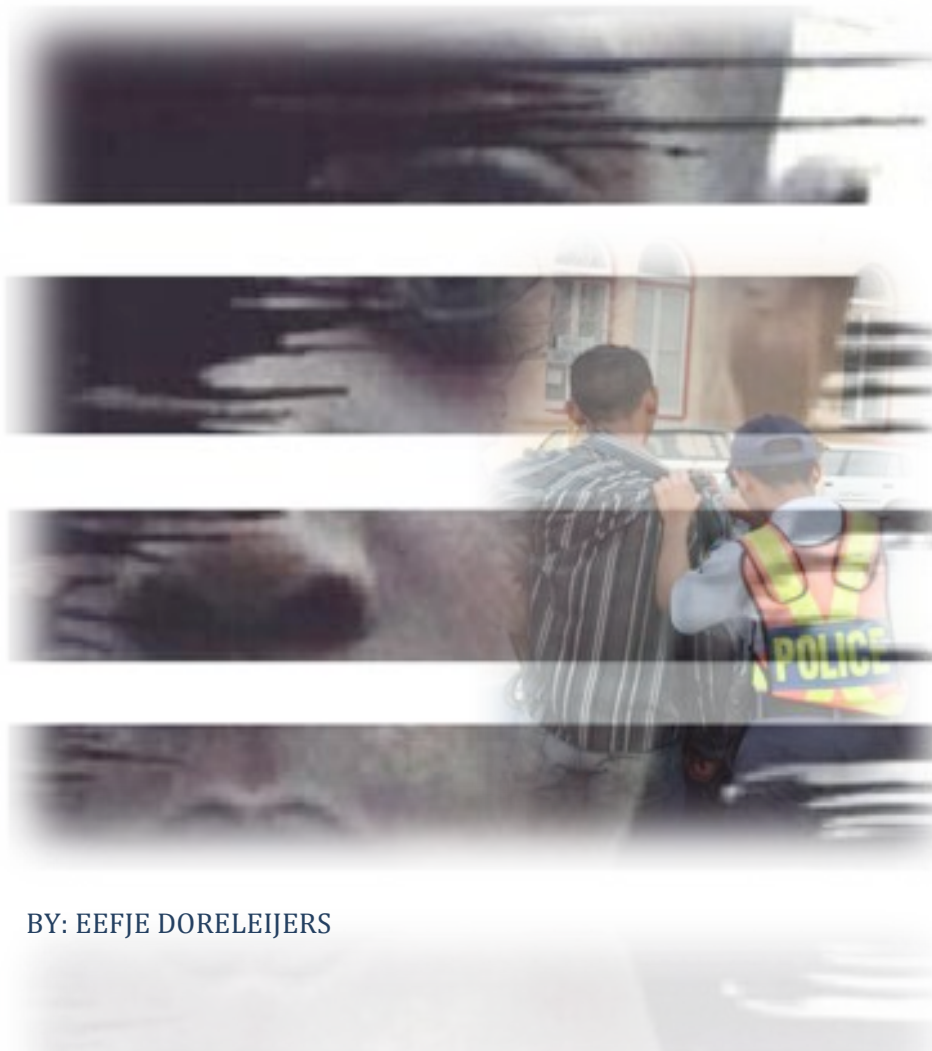# Assessing Social Development in the Inner- City of Cape Town: An inquiry into the intersection of Social Development and the Cape Town Partnership activities; livelihood implications for the homeless and destitute.

BY: EEFJE DORELEIJERS

Assessing Social Development in the Inner- City of Cape Town: An inquiry into the intersection of Social Development and the Cape Town Partnership activities; livelihood implications for the homeless and destitute.

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(Msc) Human Geography

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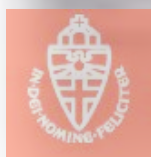Dhr.dr.ir. Lothar Smith
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Summary

This thesis focuses on issues of governance and management as it relates to social development activities in the City of Cape Town. My work investigates the lived realities of Cape town's homeless, it also maps the various actors involved in social development and assesses the range of programmes and activities aimed at dealing with the complex set of problems experienced by the homeless. The opportunity is for this work to contribute to the need for informative communications material about Cape Town's various social development service providers, by attempting to visually map the broader social development activity network.

My study is framed between the sustainable development and liveable city concepts, and draws from HDI and livelihood theory. My work aims to represent this theoretical intersection, through the use of network analysis, as I aim to visualise the complex social development relationships and dynamics. The Cape Town Partnership plays a leading role in the City's social development activity network, as they coordinate an army of security forces, who in collaboration with field/ social workers, are responsible for referring homeless people to a shelter. A primary objective of this thesis is to understand how the CCID articulates this relationship between security and social care.

A comprehensive literature review on BIDS/ CIDS and the social aspects related to urban regeneration, provide some insight into the contested nature of improvement districts. The broader literature points out that the managerial features of this urban governance model has the potential to improve the lives of marginalised people through sustained and meaningful intervention. However, critics point out that improvement districts are responsible for large scale exclusion, this is mainly because of the mandate to exclusively protect the rights of the property owners and formal businesses, who pay monthly supplementary levies, which fund BID/ CID activities.

Since 1999 the CTP has been responsible for the urban management of the city. The rationale for the active urban management lies with association that a safe and clean city is essential for the attraction of investment and promotion of growth. Additionally, the CTP also manages a creative cities proposal, which claims to transform the regional economy through sustained support for a creative cities precinct located in the East City, and the challenge for the CTP and the COCT lies in the development of equitable infrastructures that deal with the growing urban divides, which are compounded by the historical legacy of apartheid planning.

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Lastly, I would like to offer my regards and blessings to all of those who supported me in any respect during the completion of the project.

Eefje Doreleijers

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Cape Town 2011: After the Party, Security and management of the Central City

"This is a chapter in a story of the Central City Improvement District. An organization established in November 2000 with the mandate to make the Central City a place that is clean, safe and caring, where people can enjoy public space, work, play and live. This is a city that grows in front of your eyes every day. And a story of the people who make it all happen. Day and night (CCID Annual Report 2009)."

The first decennium of the 21st century the global world found expression in the FIFA World Cup 2010. Huge numbers of people from all around the world came to celebrate this mega- event. It was the first time in history, that an African country was able to host the World Cup event.

One year after hosting the FIFA 2010 football World-Cup games, Cape Town bears the responsibility of needing to manage massive infrastructure led projects as a legacy of the world cup event. The new infrastructure needed to host the event included the construction of massive stadiums, fan walks as well as an investment into the improvement of the country's road networks. In addition, FIFA required upgraded security of public transport routes and public spaces throughout the city. Now that the World Cup is over, Cape Town still needs to maintain the infrastructure, and is finding much difficulty to sustain long term use of its impressive 80 000 seat stadium.

In the build up to the World Cup, the international media, which questioned South Africa's capacity for hosting the World Cup event, citing the potential security risks to football fans as the primary cause of concern, raised much speculation. South African cities all to aim for world-class status yet continue to exhibit extreme structural challenges around housing delivery and massive unemployment and poverty. The media speculation combined with the high national crime rates, added to particular consequences for safety and security in all South African Cities prior to, and during the event.

In Cape Town, the security paranoia resulted in billions of rands expenditure on safety and security to ensure the efficient and safe transportation of all visitors (MediaClubSouthAfrica, n.d.; Adams, S. 2006). More notably, the security focus resulted in the mass eviction of the urban poor from the central city to outlying areas (Smith, 2010).

Despite the need for improved security planning in preparation for the influx of football fans, safety and security are focus areas, which have been prioritised by the city of Cape Town local governance agenda over the past ten years. The mandate to provide effective security in the inner city of Cape Town has been assigned to a public- private partnership, called the Cape Town Partnership (CTP) who has established a City Improvement District (CID) since the year 2000. The City Improvement District (CID) [1] is a defined geographical area receiving privately funded services (Miraftab, 2007, p.3), on top of municipal services.

Public- Private- Partnerships and the establishment of CIDs are central to my area of study. My thesis draws on the work of Miraftab (2003; 2007). In her paper 'Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs), the Trojan Horse of Neoliberal Development', Miraftab uncovers a significant difference between the way partnerships convey information about power sharing, and the actual right of say of communities and power of control in the decision making process. She argues that in so doing PPPs can operate as true Trojan horses of development, seen that in the process the interest of the community is often overwhelmed by the most powerful members of those of the partnership. (Miraftab, 2003, p.89). Moreover interesting is her empirical work on the case of Cape Town and her analysis on the spatial and discursive practices of the Cape Town Partnership from 2000 until 2006, the managing body of the downtown City Improvement District (CID), in which she foregrounds the socio- spatial implication of these privatising practices.

Her critical record concerns the socially sanitizing practices by the Cape Town Partnership in the early years of CIDs operation; the recurrent rounding up of homeless into the backs of private security trucks (Miraftab, 2007, p.611), and the formalization of parking practices downtown including the imposition of 'legitibility' on parking attendants while prohibiting attendants with criminal records of any kind. Her work also describes how the urban poor are often evicted and forcefully removed out of the city centre of Cape Town as a result of the dynamics of the improvement district urban governance model. The basic point being made is that improvement districts appear to impact negatively on the community and urban poor that are largely neglected and displaced from the city.

My study continues to understand the livelihoods of the urban poor in the central city, in relation with the institutional activities and programs of the improvement district in the central city. This study analyses and critically assesses what has been done to meet the needs of the urban poor in the central city and picks up where Miraftab's (2007) work ends, in the build up to the World Cup and

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[1] The City Improvement District (CID) is a defined geographical area receiving privately funded services (Miraftab, F. 2007, p.3), on top of municipal services, such as security providence, cleansing, streetscape improvements and marketing, to position the central city as a globally competitive city (Miraftab, F. 2007).

continues to provide an analysis of the situation in the city one year after the event.

1.2 Background

1.2.1 Historical Development and the Geography of Cape Town

Cape Town has a long history of social engineering projects (colonialism, apartheid, democracy), all which have had important spatial significance (Spinks, 2001). Papers from Bond (2000), Wilkinson, (2001), Spinks (2001), Mabin, in Smith (2003), Miraftab (2007), Pirie, (2007) , Kotze and Visser (2008) and Houssah-Hozschuch and Teppo (2009), all give a vision of the historical development of the city of Cape Town and its geography.

Amongst them, many scholars including Spinks (2001) and Houssah-Hozschuch and Teppo (2009) argue that the current structure of the city and existing socio-spatial relationships are primarily legacies of the apartheid period.

Professor Gordon Pirie of the University of Cape Town, explains that the central city is not really the centre of Cape Town, and not where most people live (Pirie, 2007). To the 21st century it had been the other way around, but mass expulsion from the city centre, the construction of dormitory black townships on the Cape Flats (motivated by racialism and health considerations), and decentralisation of businesses to the outskirts during the Apartheid-era (Pirie, 2007, p.126) have all altered the landscape of the city, and made it highly segregated. The reason for apartheids 'security infrastructure, which constituted the socio-spatial segregation in Cape Town, arose from a combination of causes (Miraftab, 2011).

The evidence from the literature shows that the growth of the population in the 1830s as a result of increased prosperity, plus thoughts on the issue of cleaning up the downtown streets - the center of Cape Town was dirty and greasy at that time, and the outbreak of smallpox in 1839 was dedicated to this filth (Warren, in Miraftab, 2011) - were among the reasons for increased anti-colonial sentiment and also racist ideology by the white elite. This led to virtually just investment in inner-city services, and from 1948 a segregation regime with a life- span of forty years that meant the massive exclusion of black and colored from all levels of the public domain (Houssah- Hozschuch & Teppo, 2009).

Seventeen years after apartheid rule (1948- 1994), the city of Cape Town is challenged to overcome both the legacy of segregated planning by more inclusive development, while it seeks to position itself and its economy globally. Inclusive development in a city so much marked by apartheid social

engineering, together with its new development challenges appears not to be easy. Since the crumble of apartheid in 1994 serious policy measures have been created to overcome the legacy of apartheid panning, but urban sprawl as intra- class divisions have worsened (Pieterse, 2009, p.13), and the geography of Cape Town has hardly changed.

Today, the city can still be divided in zones of advantage and disadvantage, now defined in terms of socio- economic status, rather than in terms of race or ethnicity (Mammon, 2005).
Only a 5000 Capetoneans live in the developed downtown area and 55.000 live in the broader and wealthy central city area, of an inconsiderable 3, 5 million people of the total Cape Town Population (CCID, 2008). It is expected that this latter figure will rise to 3.9 million in 2015 (Wilkinson, 2000, p. 2000), allowing a further increase in dissimilar and exclusionary urban form.

1.2.2 Post-Apartheid South Africa: Service Delivery Policies and the Poor.

With the first South African democratic elections in 1994, the racially- based and segregationist apartheid control officially came to an end. In its place, the new ANC government firmly placed the need to address poverty and inequality at the centre of its transformative agenda (Cheru, 2001, p.506).

With the new rule came new promises, with the ANC government promising improved access to land, housing, and services to overcome the legacy of apartheid and supply access to social- economic resources that shaped the core of stratification of citizenship all these years (Miraftab & Willes, 2005). The new government committed itself to the development of industries and services, and improvements in the housing supply near the townships on the one hand, and further densification by improving infrastructure and transportation (Saff, 1998).

Some outcomes with regard to basic service provision, including the housing and education sector, free medical care and public work (Cheru, 2001), all of which were carried out during the first years after the official abolition of apartheid rule, through the government controlled White Paper on Reconstruction and Development (RDP). The outcomes are mainly attributed to newly designed policy frameworks (IDP) in alliance with active state intervention on delivery for the poor, not attained by the policy that followed (Cheru, 2001).

The promises made by the ANC ruling party were justifiable, as Pieterse (2009) asserts the redistributive ambition of the newly elected government invariably had to involve some form of

urban justice and rebalancing, because this was where the heart of economic apartheid resided (Pieterse, 2009, p.1). However, according to Pieterse (2009), the transition had also hindered extensive intrusion in either the acquired wealth of the white minority or private property. The early criticism of the transition politics is that the aim had not been to ultimately change Cape Towns' geography (Saff, 1998). Pieterse (2009) goes as far to claim that the promises made by the new elected government in 1994 were in any event also misplaced:

"*Part of the deal, from the outset, was that the South African economy, anchored in that wonderfully elastic phantasm—market sentiment—would not be endangered by extending the franchise to the black majority and addressing their developmental needs for access to basic services such as water, energy, shelter, education and health care* (Marais in Pieterse, 2009, p.1)".

Although the legal framework set up in 1996 that formalised the rights of all citizens to the provision and access to adequate housing and basic services (articles 26 and 27) (Miraftab & Willes, 2005, p.202), in the same year, less than two years after the launch of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the redistributionist policy was replaced by a market- driven Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy. Herewith the policy focus shifted towards re-prioritisation of government expenditure and contributions in the provision of basic amenities and services (Cheru, 2001), hence neo-liberal planning processes.

The emphasis for change under GEAR was on liberalizing international trade and reliance on market-mechanisms (Miraftab, 2007, p.604), and was based on the theory that macro- policy would contribute to the economic scope to allow for income redistribution, and opportunities for the urban poor through appropriate social development programmes, economic empowerment and deliberate promotion of employment creation (Cheru. 2001, p.508).

However, there have been profound failures of transitional politics. In the housing sector the same line of reasoning was followed in the 21st century than in the early ninety's (Cheru, 2001). There were many experiments done in site-and services-and low- income credit schemes conciliated by the private sector. They did little to change the geography of urban apartheid or the structural causes of poverty and homelessness in South Africa (Cheru, 2001, p.511) .

Untill today the housing problem has not been solved. The shortcomings of the more recent housing-gap[2] initiative for people who do not receive social housing, and who are also ineligible for the remainder of the housing market, was indicated recently. (African Business Journal, 2010) Furthermore, densification in the city is still being considered, but has shown to be still rather aspiration than reality (Pirie 2007). High land costs of inner city space, due to (re) development have so far retained opportunities for mixed- or low- cost housing in the central city (Pirie, 2007). Pirie says there is only few downtown modestly priced apartments in a building of inferior quality, called Senator Park, that is so scruffy, it would be closer to the solely multi- storey slum in the inner- city; *"..Unlike in downtown Johannesburg, urban rejuvenation has not had to target unhealthy and dangerous tenements"* (Pirie, 2007, p.139).

A speech by former mayor Helen Zille, held during the South African Housing Foundation in 2007, articulates the deficiencies in the housing sector, which are still caused by a dismal housing back lock of around 400 000 units and 222 informal settlements around the city, all which compromised 135, 693 house holds. In the same year there would have been tens of thousands of people dwelling in backyards. Zille argued that the tens of thousands of backyard dwellers continue to live under harsh circumstances in townships, affront of human dignity. Furthermore the urban poor people are exposed to health risks, and the conditions would considerably increase the likelihood for social instability and homelessness (Zille, 2007).

The issue of homelessness in South Africa is documented by a series of papers published by the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) in 2010. This study endeavored to develop a demographic profile of homeless in South Africa, and the papers provide an interesting overview of livelihood strategies undertaken by homeless in South African inner- city areas, their life cycles, health problems etceteras (Cross, Seager, Erasmus, Ward & Donovan, 2010; Kok, Cross & Roux, 2010). The HSRC study showed the estimated number of street homeless nationwide, both in rural and urban areas to be from 100 000 to 200 000, including adults and children (Kok, et al. 2010).

