CTLIP Governance and Policy for Sustainability Report:

Stakeholder Analysis

Saskia Greyling and Zarina Patel with Anton Cartwright, Amy Davison, Rob McGaffin, Saul Roux and Anna Taylor

5 December 2013

Contents

Overview

The intention of Mistra Urban Futures' Governance and Policy for Sustainability (GAPS) programme is to understand how sustainable urban development has been conceptualised and understood in different contexts in relation to the pressures of globalisation, inequalities, resource constraints and climate change, and to illustrate the role of knowledges in shaping different responses to the challenges of sustainable urban development. As part of a process of identifying potential points of leverage for achieving policy outcomes that support sustainable development, phase two of this project seeks to examine the factors within local government that enable and constrain decision-making for sustainable urban development.

The first section of this report explores the methodology used to deal with complicated issues of decision-making in local government processes. Here, we focus on co-production as a frame for obtaining information to inform our understanding of forces shaping decision-making on issues that influence sustainability in the City of Cape Town. Decision making was explored in five City strategies (the City Development Strategy and the Climate Adaptation Plans of Action, the Economic Growth Strategy, the Spatial Development Framework, the Energy and Climate Action Plan, and the Integrated Metropolitan Environmental Policy review) with a direct bearing on sustainable development. A brief overview and rationale for the five strategies that have been chosen as key documents for analysis is presented in section two. The third section explores the overarching themes that emerged from this research into decision-making in the City.

Findings

This research has indicated that themes in decision-making can be found across various policies and strategies that are not limited to just one strategy and its supporting departments. Key themes that arose from research include:

Context

The City of Cape Town has changed immensely over the post-apartheid years, structurally as well as in terms of the changes in mandate and role. Understanding these contextually, particularly the country's apartheid past, the severe levels of inequality, increasing urbanisation, as well as the imperative for growth and development through investment and tourism, and the need for longer term plans for issues that are perceived to be less pressing (e.g. climate change), is important for decision-making that results in just policy. Cape Town as an opposition-led municipality is also a necessary consideration.

Framing

The implicit framing of many of the City's policies and strategies in similar language to the Mistra Urban Futures focus areas of fair, green and dense speaks to the challenges that face the city. Scale is a crucial factor in understanding and addressing these issues. Time frames for policy design and implementation are important, particularly in light of short political terms of office.

Compromise

Issues of sustainability are often overlooked as they are not perceived to be part of a service delivery or development mandate. Competing rationalities between (and within departments) result in compromises in order to get policies passed that might not normally.

Knowledge

Different knowledges inform policies – this includes substantive knowledge as well as institutional (tactical) knowledge that is typically learnt over time by individuals working at the City. Stakeholders play key roles in providing further content knowledge to policies and adding rigour and credibility to the process of policy development. Monitoring and evaluation of policies generates information that should inform the implementation of the policy.

Spaces for interaction

The research process highlighted the need for more spaces for interaction between officials, politicians and stakeholders. This would assist in promoting the 'whole organisation' approach that the City aspires to, and may help to shift some of the competing rationalities that exist between different departments at the City.

The politics of decision-making

The City of Cape Town is in the process of shifting to a 'whole organisation' approach to policy-making in order to improve policy design and implementation thereof. In theory, it should also address some of the competing rationalities that exist between different departments in the City.

Visibility

Reflecting on stories of innovation in the City is important to validate the work of officials and politicians. In surfacing the ways in which policy is designed, the City is made accountable for these decisions.

Introduction

Cape Town is a city of contrasts. The city's reputation as a world-renowned region for biodiversity, its picturesque location at the foot of Africa and the widely celebrated nature of a cosmopolitan, bustling, creative city stand in stark contrast to the history of social injustice that has entrenched deep inequality between the city's people, where many do not have access to basic services and infrastructure, and are reliant on the government's assistance to access basic necessities for everyday life, including water, housing and sanitation services. In this context of extreme differences, the City of Cape Town[1] is tasked with providing services to all its inhabitants – from seeking appropriate and equitable land for houses for the poor and providing bulk infrastructure to those who need it, while at the same time, developing climate change action plans and the city's growth strategy for forthcoming years. Sustainable urban development has been embraced as a planning objective to address these diverse needs including redressing past injustices and building a 'city that works for all',[2] and harnessing the natural environment to appeal to tourists and investors – while at the same time, planning for future growth and development that is sensitive to the city's assets but that takes into account the requirements of the city's growing urban numbers.

The overall intention of Mistra Urban Futures' Governance and Policy for Sustainability (GAPS) programme is to understand how sustainable urban development has been conceptualised and understood in different contexts in relation to the pressures of globalisation, inequalities, resource constraints and climate change (*'what'*), and to illustrate the role of knowledges in shaping different responses to the challenges of sustainable urban development (*'how'*). As part of a process of identifying potential points of leverage for achieving policy outcomes that support sustainable development, phase two of this project seeks to examine the factors within local government that enable and inhibit decision-making for sustainable urban development. This report will begin the process of distilling what it means to govern the city of Cape Town. The first section of this report explores the methodology used to deal with complicated issues of decision-making in local government processes. Here, we focus on co-production as a frame for obtaining information to inform our understanding of forces shaping decision-making on issues that influence sustainability in the City of Cape Town. The second section of the report provides a brief overview and rationale for the five strategies that have been chosen as key documents for analysis. The third section explores the overarching themes that emerged from our research into decision-making in the City. The

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[1] In this report, and indeed in many government reports, 'the City' refers to the local government the City of Cape Town, while 'the city' refers to the geographical extent that the City of Cape Town governs.
[2] This is adapted from the City's slogan, 'This City Works for You'.

purpose of this report is not to critique decision-making in the City, but rather to provide an elucidation of the different contexts and challenges in which policy decision-making for urban sustainable development takes place in the City of Cape Town.

Methodology: The Value of Co-Production

There is a growing need to understand the decision-making terrain in the City, or at least to better understand the contexts in which decisions are made. The Cape Town platform Phase 1 report identified this need as a key focus for continued research in the CTLIP context. The report attempts to understand, through the exploration of five key policies or strategies, the politics of decision-making at the local government scale.

In order to tailor this research so that it is applicable to Cape Town's context, we have chosen to focus on decision-making within the City. External stakeholders tend to be engaged in varying ways throughout the process of decision-making, from public participation processes, to debates in the media. In trying to understand the *decision-making* process, however, it is crucial to gain an understanding of the formal and informal inputs that propel policies through the decision-making channels – these typically occur within the City, although this is not to say that actors such as provincial and national government, non-governmental organisations, umbrella organisations and others do not have influence in the knowledge that is used to inform such decisions. Indeed, it is necessary to take into account the many (and growing) roles that these actors embody. However, policy decision-making occurs within the local government sphere. The Phase 1 report showed that despite being able to identify committees and structures for decision-making in the City, outcomes often cannot be understood in relation to these structures. A deeper analysis of policy decision-making internal to local government is therefore necessary.

The Knowledge Transfer Programme: Experimenting in co-production

The Cape Town Local Interaction Platform (CTLIP) is designed around a Knowledge Transfer Programme. The aim of the Knowledge Transfer Programme is to make decision-making processes more legible and hence defensible within the City of Cape Town, in order to render these processes more sustainable. CTLIP's knowledge transfer programme, particularly the embedded researchers' project, is crucial to gathering such information. The CTLIP's knowledge transfer programme uses a methodology of knowledge co-production, building on the notion of 'Mode 2 knowledge' (Gibbons et al, 1994). Mode 2 knowledge is characterised by knowledge produced in the context of

application, the transdisciplinary nature of this production, the heterogeneity of skills and organisational diversity, as well as social accountability and reflexivity, as opposed to the Mode 1 style of knowledge production where problem solving is defined largely by the academic community, for an academic audience, where it 'is discipline-based and carries a distinction between what is fundamental and what is applied' (Gibbons et al, 1994: 19). The notion that universities continue to exist as homogenous entities (as Gibbons et al (1994) make out) has been criticised for being too simplistic (Allen and Marne, in Allen and Imrie, 2010: 96), particularly in the current period when there is an 'increasingly parsimonious University funding regime…and concomitant and dramatic expansion in the volume of "contract research" which is now the main source of financial support for research' (Allen and Marne, in Allen and Imrie, 2010: 96). However, the outcomes of 'contract research' are often limited. The Cape Town platform's Knowledge Transfer Programme, under the aegis of Mistra Urban Futures, speaks to these challenges. In partnering with the City of Cape Town, knowledge from both institutions is harnessed in new ways in order to find different pathways to sustainable transitions.

The African Centre for Cities (ACC) and the City of Cape Town (CCT) have partnered to explore new sustainable urban transitions. In practice, this is being achieved through the knowledge transfer programme, which sees four PhD researchers with research interests in sustainable urban challenges 'embedded' at the City of Cape Town. For seven months of the year, they work as City officials[3] on policy areas that compliment Mistra Urban Futures' green, fair and dense themes, contributing content relevant knowledge, developing strategic partnerships with stakeholders both within and outside local government, and documenting the process of policy development, making urban development policy and decision making processes more legible. For the researchers, 'working in an application context creates pressures to draw upon a diverse array of knowledge resources and to configure them according to the problem in hand' (Gibbons et al, 1994: 27). In turn, City officials with interesting cases relating to their work in urban sustainability policy development are invited to apply to be considered for the City Officials Exchange Programme, which offers successful candidates up to two months sabbatical from their City work to take up a writing fellowship at the University of Cape Town, where they partner with academic supervisors to write up their accounts for academic publication. The first round of six City officials has been completed. Round two has

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[3] The insider/outsider aspect of the embedded research is not without methodological and ethical challenges. Although beyond the scope of this report, questions of positionality, fair representation, and credibility are frequently considered by the researchers.

commenced with 8 City officials working on papers with UCT-based writing partners. Co-production of knowledge is facilitated in this way.

