCO working group document, *Local Policies on Cultural Diversity*, which makes an argument about local cultural diversity strategies in relation to cities like Cape Town, and suggests that more research is necessary on African cities. This discussion document is an attempt to respond to this call. In particular, it asks the question: how can we realise the right to the city culturally, in ways that lead to an appreciation of cultural diversity and of a more inclusive sense of city-ness in a divided and polarised Cape Town?

The document suggests that the notion of *local cultural resources* provides a useful way to understand the concept of cultural diversity in a particular locality. Because cultural resources are infused with local knowledge, they serve as critical building blocks for bottom-up cultural planning practices. By examining how successful intercultural innovators (or good local role models) use cultural resources for progressive ends, we can achieve a better understanding of how culture can be used more productively in a process of urban transformation.

> Cultural resources can be understood as tangible – artefacts, places, venues, people etc. – as well as intangible aspects of human existence, such as values, practices and systems of organisation and knowledge creation.[1] Cultural resources are never neutral; a critical reading of them depends on an understanding of their particular situated histories.[2]

[1] The concept of cultural resources is related to notions of intangible heritage resources (also called living heritage). These include artefacts and activities that express cultural traditions, as well as oral history, performance, ritual, popular memory, skills and techniques, indigenous knowledge systems, and a holistic approach to nature, society and social relationships.

Towards this end the discussion presented here tries to understand what kinds of intercultural practices (i.e. communication between cultural groups and entities) are needed, and in what way urban connectivities (i.e. active links between different significant stakeholders of the city) need to be fostered to enable a more culturally diverse city to come into being.

This discussion document is the result of various research processes, including a literature review and a scan of relevant printed material such as academic studies, state policy documents and reports (White Papers, Acts and studies), as well as relevant journalistic pieces. In addition, interviews were conducted with a small cross-section of cultural intermediaries, i.e. those individuals who are mediating cultural activities, often working with practitioners and artists, or mediating between them and the state or the commercial sector. These cultural intermediaries were from a range of organisational settings, including government, the non-profit and commercial sectors and academia. Two focus groups were conducted, one with a group of individuals working in memory initiatives and the other with a group of younger artists and cultural practitioners (below the age of 30). The focus group discussions centred on a range of questions related to Cape Town, cultural diversity, intercultural practices and urban connectivities.[3]

The next two sections of the document cover the broad conceptual areas of cities and culture internationally, after which the contours of Cape Town's cultural ecology are sketched out. From here, four areas of importance related to the intrinsic quality of culture are examined: social inclusion; the creative industries and the economy; public spaces as areas of conviviality and interaction; and issues related to culture and governance. The spatial elements of cultural diversity are profiled in these sections. The discussion that follows presents a set of principles relating to intercultural practices and urban connectivities, which suggest key ways in which policy and strategy formulation can ensure that Cape Town becomes an intercultural city. The document then organises the data into six critical areas for consideration, before making a set of short-term recommendations. In the final section, proposals for three specific new initiatives are made as a way to contribute to bringing about a more integrated, vibrant and intercultural city.

[2] A postcolonial reading, for example, would read culture in relation to the colonial project and would revisit it from perspectives that take into account marginalised histories and/or feminist perspectives.

[3] Verbatim extracts from interviews are included in this document. Since interviewees spoke on condition that they would not be directly cited, no individual sources are specified for the quoted extracts. A full list of interviewees is given at the end of the bibliography.

2) Culture and Cultural Diversity

Culture is increasingly recognised as a critical element in sustainability globally. Theorists, practitioners and policy advisors have begun to call for it to be seen as a fourth pillar of sustainability, together with environmental, social inclusion and economic considerations.

Any discussion about culture is, however, fraught with difficulty, because culture is one of the most complex concepts to define. In its narrowest sense, it has been defined as referring to the arts. In this document we understand it more broadly, in terms that recognise its importance as a resource for cities:

> *[Culture in one sense is] our values and aspirations, traditions and shared memories, the ways we develop, receive and transmit these, and the ways of life they produce. Therefore, if sustainable development is 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs,' then culture matters because it is a resource which we inherit from our forebears and pass on to our children. Culture is thus our past and our future. (Intercultural City 2007:7)*

This document refers to and examines the **'**cultural ecology**'** (or its alternative, the 'cultural ecosystem') of cities, recognising that cities are dynamic systems - complex living and evolving entities – and not deterministic or static spaces (Mercer 2006). Cultural resources play a critical role within cultural ecosystems. Charles Landry's landmark study, *The Creative City* (Landry 2000), focuses on cultural resources as critical building blocks of bottom-up cultural planning practices, because they are embedded with local knowledge. Our research suggests that the notion of planning cities from grassroots perspectives, recognising the importance of local role models and practices, would be the most fruitful for effective urban transformation. Pieterse (2006), for example, supports the argument that it is necessary to find ways of transforming South African cities by engaging with that which is 'contextually specific, organically produced… [where we] can address the specific social, economic and cultural patterns of urban segregation, fragmentation and inequality' (Pieterse 2006:300). Understanding cultural resources as they are embedded in a city's cultural ecology, while situating this ecology in history, allows us to understand the similarities, differences, innovations and contestations present in the city. This report places a considerable emphasis on spatialising cultural resources, using a set of case studies that draw especially on the richness of local cultural resources in Cape Town.

Cultural resources provide a critical entry point for understanding the notion of cultural diversity, a complex concept which nonetheless has considerable currency. It is a central focus area of UNESCO, which has used it as a key indicator of global development, and has been at the centre of the organisation's philosophy since its inception. UNESCO explicitly links culture to democracy and development.[4] This approach has been reinforced by several policy and legal instruments, such as the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (UNESCO 2001), and the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (UNESCO 2005), which came into force on18 March 2007.

> *Cultural diversity refers to the manifold ways in which the cultures of groups and societies find expression. These expressions are passed on within and among groups and societies. Cultural diversity is made manifest not only through the varied ways in which the cultural heritage of humanity is expressed, augmented and transmitted through the variety of cultural expressions, but also through diverse modes of artistic creation, production, dissemination and enjoyment, whatever the means and technologies used. (UNESCO 2001, 2005: Article 4.1)*

[4] See the UNESCO website, specifically the page 'Cultural diversity: a new universal ethic' accessed 14 January 2007 at http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=2450&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

Cultural diversity has often been read in narrow terms, usually along problematic ethnic/anthropological lines (which can lead to urban culture becoming frozen in some static description). This commonly accepted understanding also incorporates the recognition of minorities, and tries to identify the balance between 'native' cultural agents, 'national' cultural agents and those that are directly and indirectly the result of immigration.

There are, however, two other critical ways in which cultural diversity may be understood which broaden the usage of this normative concept:

- in terms of 'sizes' (the range of cultural agents from small to large) and 'subsectors' (from 'heritage' to 'contemporary creation', including the arts, heritage, libraries, folklore, media and information technology (IT));
- in terms of the diversity of actors (public/NGO/private) in the local cultural system. This would also include factors related to gender, sexual rights, disability, youth, poverty, land rights, religion and language (UNESCO 2006).

Acknowledgement of cultural diversity in the South African context is poorly developed, with respect to both state policy and strategy. This has to do with the complex issues of race and inequality that the country has dealt with. However, by paying little attention to global debates and not broadening such debates to include more locally specific considerations, South Africa misses the opportunity to benefit from the considerable research, knowledge and resources that have developed in the last few decades internationally, and to draw on them to address local problems of societal polarisation.

Closely allied to cultural diversity is the concept of interculturalism - the 'appropriation of concepts across cultures in the interests of building a pluralistic dialogue among equals' (López cited in Rappaport 2005:5). Facilitating intercultural communication has been a critical task for cities grappling with the impacts of a rapidly globalising and diversifying world.

Intercultural City, a large-scale research project, asks the questions: 'Are mixed societies more creative than homogeneous ones? Is there a diversity advantage for cities? [5] Its findings are that mixed societies have the potential to be more creative and that the diversity within such societies, when *managed strategically and with strong skills*, is highly productive for cities in social, economic and environmental terms. The project suggests that we need to 'look afresh *through an intercultural lens* at the way our towns and cities are run, because a greater emphasis on interaction, bridging and the exchange of ideas can release a *diversity dividend* of social and economic benefits for our communities' (Intercultural City 2007). The study suggests that there is usually a vast number of intercultural innovators or role models **–** 'remarkable individuals or groupings who transgress cultural and social boundaries' in cities. It suggests further that local authorities tend to know very little of substance about these innovators/role models. City authorities, it suggests, need to understand how such innovators work and the ways in which they interact with and form part of the richness of the cultural resources of a city. The Intercultural City project provides a set of tools for individuals, cities and companies to use, and explores the range of ways in which interculturalism is being propagated by various agents on the ground.[6]

Intercultural practices include tested methods which address understandings about how to deal with diversity, including issues such as racism, xenophobia and sexism. If key connectors, decision-makers and implementers in society (such as government officials, educators, development workers, environmentalists, built environment professionals, religious leaders, artists, students, cultural intermediaries, and so on) are educated and trained to develop the attitudes

[5] See www.interculturalcity.com, accessed March 2007.

and skills of *cultural competence* related to community engagement, participatory urban planning and development practices, and understand how these impact on community cohesion, they can contribute to the positive transformation of cities.[7]

Theorists who comment on the role of culture in urban transformation emphasise mindset change as the single most critical factor for citizens and for their leaders (Amin 2006; Landry 2000; Pieterse 2006; Stevenson 2003, 2004, 2005). No attempt to make a city take cognisance of and use the transformative potential of culture is possible without a significant change of mindset that recognises the power of creativity to make a difference.

> *… how do we change people's mindset, the way in which they consume culture … or express themselves, to change their mindset away from their polarised version of our history … for me that's what the main focus has been … I think that on a cultural level, there is whole lot more value in being able to make those kinds of intervention. The easiest way to get to people is through the arts, because that takes you slightly away from 'I'm the coloured I'm the white person' you know, it's more like, I love this kind of music, the way in which it's done, the arts, what I'm reading. It's not based on who I am in terms of my ethnicity … a lot of our history is based on our mindset, the way in which as a people, our diversity, a lot of it has been segmented … We not segregated … because of our races … it's more mental the manner in which [we] have been segregated …*
>
> Interview

Closely linked to ideas about mindset changes and intercultural practices is the notion of urban connectivities. Pieterse (2006) promotes the notion of urban connectivities as 'networks and milieus of like minded individuals working in concert for progressive ends'. He supports the development of a 'relational cultural politics', which can 'grow from insurgent shoots of experimentation across the city' (Pieterse 2006:300). This idea of an 'Active City' is propagated by a number of urban theorists (Healey 2000a, 2000b, 2002, 2004; Landry 2000; Sandercock 1998) who support the notion of building productive cities through citizens sharing their respective urban imaginaries.

In South Africa, cultural diversity is not an entirely foreign concept; it is alluded to and mentioned in documents of the national and provincial departments of arts and culture. However, it is not a term often used in day-to-day discussion, and discourse around it in policy and research documents is generally extremely thin.

Interculturalism, too, is a concept that has little currency in our society. References to the Rainbow Nation, and discourses around human rights, are far more commonly invoked. Cultural diversity could, it is suggested by some of those engaged in local cultural initiatives[8] , be perceived as a potentially charged term in a country where the language of culture and difference was used in the past to divide people. Moreover, as people may equate cultural diversity narrowly with racial and ethnic identities, and since race is an uncomfortable topic to address, this may be a reason for the lack of popularity of the concept.

[6] The *Intercultural Communities Report* suggests that there are numerous generic skills needed by those who work as intercultural brokers or connectors: inclusive visioning, project management, leadership in sustainable communities, breakthrough thinking and brokerage, team and partnership work, making things happen given constraints, financial management and appraisal, stakeholder management, communication, conflict resolution. These are bolstered by a set of principles such as fairness and equality, learning from experience, clear and agreed purpose etc. (Intercultural City 2007:27)

[7] The notion of training in cultural competence relates to ways in which individuals are able to work productively with understandings of culture in their specific contexts.

[8] Some of the interviewees for this report

> *I think the term that come very closest to [cultural diversity] is the concept of the rainbow nation which people seem to understand and identify with a lot more closely here than when you talk about cultural diversity. I think it may have something to do with our own past as well where during apartheid years, people tried to separate the different strand sort of ethnic cultures out and the whole experiment around nation building. I think slowly coming out of that now, it is now important to unpack what is that means …*
>
> Interview

This report argues that the lack of engagement in global discourses from within South Africa seriously limits our ability to address the complexities of difference and the painful and fraught legacy of apartheid. The failure to acknowledge fully that race is a concept with no scientific basis, to find new ways to discuss the common impact of apartheid on inequality, and to develop alternative approaches to talking about diversity (in terms that recognise identities as multi-faceted phenomena) is one of the greatest stumbling blocks to dealing with the legacy of racism and the effects of apartheid policies on our fraught nation. We need to remind ourselves also, in the words of Neville Alexander, that we are in many respects an 'ordinary country' (Alexander 2002) and that internationally, a dialogue with issues of diversity is about recognising the humanity of all people and acting accordingly. That race has no scientific basis, and that broader conceptions of difference and diversity are alternative ways of discussing what most South Africans now perceive as racial differences, are central to the mindset change needed in our society.

Human rights are central to notions of cultural diversity as conceptualised by UNESCO, and are central to the South African Constitution. By engaging with cultural diversity in a global context we are building on an important universal consensus backed by ongoing research, intellectual debate and programmes of action:

> *[UNESCO affirms] that the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfil in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern. (UNESCO 2001)*

The closest that South African institutions come to finding a vehicle for engagement with the idea of cultural diversity is in the notion of social capital, a central programmatic focus of the Provincial Government of the Western Cape (PGWC). Social capital is described by the PGWC as 'developing the potential relationships with people around us: those in our communities, in our schools, at the workplace, even with our neighbours'.[9] While this is an important set of ideas that alludes to ways in which individuals and communities are capacitated, it does not explicitly address the values, practices and institutions attached to notions of culture. Recognising the central role of culture in our society, as this document argues, is a necessary step towards dealing with cultural diversity.

[9] See *Wcape Social Capital Development: Building social capital together*, accessed May 2007, www.capegateway.gov.za/socialcapital.

The growing importance of the role of culture for cities is a response in part to the growing urbanisation of the globe, and the increasingly important roles cities are playing in the global system. As a result of the movements of global capital and its re-organisation spatially, cities have become centres for flows (Lash and Urry cited in Stevenson 2003:95), 'junction points or global flows of people, cargo, information and finance' (Harris cited in Landry 2000:21) as they strive to position and distinguish themselves in relation to other cities in order to be part of an international market place (Stevenson 2003; Yeoh 2005).

The move towards a post-industrial world in the North has resulted in the ascendancy of service-driven, and often leisure-based, cities, which strive to be sustainable and which emphasise quality of life (Stevenson 2003; UN Habitat 2004). Simultaneously, in the last few decades, there has been a massive flow of migrants around the globe for a number of reasons, and the emergence of large communities of difference in global cities. Cities are 'no longer just epicentres of capital investments and transactions, global cities … but are also sites of transnational cultural mixing and dynamic social ferment' (Yeoh 2005:946). Theorists like Sassen argue that all cities are experiencing 'the emergence of the dualities in economic power and cultural representation which have spatial consequences' (Sassen cited in Stevenson 2003:97), while Sandercock (1998) proposes radical new ways of thinking about planning cities that recognise these realities.

In Southern cities, urbanisation is even more extensive, and is in many ways more alarming than in the North because of the huge pressures being brought to bear on crumbling infrastructures. Trends show that most megacities will be located in the South within the next few decades, and cities will increase in importance as highly significant forces in global politics. While it is impossible to homogenise the experience of cities in the South, some common macro-trends are apparent: the accelerated urbanisation and population growth of countries of the South; the effects of a global neoliberal agenda and a common experience of structural adjustment programmes; deepening poverty; structural unemployment; growing socio-economic polarisation and inequality; and growing informalism and informality (due to the decay or absence of formal economic structures and political processes and the declining role of the state) (Roy 2005; Wilkinson 2004). Cities are more unequal than ever, with the emergence of 'cities within cities', or what Castells (1991) describes as the 'divided city'. The threat and the reality of urban violence have given rise to increasingly segregated, security-minded ways of living, especially amongst the wealthy. As the world becomes more global, it becomes more segregated.

Urban theorists focusing on the South who attempt to find solutions to such growing inequality propose new modes of urbanisation focused on such notions as 'informality', distributive justice, concern for people-centred issues, situated 'realist critique' (Roy 2005:156) and a commitment to everyday life. Others, for example Simone (2004), theorise people as infrastructure, recognising that due to a lack of conventional resources, people's bodies become a locus of intense connectivity and entrepreneurial possibility, of networks and intersections. These notions strengthen further the argument advanced in this document that it is necessary to focus on *local* cultural resources and local role models/innovators working to ensure the right to the city for all. By understanding our situated locality better, we can find relevant solutions for our problems.

This report draws on an extensive study on cities and cultural diversity entitled *Local Policies for Cultural Diversity* (LPCD) commissioned by the division of Cultural Policies and Intercultural Dialogue of UNESCO, through the Institute of Culture, Barcelona, which serves as Chair of the United Cities and Local Government (UCLG) Working Group on Culture (UNESCO 2006).[10] Building on a wealth of UNESCO research on culture, as well as on the UCLG's learnings from its extensive network of cities (as the largest association of local governments in the world), enables the LPCD document to make important conceptual and practical recommendations for improving local policies on cultural diversity. It offers helpful cultural frameworks, while acknowledging that any policy work in specific locations must include context-specific responses. Such a response suggests the need for understanding and acknowledgement of the local context, historically and in all its facets, as a prerequisite for substantial transformations.

The LPCD report places a strong emphasis on case studies, and uses a number of such studies from around the globe to make its case. However, it admits to containing no case studies or research from Africa as a result of various capacity constraints. This document is in part a response to calls from the LPCD report for more case studies based on situated research in African city contexts. Cape Town's cultural ecology provides a rich set of cultural resources for such engagement. Cape Town was chosen because of its unique histories and its relatively high levels of diversity. Within the South African context, these special attributes make it in many respects a litmus test for interrogating notions of national identity, as it reveals the complexities involved in promoting real equality in ways that serve to deepen substantive democracy. To begin the process of understanding the cultural ecology of the city, the Addendum to this report provides a set of case studies that serve as a resource for the main report. This is only a partial overview of the richness of cultural life in Cape Town, and it is hoped that it will serve as a starting point for further and deeper research.

The report draws on the LPCD framework to consider cultural diversity in Cape Town, focusing on cultural resources in the city and examining these in relation to four broad areas:

- culture and social inclusion (section 6);
- culture, the creative industries and the economy (section 7);
- public spaces as areas of conviviality and interaction (section 8);
- the governance of culture (section 9).

The application of the LPCD framework to this context is preceded by a brief analysis of how current policy conceptualises and values culture (section 5). First, however, attention is given to Cape Town's unique history and its current identity as a creolised African city.

[10] South Africa is represented on the UCLG's governing bodies through the South African Local Government Association (SALGA). Only Tshwane is a direct member of the organisation.

4) Cape Town – A Culturally Diverse and Creolised African City

Cape Town is a city rich in cultural resources. These resources are the result of the unique movements and assimilation of peoples, forms and practices into the city.

Cape Town has been a culturally diverse city since the 17th century. Initially, various first-nation peoples such as the Khoi and San inhabited the region. Explorers from The Netherlands eventually settled and colonised the region and established the city of Cape Town. The importation of slaves from many places (south-east Asian islands such as Java, Sumbawa, Bali and Timor, as well as Malaysia, Burma and China; the Malabar coast and other parts of India; Madagascar, Mozambique, Angola and West Africa, amongst others) set the stage for the creolisation[11] of the city. British occupation and the discovery of gold and diamonds in the interior of the region would bring various peoples from around the globe, including large groups of French, Germans and Lithuanian Jews, to what had become an active port city. The 'Tavern of the Seas' and the 'Cape of Storms', as it was variously known, was an important watering hole on the spice route between east and west. Miscegenation was widespread; equally so was the impact of mixing and movement on the diversity of cultural practices of the city and surrounding region – language, food, religion and cultural expression all reflected the effects of this process, through the often turbulent times that the city endured. As a result of these interacting elements, and by nature of being a popular port, Cape Town manifests as many similarities and connections to other 'creole' port cities such as Luanda, Havana or New Orleans, as it does to the interior of the country.

> *[Creolisation resonates] because I think that it emphasises creative processes of change of identity shifting and formation it breaks down [the] notion of purity and of distinctions. It emphasises the variety within the broader community and variety again that can't be policed. It again … emphasises the fluidity, the complexity, the nuance, the dynamic nature of the society. It moves away from the sort of sensitivities of identifying people by the so-called coloured all that stuff that we've had. I think it brings in the term like European plus indigenous. It's inclusive in ways that you can still keep the critical perspectives.*
>
> Interview

The city has experienced painful developments. The marginalisation of indigenous people was so thorough over the decades that today groupings that attach themselves to such an identity find it difficult to assert their influence.[12] Segregation, and later formalised apartheid planning, would violently disrupt the relatively normal flows in a society where hierarchies of skin colour were nonetheless strong. The forced categorisation of people into racially defined groupings, of which 'white', 'African' and 'coloured' were the most significant in Cape Town and have retained the most lasting hold on popular consciousness, continues to impact on various readings of the ecology of the city. The Group Areas Act was supported by vastly unequal separate development, cruel laws of restricted association,[13] a preferential labour system that benefited 'coloureds' at the expense of 'Africans', and the continuation and strengthening of what was an already long history of attempts to keep 'African' migrants from the interior from entering the city. These would all contribute to the high levels of inequality and exclusion – economic, spatial and social – that still characterise the city today, and to the widespread violence in these outcast communities (Western 1981). In addition, they have created deep hurts and resentments in our society that have barely been acknowledged.

[11] The concept of creolisation is analogous to that of hybridity. It has been associated with ideas of 'connections' and of creativity. It has been seen by writers like Sarah Nuttall and Cheryl-Ann Michael (2000) as having 'transformative… [and] generative potential'.

[12] See the case study of the Khoi Kollektif in this document (case study 1.23), as an attempt to revisit and reclaim a Khoi identity.

[13] Such as the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, amongst others.

> *What it means now in South Africa, cultural diversity is that we have a land … of many different cultures, we are diverse in our cultural root, it doesn't mean we understand each other, [or] that we have a desire to live [better] with each other … [or] have a desire to interact with each other.*
>
> Interview

The destruction of areas of conviviality and mixing such as District Six through forced removals, and the creation of poorly resourced and under-serviced satellite areas far from the central business district, would negatively affect those forced out – psychologically, socially and economically. This extreme disruption of an already unequal society makes a contemporary engagement with notions of cultural diversity difficult. Its negative impacts were felt then, as they are now, throughout society – by those who were oppressed and those whose political agents were the oppressors.

The political change that began in 1994 in South Africa saw the Western Cape vote conservatively, driven by a large 'coloured' vote. This was attributed in part to a fear of being swamped by 'black' (i.e. 'African') interests and in part due to a fear of the immanent loss of certain economic privileges. The effect of this alignment was to further polarise the city internally and to set the province as a whole aside from the rest of the country. Later the activities of conservative fundamentalist Muslims and (allegedly dubiously connected[14]) so-called 'anti-drug organisations', more especially the group People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD), would have its own severe impact on cultural tolerance when it gave rise to a seemingly arbitrary bombing campaign in which ordinary citizens became the targets.

This history of political and cultural turbulence is best exemplified by the debate over whether or not Cape Town is an 'African city'. This question is often a proxy for debates about race, class and power in the city, and frequently provokes analysis of internal divides and local power elites that are seen as reactionary elements aligned with historically 'white' economic interests. Yet in many ways the question caricatures the city, and leads to unsuccessful attempts to fit its cultural dynamics either into simplistic conceptions of African identity as one based upon unchanging indigenous tradition and independence from European influence, or on a stereotyped image of the African city as one filled with predominantly black people in bustling streets.

A number of indicators tend to support the entrenchment of a caricature of Cape Town as an untransformed enclave of conservative (and largely white) capital, unwilling to make social or economic changes. Land ownership, for example, is a critical indicator reflecting the success of apartheid planning. White landowners and developers have benefited substantially from increased property values in a city which contains pockets of some of the most prized real estate in the country. The lack of transformation for the marginalised masses at the level of economic empowerment is a critical feature constraining social change in the city and the country as a whole. And the lack of a widespread acknowledgement of responsibility for apartheid by those who benefited from it, evident for example in the refusal of white South Africans to acknowledge and apologise for apartheid by participating in the 'Home for All' campaign,[15] and in a general unwillingness to enter into processes of national healing, has not aided reconciliation.

[14] See Ashwin Desai. 2006. *The Cape of Good Dope*. www.nu.ac.za/ccs/files/Desai%20Pagad%20Research%20Report.pdf.accessed March 2007.

[15] In December 2000 Carl Niehaus, a prominent ANC member and former South African ambassador to The Netherlands, spearheaded the 'Home for All' campaign during which a range of prominent white sports, cultural, academic and political figures signed a declaration apologising for apartheid. However, a large and vocal group of prominent white South Africans blasted the campaign and most white South Africans refused to be part of it. See http://www.iol.co.zaindex.php?sf=2813&set_id=&sf=2813&click_id=13&art_id=qw976692660148B262&set_id=1, accessed17 October 2007.

> *The real difficulty is … getting white Africans on board on any of the stuff [around reconciliation] it's helluva hard … My sense is that [whiteness] is really reconstituting itself as a sense of power and it's gaining confidence certainly and … it's less inclined to participate.*
>
> Interview

Contemporary Cape Town is again, increasingly, a cosmopolitan city, due in part to its popularity as a tourist destination, its higher standard of living relative to the rest of the country, and a large-scale migration of other African citizens into the city in response to economic and political pressures in their home countries. This migration includes not just citizens from other African countries – refugees and economic migrants who are often subjected to xenophobia, including overt violence - but also those who have migrated from less-developed provinces of South Africa in search of the perceived better conditions of Cape Town. This latter group is a massively growing part of the population whose demands on the infrastructure of the city and on housing have exacerbated tensions about ownership of the city, and raised new types of questions around nation-building and redistribution.[16]

The city's geography remains marked by its colonial and apartheid history of urban planning and residential segregation. Street and place names, memorials and monuments still reflect to a large extent a colonial and apartheid past. Large-scale events such as the Cape Town International Jazz Festival, the Mother City Queer Project and the Design Indaba bring patrons of culture from around the world into to the city, yet many of the city's residents remain ignorant about these and other cultural events, and about the everyday social realities of their neighbours.