The critical literature that highlights the plight of the homeless in South Africa, shows that the condition of homelessness is not only a result of the backlog of low- income housing, but a variety of reasons are cited including unemployment, family disintegration, lack of skills, an education gap (Olufemi, 2002, p.460), or physical distances to economic opportunities (Mitlin, 2005). Moreover, the

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[2] Gap housing is a term that describes the shortfall, or 'gap' in the market between residential units supplied by the state. The idea was initiated because many people had no access to social housing opportunities or houses delivered by the private sector. (Social Housing Foundation Publication, March 2010)

plight of the urban poor is considerably determined by policy factors, or crowding out of social security budgets (Naidoo, 2010).

Although the housing sector contributes to the persistence of socio-spatial inequalities and risk of homelessness in Cape Town, to mention this as the main reason for the promotion or preservation of inequality and poverty related risks would be too shortsighted (Pieterse, 2009).
Pieterse (2009) mentions six critical points to add to this debate. Pieterse also calls for a more nuanced empirical study on the causal drivers that reflect the contemporary condition;

"Immunity of private investment to governmental spatial priorities; chronic governmental fragmentation across the three spheres and within them (national, regional, local), the unintended spatial consequences of the redistributive programmes of the state as intimated above; parochialism on the part of civil society organisations manifesting in the absence of multi- scalar politics; a number of cross- cutting dynamics that serve to reinforce the trends; and what one could regard as insidious fantasies and desires of political elites who insist on a particular interpretation of African nationalist ideology that remain umbilically connected to rural land and identity" (Pieterse, 2009. p.2).

The immunity of private investment, the prioritisation of spatial developments by the government and crowding out of social budgets are crucial developments that can negatively influence on the plight of the urban poor and homeless, and can add to the exclusionary city form. Therefore, this study interrogates Private Urban Management and their role of social projects. In South Africa, Privatised urban management was first proposed in the eighty's and structurally applied from the nineties onwards.

1.2.3 Policy of Privatisation

In the eighty's a policy of privatisation was proposed by the National Party (NP) as a spur to unravel apartheid in order to open the South South African market to international trade. Privatisation proposals, among others applied by those agencies and countries in the eighty's with whom South Africa maintained close ties; The World Bank, The United States, and The United Kingdom, had been tactical for its time. Only after the first democratic elections (1994), the actual space was created, under GEAR, which allowed for structural privatisation practices in South African cities (Narsiah, 2002).

The national operational structure that was created for the promotion of closer relations with the private sector, existed of several documents related to corporatization through public-private partnerships and privatization through the Municipal Systems Act, the Municipal Structure act, and the Municipal Infrastructure Investement Unit (MIJU) (Narsiah, 2002; Miraftab, 2007). This enabled the transfer of decision making, to the local level (Narsiah, 2002, p.7), hence placed the allocation of resources for the urban poor increasingly in the hands of local managers with private sector interests.

1.2.4 City Improvement District and Social Development Services

The process where traditional government tasks are given way to the private sector has often been labeled the decentralisation of government, and has had major implications for the responsibilities of local governance in Cape Town (Turok, 2001). Municipal restructuration resulted in the consolidation of the tax- base through the creation of one Municipal Unicity, that facilitated integrated development plans, while simultaneously challenging municipal and private business activities, as the adequate transferable funds to expand the responsibilities of local government primarily lacked (Miraftab, 2007).

For the first time in the seventy's and eighty's decentralization of business had occured in South Africa, and this continued in the nineties when the city was plagued by urban decline. (Kotze & Visser, 2009) In these years, research was conducted by the city into innovative and entrepeneurial forms of city management (Hall & Hubbard, 1996) as traditional governments lacked the managerial and financial capacity, and was it not due to a recognition that the successes of urban growth for becoming more globally competitive, were dependent on a renewed value of the inner city- space, which could facilitate new developments through effective urban management?

The deterioration of urban public inner-city space justified the set up of a public- private parntership in Cape Town in 1999, called the Cape Town Partnership (CTP), to ensure growth and development in the city of Cape Town plagued by urban and capital flight (CTP, 2009).

The liveliness of the inner city's commercial hub that had been present during the apartheid era, however viable on account of racial- based policies and segregationist legislation such as pass laws, was considered to be threatened by the general trend of business decentralisation from the inner-city to outlying areas (CTP, 2009). And at the same time, the influx of people from rural areas and the Cape Flats (Narsiah, 2002), and the growth of the homeless population in the inner city formed a

strenuous challenge for Cape Town's development of a desirable and more sustainable future city, free from crime and grime. (CTP, 2009). To keep with practice, the Cape Town Partnership adopted a City Improvement District model in 2000, an urban governance model originating from America.

The Cape Town Central Improvement District (CCID), overseen and managed by the Cape Town Partnership (Miraftab, 2007), was instituted to make the inner city more attractive for investments, and lucrative consumption (Boraine, 2009). According to the precise definition of its function, as by the Cape Town corporate by-law are implemented to:

(...) *enhance and supplement the municipal services provided by the City of Cape Town, to facilitate investment in the district, facilitate corporation between the city and the private sector in the provision of municipal services, to degenerate and facilitate upliftment of distressed business and mixed- use areas, and to promote economic growth and sustainable development, for this purpose assisting the city in its development objectives (CCID bylaw, 21 february 2003).*

During the first five years of CCIDs' endorcement cleaning and security operations were selected as the main activities to attain the desired appeal of the downtown area. However, with the broadening of the Partnership, an additional Social Development Program was endorced through the work of the Central City Improvement District in 2005.

According to Pirie (2007) this program was set up in response to the back lock of mixed- and social-housing opportunity in the inner city, and he defines the Social Development Program of the Cape Town Partnership as an attempt to reintegrate homeless with their relatives in the less developed areas.

However, In a paper of the executive director of the CTP Andrew Boraine (2009), the Social Development Program, that would be made key constinuant of urban regeneration, carries out a message regarding a more righteous and inclusive approach to tackle the problem of homelessness and poverty related issues downtown;

" *If you deal with the streets, you have to address issues of poverty, homelessness, unemployment, substance and alcohol abuse, mental illness, school absenteeism, dysfunctional homes, physical and sexual abuse, personal trauma, and many other social issues, as well as crime and grime*" (Boraine, 2009, p.8).

This is an unusual but highly innovative interpretation of this urban governance tool, as it is the first Improvement District worldwide where a social program is part of this area based service delivery. This shows that the Cape Town Partnership model differs from the traditional definition of Improvement Districts, as they are deployed world- wide. Namely; through the providence of cleaning and security services within a defined geographical area, to actively clean-up public outdoor space and to reduce urban crime in the city (Mitchell 2001; Levy, 2001; Hoyt 2004).

The literature on privatisation and Improvement Districts refers to rules regarding safety, and public space usage often set up by a middle or upper-class, who for the promotion of private sector interests promotes properly functioning public spaces, for which *order, comfort and security* is considered important. However, it would also justify the exclusion of those groups who do not fit this definition (Ploeg v.d., in Landman and Ntombela, 2006).

Considering what was said by Pirie (2007) on exclusionary urban development and the nature of the CTP Social Development Program, and criticism of Miraftab (2007) on rather exclusionary socio-spatial practices executed by CCID personnel during the first six years of implementation, there could be a mismatch between the rhetoric of social development- and incorporation of social services within public- private partnership activities, or Cape Towns' urban governance model.

The discrepancy between social welfare services and Public- Private Partnerships activities, and the negative connotations of the circumstances surrounding this model on the urban poor within the inner city of Cape Town is a central theme in this study.

1.2.5 The Cape Town Development Context

Over the past ten years, there has been massive investment in central Cape Town. New buildings have arisen, old deteriorating buildings have been converted, public squares and spaces e.g. Company's Gardens, Greenmarket Square, St. Andrew Square and Grand Parade have been upgraded and transformed by the improvements of pedestrian networks e.g. the Fan Walk along Waterkant and Somerset from the CT station to the station in Green Point, while life in public space is promoted by increased festivity, new public art, and rediscovery of heritage (Boraine, n.d.).

The cities old Central Business District (CBD) has become a postmodern 'spectacular' space of high-end manufacturing, service and consumption space (Pirie, 2007), recently appointed industrial design

capital. For this to take shape, an approximate R14 billion was spent on downtown infrastructural developments (Pirie, 2007, p.127).

Since 1999, The Cape Town Partnership enticed foreign investment in the pipeline, reinstituted the municipal value of the property redevelopment of nearly two hundred premises in the CBD, comprising buildings of significant cultural importance (Pirie, 2007), to foster the economy, create employment, healthy trade networks, and to offer city services (Pirie, 2007).

In particular, Cape Town capitalized on new retail, merging with the creative industries, and services. It has required new or converted office construction, the building of new hotels, a casino, the Cape Town International Convention Centre (CTICCO) that provided most jobs in the CBD, and new or converted penthouse residential developments (Ibid). New urban residential units are sold to people who want to live especially close to work, but the most upscale condos and lofts in both modern and historic buildings, with panoramic views, and secure off street parking are especially for attaining a certain lifestyle (Pirie, 2007, p.139).

The latter is not affordable for low- income earners, and although the reduction of exclusionist residential development is one of the objectives of the CTP, settlement of the urban poor in the central Cape Town's is still only an aspiration. Pirie claims, there is certainly bewilderment about exclusionary residential developments downtown, for an exclusive financial property market that entrenches wealth and privilege, whereas the mass of daily downtown workers are excluded owing to their poverty (Ibid).

Photo 1. Newspaper Headlines, Cape Town Street Signs (Doreleijers, photo, n.d)

The challenge is to increase the accessibility to the city for those who cannot afford to live in the inner- city, but may want to spend their leisure time here (photo 1). This is aimed for in longer- term infrastructural development plans of the city, compiled by the CTP since 2008 (CCDS, 2008).

1.3 Cape Town Partnership Infrastructure- led projects

The major infrastructure led projects, which the CTP plays a central role in include the Bus Transportation Project (IRT), and completion of the upgrade of the Cape Town Central Station (Mohammed, 2009). The modernisation of the station deck and station building since 2008 and the more recent effort to create a renewed formal and informal trading space in this precinct, is the beginning of an all-embracing transformation of the station precinct into a major shopping mall and lifestyle centre in the coming ten to twenty years. (Montana, 2010) In addition, the relocation of the long-distance bus terminal is part of the long term city development plan, that would have to develop the city more accessible and sustainable (Mohammed, 2009).

Increase in accessibility to and from the city centre will take shape through the connection of buses with new to develop precincts in Salt River, Woodstock, Foreshore and Castle, Grand Parade, on top of possibly sunken railway lines between Cape Town and Woodstock (photo 3). Sustainable development should take further shape in the contribution it should make to the (integrative central city) housing stock and job creation in the same area, while it will become a more desirable commercial node within the (larger) metropolitan area (CPT, 2009).

Photo 2. Planned Transformation of the Station Precinct; Sunken Train Lines (website, Boraine, n.d.)

The unique history of Cape Town left the urban landscape extremely spatially divided (Davies, 1981; Turok, 2001; Watson, 2002). This means that infrastructure-led projects are often focusing on overcoming mistakes made in the past (Apartheid legacy), taking the enormous diversity of the urban public into account. But besides such projects, there are strategies implemented to develop the city further and hallmark it as a World Class City (CTP website, 2010). For example, FIFA 2010 football World-Cup games served as a catalyst for infrastructural development, however (at the same time) should have acted as a springboard for future development activity that would provide an ongoing

legacy for citizens to enjoy (CTP, 2009). However, a different strategy recently launched and won by the CTP was the bid for the title of World Design Capital 2014 (CTP, 2010). This strategy was positively a global strategy to locate the city as 'Creative City'[3], hence subsidize and complete unfinished infrastructural developments taken up around the time of the 2010 World Cup Games. Cape Town is so gearing up to become a more efficient and situated city to capture global tourism.

An indispensable tendency is the geographic concentration of these developments. All the money is spent on the central city where the bulk of economic activity is concentrated. However, to date only 5,000 residents actually live in the CBD (Wilkinson, 2000).

As mentioned, the feasibility of densifiying, meaning the process that intends to increase the inner city population by 100,000 people within the next ten years with the ultimate aim to create a more sound and sustainable, socially inclusive city, is still investigated by the city (Turok, 2009)[4]. Meanwhile, infrastructure developments to become a world class city do not seem to be hampered by momentous social and sustainable considerations. The concentration of this development thus shows a very squid and uneven development. As a result, one might wonder if this is part of a neo-liberal growth agenda.

We seem to live in a society where cities are increasingly fulfilling a gateway function in development. In unison, urban problems such as informal activities, the rise of informal settlements and homelessness are not diminishing. When development is this concentrated, this will indisputably lead to an increased gap between rich and poor.

1.4 Problem Statement

From the development context discussion above, it is clear that the macro- economic post apartheid policy implemented by the ANC has made a profound effect on local governance operations. The shift of government tasks to the local level under GEAR in turn led to the inauguration of a public-private partnership in Cape Town, to meet the cities local economic requisites.

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[3] The CTP manages a creative cities proposal which claims to transform the regional economy through sustained support for

a Creative Cities precinct located in the East City.

[4] The ultimate aim of densification is to create a more sound and sustainable city, including the support for social and Economic inclusion by enhancing entry to opportunity (Turok, 2009). There are still a lot of challenges regarding the Rational, and feasibility of these densification plans.

After the founding of the Cape Town Partnership in 1999, the partnership foremost focused on urban management of the central city through the establishment of their city improvement district. Since 2005 a Social Development Program has been an innovative addition to the traditional city improvement district model. The traditional interpretation of this model is that services are provided who actively clean up or secure a defined geographical area, to make it more competitive (Mitchell, 2001; Levy, 2001; Hoyt, 2004).

The Cape Town Partnership asserts social development is an important component of their urban regeneration practices (CTP website, undated). Strikingly social development is part of urban regeneration practices that have emerged from a macro- economic policy agenda that is mostly criticized for not putting the focus on the urban poor. The social development program claims to emphasise precisely on this target group, and this raises the question how the needs of the urban poor are taken into account within the framework of private urban management. A central theme in this research discusses the interest that the CTP serves and the agenda of public-private collaborations. If we follow Miraftab her criticism on earlier shortcomings of CCIDs approach in possitively affecing the lives of the homeless, there could be a clear discrepancy between the rhetoric of social development in the city, and the effectiveness of the projects implementation.

1.5 Research Aim and Question

This research intends to understand the work being done on the ground by the CTP. In particular, this study is interested in the how of the seemingly contrasting activities around street level security, and the social development activities aimed at the homeless. I will use the analysis of the CTP, and empirical research of CTP operational practices (CCID) in relation to the homeless downtown (fieldvisit 1 and 2), to question the CTP activities, asking if their activities are only about removing people off the street or if they have a genuine interest in uplifting the livelihood of the homeless (in the inner city)?

The primary aim of this thesis is to understand the intersection of Social Development within the context of the Cape Town Partnership activities, using the CCID as a case study.

By using network analysis method this thesis will examine the institutional structure related to homeless livelihoods in the central city. Network analysis is a useful tool, as it highlights relationships visually between actors and actants (human and non- human) who define and shape social development, and it helps understand power relationships between actors, all which determine the lives of the urban poor and homeless, living in the streets.

To understand whether the Social Development Activities of the Cape Town Partnership have a positive effect on the livelihoods of the homeless and poor in the city, it is important to investigate which actors form social development within the inner city, and what the dynamics between these actors are, to understand the actual nature of social development by the Cape Town Partnership and their implication for the homeless and urban poor. Therefore the main research question is;

How effective are the Social Development activities in the central city of Cape Town, and how do the activities impact on the livelihoods of the urban poor and homeless.

Supporting the main question the sub-questions for my research include:
- Who are the actors that shape Social Development in the inner- city of Cape Town?
- What are the Social Development Activities?
- How are the relationship's between inner- city actors structured?
- What are lived- realities, dreams or prospects, of the inner- city homeless?
- What are the implications of the urban management services for the urban poor and homeless in the inner- city?

1.6 Outline

The case of Cape Town shows that it emphasizes on the construction of new infrastructure in the city, raising property prices, and thwarting mixed-or low-income housing for the urban poor. Cape Town, as many other cities around the world, try to develop economically, but at the same time the challenge for cape town is to try to deal with structural poverty. The difficulty to balance between those two aims is manifested in the case of Cape Town.

Important work of Miraftab (2007) asserted that the CTP, managing body of the downtown area since 1999, would have contributed to socio- spatial exclusion of the urban poor out of the city centre by their operational practices between 2003 and 2007. However, in 2005 the CTP introduced a innovative operational program, as part of CCID operations, which has existed since 2000, a social development program specifically aimed at the urban poor and homeless in the city.

The first chapter provides an overview of the context of the cities historical urban development and recent urban management issues, and discusses the rational for this study as it relates to the CCID social development program and its potential for improving the lives of the urban poor.