The first year of the embedded researcher experiment focussed on the researchers integrating with the City, building trust and networks that enable them to better understand how the City works: how policies are formulated, what knowledge is used to inform these policies and how the decision-making process functions. The embedded researcher model enables greater access by way of being a partial insider, on the scene to witness first hand goings on, relevant meetings and pertinent 'hooks' to latch GAPS discussions onto, with the practical benefit of being able to request meetings in person or via the City's internal shared calendar function. Because the researchers are spread across different departments in the City, the model also provides a better understanding about the tactics employed by different departments and individuals to further their agendas. This allows us to gain insight into different parts of the City. Critically, trust has been established between the researchers and many of the City officials they work with, which surfaces information, experiences and insights that might otherwise not have been shared with an outsider for fear of exposure and backlash. This kind of knowledge is particularly relevant when trying to understand the intricacies of decision-making practices. The researchers have thus been ideally located to further investigate these issues.

Co-production and the opportunity for novel research

Prior to starting the GAPS Phase 2 process, the Cape Town platform decided that following a more formal process of structured interviews with stakeholders would not be appropriate at this stage of the CTLIP partnership. Concerned were raised that a 'clipboard' approach would elicit responses that do not reflect the unique partnership between the City and the ACC, and that a technique such as this would potentially put respondents – in many cases, partners – on edge, which could taint the relationships of the embedded researchers with their respective departments and superiors, as well as the Knowledge Transfer Programme more generally. In the mode of knowledge co-production, a shift from predominantly formal interviews and focus groups (requested and conducted by a researcher with a specified set of questions to answer), to iterative engagements between researchers and counterparts in the City (in which information is exchanged, questions and answers are co-configured and revisited from various angles) was considered a more appropriate methodology for engagement in the Cape Town context. In addition to these aspects of relationship-building, strategically, these iterative engagements are better aligned with the work-flows of City counterparts and so provide more motivation for them to spend time discussing key questions on the basis that they also benefit from collecting and sharing such thoughts and information as it

pertains to work they are currently engaged in. This is particularly important in the case of senior executives and politicians, who have full agendas and find it difficult to prioritise time to externally requested interviews and workshops.

Through numerous, repeated interactions between the embedded researchers and City officials and politicians, a large volume of data and information has been collected that would not have been possible in a discrete set of formal interviews. Because there are four embedded researchers working in and with different units and departments in the City, on different yet related topics, data and information can be triangulated for validity and areas in need of further investigation more easily identified.. As the embedded researchers have thusfar spent around 18 months in the City and have been exposed to the ways in which the City operates, it seemed important to reflect on questions of decision-making in relation to policy and strategic documents that dominate their day to day activities. The documents chosen for consideration include the Economic Growth Strategy (EGS), the City Development Strategy (CDS) and the Climate Adaptation Plans of Action (CAPAs), the Energy and Climate Action Plan (ECAP), the Spatial Development Framework (SDF), and the review process of the Integrated Metropolitan Environmental Policy (IMEP). These strategies are not limited to 'the environment', nor to the Environmental Resource Management Department; rather we have chosen to reflect on broader strategies which speak to other issues besides those that are obviously 'green', as well as across different departments, which we believe provides better insights into possible urban sustainable development transition pathways.

Interrogating policy for sustainable development pathways

Each of the policy/strategy documents has been investigated by the embedded researchers with respect to the GAPS questions presented in previous GAPS documentation (see appendix A). All researchers have answered these questions using methodologies that align with the broader vision as discussed above, including using interview material from key respondents, participant observation, and referring to relevant documents produced by the City, or with the City's input. These responses have been collated and analysed for thematic overlaps. The themes that emerged from these documents were then elaborated on during a workshop with Cape Town platform members from both organisations, to further strengthen our findings, while at the same time, lending credibility and honesty to the process of trying to understand what it means to govern at the city scale. The overarching themes distilled from the researchers' submissions were presented in the Project Advisory Committee meeting, which were then used as a template for discussion. This workshop was fruitful, and provided additional themes that had not arisen through the first round of

analysis of the documents, as well as consensus that the themes that had been included were accurate. The contents of this report are thus drawn from a variety of sources, including interview material, secondary material, first-hand experiences and participant observation of city officials and the embedded researchers.

Rationale

We focused on the trajectory of five policies that are either in development or have recently been implemented. The rationales for reflecting on these policies are expressed below. We are of the opinion that these documents are important across a number of departments in the City, and some of them have significant political support to further render them necessary for exploration. They are also relevant to each researcher's particular field of interest, and ties in to their PhD research.

Economic Growth Strategy (Anton Cartwright)

The Strategic Policy Unit in the Mayor's office drafted an 'Economic Growth Strategy' that has been circulating within the City since the beginning of 2013. The strategy provides the basis for conceptual progress for the City's Economic Development Unit by encouraging them to adopt a 'whole organization' approach in their planning and work, as opposed to the fragmented project, region and sector based approach adopted to date. The strategy outlines the importance of competitiveness, infrastructure, inclusive growth, trade and sector development and environmental sustainability. It focuses attention on the imperative of social inclusion, and identifies employment creation as the key instrument for inclusion.

The Economic Growth Strategy is significant. That it comes from the Mayor's office signifies political leadership and backing. It draws on a 'whole organisation' approach that aims to coordinate the various sectors and interventions towards a common goal. The strategy represents an attempt to both strengthen and make coherent the city's economic orientation. This represents progress on the preceding economic strategy lacuna – a situation that gave undue and unsolicited influence to the Municipal Finance Management Act and the City's budget office. Good budgeting and clean audits are a necessary but insufficient basis for addressing Cape Town's economic challenges, and the draft EGS represents an attempt from the mayor's office to shape the manner in which budget allocations are made, thereby giving meaning to the City's fiscal strategy. This strategy is also significant in that it recognises links to international trends and markets.

City Development Strategy and Climate Adaptation Plans of Action (Anna Taylor)

The CDS constitutes a high-level, forward-looking, strategic framework, providing a vision for the city in 2040, a set of overarching goals and a number of strategic interventions envisaged to transform the city from its current state to the proposed desirable future state. Development of the CDS involved considerable engagement amongst City councillors and City officials in a range of departments, as well as public consultation and expert input. The process of developing the CDS was driven from within the City administration, by the Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, but the ownership of the strategy has now shifted to the recently formed Strategic Policy Unit that reports directly to the Mayor. The CDS is an attempt at re-orienting City decision-making from the top-down.

The Climate Adaptation Plans of Action (CAPAs), by contrast, are sector-based operational plans that have been developed within the City administration at the department level. Initiated and coordinated from within the Environmental Resource Management Department, the CAPA process involved workshops with technical experts in each of the key departments doing work affecting or affected by climate risks, to characterise current and future climate-related impacts and identify adaptation actions to be taken in light of these. The CAPAs are an attempt at affecting operational decisions within the City from the bottom-up.

Beyond just an attempt at better understanding decision-making that bears on urban sustainability in Cape Town, the activities involved in doing this research also have some influence over how these decision-making processes unfold in the City. Asking questions about these documents adds weight and validity to them. It contributes to keeping them on the agenda. Both the CDS and the CAPAs are potentially powerful shapers of decisions within the City that could increase the climate resilience of the city at large; but both are currently still marginal documents and so could easily drop off the City's radar unless they are reinforced and raised with the appropriate people. Doing this research contributes to such efforts within the City.

Energy and Climate Action Plan (Saul Roux)

The Energy and Climate Action Plan is a central guiding document in the City of Cape Town for decision-making, policy and implementation around a broad range of energy-related goals and objectives. The Action Plan contains 11 high level objectives attached to specific baselines and targets. These objectives are operationalized through over 40 programmatic areas and 120 projects

that span across City department and directorates. The Action Plan was approved by Council in 2010. Prior to formulating the Plan it was recognised that unique institutional structures had to be established to enable cross-departmental integration and collaboration. To this end, an Energy Committee (a political Committee), an Executive Management Team Subcommittee on Energy and Climate Change (an official Committee) and three work streams were set up.

There are a number of rationales for selecting the Action Plan as a policy to analyse as part of the GAPS project. Analysis of the Action Plan can be justified from both a research interest perspective as well as its potential value to the City of Cape Town.

Three years have passed since the adoption of the Action Plan. Monitoring and evaluation of the Action Plan indicates that implementation in certain programmatic areas have proven more effective and straightforward than other areas. In response, the Energy and Climate Change Unit is undertaking a prioritisation process to identify critical areas of intervention, barriers to implementation (including resource constraints) and means of overcoming these challenges. It is thus an opportune moment, in support of this process, to carry out an analysis of the Action Plan as part of the GAPS project. Moreover, progress on implementation of the Action Plan is monitored and evaluated annually. This analysis can contribute to and provide insights towards the annual monitoring and evaluation process.

Many points of interests, from a research perspective, are apparent in both the formulation and evolution of the Action Plan. At the outset, as different programmatic areas have seen varying degrees of success, the policy provides an opportunity to unpack the ways in which regulatory, institutional and political factors impact on implementation outcomes. The programmatic areas and particular projects are situated within considerably different regulatory environments and are overseen by separate departments each with unique institutional cultures and individual stakeholders. This provides the basis for a compelling comparative analysis. The Action Plan was also approved prior to a local government election. Since the political change a range of events concerning the Action Plan have transpired including the watering down of powers and the terms of reference of the Energy Committee and a re-arrangement of institutional structures to administer the Action Plan. This brings interesting questions to the fore such as the impact of short-term electoral cycles on both long-term planning and the structures established to oversee such plans. Finally, the process of developing the Action Plan aimed to fully engage stakeholders - consultation was undertaken with a wide breadth of potential implementing agents. However, certain

implementing agents have expressed the view that improper information, planning and consultation informed the development of the Action Plan, particularly around setting up baselines and targets. The analysis can thus provide insight into stakeholders involved and excluded in policy formulation, the type and nature of data and knowledge used to support policy formulation and the impact of these factors on implementation.