While there have been significant positive shifts in the city since the advent of democracy, the effects of political turmoil on government structures at both provincial and local levels have been immense. The local government structures of the City of Cape Town (CCT), in particular, have suffered from crippling brain drains (Wilkinson 2004). These have further compounded the difficulties of effecting social change and addressing a polarised city. All the respondents in this study who had worked with government stated that their experiences were of poor inter-governmental, and at some levels intra-governmental relations, and cited this as significantly increasing the difficulty of engaging with urban transformation. Paradoxically, in the face of sometimes extreme difficulties and deep inequalities, fun, play, laughter and raucous ribaldry are the order of the day for Cape Town's citizens, a method of coping with everyday pressures. In a number of sectors we see an increased optimism, the sense of a booming city rich with possibility in spite of its unfriendly bureaucracies. Everywhere people are busy doing interesting and unique work, artists are creating, development is taking place. This is a far cry from the stereotyped view that many people have of Cape Town as a laid-back, disinterested city.

Understanding the city in terms of its unique movements and mixing of people, as a 'creolised city' (see for example Cronin 2006), will enable us to better engage with its realities as a unique African city. Acknowledging the realities of the city, warts and all, will allow us to shift it. Reading its local cultural resources in these terms will shed new light on the successes and deficiencies of existing cultural policy at provincial and local levels as it pertains to Cape Town.

> *We need to first chew on our past before we swallow the diversity cake.*
>
> Interview

[16] Recent reports suggest that at least half of the people entering the city annually are from the Eastern Cape alone. The city as a whole receives over 80 000 people annually, many of whom are described as desperately poor and looking to Cape Town for better opportunities – if not jobs then at least better schooling and life opportunities for their children.

5) Cultural Policy and the Intrinsic Value of Culture

> *The cultural diversity of our people is a major national asset. The RDP will support an arts and culture programme which will provide access to all and draw on the capacities of young and old in all communities to give creative expression to the diversity of our heritage and the promise of the future. (Ministry in the Office of the Presidency 1994)*
>
> *… to affirm and promote the rich and diverse expression of South African culture …*
>
> (Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology 1996)

The struggle against apartheid and for non-racialism held at its centre ideals concerning the recognition of differences. This is evident from as early on as the African National Congress's Freedom Charter, made public on 26 June 1955.[17] The support for cultural pluralism in South Africa is explicit both in the Constitution and in the mandates and policies of relevant government departments dealing with culture in all spheres of government.

This document argues that while the relevant national policies are clear, and while there is a written commitment to these ideals, specific local and regional approaches, and more especially explicit actionable strategies flowing from these which address cultural diversity directly, are weak. This is clear in the case of Cape Town. Implementation, it is suggested, is a critical problem for government and is linked in part to the prevailing attitude about the role of culture in society.

The degree of understanding of culture and of its role in urban transformation at the levels of state and civil society is extremely low and, not surprisingly, support for culture's role in this regard is limited. When prompted, at least half of the respondents interviewed for this study suggested that, when mobilised by the state, culture is used instrumentally and narrowly towards 'nation-building', in a manner that is tokenistic. It is understood at the level of signs, rather than at the level of texture.

> *… you know you've got the formula which is repeated even in the opening of the stadium … Catholics are there, Hindus and Muslims … the traditional guys don't forget the Jews. And THAT is multicultural, cultural diversity in terms of religious belief… It's a tradition … a formula-driven cultural diversity you know you could do it racially you could have white, coloured, Indian and Africans and let's add-in some Chinese or Germans and really get it right … symbolic representation of cultural diversity and integration is not necessarily wrong but again often that's where it stops and it doesn't kind of get beyond that and then we all disperse mainly going back to geographically separate areas.*
>
> Interview

At the higher levels of government and in civil society contexts, culture is often equated with arts and entertainment. This is compounded by the fact that responsibility for culture is usually conflated into government department portfolios dealing with heritage, libraries, archives, languages and the arts, in a mechanistic manner that focuses on addressing, as and when necessary, existing bureaucracies and lobby groups. This is a problem not unique to South Africa (see Stevenson 2004), but it is starkly apparent in South Africa since cultural policy, more particularly at the regional and local levels, has not been infused with sufficient research input[18]

[17] See http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/charter.html, accessed March 2007.

- debate and dialogue around the policy have been conducted at a low level, and have not been sustained. In the main, culture in its broadest sense is ignored and in official documents little attention is paid to the role that culture plays in the dialogue about urban transformation. Like other cities in South Africa, Cape Town has some way to go in becoming an intercultural city – one where there is a ready sharing and borrowing of cultural resources in the interest of a common good. However, without significant efforts at healing society – which go deep in respect to issues of culture - these are unrealisable goals.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was undoubtedly a highly significant process in the country because of its vital focus on healing, but its work has not been completed. The TRC to a large extent ignored the symbolic industries in its proceedings and findings. The connection between memory and healing was made, but the institutions that engage in heritage and the arts and are thus critical holders and shapers of cultural identity were left untouched. Undoubtedly, racism, sexism and xenophobia are still very strong in our society, and recognition of the economic effects of apartheid on marginalised sections of society has not been significantly addressed in practice. More recently, high-profile cases of racially motivated attacks in schools and against migrant communities have highlighted the need for deep interventions. Healing is necessary, but the institutional mechanisms to address such complex matters are weak.

> *[We need] to help people develop sort of that kind of imaginative understanding of each other … So theatre, carnival and the arts play a role here [it] should be used in education [better]. How do we teach these things … what we teaching and how we teaching those things remain very important. 'Imaginative understandings' … is kind of intelligence that one is trying to develop that has to do with being able to put oneself imaginatively in space of the other. So it requires that sort of capacity for empathy and I think that the arts, literature generally those things play a role in doing that.*
>
> Interview

A number of the respondents who had had dealings with the state pointed out that the mammoth task of addressing issues of culture, memory and healing is located in the three spheres of government (national, provincial and local) in departments that have weak capacity and leadership, insufficient resources and low profiles. At provincial government level, transformation processes relating to cultural policy and funding mechanisms are incomplete, while at local government level there has been a lack of policy or cultural frameworks for a number of years as a result of restructuring. This may have taken its toll on the ways in which government engages with civil society in matters relating to culture. In addition, national government's slow pace in dealing with a number of highly significant cultural resources in Cape Town[19] does not make this task simpler. The impact of these limitations is felt not just in governmental contexts, but also in the ways in which institutions function.[20] At least half of the respondents felt that the Premier's Home for All Initiative (see case study 1.20) has been one of the most significant political interventions to date. However they all argued that, despite it being the most significant source of support for what could be understood as a call for a greater acceptance of cultural diversity, it has had little impact on the ground, with only a small number of significant projects coming into being.

[18] This fact was recognized by the Working Group on cultural policy development for the Western Cape Government, which proposed the creation of a research unit to support cultural policy.

[19] Amongst these are instances such as the not-yet-accomplished handover of the oldest colonial structure in South Africa, the Castle, from the Department of Defence to the Department of Arts and Culture. This is a long-standing issue that has not been resolved. Added to this, we have observed that the level of transformation in the key cultural institutions based in the city in the early days of the democratic dispensation, including such organisations as Artscape and Iziko Museums of Cape Town, happened slowly and in some cases with a great deal of tension.

[20] The impact of a National Party-led local government and existing apartheid-rooted thinking on the Western Cape in 1994 cannot be discounted. The influence of existing networks of apartheid-birthed Afrikaner intellectuals and academic interest groups continued to influence a range of decisions taken by the post-apartheid government in the province. Since provinces play the main policy role in matters related to culture and cultural identity, the National Party had the ability, soon after 1994, to pack key cultural structures (such as the provincial cultural policy-making bodies), boards such as that of the provincial performing arts council (CAPAB, now Artscape) as well as leadership of the cultural services department within local government with individuals from conservative interest groups. The effects of these strategies are still felt today, for example in the ring-fencing of provincial cultural funds for organisations associated with ArtsCape – ballet and opera companies, the symphony orchestra, the Baxter Theatre and Jazzart dance group – at the expense of a broader spread of institutions, despite an acknowledgement by the province of the untransformed nature of its cultural policy. In 2003, for example, the provincial department was still handing over R7,2 million to these organisations, with R3 million being distributed to all other organisations that applied for funding via the Western Cape Cultural Commission.

We can question whether these cultural domains are in fact the responsibility of government, and ask how civil society can play its own role in addressing their needs. The Memory Project (case study 1.27) can be seen as a possible form of civil society engagement with the different levels of government in relation to culture.

This document argues that there is a general lack of understanding within government of local cultural resources in Cape Town. This does not mean that the big institutions and major traditions are not known, but rather that a deeper understandings of these traditions and of other similar institutions, their roles in communities, the power structures behind them, the particular contributions they can or do make, and the day-to-day challenges they face are not sufficiently understood. More importantly, the vast wealth of daily creative activity and cultural resources is poorly appreciated and little understood. How to support the responsible mobilisation of these elements for the good of the city is a missing knowledge base. By understanding and working more effectively with such resources, the state will be better able to mobilise them in ways which could meet locally specific needs, and thus address its problems of policy implementation. There are incredible projects at small scales making significant impacts on the daily lives of people, often with little or no external support. The case studies of the District Six Museum, Mandlovu and Magnet Theatre Trust (case studies 1.14, 1.25 and 1.26) are all examples of good non-governmental structures with change agendas that receive insufficient ongoing support from the state, in stark contrast to institutions focused on the classical arts, for example.

We know that the city is rich in 'indigenous' music and that performance traditions are part of people's everyday experiences.[21] These are often used in advertising campaigns or as hooks in tourism promotion media. However there is little consideration as to the developmental and support needs behind such traditions. The types of developmental opportunities, for example, that the Carnival or the various choral traditions have, or the types of support necessary for promoting indigenous forms of hip-hop and rock music, have yet to be fully realised. The case studies of Goemarati and the Carnival (case studies 1.9 and 1.22) present some ways in which these issues are being addressed.

> *… what we've recognised is that there is an incredible amount of talent but because this talent has never formally trained there is very little space for it to flourish. I think that is one of the major frustrations that we get in the city. We always talk about skill shortage we never say there is a talent shortage, I think that is the key there isn't a talent shortage … there is a talent abundance, but we don't know how to channel that talent into any form of formal employment.*
>
> Interview

Cape Town lays claim to a number of heritage sites, ranging from symbols of anti-apartheid struggle such as the Robben Island Museum and District Six Museum to a vast range of architecturally significant buildings, monuments and memorials from the colonial and apartheid past. These historically resonant sites form the backdrop for tourism marketing material, and pepper reports and studies on the city, but the fundamental significance of land, history and memory for meaningful engagement with our city at the level of change is still little appreciated. Clearly, more is needed than name change processes. The cultural resources that have grown out of 200 years of slavery, those that developed out of community engagement and interaction during the apartheid era, and the remnants of practices flowing out of apartheid state-

[21] These include the African Massed Choral Music groups, the Malay choir traditions (Sangkoors), Christmas Bands (die Nagkoors), the Minstrels (Klopse), different percussion styles drawn from the Eastern Cape, other parts of South Africa and Africa, and Cape Jazz.

manipulated cultural symbols, require significant reconsideration and understanding. To move forward, more than simple tokenistic or symbolic engagements are needed with the spectres of the past and their continuing influence on our present and future. Case studies of the *Sunday Times* Heritage Project, the District Six Redevelopment Process, Prestwich Place and Slavery in the Cape, the UWC History Department and the Casco Land/Public Eye initiative (case studies 1.37, 1.33, 1.30, 1.38 and 1.32 respectively) provide some examples of ways in which deeper and more vibrant forms of engagement are possible.

> *… There are huge shortages around slavery that we have not nearly started … doing the work we need to be doing in the Western Cape on … slavery has left an enormous legacy and as a nation it's a founding of this nation – the master and slave – and it's almost our un-consciousness. Even here you know … we in the Western Cape can use a lot of that … oppressed memory if I can call it that … It's not only [recent] memorisation but what they were doing just outside the Castle [then] where you had people impaled, drawn on the rack, things like that … I even ask myself have we done much around the legacy of slavery in terms of … even thinking [about] gangsterism to what extent does that have something to do with the ways of thinking about oneself. We got a lot of work to do around that stuff and those are the fault lines that haven't been explored enough but I think that if you talk about the Western Cape specifically we carry that memory for this nation we have to do a lot more on that. So it's not just historical work, but right now.*
>
> Interview

What these and many other similar, often community-centred, programmes show is that there are rich layers of local cultural resources that can be animated through creative engagement. These offer ways to offset a less nuanced, largely marketing-driven approach to culture, and show us how an animation of culture can truly afford all people access to the city as equal citizens.

Citizens' involvement in decision-making about the type of city they desire is important for their empowerment and their sense of themselves *as* citizens. The lack of citizen participation impacts on a city's wellbeing and on the sustainability of the social order. However, not all people participate or communicate equally well through documents, public processes or speech-making. For this reason cultural production and cultural mediation processes are important, and the role of citizens in such processes is crucial. City imagination processes using theatre, dance, music and visual arts, often in public contexts, are all ways in which citizens can make their voices heard, and therefore participate in (making) society.

Poverty and lack of access to services have cultural dimensions that need to be acknowledged. In Cape Town this is a critical issue. Understanding the effect that apartheid-generated space has had on the city is a key factor in addressing the task of creating a more socially inclusive society. Amartya Sen has focused on the connections between social inclusion and the lack of cultural diversity. His empirical evidence demonstrates that societies whose populations are diverse tend to be less violent.[22]

The South African government has been successful in initiating a number of programmes aimed at fostering social inclusion, and partnerships with communities have begun to impact positively on local neighbourhoods. A programme such as The Cape Flats Renewal Strategy, for example, has been important in strengthening the capacities of state and civil society structures to address issues such as safety. Projects such as the Bonteheuwel Peace and Development Summit, which led to a project along the lines of Imagine Chicago, partnered with the CCT's Community Development and Liaison Unit and the Cape Flats Renewal Strategy[23] , and this led to the development of an area forum and a number of improvements to the area. Similar initiatives driven by other partnerships have taken place in other parts of Cape Town, notably the Proudly Manenberg Campaign.

It has been suggested in some studies that in Cape Town both citizen participation and public trust in the democratic process are low (see Walters 2007). This is partly because communities were 'conditioned', before 1994, 'to resist municipal rule and support rent and service boycotts … The lack of social capital and trust at the local level manifests itself in low municipal polls … many of the councillors assuming office do so without broad popular mandate; they are free from constant scrutiny and hence not accountable for their actions; there is the development of corruption and clientelism; politicians interfere in the administrative processes, which perpetuates the problems; and there is little faith in the system, which further constrains development of social capital' (Walters 2007). Walters suggests that the building of 'communities of trust at whatever level in South Africa needs to take very seriously the legacies of distrust' that exist in our contemporary society.

> *… There is a mandate from … provincial government or the City of Cape Town and it's because they do not understand it, that it's not part of the bigger agenda. You cannot just deal with poverty alleviation without bringing in some kind of healing and with those people up there not understanding and making it part and parcel of your report back … but they are not saying what is meant in terms of dealing with the issue around diversity, it's still black and white and so something is got to be done on that level.*
>
> Interview

[22] This argument was presented by Sen to a local audience at a lecture delivered at the University of Cape Town on 24 April 2007.

[23] The Cape Flats Renewal Strategy seeks to strengthen the capacity of local and provincial authorities to address urban safety issues in partnership with civil society organizations and the criminal justice system. The Strategy focuses on urban, economic, social renewal and law enforcement in the area and is led by the Western Cape Department of Community Safety (City of Cape Town 2005).

Responsible and active citizens are an important element of a well-functioning city. Leadership-building and voluntarism play vital roles in culture-led social development. Intercultural skills such as inclusive visioning, project management, leadership for sustainable communities, breakthrough thinking and brokerage, team and partnership work, 'making it happen' given constraints, financial management and appraisal, stakeholder management, communication and conflict resolution are some of the many critical skills proposed for citizens working with diverse communities (*Egan Review*, cited in Intercultural City 2007:7).[24] Increasingly, those working with issues of social inclusion need to have skills and competencies related to working in anti-racist and anti-sexist ways and getting to understanding different cultural perspectives – in other words, developing a better understanding of intercultural communication. Urban professionals, for example, need to become acquainted not only with 'soft' or 'people skills', but also with those related to 'cultural competence' (Intercultural City 2007:7).

There is a great deal to be gained by looking at ways in which artists, who are 'increasingly making connections with the social, less in instrumental ways, but more as an original contribution to urban change', engage and interact with communities (Mercer 2006). They provide vital role models and demonstrate methods for engaging with the city on the ground, in poetic and practical ways.

Cape Town is blessed as a city with a long history and engagement with locally driven development initiatives, grassroots community empowerment projects and volunteer-driven social programmes. This arises as much from the city's slavery-marked past as from its more recent segregationist and apartheid history. In all cases extreme hardships of life resulted in self-help structures being set up by local people. Religious organisations have always played a critical role in the life of the city, generating a diversity of practices, places and forms of worship. Sport as a form of recreation and community development plays a significant role in the lives of the majority of people. During the apartheid era, a network of advice structures and volunteer organisations functioned throughout the city, offering all forms of support to communities denied their rights and deprived of services. While many of these no longer exist, with activists of the past decrying the lack of engagement by communities in social development, a great variety of neighbourhood structures has evolved in response to specific needs or in support of government programmes. Anecdotal evidence suggests, for example, that tens of thousands of volunteers are engaged in state-supported community safety and monitoring units on a regular basis. Verifying the nature and extent of these volunteer programmes will be useful in the future.

> *I think that the arts infrastructure is strong but culture infrastructure is weak. In terms of capital, there is no plan for bringing capital in, there is no plan for training, for bringing new thinkers, there is no lobby or advocacy, there is no power ... there is no organisation, it doesn't get funded, it's not SEEN as anything, it's not even understood, it's not known, you know what I'm saying.*
>
> Interview

A number of important non-governmental initiatives, many of which have their roots in the struggles of the apartheid years, engage on a daily basis with issues related to poverty, parliamentary monitoring, homelessness, rural development, gender, children's rights, community upliftment and culture. They reveal an engaged and concerned community, one that demonstrates that Cape Town is in fact at the cutting edge of community engagement in many ways.

These initiatives form an incredible backbone of support for urban transformation, and the networked mobilisation of this tremendous energy could have a dynamic positive impact on the city.

A number of good tertiary learning institutions and a growing economy have led to the rise of a multi-ethnic middle class who are increasingly sharing values and interests and have more in common amongst themselves and with the rest of the globe, than with the mass of the poor in the city. Youth who attend schools in middle class areas benefit from increasingly diverse classrooms, and see the beginnings of a new society emerging amongst them. Young people in such areas are increasingly free of the anxieties and hurt of the past and are forging shared visions of new futures. These potential leaders need to be nurtured. Sadly, these growing and substantial changes are not so apparent amongst the masses of the poor. Schools in sub-economic areas are often poorly resourced and their pupils subjected to ongoing violence and increasing access to addictive drugs. The lack of exposure to social diversity in these contexts seriously undermines attempts at changing society. Other, more life-affirming examples and ways of thinking are often absent in these homogeneous spaces. Pockets of inspiration do exist, and dynamic role models forge ahead; they need ongoing support to sustain and extend their work. Substantial support is also needed to bridge divides between communities who are trapped in the spatial and social l boxes created by apartheid, lest these become the basis for a whole new generation in which the types of openness and tolerance needed will be lacking.

Lack of, or insufficient, school activities and poorly managed community facilities with little human support in a number of residential areas of the city make the task of nurturing the youth extremely difficult, particularly in contexts where the pressures to conform to negative peer group patterns of activity are high. Many communities are attempting to address these difficulties and to improve their general environment through important local initiatives. These are supported by, amongst other things, the government's Safe Schools programme and community policing initiatives. In addition, youth are organising in various ways themselves. As the case study of Hip Hop in the Cape shows, youth have used music and indigenous practices progressively to build a positive environment for themselves across the Cape Flats (case study 1.21).

> *... How do we change people's mindsets? ... The easiest fast intervention is your school base, I'm talking about definite partnership between the education department, the education sector, the education NGOs whatever and the cultural department, cultural sector, cultural NGOs and those actors within, that is the most direct intervention that we can make. Cause then you start with kids because a whole lot of us are just too tainted for anything, you know, you start with kids ... How do we get kids consuming culture ... how do we get them sharing different gedagtes [thoughts] and different ways of looking at things? ... What are we doing so that where he leaves school there is something interesting around him instead of ... gangsterism or whatever. The reality is we do not have facilities in the communities ... There isn't money going into our communities ... how do we provide cultural content for our young children and it starts there.*
>
> Interview

[24] The *Egan Review: Skills for Sustainable Communities. Blueprint for a new culture in planning and the built environment professions* (2003) is a British government report available at www.communities.gov.uk/index.sp?id=1502251, accessed March 2007.

> *… People who operate [in] the realms of power are of an age group in which the previous realm of power was established. So when we talk to people who are in their late forties for example we talk about re-engineering geography and the social formation of the city, the general view point even for quite a liberal person of that particular age group is to actually enforce the very divisions that were set up.*
>
> Interview

Focusing on poor communities does not mean that racism and prejudice have disappeared elsewhere, or that intercultural communication is necessarily better in middle class communities. Rather, there are simply more common points of reference now than previously. There is still insufficient interaction between groupings defined in terms of old racial categorisations and in some circumstance boundaries of difference appear to be hardening.[25] Public debate and dialogue around notions of social inclusion are generally weak, and where these do happen they are not backed by sustained programmes that make a difference. However, a number of significant opportunities for intercultural engagement by individuals and businesses, often through relevant private initiatives, have emerged.[26] These suggest that there is a growing will on the part of citizens to engage with and influence each other's lives.

Nonetheless, perceptions and terminologies play a big role in maintaining barriers. Fear of violence and crime is a key factor in preventing engagements by people across class and racial/ethnic lines. The apartheid categories of race, a lexicon of terms (such as 'township' to refer to black residential areas), and historically inflexible social networks in the Cape dominate and restrict the imagining of a diverse city.

Just over half the respondents in this study suggested that popular activities, more especially religion, sport and music, are critical spheres that bring large groups of people together socially. Thus they recommended that more opportunities be created for interaction between people of different groupings through such types of events. In addition, calls were made for greater training in intercultural practices such as conflict resolution, anti-racism awareness, visioning, and social entrepreneurship, for civil servants of all kinds and for business and religious leaders, cultural practitioners and development workers. Critically, respondents suggested that, to be sustained, interaction needs to take place over longer periods and ideally around projects in which people can work together. Brushing shoulders at music events, for example, is a good way of getting people to interact, but more discussions, dialogues and sustained programmatic engagement are necessary for longer-term change to come about. Again, the case study of Hip Hop in Cape Town (case study 1.21) is an inspiring example of ways in which young people have been made to feel part of a constructive environment through the energy of positive young role models.

Though there is admirable work being done in areas of children's rights, gender equality, the situation of people with disabilities and new migrants to the city, substantially more needs to be done in these areas, and better resourced, more substantial change programmes are needed than currently exist. In addition, such initiatives need to be strengthened through exposure to other similar initiatives, and have access to resources and relevant tools that could be used, tested and improved on. Transnational migration and the high levels of xenophobia and violence experienced by those who migrate require substantial involvement by the government. New migrants bring new skill sets and a fresh entrepreneurial spirit to the city. Cape Town's history has been one of migrancy and this trend, which shows no sign of abating, requires more serious consideration of the benefits and opportunities that new migrants bring with them to animate cities. A set of policies and strategies to address the issue of migrants would enable a broader engagement with notions of openness in the local context.

Of course, there are many important institutions, projects and programmes in the city each providing relevant and necessary intercultural programmes and research activities. Some of these are projects specific to their contexts (see case studies 1.14 on the District Six Museum and 1.25 on the Mandlovu Development Institute); some are important training, education and research organisations (see case studies 1.1 on the Arts and Media Access Centre, 1.4 on Bush Radio, 1.16 on Emzantsi/Incudisa and 1.38 on the UWC history department).

Our analysis indicates that these important programmes are not always visible to ordinary people, and this lack of knowledge is a contributor to moments of pessimism. Some of these programmes are not well-known even amongst peers working in intercultural situations. The result is that opportunities and synergies cannot be taken advantage of effectively. There are a host of significant training and educational opportunities and forms of support for those who are development practitioners or who work at the coal-face of city transformation. Sometimes these, too, are not well-known. In some cases important gaps exist in the kinds of education and training offered, such as broad-based training and support in social entrepreneurship linked to practical experience. Concerned citizens cannot always find ways to access such resources, or find the entry points to processes that can help them to develop the skills they lack in relation to their specific needs on the ground.

> *… so I think it's to find what is the kind of vision that one has, if you talking about creating a city that is cultural diverse, and to see it in practice what exactly does that mean, what is the vision you have for the city of Cape Town, and then identify, you know, sort of those institutions where people are actually gonna be able to deliver on that, and it needs to be visible because there is lots of good stuff happening. It all happens sort of under the radar and our press doesn't cover the lot of it, which is the other main sort of obstacle.*
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> Interview

At least 80 per cent of respondents made calls for more networks to be formed and/or supported which could address issues of social exclusion. Networks here are viewed broadly as voluntary associations, community groups, neighbourhood groups, collectives, student bodies, youth groups and boards of non-profit organisations, amongst others. Increasing the degree of coordination between the state and civil society in many of the critical areas requiring attention could result in a stronger web of networks throughout the city, committed to social and urban transformation. Networks need resourcing, and the state could play a greater enabling role in this respect. There is a critical role here also for cultural organisations. Doual'art, a small community development body structured as a non-governmental cultural organisation in Cameroon, uses art integrally in its work with the local municipality and donor agencies (see case study 2.5). It works to build local development committees – democratic local development structures - in neighbourhoods as part of local infrastructure development initiatives. Doual'art's use of artists and architects in creating convivial interactive spaces, through programmes providing bridges and potable water points, is an inspiring tale of what is possible in extremely poor communities, and indicates ways in which beauty and inspiration can be brought into communities on the back of budgets for essential infrastructure.