Chapter 2 discusses the CTP activities in the context of urban regeneration, and locates the theory behind urban regeneration. It attempts to understand gentrification from both early literatures, and recent literatures, to get an idea about the social as part of urban renewal policy. This debate results in a deadlock. A British case study is exemplary for this, as it shows that development projects mainly ask for commercial viability, and that physical conditions of the city are often prioritised, instead of the communities within these spaces. Where social welfare projects are part of urban regeneration projects, they are often short- lived, because they are part of macro-economic policies which are subjected to causal capital fluctuations. The starting point from which can be developed is capital. This is why capital accumulation is prioritised, on top of possibly social welfare programming. And this is often to the detriment of those which are not part of a certain cycle of consumption or production. International BID literature shows how it often supports this process. Equally it shows why the Cape Town Case study is so special, as it integrates social development so exclusively as part of its urban renewal program. In this chapter I highlight the importance of social welfare within urban development plans for the luck and livelihood chances of every human being. I discuss what effective social development would have to look like, borrowing from livelihood theory, and the Human Development Index (HDI).

The main aim of my research is to interrogate social development in context with public- private urban management, to identify and understand its influence on the everyday lives of the homeless in

the inner city. Network analysis is a valuable method for analysing relationships between actors, to judge the (power) positions by cross- linking them with each other, and to assess social capital. Chapter 3 describes this methodology, and methods applied for this study; for this study literature study, and (semi- structured) interviews have been conducted with five different employees of the CTP, eighteen homeless, seven NGOs or Faith-based organizations, a city council and several other individuals.

Chapter 4 includes an introduction of the various actors involved in Social Development, and includes a narrative of the Social Development project, from the perspective of the actors involved, that have 'carried the Social Development initiative to its present point'.   The implication of using this case as a contextual example is the role that actors played in the overall Social Development network, to investigate the scope of the current program for the realization of socio- spatial transition, or improved livelihoods of the urban poor in the inner- city. Therefore I am using the partnerships social capital as a departure and social development, drawing from human development theory (HDI) and livelihood theory as an end point, for working towards more sustainable and liveable cities. The particular focus is the question what the Social Development is in the Central City, as by the Cape Town Partnership, from the entry point of their social capital or network capacity thus discussing the nature of relations between actors.

This thesis focuses on issues of governance and management as it relates to social development activities in the City of Cape Town. In Chapter 5 and 6 I work out my network analysis in two parts; The first part focuses on the nature of social development in Cape Town; the relation of the governance activities local regulations, and civic society. This focuses on how institutions are mobilised and structured for poverty alleviation, and how the structuring of relations effect on poverty alleviation programmes. The second part of the research focuses on lived realities of Cape Town's homeless (their social, physical, financial and human capital) and has sought to socially map the actual livelihood space of the homeless, related to specifically inner city socio- spatial regulations, and the institutionalization of the homeless issue.

Chapter 7 contains a brief reflection on the process of answering my research question, and aim(s). It discusses the complexity of the problem of homelessness and the effectiveness of Social Development programs, linked to the literature studied for this thesis. Because this thesis is written within the framework of urban governance and liveable/ sustainable urban formation, there is also a section dedicated to policy recommendations, and suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction: The CTP and the Political Economy of Place

The primary aim of this thesis is to understand the intersection of Social Development activities within the context of a business improvement district environment in Cape Town. In 2008, the City of Cape Town (COCT), in collaboration with the Cape Town Partnership (CTP), a public-private partnership, developed the Cape Town Development Strategy (CCDS), which sets out a vision for investment in the City of Cape Town over the next ten years to improve its reputation as dynamic business and people centre, and leading centre for knowledge, innovation, creativity and culture (CCDS policy, 2008).

The CCDS (2008) sets out a vision for the development of major infrastructure projects in the central city. The identified infrastructure projects include the upliftment of the Cape Town Station Deck, the development of a functioning main transportation hub and the further
densification of the city centre (CCDS, 2008).

The central role the CTP has played in the formulation of the CCDS is particularly interesting, as their key role in developing the CCDS policy highlights the global impact that private-public partnerships have made in shaping and directing urban investment and growth. It is precisely for this reason that Pieterse (2008) notes in his book 'City Futures' that infrastructure and spatial issues prioritised by City Development Strategies (CDS), demand influence on municipal budget allocations and this needs to be effectively monitored, as CDS prioritise economic competitiveness, yet they seem to promote poverty reduction at the same time. Within this context, how can we ensure that the needs of the urban poor are not compromised through a neo-liberal growth agenda?

This question poses a central theme for my thesis, as an investigation into the CCDS policy document, does not provide any details of how a social development program is integrated within an urban development plan for the city (CCDS, 2008). Having said this, the COCT has more recently embarked on the formulation of a more long- term CDS process, all which in theory does seem to promote aspects of a social development program.

During my second field visit I was invited to participate in a CDS workshop specifically targeted at including key social development priorities into a more long- term policy for Cape Town (See chapter

4 and 7). The precise details of how the city plans on balancing the needs of a growth policy and the need to reduce poverty within this more long- term CDS policy still remains to be seen.

The CTP case study demonstrates how public- private ventures have been at the forefront of this political economy of place, which is the politics of control over sources of wealth (land and work), by regenerating city infrastructure (section 1.3) and altering urban governance structures, to become more competitive within the political economy (Fraser & Lepofsky, 2003).

The rise of public-private ventures in the urban governance domain reflects a peak in a manufactured- based economy and shift towards a service based economy and post-industrial era. Economic Geographers assume this shift in the mode of capitalist production is the result of a process Marx described as the annihilation of time by space (Harvey, 2001), all which in short means that capital, for its congenital seek for capital accumulaton, seeks infinite ways to reduce the turnover time to make profit. The evolution and automating of work during the industrial period, for the purpose of ever increasing the rate of capital accumulation, resulted in a shift to a service based economy. Simultaneously, with this change the scale at which the urban political economy operated changed. A mainly post- industrial phenomenon is that as the global reshapes, through increased global competition, and competition between cities and global cities (Sassen, 1991) over economic, corporal and technological resources, the local is subsequently redefined in terms of just how local it is (Harvey, 2001).

Traditional governments got involved in increasingly global networks, and could no longer emphasis on the provision of local services (Hamman, Pienaar, Boulogne & Kranz, 2009) when trending urban decline by business decentralisation and urban flight occurred all around the world, from the seventy's onwards. From this time, new forms of urban management have been investigated and encouraged, in the form of entrepeneuriale private sector initiatives (Hall & Hubbard, 1996) and public-private partnerships to redevelop the city center, and to guarantee growth, both locally as outside the geographical scope of where was being developed (Harvey, 1989).

In South Africa, private policy was suggested in preparation of the abolition of formal apartheid (section 1.2.3) but failed (Pirie, 2007). In the nineties, however, urban decay led to renewed discussion and research on new forms of urban governance, and this resulted in the creation of a first public- private venture in 1999 in Johannesburg, where after Cape Town followed suit in the same year (Peyroux, 2006).

The approach to challenge urban decay through the creation of a partnership, or structured form of cooperation between organizations from business, government and some NGOs with converging interests, but with a focus on achieving shared objectives (Hamman, et al 2009, p.3) was a process driven by glocalisation (Pirie, 2007). Public- Private- Partnership organizations are internationally acclaimed for their ability to fill the so called 'vacuum' which has been created by a decreasing state (Paguet, 1997), as they can overcome the problem of municipal shortages for local services by tax contributions from the private sector (Hamman, et al. 2009), while local government (public) oversight and transparency in the management and investment milieu, crucial for economic growth can be maintained (ibid).

A recent empirical study of public- private partnerships in Africa indicates a basic expectation of public private partnerships to reach targets more efficiently and effectively through strategic alliances rather than acting independently (Hamman, Pienaar, Boulogne & Krantz, 2009, p.3). The Cape Town public- private partnership is now becoming a highly valued and highly respected partnership among its African neighbouring partnerships, due to the professionalism of its partnership secretariat (Ibid). Their succes as facilitating development agency can be devoted to the effective management and mobilization of public and private sectors and the organisation of multi-dimensional urban projects through a strong mix of innovation, dialogue and implementation skills (Boraine, 2009, p.4; Hamman, et al. 2009).

According to Andrew Boraine, CEO of the CTP, the rational for the establishment of the CTP was to immediately improve the performance of the central city through urban management programs that would facilitate a clean- up of the city streets in order to make the area more attractive for investors and lucrative consumption (Boraine, 2009; Pirie, 2007). Due to the evolution of the partnership more strategic tasks have been included by the CTP in addition to the CCID mandate, previously mainly the domain of the state, also encouraging more long- term developments.

From the discussion above we can conclude, that the Cape Town Partnership plays a very significant role in uniting different spheres of government, business and NGOs and its positive aspect relates to the fact that it facilitates fast track implementation of urban projects. However, in so doing it prioritizes municipal budgets, and protects private sector interests for urban development and prosperity within and beyond the specific area. Although this is not so much alarming in itself, given that in the longer term this could mean benefits for the economy, this should be carefully monitored, to not ignore an effective pro- poor agenda which is according to the problems of homelessness, social housing and urban poverty in Cape Town and South Africa, a vital issue. There is a permanent

need to ask ourselves who can share in this urban prosperity, and what urban conditions could be created that promotes and delivers urban inclusion.

That said, what sets the CTP and CCID apart is that they offer social development services, aimed predominantly at the urban poor and homeless. What makes this case curious is that the CCID social development services seem to contradict the organisation's primary mandate, which is to promote growth and investment through the promotion of a safe and clean Central City, The seemingly contrasting rationality between the promotion of a clean and safe image of the city vs. the provision of social services for the upliftment of the urban poor and homeless provides me with a framework for interrogation.

This chapter will now try to understand the contested relationship between urban regeneration and social policy, with a discussion from the wider academic literatures on urban renewal.

2.2 Urban Regeneration and citizenship
2.2.1. Gentrification: The early debate

Urban renewal is primarily concerned with infrastructural renewal of inner city areas, that make property prices rise and often expel low-income renters from this targeted area by a middle- or upper- class home buyers. This process of urban renewal, with an intrinsic class connotation is explained in the gentrification literature (Glass, 1964; Smith, 1986; Ley, 1994).

The term gentrification was coined in 1964 by Sociologist Ruth Glass, to explain the process of one by one buy- up and revitalisation of London neighborhoods by middle-class earners. Since then, several arguments developed that aimed at explaining this urban renewal process, the most famous arguments being the production- side and consumption- side argument, which formed the preliminary debate on gentrification.

The production-side argument supposes that urban renewal (of a city district), and a wider process of uneven development causes the invasion of middle- class workers. Smith and Harvey, staunch supporters of the Marxist school of thought as they favoured to question the relationship between capital and space, claimed that the capitalist mode of production is subjected to timely crisis (or competition), all which leads to the lowering of the value of spatial capital used in capitalists seek to gain capital (Smith 1986; Harvey 2001). In Smith's famous Rent- Gap Theory, it is assumed that the decline in the value of capital is causing a downward spiral of neglect and decay in the inner city, and

in turn substantial abandonment of inner-city properties (Smith, 1986, p.23) and a fall in prices of inner city land relative to rising land prices in the suburbs. The gap then created between the new value of the city, and the potential value is named the Rent- Gap in Smith's theory, and would lure upgradal as the Rent- Gap becomes too large (Smith, 1986), hence an increase of property values. Moreover, Smith asserts that the mode of capitalist production would determine the movement back to the city (Smith, 1986), and fixes the type of building stock, which is (re)invested in. The mode of production gives them predictability, and reduces the time of the decision-making of gentrification (ibid).

The Rent- Gap Theory was heavily criticized by scholars such as Munt (1987), Bondi (1991) and key critic David Ley (1994), mainly because they disagreed with the descriptions of gentrification, that was that urban space would only develop because of capital circulation, and human beings were treated passive, as actors solely acting in service of capital flows. Too little focus was given to the type of gentrifier (Ley, 1994), echoes the criticism of the production- side argument, too little attention to individual preferences, or entire cultural dimensions which play an important role in the decision making process around urban education (Bondi, 1991). Moreover, according to Ley (1994) the Rent-Gap theory of Smith (1986), which discusses suburbanization and a movement back to the city by capital, not people, was little empirically tested, and therefore his contention was not found credible enough.

The consumption- side arguments is formed by the criticism of the production-side explanation of gentrification, and discusses urban renewal from the contemplation of the type of gentrifier, and puts the gentrifier on a same scale as all economic forces which influence the formation of a process or urban inequality. Key contributor to this argument is Ley, who studied the clustering of white-collar employment engaged in professional and managerial jobs already discussed in Smiths paper (1986, p.28) to explain the emergence of a 'new middle class' invited to the city by available service sector employment and managerial jobs, that would have brought higher incomes, better access to education, and consumption- oriented lifestyles (Thrift, 1987, p.222), and would have influenced the manufacturing process of spatial formation (Ley, 1994).

This consumption side argument, that treats space primarily as a personal asset, is developed further and expanded on within the consumption-side argument. There are several theories that focus only on the cultural factors that influence urban regeneration; see Munt, on demographic changes (Munt, 1987) and Bondi (1991) on gender factors in gentrification. Jager (1986) and Harvey (1989) focused

primarily on the aesthetics of gentrification, image construction and the production of the city as glorious space and status symbol (Harvey, 1989).

2.2.2 Synthesis: Towards a conceptual model

One of the first attempts to highlight the fact that both factors were important came from the sociologist Sharon Zukin, in her now classic study of the gentrification of SoHo in New York City entitled 'Loft Living' (1982). The role of culture was crucial in enabling financial capital to rehabilitate the SoHo area of Manhattan from an industrial area into an upper income residential district (Zukin, 1987). Artists who needed to live and work in the area in large and well-lit working spaces initially sought after the large warehouses, which dominated the area.

After Zukin (1987) scholars interested in a renewed debate on gentrification linked class- divisions in urban areas increasingly to processes of global change in the economy, and spoke of renewed competition between world- class and global cities (Sassen, 1992), and a 'new urban colonialism' reflecting the competitition between cities globally and universalism in forms of deregulation, increased ideologic pressures to adopt urban governance approaches framed by macro- economic principles (Hackword, in Wrap, 2008, p.9; Atkinson & Bridge, 2005), and in line with the literatures on the aesthetics of gentrification they talk about the privilegement of white- ness and class-based identities, hence its effect on white anglo-appropriation of urban space and history around the world (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005, p 2).

From the perspective of Cape Town, Kotze and Visser (2008) investigate cultural and consumption factors in urban renewal. Their work shows the crucial role played by people's consumption patterns, and how these patterns become catalyts for urban renewal. Moreover, they argue that the city is a desirable environment to lure hyper- mobile capital, and wealthy tourists. In this context, they claim that the Cape Town Partnership would be the 21st century gentrifier (Kotze & Visser, 2008; Ward, 2010, p.5).

Today the investigation of gentrification takes into account the role of globalisation. The basis argument is still based on structural inequality by regeneration of localities, although the process of regeneration is less tied to space (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005). In the next section, I interrogate the rise of BIDS and the influence they have in global urbanism.

2.3 Improvement Districts, Origin, Evolution, Content

2.3.1 The Business Improvement Districts (local diversity)

The Business Improvement District model is a transnational urban governance tool with the ultimate aim to enhance the competitiveness and performance of specific urban areas, hence they provide a challenge to globalization described above, in stimulating investment return, and decreasing urban flight (Levy & Houston, in Hoyt, 2007; Mitchell, 1999). The model is a publicly sanctioned, yet privately directed organization offering services, on top of municipal services, to improve local geographically defined shared outdoor space (Hoyt, 2003; Hoyt & Gopal- Agge 2007, p.948).

All around the world BIDs may vary in names, size, budget and scope, and may have different missions, structures or organization. Depending on the context each jurisdiction chooses a suitable approach, emphasizing more on one or the other service. International research on BIDs (Hoyt 2003, 2005) shows e.g. that in 2003, South Africa's spending on operational services was two times bigger as it was the case in Canada, and eight times as big as in New Zealand. Also, eighteen per cent of the Improvement Districts in South Africa at that time (2003) were involved in capital improvements and 100% reported to be involved with security (p.13), whereas other BIDS emphasised strikingly more on the providence of other services.

Andrew Boraine, the CEO of the CTP, contends that it is the flexibility of the BID model, that makes it a popular model across city contexts, where critical services make city spaces safe and clean, these are necessary pre-conditions for private sector investment (Boraine, 2009).

The overseeing entity of a BID organization consists of a (PPP) board of directors, existing of both local government and property owners, elected to establish the district to collect the special tax assessments or fees, and then transfer the funds over to an Improvement District organization to use as it sees fit (Houston, 1997, in Mitchell, 2001, p.116). In most jurisdictions applies when more than 50% of the affected businesses and property owners vote for a BID petition, governed by a local governing body, the BID warrant viability (Mitchell, 2001, p.205).

BIDs consist of multiple property owners and private sector bodies, who pay a supplementary levy for additional services. The levy varies per organization, but is often between 1 to 3% of the valuation reassessed, varying from assessment to fixed and conditional fees paid by businesses (Mitchell, 2001).

To collect these tax assessments, an overseeing entity of a BIDs organisation which consists of a (PPP) board of directors, existing of both local government and property owners, was elected.

2.3.2 The Origin and evolution of BIDs

The Improvement District model, in its most conventional form named Business Improvement District (BID) originated in Toronto, Canada. Here a process of disinvestment and urban decline, as (economically cyclical) cause of stagnating fees by local governments and a downgrade of money spent on upgrading public spaces led to voluntary contributions of a group of businessman eager to help their business survive. This initiative, which builds on existing corporate inititiatives in America in the thirties and fourties, had brought a free- rider process which means that adjacent businesses could freely reap the benefits from regeneration which had been made possible by voluntary donations (Lloyd, et al. 2003; Mitchell, 1999).