Spatial Development Framework (Rob McGaffin)

The Spatial Development Framework (SDF) is one of the key documents seen to be influencing decision-making in the City and is seen as the primary document guiding the spatial development of the city. Post 1994, there was a lack of clarity with respect to the legal status of spatial development frameworks [e.g. Municipal Spatial Development Framework] and the degree to which they needed to be taken into account with respect to development decision-making. However, this has changed with the approval of the current SDF in terms of the section 4(6) of the Land use Planning Ordinance (No. 15 of 1985) and section 34 of the Municipal Systems Act (No. 32 of 2000) as part of the Integrated Development Plan.

Urban spatial structure has a significant impact on the efficiency, equity and environmental sustainability of any city as it impacts on inter alia where people live and work, what travel demand is created, who has access to the city's opportunities and the extent that resources are utilised. As the principle spatial guiding document in the City, the SDF therefore speaks directly to the MISTRA themes of Green, Dense and Fair. It is also a useful document to review as recent urban development approvals (such as Wescape[4]) create a useful back-drop to assess the role of this new legally approved policy document in guiding political decision-making.

In addition, it is practical to review the SDF as the researcher is embedded in the department that was responsible for its development and the researcher was part of an external committee that was constituted to review the document and the public comments that were received regarding it.

Furthermore, the researcher is currently embarking on a PhD that is investigating the space-economy of Cape Town and what drives its development and therefore the researcher is interested

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[4] Wescape is a contentious proposed development for the outskirts of Cape Town, with the aim of accommodating 200 000 residents. For more information, see http://wescapelife.co.za/, as well as http://urbanafrica.net/blogs/2013/09/06/wescape-privatising-profits-and-socialising-risks, and Cirolia, 2013.

in the relationship between public policies that profess to guide development and the market forces that ultimately build the city.

IMEP Review (Amy Davison, City of Cape Town)

IMEP is 'a statement of intent, a commitment to certain principles and ethics and to the development of sectoral strategies which will detail goals, targets, programmes and actions needed to ensure sustainable resource use and management of this unique environment for the benefit of all communities' (CoCT, 2003: 4). The current IMEP document notes the challenging context that the City of Cape Town is faced with, in terms of growing socio-economic issues, which are often considered to confront and compromise the need to preserve the region's environmental assets.

Given the heightened awareness and importance of the environmental agenda globally, as well as the period of time that has lapsed since the current IMEP was drafted, a new, environmental policy is needed; one that sits in conversation with contemporary understandings of environmental management in urban contexts and is more responsive to the challenges the city is currently facing. Within these outlined changes to the document, there is also a desire to change the language, perceptions, prioritisation and means of implementation around urban sustainability challenges – in effect, seeking to find new transition pathways through the interview process, an objective that correlates with the Mistra Urban Futures agenda.

The IMEP review process is currently in phase one, in which Environmental Resource Management staff members and an environmental policy consultant are meeting with key senior officials, with numerous goals in mind. At the most basic level, this process aims to uncover perceptions and preferences within the City's senior management teams regarding environmental policy, how this has been applied in the City, and what the form, structure and content of a future environmental policy could be. Additionally, the project team is prompting the various directorate teams to start defining their role in the implementation of environmental policy more clearly. These insights will allow for a set of clear recommendations to emerge that will guide the development of the future policy and associated tools.

At a deeper level, the IMEP review process seeks to re-establish environmental sustainability as a key policy issue within the City. The City's Economic Growth Strategy and Social Development Strategy have been driven from the highest level and are intended to provide a lens through which decision-making should be filtered. It has been suggested that the traditional 'third leg' of

sustainability is thus missing - environmental sustainability – and that the IMEP review process may work towards restoring it.

For these reasons, the IMEP review process provides an ideal opportunity to examine the ways in which decision making takes place within the City of Cape Town, and to uncover the unspoken, informal and implicit values and rationales which drive decision-making, in addition to the acknowledged formal processes. Additionally due to its cross-cutting nature within the organisation, both the current IMEP and a future environmental policy – whatever form it will ultimately take – address the MUF focus areas of Green, Fair and Dense.

These five policy initiatives in the City of Cape Town have been selected because of their relevance to the Mistra Urban Futures focus areas of fair, green and dense. In addition, they are directly related to the embedded researchers' work in the City of Cape Town, as well as their PhDs. They have also been chosen because they have relevance beyond the Environmental Resource Management Department. These five policies are important to analyse as they reflect a wider understanding of the challenges to sustainable urban development pathways. The breadth of the interaction with these policies also suggests that our findings, below, are relatable to a number of departments, and thus policy processes, than just the ERM department. The following section details the overarching themes that capture what it means to govern at the City scale in Cape Town, with particular focus on urban sustainable development

Governing at the City Scale

From the five policy and strategy documents listed above, we have distilled several key themes that arose from each researchers' submission. These themes include the importance of context; fair, green and dense as central imperatives; compromise as a result of conflicting rationalities and the politics of decision-making; the importance different knowledges, including that of content, of stakeholders, of the institution and the institutional rationalities, as well as the need for monitoring and evaluation systems to inform these knowledges; the importance of spaces for interaction and what this affords policy- and decision-makers; how to make visible the good news stories of innovation and success, and how to make visible processes that currently are not.

The importance of context

The city of Cape Town is highly unequal. There is a poor majority and a wealthy minority (resulting in differing needs and expectations), with skewed settlement densities and urban sprawl as one travels away from the city centre and the leafy green areas around the foot of Table Mountain as a result of apartheid planning policies.

> Huge levels of inequality mean people need very different things and have very different priorities that need to be traded-off; high levels of informality mean that many are not in the plan / affected by the formal planning system… the low tax base in the city and the country mean public budgets are tight; many people aspire to a traditional notion development and success in terms of commuting in private vehicles, living on large single stand properties, using grid electricity, owning prime coastal real-estate, enjoying high consumption lifestyles that generate large volumes of waste, owning high volume flush toilets, etc. (Researcher A)

Government at all spheres has had numerous deliverables over the last 19 years in the post-apartheid context (see the *National Development Plan*, 2012, for more on this). In South Africa more generally, but pertinent for Cape Town, there are growing levels of urbanisation, both through natural growth as well as through migration to the cities (internally from within South Africa as well as regional migration).

> Cape Town has changed dramatically over the past two decades. One of the more visible changes was confirmed by Census 2011 data: an estimated 50,000 job seekers have come to Cape Town annually over the past decade (from within and outside South Africa) in a process of urbanisation.[5] Not all of the these job seekers have found secure employment (21.69 per cent of job seekers and 60 per cent of the 20-24 year olds were unemployed in Cape Town in 2011) and many have taken up residence in Cape Town's informal settlements, located on the periphery of the city. The urbanisation trend, in conjunction with a reduction in household mean size from 3.72 to 3.50 between 2001 and 2011 has placed new demands on Cape Town's budget, infrastructure (Atwell, 2013), natural environment (Rebelo et al., 2011) and services and aggravated pre-existing inequality.[6] (Researcher B)

As noted above, growing numbers of poor people living in the city (or the urbanisation of poverty, see Parnell and Lilled, 2013) has resulted in increasing informality. All of this is further challenged by the changing and expanding mandate of local governments in South Africa in relatively short time frames. There is now a need not only to deal with pressing, immediately urgent issues that are typically considered to be 'basic', service delivery requirements (such as water and sanitation, electricity and housing), as well as social needs (education, healthcare, transport), equally, there is a

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[5] The number of people living in Cape Town grew by 847 782 between 2001 and 2011 (Census, 2011).
[6] Cape Town has the second highest mean household in South Africa (R143, 460 per annum) (Census, 2011).

need for attention on equally important, but less 'prioritisable' agendas (for example, climate change). These 'secondary' needs have effects on the basic service requirements of the population, as well as on the population itself (often affecting the poor the most), yet are often delayed as they are seen to be less urgent than other requirements. Embedded researcher B explains:

> The nature of Cape Town's urbanisation has necessitated increasing fiscal transfers from established rate paying communities to indigent communities in need of services; a situation that is not only financially unsustainable but which makes governance difficult and foments discord. Local authorities in South Africa cannot run deficit budgets, but they do issue bonds and incur debt and as such they are subject to credit rating agency opinion. The fiscal strain created by Cape Town's service delivery demands are seen by many in senior management as the definitive sustainability challenge. In their view none of the 'nice to haves' (Steyl, pers comm.) – which include climate change adaptation, a green economy and renewable energy – will be possible unless the City remains on a fiscally sustainable trajectory.