Understanding local cultural resources in respect of social inclusion will suggest dynamic ways of mobilising the culture of communities and cities which has the creative potential for change.

[25] The popularity of a new Afrikaans song about the Boer war hero, General De la Rey, in early 2007 revealed a particular edginess in South African national politics around issues of whiteness and feelings of marginalisation; at the same there are good elements in the controversy evoked that speak about freedom of expression and the fact that minorities are finding the space to articulate their concerns.

[26] Projects like Habitat for Humanity (see www.habitat.org.za) and the Amy Biehl Foundation (see www.amybiehl.org) provide opportunities for engagements by citizens in uplifting the lives of those in the city less fortunate than themselves.

7) Culture, Economy and Creative Industries

A strong economy and access to finances are critical to any society. There is an increased recognition internationally of the importance of culture's role in the economy. This can be seen in programmes focused on support of creative industries and the growing interest in cultural tourism. The creative industries include not just the traditional art forms, performance, music, visual arts, literature and film, but also sectors associated with design – crafts, architecture, advertising, fashion, graphic design, furniture, interior and jewellery design. In some cases they include the heritage industry as well as the information and communication technology (ICT) sector. Together with leisure management and cultural tourism, the creative industries sector can have a potentially significant impact on job growth, poverty alleviation and city positioning. Also, the fact that Cape Town has grown substantially in terms of tourism numbers, and is a highly sought-after destination, has led to great opportunities for, and optimism about, economic growth that could be generated by cultural aspects of this sector. Tourism is the second-biggest industry in the province, and culture supports and feeds off the engagement of visitors.

The LPCD report advocates thinking about the notion of 'productive diversity' and suggests that understanding the economic role of culture within cultural diversity allows us to recognise the importance of supporting innovation, and in so doing build the capacity for sustainability in a creative knowledge economy (Florida 2002; Mercer 2006).[27] Thinking in this way allows us to recognise the opportunities that culture provides for job creation, for example in offering a lower entry threshold for unemployed youth into the market. Equally, it allows us to recognise how new immigrants bring new skills, services and valuable entrepreneurial abilities to their adopted countries and apply these in ways that promote economic growth. By recognising culture's role in the economy, we can rethink the role of facilities and spaces and their potential for incubating creative activity. Libraries and community centres, for example, could be reconsidered as spaces for citizens to gain access to programmes that build their entrepreneurial skills and encourage them to initiate new undertakings, allowing them to make inroads into the market, and supporting their existing and latent talents.[28]

Equally, creative economies must recognise the importance of successful creative industry leaders and innovators. In this respect Cape Town is blessed with a number of creative industry players, big and small. Creative talent in the city is rapidly gaining increased national and international recognition, as well as awareness amongst local practitioners of the wider national and international contexts of their work, although many of the city's brightest and best leave for Johannesburg or other parts of the globe. In the greater city bowl area of Cape Town (including Woodstock, Green Point and Sea Point) and in pockets within the Southern Suburbs (Salt River, Observatory, Rondebosch, Claremont and Kalk Bay, amongst others) there is a relatively robust, if in some cases rather basic, cultural infrastructure. There is a wealth of resources, institutions, activities, creative drivers and small-to-medium venues. It is a growing sector, but one in which there is still under-investment. Much of this investment has come from within civil society itself, although the inclusion of South Africa in a global market network, and a supportive state policy environment which has brought into existence a number of new institutions, national innovation funds and grant bodies, amongst other things, has also contributed to the growth of a relatively robust private sector.

It is often within the private sector that some of the most innovative projects relating to cultural diversity take place. These are frequently developed as part of commercially driven programmes, or as forms of market-driven social responsibility, as the case studies of the Cape Town International Jazz Festival (1.7), Graffiti Art (1.19), Monkey Biz (1.28), the District Six Re-development project (1.33), the *Sunday Times* Heritage Programme (1.37) and the Young Designers Emporium (1.40) show. These are examples of private sector-driven programmes which promote diversity in different forms.

More recently, the PGWC has, following a significant Micro Economic Development Strategy (MEDS) research programme, set up a Creative Industries unit in its Department of Economic Development and Tourism. This, in addition to the support given to the traditional arts and heritage sectors through its Cultural Services directorate, signals a renewed awareness of the role of culture in the economic life of the province. The shift by the CCT of its Arts and Culture department from the Community Development directorate to the Economic Development directorate indicates the realignment of culture around the axis of the economy to meet the growing needs of the city for job creation and poverty reduction.

There are, however, substantial challenges to be faced in growing a more productive environment for culture and, as an outcome, fostering a more robust environment in which to engage with cultural diversity. The development of an effective events calendar, and support for major events, have been ongoing sticking points; there is a need for growing innovation locally through incentive financing; effective and affordable speciality venues need to be created or supported; marketing of local creative industries and their products is very weak; and school-based education in the creative industries requires considerable attention. Acknowledging and supporting successful local role models has been raised consistently as an important way of enhancing the sector, and very little of this is done locally. The need to maintain local creative industries in the region, attract new ones and inspire those interested in getting into the sector at the entry level is vital.

Significantly, the infrastructure in marginalised areas is extremely poor, for both the production and consumption of culture. For example, in respect to the consumption of culture there is only one poorly run state-developed cultural centre (Guga S'thebe) and one poorly developed non-profit theatre (the Joseph Stone) on the entire Cape Flats. There is one community museum now supported by the provincial government near the urban edge of the city (Lwandle Museum[29]). All cinema multiplexes are in malls outside previously marginalised residential areas. Very few community facilities have been partnered with commercial interests that promote culture, and many multipurpose centres are too generic, poorly marketed and poorly secured for regular creative industry activity. These challenges raise questions about our understanding of local cultural resources and how these may be mobilised with the aim of growing both consumers and producers. As can be seen, there are close connections between creative industries and space, which will be engaged with in more detail later in this report.

> *We need physical places for networks to take place but we don't have those physical places … How do we create them? Government creates its multiple purpose centres … but it's a beautiful, irrelevant enterprise because the way they exist, they are badly used but there could be places where networks come together… but you know networks could want to come together where there is convivial environment … How do we create beautiful set-ups right at the community where networks could come together? People's homes are very very small; you can't have a book club for example [in a house] in Bonteheuwel.*
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> Interview

[27] See Florida's 'creativity index', which shows the correlation between creativity and the economy (Florida 2002).

[28] See case study 1.39 on Vakalisa, a collective working in Cape Town in the late 1980s.

[29] See case study 1.24.

What are we offering culturally to people in the township? And we are all to blame and a lot of it has to do with what interventions are there? What kind of money is going there, are we developing a cultural economy within the township as compared to the amount of money that we pumping into the urban areas, into the city centres you know? … But again it can come back to the mindset that exist within the people in the industry, amongst the audience, amongst the government, amongst corporates, how are we viewing our role in terms of culture, in terms of diversity, how are we diverse in terms of our differences or are we celebrating that diversity, at what point do we celebrate that diversity because we not celebrating it yet.

Interview

A creative industries approach is important as it raises the profile of culture, asks critical questions about its role in the economy, and makes culture relevant in the eyes of decision-makers, business and the general public. Importantly, it connects the city to the rest of the nation and the globe, forcing an interaction with globally focused symbolic economies. By not engaging with the global symbolic economy cities run the risk of being swamped by more powerful elements of the global market. The USA, most notably, is a very strong contender because of its economies of scale and relatively low prices. Local cultural resources, when turned into products, are relatively expensive and so the creative industries in South Africa, as in other parts of the developing world, need protection in order to compete at their best.

However, there is a danger in favouring an overly industrial and economic approach to culture in South Africa over an appreciation of the intrinsic value of culture. The focus on economic return downplays both the crucial role that cultural activity plays in weaving the fabric of our symbolic life, as well as its impact on the spatial development of our cities, and views the importance of culture for the wellbeing of a society and city in excessively economic terms. The result is a cultural policy that is more preoccupied with economic returns than with social values such as tolerance, civic pride and diversity – one which sees cultural resources in terms of their capacity for commercial exploitation and not in terms of their intrinsic value.

The LPCD report (Mercer 2006) places a considerable emphasis on public spaces as 'areas of conviviality and interaction'. Public spaces, it suggests, have been used for centuries as gathering places for the purposes of ritual, and are now increasingly being used for 'events' such as mega-sport events or concerts. Large-scale activities such as the Klopse Karnaval ('Carnival'), or those attached to major national holidays such as Youth Day, Women's Day, Human Rights Day or Heritage Day, often associated with opportunities for building intercultural societies, are reliant on the availability of good public spaces. These events evoke notions of the carnivalesque, taking place in spaces where large groupings of people can communicate in different and open ways. The simple 'brushing of shoulders' between diverse communities at such events is an important way of addressing the fear of the other.

And you need to look for places where people go voluntarily and crossover and mix and come away feeling challenged and exhilarated, with music, food, I think a lot of the youth cultures are achieving doing that.

Interview

As cities attempt to position themselves globally, urban regeneration attached to notions of the planning of new cultural facilities and new public spaces is increasingly becoming the norm. These regeneration exercises are often linked to brownfield sites, and are connected (in various, usually, developed nations) with grassroots social and cultural associations that turn these former commercial and industrial spaces into spaces of cultural production and neighbourhood engagement. Cultural precincts developed by cities to promote creative industries and/or cultural tourism are attempts to give substance to their branding of the city as a 'destination' or as a 'creative hub'. The case studies of Johannesburg's Culture and Urban Regeneration programmes (2.1) and Pelourinho in Salvador-Bahia in Brazil (2.3) offer examples of two different urban regeneration exercises outside a Western context. These examples demonstrate ways in which Southern contexts engage in locally specific ways with notions of the urban revitalisation of public space and culture. In the case of Johannesburg, since 2000 public investment in the region of R1 billion has been made in the Newtown Precinct and the Cultural Arc, calling attention to the city as a centre of African cultural expression. Additional high-level investments in Kliptown, Orlando West and Alexandra create a network of cultural facilities that provide opportunities for job creation for local communities. In three of the four developments, including Newtown, these investments are not just in conventionally understood cultural infrastructure but also focus on upgrading of the transport nexus and building of substantial social housing. The Pelourinho initiative balances urban conservation, cultural tourism and support of creative industries located around Carnival in a space that recognises the important contribution of black Brazilians; it is the key site of the promotion of black Brazilian culture and history in the country, and is marketed and nurtured as such.

Public art in its broadest sense is recognised as being important for a community's or neighbourhood's sense of identity and for sparking the imagination of those who live there. Excellence connected with strong research commitment and community participation is vital for the success of public art. The case study of Doul'art in Cameroon (2.5) provides a dynamic example of an organisation working to animate the imagination of the residents of Douala through its public art work, inserting elements of beauty and conviviality into projects that are concerned with basic infrastructure such as water pumps and bridges.

The need to recognise the memories and achievements of people either ignored or suppressed during the periods between colonialism and the end of apartheid provides an opportunity to engage in creative projects in public space. These projects, both permanent and temporary (including performances), require a commitment to working in the arena where urban life, heritage and creativity overlap. There are strong examples from around the globe and locally of public projects which provide either healing processes or opportunities to address and cross boundaries. One project which addresses the physical and psychological nature of boundaries is the exceptional case of Insite (case study 2.4), an organisation that produces long-term engagements between communities and artists in the US city of San Diego and the Mexican city of Tijuana. Here 'Border Art' challenges the foundations of both countries' notions of humanity and diversity. By drawing on local resources, the project asks artists and communities alike to reconsider how their own resources can provide the basis for healing. Similar projects, on a much smaller scale but no less important, take place in Cape Town; an example is Mandlovu's project in New Crossroads (case study 1.25) which engages with the history, memory and local resources of this small, historically important but neglected community. More recently, the engagement of Dutch artists through the Cascoland project in partnership with Mandlovu and Public Eye (a local public art initiative) has further deepened community involvement in tapping into their own creative life force (case study 1.32). The fledgling project CAPE Africa has at its heart similar notions to Insite (case study 1.5).

Amenities such as community centres and halls (or multi-purpose centres (MPCs)), recreation facilities, schools and libraries provide important spaces for enabling urban connectivity. This recognition of the importance of public facilities found expression in both the old, now lapsed, Arts and Culture Policy of the CCT (CCT 2002) as well as in the proposed Arts, Culture and Heritage Policy of the PGWC (PGWC 2006). Both these policies were strongly driven by public engagement processes and place emphasis on the idea of space as a critical feature in the development of a strong cultural life in the city and province.

The City's policy supported public art, recognising amongst other things the importance of building partnerships with the private sector and working across municipal departments. The policy stressed the importance of local amenities and suggested that there should be greater coordination between the relevant local departments of the city that deal with spatial matters. It raised in particular the need to take into account both local community needs as well as those of artists who might use the centre, when building community facilities. The importance of taking into account specialised cultural usage, and the resultant need for relevant technical equipment, trained staff and effective management, was noted. In addition, the policy recognised the importance of libraries, schools and un- or under-utilised government spaces as facilities that could be used for cultural activities.

Similarly, the excellent draft provincial policy places an emphasis on spaces, recognising the need for a Properties Unit to be created which can play a cross-cutting function in support of a set of interdepartmental partnership recommendations. Calls are made for an audit of public and private arts, culture and heritage organisations, where these are understood geographically and in relation to targeted audiences. The PGWC draft policy proposes the establishment of geographically based and interdisciplinary arts, culture and heritage forums which would service the relevant sectors and function as nodes for governance, resource allocation, training, information, marketing and tourism development. Each 'forum', it is proposed, will have access to a resource centre of some form as a 'nexus of arts, culture, heritage activity and excellence' (PGWC 2006). This, the policy argues, together with incentives for cultural organisations, will create a 'web of models of good practice around the province'. Emphasis is placed here on social cohesion and opportunities for intercultural interaction. Further connections are made with other arms of government, especially in relation to economic development, local municipalities and all relevant cultural facilities. In addition, the importance of providing support for initiation school sites is recognised. Significant recommendations are made to establish links between connecting bodies related to heritage and conservation in regard to 'living heritage', thereby providing greater impetus for the transformational possibilities of culture. Museums are promoted as civic spaces that can work to maximise the impact of such spaces and stimulate synergies with other cultural resources like cultural industries clusters. Similarly, public art and its connection with heritage are prioritised, with calls for greater linkages of such sites with the departments of public works and housing. A call is made for greater integration of resources and facilities, and better coordination of strategies within and between spheres of government.

These far-reaching proposals by the province, and those made in earlier policy documents of the CCT, reflect the fact that the state has a wide network of state-funded/initiated facilities - community centres, halls, libraries, museums, schools, sports fields and other spaces – at its disposal around the city. The proposed new policy directives respond to ongoing unhappiness regarding poor management and security of such facilities. There is a recognition that these substantial resources, which could positively impact on the activities of youth and children, are not well-used for such ends. These facilities offer potential ways of knitting communities together in a common space, and reasons for outsiders to visit these parts of the city. The policy recommendations suggest that the overly generic nature of facilities, and the lack of coordination of their use, prevent the creation of an active and dynamic public space. The case study on community arts centres (1.10) looks at some of the shortcomings of these facilities, and at the significant challenges of a national programme to develop art and multi-purpose centres. Research on such centres has found that their failures stem from, amongst other things, poor levels of understanding of the way they function by politicians and state officials, as well as poorly trained staff (Hagg 2002).

Respondents who participated in this study cited the lack of appropriate commercially driven cultural involvement in state venues as a problem affecting many such spaces. These spaces lack connections with people's everyday or popular interests. They are not spaces that necessarily ensure a convivial atmosphere or provide a framework or reasons for local private enterprises to graft commercial activities onto them. People attract other people. By creating venues that complement a vibrant public space, reasons are provided for locals to spend more time at such venues, and this is in itself a motivation for more people, including tourists, to visit and revisit these spaces.

Public spaces, including venues for gatherings, are extremely limited and inadequate in previously marginalised residential suburbs. Within the public arena, bars, shebeens, markets and a limited number of shopping malls are the main spaces for local gatherings outside of religious spaces, effectively limiting the types of intercultural interactions possible. Compared to the City Bowl and selected streets within the largely privileged areas of the city, there is little in the way of convivial space in poor areas. The CCT's important Dignified Spaces programme aims to create quality open space, especially around various transport nexuses, markets and intersections in previously marginalised areas (CCT 2006). The PGWC's *Cape Flats Tourism Development Framework* (PGWC 2005), which proposes cultural tourism as a way to extend economic benefits to previously marginalised areas, suggests that by supporting the development of strategic nodes within the Cape Flats reasons will be created for tourism-related business development to take place (see case study 1.18 on Coffee Beans and Ishabi Rhythm Nation). These sites, chosen for their strategic relationship to other sites on the Cape Flats, provide entry points for further

development. Tourism offers not just economic development opportunities but also opportunities for diversification of products, involvement of cultural agents and interaction between locals and visitors, and in this way has the potential to create expanded ways of thinking about 'others'. The urban regeneration process attached to the Klipfontein Corridor, similarly, is an opportunity to connect economic and social opportunities along this important transport corridor running through a number of large, previously marginalised and under-invested neighbourhoods and business areas.

A city-led workshop looking at the ways in which clusters and nodes could, as in Johannesburg, be used to promote greater cultural activity,[30] has seen at least one initiative arising from its recommendations. Creative Cape Town has attempted to engage local and provincial government in discussions around the spatialising of cultural activity (see case study 1.9). The Cape Town Partnership, a non-profit entity responsible for the development of the central city district, has taken the initiative to begin a process of engagement that focuses on using culture spatially in the interests of economic development and social inclusion within the historic city centre (see Cape Town Partnership n.d.). The vast number of heritage sites, museums, theatres, creative industries, tertiary institutions, restaurants, cafes, bars, clubs and related shops in the central city, its secure walkability and access to a key public transport nexus, makes the already cosmopolitan city centre a considerable resource. It is a viable space for use as part of a cultural plan to address locals and tourists alike as a site that reflects and responds to the cultural diversity of the city.

The provincial government has embarked on a Creative Streets programme that considers the possibility of developing creative nodes within two neighbourhoods on the Cape Flats - Guguletu and Manenberg.[31] This initiative aims to emulate what is good about similar vibrant streets in more affluent areas, and is an attempt to use creative industries to build convivial spaces that draw on local resources. But, bar initiatives such as these, the critical shortcoming of programmes aimed at revitalising neighbourhoods or those aimed at developing urban settlements is the lack of recognition of the transformative qualities of culture. Understanding culture broadly in relation to values, practices and institutions will radically affect the ways in which old neighbourhoods are approached and new ones created.

The Future Cape Town discussion document of the CCT (CCT 2006) aims to 'eventually develop into the city's spatial framework for integrated human settlement in the city, providing the basis for integrating activities of different departments within the CCT as well as the investment of all three spheres of government and other agencies'.[32] The proposed long-term development path picks up on five strategic areas of action that concern natural assets and quality open space, the economy, access, an integrated city development path and creation of new 'special places'. With regard to the latter, ideas mooted include opening up coastlines by means of responsible developments and developing the Athlone Power Station as a cultural centre.

At least half of all respondents proposed the development of a viable events calendar and better marketing. A significant roleplayer in the tourism industry in Cape Town has argued that the original intentions of the joint marketing exercise in brand-building the Cape, to aid coordination between Wesgro,[33] tourism bodies, the film office and events in the city, has remained unfulfilled.[34] This has had its own set of impacts on important festivals and gatherings in public spaces such as the historic *Karnaval*, an event that brings large numbers of citizens who had been dispersed by apartheid-era Group Areas legislation back into the city centre. Lack of strategic engagement, insufficient funding and absence of consistency in planning have prevented festivals and other public events from becoming effective ways not just to brand the city, but to bring its varied and culturally diverse people together. The case study on the *Kaapse Klopse Karnaval and Western Cape Street Bands Association* (1.22) further illustrates these issues.

Case study 1.5 on the *Cape Africa Platform* shows ways in which the mapping of the city and the use of its space for an internationally pitched visual arts event allows locals and visitors alike to use and connect with the city. Its work alerts us to ways in which dislocated audiences could potentially engage with a divided city. This project, like others, looks to the 2010 Soccer World Cup as a significant moment when organisers may draw on its knowledge to consider innovative ways of reading the city.

2010 provides an impetus for significant changes that need to happen with regard to infrastructure developments in the city, such as the creation of a long-awaited integrated transport development plan. The various plans for a transport system and other plans to connect and address the divided city, as well as policies that highlight the environmental pressures on the city, form a veritable mountain of largely unrealised plans and policy papers prepared by the local municipality in the last decade concerning the city's spatial development. These stand as a testament to the reality of too much talking and too little action around important aspects of city development, and point to ongoing concerns about the need to connect state and civil society, to address the need for a more relational and productive form of governance of the city.

To fully realise the value of local cultural resources spatially, critical issues of governance need to be addressed, blockages removed and the important role of civil society recognised and fostered. Most importantly, the role of culture in the spatial development of the city needs to be recognised and approaches fostered that make the engagement with city, culture and space transformative.

[30] CCT Urban Regeneration And Cultural Precincts Workshop. Podium Hall, Civic Centre, Cape Town, 2–3 April 2003

[31] Unpublished document made available to the authors of this report.

[32] Unpublished document made available to the authors of this report.

[33] Wesgro is 'the official Trade and Investment Promotion Agency for the Western Cape… a first point of contact for foreign importers, local exporters and investors wishing to take advantage of the business potential in Cape Town and the Western Cape" (see www.wesgro.co.za).

[34] Ozinsky S. 2007. How do we create a winning brand? *Cape Argus* 14 May:7.

It is clear that a more effective enabling environment is needed if recognition of cultural diversity and the fostering of an intercultural and connected society are to make any significant societal difference. Greater information-sharing, better institutional capacity and more effective coordination are required at all levels. Appropriate mechanisms and vehicles are necessary for various spheres of government and civil society to engage more effectively. Stronger incentives need to be created for business, the creative sector itself and the media to engage more effectively in programmes of cultural diversity. More especially, the resourcing of culture needs to be better understood, and more effective strategies for financially supporting culture in the city need to be developed. Other key challenges relate to political will and the need for situated and contextual research.

The governance of culture takes place through a set of relationships between the state, the creative and cultural industries, civil society organisations, media, business (more especially corporate business) and international agencies working with culture (such as the cultural arms of foreign embassies). In each case, relationships have been forged which are often attached to some form of partnership or financial support.

There are two key challenges:

1. It has been recognised that there is a lack of coordination between the different spheres of government, within these spheres and even within departments responsible for culture.
2. The level of implementation of policies is poor in most spheres of government.

In the state as a whole, each sphere of government has a number of agencies dealing with culture. The key central player nationally is the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC); other departments concerned with culture in some form or another include Education, Trade and Industry, and Environmental Affairs and Tourism. DAC plays a central coordinating role as well as having a research function. Notwithstanding some excellent projects, there is strong anecdotal evidence to suggest that it is a weak department which has not managed to effectively coordinate culture in dynamic and productive ways across the country, within national government or between provinces and cities.[35] It has a strained and rather tenuous relationship with the sector as a whole,[36] although it has a set of relationships with some specific sectors.[37] DAC has been successful in birthing such important structures as the National Arts Council, the National Crafts Council and the National Film and Video Fund, all of which play significant roles in supporting local cultural development, together with bodies like the Arts and Culture Trust and the National Lottery.

Within the PGWC, culture is the key responsibility of the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sports. More recently, the Department of Economic Development and Tourism has developed a significantly resourced unit dealing with creative industries as a central feature of its Micro Economic Development Strategy. However, all 12 provincial departments, including Education, Social Development and the Premier's Office, potentially have some role to play with respect to culture. In some cases, such as the Department of Education, this potential has been realised through various initiatives.[38] However, in some potentially significant areas such as Social Development and Public Works, connections with the cultural sector are still weak.

The as yet incomplete transformation of the PGWC's Department of Cultural Affairs and Sports, which centres on the final adoption of the new arts, culture and heritage policy, is a significant challenge for the province. This potentially far-reaching policy places a higher emphasis on spatial issues as well as on cultural democracy than earlier policies, and was developed after lengthy consultation with the cultural sector. A third of the respondents in this research – those who had some dealings with the province - were highly critical of the department's poor performance and especially its lack of engagement with the sector. They were sceptical of its ability to engage in the kind of coordination necessary within provincial government to further a cultural diversity agenda, and most indicated a preference for working with the new Creative Industries unit.

The lack of effective coordination of culture at the level of provincial government is mirrored at a local government level. Here too, a participatory process that developed an arts and culture policy and strategy for the old city council in 1996 has floundered in the new Unicity, and the lack of capacity raises concerns about a coherent approach to cultural diversity.

At this local government level, arts and culture are not core (constitutionally allocated) competencies. This creates a dilemma for a perennially cash-strapped city council, which is under pressure to deliver in response to significant needs in marginalised areas. The CCT has not yet been convinced of the role that culture can play in social and economic development. This is clear when one compares the investment made by the city in culture with the considerable and long-term investments that have been made in this sector by the City of Johannesburg.[39] However, the existence of a small sub-department of arts and culture has resulted in a number of successes in terms of specific programmes, and the city has a profile culturally in ways it did not have before 1994, when it had no cultural policy at all and supported the arts in an ad hoc fashion.[40] The recent move of arts and culture from the Department of Community Development to the Department of Economic and Social Development shows that the socio-economic possibilities that culture contains have been recognised, but it is at yet early days to assess the impact of this move.