Hoyt, a key writer in international BID literature describes in several papers (2003, 2005, 2007) that this free rider problem was the dominant reason for the Toronto business men to investigate the feasibility of an autonomous privately managed entity with the power to impose and additional tax on commercial property owners to fund local revitalization effort (Hoyt, in Hoyt & Gopal 2007, p947). In turn, this led to the legislation and origination of the BID model in Canada in 1969 (ibid).

From that time the model quickly spread across America, and from the 90's the model was also adopted by other countries. According to an urban Forum held on April 3, 2002 in Washington DC by the World Bank, it was claimed that there were already 60,000 such organizations worldwide (Hoyt, 2003, p.3) and a study on South Africa in 2003 (Hoyt , 2003) also shows that there were then twenty one BID organizations operating in communities throughout the Republic of South Africa, and also twenty one were under consideration. Given the pace they are now adopted this will be much more today.

2.3.3 BID Literature

Over the last three decades, the Improvement District model became a popular research topic among urban scholars, and was investigated until recently mainly as an autonomous object of study (See: Briffault 1999; Steel & Symes 2005; Garodnick, 2000).

Mitchell conducted the first important relational survey of BIDS, in 2001. He examined the BID-culture and its innovative character, using a national survey of no less than 264 Bids in 43 North American states to base his findings. Subsequently, international literature appeared then, inspired by his work. Key writer in international BID- literature, which picked up on his work, was Lorena Hoyt.

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology (M.I.T.) study conducted by Hoyt and other scholars has greatly contributed to the informing on the distribution of BID and BID- like organisations around the globe (Hoyt, 2003, p.3) and the organizations claimed positive effects on the physical, economic and social form of urban areas (Hoyt & Gopal, 2007.

Proponents of the concept, such as Hoyt, claim that the image of physical space is enhanced by BID typical safety and cleanliness services, beneficial for the improvement of the cities economy as a whole (Van den Enden, 2005; Lloyd, 2003). In addition to the positive spillover effects BIDs would have, Amin and Thrift (1994) assert that the use of social capital and enhancing trust and cooperation through formulation of networks and the development or joint ventures, which did not exist previously, create the ability to generate institutional thickness, or improvement of the economy, by Increased capacity for participatory decision- making.

In addition, the social form of the city would be enhanced as services around cleanliness and safety in the area would reduce crime (Hoyt, 2003), and the deployment of entrepeneurship and innovation would have improved the overall effectiveness of services in the area (Hoyt, 2007).

Since the start of Hoyts' study on BIDS and BID-like models in multiple contexts, conducted for the Massachusetts Institutes of Technology, the model has become an internationally diffused (Hoyt, 2003, p.3) urban governance tool both prevailing in cities of the Global South and North.

2.3.4 BIDS: the tensions they raise, and the exclusion they form

Nowadays, the BID model is an internationally recognized and accepted urban regeneration tool as it would provide the required balance for filling the 'gap' of a retreating state, and some proponents stated that BIDS would work better than local governments (Briffault, 1999).

The MIT study conducted by Hoyt and others, was a first call for "the research on BIDS to be placed in a larger debate of public administrative issues, and urban regeneration challenges around the world. The latter also saw to it that the concerns about the implications of BIDS for particular groups of people, its feasibility and democratic decision- making, was also multiplied.

A main complaint among critics is the autonomy of BIDS, as it would inconvenience democratic decision making and encourage exclusion (Hoyt, 2007; Miraftab, 2007). Critics assert that the BID organization is unequally structured and is less represented by its residents and less priviledged classes than private sector stakeholders. Furthermore, it was claimed that control is unevenly

distributed among BIDs. Property owners with more land in the district pay more tax for services, and naturally augments their authority. As a result, BIDs would mainly serve private sector interests.

Another critique on BIDS is that they would increase socio- spatial inequality by the derivation of investment in city neighborhoods by the local government, through the privatization of services for capital improvement in defined development areas. Moreover, there is criticism about the lack of BIDS public scrutiny, especially of private security that patrols public spaces. Common is that the legislation provides the only measure that governs BID services (Briffault, 1999; Wrap, 2008). Generally, the disadvantaged and homeless people are not involved in decisions making processes, even if it affects their daily lives (Wrap, 2008) In addition concerns are expressed about the limited scope of BIDs services compared to local government services, and the limitation of services provided only in a particular geographical area. It was claimed that services around cleanliness and safety would bring considerable external costs, since they would contribute to the displacement (of crime) to outlying areas (Garodnick, 2000; Lloyd et . al, 2003, Pack, 1992) instead of resolving these problems.

2.3.5 Improvement Districts and Homeless

A Wrap paper (2008) states that there is minimal recognition by BIDS that homeless people are part of the community and share a right to public space. Indeed, in this paper I argue that BIDS are a direct response to the decentralization of traditional authorities and pressure from governments to adopt governance approaches with a macro- economic ideology, and as a result of an increased need to design clean and shiny locales, often actively contributing to the removal of all visible signs of poverty or decay from the downtown streets.

The private business interests that BIDS serve often contributes to a general discourse that homeless are a public nuisance or 'broken windows' (Hoyt, 2005), and for this reason BIDS would regularly contribute to the displacement of homeless people, through its cleaning and maintenance services. Before 2005, this was the case in Cape Town (Miraftab, 2007).

Measures that can be implemented by Bids as to remove homeless people from the street, would then be by quality of life laws, anti-panhandling ordinances, banning soup kitchens and other feeding programs, police sweeps, homeless courts, or anti-camping, sitting or lying ordinances (Wrap, 2008).

In this section I have discussed how the Bid international model has developed particular tools that support the process of urban revitalisation for capital accumulation, thereby encouraging gentrification, which typically results in the exclusion of the urban poor. The main interaction between BIDS and Homeless worldwide would still be through private security officers, because they generally still seen as public nuisance, or 'broken windows', which entails the vision that homelessness invites further crime and disorder, and this is a threat to the commercial viability of the city centers (Wrap, 2008).

It is the economic life cycle of disinvestment and investment in urban infrastructure, Ginsburg (1999) argues, that requires this prioritisation of the physical condition of inner city spaces (that Bids contribute to) over community involvement within urban spaces. On the basis of a British case study, Ginsburg shows that in times of capital crisis or urban decline, governments attempt to adopt philosophies that perceive the social element in terms of social health as something that will naturally improve when is invested in infrastructure such as houses and shops. Moreover, he asserts that where public funding is spent on social rehabilitation projects, these projects often appear to be unsustainable (Ginsburg, 1999).

Ginsburg (1999) highlights that urban renewal (and its tools) remained very much outside the realm of social theory (ibid). This is important because it shows why the case of CT is so special, for its integration of social development as part of their urban renewal program (CCID). Yet, it informs about the importance of examining how meaningful or sustainable the social development program in Cape Town is.

An important point Ginsburg (1999) makes, which should be included in the assesment of social development is that. in order to establish well- developed communities and improve sustainable living conditions for them, the programs should be part of long- term development plans, because the problem of the social element in urban renewal plans
is now often that the focus is only on short- term development outcomes, for they prioritize economic prosperity (ibid).

In the next section I will discuss the importance of social development planning, within an urban management context, and I will discuss what social development should mean, borrowing from Livelihood theory and the Human Development Index (HDI).

2.4 Conceptual Model: Liveable city, the Right to the City.

Today, cities in the South are increasingly expanding, and the rapid urbanization raises a complex list of related issues, ranging from adequate desease control, health, food security, to the provision of dignified shelter, service delivery and public infrastructures. These challenges demand an effective socio-political management responses, as they relate to other critical processes such a social exclusion and urban conflict (ACC website).

The development debate has increasingly focused on the development of the city on the one hand, for creating a sustainable local economy, where it is simultaneously focused on sustainability in terms of social viability and the decrease of urban inequality and poverty.

The sustainable development concept provides a framework within which imperatives are considered. In the Bründl Commission Report (1987), sustainable development is defined as development that meets the needs in the present, without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs, (Baeten, 2000) and it was this definition that received political consensus in the West (ibid).

The sustainable development concept has also received criticism by scholars from the South, who argue that the concept reinforces economic inequalities, because its conception of the document is devoid of externalities from the Global South (Worster, in Baeten, 2000). Additionally, the debate is led by a political elite that has a political range from the local to the national and global scale, and would contribute to the further exclusion of already disempowered groups of society (Baeten, 2000, p.75), even though the Brundtlands report introduced more democratic procedures to address the basic needs of the poor as a necessary condition for the realization of sustainable development (ibid).

Critics subsequently link the sustainable development debate with a new class of global environmental activists who monitor the development, and this would significantly contribute to undemocratic decision-making procedures, a right- wing politics, and sophisticated monitoring systems (Baeten, 2000, p.74). An intellectual like Swyngedouw criticized the consideration of 'one nature', and the existing discourse among elite groups that they could save the whole nature. Also Shiva combated the globalization of local problems (Baeten, 2000, p.75).

The major judgment is that in the name of global management of 'one earth' local communities are being deprived of their right to democratic participatory decision making about their environment

and lifestyle, something Sachs compared with the 19th century colonial ideology; *'then they also wanted to save the earth from barbarism and civil replacement by globalization' (*Sachs, in Baeten, 2000, p.74).

These scholars have broadened te notion of sustainability, including concepts like post- democracy and post- political development, that strongly links with the right to the city theories, and means that legally states will remain democratic by their legislation, but no longer will the nation be represented by a political elite , that uses its democratic institutions for personal benefit. In doing so, durability should no longer be seen as intra- generational problem, an understanding that issues such as conflict and social exclusion are discussed as something that was caused by previous generations, and should feel guilty about, but will instead put emphasis on inter- generational problems to be overcome today - that is solving problems of gender, class and race (p.73). This notion of sustainability has a vision that development must be embraced and (should be) actively promoted by all actors within the urban area, including businesses, government parties, disadvantaged groups etceteras. Besides that problems should be acknowledged in this regard, for emphasising on the responsibilities for sustainable development in the present, the post- democratic conception of sustainable development also takes into account the needs that people have.

This study investigates the sustainable development concept in its broadest sense, to include the complex set of development issues at a societal scale. This focus includes an understanding of social capital resources and actors within a social development network. Social development in the context of Cape Town, refers to research aimed at the urban poor and homeless, taking into consideration, physical needs, as well as dreams and aspirations.

Theories like Livelihood theory and indices like the Human Development Index measure, are the traditional ways that social development has been studied. The Human Development Index is an international measure developed by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in 1999, and stems from different developmental theories. The measuring of Human Development Needs and comparing between countries I think is somewhat problematic, and for this study it is not so much the quantifiable measure that is important, but what is understood and accepted as Human Development Needs.

The HDI reflects what is important for everyone to survive and to personally develop. The concept described in this document are: descent living standards (financial capital), proper medical care and education (human capital) (UNDP website, n.d.)

Livelihood theory is a somewhat more comprehensive theory, which describes how human beings can provide their livelihoods. This theory explains that livelihoods resolve around resources as crops, labor, knowledge, money, social relationships and so on. In addition to a descent standard of living, medical care and education described as financial and human capital in te livelihood theory, it discusses the importance of spatial capital (basic infrastructure such as water, shelter, energy, transport, communication) and social capital (social networks) (Rakodi, 2002).

Following Rakodi's work, which perceives livelihood theory as a useful theory for understanding the livelihoods of poor people to understand and manage their complexity, and to become a shared point of reference for all concerned with supporting livelihoods, enabling the complementarity of contributions and the trade- offs between outcomes to be assessed (Rakodi, 2002, p.9). It is through the observation around the livelihood needs and challenges, that appropriate strategies can be developed and prioritised. I argue that this process of identification and recognistion is at the core of an effective social development strategy.

It is through the observation of livelihood needs that lies at the heart of the focus of human development, and the increase of all livelihood assets is what would be the desirable 'end' of social development. In addition, the ethos of social development planning is rooted in the sustainable development discourse, enabling them to cope with- and recover from- stresses and shocks and enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future (Carney, 1998). Social Development programs need to be part of long- term development plans, while not compromising on human development needs, and the natural resource base.
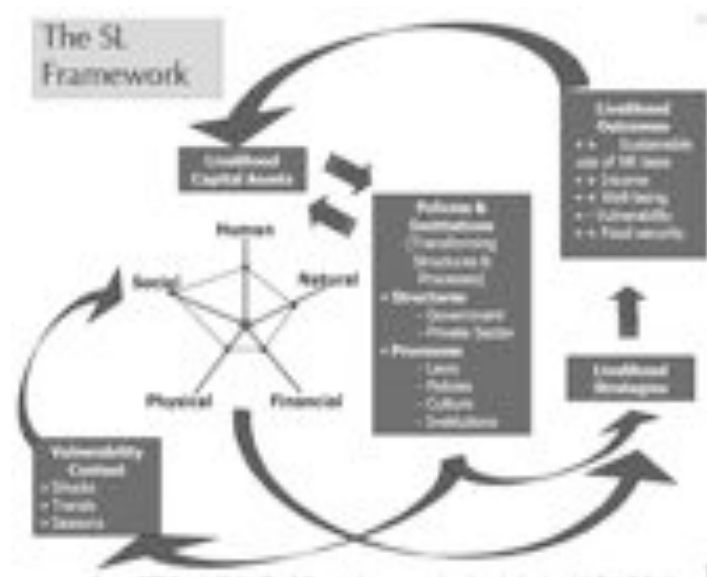

Figure 1: Sustainable livelihood framework
(Rakodi, C. 2002)

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Network Analyses

The primary aim of this thesis is to understand the intersection of social development within the context of City Improvement Districts (CIDS) in Cape Town. Through the use of network analysis, this study intends to locate and map the complex web of actors (both human and non-human), services and actions within the Central City in an attempt to examine how actors are "embedded" in the overall network.

The major categories identified in the central City social development network include: the homeless, City institutions, Government departments, PPP's, Ngo's/ Faith based organizations, undefined groups of people and individual people. It must be noted; in network analysis an actor can be a person, an organization, a place or even an object.

Rather than just describing an actor's qualities, the network map attempts to perceive a structure of connections, within which the actor is embedded. Linkages as well as their qualities describe actors. The linkages themselves are just as important as the actors that they connect (Buskens & Weesie, 1999). The major difference between conventional data and network data is that conventional data focuses on actors' characteristics while network data focuses on actors and their linkages (Freeman, 1988).

Network analysis methods require that we collect information about the ties of each actor with other actors. A thorough examination of networks allows for very powerful descriptions and analyses of social structures. Unfortunately, comprehensive network data can also be very expensive and difficult to collect (Buskens & Weesie, 1999) Obtaining extensive data from every actor is a challenging task. However, the task is made more manageable through the identification of a limited number of specific groups, individuals, times or spaces, through critical observation and community consultation. Actors and their positions (embeddings) within networks can be assessed and cross-linked. This data is further supplemented through a systematic assessment of case studies (Freeman, 1988).

Social network theory is a branch of social science that applies to a wide range of human organizations, from small groups of people to entire nations. In the case of social networks, mapping can be directional or bi-directional. For the purposes of this study, an actor is connected to another

actor only if it is directly adjacent to it (primary linkage) or if there are one (secondary) or two (tertiary) other actors between the target and the source.

Beyond that, actors usually have very little influence on each other (except in specific cases). Most persons, groups, and organizations tend to have limited numbers of ties – or at least limited numbers of primary and secondary ties – as social actors have limited resources, energy, time, and cognitive capacity to maintain large numbers of strong ties (Freeman, 1988).

One of the reasons social network theory is studied is that by understanding the linkages connecting one individual to others, one can evaluate the social capital of that individual or group. Social capital refers to the network position of the object or node and consists of the ability to draw on the resources contained by members of the network. Basically, the more connections a person has in the social network, the more knowledge, influence, and power the original person will control. Networks in the urban regeneration context raise wide questions about changing forms of governance and the implications of a shift of power from clearly elected bodies –for example which was apparent in the case of state control- and organs that are less distinctively chosen, as decision making bodies. Participants in community networks are engaged in two processes - the particular urban regeneration initiative itself and the longer-term process of developing new forms of governance drawing on the benefits of networking (Carley, C., Chapman, M., Hastin, A., Kirk, K. & Young, R, 2000). To uncover the relations between these processes, and its implications for the urban poor, I spoke to social workers from the CCID, homeless, faith based organizations and NGOs.

3.2 Methodological Approach

3.2.1 Interviews

As my entry point, I chose to interview key informants through a combination of judgment sampling and snowball sampling. Unstructured yet guided interviews were conducted to elicit an understanding of the social development realities in the Central City. My first interviews were conducted with social workers from the CCID, who are the central actors in the Cape Town social development activity network. The purpose of the initial interviews were to gain an understanding of the scope of their activities and to understand how the field workers articulated the relationship between themselves and the Ngo's and faith based organizations involved with social development activities. I was also interested in the way the social

workers referred to the homeless in conversation, and this was useful for me to ascertain weather they indeed had the best interests of the homeless in mind. To date, I continue to enjoy a fruitful and trustful relationship with the CCID field workers.

The social workers helped me with exploring the city, facilitated talking to people on the streets, their realities (difficulties in securing sleeping places in the public realm, food and shelter), prospects and dreams, and their lived- experiences strengthened my argument about the intersection of social development activities and security activities in the city, and knowledge about cities and CTP services.