Each of the five strategies explored in this report speaks to these contextual issues. Despite the focus of the strategy/policy (i.e. economy, spatial planning, environmental management, city development, energy governance), the socio-economic struggles of the majority of the population, as well as the circumstances in which this group lives (often in peripheral locations, in tenuous informal situations, far from opportunities) have to be taken into account. A researcher notes that the Economic Growth Strategy 'confronts the view that poverty and inequality are somehow peripheral to the mainstream economy, to be addressed once core business has been attended to' (Researcher B). Similarly, the IMEP (passed in 2001) reflects a broad definition of sustainability, suggesting that:

> Sustainable development looks for a balance between economic, social and natural environmental needs. It also meets the needs of the present generations while not undermining the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. The term environment is defined to include our natural, social, economic, urban, rural and cultural context as experienced by the communities of Cape Town. (City Official)

This is not to say that each policy speaks directly to each issue. Viewed with a sustainability lens, the policies don't always speak to other aspects of the natural environment in a coherent way. 'The EGS, while recognizing important links between the environment, social challenges and the economy fails to do justice to these links and appears to see the natural environment in terms of eco-tourism opportunities and environmental protection in terms of new business and sector development opportunities (such as wind turbines, solar water heaters and biofuels)' (Researcher B). Indeed, in these cases, the natural environment is sometimes harnessed in opportunistic ways.

The City of Cape Town is a young municipality. It has been less than 20 years since the demise of the apartheid regime and the associated significant shifts in local government's roles and configuration. This is corroborated in a City of Cape Town Councillor Handbook (2011), where it is noted that the metropolitan government is ten years old (now 12). Prior to democracy, Cape Town had 39 local authorities and 19 administrations. Because these were racially based entities with limited capacities, the Handbook notes that 'On the eve of the 1996 local government elections, the 58 entities that made up metropolitan Cape Town were combined into seven' municipalities (2011: 4). This number decreased to one in 2000, when the City of Cape Town became known as the 'unicity', the metropolitan municipality as it is today. The municipality is thus young, and could be considered to still be settling into its role. Compounding this are the 'wicked problems' that challenge sustainable development. Coupled with new local government mandates, tensions of prioritisation arise in policy and implementation. Researcher B sums this up, suggesting that tensions arise in the implementation of the expanding mandate while not falling behind in the provision of basic services and functions: 'At the core of this tension is a South African local municipality trying to come to terms with a rapidly evolving and expanding mandate for new non-technical responsibilities such as "sustainability", "climate change adaptation" and "integrated resource management", while retaining its competence in "core functions" such as water, electricity and waste collection'.

Equally important in terms of context is the leadership of the City of Cape Town. Between 1994 and the current period, local government leadership has changed from the African National Congress (ANC) the Democratic Alliance (DA). The Western Cape is governed at a provincial level by the DA too, although nationally, the DA is in opposition to the ANC. The City of Cape Town is the only metropolitan municipality run by the DA. This presents an interesting case study in itself. The City of Cape Town has an explicit vision and mission that is predicated on five pillars, which clearly draw from the DA's vision (for more information, see da.org.za). These pillars include the opportunity city, the safe city, the caring city, the inclusive city and the well-run city. Despite these, this party is broadly perceived to speak to middle class/elite interests.

Cape Town's political scenario provides both opportunities and constraints. Researcher B suggests that Cape Town's status as the only metropolitan municipality that is currently governed by the DA means that the City is 'used as a showcase for the economic, environmental, human settlement and municipal governance of the Democratic Alliance, in an unofficial but deliberate conflation of political party and state entity'. Although not obvious in these five strategic documents, it could be asked whether competition between the DA and the ANC could be used to heighten the

sustainability agenda. Holgate raises this issue, stating that 'different political parties control the provincial and local legislature, resulting in a peer pressure mechanism whereby neither the provincial nor the local government want to be seen to be less successful in implementing climate change projects' (2007: 476). The notion of benchmarking between these two political parties and the ensuing compliance culture that results from this is also important to consider when exploring issues of sustainability at the city scale.

'Fair', 'green' and 'dense' as key frames in City strategic plans and policy initiatives

The Mistra Urban Futures focus areas of 'fair', 'green' and 'dense' are addressed as central themes, both explicitly and implicitly in the five policy initiatives that have been explored by the embedded researchers. We have already suggested that as a result of the country's apartheid history, the explicit focus on fair, equitable access to resources and opportunities is central to all policies and strategic initiatives in Cape Town. Indeed, the challenges that face the City (and the city) are very similar to those listed as contextual issues. We suggest that this is because in the case of a southern city such as Cape Town, these issues are historic as well as necessary for attention today.

Challenges to the City that have to be taken in account are presented in the City Development Strategy (Annexure 2, pp. 88-89). Many of these challenges speak to the focus areas of fair, green and dense:

- Cape Town's population will continue to grow, and the city, together with other spheres of government and stakeholders, need to plan ahead timeously to meet the needs as they emerge – especially concerning access to low-cost housing and basic municipal services
- While Cape Town's health profile is improving, wide-scale poverty persists, with poor communities living on the periphery of the city, their spatial location serving as but one reflection of their social marginalisation
- The city's social fabric is undermined by social marginalisation and high levels of social criminality, especially drug and murder-related crimes. This requires concerted interventions to build social equity, foster a sense of community, and encourage residents (especially youth) to engage in (re)building the city
- Large proportions of Cape Town's population are unskilled and unemployed, while the traditional high-labour-absorbing industries in Cape Town (such as the textile industry) are in decline. The City of Cape Town will need to support an environment conducive to informal sector growth and small, medium and micro-sized enterprise (SMME) development, with a view to providing some entry-level jobs and contributing to economic growth
- Young people emerge from the current education system with low to medium-level skills that do not meet the needs of the job market. This calls for programmes to help build the

quality of education and increase the uptake and completion of tertiary and advanced tertiary training

- In order to capitalise on the potential knowledge economy, Cape Town needs to invest in the soft (human capacity) and hard (fibre optic networks) infrastructure that will yield the optimal conditions for a knowledge-based (and high-value-add services) economy to flourish
- The rate of urban development is placing undue pressure on Cape Town's natural and cultural resources. This calls for action by the City to support ways to conserve and enrich the existing natural and cultural landscape, from the neighbourhood to the city level
- Combating social marginalisation and building trust and community between population groups in Cape Town will require a more compact city form, with adequate housing for all its residents as well as ample green and open public space to facilitate social interaction and play
- As a consequence of climate change, Cape Town is facing possible water scarcity with the potential knock-on effect of food insecurity. The City needs to continue with water demand management and should explore and secure alternative water sources
- The City's bulk infrastructure needs urgent maintenance to reduce resource loss (such as water leakage) and to enhance environmental conservation efforts (such as storm water runoff and sewage systems)
- The emerging possibility of a global oil scarcity requires that Cape Town maps all the alternative energy solutions potentially available and/or developable in/by the City, including good-quality public, hybrid (electric) and non-motorised transport alternatives as well as alternative local energy generation and storage solutions
- Capetonians will have to be a part of the solution to Cape Town's challenges. This requires that the City facilitate interventions that encourage residents' participation in efforts to reduce their carbon footprint at household level – including recycling household waste and using public or non-motorised transport more often – and being engaged more broadly in efforts to build the city's resilience at the environmental, economic and social (for example, by embracing diversity) level (Researcher A)

These challenges to sustainable urban development are thus framed in a similar language to the Mistra Urban Futures focus areas. Further challenges, particularly relevant to climate resilience and the 'green' focus area, are understood to include:

- high carbon emissions, especially from transport and electricity usage, and the legal frameworks and revenue models that lock the city into coal-based electricity;
- risk of sea level rise and storm surges damaging public infrastructure and private properties along the coastline;
- the growing numbers of informal settlers in the city residing on marginal / unserviceable land and the extensive winter flooding associated with heavy rainfall events, increased run-off and pools of standing water, especially in informal settlements;
- health threats (notably respiratory disease) associated with rising temperatures and the interplay between changing climate conditions and localised patterns of air pollution;

- changing patterns of water quality and quantity in an already water scarce region affecting water availability and cost;
- reduced crop yields, increasing food prices and aggravated food insecurity associated with water and heat stress;
- the degraded state of many of the city's ecosystems and the threat of species extinction and loss of biodiversity that is key to the city's heritage, cultural identity and a major contributor to the tourism industry. (Researcher A)

The issue of scale is important in understanding many of these challenges to sustainable urban development. Scale is important in this report in two ways. First, the issues that affect sustainability are often global in nature, yet have serious effects at the local scale. There is also a need to address or mitigate these challenges at different scales (the level at which mitigation, prevention and adaptation should occur is often contested. This is discussed in relation to government spheres in the following section of the report). The emergence of complex, wicked new problems requires new tools and approaches for these that differ from other, 'everyday', service delivery type of requirements. Scale is thus an important factor in understanding how issues such as climate change affect smaller areas.

The second way that scale is important in this case is the way in which the city is conceptualised. In some policy rhetoric, the city is positioned as a 'world city', or as a 'design capital'.[7] Whilst these aspirations shape the ways in which politicians would like the city to be viewed, and focus on attracting attention from certain areas (such as investors) (see Hodson and Marvin, 2009: 524). The Economic Growth Strategy speaks to the notion of a 'world city'. Researcher B notes: 'the senior officials and political desire to be seen as a "world class city" – an inexact but emotive ambition. On this point the EGS is both candid and clear that Cape Town cannot yet view itself as an influential global player'.

Issues of scale are important when considering the types of problems that face South Africa. While politicians may strive for our cities to be 'world cities' with the attributes that accompany this (such as open markets linked to the global economy, and as a result, the more localised issues that result from the need for private sector investment – see Miraftab, 2006), in reality, many of the challenges that beset the country have to be addressed at local scales. While looking to promote a city as a

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[7] See, for example, Cape Town's successful World Design Capital 2014 bid, as well as Cape Town Tourism, and the Cape Town partnership.

'world city' is appealing to attract investors, the likelihood of this status having an immediate, tangible effect on the socioeconomic disparities is unlikely.