It appears that even though arts and culture are formally recognised as a sub-department in the city administration, it has low capacity and does not necessarily have an impact on other departments in the administration. A number of departmental clusters have programmes with cultural elements, most notably those in the Strategy and Planning section (dealing with Spatial Planning and Urban Design, and Environmental Resource Management), and those dealing with Service Delivery Integration and Community Development. These include projects such as the Dignified Spaces programme (CCT 2006). Whether these programmes are well-coordinated throughout the city or well-conceptualised in terms of cultural diversity is still unclear. The lack of a formal cultural plan and set of indicators to guide deliverables, following the mothballing of the draft arts and culture policy (last updated in 2002), makes any significant analysis of the extent of an overall approach to culture difficult. A significant commitment by the city to a participatory planning process for arts and culture from the mid-1990s until early 2000 – which, according to anecdotal evidence, appears to have had various successes and failures – has now stalled. The successes and failures of this process have not yet been evaluated and it is unclear whether it will be resuscitated.

[35] DAC has no strategy dealing with culture in cities as yet.

[36] This perception has been gleaned over a period of 12 years during which the main author of this document worked as a producer in various cultural contexts, through discussions with a vast array of cultural intermediaries around the country. The quality of this relationship has been made manifest in the very strained interactions between the sector and the DAC, with the rejection by the DAC of a number of representative arts bodies which were formed to impact on cultural policy, including the Network of Arts and Culture SA (NACSA) and the National Arts Coalition.

[37] As a result of the process following the *Creative SA* report (DAC 1998), there are strong relationships with film, music, publishing and crafts, with institutional vehicles supported in a number of these sectors. More recently, relationships have been explored with sectors such as visual arts.

[38] A significant art-in-schools programme has been announced, with plans to introduce arts education in 10 schools around the province.

[39] Johannesburg has had an Arts and Heritage Department since the late 1980s, supports a number of high-level arts festivals (such as Arts Alive, a Women's Festival and an annual Carnival), significant museums (such as the Johannesburg Art Gallery, MuseumAfrica and the Hector Peterson Museum) and has invested heavily in the Newtown Cultural Precinct. It has previously supported two of the Johannesburg Biennale exhibitions.

[40] There are grants-in-aid made through a clear process, the city supports various cultural events – more especially the Cape Town Festival – and there are successful programmes which have run in various communities.

> *… but I also think that the way the mandate, the legal framework for the present provincial government of arts and culture and the national departments of arts and culture is so narrow and so safe and so unprogressive so that it doesn't take this kind of thinking … I mean the philosophical debate is not there, it's not part of their mandate … in the policy it says something about using [culture] to build the nation and all that but the way it's interpreted and the way it's led presently and the people that they put there … keeps it in this [marginal]… status in terms of government departments. For example the cultural project should be in the office of the Premier you know it should get the most if what we saying is true and we saying that what culture has to offer … to growth and to healthy cities and to healthy societies … then it should supersede the economic department, the training department it should have the best minister, it should have the best budget, it should have the best policy makers, it should be the top priority of government but where the hell has that happened, nowhere. Other cities do play a role than that but our city doesn't.*
>
> Interview

The vast majority (90 per cent) of respondents agreed that there is a lack of a significant ongoing dialogue between the state, civil society, business and media around issues related to cultural diversity. They recognised that culture, intercultural practices and a connected city would play a significant potential role in a polarised city like Cape Town and in its future sustainability. While there are concerns that there is a lack of clear and shared understandings around cultural diversity at government level, about the ability of the state to provide a coherent coordination process and to implement programmes at the moment, the state is regarded as the logical driver, together with civil society, business and the media, of urban transformation.

A number of respondents emphasised the need for strong political will in ensuring the success of a culture-led programme. Political will has also emerged as the sticking point in a number of studies looking into the failure of community arts centres. These studies concur that without political will and a commitment from politicians and bureaucrats to understanding culture, any intervention is doomed to fail. They show how, for example, the support of the Flanders government in introducing South African politicians and bureaucrats to good practices in Flanders contributed to the improved functioning of community centres in South Africa (Hagg 2002).

Political will at the highest levels of the city and province can be seen in two significant programmes: the premier of the Western Cape's Home for All campaign (see case study 1.20) and the Memory Project, a civil society initiative supported by the CCT and the provincial government (see case study 1.27). At least half of all respondents saw the Home for All campaign as a significant high-level political initiative that speaks to the issue of cultural diversity. However, respondents cited the lack of clear and publicly understood cultural indicators in the Home for All campaign as one of its key failures. There is a need for less politically charged and more socially relevant programmes for the region, in particular those that work through activities of civil society and in concert with both spheres of government.

> *The Home for All [campaign] as I understand it is based on values; it's based on aspirational values because it's not just saying well whoever is here is welcome, it's also saying we've got to redress inequalities, we've got to deal with poverty, we've got to all participate, no one can escape - that no one is immune from the consequences of colonialism. So I don't think it's a vacuous empty slogan and I think it's a necessary one. It's obviously like any political slogan; it can't go further than that, there are obvious limitations.*
>
> Interview

The Memory Project provides one possible type of programme that meets this need since it has high-level support from both the mayor and the provincial premier, and was developed through a civil society process. However, participants in this initiative raised concerns about the project because funds promised had not been forthcoming for a number of critical months. The consistent delays in the release of funding had severely depleted the energy of the organising group.

Respondents all generally felt that a greater set of progressively minded networks which engage civil society is necessary. Nurturing and financing these were seen as essential. The types of mechanism that could provide this sort of support were seen as lacking, however. Funding is usually programmatic, making the setting up and maintenance of networks, at least in the earlier years, a complex process. In addition, skilled and motivated drivers and clear leadership are scarce in a context where the demands of society are so many.

A critical stumbling block in developing a cultural diversity momentum in Cape Town appears to be an erratic movement of state financing for civil society initiatives at the levels of provincial and local government. Funding opportunities exist for culture in both spheres of government, but these are unsophisticated and outmoded.[41] The funding pot is too small, and the individual grants relatively small. There is little research or independent monitoring being done on funding given; and very little feedback is received about the changes that state funding is making possible in regard to the building of a culturally diverse society, and which projects are making the most difference. Because feedback is poor, decision-making appears arbitrary and often politically motivated in a fluid political landscape. Funding cycles are irregular and decision-making processes are slow, making project planning difficult. Proposal formats and reporting are considered too cumbersome for the generally small amounts offered, especially for larger organisations. Part of the problem is that necessary checks and balances such as the Public Finance Management Act and Municipal Finance Management Act are complex and unwieldy, not well-suited to either rapid decision-making or provision of the sustained long-term support needed. These factors prevent long-term planning, growth, innovation and partnerships from taking place.[42]

These observations bring to the fore two considerations related to, firstly, the kinds of institutional mechanisms that exist and, secondly, the kinds of research and monitoring possibilities available.

An effective state mechanism that addresses some of these deficiencies in fostering strong ongoing relationships between the state and civil society is the Special Purpose Vehicle (SPV). This allows for a collaborative engagement between government and civil society partners. Usually consisting of accountable boards comprising individuals from state and civil society structures, these not-for-profit companies function as autonomous organisations. They tend to deal with marketing, networking and research, as well as facilitating investment and providing service functions for their sector as a whole. Although they are not completely at arm's length

[41] The ringfencing of funds for classical arts was still in operation in the last round of funding, despite announcements to the contrary. The funding mechanism for arts and culture in the city, once run through a peer review mechanism, is now done internally by city staff and councillors.

[42] These findings emerge from a mixture of research done on funding (courtesy of unpublished research by Joseph Gaylard presented at the VANSA Curators workshop), interviews with three of the respondents as part of this research project, input from one of the focus groups, input from informal research undertaken for a previous, unpublished research project, Creative Cape Town, for the Cape Town Partnership (used with permission), and analysis by the author of this document.

from government bodies and are managed with relevant check and balances, they provide a useful way of bringing state and civil society structures closer together. The PGWC has supported SPVs in the crafts, fashion and film sectors, and is now starting to develop SPVs in music, performance and visual arts sectors. The Cape Film Commission (see case study 1.6) is an example of one of the more successful creative industry SPVs in the region. It plays an important role in gathering research and data about the industry and its growth, ensuring that the sector is mapped and that this information provides the basis for enhancing the sector's viability.

Ongoing relevant and verifiable research is critically important, but there is a paucity in the cultural field generally, more specifically in forms that can be useful in addressing issues of cultural diversity in a city like Cape Town. While the national Department of Arts and Culture produces relevant research, usually in partnership with the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), there are not sufficient local data available, particularly data relevant to study on the intercultural city. The case study of the Emzantsi Carnival in Cape Town (1.16) provides an example of work being done by cultural practitioners to provide relevant research on interculturalism where little exists. The draft provincial Arts, Culture and Heritage Policy proposes the development of a research unit within the Department of Cultural Affairs, recognising the paucity of research in the area of policy as well as in the area of impact in respect to culture.[43]

The role of the media is critical in linking the work of the state, the private sector and civil society. They can inspire, inform and spark responsible debate. When this is done well, as in the One City Many Cultures Initiative (see case study 1.29) or the *Sunday Time* Heritage Project (case study 1.37), the media can make a difference to cultural dynamics in the city.

Local business and the international sector also have a significant role to play in energising the city. Business has begun to increase its sponsorships and corporate responsibility budgets in a number of areas, and has become increasingly sophisticated about its branding needs. Organisations like Business Arts South Africa (BASA) and international agencies play less of a role in directly funding culture in the city than in the apartheid past, yet a significant shift to funding cultural exchange has taken place. Usually support is given to visiting artists from their home countries. This kind of exchange is vital because, besides bringing new ideas and new practices into the city, a new energy is infused into the South African landscape with each visit. Unfortunately, South African support for efforts to export its own culture is not very high and occurs sporadically.

In order to fully realise the potential embedded in Cape Town's cultural ecology, these critical challenges need to be addressed with a sense of urgency. It is crucial to find, support and connect locally relevant cultural resources in ways that provide possibilities for progressive urban social change.

[43] Contextually specific indicators that signal success play a critical role in ensuring that cultural policy and strategies are effectively developed and monitored. There is often 'confusion about what indicators are and how they should be used … lack of quality data … [unwieldy] frameworks … [vague] policy objectives', often relating to difficulties in sharing and coordination with respect to cultural indicator developments, which raise questions about '"multiplicity of work" and "differences in approaches"' (Pascual 2006:28). The LPCD project recommends that cultural indicators be examined at an early stage of policy work and need to be refined through extensive ongoing engagement, monitoring and research. Various approaches to mapping the cultural sector have been attempted internationally that look not just at economic factors or geographic placement of facilities and heritage sites, but also at such issues as social and trust networks, and indigenous resources. These provide useful material for policy and strategy development, and suggest the value of adopting similar but locally specific approaches in Cape Town.

10) Principles to Guide Recommendations: Intercultural Practices and Urban Connectivities

The previous sections surfaced several challenges stemming from current gaps in policy and strategy for cultural diversity at national, provincial and local government levels. On the basis of this assessment, this section distils a number of principles that fall into two broad inter-related categories: intercultural practices and urban connectivities.

A) Intercultural practices, which address a culturally diverse city, need to be promoted throughout Cape Town:

- **A city that recognises its diversity on all levels** – not just along ethnic or problematic racial lines – **is a stronger city**. If Cape Town is able to draw issues of culture (values, practices and institutions) into addressing its deep polarities, it will be able to address a number of the critical economic, social and environmental challenges it faces.
- **Social capital development needs to promote ideas of interculturalism**. The extension of the notion of fostering social cohesiveness is needed. This should include plans for developing tools for individuals to enable the building of a culture of openness. Individuals would thus be capacitated to forge greater connections across the boundaries that exist within the city. Extending the notion of social capital calls for greater public debate and engagement around global notions of cultural diversity and the idea of an intercultural city.
- **Local cultural resources are key to understanding and unlocking the potential of culture in urban transformation.** Further research needs to take place on local cultural resources in Cape Town - values, practices and institutions that form the bedrock of the cultural ecosystem. Understanding role models and intercultural innovators in the local cultural ecosystem, in particular understanding those working to develop a more open society, using dynamic, locally relevant intercultural practices is proposed as a significant way to learn about the city.[44]
- **Local development work needs to be informed by locally relevant best-practice models of training and education in intercultural methods**. Those passionate about making a difference throughout the neighbourhoods of the city, those who show leadership and those already in positions of leadership or who are engaging daily with diverse communities - government officials, teachers, students, religious leaders, cultural practitioners, development workers and key individuals in local companies - need to be exposed to locally contextualised methods that foster an intercultural society.
- **Opportunities for all citizens to interact with each other more and to engage in intercultural activities need to be fostered by strengthening the presence of relevant spaces in the city** (events, projects, programmes, and venues). These should include opportunities for people to 'brush shoulders' - to simply be in each other's company - and for spaces to be created where people can meet each other and interact. More importantly, projects are needed that enable diverse people to work together. It is largely within such projects that people really get to understand difference, and where real change happens.[45]
- **Practices that cross boundaries and borders need to be promoted**. Creative practices, working with the symbolic and including a myriad of public art practices, allow people to engage with society and city in ways that cross their usual boundaries of communication. Mindful that symbolic forms also create their own communication boundaries, creative practitioners and artists themselves need assistance to extend their capacities to produce relevant and ongoing interventions. Simple, small, people-to-people projects are

[44] At least 80 per cent of all respondents in the study recommended focusing on local cultural innovators or role models as a central change strategy.

[45] Again, at least 80 per cent of all respondents made the point that focusing on getting people to meet or brush shoulders is necessary. At least half the respondents called for project-related work (more especially sustained project work) as a way to bring about more significant changes.

most necessary, while at the same time there is room and necessity for a greater number of more 'audacious', high-level public projects that surprise and get people talking and debating.

- **Sustained and ongoing engagement is critical**, rather than once-off projects. Once-off initiatives are better than nothing, but they do not have the impact of a longer-term approach. It is essential to consider and engage with the bigger picture of a city, which we hold in stewardship for future generations, and institute projects and processes accordingly.

- **As future leaders of society, youth need to be targeted.** Adequate resources need to be allocated to projects that target youth, starting at pre-school and continuing into tertiary education. Sustained after-hours activities that provide relevant and interesting programming for youth are needed, as are projects that connect youth across diverse communities.[46]

B) **Urban connectivities:** In a divided city the building of connectivities across cultural boundaries and between people is critical.

- **Infrastructure is vital to facilitate urban connectivities**. An effective and affordable public transport system would offer everyone the opportunity to reach different parts of the city, while cheaper and more effective telecommunications and internet bandwidth are essential. Access to computers is essential for individuals and groupings to connect locally, nationally and globally.

- **Local citizens are the most important resource to bridge divides and value 'others'.** While physical and digital infrastructures for a more connected city are critical, they are not the be-all and end-all in African cities, where people act in many ways as the 'infrastructure' of urban social and economic networks (Simone 2004). Most critical is the need to inspire a positive mindset change amongst people that enables them to hold a more open world view. People need to be enabled to see the value in really knowing and understanding others who are different to themselves, whether in terms of class, race, gender and/or disability. Equally, they need to see and experience more aspects of the city around them, in ways that will ensure a more culturally inquisitive society.

- **Progressive networks engaging with cultural diversity and the intercultural city play an important role in overcoming cultural boundaries**. It is through connected individuals working in concert that all parts of the city can be reached. These include formal volunteer networks and organisations, but also boards of non-profit organisations, sports clubs and neighbourhood development committees. A broad and diverse range of connected networks needs to be fostered to enable a web of mutually supportive change processes to come into being.

- **Convivial gathering spaces in nodes throughout the city are essential for connecting people and local communities/neighbourhoods**. These include good open public space and venues. Public space should accommodate a diverse range of everyday activities, while facilities need to be secure, equipped, extremely well-managed and marketed. Spaces need to be developed that can play both generic and specific functions – we need theatres, galleries, and cinemas as much as we need multi-purpose centres.

[46] All respondents, without fail, made the comment that youth-related initiatives are the most critical and necessary part of a change strategy.

These spaces need to address the popular interests of people as well as create opportunities for them to experience new things. There is a role for commercial and business interests and the media to partner with the state in providing and making such facilities available and sustainable. Better inter-governmental relations are needed to connect the extensive existing web of state facilities and make it more productive for urban transformation.[47]

[47] At least 80 per cent of respondents concurred with the view that there is a need for convivial spaces to be created.

11) Six Critical Areas of Consideration

In order to begin to address the policy and strategy gaps in respect to cultural diversity, this study suggests that at least six key areas need to be considered:

1. **Research**: Ways must be provided to produce relevant, contextually and historically situated research about the city, its peoples and their practices, values and institutions. In particular, research and the promotion of relevant role models are needed, as is the mapping of various other forms of cultural resources.

2. **Building institutional capacity**: There is a need to find ways in which the cultural resource capacity within the city can be unlocked and used to engage with its intercultural reality. This includes addressing the challenges in the current systems of funding and financing innovation and change, supporting role models, easing blockages in the current institutions whose task it is to create an enabling environment in the area of their mandate, and creating dynamic new and relevant institutions that can make a difference.

3. **Education and training**: Strategies and methods must be proposed for the development of relevant and sustained education and training in intercultural practices. Such training should be provided to youth, teachers, development and cultural workers, religious leaders, and relevant individuals in government.

4. **Spaces for cultural expression and engagement**: A spatial understanding of the city in terms of culture is vital. Ways need to be found to enable geographically strategic spaces in the city to receive the kind of development attention that promotes conviviality and interaction amongst citizens. In addition, ways need to be found in which formal and informal initiatives that would play a part in activating such spaces can be supported.

5. **Building, strengthening and sustaining networks**: Networks and other similar civil society initiatives need to be supported and enhanced and the individuals within them capacitated and validated. Networks need to work as a web that connects spaces, relevant research, institutions and educational opportunities.

6. **Marketing**: Relevant role models and good local practice need to be promoted. Those projects making a difference to the city need to be known, acknowledged and celebrated. The notion of culture (and not simply art or entertainment) as an integral part of societal and spatial transformation needs to be marketed, especially to key policy makers and government officials.

Based on the principles and key areas requiring strategic consideration, the next section presents a set of immediate recommendations. The final section of the document proposes three new interventions aimed at kick-starting the kinds of changes needed in the city. These are offered as possibilities for addressing some of the challenges highlighted in this report.

12) Key Short-term Recommendations

12.1 Hasten the completion of policy reviews: A public process has developed an excellent draft provincial policy for arts, culture and heritage. An extensive process did the same at a city level a number of years back, but has been shelved during the restructuring process. It is important that the adoption of the draft culture and heritage policy for the PGWC be hastened and that a new cultural framework/policy/plan for the city be brought into being as a matter of urgency, drawing on the strengths of the earlier process and involving relevant stakeholders. Moreover, it is proposed that critical attention be given to implementation of such policies by learning how to better mobilise local cultural resources (such as those embedded in the current creative industries sector).

12.2 Address barriers to the development of a more vibrant creative industries sector, by means of urgent interventions which should include:

12.2.1 an events strategy that takes account of the needs of the creative industries sector and in particular looks to strengthen the key major events currently staged in the city; development of this strategy must include all relevant stakeholders;

12.2.2 beginning to address the need for specialised venues and creative industry clusters by responding to proposals from the creative sector for significant public facilities (such as the Good Hope Centre, Bellville Civic Theatre and Athlone Power Station) to be utilised more effectively in concert with private and/or non-profit entities;

12.2.3 researching methods of providing better opportunities to grow innovation locally, through incentive financing and marketing of local creative producers;

12.2.4 supporting young people to enter the creative industries sector by providing relevant school-based education in the creative industries. In particular, the plans for arts and culture schools need to be better resourced, relevant partnerships need to be fostered and the plans rolled out with greater vigour in ways that acknowledge the broader needs in neighbourhoods for convivial spaces;

12.2.5 addressing the need for ongoing relevant research on the creative industries sector in the city in ways that can convince policy makers, government, business and the media of the importance of culture in our economy and thereby increase investment in this sector;

12.2.6 making a stronger connection between tourism and the arts, heritage and creative industries, so that these may benefit from and add more value to the economy.

12.3 Engage in a more extensive research and mapping process that enables:

12.3.1 an audit of policies that touch on cultural diversity within different departments of government, with a view to developing more coordinated intergovernmental and civil society strategies and programmes;

12.3.2 an audit of democratic civic, volunteer-driven projects, community development programmes and social capital development initiatives in the city, with a view to addressing ways of animating these through supportive networks and programmes;

12.3.3 an audit of local projects and role models engaging with intercultural practices, with a view to providing greater support, acknowledgement and engagement. This report provides an initial set of case studies which can be used to kick-start such a process.

12.3.4 an audit of training and educational programmes in interculturalism in government, the education system, companies and civil society with a view to introducing and enhancing training opportunities;

12.3.5 an audit of migrancy (from within and outside South Africa) into the city with a view to introducing policies and strategies that adopt a more positive and productive perspective on new inhabitants of the city.

12.4 Develop a spatial framework for cultural diversity that addresses ways in which spaces, nodes and clusters can be better enabled to support a more intercultural and interactive city:

12.4.1 Critical to this is an audit of state-owned and -managed venues and open spaces (controlled by provincial and city government) throughout Cape Town, with a view to eventually developing a strategy for creating sustainable convivial spaces for interaction.

12.4.2 An evaluation of the types of neighbourhood revitalisation projects which have taken place in Cape Town is proposed. This should look at models of neighbourhood revitalisation projects elsewhere, develop a network in Cape Town that engages with this important group of cities, and consider new urban settlements in the light of culture. Such an evaluation should involve community groups, urban professionals and relevant government bodies. A long-term vision should be charted for revitalising neighbourhoods and enhancing new urban settlements.

Networks only really have an impact when they have a place.

Interview

As a way of kick-starting a 'cultural diversity momentum', this discussion document concludes by making three recommendations for interventions which could promote intercultural practices and a more connected city. The proposed interventions cover three critical areas: financing, spaces, and education and development. These interventions could be brought into being through concerted intergovernmental engagement, working in concert with civil society. This would address the coordination failures that currently exist. These initiatives would in turn create the basis for the development of Cape Town as an intercultural city, and make the right to the city available to all its citizens.

... but no one funds cultural integration.

Interview

13.1. FINANCING CHANGE: A specialised funding and research unit on cultural diversity and the intercultural city

A specialised, city-based funding and research unit on cultural diversity and the intercultural city would provide an enabling mechanism to secure an environment of support, monitoring and development.

It is proposed that such a unit be:

- A formal partnership of local and provincial government, functioning separately at 'arm's length' from government structures, with a separate board and administered outside of the state bureaucracy. Secure long-term funding would be necessary to allow such a body to plan and work effectively. The partnership could include the academy, business, media and civil society. The academy could provide the research muscle. Business could be an additional financier. The media could play a critical role in promoting the projects supported.
- Learning from the experiences of various national funds created as top-down models, where more is spent on infrastructure and marketing than on programmes, we suggest a model that functions as a ground-up initiative. Such a fund would support strategic existing initiatives and the development of networks and partnerships. There is a range of extremely good initiatives in the field that could benefit from a fund that fosters both a clear focus on urban transformation as well as productive relationships. We propose that the partnerships suggested create their own network of concern, driven by the need to strengthen the cultural backbone of the city.
- With research as the core of the organisation, the unit could not only monitor its own efficacy but also be a barometer for cultural changes in the city.

This proposal suggests ways in which local cultural resources can, through financial support, be nurtured for their transformative possibilities.

13.2. FOSTERING CHANGE: An institute of interculturalism

The second proposal is for an institute which supports intercultural education and training, social entrepreneurship, voluntarism and networking.

People who can make a difference are critically needed in a culturally diverse city such as Cape Town. The need for a greater number of opportunities for general education and training around intercultural practices has been recognised, although it is acknowledged that there are numerous bodies providing important education and development functions.

- We recommend that an institute be developed that collates information on relevant intercultural education, training and development opportunities, markets these better, and addresses gaps wherever necessary, for example in regard to training in social entrepreneurship. Importantly, this initiative needs to be a reference point, connector and capacitator for concerned citizens wanting to make a difference. It is also critical that it link its capacitating work to ensuring that 'graduates' receive opportunities to gain practical experience.
- Networks of different kinds, and leaders (or potential leaders) in the city who could promote progressive urban change, need support. They need support in accessing relevant programmes and other networks, support to form or strengthen networks, and sometimes tailor-made programmes that fit their schedules. Programmes with content are needed to show how a difference can be made and how to operate as intercultural change agents. Sometimes (potential) leaders need to find the spaces in which their ideas, interests and concerns can connect in a responsible and sustained way with the needs and opportunities that exist in communities.
- Young people, students and schoolgoers would benefit from such an institute which would look at ways in which the education system, including teachers and student leaders, is capacitated to provide relevant programmes fostering cultural diversity, as part of the official timetable but also as extra-curricular programmes.
- An institute supporting intercultural education and training, social entrepreneurship, voluntarism and networking would not function as an end in itself. It would be a dynamic institution that would work with and support existing projects, programmes and institutions.

Such an institute would be a space in which citizens could make connection with a broad range of local cultural resources that are useful in the process of urban transformation for the intercultural city.

13.3. A PLACE FOR CHANGE: A high-profile cultural complex promoting the intercultural city

The third proposal relates to the creation of at least one high-profile, iconic, centrally located cultural centre/complex focused on promoting the notion of the intercultural city. This would be a place for chance meetings to take place, for projects, for exhibitions, for performance, for discussions and dialogues.