My initial interviews with the homeless were completely unstructured. Due to the nature of life on the streets, most of my interviews on the streets were unplanned, as reaching the homeless was extremely difficult.

Reasons why it has been a challenge to reach the street homeless has been beautifully interpreted by Glasser (1994) who notes that street homeless have no fixed or regular address, constantly move around in unpredictable ways, and are inclined to hide also from interviews; accordingly, it is impossible or difficult to have certainty ahead of time, when constructing the survey sample, about where homeless respondents would be found on the day of the survey when the interview teams are sent out. As a result, surveys of the homeless rarely have a reliable spatial sampling framework or a population structure to work from, and it is extremely difficult to be sure that all the homeless individuals in a given survey district have been identified and reached for interviews, without any respondents being counted twice (Glasser, in Kok, Cross & Roux, 2010, p.23).

For me, an outsider in particular, it was attainable to interview more people who were part of an institution. My following set of semi - structured interviews were conducted with the Faith Based Organizations and Ngo's involved with social development activities.

A summary of the key voices of actors that I have heard for this study;

The Cape Town Partnership		
Respondents:	Date:	Time:
CCID Social Development Manager Pat Eddy	4th may 2010	14.30h

CCID Social Development Manager Pat, Fieldworker Dean, Ismail Farouk	10th of may 2010	11.00h.
CCID Social Development Fieldworkers Dean Ramjoomja, Headman Sirala-Rala, Mark Williams	3rd of June 2010	12.00h-14.00h. (City walk)
CCID chief operator Tasso	4th of august	11.00h

The Homeless:
Respondents:
21 people that were part of a shelter program as well as people who were independent of any such program; - 5 (former) homeless youngsters bound to the NGO Salesians - 5 adults, working for the NGO Straatwerk - 2 young homeless people attending a meeting in the Reformed Church, - 3 people during a soup-kitchen in Kryppies- a church located next to the Gardens in the city - 5 adults- bound to the Haven Shelter in the Napierstreet (incl. Lenji and John) - 1 adult bound to the Haven Shelter in Claremont - Several persons begging on and living in the streets of Cape Town.

Ngo's/ and Faith Based Organizations:		
Respondents:	*Date:*	*Time:*
Ons Plek—Pam Jackson	5th of may	11.00h
Salesians—Fr. Alberto	6th of may	9.30h
Straatwerk—Hannes vd Merwe	6th of may	12.00h.
Homestead— Sandra	10th of may	12.00h
The Haven District Claremont— Carmen	14th of may	9.00h
Beth Uriel—Marieke	28th of may	11.00h.
Haven (CCID)—Hassan Khan (director)	11th of June	9.00h.

and Lucia Petersen (social worker)		

City institutions- Government departments:		
Respondents:	*Date:*	*Time:*
City Council JP Smith	31st of may	*12.00h*
Social Development stakeholders and ACC colleague	25th of January	*1 day*

Other groups of people, and individual people:		
Respondents:	*Date:*	*Time:*
Former Social Worker and former homeless by choice- James Brown	23rd of June	13.00h.
Several people during 'Street Peoples Forum'	26th of may	13.00h.

Key themes discussed with the actors involved were;

CTP	NGO	Homeless	COCT
Actor- Network	Actor- Network	Lived- Realities	Actor- Network
Program/ Activities	Programs/ Activities	Livelihood needs, dreams, prospects	Activities/ Actions
Social Capital	Social Capital	Social Capital	Social Capital (Legislation)
Scope	Scope	Scope	Scope
Nature of relation Social Development and Security operations	Nature of relation Social Development and Security operations	Right to the City	Nature of relation Social Development and Security operations

3.2.2 Literature Study

During the preparatory phase, before conducting these interviews, an analysis of the popular literature was undertaken to gain an understanding of the literature terrain. Background reading of the literature pertaining the Cape Town Central City helped locating the position of my work, which lies at the juction of discussions, held by mainly Cape Town- based intellectuals, on continuing polarization of the post- apartheid city, and the debate about sustainable development and urban densification. This CT literature helped with trying to understand the history and development trajectory of the city.

I also analysed urban policy, and tried to understand how policies were represented in the public domain, by examining several newspapers like the 'Cape Argus', and the Cape Times, and this helped me keep with the major urban development projects in the city.

3.2.3 Additional Activities

In addition, my academic responsibilities to the ACC allowed me to actively participate in the institution's Central Citylab, a monthly seminar series aimed at tracking the various urban development projects in the Central City.
More precisely, the Central City Lab is a geographical based urban research laboratory with a specific thematical focus on the densification of the Central City of Cape Town, and this brings together researchers and practicioners from different disciplines and professions, focusing on learning from practice (ACC website).

These seminars have mainly contributed to the understanding of the CCDS policies and proposed approach of the municipality of Cape Towns' 20 neighborhood strategy, as a mechanism to develop guidelines for appropriate development in the central city, and to understand the status quo of the socio- spatial divides today, and the problem of densification discussed from exclusively a technical perspective of the built environment.
The Central Citylab (CCL) aim is to point to additional social and cultural aspects of sustainable development of the city, and this has helped to position my research theme within a sustainability and liveable city framework.

Themes that were discussed during the seminars that I attended were: The 20 - neighbourhood strategy of Cape Town, Public space and public life, Infrastructure,

Governance and regulation. Next to ACC Brown- Bag seminars and Phd presentations that I attended, I was present at the CCL seminar on the 6th of May and the 4th of April, in 2010.

Attended CCL Seminars;		
Names:	*Theme:*	*Date:*
Anzabeth Tonkin	The Case of Rainbow Housing Cooperative: Is well-located medium-density housing for low-income earners in Cape Town just a dream?	6 May 2010
Rory Williams	Aligning Transport Planning with City Densification Objectives	4 April 2010

Besides attending the CCL seminars, participatory observation was crucial as a means of data collection as I was able to actively involve myself in my case study. Early on during my fieldwork, I participated in a protest action by informal traders at the train station in the Central City. This protest was important as it highlighted the unfortunate situation of the poor in the Central City as many traders were facing evictions, intimidation and harassment by law enforcement, unjust administrative action and exclusion because of the FIFA World Cup. The protestors also voiced concern over the non- existence of public participation in development projects.

The protest action set the tone for my research links, as it is through this event, that I was able to gain access to homeless people who frequent the train station and the Grand Parade public space.

Lastly, I also participated in planned walks with the CCID social development field workers. During these walks I got to see how the field workers relate to the homeless first hand. In addition, this was an opportunity for me to interact with the homeless directly in the context of the CCID's services.

3.2.4 Research context

The timeframe for my fieldwork related to this study lasted 4 months as part of my internship at the ACC. The first phase of my study started just before the commencement of the 2010 FIFA World Cup and I was fortunate enough to visit Cape Town for a second phase of work a few months after the hosting of the tournement.

There were many challenges faced during the first phase of my study, mainly due to the disruption of the city due to the hosting of the World Cup, which also disrupteded the daily rhythm of the city's residents. These challenges were compounded by FIFA's appropriation of major public spaces like the Grand Parade, which had negative consequences for the thousands of informal traders and destitute-who were removed from the city in the preceeding months as part of the city's plans to make the 'safer' for visiting tourists.

During my second visit to Cape Town, I was invited by the ACC to particiapte in a data gathering workshop for a proposed City Development Strategy (CDS), hosted bythe COCT. My specific input was to highlight some of the social development challenges, which I was familiar with from the first phase of my research. The CDS is an important visioning policy for the city, which charters growth for the city over the next 30 years. The policy is also central to the theoretical discussion related to this thesis, as the CDS highlights the central tension experienced by Cape Town as far as balancing growth and investment, whilst pursuing an agenda of poverty alleviation (See chapter 2).

The CDS workshop was an important event for me as it afforded me an opportunity to interact with central actors in the social development activity network. Through the workshop process, I was able to extensively interview Pat Eddy of the CTP/CCID. Pt's input was central to this study as her knowledge of the wider social development network helped by creating a snowballing effect and I was able to identify further respondents related to this study.

Chapter 4: A Case Study of the CTP Social Development Program

4.1 Introduction

The primary aim of this thesis is to understand the intersection of Social Development activities within the context of a business improvement district environment in Cape Town. As demonstrated, Cape Town is presented with having to deal with economic yet social development issues as to tackle growing urban divides, compounded with poverty or inequality related issues.

Since 1999 the CTP has been a central actor in managing the downtown area, and infrastructural developments in the inner- city and have been working in collaboration with the COCT. In 2008, they worked on developing a   CCDS policy, which sets out a vision for infrastructural developments over the next ten years. This document has now been superseded by the CDS policy document,

Through the use of secondary methods and a literature review, my study showed the capability of PPPs for extending the access of the socio- spatial network for improving well- being, and development. However, seen that the infrastructure developments pursued by the Partnership has been so concentrated, this study questions if this type of urban governance and management serves the interest of the urban poor. The priorisation of inner- city infrastructure developments easily leads to further divide between rich and poor.

This thesis focuses on issues of governance and management as it relates to social development activities in the City of Cape Town. My work investigates the lived realities of Cape town's homeless, maps the various actors involved in social development and assesses the range of programmes and activities aimed at dealing with the complex set of problems experienced by the homeless downtown.

The opportunity is for this work to contribute to the need for information communications related to Cape Town's various social development service providers and activities. The central question of this study is how effective are the Social Development activities in the central city of Cape Town, and how these activities impact on the livelihoods of the urban poor and homeless?

This chapter first introduces the study area and various actors (structures) in it (subquestion 1, 3), involved in Social Development (SD), and it introduces their activities (subquestion 2).

The chapter includes a narrative of the SD project, and the institutional structurations between actors, in the early years of implementation, that have carried the SD initiative to its present point. The implication of using this case as a contextual example is the role that actors played in the overall Social Development network, to then investigate the scope of the current program for the realization of socio- spatial transition, or improved livelihoods of the urban poor in the inner- city (subquestions 3, 5). Therefore I am using the partnerships social capital as a departure and social development, drawing from human development theory (HDI) and livelihood theory as an end point, for working towards more sustainable and liveable cities. The particular focus is the question what the Social Development is in the Central City, as by the Cape Town Partnership, from the entry point of their social capital or network capacity thus discussing the nature of relations between actors.

4.2 Study Area

The bounded area under discussion includes the Central City Improvement District area. This map (photo 3) illustrates the four CCID precincts controlled by precinct managers, employed by the CTP.

This area forms part of a larger inner- city development zone, striving for longer- term developments of the city. This CCID area comprises much of this Cities Development Zone (CDZ), and includes the old Central Business District (CBD), the Victoria and Albert Waterfront, the Foreshore area and the Harbour Port. The edges are District Six, Table Mountain and Woodstock. Developments that form part of the ten years development plan for this inner- cities area is the transformation of the Station Precinct (Section 1.2.4). The Central Citylab study area makes up the same zone.

In the past decade, massive private investment in new and converted buildings, and public space has made the old CBD area a post- modern space of high- end production, services, and consumption, that is aestheticised, commoditised, and historicised (Pirie, 2007,p.125).

photo 3. Central City Improvement District (http://capetownpartnership.wwc.co.za/ccid/)

4.2.1 Overview

Many investments in the central city have considerably increased the value of the old CBD area, which is reflected by the predominantly wealthy people living in the city, whilst the vast largely poor black and coloured communities continue to live outside the central city, far from employment-opportunities.

The CCID includes the old CBD area downtown. These managerial bounderies of the area have been created by a city's bylaw (Peyroux, 2006) that governs a mandatory monthly levy which property owners, located in the district, pay to the Partnership, to outsource services on top of municipal services provided by the COCT (Miraftab, 2007).

The CTP in collaboration with the CCOT are active in the enforcement of this CID by-law and other by-laws on the use of public space and public nuisance in the CCID territory, and this regulation is in particular alluding the urban poor, homeless or street kids (Miraftab, 2007, p. 605). CIDs have been implemented, in essence, to support the city and the private sector its task (CCID- bylaw). As we have discussed before its main objective is to cope with global challenges relating urban deterioration, and local challenges around homelessness and crime and grime that would contribute to this process of

decay. (CTP, 2009; Narsiah, 2002).

The literature on BIDS show that usually the only form of regulatory control that local governments provide to CIDs is to regulate the activities, but the case of Cape Town (Improvement District) shows that the COCT rather fulfills a large role in investing in operations, and measuring performance of the BID (Hoyt, 2003). Since 2005, the CCID mandate is providing cleaneliness, safety and social services.

4.3 Central City Social Development Network

Since 2009, the CCID Social Development Program (SDP) has been shaped by the social development manager Pat Eddy, and a group of fieldworkers, namely, Ramjoomja Dean, Mark Williams, and Headman Siralarala, These are the people responsible for the daily management of the Social Development operations.

The CCID seems as if it is not an independent institution, rather it functions as the operational arm of the CTP instituted by the City of Cape town, that oversees and manages the CCID. The organizations share both communicative and managerial functions. Both organizations have a board consisting of public and private sector stakeholders, and although both CCID and CTP have their own tasks, they work closely within the framework of the CTP (OECD), and meet in various informal and formal meetings.

The CCID Social Development team works closely with the entire operational management. CTP operational management (CCID) is led by Chief Operating Officer Tasso Evangelinos, a subordinate urban management team of four precinct managers and a night officer, a security team existing of a Security manager and a deputy security manager. Together, they present an overview of the following activities, linked to the management of the inner- city area;

Mandate:	Activities:	Employees:	Partners:
Safety and Security (24 hours a day, 7 days a week)	- Visible policing - Reaction units - Policing of traffic infingement - Event Security - Public Assistance - Vehicle breakdown assistance	- 2 Security Managers - 3 Shift supervisors - 6 Control roomofficers - 6 Mobile units - 6 Mobile assistants per shift - 155 foot officers - 8 law enforcement	- CC business community - SA police - Other security organisations and stakeholders

	- Security Forums	officers (authorised to make arrests	

Quality Urban Management
(day shifts)
	- Monitoring streets and public spaces in Cape Town
	
	- Ensuring that urban management solutions are developed and implemented across the CCID.
	
	- Precinct managers manage the services offered by the CCID to complement municipal services, such as cleaning and landscaping services (Straatwerk).
	
	CCID urban management services;
	    1. Removal of illegal posters and graffiti
	    2. Street and sidewalk cleaning
	    3. Drain cleaning
	    4. Weed removal
	    5. Cigarette bin removal
	    6. General maintenance, including tree trimming;
	    7. Road maintenance, including curb stone and pothole repair;
	    8. Consultation with property owners and retailers;
		- Precinct 1: Rushdi Toefy manages the area from Table Bay Boulevard, Buitengracht, Riebeeck and Adderley st, up to Marine Drive and Oswald Pirow.
		
		- Precinct 2: Richard Beesley is the senior manager and manages the Mid-Town area. This is between Riebeeck street, Buitengracht, Wale and Adderley streets, back to Riebeeck street.
		
		- Precinct 3: Sarel Strydom manages the area from Government Avenue to Buitengracht St and Buitensingel to Wale Street.
		
		- Precinct 4: Mmiselo Ntsime manages the area known as the East City, between Adderley, Strand, lower Buitenkant, Darling up to Canterbury, up to Roeland Streets, back down to Plein, turning into Spin/ Bureau and back into Adderley.
			- NGO Straatwerk
			
			- COCT stakeholders
			
			- Other service providers

	9. Kerbside parking management.		

Social Development	- Assisting homeless people in the Central City as well as alleviating poverty by supporting skills training and job creation projects.
	
	- Main areas of intervention:
	  1. Shelters;
	  2. emergency intervention,
	  3. public awareness and education,
	  4. reunification,
	  5. job creation,
	  6. diversion programmes,
	  7. channeling donations
		- 3 fieldworkers
		- 1 social worker
			- NGOs
			
			- Other stakeholders

Since 2005, there is thus also a Social Development Programme (SDP) for supporting homeless people, and alleviate poverty through skills training, and job employment project(s). The program is conducted by Social Development manager and social worker Pat Eddy, and the three fieldworkers, Dean, Head, and Mark (surnames).

However, for Social Development (SD) to perform the CTP partners with various inner- city based NGOs, which are also included in the investigated SD Activities Network: Homestead, The Haven, Ons Plek, Salesians, Straatwerk. During the research in 2010, the services they provided were, in short;

Ngo:	Target Group:	Services:
The Haven night shelter, District Six and Napier Street	Adult homeless	- Clean bed - Meal - Shelter
The Homestead	Male street children	- Accomodation - Food - Reintegration program
Ons Plek	Female street children	- Shelter - Food - Accomodation - Reintegration program
Straatwerk	Street people	- Rehabilitation - Job employment
Salesians	Male street youth	- Rehabilitation - Accomodation - Schooling - Food

This study tries to map the different actors involved in social development in the inner- city, and measures the range of programs and activities aimed at dealing with the totality of issues surrounding homelessness.

4.3.1. The Homeless

In South Africa as a whole, the number of homeless is estimated between 100 000 to 200 000, including adults and children (Kok, et al. 2010). Interviews with City Council JP Smith, who is engaged with the collecting statistics on homelessness and migration, show that the numbers of homeless have decreased drastically.