Compromise

The changing mandate and role of cities in South Africa (through the Municipal Systems Act, 2000, and others since then) has happened over a short period of time. As documented earlier, local government in Cape Town has undergone a series of significant structural changes – 'Sweeping national policy and regulatory changes occurred between 1998 and 2010' (Researcher C). To compound these shifts, the mandates and roles of cities have changed, in many situations adding to the responsibilities of cities. In situations where continuing to provide high levels of services is necessary, coupled with transformation that speaks to 'socio-economic well-being, sustainability and environmental safety are necessary in cities, compromises occur when cities and processes are 'locked in' to certain systems, which are difficult to change. Researcher B describes the extended responsibility of local government:

> The Municipal Systems Act gave meaning to the Constitutional Clauses in Sections 24 and 152. Section 24 mandates The State (which has subsequently been ruled to include local government) with responsibility for ensuring, 'That everyone has the right to an environment that is not harmful to their health or wellbeing'. In conjunction with Section 152 of the Constitution which entrusts local municipalities with promoting, 'A safe and healthy environment' in addition to the provision of water, electricity, solid waste and public transport in a 'sustainable manner'. This has extended the City's responsibilities into areas that are simultaneously *too political for technicians and too technical for politicians*. Seen through this lens the tensions are inevitable, and potentially helpful, particularly if deliberative opportunities exist.

This extension of the City's responsibilities has had effect with regards to the environment, too. Researcher B notes:

> work undertaken by the National Treasury in 2013 that suggests that local governments do have a specific responsibility for the environment (and climate change). The preliminary findings in that work cite Constitutional clauses in making the case: Section 24 (1) of the Constitution states that everyone has the right to an environment that is not harmful to their health or wellbeing. Read together with Section 7(2) of the Constitution, it provides that 'the state (all spheres of government) must respect, protect, promote and fulfill the rights in the Bill of Rights'. A recent legal judgment in the Durban courts (The Gyanda Judgement[8]) provided further clarity be ruling that the 'The 'State' includes the Local Government in the form of the Municipality.

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[8] Gyanda Judgement Durban Court, 2012. P17-18.

The changing mandate of local government has an effect on the ways in which resources are distributed between departments. Although local government is expected to deal with issues of the environment, this is often seen to compete with traditional 'service delivery' mandates. Unless 'environmental' projects are in some way related to key strategies or areas that specifically speak to the City management's key focus areas (explicit and implicit), they are overlooked and sometimes rejected. 'Skilled policy developers are good at embedding this narrow agenda in the IDP and the broader City strategy environment, but given the wide range of policies and strategies that has prevailed in the City this is not been difficult to do. Very few officials are able to link their policies to matters of fiscal sustainability' (Researcher B).

While the extension of the responsibilities of local government means that more action can occur at this smaller scale, the shifting role of Cities has an effect on the capacities on those working in the departments who have to take on additional roles in light of these changing mandates. Often, these individuals are not equipped to deal with the implications of these changes (see Pasquini et al, 2013). At the same time, there are differing perceptions with local government bodies of what the priority issues are: 'Perceptions of the priority issues differ across individuals and departments – the city is not a homogenous entity and guiding policies and strategies are interpreted subjectively by the departments, units and individuals' (Researcher B). This researcher refers to the starkly different, but equally important, needs of the community that the Cape Town municipality serves, and the obvious requirement for a tax base for cross-subsidisation:

> a small group of experienced city officials see it as their duty to keep the City operating, principally through budget allocations to the key service delivery line departments: waste collection, water, electricity and sanitation…. issues such as environmental protection, climate change adaptation, renewable energy and social equity [are seen to be] secondary to the priority of keeping the City operational. Whilst these officials recognize the need to add layers such as climate change adaptation and integrated water resource management to the City's governance structure, they will not do this at the expense of the core, traditional mandate of the City around basic service delivery and rates collection.

The 'triple bottom line' is a notion that is gaining prominence in the City, although it is acknowledged that addressing 'people, planet and profit' through policy is challenging. We suggest that it is crucial for officials working on matters of environmental importance to have an institutional knowledge of the City and how it functions in order to elevate the environmental agenda. We contend that environmental issues rarely get political buy-in without a strategy or policy that addresses financial and social imperatives. Researcher B suggests that:

legal compliance (especially with public finance legislation) and maintenance of fiscal and political stability are the *sine qua non* in which competing programmes are effectively prioritized. Effective policy writers are skilled in drawing eclectically on other strategies and policies and in lobbying their ideas through one of two channels: the senior executive and the IDP or the political leadership and the local party branches.

Politics is important, particularly in the case of Cape Town, which, as the only Democratic Alliance-run metropolitan municipality of the country is seen to be an example of what the opposition party could achieve in other cities. 'It is fair to say that the political priorities of the current administration have a significant influence over how policy and implementation is prioritised within the City. Political priorities are formalised in the IDP, which is then operationalised through the budget and business planning process' (City Official)

To advance an environmental agenda, other aspects are also important. Researcher C notes that 'The existence of a champion' is a driver for particular projects, as is previous work on the topic, particularly if this has occurred through partnerships with external agents, for example, 'previous work on developing energy and climate change strategies through the DANIDA Partnership and the presence of supportive not-for-profit organisations were also drivers of policy development in the case of the Action Plan'.

Compromise is a frequent requirement in the policy process. A City Official states that 'It is fair to say that the political priorities of the current administration have a significant influence over how policy and implementation is prioritised within the City. Political priorities are formalised in the IDP, which is then operationalised through the budget and business planning process'. In order for policies to be passed, ideally, they need to speak to the political priorities which are formalised in the Integrated Development Plan (IDP). Researcher B contends that:

> With a few notable exceptions (such as coastal governance), officials responsible for 'new' city responsibilities such as energy renewable energy and biodiversity have been remarkably poor at adopting the language or perspective of the City's inner core so as to make their issues relevant to them... Some culpability, however, must be placed at the door of the budget process which, whilst officially open to all officials and the public, is effectively managed by a very small group and only understood in any real detail by this group. In this sense there is no city-wide fiscal strategy and little scope for altering the existing strategy.

In the case of budgeting, it is important that all projects or policies can demonstrate that they speak to the fundamental service provision responsibilities of the City. In adopting language that resonates

with those who approve policy, policies appear less demanding if they take the budgeting requirements of the City into consideration.

It is clear that compromise is also important in order to avoid conflict within the City, between different departments as well as to prevent delays when policies are taken to the higher levels of government for approval. Researcher D notes that in a significant policy document, 'it appears that controversial positions were generally avoided to prevent conflict and to facilitate approval'. Policies are thus rarely the end point of what individuals or departments want. Rather, these should be seen as frameworks which should guide future action (sometimes action should be guided through by-laws).

Compromise is clearly an important aspect of policy development and writing. However, while there is a need for flexibility in this, it is important that creating a 'compliance culture' is avoided.

Knowledge

Through this research process it has become apparent that different kinds of knowledge play different roles in the shaping and implementation of policy in the City. The first kind of knowledge that is of the utmost importance for driving a sustainability agenda is institutional knowledge, which relates to how the organisation actually works.

To construct policy, institutional knowledge and an understanding of how the organisation functions is important. A City Official working on reviewing and updating an existing policy explained that:

> Institutional knowledge and an understanding of how the organisation functions is a key factor in effectively developing policy - this was highlighted a number of times in the review process. Accessing the key decision-makers during the policy development process and obtaining their buy-in is seen as a fundamental step in the process.

To have an effective policy, the policy itself is not enough - a need for appropriate implementation strategies, protocols, spatial tools and so on are required to ensure that the policy is implemented in the way in which it was intended. Policy should also emerge out of:

> the identification of a gap in existing policy, or the updating of an existing policy. This is usually driven by the department or directorate that has identified the gap. There is strong resistance amongst interviewees for 'policy for the sake of policy', and a clear need has been expressed to ensure that policy moves into an implementation phase and doesn't become another 'document on a shelf'. Additionally, policy can be driven from a corporate level (e.g. EGS and [Social Development Strategy]), which is usually linked to a political priority that has

been identified. Policy can be also be influenced by public demand for a policy to be set on a particular issue, usually following a high profile incident (e.g. busking policy, dogs on beaches policy). (City Official)

In addition to these issues, there are additional factors that aid policy development and implementation. Firstly, there needs to be 'The right political climate to facilitate political support for a project' (Researcher C). This political climate has different guises. For example, certain projects that are linked to a topical issue as well as addressing problems that affect the poor have found favour with politicians. Researcher C suggests that in one case, 'The political climate and socio-economic conditions… prioritised support for energy security (due to rolling black outs and load-shedding) and energy poverty alleviation (the ceilings retrofit programme)'. In the case of a broader City-level planning document:

> There were a mounting number of suggestions and recommendations to develop a City Development Strategy for Cape Town from both within the City administration and from external stakeholders (notably the Cape Town Partnership), partly because of international trends driven by the Cities Alliance and partly because most of the other metropolitan municipalities in South Africa already had a CDS and Cape Town did not want to be left behind. But it took a number of years, marked by heavy contest between the ANC and DA over political leadership of the City, before there was political purchase and resources committed to undertaking the development process. (Researcher A)

As these examples point out, the policy needs to be instigated at the right time: there needs to be a political appetite for it. It is also important to recognise policy catalysts (see Hodson and Marvin 2010: 478). In the Cape Town case, these included rolling energy black-outs stemming from the national energy service-provider.

It was noted that institutional knowledge such as this is often learnt over many years working at the City. Researcher A noted that:

> Mostly these lessons are learned through experience by the individuals involved. They get shared informally with close colleagues working on the next policy, strategy or planning process. However, often this accumulated experience and knowledge is lost when individuals leave the City.