- Such an institution could be modelled in part on the Barcelona Centre for Contemporary Culture (CCCB) discussed in case study 2.2. The CCCB has a strong urban focus, runs programmes that cater for diverse cultural forms and has a strong youth-orientated programme. It is avowedly about the urban change happening in the city, and it has a strong progressive intellectual framework while at the same time addressing local audiences in popular and accessible ways. The CCCB is based in the centre of an urban regeneration programme in a once-depressed neighbourhood of Barcelona.
- A space such as this in Cape Town would need to be easily accessible from all parts of the city. It would ideally be neutrally situated, inviting and accessible to the diverse audiences of the city. It should be there first and foremost to service, at a high level, locals of all income groups. Such an environment will inevitably be attractive to tourists. A new cultural space such as this is long overdue. Since political transformation in 1994, very few new cultural spaces have been constructed in the city, the most significant being the Robben Island Museum (created by national government). There is a considerable gap in terms of quality exhibition space for transformative exhibitions useful for school children, and a lack of neutral spaces for indoor mass activities that are not designed to serve the key function of consumerism. Moreover, youth lack a space in which they can find relevant information that helps them to make sense of their increasingly complex, culturally diverse world, and to find ways of directing their energies together with others from backgrounds different to theirs.
- A centre such as the one proposed would need to be run along business lines, but that does not mean it should be anything other than unique, beautiful, life-affirming and accessible to all the citizens of the city. Symbolically a space such as the one we propose would have high currency. It would become an important piece of new infrastructure in the city and ensure that the concerns found in this research paper find at least some physical form wherein change can occur.
- To make a more specific proposal, the site of the Athlone Power Station may be an ideal location for a centre of this nature. The reasons for this are manifold: firstly, local government through its 'Future Cape Town' strategising process has identified the site as a potential 'special place' and as a cultural centre (see CCT 2006). It is placed centrally relative to a number of urban areas of various income levels. It is relatively close to public transport, along a main route. In addition it is an iconic and strategically placed building known to all. There are precedents around the world of such brownfield sites being used for cultural purposes. Clearly, this would not be a stand-alone project but would form a critical component of a web of cultural facilities and cultural forums around the city, providing necessary support and engagement with the broader city ecosystem.

Such a space would provide a means for profiling local cultural resources, a site where the diversity of Cape Town's cultural ecology can be accessed as knowledge, and where a diverse intercultural city can be fostered.

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Interviews

Focus Group: Cape Africa Platform

Sandile Banda (actor/filmmaker)

Zipho Bayile (artist)

Mwenya Kabwe (Theatre and Performance/MA student)

Cindy Poole (cultural worker)

Tamsin Relly (artist/student)

Zavick Botha (artist)

Focus Group: Isandla Institute

Councillor Siljeurs (City of Cape Town)

David Schmidt (City of Cape Town)

Bonita Bennet (District Six Museum)

Yasmine Colley (City of Cape Town)

One-on-one interviews

Andrew Boraine (Cape Town Partnership)

Josette Cole (Mandlovu Institute)

Delecia Forbes (Provincial Government of the Western Cape Department of Economic Development and Tourism)

Iain Harris (Coffee Beans Routes)

Valmont Layne (District Six Museum)

Rashid Lombard (ESP Africa)

Mandla Mbothwe (Magnet Theatre/UCT)

Trevor Mitchel (Creative Capsule)

Jean September (British Council)

Koketso Sichone (Heart FM/Out-the-Box Productions)

Melissa Steyn (iNCUDISA-UCT)

Cape Town Case Studies

1. Arts and Media Access Centre (AMAC): Holding the flame for community art and media
2. Big World Cinema: The film festival office
3. BLAC: A postcolonial networking initiative
4. Bush Radio: Community Radio. Broadcasting the People
5. Cape Africa Platform: City-wide and continent-wide networking.
6. Cape Film Commission: A successful special-purpose vehicle
7. The Cape Town International Jazz Festival
8. *Chimurenga*: Radical African publishing
9. Creative Cape Town and Goemarati: From partnership to precinct
10. Community arts centres in the Cape, then and now
11. Development Action Group and Rainbow Housing Cooperative
12. Different abilities: Remix Dance Company and From the Hip: Khulumakahle
13. The Dignified Places Programme: Remaking public space
14. The District Six Museum: Recalling community
15. Diverse sexualities: The Triangle Project
16. The Emzantsi Carnival and iNCUDISA: A qualitative research view
17. Free Lunch: Rethinking the communications industry
18. From township tourism to cultural tourism: Coffee Beans and Ishabi Rhythm Nation
19. Graffiti art: Re-designing space
20. A Home for All: Political will for recognising cultural diversity
21. Hip Hop in the Cape: Positive youth culture
22. The Kaapse Klopse Karnaval and Western Cape Street Bands Association: A new wave
23. The Khoi Khollektif: Recalling a Khoi Identity
24. The Lwandle Migrant Museum: An experience of black marginalisation
25. The Mandlovu Development Institute: Being integrally part of change
26. Magnet Theatre Company and Trust: Performing identities
27. The Memory Project: A network for healing through memory
28. Monkey Biz and Cape Craft and Design Institute: Taking Cape crafts to another level
29. One City Many Cultures: From media campaign to festival
30. Prestwich Place and slavery in the Cape
31. Proudly Manenberg
32. Public art and public space: Cascoland and Public Eye
33. The redevelopment of District Six
34. The South African Cultural Observatory: A quantitative research view
35. The Spier Africa Centre: A space for connecting African cultural production
36. Stepping Stones: Children's power
37. The *Sunday Times* Heritage Project
38. The University of the Western Cape (UWC) History Department: The politics of heritage
39. Vakalisa: Really taking art to the community
40. The Young Designers Emporium (YDE): Diversity on the racks

Case Studies from Elsewhere

41. Culture and urban regeneration in Johannesburg
42. Rethinking the city through culture: The Centre for Contemporary Culture of Barcelona
43. A place for carnival: Pelourinho in Salvador-Bahia (Brazil)
44. InSite: Border art – San Diego/Tijuana USA
45. The space to imagine: Doual'art in Cameroon

1. Arts and Media Access Centre (AMAC): Holding the flame for community art and media

The Arts and Media Access Centre is an amalgamation of two NGOs which stem from the same source. The Community Arts Project (CAP) was established in 1977 following initial work of two years to find a space where people of different cultural and ethnic backgrounds could connect through the arts. Initially it functioned as a community centre with a wide range of music, literary, film, performing and visual arts programmes, as well as other activities such as yoga and public dialogues. It eventually became a school dealing with visual and performing arts and children's arts, and a division dealing with media and communications which trained classes of students while providing a range of services and programmes for surrounding communities. CAP Media was formed after artists working with CAP had travelled to Gaborone in 1982 to attend the Culture and Resistance Symposium and Festival. The influence of the Medu Collective, a group of exiled South African artists based in Botswana, and ideas drawn from international developments and thinking around community arts and community media, led to a number of influential workshops being held about the role of culture in communication and social change. Artists associated with CAP returned and set up the highly significant Screenprinting Workshop which later became CAP Media – a fully fledged media unit which provided T-shirts, banners, posters, pamphlets and the like, servicing the mass democratic movement. Youth, trade unionists, women's groups, advice office workers and other activists attended courses at CAP Media to learn how to make community media, and used the project as a resource for producing the materials used in mass rallies and funerals that would be filmed by international news agencies, and would aid the success of the international struggle against apartheid. After apartheid, CAP struggled to reconcile the two areas of arts and media work in a complex new funding environment, and Mediaworks broke away from the organisation as a specialised school of media production training.

In 1998 the organisations were again reunited and the Arts and Media Access Centre (AMAC) was formed. Its goals are:

- To create access to skills development and employment opportunities in the media, visual and performing arts for previously disadvantaged Individuals.
- To build the capacity of NGOs to use media and art as instruments for social change.
- To provide citizens with access to the arts and media as a means of personal fulfilment and to promote citizen participation in community and public life.
- To promote media and cultural diversity through support to emerging community media and arts organisations throughout the Northern, Western and Eastern Cape.
- To advocate, lobby and network within the arts and media sectors for a more equitable distribution of resources and to contribute to the transformation of the creative sectors through active engagement with policy development Initiatives.

It achieves these goals by providing courses accredited with the national education and training authorities across the media and arts disciplines, at adult basic education and training (ABET), further education and training (FET) and higher education (HE) levels. In addition it provides a range of support services in regard to education and production: pre- and post-training support through organisational and individual development; further training referrals; job/internship placements and career counselling; access to production facilities; and professional mentorship to enable media and arts production and distribution to lead to income generation. It also offers professional creative services with a strong black empowerment profile, including a design studio, a youth newspaper, issue-based theatre productions and public art projects.

As a space which has served the sector across professional organisations and communities, and has supported the work of artists and those interested in communicating messages, it is a vital institution in the city.

www.amac.org.za

2. Big World Cinema: The film festival office

Big World Cinema, established in 1994, produces fiction, documentaries, commercial and music videos. As part of its activities it has established a film festival office. Today it runs the Encounters Documentary Film Festival (now in its ninth year), which is the only documentary film festival in the country. In addition to the festival itself, there is a laboratory for emerging documentary filmmakers and the festival assists with co-productions. Having started in Cape Town, it now operates in three cities across the country (and plans to extend its operations to Maputo). It is heavily supported by the European Union as part of the EU's commitment to work on diversity. In addition, Big World manages the World Cinema Festival component of the annual Sithengi Film Market as well as the Out In Africa – Gay and Lesbian Film Festival.

http://www.bigworld.co.za

http://www.encounters.co.za

http://www.oia.co.za

3. BLAC: A postcolonial networking initiative

Between 1998 and 2004, an initiative was begun to provide a space for black cultural practitioners ('black' as broadly defined by the South African black consciousness tradition) to build a discourse around transformation in the city, drawing on hidden histories and experiences of those marginalised by apartheid. In particular it looked to support those cultural practitioners who were feeling marginalised in the creative/cultural industries sector, as a result of alternative ideas and visions that stemmed from different experiences not understood by a 'white mainstream'. The project ran with regular discussion forums, regular projects and a website to disseminate ideas. Over time it connected a range of cultural practitioners who did not, in many cases, know of each other's experiences or who were isolated in their practice. It was run as a short-term art project rather than a formal network. The composition of the group includes artists (from poets to playwrights, film makers to fashion designers, amongst others), academics, journalists and heritage workers. Interestingly, it was before its time in terms of the debate on affirmative action and black economic empowerment. Its earlier debates were related to a process of healing. Later projects included two significant public art projects: Returning the Gaze (using the media – billboards, posters and websites) to make comments about race and power issues in the city; and Liberating Zones, which sought to reconnect with the positive aspects of the liberation movement of the 1980s from a cultural perspective. These activities, as well as the regular discussions, were all available online for further engagement.

4. Bush Radio: Community radio. Broadcasting the people

Bush Radio was the first community radio station in South Africa licensed under the new Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA, now ICASA) after 1994. It was originally a project, CASET, which ostensibly promoted and produced tapes for the blind, but the content of its tapes

was often banned anti-apartheid material not available in other formats, and was thus utilised by a broad range of individuals and organisations. Later, still during the days of apartheid, the organisation transformed itself into a pirate radio station and then fought to be recognised as a community radio station, playing a role in the fight for the rights of community media. Today it is one of the country's successful community radio stations. With beginnings that included a strong engagement with communities, it has remained a project with a high visibility and a relatively high listenership. It supports local culture and runs youth development projects related to media and to HIV/Aids, and trains young presenters on an ongoing basis while running relevant and progressive programming. Amongst its projects has been a highly successful literacy and poetry development project for young people called Alkhemy. Its dynamic attitude to community radio and the city makes it a significant institution and a force to be reckoned with in terms of community media.

www.bushradio.co.za

5. Cape Africa Platform: City-wide and continent-wide networking

The Cape Africa Platform (CAPE) has sought to initiate a visual arts biennial, alternating with a conference that brings together arts practitioners, policy makers and the public. The central aim of the project is to connect those involved in the creation and production of cutting-edge contemporary art and culture in Africa locally, nationally and internationally (focusing on the diaspora). It seeks to host the biennial as an off-season event, boosting city tourism in the autumn and spring periods.

CAPE's project has been an ambitious one, with both successes and failures recorded so far. Its first public event was the Sessions eKapa conference of 2005, which succeeded in hosting a number of prominent South African, African and international artists, curators and thinkers at the Cape Town International Convention Centre. Yet the conference was marked as much by antagonism and in-fighting as by continental and international networking – if anything, a symptom of the fractured nature of the visual arts community in Cape Town and nationally.

Several major questions about social networking arose from the experience of the conference which invite further thought: 1) How are fractured racial relations to be healed? 2) How is it possible to network with African artists when South African artists are preoccupied with national and regional issues? One of the most interesting things to emerge was the seeming disjuncture between the interests and experiences of South African and other African artists. 3) How does the African diaspora, particularly in the United States, figure in the discourse of African networking? Many influential artists and curators are based in America or Europe, yet there is some apparent debate about who qualifies as 'African'.

The biennial exhibition, postponed from September 2006 to March/April 2007 because of delays in procuring funding, was nonetheless deemed a success. It took place despite funds not being completely available; and it got young people involved and got people talking. Its success was in no small part due to interesting efforts at networking and connecting artists which took place through smaller-scale, less ambitious interventions such as the Mini-Sessions and Multimediations arts awareness programme.

Multimediations has brought together young city-based artists and art students from a range of backgrounds. Over much of 2006 they attended workshops and performances once a week, and used the time to conceptualise and produce their own conceptual, performance or public art pieces a number of which formed part of the 2007 biennial.

www.capeafrica.org

6. Cape Film Commission: A successful special-purpose vehicle

The Cape Film Commission (CFC) was formed in 2001, as a special-purpose vehicle to represent the interests of the City of Cape Town (CCT) and the Western Cape Provincial Government (PGWC) relating to the film and television production industry. At that point it was very clear that the sector was not receiving the attention it deserved, considering the vast revenues being brought into the province as a consequence of the Western Cape being seen as a good location for film shoots and offering excellent production facilities. The CFC acts as an advocate for the industry, with a primary aim of promoting the Western Cape as a globally competitive destination for film and television production, thus boosting its share of the world market to five per cent. This will have a spin-off effect on the tourism and support industries.

The CFC facilitates on-location filming in the region, and works closely with the CCT Film Permit Office (CTFPO) in order to provide a 'one-stop shop' for obtaining the relevant permits from local government departments, as well as information about visas, rates and other required details. An important role of the CFC is to liaise between, and act as an ombudsman for, the film production industry, residents and businesses of the local community, and government. It strives to resolve grievances before they become major problems, and to build support in the local community for film production activities.

Another important role of the CFC is to promote transformation and equitable access in the sector. A subcommittee of the CFC, the Transformation Group, has been developing a Film Charter for transformation and a black economic empowerment scorecard.

Although the CFC does not provide any funding itself, it does provide information about funding opportunities. In 2004, the CFC obtained R1,5 million for a fund for historically disadvantaged filmmakers, but after consultation with filmmakers it was decided that this money should instead be used to bolster the National Film and Video Fund's funding resources. The CFC still seeks to establish a fund of this nature (Tuomi 2005:38). It also runs programmes that encourage meaningful neighbourhood participation in location filming.

The CFC is a highly successful body. Its work has increased the number of shooting days in Cape Town by 88 per cent and the number of commercials produced in the city by 70 per cent.[48] In 2006 its projects included sending a marketing delegation to the Cannes Lions Awards; developing the iKapa Youth Film Festival in Nyanga, which screened films by young local filmmakers; and the Hollywood Heart project, in which Hollywood professionals work with children living with HIV/AIDS to produce a film.

www.capefilmcommission.co.za

7. The Cape Town International Jazz Festival

The Cape Town International Jazz Festival is a commercially driven event in Cape Town which attracts crowds of over 32 000 people annually, and brings considerable revenue into the city. As a cultural initiative with a tourism element it brings large numbers of people into the city centre

[48] Mpahlaza B. 2006. Oral presentation at the Cape Africa Platform mini-session on the creative industries, 11 December

and has a major impact on the economy of the city. Two days of international and local acts on five stages cover a broad range of music for a diverse crowd, who come from around the country as well as from the city itself. Besides offering the obvious benefits of both the established and fresh acts that are around, the Jazz Festival has an important development focus for musicians and audiences. An annual music conference on music industry issues, a photographic gallery and a community festival are some of the ways in which the Festival is reaching broader audiences and supporting the development of musicians and a music culture. Each year important African musicians are profiled, while fresh South African acts are given a high-level platform. Moreover, the initiative is a major success in terms of cultural diversity and one of its key aims is to ensure an intercultural experience for all those who attend.

http://www.capetownjazzfest.com

8. *Chimurenga*: Radical African publishing

Chimurenga, a publication of arts, culture and politics from and about Africa and its diasporas, has been in print since March 2002. *Chimurenga* publishes the work of writers of fiction and non-fiction, poets, scholars, and journalists. According to its website, it has been 'lauded for its originality, the quality of its content and its willingness to tackle subjects other publications might consider too difficult or controversial to address'. Founded and edited by writer and DJ Ntone Edjabe, it has 'strong Pan African ambitions and reflects the pluri-lingual fabric of the continent. Both the title (a Shona, Zimbabwe, word loosely translated as "liberation struggle") and the content capture the connection between African cultures and politics on the continent and beyond'. It exists because the 'the mainstream media, particularly market-driven newspapers and magazines, [increasingly] have either no or very little space for serious engagement in debate and discourse around contemporary or historical issues confronting our societies. Such issues, more often than not neglected by commercially oriented media, are highlighted in *Chimurenga*. In the space of eight issues, this self-funded and advertising-free publication has established itself as one of South Africa's leading magazines of writing and ideas. Between the covers, readers encounter texts, photographs and art on themes ranging from "bantu education" and Fela Kuti's reading habits, to running commentaries on "coloured" consciousness, xenophobia and the brutal global police system.' A free, bi-monthly online issue titled Chimurenga Online was launched in November 2002 and is a highly visited site for its wealth of material.

www.chimurenga.co.za

9. Creative Cape Town and Goemarati: From partnership to precinct

Creative Cape Town is a project of the Cape Town Partnership (CTP). The CTP is a public-private partnership between the CCT and business organisations located in the city centre, developed at a time when the city was going through a crisis with declining business presence and high vacancy levels of buildings.

Creative Cape Town is a new strategy that focuses on enlivening the city centre through culture, focusing on the economy, social inclusion and the development of public spaces.

It draws on ideas of culture and urban regeneration, as well as on cultural precinct developments that have been taking place globally in the last twenty years. These are usually city strategies for enhancing the competitiveness of cities by promoting civic identity, enhancing social cohesiveness and creating economic opportunities related to culture.

The Creative Cape Town project draws on several principles to imagine a cultural precinct in the central city's eastern section: a) the importance of memory and history for building civic pride and identity; b) building the creative industries and cultural tourism in the area; c) developing public space and infrastructure for the creative industries – such as improving squares, making proposals for using public buildings for cultural purposes, and ensuring that creative industry players connect with relevant partners in establishing their projects in the city; and d) ensuring that citizens are made aware of the cultural opportunities in the city – a form of audience development – through marketing culture in the city and promoting events.

A key indicator for success of the project is a more peopled city. In addition to traditionally understood cultural initiatives, this could occur through the provision of low-cost housing, through the improvement of the urban fabric so as to increase the attractiveness of city living, or through events and improved marketing of the city as a place to be in. Other focus areas of the CTP include increasing tourism, security, public transport and pedestrianisation, which it hopes to connect with its cultural strategy.

The project has commenced by focusing on key public spaces. Among these are: squares such as Church Square, which has already been identified as a slave heritage site and has been transformed from a parking lot into a public square, working with the Goemarati project (see below); a city council-supported business plan for the development of the City Hall as a public resource; the establishment of a reference group consisting of creative industry specialists; and plans for a regular forum of creative industry specialists. In addition it has supported such events as the Design Indaba, the Cape Town International Jazz Festival, the Cape Town International Book Fair and the Cape Town Marathon through partnerships with organisers of these events.

Goemarati is an interesting aspect of the strategy and focuses on supporting local cultural resources. It is a partnership with the PGWC. Goemarati attempts to make use of goema – the musical rhythm at the heart of the carnival and one of the city's unique cultural resources – as a way to engage emerging (at this stage) musical groups in recognising the importance of the local element in their sound. It aims to promote products emerging out of local bands that produce their music independently, by providing a mobile distribution outlet for the music and hosting regular concerts in public space. These concerts take place in public spaces in the city centre and in marginalised areas, thereby connecting town and township. This is a strategic aspect of the project's work which may be extended to focus on supporting creative industries in Cape Town more generally.

www.creativecapetown.net

www.capetownpartnership.co.za

www.goemarati.co.za

10. Community arts centres in the Cape, then and now

Community arts projects operated throughout the country during the 1980s in response to apartheid and the lack of arts education spaces for black people. One example was Cape Town's Community Arts Project, a centre founded in 1977 (see case study 1.1). Many centres like it operated without government funding and were supported by international donor networks. It has been argued that the rise of community arts centres in the 1970s was a response to the Black Consciousness Movement's emphasis on 'education … of blacks by blacks for blacks' (Van Robbroeck 2004:45), although in reality a number were staffed and often led by white individu-

als. Many of the centres established in this period were more overtly politicised than arts centres such as those at Polly Street and Rorke's Drift, and were managed by members of the communities they served.

The rise of community arts centres was fed by a resolution taken at the 1982 Culture and Resistance Conference in Gaborone, that those who had skills or access to resources should become involved in or start organisations in their communities to counteract intellectual underdevelopment (Davis 2004:24). From this resolution was born the CAP Media Project, which focused on silk-screening political posters and T-shirts. But after 1994, the need for clandestine activist art was at an end. In 1996 the CAP Media Project became Media Works, which was devoted to digital technology. Media Works and CAP merged to become AMAC.

The National Arts Initiative and ANC Desk of Arts and Culture favoured the creation of community arts centres in the 1990s. Yet, as Naren Sewpaul writes, it was only in 2003 that the national Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) developed a Logical Policy Framework for Community Arts Centres (Sewpaul 2004:37). The Culture in Community programme had been established in the DAC's Chief Directorate: Cultural Development, to build or refurbish 41 community arts centres; R50 million was made available for such centres, but government funding did not necessarily go to existing independent community arts centres. At the same time, foreign funding was being channelled through the government's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) office, meaning that many independent centres faced closure (Hagg 2004:54).

One of the critical factors in the failure of RDP community arts centres has been the dislocation between competencies and responsibilities of different spheres of government. Culture is a provincial responsibility in terms of Schedule 5A of the Constitution; provinces can assign responsibility to a municipality in terms of s 156(1) of the Constitution, and in terms of s 156(4) must do so if the matter is most effectively administered at the local level and the municipality has the capacity to administer it. What has happened in the case of community arts centres is what Gerard Hagg calls 'devolution by stealth': responsibility for keeping the centres functional has been left to municipalities, without funding being provided to enable municipalities to keep them functional (Hagg 2004:58). Hagg recommends institutionalisation of intergovernmental relationships: in other words, 'an increase in institutionalisation and formalisation of relationships, which would result in an alignment of objectives, strategies, budgets and programmes' (Hagg 2004:59).

DAC has collaborated with the Flemish government since 2002 on a research and development project aimed at making South African community arts centres more sustainable (this has also resulted in artist exchanges and twinning of South African and Flemish centres). Successful community arts centres are run in Flanders, where a small, concentrated population and the economic boom of the 1960s resulted in many well-run centres. Joseph Gaylard identifies part of the success of the Flemish community arts centres as a result of a comprehensive policy and legislative framework, which 'sets [community and cultural centres] within a national strategic framework of cultural development, while also firmly locating them as locally owned and managed infrastructure'. Thus, the centres are 'meaningfully located within the more general environment of needs, assets, institutions and organisations that exist at a local level' (Gaylard 2004:70).

DAC's Community in Culture programme aspired to provide a similar framework, with funding coming from the national sphere of government, and support from local and provincial government. But often local and provincial support failed to emerge, through a failure to put in place human capacity. Gaylard identifies much of this failure as a result of lack of competency on the part of local government with regard to cultural matters. In addition, it is politically easy to build centres, yet what needs to go hand-in-hand with this is the creation of capacity and buy-in from local practitioners, in order to prevent the construction of buildings which then go unused or end up being used for purposes other than their intended cultural function (Gaylard 2004:72–74). A critical lesson from the Flanders experience was that community arts centres failed largely because of lack of understanding of what such centres can do, and a resultant lack of political will on the part of municipal leaders. As a result the project attempts to take the political leaders of cities to successful centres around Flanders to show them the potential that centres such as these have for contributing to community development.

In 2003 a Federation of Community Arts Centres was formed, and the Western Cape was the first province to launch its own branch (Falken 2004:4). Yet, to date, no substantive solutions have been found for the mistakes made, nor has significant support been given to the historically significant centres and NGOs that had not received funding. AMAC, for example, has no ongoing secure funding, rents its space at commercial rates, and despite more than 30 years of accumulated experience in the field of community arts and its central role in assisting the establishment of the Federation of Community Arts Centres, still has no direct ongoing and sustained relationship with the DAC, nor ongoing local or provincial support.

On the other hand the two community centres supported by the RDP programme in the Western Cape – Guga S'thebe in Langa and the District Six Museum – are the most successful of the centres it supports. The District Six Museum was one of a few existing projects supported by the programme and has been able to leverage support for the museum as a community space and tourism attraction to build its profile (see case study 1.14). Guga S'thebe, a beautifully designed structure, has weak management, poor vision and poor community engagement. It may be more successful than other centres because it is at least functional, but it is a shadow of what it could be and is largely disconnected from the local community. While its staff are employed by the local authority there is little in the way of research, evaluation and training that contextualises the centre within the Langa community and gives it focus. Simultaneously multi-purpose centres are being built, usually by provincial authorities with little or no engagement with the lessons learnt from the fraught RDP Community Centres programme, or of subsequent studies that evaluated it.

11. Development Action Group and Rainbow Housing Cooperative

The Development Action Group (DAG) is a non-profit organisation which has focused on urban development and housing since 1986. It is a national body that works throughout South Africa to fight poverty and promote integrated urban environments. It uses community-based development frameworks to foster social cohesion and to strengthen citizenship and democracy. It places a high emphasis on partnerships. Amongst its services are its support for a community-based organisation (CBO) network and CBO leadership, its support for a non-governmental network, and ongoing work on issues of identity and social inclusion, and informal settlement upgrading. It promotes participatory, integrated, municipality-wide, long-term planning; advocates the development of sustainable, well-located, mixed-income, medium-density housing; and lobbies for mechanisms that allow greater value to be realised from land and property in order to fund urban development in the interests of the poor.