In response to this decrease and with fair degree of caution, CTP social worker Pat Eddy says that the latest count showed there is an approximate 230 homeless in the CBD:

 " *We did a count, it was october. We had 230 homeless in the CBD.. and slightly wider, under the bridges. Less then half are non- nationals."*

Moreover, there are an estimated 20 daystrollers roaming the inner – city streets today. Pat thinks that there were at least 100 previously.

Sandra Morreiro, director of the NGO Homestead, also corroborates this perceived decrease, stating that the homeless on the streets today are those who have servere prblems and are difficult cases to deal with. Another large group can be found outside the CBD;

" Essentially they have sort of shut down the CBD. Very few kids actually come here at all anymore. So now they operate more around their neighborhoods, whatever the largest, nearest shopping centre is to them. (…) It is very difficult now. Because there are small groups of children all over the big uni- city of Cape Town. And you cannot form a relationship with them if you just got there now and again."

According to the literature, homelessness is difficult to remove, as the poor living standards by the shack population, cannot afford to be spatially seperated from urban areas where they find a living (Cross & Seager, 2010).

In chapter one I already pointed to the causal drivers beyond homelessness, such as a lack of descent housing, employment opportunities, scattered families, or other push- and pull- factors which ultimately cause homelessness. These causes are also told by the homeless interviewees (chapter 6).

The case of the homeless reveals that the majority of street homeless are male and adult, as many women and children are bound to shelters (adults), or reintegration programs (mainly children). The adults I spoke to for this study werer mainly from rural areas, or areas outside the city, while children are often born in the urban township(s), and end up on te streets by unsustainable house holds (Cross, Seager, 2010). However, most children are directly linked to NGO (reintegration) programmes today are responsible for the protection of this group, with family reunification perceived as most important end- goal of the programme.

4.3.2 Central City NGOs

By the end of apartheid rule, the share of homeless people in downtown Cape Town rose, according to 'Brown' an independent social worker, who worked for various CT based NGOs.

According to Brown, many NGOs were established around the eighty's, in Cape Town, and the services multiplied with the demise of Apartheid Planning, The literature shows a strong weakening of the social welfare system during the apartheid, mainly because of insufficient funding. The

broadening of welfare- services and social work (NGO/ FBO work) after 1994, was a result of RDP measures, under the White paper of Social Welfare, taken to improve the enormous development challenges to improve welfare, and create an equitable social security system (Gray, 2006).

According to 'Brown', social services or NGO programmes have not changed much since democratic transformation. However, there is one major noticeble change, today, the NGO's approach is no longer to *hand out* food and clothes, and this is perceived as a big part of the reason why the situation has now improved (Interview, 2010). Mainly for the homeless children.

4.3.3 Early socio- spatial practices of the CTP

A current analysis of social development shows that traditionally the CCID task was solely focused on cleanliness and security of the public realm to ensure that the environment was condusive for growth and private sector investment in the central city area. (Interview, 2010).

The basic point being made by Brown, and acknowledged by Pat Eddy, is that the initial SD services were about securing the streets and getting the homeless off the streets, not about helping the homeless (kids). The CCID overused an approach that focused solely on improving the district without weighing the needs of the urban poor herein, something that has now changed according to Pat.

Pat's view is that some managerial changes to get the operational focus right is needed: *"from Gavin Joachin, to Clinton Ausborn, to Dean, in 2007"*. Pat has been employed by the CTP since 2008, and together with the recruitment of Headman and Mark (surnames), complete the CCID social development team.

Brown claims that it was the internal pressure by the Partnership, which led to the termination of the employment of particular staff members (Gavin) of the CCID SD team. The CTP influence is also what led to the eviction of homeless people from the Central City, who were often transported in an undiginified manner on the back of bakkies (vans) and dropped of at geographically insignificant locations:

 "Same with Clinton, he came to help, he did not stay long. But the pressure was to just get rid of people… (Interview, 2010)." Brown collaborated with both Clinton and Gavin, and attests to the integrity of the now terminated social workers. He is less aware of the situation in the city today and

unable to comment on the contemporary situation.

Pat says, that initially, the Partnership did not take homeless into account, but according to her this has now changed.

4.3.4. The COCT and the Partnership

Since 2005, the COCT Street People Strategy has been established to work concurrently with existing policies affecting the livelihoods of the homeless. This program enters into relationship with several NGOs. The CTP is inaugurated in 1999 to support the City its task. The CTP operational arm (CCID) has a Social Development Programme, also since 2005, which focuses on inner- city homeless and is promoted as to offer succesful job employment programmes, through the NGO Straatwerk.

However, the urban program is aimed at reducing homelessness, and consists of several measures to quantify homelessness, and get them off the inner- city streets, as instant as possible –by bylaw enforcement and Diversion (now a more hidden practice, through their relation with NGOs), and the COCT has different conventions than the CTP SD team, for providing social services, showing the governance modes in operation at this defined space (CCID) is contested.

In 2010 I intended the CCDS meeting in which the document was revisioned, and in this meeting, together with Social Development Stakeholders and ACC researchers, I discussed what human development, in the context of urban regeneration and inner city development would have to look like. The final draft of the renewed CCDS document gives a more holistic picture of human, and spatial conditions that have to be meet by the City, in collaboration with the Partnership, as to achieve a more inclusive and sustainable city form (*appendix 5).* However, how this plan is to be implemented by the COCT, is yet questionable.

The challenges indicated in the meeting show yet a clear lack of basic conditions that the city has up untill today taken in the provision of social development services. There are no basic amenities like public toilets in the city, no relevant physical infrastructure driven by more relevant integration programs. The critique raised by Social Development stakeholders during the cities meeting is that the focus for development is always on regeneration to make globally competitive cities, whereas never is talked about health as a prime priority for changing the inner city form (CCDS strategic Meeting, SWOT Analysis 27th January 2011) (*appendix 3*). The latter shows The Cape Town Partnership thus plays a leading role in the City's social development activity network. The next

chapter explains further the directional role local authority plays in CTP operations, in relation to basic conditions imposed on the right to the city, or discourses on urban management to enhance the liveability for those who adhere to a tight set of rules that guard those rights.

Earlier, I demonstrated by means of literature review of urban regeneration literatures, that the PPP plans are in essence capable of extending the access of the socio- spatial network for achieving human well- being and development. However, seen that the infrastructure is so concentrated I also questioned if the interest is exactly to enhance the livelihood of the urban poor, as the prioritisation of inner- city infrastructure developments could easily lead to further divides between rich and poor.

Chapter 5 Social Development in Inner- City Cape Town

5.1 Introduction

This thesis focuses on issues of governance and management as it relates to social development activities in the City of Cape Town. The aim of this empirical chapter is twofold. The first part focuses on the nature of social development in Cape Town; the relationship between the governance activities of the city and civic society, those actors close to the field of state authority, who have the the largest power or scope of action, and capability to seize social spaces (for private interests) (Etzold, 2011). My work looks at how institutions are mobilised and how the structuring of relations impacts on poverty alleviation programmes. The findings of this research were obtained through network- analysis and a process of semi- structured interviews conducted with CTP/ CCID mandate employees, the City Council, and inner- city based NGOs. The second part of the research focuses on lived realities of Cape Town's destitute (physical capital, dreams, prospects) and seeks to map the livelihood space of the street people, as it relates to central city socio- spatial regulations.

The exclusionary urban form of Cape Town is a result of a combination of the legacy of apartheid planning and the contested nature of post- apartheid party politics. Since democratic transformation, Central City areas in South Africa have become the focus for direct urban regeneration, with a particular challenge of dealing with the legacy of the apartheid city, and with the planning of more integrated and well-managed cities for the future (ACC Central City Lab 2009). Despite the intention of creating a more inclusive central city, much of the housing that has been delivered since 1994 has been poorly located with respect to urban opportunities, and Cape Town still continues to exhibit unsustainable spatial patterns along lines of economic priviledge (Turok, 2009).

This study showed the CTP has a leading role in this political economy of place, however, the CTP case is special as the political environment of Cape Town differs in governance, from other South African cities. Cape Town is the only South African City under the opposition Democratic Alliance (DA) rule. The effective management of the central city along with the effective management of public spaces has provided the DA with political leverage, as the DA prides itself in promoting a clean and safe image of the Central City.

5.1.1. The Partnership and Contested Discourses

A key actor in setting conditions which determine the scope of social development, and who sets up provisions regarding use of public spaces, is the COCT, or interviewee City Council JP Smith; founder of the Homeless Portfolio Committee and author of the bylaw related to BIDS, all which regulates activities or BIDS, and which manages the public budget and the Committee Portfolio, all as part of a specific business plan. At the same time JP Smith asserts the rules on public space to be more liberal than in other South African cities, although he shares the criticism raised by the conservative business community about homeless people (In their backyard or on their property). The harsh sentiment is a shared notion that the street people are 'evil'. This moral judgment is shared by central faith-based organizations who offer services to street people (Straatwerk) in exchange for good standing with the church and for spriritual credit.

JP Smith asserts that the city's approach with regard to the care of the poor and homeless is exceptional. He explains that Cape Town is the only city in South Africa with a dedicated Portfolio Commity, committed to the care of the homeless. This specific Committee hosts regular meetings with a formal programme: *" you can see all the nuts and bolds in the program of action. And every month the officials have to do the progress and what next steps are etceteras."*

Since 2005, the COCT Street People Strategy has been established to work concurrently with existing policies affecting the livelihoods of the homeless. The scale of the intervention requires that NGOs become members of the Street People Strategy (SPS) organized Portfolio Committee, and special organized forums such as the Street People Forum (SPF), for which a range of actors including NGOs, homeless agencies, the Western Cape Street Children's Forum (WCSCF), government, private sector, business, and service providers meet to engage with the intention of interrogating applied solutions to the issues of Street Children (website WCSCF).

In chapter 2 I described how since 1999 the COCT has a managerial arm, the CTP, which supports city operations. Since 2005, simultaneously with the design of the SPS, the operational arm of the CTP (CCID) in addition to security and cleaning services, a social development program was operationalised, which focuses on inner- city homeless and is touted as a successful employment and job skills development program.

The next section discusses the business plan of the COCT and the articulation of social development activities as part of this, before we go into the rethoric and social development propagated by the CTP SDP, that's promotes the city as safe clean and caring city and the scope of its practices.

5.1.2 The COCT Business Plan

The level of services within particular business hubs and areas of high -density is poor, and the COCT is weary of the potential for the central city area to fall into a state of urban decay.

JP Smith explains the rational for the initiation of BIDS/ CIDs has been to protect Cape Town's booming tourism sector and the city's image as one of the world's most desirable locations, and he points to cities like Johannesburg, or Durban to outline what undesirable outcomes are;

"You end up with Hilbrow. And some of our suburbs are teaturing on that edge, like Woodstock and Salt River. And it is important to try and level up to international standards and not settle for some kind of poor local standard. Sometimes you hear people say; ' but we are in Africa, this is an African country.' But it does not mean we have to aspire to the lowest common ground. And the hole point of CID is to impress those aspects, crime and grime, that makes an area fallen into decay, that makes businesses withdraw, that makes property owners stop cleaning up and investing in their properties, that makes prostitutes, drug dealers, homeless people etc. move in and take over an area. That causes residents to flee an area and leave it in state of decay. that replaces an economy for a criminal economy where instead of offices and. you have drugs and sex industry and crime. And the CID gives property owners in an area a democratic mechanism to choose whether they want to invest in or not. Because it has to be a majority voting for it." (Interview, JP Smith)

Smith asserts the by-laws are there, to ensure certain limits under which urban actors operate, and Smith,' s point of view privilidged is that there should be no homeless on the street: "*I categorically reject that what I think is a perverse desire to sustain the group of people on the streets, and to provide a comfort zone for them, I think it is repugnant.. You must accept that there should be no people living on the streets. We must take every measure to encourage they get off the street, to aid them. And that is what this is about. That is not law enforcement. 10% of your solution is law enforcement. Trust me I tried. When I was council of Sea Point I had 730 people sleeping on my streets*" (Interview, 2010).

The investigated bylaw-related rules on public space usage show that life on the streets of homeless people is in every way possible avoided, according to the business plan, and points to a seemingly pro-poor agenda and anti- social/ exclusionary appropriation of public-spaces in the inner city.

Controversely JP Smith argues that Cape Town has no solely security approach. The City council argues he is sensitive to issues such as gentrification and cleansing, and tries to convince his fellow colleagues of the importance of social development measures, and the collaboration with NGOs to achieve a desired reduction of homeless people.

Fortunately, the city council asserts there are enough watchdogs on the streets and in programs, today, with an eye on the nature of homelessness, or out there on the streets, which counteract these negative effects for improving the lives of the homeless population in Cape Town.

5.1.3 The Business Plan, and the directional relationship with inner- city NGOs.

The story of Alfredo (surname) from the NGO Salesians points at a new trend. According to funding for NGOs and their programmes are granted by the local government SPS programme on merit (Interview, 2010). The assesment of programmes is measured by indicators, usually the number of children on the street (WCSF website, n.d.), and the amount of street people being reunited with family or their community (SPS, 2010). Additionally, the job creation outcomes of a program has been quantified. According to Alfredo the city's approach puts enormous pressure on NGOs, and often ignores the actual nature of homelessness;

"Last week social development was here. They came to check-up, documents, papers, work what we do here. (...) I think they become very demanding for the very little that they give. We are working with the street youth. Most of the times they don't know really the nature of the street youth. (...) If they want to come in they come in, and at some conditions if they want to go out they go out. (...) One of our regulation is they cannot use drugs in the premises, so if the youth does not feel comfortable, they will run away. Now we only have 15 youth in the hostel. So if they (the city) would come they would say: 'why do you have so few youth in your hostel, they will start and ask. They are real life questions but without recognizing the nature of this youth."

The SPS strategy is intended to coordinate and monitor the work of NGOs, as a coordination of services offered to street children and youth living, strolling and roaming on the streets, as well as those begging in the CBD areas. According to the same document, the homeless agency Portfolio

committee, a monthly meeting set up for NGOs, is there for the city to monitor and ensure that established programs alleviate the plight of street people to yield maximum impact (ibid).

The SPS aims at reducing the amount of homeless in the (inner city) city, and to ensure that they are given the necessary developmental assistance in order to attain employment, accommodation and reintegration with their families and communities. The ultimate objective is to get homeless people off the street, according to the specific business plan.

Their objective is not only enforced by the by-law, but also through their Social Development programmes. An investigation into the interaction between JP Smith, Straatwerk and the Haven, in daily activities, interviews, and within conginasance of the WCSCF, it is apparent that the NGOs are actively assisting in the City its Diversion programme.The Diversion programme is a city coordinated program, of the Department of Justice, where the CTP is responsible for the establishment of a Community Court, in 2005. The CTP Community Court assist to divert petty offenders into community service programmes (website, CTP, n.d.).

"We have community courts, we have 3 community courts, and we are about to open the fourth. We got a business model that will see a community court open every year. We got so far. And we have a rehab program of which Hannes in fact takes some diversions, counting. That is just only a temporary thing. The proper diversions are starting now. And we have identified our 4 worse offenders in See Point. Either they will play guilty, or they plead innocent; they go to trial, or we send them to rehab instead."

Moreover, research indicates that some NGOs are actively embedded, through the SPS, in the monitoring of the mobility of homeless people, in this case the Haven keeps record of so called hotspots, which is a tool to prevent more than 5 persons to sleep on the street, and counting of their presence -in this case carried out by Hannes vd Merwe, the director of Straatwerk-, all which facilitates diversion, or trial, and this includes no clear overview of what the trial entails.

These social workers, feeling rewarded for their hard work, chair the WCSCF, distribute blankets and money for the Winter Readiness Program, and do the counting for the city. They experience their role privilidged, and the Partnership supportive for their work.

Although the city claims that the appropriation of public and social spaces in Cape Town does not contribute to exclusionary practices, the previous section, focusing on the business plan, raised the

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question around the scope and nature of CCID social development activities and the capacity for effectively, positively changing the livelihood of the homeless.

5.1.4 The CCID Social Development Program's activity network

Since 2005 an operational (CCID) Social Development Program was established by the CTP, to support the strategy of the city. This social development program was designed to support the short-term aim, to provide jobs, and skills development, as a means to get people off the streets.

To achieve this aim the CCID maintains partnerships with several inner- city NGOs, as they do not have the resources to sustain their own projects. According to Pat, the only NGO that promotes a sustainable practice is Straatwerk and their job creation and street cleanup projects.The clean up crew wear bright green jackets, which clearly communicate contact details as well as the religious affiliation of the organization.

The CTP are actively involved in marketing the activities of the NGO's and their programmes. Part of the CTP partnership is the public awareness program called the Give Responsibly Campaign, which operates from both the Waterfront Area, and the centre of town, with the intention to reduce "the possibility of children to earn money on the streets by begging, as the money is perceived to be used for the purchase of drugs (WCSCF website).

Beyond marketing, the CTP actively consults with the NGO's through direct contact with CTP/CCID social worker Pat Eddy. She advices the NGOs about the necessity of understanding the broader social problems, and about lessons learned from previous experience.