The lack of continuity in political positions means that institutional learning is often not sustained, and is not passed on to the next person. While 'The City is currently in the process of setting up a new internal web-based knowledge management system that makes data and information (including policies, research reports, etc.) more easily accessible across the organisation' (Researcher A), this does not include institutional knowledge that is learned through experience. One way of

sharing this knowledge could be through the introduction of more informal spaces for interaction and sharing among officials and politicians.

The City is not a homogenous entity: different units and departments have different agendas and institutional cultures. The quote below explains:

> The more operationally oriented institutional units within local government have intense power of negotiation in informing policy. They have large budgets and the services they undertake are the core of municipal functions. However, they often have capacity constraints, are overloaded and have particular institutional priorities… Political structures negotiate political policy and administration. In the case of the Energy and Climate Action Plan, a focus on energy security, economic development and energy poverty alleviation was given precedence in policy design due to political priority. The Executive Management negotiates between the political stratum and administration and bounds the nature and focus of policy to ensure that it is suited to the political climate and is manageable in terms of institutional factors. (Researcher C)

Policy creation is clearly an extremely complicated process. Policy has to satisfy many different groups in order for it to be passed, and thus results in compromises, as noted earlier. Policy also has to take into account revenue implications, be compliant legally and should be politically defensible in order to be passed. These stringent requirements that policies have to meet can mean that policy-drafters avoid risks and instead of experimenting with adaptive management, pursue a more compliant path. This kind of compromise results in a 'compliance' culture, which can have adverse effects on the 'wicked problems' that require innovative responses that may not always be popular with all City departments.

Policies are developed using different knowledges. Typically, this comes from the individual or team or the team working on a particular policy. It also depends on who is consulted during the research or review process, as well as what questions are asked, those that are not asked, and the options that are opened for discussion. For a prominent strategy, it was:

> generally felt that a lot of knowledge was drawn from personal experiences, preconceived notions and professional backgrounds and therefore the knowledge base was dependent on the backgrounds and positions of the senior officials involved. Similarly, the problems and challenges were defined based on personal views and backgrounds and there was a clustering around 'rafts'/areas of knowledge, with often data being used to support particular outcomes' (Researcher D).

Knowledge that is used to inform policies is thus rarely neutral and objective. Information comes from certain spheres, and shapes the policy agenda. It is also interesting to note that some

information that is used to support certain strategy documents can be outdated – for example, in the Spatial Development Framework, 'Concerns did however exist that some of the statistics used were incorrect [e.g. Doddington - population] and outdated [e.g. Census]' (Researcher D).

Policies are drafted by officials with different knowledges, and it is inappropriate to assume that all government employees know the same things. For example, in the development of the SDF, a change in political leadership partway through the strategy drafting process meant changes in the team working on the project, and thus a change in the focus of the framework:

> This change in focus was also partially brought about by the change in senior officials responsible for the SDF during its development. The original senior officials involved had a strong design-orientation, whilst the subsequent officials had a more 'grounded', growth-management and evidence-driven approach. (Researcher D)

> While the list of issues didn't change over the SDF's development, the focus and emphasis did. Initially densification and place-making had a major focus but over time greater emphasis was placed on economic issues and the need for the SDF to give guidance to infrastructure investment. (Researcher D)

Certain officials and politicians have specialist knowledge that relates to quite specific mandates. Finding ways that bridge these divides is important for policy to be useful, relevant and contemporary, whilst not exclusionary for the officials who will need to use and implement this policy, as well as the politicians who need to understand these documents in order to support them (and defend them if necessary).

Stakeholder knowledge is of vital importance in the writing of policies and strategies, partly because stakeholders bring different knowledge to bear on proceedings. Stakeholders include academia, NGOs, local government associations, national and provincial government and the private sector. Civil society is also a stakeholder, although engagements with this group typically occur once a policy has been drafted (unless it is debated in the media). The importance of interaction between local government officials and these stakeholders is detailed below.

Monitoring and evaluation of policy is important to ascertain whether or not it works, to what extent, and to determine how it could be changed to improve its functioning. There is a growing acceptance that monitoring and evaluation no longer has to be done in a quantitative way, but that other measures can be incorporated to provide a more accurate evaluation of policies and strategies and their programmes.

Currently, monitoring and evaluation occurs through 'service delivery implementation plans, directorate score cards, corporate dashboards and the City's risk register' (Researcher C). Researcher A explains how some of these tools work:

> The use of scorecards and key performance indicators linked to incentives for senior management are one of the ways that the Council hold administrators to account for progressing and implementing particular decisions. The priorities contained within the 5 year Integrated Development Plan are linked to these scorecards but currently there is no link between these scorecards and delivering on the measures listed in the CDS and/or the CAPAs.

For a more general understanding of how the City is faring in delivering what the public needs and wants, a Community Satisfaction Survey is used 'to gauge overall progress, i.e. not specific to any single policy or plan, [where] an independent research group… conduct[s] an annual Community Satisfaction Survey with residents and businesses to measure public perceptions of the City's delivery of services across the metro' (Researcher A).

In order to ensure that projects are implemented in a meaningful way, these are often included in City-wide evaluation tools. Researcher C notes that 'A driver within municipalities is inclusion of programmes in key performance areas of relevant staff, placing an area on the Mayor's or corporate dashboards, the City's risk register and directorate score cards'. Despite this, it has been argued that:

> Effective monitoring and evaluation of policy and planning progress and outcomes remains very weak within the City at large. This is something that the new SPU has been mandated to improve. 'This Unit will have as its primary function strategic policy planning, performance monitoring and evaluation. The Unit will act as a strategic coordinating point that ensures that the mandate that this government was elected on is implemented throughout the city (speech made to City Council by Cape Town's Executive Mayor Patricia De Lille, 26 April 2012). (Researcher A)

The accurate monitoring and evaluation of programmes and policies at the City is extremely important for accountability, transparency and democracy. It is also important that officials who work on these programmes can see that their efforts pay off. Researcher B suggests that:

> For most individuals (and it tends to be individuals or small groups that discuss and draft policies) the final indicator of their success is if their programme receives budget. Given that budget allocations in the City change very little from year to year, a budget reallocation is difficult to achieve and considered grounds for success.

An official adds that:

It can be extremely difficult at times to know whether a difference has been made. Beyond the normal evaluation process, regular interaction with the people/environment/situation that the policy is intended to affect/influence is key. Additionally, the formal 5 year (or similar interval) review process has been essential in determining whether and how attitudes and perceptions have changed.

Different knowledges are important for those seeking to find different pathways to sustainable urban transitions. Institutional knowledge is necessary in order to better understand how to go about changing perceptions of what sustainable development should look like. For this reason, spaces for interaction internally as well as externally to the City are necessary.

The importance of fora and spaces for interaction

It was noted earlier that there is a need for more spaces for officials and politicians to interact with each other on a less formal basis. Of similar importance is the role that non-local government stakeholders play in bringing different knowledges to bear in order to shape policies. Fora for these discussions provide opportunities to discuss how different individuals, departments and institutions understand issues that need to be addressed. In democratic South Africa, public participation in government processes is a necessity. Whilst this is difficult to do at the policy drafting stage, it is necessary to consult external stakeholders in order for the policies to have credibility.

> It is apparent that the City of Cape Town public participation process for policy development does not sufficiently engage external stakeholders in policy decisions. In order to consider the opinions, views and concerns of a broad range of stakeholders and incorporate these views in policy there is a need for an institutional structure which engages tiers of government, the private sector, academia, communities and not-for-profit organisations. The Provincial Government of the Western Cape has recently established a range of Provincial Strategic Objectives alongside institutional structures that engage a wide range of stakeholders. These institutional structures provide a model for local government. (Researcher C)

These stakeholders also have different capacities and capabilities, which can strengthen the City's position on particular issues. For example:

> The Energy and Climate Change Unit are part of a loose network of actors within and external to public entities that tend to gather around key policy objectives, share, pool and exchange resources and aim to traverse institutional boundaries for the purposes of achieving policy objectives. The Energy and Climate Change Unit interacts with not-for profit and community organisations (notably Sustainable Energy Africa and Electricity Governance Initiative), academic institutions (notably the Energy Research Centre), the private sector (Chamber of Commerce, South African Property Owners Association, energy service and renewable energy companies), donor organisations and umbrella organisations. The Unit

also adopts a Multi-level Governance style through involvement with international city networks (ICLEI, Mexico City Pact (Cities Climate Change Covenant), participation in Climate Change and Cities Registry, C40 Cities, and the Clinton Climate Initiative). The Energy and Climate Change Unit communicates and engages with Provincial Government agencies, notably Department of Environment and Development Planning (DEADP), Department of Economic Development and Tourism (DEDT) and GreenCape and has close working relationships with national government, particularly National Treasury, the Department of Energy, the National Energy Regulator and Eskom. The Unit attempts to influence national energy policy through a range of mechanisms including engagement with National Treasury and Energy Portfolio Committees; commenting on national regulation and policy and participation in national energy forums and meetings. The Unit also engages other South African cities through direct communications and knowledge exchange as well as through participation with South African Local Government Association (SALGA), South African Cities Network (SACN) and Association of Municipal Electricity Utilities (AMEU). (Researcher C)

There is also a strong argument for local governments coming together in order to learn from each other. Researcher C notes that:

> Lessons are learnt through city to city knowledge exchanges through a range of platforms such as South African Cities Network, City Energy Support Unit, South African Local Government Association and Association of Municipal Electricity Utilities and through direct interactions between stakeholders in different municipalities… Lessons are learnt through workshops and meetings focused on particular areas and projects… Lessons are learnt through monitoring and evaluation of specific programme areas.