Although it has worked in numerous projects and with numerous communities, its work with the Rainbow Housing Co-operative in Sea Point highlights an important area of its work related to diversity. The Rainbow Housing Co-operative is a group of domestic workers in the wealthy Atlantic seaboard area who currently reside with their employers and are concerned about their long-term security, as they depend on their employers for accommodation. In their search for affordable social housing the workers established the Rainbow Housing Cooperative and plan to access housing for rental or ownership close to their places of work. The group has lobbied the provincial government, parliamentarians and the local authority for support. Many workers around Cape Town experience the same problem of having to endure long and expensive commutes from poor, under-serviced dormitory areas to wealthy parts of the city to work. By working with the Co-operative, DAG is providing an important resource for a specific-interest community to strengthen its position, and thereby open up the space for other less-organised groupings (such as security guards, administrative staff and other lower-paid office workers) to begin to lobby for similar opportunities that create a more accessible and diverse city.

www.dag.org.za

12. Different abilities: Remix Dance Company and From the Hip: Khulumakahle

Remix Dance Project is a contemporary dance initiative that brings together performers with and without physical disabilities. It was founded in 2000 and in 2005 became a full-time professional company. According to its website, it is interested in 'exploring dance that values the honesty of the body and then surprisingly twists these tales and stories in space to create dance performances of unusual and outstanding perspective'. In its pursuit of this goal it focuses on two aspects of dance development, education programmes for adults and children and teacher training programmes in integrated dance, as well as on its own performances.

It partners with other performance groups to bring in skills in physical theatre, mime, puppetry and voice work that can broaden its performance style, and has for some years been a company-in-residence at the Centre for African Studies at the University of Cape Town. It describes its vision as a 'level playing field'.

From the Hip: Khulumakahle (or FTH:K) describes itself as a young, funky, Deaf/hearing integrated theatre company. Its key focus is on access to theatre training for the Deaf community and it hopes to open South Africa's first Deaf and hearing Integrated Theatre Training Centre in Cape Town. In its manifesto it states that one of its key functions is to combine recognising its members' 'role as story-tellers onstage, [with] the need to tell relevant stories originating from our country and her mix of cultures. Our role demands us to observe and interact with life in South Africa and then discover exciting and accessible ways to relate these stories theatrically.'

Both companies show the power and potential of people with a diversity of body abilities and styles of work to make a difference, by communicating with the broader community and raising awareness of differences and commonalities.

http://www.remixdanceproject.co.za/

http://www.fthk.co.za

13. The Dignified Places Programme: Remaking public space

Dignified Places (DP) is a programme of the Spatial Design Department of the City of Cape Town and is aimed at promoting 'dignity' in the public realm, with a particular focus on poor and disadvantaged parts of the city, to allow for spaces where 'people can meet and gather or just sit in a place that is as attractive and comfortable as any well made, positive place in the city' (Southworth 2002:125). The programme focuses on 'structurally significant places where people spend a lot of time', which include transport hubs, community facilities and places of symbolic significance, as well as 'places which have the potential to integrate the city, promote accessibility or establish a new positive sense of place' (Southworth 2002:125). The idea arose from a notion of minimalist and humanist urbanism which is strongly urban-design driven. Certain key overarching needs and principles govern decision-making in this regard; these include concerns for balance, a minimalist approach to urban design that promotes freedom of choice for citizens in the urban environment, equitable access to the resources and opportunities of the city, and spatial features that support complexity, integration, and community. The DP programme sees itself as having been successful in its upgrades of the physical environment, and as some surveys show, people do feel that the developments bring a palpable sense of dignity to their local areas. However, a criticism in respect of the programme's challenges which is acknowledged by its main driver, Barbara Southworth, relates to the existing 'culture of city development' within local government structures: the difficulties of working in an integrated manner within the city depend on willingness to bridge 'planning and operational silos which do not typically integrate' and to recognise the need for a dedicated project 'maintenance budget and integrated operational task team' (Southworth 2002:130).

14. The District Six Museum: Recalling community

The District Six Museum had its origins in the struggle for District Six, an area in central Cape Town that had suffered forced removals of all its inhabitants as part of the apartheid government's group areas policy. It was formed out of a historic community-based conference that brought together academics, community leaders, artists and others to discuss the Hands Off District Six campaign of 1987/8, which was fighting to prevent the area being redeveloped by white commercial interests. The conference proposed two important initiatives for the area: a museum and a memorial park. The land that has remained after the destruction of the original buildings, and construction of the Technikon (now University of Technology) complex, is empty (in itself a monument of sorts). The museum, which was formed in 1992, was initially planned as a movable concept that would interrogate notions of heritage; it is today an important institution in the city. It opened in its current space (a site at the end of District Six which abuts the central city area) in 1994, with what was then called the *Streets* Exhibition, and which has now metamorphosed into *Digging Deeper*. The poetic and painterly nature of the museum display, the inscriptions by community members onto the fabric of the museum, and its role in working with the District Six Beneficiary Trust to ensure that restitution takes place for many of the ex-residents, makes it a unique and heartwarming presence in the city. It is an example of an institution that has the potential to change the city through remembering the past in productive new ways. It draws on memory as a way of healing and reconstructing, not just by focusing on the story of forced removals in District Six itself but by reflecting the struggles at all forced-removal sites in the city and the country. By remembering the spirit of resistance and commitment to rebuilding community, it uses the past as a means to inspire the present.

Now, with the inclusion of a second building that promises to be a community centre for the returning former residents, and with the museum becoming an important tourist site visited by scores of international visitors daily, fresh challenges arise. The challenge of being both community- and tourism-focused has not been an easy one to address. Also challenging to the museum as a heritage institution is its specific relationship to land that is in the process of being slowly redeveloped. In rebuilding community, the museum has engaged with a number of processes and pioneered an engagement with intangible histories. Its important role in the research conducted on the history of the area has also supported the documentation of Cape Town's indigenous music and performance traditions, such as *langarm* dance band music and Cape jazz. Its sound archive, the first in the country, is an important resource for histories of performance, music, and culture generally. In addition, a focus on collecting oral histories has benefited both the museum's archives and the restitution processes. This focus sets the museum apart from institutions that simply focus on tangible heritage such as artefacts. Its unique engagement with culture has seen important interventions, such as the District Six Public Sculpture Project and the Re-imagining Carnival project, which have attempted to take the notion of heritage into creative spaces. A focus on youth, and on community engagement generally, means that the museum has a commitment to change that happens from the ground up. Its vision of itself as an institution that uses the memory of those disposed to healing the city has seen success, with its core initial audience being the very same community whose history it aimed to represent and who have been an integral part of its development. This makes the museum unique, one of the few that has a working class constituency.

This conversation with a community who hold the memory of its now destroyed neighbourhood sacred, the museum's strident independence and its principled belief in a city without race, makes it an institution that has considerable potential for transforming the city.

www.districtsix.co.za

15. Diverse sexualities: The Triangle Project

This unique organisation focuses on supporting the needs of people of diverse sexualities – lesbian, gay, bisexual and transsexual (LGBT) – and places the development of a non-discriminatory society at the centre of its vision, one where organisations such as Triangle Project 'are a choice and not a necessity'. It aims to 'contribute towards eradicating discrimination against and within the LGBT community, and to provide defined services to the LGBT community until they are no longer required'. It provides a specialised health service, counselling, and a 24-hour helpline, conducts research on a range of issues, and provides media and material based on its findings. It also holds regular events and informal get-togethers, and has a library at its headquarters which is open as a 'drop-in centre'.

www.triangle.org.za

16. The Emzantsi Carnival and iNCUDISA: A qualitative research view

Emzantsi Carnival is a street carnival in the South Peninsula community (Ocean View, Masiphumelele and Noordhoek) run by Sam Pearce, Alvin Castro and Rodney Ndyalvan. The carnival brings together musicians and performers, community organisations, youth and residents from the area in an attempt to bridge communities that are otherwise separated by their racialised identities and apartheid town planning.

The carnival was started by Sam Pearce as part of a research project, and in response to a call for quantitative information about intercultural activity made at a Department of Arts and Culture conference.

The research project, which is housed at the Intercultural and Diversity Studies Unit of Southern Africa (iNCUDISA) at the University of Cape Town (UCT), attempts to measure changes in relationships between and within communities that are a result of cultural interventions such as the carnival. The research project empowers youth within communities by equipping them to conduct some of the research, for example by distributing and filling out questionnaires.

iNCUDISA is a project based in the Department of Sociology at UCT. It conducts and publishes research that 'aims to build capacity to meet the challenges of diverse societies through research and education. In addition to an interdisciplinary MPhil in Diversity Studies, offered through the Department of Sociology, iNCUDISA from time to time offers short courses on topics related to diversity, organises conferences and symposia, and publishes relevant research. iNCUDISA provides an interface between academia and practice in social transformation interventions, which aim to further social justice and deepen democracy. It collaborates with the Graduate School of Arts and Science, New York University, in developing the field of Diversity Studies, and offers limited scholarships for study exchange.' As probably the only research institute of its kind dealing with intercultural projects in South Africa, it is a unique institution in the city.

www.incudisa.uct.za

17. Free Lunch: Rethinking the communications industry

Free Lunch is the brainchild of a cutting-edge communications company, Lunch, based in Cape Town. Dealing with edgy and underground artists, more often than not black in the broad sense, in an 'untransformed' communications sector where entrance to the industry can be costly and difficult, Lunch set up Free Lunch as a platform for young entrants into the sector. It aims to connect the streetwise knowledge of young Cape Flats designers and style entrepreneurs with an industry dominated by middle class 'heads'. Whether the experiment pans out is yet to be seen, but the gap and resultant exclusion effect it addresses is a real one. Understanding the sector offers Lunch an advantage in beginning to bridge that gap in an industry where the bottom line is … the bottom line and no more.

www.lunch.co.za

18. From township tourism to cultural tourism: Coffee Beans and Ishabi Rhythm Nation

The Cape Flats Tourism Framework was launched by the PGWC's Department of Economic Development and Tourism in December 2005, with the objective of mainstreaming tourism in the economically depressed area of the Cape Flats, and ensuring that the area benefits from Cape Town's tourism boom. The Framework focuses on the development of nodes, such as Athlone-Langa, Woodstock-Salt River and Lookout Hill. It proposes that Athlone-Langa should be the first nodal development, with the establishment of an interpretive memory centre, a slave site route, music tours, a sports museum at the Athlone Stadium, and a cultural centre within the area of Athlone and Langa.

Township tourism has formed a large part of Cape Town's tourism industry in recent years, drawing an estimated 25 per cent of visitors to the city. Yet this market has often been exploited

by traditional tour operators, with little attention paid to how communities can really benefit from the visits. In addition, the notion of township tours has been criticised for setting up communities as zoos to be visited, often by international visitors riding luxury coaches, and usually focusing on impoverished black areas.

Coffee Beans serves as a good example of an initiative that has begun to unlock the tourism potential and resources of the Cape Flats in ways that are sustainable and developmental. It runs several tours in township areas that enable visitors to socialise with township residents in communal settings, and focuses on building relationships between visitors and residents.

A tour of the Kalkfontein township takes visitors to the house of a poet of Khoi descent to enjoy music, traditional food and stories from the community. Another tour, the Cape Town Jazz Safari, was launched by the Coffee Beans company in 2005 in order to give visitors access to Cape Town's vibrant jazz scene and some of its most influential musicians. The four-hour tour takes visitors into musicians' homes to hear stories, eat traditional food, and listen to intimate recitals. The tour typically ends with a visit to a jam session at a township jazz club.

These tours serve not only to benefit communities financially, but also to transform their histories and contemporary images by allowing musicians and poets from the communities to tell their stories in a creative setting. Township tourism has the capacity to perpetuate myths and preconceptions about township life and the identities created by apartheid laws and policy; on the other hand it has the potential to change the terms upon which the township is encountered.

Another example is the Ishabi Rhythm Nation, a collaboration between four township tour operators and music producers that seeks to establish music tourism routes that cross the old apartheid boundaries, bringing together the music traditions of Cape Town's Afrikaans-speaking and Xhosa-speaking communities.

There is a degree of creativity involved in such a project, since these are traditions that haven't mixed in the past because of historic divides. Yet there are great opportunities for diversity as well as for economic return in a tourism model that does not simply show what exists in the townships, but seeks to transform it.

www.coffeebeans.co.za

19. Graffiti art: Re-designing space

The massive graffiti art piece placed on the blank side of an old low-income housing cluster at the top of the former District Six is painted in rich shades of ochre. It depicts a large figure of a woman balancing a TV set, with children and homes from old District Six in the background. It is a lively piece, visible from Eastern Boulevard, one of the main highways linking the central city to the rest of the peninsula, and is a contemporary response to a mural further down the valley painted by Peggy Delport in the 1980s, and also focused on District Six. The new piece was made in a collaboration of graffiti artists from around the city and from the UK, and complements an exhibition on graffiti produced by the British Council at the District Six Museum. Besides offering a large and visible response to an area that is being developed, the piece exhibits a new aesthetic language and means of reaching people. It is a designed approach that also has legs as a business opportunity, as Falco and Faith, two of the designers involved in the project, know well. Falco has been involved in a number of commissions around the city, painting numerous murals about history, memory, the city and social transformation. His design business is thriving, and he is changing perceptions about design, art and graffiti while making a positive contribution to the landscape. So too is Faith, whose work also features in galleries and who is an active collaborator with Falco. The design projects they are involved in require great technical skill, a consideration of place and a keen sense of history and of the contemporary. They redesign corners and walls as 'haunted cities' in many different ways, responding poetically to the city. Their connection with the British Council on a project like this is no co-incidence. The Council is heavily involved in initiatives relating to cultural diversity, the creative industries and youth, and engaging in this way with graffiti art is a perfect way for it to address a number of issues of concern.

20. A Home for All: Political will to recognise cultural diversity

Launched on 16 December 2004 (the Day of Reconciliation) amid a star-studded jazz concert and in line with President Thabo Mbeki's call for social cohesion, the Home for All campaign was created as a programme to 'transcend our provincial faultlines of racism, sexism, classism and urban bias' (Rasool 2004).

The programme included provincial honours being awarded to individuals who were perceived to have shown dedication and tenacious investment in building the province, including the likes of former presidents Nelson Mandela and FW De Klerk, Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak, Zackie Achmat, Dr Abdullah Abdurahman, Colin Eglin, Phillip Kgosana and Oscar Mpetha. At the same time the Home For All logo was launched.

The campaign provided a call for, and vision of, the acceptance of the cultural diversity of the province, underlined by a social justice agenda. Premier Ebrahim Rasool articulated this vision in his State of the Province Address: 'A Home for All implies many things. Shelter, security, safety, comfort, warmth, welcome, justice, belonging, community and peace. To work for a Home for All implies that currently we do not provide these qualities to every member of our Provincial family'.

The Home for All campaign press statement recognised the province as the 'least integrated province in the country. While this government acknowledges that the consequences of apartheid cannot disappear overnight, the vision of a Home for All is a bold step towards uniting the people of this province. The message entailed in this vision is Coloureds, Blacks and Whites need not fear each other. That differences and diversity need not be divisive. That while we build a united province, there is room for individuals to be themselves.' It recognised that the key concerns raised by the issue of diversity relate to an acceptance of differences of class, gender, age, religion, culture, language, ethnicity, geography or sexual orientation.

'We must acknowledge and confess today that the diversity of the people in our Province has resulted in them suffering peculiar crises of identity and belonging during this time of necessary change and growth. As we have built our South African home with a steady eye on the light of tomorrow, too many in our Province have observed these birth pangs from a comfortable distance with fear and mistrust while others yearned for recognition and opportunity from the outskirts,' said Premier Rasool.

Bolstered by an advertising campaign that centred on the notion of 'I am seen. I am heard. I am', and was aimed at challenging 'classist and racist beliefs … [t]he initial advertising campaign [seeks not to] threaten, accuse or alienate but instead embrace and reflect; giving ordinary people, in all their multi-textured aspects, permission to be themselves. The advertising is therefore a collection of "reflective surfaces" – canvases upon which we are all mirrored.'

While the campaign and the ongoing usage of the term Home for All and its logo are evident in the provincial government's print and electronic materials, the inability to turn a lofty ideal into a reality has been clear. However, one programme led by the communications company that developed the initial brief is a successful schools programme with principals along the Klipfontein Corridor (a commuter route stretching through some of the residential areas on the Cape Flats). Suggestions have been made to build the campaign into a broader programme of cultural action.

The deep divisions both between political parties at the provincial government level and within the provincial ANC itself have threatened to make the call for a 'Home for All' meaningless, despite its concern to address critical issues facing the province. However, it is a notion still in use and one which offers some interesting possibilities for future engagement.

21. Hip Hop in the Cape: Positive youth culture

When Die Brasse Vannie Kaap (Homies from the Cape) burst onto the local and national music circuit in the mid-1990s, doing hip hop in *gam taal* (a local patois version of Afrikaans) and with a distinctly Cape Flats attitude, they were building on the considerable work of a community of hip hoppers who had existed since the 1980s and who were following international trends in music, fashion and attitude. Two groups in particular, Prophets of the City and Black Noise, had had a considerable influence on the city. The former (containing members of Brasse Vannie Kaap) was the first group to begin rapping in Afrikaans and honing a distinctly local Cape attitude, while Black Noise initially performed in the mould of American hip hoppers, right down to the American accents. Black Noise, still in existence today, would eventually 'indigenise' its performance, and would continue a campaign of building and empowering local youth by performing in schools and hosting a regular Hip Hop Indaba that provides a space for young performers – rappers, beat boxes, graffiti artists and break dancers – to perform, meet and hold workshops.

While hip hop has reached its peak internationally and throughout South Africa in the last few years, becoming increasingly misogynistic and violent, hip hop in the Cape has remained on the edge of a positive energy linked to a clean youth-oriented agenda. A collective including Angolan-born rapper Jamayka Poston, Black Noise and Swedish Rappers produced a song called 'Heal the Hood', which was a call for peace on the violence-ridden Cape Flats. The energy of hip hop on the Cape Flats, and the influence of local conditions, is evident in an angry '*gam taal*' rap by local artist Devious, whose 'Ignorance' made an impact on the Cape Flats before the rapper met an untimely death while attempting to come to the assistance of his father who was being robbed. Today the flag of positive hip hop is being carried by artists such as Jitsvinger, and a whole new attitude towards hip hop, style and Cape Town is emerging.

22. The Kaapse Klopse Karnaval and Western Cape Street Bands Association: A new wave

Although the procession of Cape Minstrels (or Klopse or 'Coons') through the city has been taking place since the emancipation of the slaves, the first organised carnival competition was held at Green Point Track in 1908. Since then the carnival has evolved into a tradition that also gave birth to goema music, which has been a major influence on the development of Cape jazz, and which also boosted the careers of artists such as Taliep Petersen, Abdullah Ibrahim and Jonathan Butler and provided the training ground for countless other musicians.

Recent studies (e.g. Martin 1999) show that the carnival has in the past been a far more active part of the lives of the citizens as a whole, even though its chief participants (as is the case today) have been working class and 'coloured'. The findings further show that the carnival is an important part of community life, offering opportunities for neighbourhood pride, community and youth development as well as local economic empowerment. Moreover the carnival reaches more then 20 000 participants and has an extensive audience and support base. With weekly carnival practice sessions in each (usually working class coloured) community every Sunday from September through to the New Year, and a large, often home-based industry that churns out the outfits needed, there are huge opportunities to engage with development at a neighbourhood level.

However there are considerable downsides to the carnival. Its growth is stunted by territorialism between rival carnival boards, the influence of gangsterism on its work, drug use by many participants, a lack of managerial and/or entrepreneurial skills, high levels of poverty amongst the participating communities which prevents its growth, and lack of political will on the part of government to support the carnival, except insofar as it is narrowly viewed as a tourism opportunity for the city. Missing is consideration at the political level of the impact that the carnival could have on the communities it most affects, and their deep-rooted involvement in it. Attempts at quick fixes when financial or other crises arise annually shortly before the event have become the norm, and the carnival is a hot potato for the public sector and financiers alike.

Attempts at addressing the problems and building on the opportunities presented by the carnival have been futile, lacking both dynamic political engagement and clear research that identifies the cultural economy of the carnival and its impact on the city's overall social capital. There is also little research on and awareness of the dynamics of carnival music production, and thus little sense of what kinds of intervention would be appropriate.

One body formally incorporated in 2005, the Western Cape Street Bands Association (WCSBA), sets its mandate to focus on youth development and providing options for a renewed carnival. Established by Melvyn Matthews, the Chairman of the Kaapse Klopse Karnaval Association, the WCSBA formally represents over 30 youth street bands from historically disadvantaged areas on the Cape Flats. Each street band forms the musical engine of a carnival troupe during carnival season at the end of the year. During the rest of the year each band is a vehicle for youth music education and skills development. A band's membership typically comprises 40–60 youth under the age of 21. The Board has set as an aim the broadening of the scope of the carnival, influencing the way it is seen and influencing more people from other racialised communities to participate.

One of the major obstacles to extending the reach of these youth bands is difficulty in obtaining finance for instruments and professional tuition. Funders are typically scared off, since carnival organisations have been and still are funded by and supported by prominent gangsters, and there has as yet been no substantial change in the perception that the carnival is no more than a celebration of a particular grouping in the city. Finally, the Kaapse Klopse Karnaval Association, which supports the WCSBA, is seen as just one of three rival carnival boards. Thus the WCSBA's claim to provide a complete strategy for using the carnival for community development is often a contested one, and its legitimacy as a representative of future directions for the carnival in Cape Town is often questioned.

The possibilities of engaging with the carnival as a cultural resource are strong, however, and while attempts by community leaders to initiate reforms are laudable, it is necessary for political

will from both provincial and local government to manifest itself via efforts to engage jointly on the matter. More importantly, considerable research is needed to increase understanding of the carnival as a cultural resource, and to examine its potential for recasting the city.

23. The Khoi Khollektif: Recalling a Khoi identity

The Khoi Khollektif is a loose music group whose core members are the poet Jethro Louw, on vocals and percussion; Loit Sôls, also a poet, singer and guitar player; and Les Javan, singer and guitar player. Based in Kalkfontein, an informal settlement outside Cape Town, Jethro also calls himself Tanneman !Xam, reclaiming an identity as a person of Khoi descent. Sauls, too, has reclaimed his Khoi identity and has been involved in the goema network as a project to reclaim a Khoi heritage through creative means. The Coffee Beans website says of the band, 'When they perform together, somehow we are brought to see the past more clearly, because we understand the future. And so we fill in some of the missing links. We find our common wealth.' Using creative means, the Khoi Khollektif taps into Khoi rhythms and an imaginary past to reconstruct and interrogate a fractured identity.

www.coffeebeans.co.za

24. The Lwandle Migrant Museum: An experience of black marginalisation

The active attempt by colonial powers to create mechanisms to prevent black African people, especially Xhosa-speakers from the Eastern Cape, from entering the Cape Peninsula, has left its legacy on the city and its people. Pass laws, influx control and forced removals, such as the first removal by black people from District Six in 1912 under the guise of slum clearances and fears of smallpox, mean that many 'black Africans' feel unwanted in the city. Many Xhosa-speakers are still based in 'townships' at the periphery of the city, and were only allowed limited residential tenure when Langa was established in the early 20th century. The Lwandle Migrant Museum eloquently captures the history of marginalised African workers, as an independent museum in a small neighbourhood on the far periphery of the city. Based in the now defunct hostels of male migrant workers who were allowed into the city for only short periods and lived in poor conditions, the museum captures an untold and unspoken history, and is one of the few local spaces speaking of the history of exclusion of black people from the heart of the city.

25. The Mandlovu Development Institute: Being integrally part of change

The Mandlovu Development Institute, a non-profit organisation, describes itself as focused on using development skills and knowledge for implementing 'innovative, integrated, and sustainable, community development initiatives and strategies that palpably contribute to the eradication of poverty, social renewal and healing of individuals and communities in a post conflict, transitional context'. According to its media, the project has 'four broad inter-linked activity areas: Community Development, Poverty Alleviation and Healing: the design, facilitation, implementation and mentorship/support of community-based or, linked, development initiatives, projects, programmes and activities; Education and Capacity Building for Community Development: the formation and mentorship of new layers/ re-trained community development activists and practitioners'. A key part of its work is its Memory, Documentation and Research (UVIMBA) programme. Here it works to capture, hold and share the 'memories, knowledge and experience of community organisation and development over time making our contribution towards the development of a broader community development "archive" as part of the National Heritage … The Mandlovu approach to community development is based on a core assumption: that for community development work to be relevant and sustainable in a post-apartheid context, it needs to inspire, empower and be authentically grounded in the living and lingering memories, experience and culture of local citizens.' A key pilot project in this respect has been 'an urban regeneration initiative in New Crossroads where Mandlovu incrementally integrated elements of memory (history), healing (reconciliation) and cultural celebration into its design and practice' (Mandlovu 2006). Working with residents of the neighbourhood of New Crossroads, a number of projects and spaces have been designed to connect past and present realities as a way to engage with contemporary development needs.

26. Magnet Theatre Company and Trust: Performing identities

This small theatre company started twenty years ago in Johannesburg as a vehicle for a husband-and-wife team, director Mark Fleischman and actor Jenny Reznek. In recent years the company, which has strong links with the UCT performing arts faculty, has been forging groundbreaking physical theatre works in the country and in the city. It runs a regular performance programme featuring both indoor productions and site-specific works. Over the last few years, work on memory has seen it engage in the story of forced removals (using District Six as an inspiration) with the production *Onnest'bo,* as well as stories on slavery (*Cargo*) and those based on the Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd archive on /Xam language of the Cape (*Rain in a Dead Man's Footprints* and *The Sun, the Moon and the Knife*). An interest in carnival and community has permeated a number of the company's recent projects including *Onnest'bo*, the millennium project *VLAM* (which had a very large cast including young children from the area), and an ongoing project which engages learners in the small town of Clanwilliam. The latter project includes archaeology, education, art and drama, and is aimed at returning the heritage of the Clanwilliam area to the community. Every year a story drawn from the original people of the area is turned into a carnival, and a set of light sculptures is built and carried through the streets of Clanwilliam by a group of young people who enact the story together with performers. This and a number of other Magnet projects have been undertaken in partnership with the Jazzart Dance Theatre Company, an important contemporary dance company in the city with a unique training programme. Magnet's own educational project is the Community Groups Intervention (CGI), which has been operating in Khayelitsha since 2002. The project mentors eleven already-existing drama groups from that community to develop their performance and playmaking, leadership, management, marketing and networking skills, and assists in counselling the groups. The project culminates annually in a performance day and a discussion with the community in Khayelitsha. In addition, as a commitment to cross-cultural dialogue and taking forward a number of ideas relating to memory and identity, Magnet is participating in the Common Plants research project in collaboration with the lead project, York University in Toronto. This project links artists and school learners in Iqaluit in Arctic Canada with their peers in Cape Town. These linkages occur through workshops and a website which becomes a virtual garden in which participants 'plant' their creative ideas and thoughts.

www.magnettheatre.co.za

www.jazzart.co.za

27. The Memory Project: A network for healing through memory

The Memory Project is an alternative approach to memorialisation. It is a network of memory initiatives around Cape Town aimed at healing the city through dialogue and projects related to memory. It started as a project of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR), an NGO established to promote reconciliation, transitional justice and democratic nation-building in Africa by means of research, analysis and selective intervention.