Part of the support task (awareness and education) is also to suggest ways for the private sector to contribute to NGO programs so they can subsidise acitivities through the donation of everyday items like towels, food, as well as financial assistance. But ultimately, the goal of the activities is to create job opportunities with relation to basic street level maintance of the city:

 "Last year we are employing about 200 people every month; it is now up to about 250...so it fulfils two needs. It fulfils the social development need, even though the NGO doesn't want to be seen as a job creation, in some way it is fording that person an opportunity, though it is minimum, to earn an income, to actually start learning the responsibilities of time. You need to work an x amount of time, to be on time, but at the same time it is fulfilling an urban management need. Because they

are used on a basic level, of course, on uh...street sweeping, on trees, graffiti removal on walls. And I think what is going for me... is that on the basic entree level there is skills development."

Another job creation project is the Parking Marshal Program, which regulates existing informal car parkers into a legal parking management system. However this programme has proven to be unsuccessful. In the next section I will discuss the shelter referral programme and the intersection between the social development and security activities of the CCID. In addition, I assess the public awareness programme as well as the family reunification initiative.

5.1.5 SD – On Street Level Intervention

City Walk with CTP Field Workers:

"It is 1.30 PM in the afternoon, a few weeks before the kick off of the World Cup event. How do the outreach workers prepare for this? They are drummed up by the many stakeholders of the city, somewhat nervous about the role that police will soon come to play, and the responsibility resting on their shoulders. Yet, the everyday rhythm seems to continue as usual.

The walk is fairly pulse and upbeat, and much is told. Several places are designated for our walk goes from Bree Street to Longstreet, along Green Market Square and the Flower Market, and towards the Soup Kitchen Kryppies, and again back, via Longstreet to Bree. (Appendix 3) Much attention is places on where either were robberies, where drugs was dealt, or places where homeless people spend time during the day, and fieldworkers tell about events which occur regularly on the street, and where have to be dealt with; their tasks and perspective on the homeless and their situation.

Walking with Mark, Headman and Dean, it becomes apparent that they act on behalf of a very lean day and week organization of activities within the CCID. The outreach workers know it by heart; the businesses and NGOs in the city, opening and closing times of shops and businesses, tourist activities and events, time of money transfers through banks, social development services of street workers, CCID security and parking attendant services . They will know if anything goes wrong.(3 June, 2010): They know what time tourist busses arrive. As we pass (street corner Longstreet-Longmarket street), it is told the offloading of money should not be on at this time. The tourist bus will arrive any minute. For deficiencies such as these, either as traffic lights or bins fail precinct managers are especially contacted says Ramjoomja .. "

The CTP fieldworkers attest that their primary activity is the referral of people in need to the various shelters in the city, where they are able to access food and a safe places to sleep for a night. This is not easy work, as the field workers need to gain the trust of homeless people and try to maintain personal relationships with homeless on the streets.

Beyond the referral programme, field workers try to equip the homeless with knowledge through an educational programme, which highlights the dangers of street life. In addition, the homeless are provided with monetary support, should they need to travel by public transport in an effort to reunite with families. The funding for this initiative is supplemented through the CID levies, which businesses and property owners located within the CCID area contributes to.

My city walk with the CTP/CCID field workers revealed the complex nature of the work:

" On the one hand and everyone should and has the right to be on the streets, though under certain conditions. A great task arose out of the idea earlier that the homeless were not welcome anywhere in the city, to tell clients to behave according to 'certain rules (the by-law), as it was their choice to live on the streets. The moment tourist or business people no longer tend to sit on a 'bench' where a homeless sits for a longer time, they will be chased away. What we do is we ask them to sit somewhere else."

"If we have just started our walk, an innocent looking guy begs at the side of the road while traffic lights have turned red. At a glance Headman spots the guy, and walks up to him to send him away. Mark tells me this guy is begging aggressively, linking this event solely to a story about this man, and that he is not interested in social development aid. It is a problem, is also the answer from Ramjoomja (3 June, 2010).

The problem of poverty and homelessness cannot always be solved through the shelter referral programme, and a broader and more long-term approach is needed.

JP Smith, and Pat Eddy point out that there is no Partnership contract, or agreement on the definition of what constitutes socially acceptable behavior or situations in which social work needs to be connected with enforcement, justifying the flexibility of the 'social worker' to act on intuition. In this case, it is not clear when a manipulative person or aggressive begger will be properly identified and prosecuted as a criminal.

" The broader picture is that we are one department, working as a whole. The CCID recruitment in other words the improvement of the environment, everyone around, and it is up to the fieldworkers to

create understanding how to express them. It mustn't be through bankruptcy or depressing the others. By asking what the social development interests are, he mentioned: 'we want to clean but it does not mean that everything cleans out of itself. We want to work with people".

In response to this I related a personal account to Pat, where I witnessed a homeless persons being verbally abused by the CCID security guards. Pat relates that she is frustrated with the poor education levels of the security staff that is not of an acceptable level, and calls for more training to remain sensitive in dealing with the homeless. The issue of insensitive CCID security guards are also flagged by the other field workers. During my city walk with the fieldworkers I was pleased to notice the positive interaction between the homeless and the field workers. The SD team recognizes that, although working within a framework which is considered important to quickly and efficiently getting homeless people off the street, often family reunification is not possible, given the nature of the homeless problem. The SD team recognizes that home is *"often the worst place to be"*, and often a detour is unavoidable, to deal with the severity of poverty- related issues, such as alcohol or drug addiction, to reintegrate these people into society.

In spite of their understanding I observed that the fieldworkers are under much pressure and have very little room to move working in a context of by- law enforcement.

5.2.6 CCID discourse on Social Development

Pat Eddy, the Social Development manager of the CTP, works at a strategic level and provides supervision and support to field workers, Dean, Mark and Headman. Although they did not elaborate on the strategic role that covered her work, I argue that Pat is in fact employed by the CTP to carry out the message of social development (through the Public Awareness and Education program).

Pat's main task is to inform the general public about the issues faced by the city's homeless, and to convince the media that the issue is well managed and controlled so that the tourists and public will not feel threatened to visit the Central City. The importance of an inclusive approach is increasingly mentioned in publications aimed at reaching the private sector companies (see: Fleming, A. Cape Argus, octobre 11, 2010). The message to the private sector is that an inclusive approach would benefit the entire city.

According to Pat Social Development can be defined as:

"…Creating meaningful changes in people's life, empowering them, because it is not about giving handout. It is not about us making the change...it is to creating opportunities where people are actually aware of the options…and what is available for them. It is more creating that awareness, say this is available and.. And also to link with every opportunity that is out there..' 'You can't do social development in isolation. You need to do it collectively. It needs to be educational to be involved, court needs to be involved, business needs to be involved."

"It is not just because it is undesirable to have people in the city, who are unemployed or homeless. It is really to try and help them. As I said if we can we will reconnect them back with the community, great, if we can't at least be able to bring about a change in their life that they can live a more fulfilling, meaningful life."

Pat (surname) is regularly involved in recording publications, as part of the SD Education and Public Awareness Programme, and from my observation, it seems she has put much effort into this process of informing and educating all parties involved.

Pat hopes that her input is taken seriously by the city, pointing at two pages she recently wrote in the 2010 WC action plan on how to deal with the homeless people. *"I think I have really put a lot of effort in how we can together address urban management issues. When I started a little bit of frustration was coming from the CIDs. In my interviews I was actually told that the NGOs were not there, doing nothing. I had to say that NGOs are not going to do anything when we do not work together. I had to inform that we need to assist each other."*

Her responsibilities, and interaction with private- and public- sector institutes and broader actors, have provided her with an understanding of the broader management issues. Whilst interviewing her I get the sense that she cannot be completely open about the operations of the security guards in the city, but she does try to be as diplomatic as possible.

"So part of mine (...) is this hole education and also education of our staff as well, because sometimes their expectations are unrealistic. And I constantly have discussions with the security department because obviously part of our role, for me, is also protecting peoples human right, according to our constitution and people have to been treated fairly.''...Just because of they are homeless does not mean a security officer can abuse them. And if it does happen then I kind of insist that there is a formal investigation. And it is done. It is done."

Pat indicates that it is important, due to the large overlap of CCID mandates, that there is good understanding of the main SD issues and priorities among all actors involved, and that a difference can be made between the security approach for those homeless who are actually guilty of criminal acts, and behavior of dependents. However, this is while she says that the situation is sorrowful, because there are very few opportunities for homeless.

"(...) The frustrating part, often for me and fieldworkers, if we are very honest.. (...) there are very few options for street people; there is limited accommodation and shelter. They cannot afford other accommodation. What is their option other then to go back to family?
And if they have substance abuse problems, people are not able to keep them. And this is where the city comes in and I think it is one of our challenges to look for alternative facilities. Maybe we need to look at more creative ways... were families, or couples can stay. To move away from that dorm thing."

The SDT is critical about an exclusively short term aim of SD, in spite of SDP initiative rational. The Job employment and Reunification goal is premature for a homeless man who is very damaged by his past circumstances. In addition, the criticism on the shelter- approach is important for examining further the range of their program, in assisting homeless in their development needs. It is Pat who questions if this brings long lasting solutions which takes the dignity of its residents into account.

Pat is convinced that now existing gaps in the social welfare system can be improved through more creative ways to support homeless in their livelihood needs in a more sustainable ways. For her, this is so important as it is difficult to put homeless directly and uncomplicated into perminent employment opportunities; *" I would like to see more development coming through Straatwerk, they prove themselves in terms of reliability, and from there move up into permanent employment."* The scope for own projects is very small. The budget spent on SD is something that Pat is fighting, and she believes that there is willingness to increase the budget.

Pat's enthusiasm for more CCID budget is not shared with Tasso. Tasso says the overall aim of the CCID is to run the area as a business, and the main aim of social development is to identify how the issues of homelessness and poverty affects on ordinary business dynamics, hence to identify problems stemming from these issues, to develop strategies to cope with possible impediments.

" You've urban management problems, like; urination building illegal structures, making a mess, issues within the homeless units; there are gangs, there are people on the streets linked to gangs. And because it is easy to stay close to your source of income and drug dealing they want to stay here, so

you sleep under a bridge or in an alleyway. So you're dealing with drug and crime issues, that affects us in direct and indirect ways."

According to Tasso it is because of the severeness of drug and crime related issues, that up until today CCID security receives 51% of the CID budget. He hopes, in the future this may shift more to beautification.

"Security will come down eventually, if you look at development in society. The reason for more money spent on security than on social development is simply because it buys manpower. "Personally I would like to see more money been put in developing the city, from a beautification point of view. Providing security affects the perception of safe places, that stimulates investment, but there are not mayor benefits for all" (Interview Tasso, CTP).

According to CCID operational manager, Tasso Evangelinos (Tasso, Interview) it is not the CTP responsibility to guard for the public morality, but it is the COCT that should provide for rehabilitation centres, and core facilities required for the amount of homeless people on the streets. According to Tasso, the challenge of the SDP is that they have taken up more then their task, and the frustration is the lack of resources coming from the city.

The latter has brought tension and frustration for property residents, and the operational mandate. Displacement of the urban poor is only one or few consequences of this way of urban managment (Tasso, Interview).

This chapter showed that for the CTP, to justify the claim to do social development, the satisfaction of NGOs about the SD performance and team composition is important, as they are highly dependent on NGO programmes. NGOs in the Central City receive about 30% of their budget from the COCT (on an annual basis provided on merit), and have additionally independently recruited sponsors that support their programmes.

The scope of the CTP program is thus small, and the CTP employees recognize the needs of homeless people are often at odds with CCID operations around security and urban management. In the following chapter, I highlight the NGO operations as they relate to the CCID street operations.

The NGOs are made part of the Partnership by the City's invitation to several Forums. NGOs like to attend the forums organised, as they feel they can give a better response. Their work remains the same, but referral is approved to them, and there is a better understanding.

Chapter 6: Social Programs, and Livelihoods of the Homeless

This thesis focuses on issues of governance and management as it relates to social development activities in the City of Cape Town, and aims to answer the question how effective social development in the inner- city of Cape Town is, and what implications for the urban poor and homeless are.

According to Etzold (2011) research into governance encompasses the study of appropriation from above, this is from actors close to the field of state power, as from below, the quiet encroachement of the ordinary (Bayat, 1997), and this describes the encroachment of the ordinary people and their silent but protracted claim for formalised city spaces through their informal and often contested actions.

Chapter 5 highlighted the social development acitvites of the CTP/CCID. In this chapter, I present the activities of the various social development service providers (NGO's), and I supplement this information with insights from the homeless people that I interviewed during my internship. The major challenge faced in data collection relates to my perceptions of personal safety, as a female research student working in a foreign city, my fear and hightened sense of danger limited the spaces of the city, which I was able to interact with.

6.1 The Challenges facing Central City NGOs: Perspectives from the homeless

For this study I have identified the various NGO's in the central city of Cape Town (see SD Map: *appendix 2*), which provide social welfare services to the homeless. The NGO programmes range from shelter provision, to multi- phase reintegration programmes for the youth (Salesians), as well as reintegration and informal job employment (Straatwerk) for adults.

The range of social development bodies (CCID based NGOs, FBOs, churches) all interface with the CTP/CCID, and mainly rely on the security operations to bring in the homeless off the streets and to the various shelters. The various NGO's pick up the bulk of the socila development work, as a result of a non-functioning state programme on social services.

The Haven Organisation, is a registered Non-Profit Organisation, that was established in 1978. The Old Sacreat Heart Convent in Somerset Road was opened for vagrants in 1977, from a concern of two

Christian Raby's examplary on vagrancy in the area, and this resulted in the establishment of the night shelter in district six in 1978.

More recently, The haven shelter was relocated to a less residential area in GreenPoint, which was the first shelter of a growing number of shelters in the city. Nowadays there are fourte [*See CCID Map - no. 3- Appendix 2*] and different branches located in wider Metropolitan Cape Town. In 2010, the organization provided most visibly shelter, dormitory beds (for 10 Rand a night), food and basic toilet and communal bathroom facilities. In addition they provide additional assistance in skill development, job employment, and skills development in a three phase programme.

Social development services as they relate to children are provided by the NGO's 'Ons Plek', Homestead, and Salesians. These NGO's are old establishments in the city. Salesians [*CCID Map-no.4*] , has existed since 1910, and has functioned continually throughout the height of apartheid, and continue to operate today. The Salesians programme has expanded into an established Christian based technical school system, and has spread to other cities around the world.

The NGO's also need to deal with a complex set of sexullay related cases of abuse of young women. During my visit to 'Ons Plek' [*CCID Map-no.5*], I met Olga, a young girl who was abandoned by a man who brought her to South Africa. Initially, Olga was very reluctant to provide any background information and details of how she came to South Africa. Ons plek sent a referral to an international organisation for migration (iom) to investigate whether Olga was trafficked into the country. It was established that she entered the country illegally, and that there was no indication of sexual abuse in her case. At the time of writing my thesis, Olga was placed into foster care and has been adopted by a South African couple.

The primary activity of the Ons Plek organisation is to provide food and a temporarily confidential environment for girls, whilst simultaneously working towards returning children to their respective families. Many girls start in the first-phase treatment at the centre in District Six, after which they are referred to the SIVIWE shelter, a shelter that opened its doors in 1993, where second phase treatment takes place, and where famil;y reunification takes place. Ultimately, the aim of the social work is to enable children to gain the skills, which they need to live as a functioning member of society. Programmes are based on a individual learning schedule for all children.

The physical program in the District Six centre includes psychological care in terms of councelling, physical care, and (social) skills development through education and training programmes, and it is important to note that attendance tpo the programme is purely at a voluntary basis. The organization stresses the importance of treatment of the children prior to placement, and the need for understanding the situation of the child; considering both the unaccompanied minded, that is: the children without supervisors or parents, as those in difficult family situations, for whom placement in shelters is unavoidable, so that the potential for successful family reunification or councelling increases.

"We are working with the child, in terms of social development, trying to change the behaviour, but we also work with the family. And some families can just not change or sometimes the perpetrater is still around, so sometimes there is no place to go."

"Often they come and they will say.. 'but this is the real world and whatever', but ideally.. if you have grown up in an area where everybody is on drugs and amongst gangsters, it is sometimes difficult for that person to develop further, because she has to go back to that very same circumstances."
(Interview 2010)

My investigation into the NGO programs, and the experiences of social workers reveal that the NGO's try to manage the process of dealing with the complexity of problems faced by the homeless by dividing the people they serve and the range of problems faced into a range ocategories. The categories include children, adolescents, adults, illiterate, ill, sick, immobile or mobile (on the streets), shelter residents, with or without a home. My observation of the category of people living in shelters reveal that there are many immobile elderly living in shelters, which I argue have been largely neglected by a non-functioning state driven social welfare system, and force the elderly into less dignified living conditions.

The challenge in dealing with the elderly immoblie people is the limited space and resources afforded to the various NGO's who do not have enough beds to accommodate the high numbers of old destitute people. Today the NGO programs all focus on reintegration and family reinification, in line with the Partnership programme. However, reunification is not always a possiblility as many people suffer from a range of complex social problems and come from fragmentefd family backgrounds.

My visit to the Haven shelter revealed that people seeking help suffer from problems ranging from TB, HIV/AIDS, psychiatric disorders, STDs, and bipolar disorder. Some women have been abused

during their youth; others have lost friends through various psychiatric diseases, or through the difficulties of life on the streets. But most homeless I spoke to have become homeless mainly because of problems in their household situation and through dysfunctional families and abusive parents. Compounding these dire set of problems are the results of apartheid planning, and migration from rural areads into the city.