Stakeholders fulfil other important roles, too. They act as intermediaries; provide independence and impartiality; provide rigour; provide evidence to policy design and management; ensure knowledge exchange; facilitate joint strategy development. Stakeholders can also be seen to 'legitimate' the actions of Cape Town's opposition-led government. Researcher C writes:

> Not-for-profit and community organisations act as intermediaries or mediators between municipal units, between officials and politicians and between spheres of government. They also play an important role in knowledge exchange between government agencies. Not-for-profit organisations also provide a degree of independence and impartiality in the research that informs policy decisions and implementation support. Finally, more social and economic development focused community organisations and NPO's such as the Electricity Governance Initiative voice concerns around energy poverty alleviation, job creation potential of sustainable energy and environmental elements of energy, placing these concerns on the agenda of public institutions. Academic institutions that were involved in the State of Energy Report, Action Plan development and monitoring and evaluation of implementation provide rigour, evidence-based and independence to policy design and development. Umbrella organisations and local government associations ensure knowledge exchange between local governments, facilitate joint strategy development and relay positions of local government to national government which is then incorporated in national

policy development. For the City of Cape Town, these umbrella organisations play an important role in 'legitimising' the concerns of a DA led municipality (ERMD, 2013c). National government institutions, particularly the Department of Energy, the National Energy Regulator and Eskom bound the type and nature of projects through regulation and policy. Thus, certain programmes are prohibited and excluded from policy design. They also provide funding, technical support and align national policy goals. Partnerships, such as the Energy Efficiency Forum play a range of roles including pooling of resources, knowledge exchange, project alignment and creation of space for information dissemination.

Although this researcher's experience comes from the energy governance sector of the City of Cape Town, the roles that external stakeholders play applies to other sectors too. However, although stakeholders are important for policy making, the inclusion of external actors to the City does not mean that every view or option is explored prior to drafting policies. Decision-making is often networked. Researcher A notes the implications that this has, suggesting that policy is never drafted or written in an objective way.

> Who is invited to engage in the process and who chooses to take up that invitation?
> What questions and options are put on the table for discussion?
> Who within the City initiates the process and who is tasked with coordinating the process?
> Which service providers are appointed to facilitate consultations and draft text?
> What other policy processes / incidents are happening at the time (e.g. setting up of EDP and development of FutureCape – OneCape 2040 in the case of CDS)
> Resource availability (financial budget and staff capacity)

These factors play a role in how policy comes into being.

It was noted in a workshop with City officials that spaces for interaction, real dialogue, sharing and learning between politicians and officials are lacking. Deliberative spaces for understanding complex issues are much needed. This is not a new requirement; indeed, a City Official notes that:

> One of the key recommendations from the 2008 IMEP review was the need to establish a city-wide environmental committee or forum. This committee/forum would provide a venue for discussion and mainstreaming of environmental issues, as well as a means for staff members from different departments working on environmental issues to have a central discussion forum at which policy, initiatives, and projects could be shared. This will support and promote integration. It is likely that this recommendation will emerge again out of the current IMEP review process.

New spaces for interaction are necessary - the emergence of polycentric and multi-level governance approaches suggests that this is the case. In the energy governance sector:

> The Environmental Resource Management Department and Energy and Climate Change Unit have adopted a more polycentric governance or network management style. The Energy and

Climate Change Unit are part of a loose network of actors within and external to public entities that tend to gather around key policy objectives, share, pool and exchange resources and aim to traverse institutional boundaries for the purposes of achieving policy objectives. (Researcher C)

It is as yet unknown what this different style of day to day local government proceedings might means for the traditional tiers of government. However, it is certain that these new ways of operating will shift the politics of decision-making at the city scale.

The politics of decision-making

Decision-making never occurs in a vacuum. Perceptions of policies and agendas exist, and many decisions are taken behind closed doors. Politics is rarely, if ever, objective, and this comes to bear on policies that need to be passed.

Key factors for consideration when looking at decision-making are issues of scale and time frames for decisions. For example, electoral cycles are 5 years in length, and so decisions made in this period may only stick for short periods of time – these short time frames have adverse effects on issues that require long-term decisions (such as climate change, for example). An official explains:

> However, taking a long term view can be difficult in an environment of relatively short term political terms of office (5 years) and in a potentially volatile political environment. This means that environmental policy positions which may have long term benefit, but will be unpopular or difficult in the shorter term, may be hard to justify or implement.

Not only does the short political time frame have effects on the implementation of policy, it also affects how policies are conceived. In the case of the Strategic Development Framework, 'Both changes in official leadership and political leadership created challenges in the development of the SDF' (Researcher D).

The City is in the process of trying to change decision-making structures by promoting a 'whole organisation' approach. Researcher C explains how the City is achieving this:

> The Strategic Policy Unit was established as an institutional structure to prioritise and coordinate overall strategic direction. This is to be achieved alongside institutional reform and reconfiguration and alignment of working groups, sub-committees and task teams, although the impact/effect of such institutional reform has been questioned.

> The Strategic Policy Unit has attempted to set up a range systems and processes to discuss and negotiate such differences in thinking. To begin with, the new Policy Development

Guidelines requires a range of steps in policy formulation aimed to achieve alignment of objectives. These include presenting and discussing the proposed policy in Executive Management Team meetings and work groups; the mandatory coordination of 'transversal workshops' prior to drafting the details of policy, in order to achieve agreement at the start, mandatory requirements to distribute policy drafts for comments to all municipal units that may potentially be effected by the policy; to present policy to relevant Portfolio Committees; to undertake public participation and eventually present the policy to the Mayoral Committee and full Council. With regards to energy related decisions, Portfolio Committees, particularly the Energy Committee, Utilities Portfolio Committee, Economic, Environmental and Spatial Planning Portfolio Committee and the Finance Committee play a significant role in mediating differences and negotiating priorities between officials and the political stratum. Policy decisions are also taken through budget allocations. The Budget Steering Committee and the MTREF process thus play an important role in negotiating and defining policy. On the other hand, policy decisions are not always made through formal channels. The policy direction of a department is often defined by the individuals, institutional cultures, rationalities and priorities of the departments. Policy decisions are often made in informal meetings, discussions or operations related meetings.

Thus, '"Transversal Cluster Management" (where clusters are comprised of working groups made up of members form different line departments) is being advanced by the SPU as the key to unlocking effective policy design and implementation in Cape Town' (Researcher B). It is questionable how this different style of working will affect the day to day running of the City, when the City functions in the way it is currently managed (and as politicians and others contend, functions well):

> The City of Cape Town as an administration has a bureaucratic management style, based on strict hierarchies and delegations and clear delineation of functions and responsibilities, with a highly cautious approach to public expenditure and policy decisions. Operational oriented municipal units, utilities departments in particular, function in a more technocratic fashion with a strong focus on technical expertise and a hard line against political interference or policy decisions that impact on service delivery. On the other hand, the current political stratum of the City of Cape Town is pursuing institutional reform that closely resembles a new public management style with an emphasis on efficiency, corporatisation, cost-effectively and stream lining of decisions and service roll out. This is evident through the establishment of the Strategic Policy Unit, the formulation of Policy Writing Guidelines to be followed by officials, the development of a 'New way of working' that aims to integrate and streamline decision-making and the reconfiguration of institutional decision-making and strategy forums. (Researcher C)

While these changes address the need for new spaces for interaction, it is unclear to what extent the proposed changes are taking place:

> The transversal clusters proposed by the SPU are intended to be places of inter-disciplinary deliberation between officials and politicians. To date they do not perform this function, as people are still adjusting to their role and function and are reluctant to be outspoken for

fear of reprisal; they do however offer potential for discussion between line departments. Whether or not transversal will be effective remains to be seen. (Researcher B)

Despite this, various strategy and policy initiatives are acting on the 'whole organisation' approach. For example:

> ...the EGS places a priority on a 'Whole Organisation' approach and co-ordinating the various sectors and interventions for which the administration is responsible towards a common goal. It is an approach that subsequent strategies (including the IMEP review) can be expected to pick up on. (Researcher B)

Effective policy development and design is different for different people in the City – for some, it's about whether the policy speaks to the brief, for others, it's about whether it is implementable, technically sound, grounded in evidence based data and assumptions and not overly burdensome. It should also generate political support and be defensible. For example:

> The expectations of effective policy development and design differ according to the priorities of different stakeholder groups. For participants engaged in the development of the Energy and Climate Action Plan, their expectations of effective design is that it would facilitate achievement of the objectives of the Plan, which includes a low carbon and efficient urban energy system, alleviation of energy poverty, stimulation of sustainable energy related economic development, behaviour change, reduced energy consumption and energy efficient and competitive municipal operations. The effectiveness or not of the Plan is dependent on the fulfilment of these objectives.
>
> On the other hand, for operationally based departments, the Action Plan would be regarded as designed effectively if it is: straightforward and implementable; technically sound and grounded in evidence-based data and assumptions; is not overly burdensome to implementing agents; is flexible; does not threaten or delay core municipal services; does not hinder the financial sustainability and cost reflectivity of services; is simple to monitor and evaluate; and enables cross-subsidies to the poor (ESD, 2013a). For bureaucratic functions of local government, effective policy design is expected to not expose the municipality to unnecessary legal or monetary risks (SCM, 2013). Finally, for the political stratum, effective policy is expected to generate political support from their electorate, be politically defensible and not warrant objection from City residences and businesses. (Researcher C)

Researcher A notes that the City is not a homogenous entity, and that there are differing ways to negotiate:

> Various different styles of and approaches to negotiation are evident within the City, some that seek to reach agreement, others seeking to progress their position, and others yet that seek to establish clear criteria on which to reach principled resolutions / outcomes.