The IJR states that it 'seeks to understand the causes of conflict and promote understanding in the resolution of conflict. It provides situational analysis, it builds capacity, and it produces resources for social transformation and development.' Amongst the Institute's three main programmes is a programme on Reconciliation and Reconstruction, which includes is an explicit focus on Memory, Art and Healing alongside two other focus clusters, Building an Inclusive Society and Education for Reconciliation. By working with various art genres to share the memories expressed in the folktales, stories and songs of marginalised communities, the project strives to create, record, and empower the expression of memory. It affords people the opportunity to tell their stories, undertake the work of exploring memory and craft a common future as a form of reconciliation and empowerment.

The Memory Project, based in the city of Cape Town, acknowledges the impact of apartheid and colonialism: 'Cape Town's public spaces do not reflect the experiences of the range of communities that live here. The dominant memorials and architecture tell the story of British and Dutch life at the Cape. How will the experiences of other communities become part of the public life of the city? How do we memorialise the commitment to establish a non-racial democracy, reminding ourselves and future generations of the values so many fought for?'

The Memory Project was started by bringing together a range of memory initiatives from around the city between 2003 and 2006 to consider the possibilities for collective action, leading to collective healing. Simultaneously, carefully engaging with the mayor of the City of Cape Town and the premier of the province at a time when there were regional political tensions within the ruling party, the project managed to build high-level support among a group of committed individuals representing various memory initiatives working in the city. Taking place at a time when the city was attempting to introduce new memorials to the struggle against apartheid, often with little engagement with those affected, the project hoped to introduce an approach which took cognisance of memorialisation as a process of healing as much as a collection of physical monuments.

A successful memory exhibition mapped the various initiatives working in the city, and two forums brought together a range of individuals and organisations that pledged support for the project. The energy created by the process showed the possibilities of bringing together and working with a broad range of institutions and individuals around a common vision of healing through memory. However this energy was short-lived; promised support from the city government did not materialise and prevented the project from delivering on its promises, leading to a loss of the momentum generated by the initial goodwill and enthusiasm. This was a severe setback in a sphere where debate has not yet acknowledged the need to engage with civil society in a structured manner about the impact of symbolism on the human spirit. The Memory Project nonetheless continues to exist as a network pursuing its work, despite funding difficulties, while engaging civil society in discussion. It is currently working with the Cape Town Marathon, a heritage marathon that connects town and township as runners walk and run through sites of heritage importance.

www.ijr.org.za

28. Monkey Biz and the Cape Craft and Design Institute: Taking Cape crafts to another level

In a locally produced documentary on the craft company Monkey Biz, the company describes its ambition to become 'bigger than Barbie'. It is already exporting its goods to fashionable stores around the USA, and its output in South Africa itself is vast. Monkey Biz developed when two white ceramic artists realised the commercial potential of good design linked to a market-driven strategy, and found partners in black women in townships to produce the craft items to be marketed. By providing beads and workshopping with the women ideas or requests for specific types of goods for specific markets – for example a series of giraffes as conference gifts, or a special badge (based on the traditional Zulu love letter) for an AIDS conference – Monkey Biz has been able to connect business and crafters in a dynamic enterprise. While the company has its own shop in the city centre, it functions by allowing women to work in their homes at their own pace, close to family life. In this way income is generated on an ongoing basis for those who have some skill but have faced difficulties in creating markets and meeting their needs. At the same time, their skill is improved through connection with a broader network of crafters and through engagement with the market.

Monkey Biz is one of the participants in the network of craft initiatives supported by the Cape Crafts and Design Institute – a special-purpose vehicle supported by the PGWC and the Cape Peninsula University of Technology. The Institute was set up in 2001 to promote and grow craft as an economic sector in the Western Cape, and has done so in innovative and exciting ways through projects such as Gift; the Fab Lab; Business Mentoring and others. It holds regular meetings with the crafts sector through network forums.

www.monkeybiz.co.za

www.capecraftanddesign.org.za

29. One City Many Cultures: From media campaign to festival

In late 1998, following a spate of bombings in the city that started with the bombing of Planet Hollywood at the V&A Waterfront, tensions in the city that centred around intolerance to difference exploded in the media. Much of the negative commentary was directed at the Muslim community, as a result of the alleged involvement of the Muslim-dominated vigilante group PAGAD in the attacks. Ryland Fisher, the editor of the *Cape Times* (a major daily newspaper in the Independent Newspapers stable) began an extensive editorial campaign entitled One City Many Cultures that focused on the diversity of the city. The campaign was underpinned by daily supplements in the newspaper which examined the diverse groupings within the city. Religious identity played a significant role in the ways in which diversity was understood, but the campaign also examined other forms of diversity, including subaltern groupings such as bikers and youth groups. At the end of the campaign in September 1999 the *Cape Times*, in partnership with the CCT, established an annual arts and heritage festival for the city entitled at the time the One City Festival. In 2000 the festival was repeated over the Heritage Day weekend, under the banner *Celebrating Difference*, utilising the language of diversity practices current at the time. From 2002 the festival moved to a summer period (in March, at the time of Human Rights Day), and changed its name to the Cape Town Festival in recognition of the change in partnership which saw the *Cape Times* become one of a number of media sponsors. Besides hosting events in parts of the central city recognised as the most neutral sites, as well as in historically charged areas of the city, the festival also took place in community centres around the city, and began its In Touch programme. This programme, still in operation today, was initially conceived as a series

of festivals in neighbourhoods that recognised the difficulty of transport and the need to establish local audience bases. Significant in its earlier days was the festival's use of public space, including the Grand Parade and the Castle, and its emphasis on site-specific projects such as Voices in Transit at the Cape Town Station (looking at migrant populations from Africa) and PTO, a project by Public Eye which temporarily modified public monuments (see case study 1.32). Today the festival is more commercially oriented, and its conscious emphasis on diversity is less marked; however it is still a popular local festival which offers opportunities to community cultural practitioners in particular, as well as placing a high level of emphasis on performance in theatres.

www.capetownfestival.co.za

30. Prestwich Place and slavery in the Cape

Slavery has in recent years received growing international interest. The recognition of the importance of the story of slavery at the Cape (1658–1838), and its impact on the city over these 200 years, has seen a number of developments that respond to this aspect of the city's history. These include the renaming of Iziko Museums' South African Cultural History Museum as The Slave Lodge to recognise the centrality of that building's history as a site of oppression and brutality; a civic-led action to remember the site of the Slave Tree at the edge of Church Square; the beginnings of extensive academic research; greater emphasis in school curricula on slavery; and the creation of performance pieces which reflect on slavery or on experiences resulting from it (such as *Ghoema* in 2005–2006 and *Cargo* in 2007). Nonetheless, there is a strong feeling that slavery has not received the proper recognition due to it, and this was clearly articulated in 2004 when the bones of 700 people, many of whom were most probably slaves, were discovered in a site being excavated for a high-end development in Prestwich Place, on the edge of the City Bowl. The resulting conflicts between a civic action group trying to prevent development of the site, the developer's demands for his rights and archaeologists' interest in the bones brought a number of critical issues to the surface relating to nationalism and regional identities, ethics, ownership, recognition and respect. A compromise was reached to develop a site for the re-internment of the bones in the nearby St Andrew's Square, where an ossuary and interpretation centre are being constructed.

31. Proudly Manenberg

Proudly Manenberg was started in 2005 by former learners, educators and activists in the poor neighbourhood of Manenberg, one of the many residential dormitories on the Cape Flats without proper social and infrastructural services, created in terms of the Group Areas policy of segregation of the city's residents into racialised townships. It is an area now wracked by drugs and gangsterism. The originators of Proudly Manenberg were responding to the social and economic crisis in that community, which was precipitated by the fatal stabbing of a learner, Cheslyn Jones, by gang members outside the Manenberg High School. In the words of the provincial education minister, Cameron Dugmore, in a PGWC legislature debate in May 2006, the killing of the learner was recognised as being symptomatic of the 'general malaise within the community that is affected by high rates of unemployment, high levels of violence, gangsterism and the low morale of educators due to stressful working conditions. The social ills in the community had a direct impact on the schools. A few years ago gangs used schools as scenes for their operations, fought over the schools as parts of their "territory", and in fact recruited members – with a number of juvenile or feeder gangs operating in the township. Schools were becoming havens for drugs, movement and storage of guns and were effectively terrorised.'

The community began to engage constructively with the gangs and persuade them to limit their activities and behaviour; other strategies were also implemented, for example a ban on drugs (including cigarettes) in schools in Manenberg. In a bid to rid themselves of the stigma that is associated with Manenberg, a campaign was started by means of which they aimed to restore the family values and morals of the community; create better economic, social and education opportunities for local youth; return schools to the learners, teachers and parents; make the schools conducive to learning; and stabilise the immediate community against crime and gangsterism. Achieving these aims is difficult in a context where unemployment figures are around 50 per cent. As a result, there is a commitment by the government to creating an economic hub in Manenberg, to stimulate skills development in the area as well as support a range of local programmes. The community has also begun to reach out to areas directly outside Manenberg looking at addressing their own issues of diversity.

32. Public art and public space: Cascoland and Public Eye

Cascoland was an innovative collaboration between Dutch and South African artists/architects/designers and residents of New Crossroads, Cape Town. The project also took place in Johannesburg (in the inner city). In Cape Town it worked with Public Eye, in conjunction with the Mandlovu Development Institute (see case study 1.25). During a four-week high-energy laboratory, running from 1 February–2 March 2006, a series of interventions explored the public spaces of New Crossroads, through exploration of techniques, local materials, initiatives, skills and talents, informed by an engagement with the community of New Crossroads. Actions and structures emanated from the Mayenzeke centre and between Lansdowne Rd and Koornhof Street. These mobilised people to participate in the shaping of their public space. From 3–12 March Cascoland opened to the general public, and hosted a programme of activities. Alongside the constructed objects were a restaurant, a film festival, a radio studio, music and dance, and visitors were able to book a night in a specially adapted bed-and-breakfast establishment. In addition there were games and a range of activities for young and old.

Cascoland defines its objectives as 'an imaginative engagement with the realities and challenges of living in urban and township environments, working with the specific context, skills and creative resources of people living in the different areas. This project intends to tap into diverse South African DIY articulations and materials, impacts and dynamics, drawing on research, exchange of techniques and expertise in a process of creative interaction and production, as well as facilitating and documenting dialogues around related issues, such as living conditions and health, the African metropolis and urban regeneration. Working in collaboration with selected artists and existing community structures, initiatives and craftspeople from New Crossroads, the artists were seen as analysts, intermediates, translators, designers and builders, working out of their own discipline, work method and experience.' They were sought in terms of 'an engagement and the ability to translate the information and emotions of the residents towards a shape/design that leaves room for collaboration or additions. A shape/design that invites and activates the residents. Not a solid, perfectly planned, but rather a dynamic shape. A shape that can be hooked onto, a carrier or a framework. We want residents not to be mere spectators, but participants at some level as well. We are not going to offer solutions to key needs in the community, but rather a collective process, without hierarchy, stimulating cross-disciplinary collaboration. The platform of our mobile village can put a spotlight on relevant issues for New

Crossroads, be an inspiration to residents and offer a different approach/technique to address issues from the known township cultural expressions.'

The project sought actively to engage not only communities but also professionals, managers and activists involved with housing and urban development issues, located both inside and outside of city administrations. It sought to raise awareness of urban development and housing issues among a broader public, drawn in through extensive publicity in the local press and media. A key element of the final project was a publication to promote the ideas and show the learnings of the project.

The partner in South Africa, Public Eye, is a non-profit (Section 21) company that has held a number of public space interventions working with place, memory, and community. It has run significant place-based projects, such as the PTO project held during the One City Festival 1999 which transformed colonial and apartheid memorials into contemporary messages and raised questions about monuments and memorialisation in Cape Town. An event focused on youth and emerging artists, *Softserve*, held regularly at the National Gallery and the Castle, has been extremely popular. A project in the Cape Town harbour as part of another Dutch initiative relating to harbours in Jakarta, Havana and Rotterdam, again enabled Cape Town artists to explore questions of memory, identity and place in a port city. Public Eye was created by a group of artist friends in 1999 with the lofty aim of remaking public art practice with great audacity in Cape Town. It initially functioned at high energy with important and exciting output, but the group imploded around 2004 and since then only works on occasional programmes. The difficulties of sustaining an infrastructure were critical to its collapse, but equally so was its inability to ground itself, as a collective with grand visions of public art practice, in the current arts environment. Its participation in the Cascoland Project was an important return to form, and the organisation plans to do only special programmes from now on.

http://cascoland.looze.net/2006/

http://www.cascoland.com/

www.public-eye.co.za

33. The redevelopment of District Six

District Six was an iconic neighbourhood near the centre of Cape Town that fell victim to the apartheid government's Group Areas policy. Its final destruction by 1982 sealed its near-mythic status, especially because of the impact it had made on the lives of more than 60 000 people who once lived there and are now spread over the Cape Flats. A series of campaigns to stop the destruction, and then to stop redevelopment of the area, started and fizzled out, until the successful Hands Off District Six (HODS) Campaign of 1987. The campaign effectively ensured that no developments would take place on the land. A conference in 1988 put in place the beginnings of what soon became the District Six Museum (see case study 1.14). A number of those involved in the campaign would later participate in the formation of the District Six Beneficiary Trust in the post-apartheid era. The land of District Six was handed over to the Trust for redevelopment for those who had been victims of the forced removals in the area.

Now, with large barren areas remaining, with the original street grid destroyed, most of the services now removed, and the Technikon (recently renamed the Cape Peninsula University of Technology, in line with a national restructuring programme for tertiary education institutions) taking up much of the central land area, there is still a considerable area that provides a virtual blank canvas as well as a massive set of challenges for accommodating the 2 000– 4 000 people who have indicated their intention to return. The land is strategically important; it is the biggest tract of undeveloped land close to the city and therefore very valuable. It also provides solutions for a city centre that is trying to become more sustainable and viable as a 24-hour city. Its future residents could play a role in changing the face of the city centre into one that is more representative of its diversity. It is not surprising, then, that the area grabs the attention of so many people.

A number of architects and urban planners, most notably those in the offices of Lucien le Grange and Nisa Mammon and Associates, have been involved on a voluntary basis in developing a spatial framework for the area, a vision for its future and the possible impacts it could have on the people of the city. A set of surveys of returnees, as well as the rich historical material about District Six, its built environment and its communities, provide the basis for this re-imagining of the city in terms of an iconic neighbourhood. Despite considerable obstacles, including successive changes in the political landscape of the city, difficulties in finding the funds to re-develop the neighbourhood, the cost of replacing key services infrastructure, and internal capacity issues within the District Six Beneficiary Trust, there is still an air of anticipation about the potential this strategic piece of land could hold for ensuring that the city becomes once again as diverse and dynamic as it was in the past. The role of architects and urban designers has been central in proposing a neighbourhood that draws from the sense of place that District Six once possessed. Their vision, combined with the needs and expectations of the returnees in a new time, for a future that could remake the city as a whole, has produced a space that is both challenging and relevant for the time.

34. The South African Cultural Observatory: A quantitative research view

The South African Cultural Observatory website was established in 2002, when the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) commissioned the Social Cohesion and Integration Programme of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) to assess the availability of data and research about the cultural industries.

The aim of the project has been to understand what information needs exist, particularly in regard to quantitative information that can be used for peer review, transparency and accountability and international comparison, and to understand what information is already available.

Four subsectors have been identified for research: craft, film and video, music, and print and publishing. Each sector is to identify its information needs, and this is done by drawing problem trees that map each subsector's core organising principles and the objectives to be attained in the subsector. Indicators should measure progress in achieving these goals.

Research by the Development Policy Research Unit (DPRU) about the existing supply of information revealed that little new information had been produced in the DAC reports since the earlier Cultural Industries Growth Strategy reports, and the data that were used tended to be unreliable.

Currently, the website collects information about various topics related to the cultural industries: problem trees for various sectors, intellectual property, and research publications related to the measurement of cultural activity.

www.culturalobservatory.co.za

35. The Spier Africa Centre: A space for connecting African cultural production

An early brochure on this exciting new initiative supported by the Spier Arts Trust, a private initiative of Spier, a successful commercial wine farm, reads as follows:

'Africa enters the 21st century without a major international museum or research institution dedicated to the Arts of Africa. As it presently exists, the conventional "museum" construct has provided the platform for the dissemination of culture and ideas emanating out of a European tradition from the 18th century. As such, it has been internationally accepted to be the defining model of cultural import and significance. Research methods and knowledge disseminated via the "museum" have largely determined: who is subject and who becomes object; who is passive or active; who receives recognition and who receives relevance; who is actor or thinker; who is merely bystander; and ultimately, who and what are left out. Some have even argued that Africa does not need museums. We do not share this view. Africa and the world need a new kind of museum. The Africa Centre seeks to fill these glaring needs. Its goal is to create a space where the visual and performance cultures of Africa, South and North, present and past, are celebrated and studied, brought to life for diverse audiences in innovative ways. Conceptually, in presentation and with international relevance and interest, it will: Create the first major international museum which celebrates both the visual and performing arts throughout the African Diaspora which reflect Africa's past, present and future; Develop a meaningful theoretical, literal and philosophical space for artistic dialogue and engagement; Create evolving physical spaces for the visual and performing arts of Africa; Reformulate exemplary models of artistic theory, practice and praxis; Explore the space and architecture of cultural encounter; Redefine the role, identity, transience and performance of Art; and Revolutionise and democratise the museum construct worldwide.'

The Trust recognises that 'the creation, exhibition and collection of art on the continent are vital to Africa's future … [but that] unfortunately, most of the important collections and pieces of African Art are exhibited, viewed and purchased by organisations and individuals from outside of Africa.' It plans to change this situation by setting up a world-class institution in the Cape. It has demonstrated its interest firstly by bringing together a small team of interesting minds whom it took around the globe to discuss the conceptual basis of the centre. Then in early in 2007 it arranged a 'gathering' of a number of key minds involved in African cultural creation, held a competition for design of its new centre, and is embarking on a set of projects for the future. It hopes to focus on exhibitions and collections, African art research, opportunities for artists-in-residence, and connecting culture and heritage. It is an important project for Cape Town in many ways, as it helps to connect the city with the rest of the continent.

36. Stepping Stones: Children's power

Stepping Stones is a small, unique early childhood development centre 'which strives to bring the highest standard of education and care to all children, particularly those coming from low-income families.' Stepping Stones has formed part of the inner-city landscape since 1976, and initially serviced mainly the children of District Six. It is an institution at the cutting edge of early childhood education. It describes its approach to children's development in the following terms:

'Besides providing an invaluable facility for working parents, Stepping Stones strives to extend beyond this. It has a holistic approach to learning: one that places the development of the whole child at the centre of the process. The Centre favours non-competitive, cooperative learning methodologies that focus on the child as an individual as well as part of a learning, growing community. The Centre celebrates difference. Stepping Stones strives to make each child feel that his or her way of being a South African is a wonderful way of being.' The principal of the centre, Thelma Chisholm, says of their work, 'We help them to develop positive self-images – so essential to their future academic performance and general functioning as well-rounded, responsible members of society.'

The centre is based in the renovated District Six Museum complex and plays an important role in regard to issues related to culture, for example language. It teaches children at an early age to use all three of the provincial languages and is part of an anti-bias, pro-diversity network in the Western Cape, the Qubeka network.

www.districtsix.co.za/stepping%20stones.htm

37. The *Sunday Times* Heritage Project

This project, started in 2006 and running through 2007, is part of the *Sunday Times*' centenary celebrations and will result in a number of permanent memorials in various cities. According to the newspaper, '[t]he idea is to tell stories from 1906, through a series of highly visible street corner memorials and plaques that recognise some of this country's most remarkable newsmakers and events – on the spot where they happened …' This multi-million rand *Sunday Times* initiative aims to add a 'valuable stitch to our streets and neighbourhoods and remind people that history really is just "today's news, tomorrow".' Forty street memorials, specially commissioned from well-known local artists, focus on different examples of 'remarkable human[s] whose actions left us a legacy, whether in the realm of sport, politics, science or entertainment … each of our chosen stories and characters starts to take shape as a 3-D artwork on the relevant site where the "action" took place – from railway stations and public parks to mosques and magistrates courts'.[49] In Cape Town these sites have included a focus on such individuals as female 1950s politician Cissy Gool (a series of bollards on which students from a nearby college can sit, by Ruth Sacks); musician Abdullah Ibrahim (musical pipes outside the studio where his most famous hit, 'Manenberg', was recorded, by Mark O'Donovan), poet Ingrid Jonker (a steel sculpture at the site she loved, by Tyrone Appollis), and sportsman Basil D'Oliveira (a cricket ball and chain embedded in a wall at the Newlands cricket ground to reflect the denial of the sportsman's right to play for South Africa, by Donovan Ward). Through its linking of heritage with the media and its careful choice of subject matter and artists, the project has enabled the country as a whole, as well as each city, to appreciate how history and newsmakers are embedded in cities. It has also provided a unique model of sponsorship through which a private entity engages in supporting the development of new memorials, where local governments are for various reasons unable to do so. More especially, it has removed the danger of political partisanship, and has been executed in a sensitive and careful manner.

www.sundaytimes.co.za/Heritage/Index.asp

38. The University of the Western Cape (UWC) History Department: The politics of heritage

The UWC History Department has consistently engaged with public culture in South Africa and Africa. It has made a concerted effort to ensure that its educational and research work interacts with and assists in changing the public sphere. Most of its academics have been involved in the struggle against apartheid through various progressive cultural and educational projects, and

this spirit is still evident in the department, which prides itself on a commitment to developing new critical interpretations in the research and teaching of history. Its specialisations include women and gender studies, public history, visual history, land and agrarian history, liberation history, urban history, African history, and teacher education.

The History Department has been involved in research projects on public history such as the Project on Public Pasts (POPP) (analysing and mapping the meanings that are produced in different cultural and historical sites in the Eastern and Western Cape, the genealogy of these historical productions, and visitor and community responses); Visual History (oral history around documentary photography); Castle Company and Control (research into the social, emotional and mental world of Dutch East India Company employees and slaves at the Cape of Good Hope in the 17th and 18th centuries); and a postgraduate diploma in heritage studies aimed largely at professionals, the African Programme in Museum and Heritage Studies. The latter is run jointly by UWC, UCT and the Robben Island Museum. A number of young and mid-career professionals in the field of heritage, both in South Africa and in the rest of Africa, have benefited from its work. The network of UWC intellectuals has links with the USA-based Institutions for Public Scholarship programme, which have resulted in a fellowship project for academics working in public culture to research and study at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia, and to link with like-minded heritage institutions in the USA. The Museums Programme and the fellowship have been supported in the past by the Rockefeller Foundation, which also supported the development of the Heritage Programme.

Amongst the unit's research outputs have been re-readings of the Jan van Riebeeck Tercentenary Celebration Festival of 1952, as well as extensive work on human remains in South African museums. Its staff are intricately involved in work on public culture in the country (such as the Presidential History Project), and many serve on various high-level boards of heritage bodies as well as boards of community museums, such as Cape Town's Lwandle Migrant Museum and District Six Museum. By bringing together their research interests with a practical engagement on the ground, the UWC History Department has shown that committed intellectuals can meld their political pasts with relevant contemporary interventions that build an active public sphere. UWC's critical and situated research has implications for cultural diversity-related work in the city, as it provides material that can both critique and add value to the Cape Town context.

http://www.uwc.ac.za/arts/history/index.htm

39. Vakalisa: Really taking art to the community

Started by a group of artists, painters, sculptors, poets, photographers, writers and printmakers in the late 1980s, Vakalisa was an example of an intercultural project that crossed boundaries of race, gender, discipline and geographical region. A loose collective, its two major achievements were a sell-out annual calendar (which was usually banned) that showcased the works of its members, and a programme of exhibitions and workshops held in libraries and community centres around the Cape Flats. At a time when black artists found few outlets in the central city for their practice, Vakalisa was an important vehicle for promotion of the work and ideas of a number of significant artists who are still today a major influence on a younger generation. Its enthusiasm for taking art to the public in the places that this neglected public frequented, shows the possibilities of an organising practice and ethos not in operation even today, and reaffirms the importance of learning from the recent past.

[49] http://www.sundaytimes.co.za/heritage/st_mainstory.asp#, accessed 3 May 2007

40. The Young Designers Emporium (YDE): Diversity on the racks

YDE started in the early 1990s in central Cape Town as a response to the needs of small-scale Cape Town fashion designers doing original work. These designers had too limited a range of products to set up their own stores, and were simultaneously without good retail outlets to stock their wares. Many were trading on Greenmarket Square, which was then at a high point as a trendy lifestyle spot in the city. The market on the square attracted young people who were buying from the large city department stores, the speciality stores around the square and from the designers on the square itself. A young entrepreneur, Paul Simon, set up a shop nearby where he rented out racks to designers, and branded it as the Young Designers Emporium (YDE). By elevating the status of young designers to that of suppliers to a trendy store, and ensuring high-quality service, YDE was eventually able to extend itself into a national chain of stores based in malls. Stocking original young designer wear, YDE has found a large market among trend-conscious youth, and brands itself as a stockist of contemporary and fresh South African fashion. A number of young designers have found their feet through a brief involvement with YDE; others have been actively associated with the store for a number of years. While it has commercialised young designers and functions as a business, it also plays an important role in marketing and developing the local fashion industry. Started at a time when South Africa was just re-entering the global market after years of isolation, it has managed, by virtue of its support for a broad range of designers (whose styles borrowed from the North but who were searching for local forms of expression), to support the diversity of local fashion styles which appeal to a young audience in particular.