Tony (nickname), a man of 35, has always had a physicsl disorder affecting his left side of his body. He has no job and limited prospects, but hopes that the social workers will help him with some sort of emplyment opportunity. He does odd jobs inside the shelter and admits that getting a job is difficult for everyone here, but finds that his disability makes finding work even harder for him. Later I spoke to a woman (Mandy) and through this conversation I became aware of the high levels of mistrust at the shelter, as Mandy was not happy to speak to me as an outsider and spoke about her trouble in securing her personal belongings as a homeless person. There is a desperate need for safe spaces, and lock up spaces where homeless people can secure their belongings.

According to Hassan Khan the director of the Haven, there is a relatively small group of homeless women that have similar issues, and who live on the streets, where they are forced to move from place to place, as per the CCID ordinance. Most hardened homeless women and man can be found at the train station deck, where they use the bus shelters as beds.
"The police respects us, but the CCID is causing the problems today. They always put teargas or hit. My friends was hit the other day, and had to pay 70 rand."

From my limited conversations with homeless people at the Haven, and through interaction with homeless people in the streets, I became aware of how people's livelihoods are shaped by the services afforded to them. Beyond the official services, there are niches, corners, invisible spaces under bridges, and social networks, which are central to the livelihoods of the homeless.

The homeless know how to access a meal, through the various soup kitchens [*CCID Map- no.8*]. There is a 5-cent diner in the East City that provides hot meals all day. However, for the many homeless people on the streets, the overnight shelters are not perceived as a positive element, with most homeless citing the lack of privacy and the lack of long-term solutions as a major problem.

The lack of privacy becomes particularly worrying for homeless couples. Lenji and John (not their real names) are a homeless couple I met outside the Haven shelter. They were genuinely interested in my research and were keen to talk to me about their dreams, problems and opportunities. Lenlji worked

for a post- order compagny, and then for a while with the SAPS, and finally with the CCID. She experienced a lot of police corruption while working for them, and is happy not to do this any longer. John explained he has been in prison for a few years, and finds it difficult to find work because people do not readily trust ex-convicts. For Lenji and John, the shelter system does not provide a a viable life, mainly because they are unable to live as a couple and are not used to sharing communal facilities. Both of them want a better life, they want to make a positive contribution to society by helping other people and couples who are experiencing similar problems. They also dream of establishing a community Garden, where they could grow food and create opportunities for employment of other destitute people.

Employment opportunities are limited for homeless people. There are only two job employment projects for homeless adults, the most prominent opportunity is offered by the NPO 'Straatwerk' who have very strong ties with the CCID. Straatwerk has a strong evangelistic focus, and was originally founded by a church youth organisation of the English Reformed Church in Wynberg in the Southern suburbs.

Straatwerk [*CCID map-no.6*] provides an opportunity for homeless people to earn money through its job creation programme called project Opruim. Project Opruim works ion a three level team, for which the first team provides for the most sophisticated participants. Participants are either part of the Graffiti team, Maintenance Team, or the technical Team, and they generally work in four hours shifts a day in conjunction with the CCID. People with disabilities or people that can only carry out light manual labor are placed in the 'Jesus Saves' team.

''*It is good to work for your own money*'' , says 23 year old Ynita Davids. From my limited interviews with candidates of this programme, there is a genuine sense that candidates feel like they are changing their lives in a positive way.

Employment provides the candidate with some pride and dignity. Candidates feel the need to stay off the streets. Candidates of Straatwerk, and employable homeless people residing in the Haven say that life on the street is no longer desirable, by the continuous interaction with law enforcers. However, the interaction is something permanent, due to their dependency on the street for its free services;
" *When I were on the streets with the boys at noon, I was continuously targeted, finger printed by the machine, or checked on drugs. Not knowing you was enough reason for the people of the travel department or police. (…) Street life is as ebb and tie in a wild river .*"

John tells how police and security guards continually keep an eye on you. He and his partner speak for many, and think it is important to also tell the outside world there is corruption.

John tells how law enforcers sometimes seems to add to the good life on the streets. Corruption is however order of the day. He saw his peers getting locked up unfounded, or meet an uncertain existence by their eviction to 'Blikkiesdorp'. Peers of his remained death, others got ill. According to Lenlji 'Blikkiesdorp' is a ticking time bomb. The shacks have no doors, and the people no protection. There are no services provided.

" I was here when the police patrolled the streets, and I was here when the patrolment shifted to CCID security workers. It changed life on the streets. The persuasiveness of the CCID was easier, but not life. (…) At face value their practices do good, but if you look closely you would see corrupt practices, hand in hand with the CT police. It did not decrease fights on the streets, rapes by police detectives that know how to find shacks, or places where homeless sleep. It did not change corruption."

They hope their voices will ever be heard, and so the(ir) situation will improve. John and Lenlji are grateful for the services in the central city, but tell it is not those services that made them the persons they are, it were not the law enforcers and the social workers. Social welfare is still rather unsustainable.

For John, it were neither his family or old friends which helped him becoming a better person. For him, time in prison made him a changed man. He benefited from activities, schooling, and coaching as it had slowly become part of the prison rehabilitation programme. Lenlji, who has her 16 years old daughter now also living on the streets would almost suggest life in prison as a better option.

"At least then she'll learn from life, and be better off."

Chapter 7: Conclusions and Recommendations

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between the seemingly contrasted social development activities and CID security activities and to investigate weather social development in this context was meaningful and able to contribute positively to the livelihoods of the homeless in the Central City.

An extensive literature review provided a backdrop for understanding the social aims within the context of urban regeneration discourse. Since 2005, half the world population lives in cities, while the urbanization trend shows that the growth will rapidly continue in the future (UN-Habitat, 2008). This longitudinal trend presents local governments, cities, planners, architects, urban scholars and practitioners to think about the long-term sustainability and the critical issues around disease control, health, food security, or related conflicts over resources.

My literature review also included an analysis of HDI theory / Livelihood theory to understand a broader definition of social development and livelihood needs. I also found that more recent literatures on sustainability linked the concept with the right to the city discourse. This broader definition of sustainable development embraces a vision that development must include the complex set of development issues at a societal scale. The ethos of social development planning is rooted in the sustainable development discourse, enabling them to cope with-and-recover from stresses and shocks and enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future (Carney, 1998).

This broader definition of sustainability is central to my conception of social development, and used as a measure to assess the effectiveness of Cape Town's social development programme.

My research has attempted to understand the relationships between the actors and activities related to social development in Cape Town. Central actors in this network of activities are the COCT and CTP, who at the same time are also responsible for place making and urban management.

Livelihood theory and HDI reveal that for developing sustainable models, city's need to include basic conditions and concepts, for service providers including, spatial capital, social capital and human capital. The prioritization of these concepts is necessary for people in urban areas to pursue sustainable livelihoods. In Cape Town the most powerful actors involved in managing public space is the COCT and the CTP. My study demonstrates that these actors create hierarchies between the various social development actors and they contribute to the removal of the homeless from the

central city, in the name of economic growth. Currently, the CTP manages and oversees a team of security guards, along with social workers on the street to stimulate this process, thereby protecting the needs and rationalities of the property owners and business community.

The basic argument put forward by the COCT is that the current practices of the homeless are regarded as unacceptable, and as anti-social behavior. The homeless are criminalised on the basis of defecating and urinating in public space, yet the city does not provide any basic infrastructure, like the provision of toilets and wash room facilities in public space.

The CTP model is to promote the shelter system, where living conditions are very harsh, and I argue in this thesis are not sustainable. The homeless are caught in a circle of poverty, where they move from the streets to over night shelters, which provide temporary relief, a basic meal, and an overnight bed. For most, the notion of 'family reunification' is not a possibility and the homeless find themselves back on the streets where they are subjected to the abuse of insensitive security guards. Some homeless people suggest that life in a prison is still a better option, as prison affords a more sustainable solution, where people can access regular meals and a regular bed, good education and coaching.

My study also revealed that the interaction of homeless and CCID employees are often charged, and result in violent action. The insensitivity afforded to homeless people is something that Pat Eddy has struggled against in her job. Pat's efforts have resulted in a positive difference to the way the homeless are treated by the security guards, but she cites the poor education levels of the security guards as a central factor contributing to the abuse of many homeless people.

The recommendations, which this study points to arrive from a critical evaluation of the CTP social development programme. The primary recommendation of my thesis is that the city needs to provide basic infrastructure such as public toilets and washing facilities in public space. The city is in dire need of investing in these basic services. However, there is a strong tension between the needs of the homeless people in the city vs. the needs of the urban poor living in the wider metropolitan area. In township areas, the majority of the urban poor continue to live in sub-standard conditions, with up to 100 people sharing toilet facilities in sub-standard housing conditions.

" We've been fighting public toilet issues for many years, with no sucess. Major problems from public space utilisation- the public toilets are badly managed, are viting and it is disgraceful. And they close. It is a public facility spot- there is not enough to cater for the public" (Tasso, 2010).

This study also recommends the broadening of the scope of social development activities beyond the shelter referral system. The complexity of problems faced by the homeless demand a complex set of solutions. New programmes and partnerships need to be established with the private sector and the local government playing a leading role. Currently, the provincial government has a mandate to promote social development in central city areas, but to date; the province has been a silent actor, with the bulk of the responsibility falling onto the NGOs in the city.

Most homeless people suffer from a range of psychological problems, and almost all of them display dependencies on alcohol and drugs.

"And if they have substance abuse problems, people are not able to keep them. And this is where the city comes in and I think it is one of our challenges to look for alternative facilities. Maybe we need to look at more creative ways… " (Interview: Pat Eddy 2010).

There is much need for counseling programmes, psychological services and drug rehabilitation programmes. Whilst the CTP's activities related to job creation are commendable, the scope of the problem outweighs the current implementation of clean up services by homeless people and the city's car guard and parking programme. Skills development programmes, through the use of arts and crafts have the potential to tap into Cape Town's booming tourist industry, thereby satisfying this particular niche market, whilst creating employment opportunities for the poor.

The bulk of my study was dedicated to understanding the implementation of the business improvement model in Cape Town. The wealth of literature surveyed have mainly been critical of this model of management as BIDs often result in large scale exclusion. Cape Town has attempted to address this criticism by adopting social development as part of its mandate.

However, I argue that an alternative model of governance needs to be investigated, as the current model places too much power in the hands of the property owners, who decide the use of municipal budgets (CDS workshop). The City of Johannesburg is currently experimenting with a refugee run BID model, which recognizes the rights of refugees and informal traders. This model, also referred to as Neighbourhood Improvement Districts (NBIDS) in the literature (Schaller & Modan, 2005), has the potential to shift the base of power, away from the property owners and towards the needs of the communities, which the city claims to represent.

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Appendix 1: Abbreviations

ACC	African Centre for Cities
ANC	Afrikaans Nationaal Congres
BID	Business Improvement District
CBD	Central Business District
CEO	Chief Executive
CCDS	Cape Town City Development Strategy
CDZ	City Development Zone
(C) (F) BO	Christian- or Faith- based Organisation
CID	City Improvement District
CCID	Cape Towns' Central City Improvement District
CTICCO	Cape Town International Convention Centre
CCL	Central City Lab
(C) COCT	(Central) City of Cape Town
CPO	Cape Town Policy Officer
CTP	Cape Town Partnership
FIFA	Federational Internationale de Football Association
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy
HDI	Human Development Index
HSRC	Human Science Research Council
Ibid	In the same place
IDP	Integrative Development Programme
IRT	Bus Transportation Project
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NP	National Party
NPO	Non Profit Organisation
PPP	Public- private Partnership
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SD	Social Development
SDP	Social Development Programme
SDT	Social Development Team
SPS	Street People Strategy
SWOT	Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WCSCF	Western Cape Street Childrens Forum
Wrap	Western Regional Advocacy Project

Appendix 2: CCID Map Socio- Spatial Intersection

[See pdf file]

Appendix 3: SWOT analysis CCDS policy

Strengths	Weaknesses
- Tertiary sector - Health infrastructure is there - Programmes for below 18 year olds are very strong	- Increasing unemployment - High levels of social segregation and spatial disparity - Inequality – proportion of households in poverty - Migration from rural areas - No integrated social policy with immigration policy - Homelessness – housing and landlessness - Lack of meaningful participation in making of city decisions - Lack of social development in urban regeneration plans – capital budgets skewed - Narrow view of regeneration - Lack of service capacity thus NGO driven – CTP – faith driven - high crime and drugs - lack of basic infrastructure for poor - health – high mortality - Lack of COCT leadership and shared responsibility - Lack of integration with regional programmes
Opportunities	**Threats**
- PPP & Ngo's partnership arrangements - Use funding in responsible way - Better training and legislation - To use land space better, public property and land - Create a universal grant system - Public Transport for all- social / economic link - Youthful population - Communications strategy to raise profile of services	- Potential lack of institutional response - Continued high Gini co-efficient - No common understanding of social development for Cape Town - Cape Town not perceived to be seen as an African city - Real poor not targeted for grants and aid - Vested interests – private owners / developers – landowners make decisions - Continuation of diverse city – polarisation/ tensions continue - Market trends perpetuating inequality - Social costs with spatial economy

I introduced all the interviews with Ngo's/ Npo's with my interest in the Social Development Program ran by the CCID in central Cape Town; the nature of the relationship between the NGOs and the Partnership and the corporate response they have on the vulnerable and urban poor in Cape Town.

Themes discussed were:
- The Program of the NGO
- Relationship between NGO/ CBO and Social Development Program of the CTP
- What did the adaptation of this program mean for the Ngo's work? To what extent did their approach or strategy change?
- What are challenges and successes with regard to this Partnership? (Public- Private)
- How does the NPO/ NGO perceive closure (privatisation) of spaces/ services
- How does this NGO/ NPO perceive Social Development?

I introduced the interviews with CT Partnership Social Workers and employees of the city with my interest in the Social Development Program ran by the CCID in central Cape Town and try to find out what the nature is of the relationship between the NGOs and the Partnership, the Partnership and the city and the corporate response they give to the vulnerable and urban poor in Cape Town.

Themes / semi- structured questions which were discussed are;
- The Program CCID Social Program, successes/ challenges
- (Nature of the) relation between CT Partnership and CCID (inner city) Social Development Program
- How do they perceive closure of spaces and privatisation of public services with regard to the livelihood (possibilities) of the homeless and urban poor?
- How do they perceive Social Development/ Anti- Social behaviour?
- What is the livelihood space of the inner city homeless/ urban poor??

Social Development

Social development is underpinned by human development which aims at improving the individual through integrated actions rather than a single effort. The design of such an approach to human development reflects a multi scaled approach to poverty and inequality.

This approach should aim to improve capabilities, provide maximum benefit and allow no opportunity for abuse or to perpetuate the cycle of poverty. It should promote activities that underpin social cohesion, good governance, social responsibility and leadership development.

Cape Town currently has a high level of social segregation which is exacerbated by issues such as unemployment, poverty, spatial disparity, crime, drugs and homelessness.

Therefore the building and understanding of a common social vision, constitutes a holistic approach to health and well-being in order to create a value-based city, where people care for each other.

Key supportive actions to achieve these objectives

Education:
- Improve all education and skills development
- Seamless education system transition
- Community / civic adult education

Grants:
- Integrated system of subsidies and grants that support social and economic development without trapping people in a poverty cycle / poverty trap
- Tax systems to subsidize other areas

Infrastructure:
- Equitable access to public / open spaces
- Public / open spaces that support safe built and open social infrastructure and development

- Social/human development should be integrated into all urban development / regeneration projects and programmes
- Transport – access /affordable / safe for all - transport system to give access for both leisure and work

Intergovernmental Relations
- There needs to be linkages and alignment with non state role players, Provincial and National government departments
- Facilitate and encourage meaningful participation in a range of governance processes in order to ensure empowered civil society which leads to an engaged and empowered citizenry

Support for NGO's CBO's
- Create partnerships to facilitate community driven development to foster a shared responsibility
- Collaborative and participatory support network of local government, NGO, CBO and civic organizational partnerships in all spheres of social service to improve capabilities

Indicators
- Develop new indicators to measure and define social development that involve all stakeholders in an outcomes based approach, that outlines set behaviours we want to change as a result
- Accountability and alignment with other strategies and development paths such as IDP
- Building on successes and examples of interventions that work

Accessed: 27th of January, 2011.

CAPE TOWN INDEX

CCID Service providence /
Social Development Operations

Service providers

1. CT Partnership
2. The Homestead
3. The Haven
4. The Salesians
5. Ons Plek
6. Service dining room Straatwerk
7. Service dining room Scaleprenians
8. Kryppie
9. Library
10. Home affairs
11. Police station
12. Church
13. (Public) Hospital

- 🟡 Hotspots (more then 5 people sleeping)
- 🔵 Confirmed sleeping places
- 🔵 Reported sleeping places
- 🔴 Cleaned areas

- ▬▬▬ CCID (security)
- ▬▬▬ Longstreet
- ▬▬▬ Buitenkant
- ▬▬▬ Roeland
- ▬▬▬ Strand street
- ▬▬▬ Bree street

- ▦ CCID Precincts

- ⬜ Company's garden
- 🟧 Grand parade
- 🟦 Castle of good hope
- 🟪 Flower market
- ⬛ Gardens
- 🟩 Paardenstalle
- 🟪 Greenmarket Square
- 🟧 Rail Station

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