Three things remain consistent across the organisation, however, and that these can be utilised to advance a particular agenda. Researcher B points out that:

> legal compliance (especially with public finance legislation) and maintenance of fiscal and political stability are the *sine qua non* in which competing programmes are effectively prioritized. Effective policy writers are skilled in drawing eclectically on other strategies and policies and in lobbying their ideas through one of two channels: the senior executive and the IDP or the political leadership and the local party branches.

The City (and indeed the city, too) is made up of competing rationalities. In some cases, however, the competition is heightened by various other aspects within and beyond local government's remit. At a broad scale, competing rationalities are evident in which strategies are prioritised by senior officials and politicians:

> the City has prioritised its Economic Growth and Social Development strategies (EGS and SDS), and have indicated that these should be seen as the key driving documents for decision making in the City, alongside the IDP. The lack of an environmental policy/strategy at a similar level is a challenge. Many decision-makers within the City still view environmental considerations as being antithetical to economic growth and social development, or see environmental governance simply in terms of EIA processes and 'obstacles' to development. (City Official)

The prioritisation of these strategies means that the environmental agenda continues to be perceived as a costly extra, rather than an imperative for sustainable development. It is here where projects such as Mistra Urban Futures have an important role to play in heightening the awareness and necessity of sustainability in growth and development.

Box 1 illustrates a case of competing rationalities between the promotion of energy and the resultant revenue losses in the City of Cape Town.

A range of fiscal and finance related challenges exist for municipalities in implementation of [the Energy and Climate Action] Plan. Municipalities raise significant revenue from the re-sale of electricity to end users. Electricity sales account for a large portion of the City of Cape Town's total revenue. This revenue is used to cross subsidise general municipal services whereby 10% of total electricity sales revenue goes into the City coffers. Furthermore, electricity sales from mid-high income households are used to cross-subsidise low income households, ensuring access to affordable electricity. Many projects in the Energy and Climate Action Plan, notably the solar water heater roll-out, small scale embedded generation and the Electricity Savings Campaign will dramatically reduce electricity consumption of mid-high electricity users. In the past few years the

> City has seen a reduction of electricity consumption and hence sales in the amount of 300 million units/kWh, from mid-high electricity users. This reduction is a result of energy efficiency and behaviour change and own generation bought on by price elasticity of demand from increasing tariffs for mid-high income households. This not only reduces local government revenue for general municipal services but also threatens the cross-subsidy system. Accordingly, a revenue model of municipal reticulation utilities that depends on electricity sales for revenue is a potential severe disincentive for municipal support for renewable energy, energy efficiency and demand-side management and behaviour change campaigns. (Researcher C)

Aligning the visions of different departments is a necessary but difficult task. Researcher C writes:

> The process of aligning visions both within local government, between spheres of government and across sectors in Cape Town requires a range of institutional structures. To begin with, it is necessary to have mechanisms of negotiating and pursuing common visions within the City of Cape Town. Although various institutional structures have been established for this purpose, including the Energy Committee and work-streams in the case of energy, it appears that greater alignment of goals and visions between municipal units (officials) is necessary. Due to resistance towards political interference, such a structure would probably be more successful if driven on an Executive Director or Director level. The objective of such an institutional structure would be to establish a shared, negotiated and mutual understanding of issues, to avert antagonism between municipal units and relationship building between municipal units. Moreover, within local government there is a need for spaces or hubs that allow for experimentation and innovation where officials are incubated from risk – and rules and rigid delegations are relaxed. There is also a need for long term planning capacity and strategy. Such planning capacity could potentially sit within operational departments and hence reduce the burden on technical staff that usually occurs when sustainability interventions are imposed from outside their departments. It is evident that external imposition of a project often results in resistance.

This is not to say that it is always possible to influence how policy is decided upon. 'Policy decisions are not always made through formal channels. The policy direction of a department is often defined by the individuals, institutional cultures, rationalities and priorities of the departments. Policy decisions are often made in informal meetings, discussions or operations related meetings' (Researcher C).

Visibility

In many ways, Cape Town is both held up as an example of what can be achieved in metropolitan municipalities, as well as derided (often by political rivals) for the many shortcomings that undermine the rhetoric of the 'equal opportunity' city, and the 'city that works for all'. While the

failings of the local government are easy to find in the media, the good news stories of innovation are less well publicised. In the Cape Town platform workshop, it was noted that Cape Town has many of these. The utilities department is strong, with high cost recoveries, an information technology system that is lauded internationally (the SAP system), as well as being financially stable and adept at billing. There is a need to tell these stories, not just for the sake of it, but also because visibility increases accountability.

An official noted that there is a need to make processes of decision-making visible to allow for interrogation of the complexities of issues, conflicts of interest (e.g. electricity demand and supply issues and drives and City's loss of income as a result). Visibility means that decisions need to be made in ways that are defensible and credible. With recent decisions such as that of WesCape, this is particularly important. To enable this to occur, there has to be a change in the ways in which good ideas are followed through. Researcher B suggests that:

> Good ideas are not enough on their own: composting toilets are not rolled out due to the perceived political risk; solar water heaters are not rolled out due to the perceived fiscal risk. Unlike Bogota and Curitiba (or eThekwini for that matter) leaders in Cape Town display a general conservatism and reluctance to innovate when this is perceived as risky.

In a similar vein:

> some officials believe that the SDF is a 'mis-mash of statements and guidelines with no synthesised idea' and ideally the plan should have a few 'big ideas' and then focus on how one implement those ideas in reality. There is however a recognition that at the time of writing of the SDF, it may have been dangerous to promote too many 'big ideas' as the evidence base on which to identify those ideas was often insufficient. (Researcher D)

Experimentation is necessary in order to achieve greater outcomes. Despite this:

> There appears to be very little appetite for saying if you want this to happen (a shift in the urban edge, for example) the city will require all an innovation in return (all human settlement to operate on 'off-grid' technology for electricity and sanitation, for example). There are some efforts to introduce this type of trade-off in the costal management and biodiversity off-set arenas, but there is limited capacity to conduct such negotiations. (Researcher B)

Conclusion

This report, building on the Cape Town platform's Phase 1 baseline assessment, has sought to explore decision-making in the City of Cape Town. Focussing on five key policy initiatives and strategic documents, we have interrogated each according to the key areas for research as outlined in various Mistra Urban Futures documentation. This research has indicated that themes in decision-

making can be found across various policies and strategies that are not limited to just one department.

The themes explored in this report suggest that the City of Cape Town has changed immensely over the post-apartheid years, not only structurally, but also in terms of the changes in mandate and the increasing roles the City has to fulfil. Understanding the City's mandates contextually, particularly the country's apartheid past, the severe levels of inequality, as well as the imperative for growth and development through investment and tourism is important.

The implicit framing of many of the City's policies and strategies in similar language to the Mistra Urban Futures focus areas of fair, green and dense is also interesting, and speaks to the challenges that face the city. Different knowledges that inform policies is another key theme that arose, not just in terms of content knowledge, but also the institutional knowledge that is typically learnt over time by individuals working at the City. Stakeholders play key roles in providing further content knowledge to policies and adding rigour and credibility to the process of policy development.

The research process highlighted the need for more spaces for interaction between officials, politicians, and stakeholders. This would assist in promoting the 'whole organisation' approach that the City aspires to, and may help to shift some of the competing rationalities that exist between different departments at the City.

The need to reflect on stories of innovation in the City is important, validating the work of officials and politicians, whose efforts are often not recognised by the public or peers in other government institutions. Also, in increasing the transparency through which decisions are made, the City is held liable for choices that do not sit in accord with policies it has drafted. While these themes are not new discoveries, it is interesting that five policy documents of different levels of intent and content speak to similar issues. This suggests that understanding decision-making processes at the City scale is important for fostering alternate development pathways.

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Appendix A: Key questions that informed this research

Filter	Question	Answer	Sources
Perceptions	What issues in sustainability exist and how are they represented in particular policies?		
	What issues are understood to exist in terms of the challenges faced in the city and the region?		
	What information/evidence/knowledge/intelligence forms seem to be drawn upon to construct policies?		
	What are the expectations of effective policy development and design?		
	What particular contextual factors inform policy development and design?		
	How are conflicting needs prioritised?		
	How does that influence policies?		
	How are differences in strategic direction discussed and prioritised?		
Challenges	What acknowledged issues in sustainability exist and how are they represented in particular policies?		
	What acknowledged issues exist in terms of the challenges faced in the city and the region?		
	What gaps in prioritisation can be identified and why?		
	What forms of governance around particular territories are deployed and how do these affect how issues are seen and acted upon?		

	What are the contextual socio-economic challenges that enable and constrain effective policy outcomes?		
	How is the document's vision of a sustainable future enabled and constrained by current challenges and conditions?		
Incentives	What are the drivers, structures and processes that stimulate policy development and design and how do they operate to influence policy-making?		
Inclusion	What key organisations and institutions are involved with policy consultations?		
	What powers of negotiation or input do different agencies have on the design and development of policy for which they will have responsibility?		
	What type of negotiations take place in thinking about policy formulation/implementation and what are the methods for achieving agreement and clarity or monitoring outcomes?		
	How might new forums help for discussion and deliberation on policy and what would be needed for that purpose and who would be included?		
	How are differences in thinking about the future recognised, negotiated and built into policies?		
	What sorts of agencies/institutions need to exist that would overcome the limitations of current ways of working and how would they be expected to achieve their goals?		
Knowledge	How would new forms of intelligence help with the process and what forms would they take and who would produce them?		
	How do you obtain your understanding of future needs and how might that be improved?		

Evaluation	What ways are deployed to evaluate policy outcomes?		
	How are lessons learnt from the past and how could these be avoided in the future?		
	How do people involved in the strategy drafting process know when they have made a difference?		