Private initiatives like YDE demonstrate the potential inherent in creating sales frameworks for diverse creative products. They show that savvy branding and an awareness of a globally attuned youth provide unique possibilities for supporting diverse local brands. However, as with all commercial enterprises, there are hazards attached; in this case for instance, many designers feel that their individual brands become lost within the YDE brand. Understanding and assessing developments such as these would allow relevant new interventions to be made.

www.yde.co.za

41. Culture and urban regeneration in Johannesburg

By the time formal political change began in South Africa, Johannesburg was on its way to incorporating culture as a strategy in re-imagining and remaking the city. The Newtown Cultural Precinct would play a central role in the city's strategy to re-brand itself as a 'world-class African city'. In more recent years new spaces have been targeted for regeneration and vast amounts of money have been spent on developing significant urban nodes using culture, including a number in historically black areas. Though not without significant teething difficulties, including changes in city administration and adjustments to funding allocations, the manner in which Johannesburg has – sometimes chaotically and without a clear agenda – incorporated culture into its efforts to drive urban regeneration is an interesting case study of culture and planning in an African context, one with many successes and opportunities to proclaim.

Johannesburg is acknowledged as the leading city on the African continent in economic terms; its current dominance is rooted in its establishment as a settlement in response to the discovery of gold in the area roughly 120 years ago. Its rapid growth and industrialisation and its importance as the financial capital of the country, coupled with its changing face – from colonial city to apartheid city to post-apartheid city – has seen the city centre shift and change, refracting its history through a frenetic drive to become modern, conveniently accompanied by a form of urban 'amnesia' in relation to its past (Gaule 2005:2356). John Matshikiza describes it as an 'instant city periodically growing and being torn down as the gold seams shifted course in one direction or another and the needs of its fickle residents changed' (Matshikiza 2004:481). Though the city is often portrayed in terms of its 'supposed apocalyptic proportions' of disorder, violence and poverty, attempts to understand it as an 'elusive metropolis' have focused on ways of imagining the city in terms of relationships both in respect to globalisation and to Africanness (Mbembe & Nuttall 2004:366–367). As the political transformation has unfolded and the country has entered the global arena, developing economic relationships with Africa and the world, Johannesburg's black population in particular has become eager to explore its African identity, in the process recasting it in a manner which is aspirational and consumer-driven, and drawing strongly from an African-American imaginary, often more so than from one rooted in the continent of Africa.

Johannesburg's aspirations to be *the* centre on the continent economically and culturally has seen it develop a set of spaces around the city in an attempt to position itself as an African city. Amongst these are projects in Newtown, Braamfontein, Orlando West, Alexandra and Kliptown. These projects acknowledge the polycentric nature of Johannesburg and its immense urban sprawl, as well as the importance of culture in leading the process of urban regeneration and linking public spaces to each other. The development of a 'Struggle Route', which aims to connect historical sites in Johannesburg, is at the heart of a tourism development strategy that provides a set of possibilities for urban cultural tourism and related economic development in different areas. In addition to decentralising its cultural facilities, the city has recently attempted to address many of the key problems associated with culture and urban regeneration, in particular its tendency to gentrify at the cost of poorer populations, and has in two instances built low-cost housing to ensure access by marginalised sectors of the population to improved public spaces.

The Newtown Cultural Precinct, a previously dilapidated industrial space on the edge of the old central city, has been converted since 1994 into a vibrant cultural space with museums, music and dance studios, galleries and art studios, theatres, educational spaces, fashion houses and related creative industry services that are being enticed to move into or to stay in the area (including such stalwarts as the Market Theatre). There has been a focus on developing public space and marketing the area as a local playground and as a space for tourists. The Johannesburg municipality through the Johannesburg Development Agency and the Johannesburg Housing Company has built extensive blocks of low-cost housing in Newtown, and developed a new metro taxi rank for local audiences without private transport. Public space such as Mary Fitzgerald Square has been upgraded and is used regularly for city-funded cultural events. The new Nelson Mandela Bridge has connected Newtown with extensive cultural facilities in Braamfontein (including the University of the Witwatersrand, the impressive Constitution Hill complex encompassing a court and a museum, and the Civic Theatre) and has created what is called the Cultural Arc. Over R1 billion of state funds have been invested in various projects in the Cultural Arc.

In Orlando West, Soweto, the building of the Hector Peterson Museum (at a cost of over R23 million), in memory of the many people who were killed by police on 16 June 1976 during student protests, has provided an important space for visits by local and international tourists. It provides an opportunity to encounter not just the story of June 16, but also a famous suburb where Nelson Mandela and Bishop Tutu lived; the development of the museum has also seen private investors building restaurants on and off the famed Vilakazi Street and is thus a vibrant point to visit in Soweto.

In Kliptown, where the Freedom Charter was signed on 26 June 1955, a monument, museum, informal and formal retail activities and an open area for community gatherings have been constructed. This development forms part of the Greater Kliptown Development Project, 'a massive effort to re-develop the area and make it more habitable and conducive to business'.[50] An investment of R375 million by the state includes the redevelopment of the Kliptown railway station, a new taxi rank, a market, the re-location of people living in informal settlements, and the building of 1 200 social housing units.

Alexandra Township is one of eight national projects that are part of the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme and the Urban Renewal Programme of national government in partnership with local government. A massive project, the estimated budget in 2001 to redevelop 'Alex' was R1,3 billion over 7 years. Heritage is one of the 11 areas of engagement in the project and as such plays less of lead in this regeneration initiative than in the previous examples. The development of the Nelson Mandela Yard Precinct as a central tourism and social development project includes a R7-million Interpretation Centre that will include a tourist information office, restaurant and retail outlets. A tourism route, 'documented through extensive interaction with the community'[51] will take in a range of historically significant sites in the area including private homes, the Jukskei River, the clinic, beer hall, cinema, churches and Freedom Square.

Johannesburg's attempt to link various nodes of the city through culture has led urban regeneration initiatives which place a high value on tourism, economic and social development. The decision to finance such initiatives adequately is indicative of a city council with vision in respect to those elements that can re-brand the city as an economic and cultural powerhouse, cementing its position as a leader in Africa and a global city worth taking note of in the future.

42. Rethinking the city through culture: The Centre for Contemporary Culture of Barcelona

The Centre for Contemporary Culture of Barcelona (CCCB) plays a significantly different role to most other cultural centres, one that is centrally focused on the humanism of the urban phenomenon and a belief in contingency of borders amongst cultural disciplines. This drives the centre to establish new hybrid spaces and to approach society and culture from many different perspectives and viewpoints, as a vital element for inciting dialogue and debate. The CCCB's director, Josep Ramoneda, suggests that the centre's 10-year success lies in its view of the cultural centre as 'a *unique public space*, "a medium, a space for communication" that links the academic world, independent creation and the city's people'. Its focus on responding to real needs and on 'quality, a degree of eclecticism, attention to a broad cross section of the public and singularity in its approach' are important facets in making 'people see things differently when they've been through here'. It looks to build links with the world while developing its own 'little Catalan cosmopolitanism'.[52]

Barcelona is an ancient city dating to before the Roman Empire; it is the capital of Catalonia and Spain's second-largest city. In June 2006 the population was estimated at 1 673 075 people, with the greater metropolitan area having 5 292 354 people. The Catalonian people and their language, Catalan, were brutally repressed under the rule of Franco (1939–1975). However, both language and local traditions have been given a boost in recent years through concerted efforts by the government. Though once an important manufacturing area, its economy today is dominated by the services sector, with the creative arts and crafts also playing a significant role. The city is known currently for its award-winning industrial design and for IT and publishing, as well as being a major tourist city. Its mild climate, good beaches, extensive parks and cultural fare provide great possibilities for tourists. It has in the last decade become a highly desirable city to live in. It was the site of the 1992 Summer Olympics and the 2004 Universal Forum of Cultures. It is a city with a high level of international immigrants (13,8 per cent of the population come from Ecuador, Peru, Morocco, Colombia, Argentina, Italy, Pakistan and China) and an even higher number of Spanish migrants from other parts of the country.

The CCCB is based in the old city centre, in a once run-down area known as the Raval. The area has become increasingly gentrified in recent years, but is still home to many artists and immigrants, maintaining its bohemian past as well as its traditional character as a place for the poor and the marginalised. The Raval boasts a number of significant cultural institutions other than the CCCB, including the Contemporary Art Museum of Barcelona (MACBA), the Palau de la Virreina (an exhibition centre), the Biblioteca de Catalunya (the Library of Catalonia), the Universitat Ramon Llull, the Universitat Pompeu Fabra, the Gran Teatro del Liceu (the opera house), the Centre d'art Santa Mònica (an arts centre) and the Museu Marítim (the Maritime Museum). Attracting a further set of creative industries, this cluster in the old city has seen a dramatic rise in visitor numbers since 2000. As a cultural cluster it attracts close on a million visitors annually, and is the second-most visited cultural space after the Picasso Museum.

Amongst these institutions the CCCB stands out for its uniqueness. Based in a diverse community both socially and economically, it runs programmes that function at this immediate local level, but also has a broader mandate that encompasses the whole city. As a multidisciplinary institution with an extensive programme of exhibitions, films, courses and lectures, music and dance, festivals, and city walks, as well as a strong intellectual project that sees numerous educational and publishing activities, the centre plays a significant role in Barcelona. It offers space for 'artistic and creative experimentation … [and] is open to new languages … [and] new exhibition formats.' It describes itself as an urban centre, '[a] centre dedicated to cities and the phenomena they generate; because they have become the social, urbanistic and cultural catalyst of our times.'[53] It works with its own team but also in collaboration with a range of organisations involved in film, new media, performance, poetry, sound and urban communication, who are based at the large and well-resourced centre. The CCCB acknowledges the importance of these organisations which have their fingers on the pulse of society, and whose use of experimentation pushes back 'the limits of creation in such hybrid fields as new technologies, audiovisuals, music, dance and polypoetry, turning the CCCB into an incubator of artists and activists, promoting dialogue with the public and, at the same time, encouraging experimentation and transgression.' In addition, the space is rented by a range of civic and cultural groups for their own projects.

The centre's wide intellectual and cultural vision and its distinctly urban focus make it a unique space in a Europe where the art or cultural centre is almost a mandatory feature of most cities. Its concern with looking critically at transformations in the city of Barcelona and its metropolitan area, and with the challenges facing the region in regard to social cohesion, democracy, cultural leadership, environmental regeneration, the quality of public space, communication networks, and other aspects of urban development, sets it apart from most centres.

The CCCB has relevance for Cape Town as a unique model of a cultural centre that responds to its specific broad urban context within an overarching framework of global concerns. Its attempt at combining a popular space with an innovative intellectual project, rooted in a proudly indigenous yet globally diverse and shifting context, suggests that there are models for cultural centres that move beyond a simple notion of applied arts, beyond being simply a civic amenity to becoming a complex and vibrant space for interchange and action.

www.cccb.org

43. A place for carnival: Pelourinho in Salvador-Bahia (Brazil)

Salvador (or Salvador-Bahia), founded in 1549, holds importance as one of the oldest cities of Brazil and its capital city until 1763. Deeply implicated in the history of the slave trade, it was a key centre for the colonisation of Brazil. It is currently the third-largest city in Brazil. It is an important city in the north-east, an area regarded as the problematic region of Brazil because of its massive unemployment and the source of the many poverty-ridden people who have migrated to the southern cities of the country since the 1980s. The region has particular significance in the imaginary of the rest of Brazil. It is an area of vast cultural resources, has spawned numerous important musical and artistic practices, and is held in high regard locally and internationally for its strong Afro-Brazilian cultural identity.

The heavily textured experience of the north-east is the result of a concerted effort by various intellectuals and academics from the 1920s on to construct a tradition for the area using its customs myth, memory, and folklore. This 'invention of tradition' (Júnior 2004:52) can be seen as a response by the region to its declining importance in the Brazilian nation, a way to maintain the status and socio-economic hierarchy of the elite of the north-east (who had become in many respects a landed gentry) in the face of a shift in economic and political power to the south of Brazil. A creative milieu of influential individuals (many of them intellectuals) developed and, using the media (initially through newspapers), constructed a cultural project using the available body of knowledge of the regional character of the area, resulting in the creation of a unique discourse or 'spatial fairy tale'. Similarly in the 1980s, at the time of a repressive military regime

in Brazil, Tropicalismo, an important emancipatory cultural movement, developed. Led largely by cultural icons like Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil, the movement had its roots in Salvador. Today the city is seen as the centre of Afro-Brazilian culture, and as a focal point of the growing black consciousness in the country.

Pelourinho (or Slave Pillory), is a part of the historic city centre, and was a central site in Salvador for the international slave trade from Africa. It had become heavily degraded from the 1960s on, becoming known as a slum. In the 1980s it was declared a UNESCO world heritage site, and from the 1990s on various elements of the area were gentrified, new shops, studios, guest houses etc. opened, and some of the (working class) people were displaced to the edges of the area to make space for commercial activity. Cultural groups are supported by local and regional governments and business to perform in the many squares of Pelourinho every Tuesday and throughout the Carnival. Locally focused carnival troupes with strong Afro-Brazilian identities, for example Olodum and Ile Aiye, have become staples of the area, supported in various ways through the efforts of the state as well as becoming cultural entrepreneurs, educators and cultural change agents in their own right. The promotion of Carnival through a full-year calendar has become a key element in the tourism strategy of Salvador, which has even begun to export Carnival through the international touring activities of groups like Olodum.

Salvador, and Pelourinho in particular, has become an important pilgrimage point for locals, as well as for African-American tourists from the USA and numerous European and other tourists. As the centre of the Bahian Carnival and the city's Afro-Brazilian roots, the area has became symbolically important for its support of all things African and Afro-Brazilian. In food, fashion, music, carnival, the arts and cultural activity generally the city provides a unique Brazilian voice, and with the rise of black consciousness and of affirmative action in the country is a leading provider of black media stars and role models.

While tourism has brought in many benefits, simultaneously some of the negative consequences of international tourism have emerged, sparking fears of over-commercialisation of the area and its traditions and of a growth in prostitution. As a cultural regeneration project, then, it displays both the positive and negative impacts seen generally in relation to projects of this nature.

Salvador offers lessons for Cape Town, whose slave and port history, and rich local cultural traditions such as the Minstrels Carnival, play important roles in a comparatively similar creolised history. Drawing on an African past and imaginaries, Salvador takes on a unique flavour, its authenticity contributing to its attractiveness as both a centre for culture and a tourist city. State engagement in Pelourinho becomes a way in which the tangible and intangible heritages of the area are conserved and mobilised, through strategies to support creative industries and cultural tourism. As a space it generates energies through its carnival that not only contribute to a re-branding of the city, but also have the unintended effect of permitting the country as a whole to re-imagine itself in terms of its Afro-Brazilian identities. This suggests that cities can, through state and civil society engagement, have impacts which, although falling short of transforming the material conditions of life, help to bring about substantial changes in the ways in which the city and the country are imagined – which in itself opens up further possibilities for transformation.

44. InSite - border art: San Diego/Tijuana USA

Initiated in 1992, this bi-national visual arts initiative works on various sites in the neighbouring border cities of San Diego and Tijuana. Held over two three-year intervals, it is focused on commissioning site-specific/place-based works that deal with the specific context of the USA/Mexico border. Operating through a unique collaborative structure that is based on the active participation of cultural and educational institutions in both countries, InSite focuses on 'promoting artistic investigation and activation of urban space'. Works are often positioned for audiences in ways and places that could be considered 'remote' from the art world – often unfamiliar settings such as shoe shops become a place to interact with. The project deals with the socio-economic and political aspects of the region, allowing artists, who spend residencies developing deep research on the conditions of the border, to interpret their perspectives on these issues uniquely, often in co-authorship with the institutions and/or publics. In 2005 there were 22 projects by artists from 13 countries, each artist having developed their project through a long-term relationship with InSite, which states that '[t]he flexibility to respond to the shifting interests of artists and institutions and, in turn, to test new structures of collaboration and venues for the presentation of innovative work has been a fundamental characteristic of this project.' [54]

The project draws on various ideas developed by artists, theorists and others in particular relating to the notion of interculturalism, which InSite describes as 'the philosophy of exchanges between cultural groups within a society'. Intercultural policies 'seek to encourage the socialisation of citizens of different origins. These policies are often used as an instrument to fight racism … [and] overcome prejudice and misunderstanding of others. Interculturalism requires an inherent openness to be exposed to the culture of the "other". Once a person is exposed to an element of a different culture, a dialogue will ensue, [precipitating the necessity for] understanding the culture of the other, and usually this involves [looking] … for commonalities between that element of one's culture and the culture of the other.'

The works of pioneering artists such as Coco Fusco and Guillermo Gomez-Pena and others in the Chicano Art movement have been seminal in initiating such intercultural exchanges, using the arts and in particular performative forms of engaging with the complexities of the hybrid in the modern age. InSite has since its inception developed an intellectual and reflective programme of action drawing on such innovations. A keen interest in the 'gestation of new utopias of belonging and dynamics of association within the public domain', and an interest in encouraging 'novel, informal, and unexpected experiences and alternative modes of citizenship' has been a critical factor in the project's engagement with 'the cultural vitality of the San Diego-Tijuana border zone'. Appreciating the impact of complex and fraught urban flows between the two countries, in particular attempts by the US government to prevent Mexicans migrating into USA, as well as recognising 'the mobility of urban networks, cultural displacements and symbolic transformations of urban identities in flux', the project attempt to 'stimulate urban situations that explore and unravel the social weave of the area'. Recognising the interrelated nature of the two countries and the importance of the border in reconfiguring this relationship allows InSite to explore complex socio-political realities, with a transformative political agenda that seeks to raise important questions and pose provocative responses. Working with artists, Insite 'seeks to question our familiar understanding of the term "public" as a passive audience engaged in the mass consumption of culture, by exploring instead the way in which artistic strategies can re-define and re-create "public" through an experience of group belonging — [one] that is circumstantial, creative and unalienating.'

Projects include 'Dentimundo' (an internet-based project which explores a major area of US interest in Tijuana, 'dental tourism', a result of the high cost of medical aid in the USA) and Judi Werthein's 'Brinco'. 'Brinco' links migrants' efforts to cross the border illegally with the increasing global corporatisation of goods and labour, through a uniquely designed sneaker trademarked 'Brinco' – the design itself is inspired by 'information and materials that are relevant to, and could provide assistance to, those illegally crossing the border'. Provided freely for potential utilitarian use by Mexican migrants, the sneaker was being sold as a one-of-a-kind art object in a high-end sneaker store in San Diego, and reveals the 'contradictions between fashion, competition in the manufacturing industry, and migratory flows, themes that lie at the heart of the dynamics of labour geography in today's world.'

Besides commissioned artistic projects or *Interventions* which are the heart of InSite's work, Insite05 included *Scenarios*, a programme that transcended the spatial engagement with 'timebased processes', and which included Online Projects/ Live Visual and Sound Image Events and an Archive Project. These 'less established practices … are now key to the construction of "public" as a space of discourse'. Also included in the programme are *Conversations*, an ongoing series of dialogues, workshops, lectures and publications 'as an arena for intellectual exchange', as well as a museum-based programme at both the San Diego Museum of Art and the Centro Cultural Tijuana, which adds value to the programme by '[weaving] together the work of contemporary artists, documentary material, and cultural products to create a web of urban narratives'.

InSite has lessons to offer Cape Town in relation to its innovative processes that utilise artistic methods for social ends, its rich resources for interrogating its own practice and its heavy focus on research, dialogue and site-specific actions, as well as to its engagement with notions of borders and with interculturalism as a strategy of engagement. Using the concept of the border as a focus of engagement provides tools and possibilities for thinking about real and psychic borders that exist between racialised communities in the Cape. At a time when Cape Town faces its hardest challenges in terms of relationships between communities, interculturalism offers some methodology for working towards social change, including the use of creative interventions.

www.insite05.org

45. The space to imagine: Doual'art in Cameroon

Doual'art is a cultural centre based in Douala, the largest city in Cameroon. The commercial capital of the country, with over three million people, Douala is a diverse and cosmopolitan city attracting people from different parts of the world.

The Central African Republic of Cameroon was first occupied by Portuguese and Germans; it became a French-controlled territory in 1919 and gained independence in 1960. It was once a centre of the slave trade. The country is known as 'Africa in miniature' because of its geological and cultural diversity; it is home to over 200 different ethnic and linguistic groups. It is also known for its indigenous styles of music, particularly Makossa and Bikutsi. Cameroon accepts both English and French as official languages, although in practice 'Anglophone' Cameroon has less representation in official domains and there are tensions between those who speak either of the colonial languages and follow the respective traditions and practices they bring with them.

Doual'art is a non-profit organisation that was founded in 1991 in Douala. It is sponsored by institutional and private partners, with approximately 10 per cent of the budget covered by sales of art works, library fees and the income of its cafeteria. It has offices and partners in Europe. Its executive head is Marilyn Douala Bell, and Didier Schaub is its artistic director. Bell, a socio-economist who works extensively on high-level urban research initiatives in Cameroon and Europe, comes from a distinguished Cameroonian family.

The organisation started in 1991 with an outdoor programme featuring public art, urban interventions and social engineering projects implemented in several neighbourhood of the city: Bonanjo, Akwa, Bessengue, Madagascar, Cité de la Paix, Deïdo. In this respect it functions as 'an experimental laboratory for new urban practices of African cities. In site-specific urban interventions, Doual'art works as an intermediary between social and economic actors, populations and local collectives. It perceives cultural and artistic production as a tool for freedom of expression and social cohesion, which allows [people] to transcend and overcome closures and cleavages. Doual'art implements a participatory approach to cultural practice, discussing and negotiating with local communities, NGOs and authorities their needs and aspirations and involving artists as facilitators of the development processes.'[55]

'Doual'art collaborated with the European Commission on the programme Proculture aimed at creating a network of contemporary producers in Central Africa. Since 2000 Doual'art is partner of the IRCOD-Alsace – an organisation of decentralised co-operation – for the programmes in the area of Douala first and in particular for the estate of Bessengue.'

Espace Doual'art was set up in 1995 as a multifunctional and interactive space for contemporary art. The art centre includes an exhibition hall, a library, the administrative offices and facilities of Doual'art, a garden and a coffee bar. Espace Doual'art is located in Bonanjo – the administrative area of Douala – inside the former cinema hall of the Pagode, an historical site built in 1905 by August Manga Ndumbe that is considered one of the most well-known and best buildings in the city. It was restored and renovated in 1998 by the architect and designer Danielle Diwouta-Kotto. It hosts exhibitions, performing arts events, conferences, seminars and a residency programme. Doual'art also participated in the off-programme of the Dak'Art Biennale in 2002 with the exhibition 'Créateurs contemporains d'Afrique Centrale'.

'Doual'art has been fostering and spreading for 15 years site specific arts and cultural projects in Douala, by conceiving them as paradigmatic tools of development. *The social pattern of Douala is formed by a complex of family units related one to another through a network based on vernacular affinity. Public memory is thus split and fragmented, with no sharing of a common urban identity. This special context has been the target of the activities promoted by Doual'art since 1991.* Doual'art believes that arts and culture can be an effective way to develop an urban context, and to make its citizens aware of their resources, traditions, potentialities and aspirations. Doual'art regularly invites local and international artists and cultural practitioners to meet and interact with the audience of Douala to depict the multiple and overlapping layers and aspects the city is made up of.'

In January 2005 Doual'art organised the international and multi-disciplinary Symposium Ars&Urbis, a first step towards the programme SUD 2007 (to be held in December 2007). The symposium focused on the relations between arts and urban context, and revealed a multi-faceted town. A second symposium took place in March 2007.

Much of the work of the organisation has been concerned with promoting and stimulating the birth of new artists' collectives, galleries and art spaces in Douala. In particular the positive results of a workshop organised in Bessengue in 2001 have encouraged the participating artists to engage in new site-specific and community-based art productions in Bessengue itself and in

other neighbourhoods of the city. An example is the project ‘Bessengue City’. Bessengue is also the site of a major project of urban development involving Doual’art, the city council and the French NGO Alsace. Doual’art’s role here was to set up a democratic development committee with local participation. Following this, local needs were assessed; these were related to basic needs such as water, lighting, a critical footbridge, a better drainage system and waste management. Through engaging artists with engineers, architects and the city council, Doual’art helped to put in place a water pump and a bridge; these were not just utilitarian pieces, but were objects of beauty which served also as ways of making people connect. The water pump designed by a famous architect from Cameroon is also a meeting point, with a shop attached to the site, and its distinctive architecture creates a unique landmark of beauty in an otherwise impoverished area.

Another important project is the ‘Douala Ville d’Art et d’Historie’, which maps and documents thirty major historical, artistic and traditional sites of Douala through a series of landmarks conceived and designed by artists. Each landmark evokes the memory and the story of a particular building or area or invisible place.

Critical to Doual’art’s work is the notion of audacity. This is no more apparent than in the 10-metre statue the organisation commissioned and donated to the city. ‘The New Liberty’ has become a symbol of Douala; it is admired and photographed by tourists and locals. Its construction at a very busy circle led to the area being paved, making the action even more important for the area.

Because the city of Douala might be considered to be a complex of family units related one to another by a ‘vernacular affinities network’, it is essentially a set of very closed systems which mistrusts ‘the others’ who don’t belong to the same cultural environment, and considers them an enemy and a source of danger. These ‘strong vernacular relationships’ form the complex urban pattern which dominates Douala and its social life. In this context, social cohesion is complex and difficult, making real development almost an illusion requiring improvement along with the political, economic and social aspects of the city, as well as the contemporary cultural dimension. This is difficult, especially ‘because Cameroon is governed by a tough dictatorial regime … considered corrupt and nepotistic [the country has been ruled by Paul Biya since 1982] where … freedom of expression is not allowed, where public memory and national identity are still weak concepts and where arts and culture have still a marginal role.’ However Cameroon, and in particular Douala, has one of the best literacy rates in Africa, and cultural associations such as Doual’art are important in sparking debates and discussions and provoking new attitudes.

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