

Gentrification:

The Case of Property Development in the Inner-City of Cape Town

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Abstract

This research focuses on property developments that are gentrifying the inner-city of Cape Town and questions why and how the City of Cape Town (COCT) is gentrifying the inner-city. This research examines the role of the COCT in property developments that are occurring in Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap. The study used the qualitative research method and an exploratory research design. The study is significant because the conceptualization of this dissertation is rooted in political philosophy, and it applied the instrumental state theory to the case study. This theory was applied to the case study to unravel urban politics by demonstrating ways in which the state manages the urban centrum through implementing policies that are aimed at creating economic, spatial, and infrastructure developments. Residents and civil society organizations that are anti-spatial developments in the inner-city argue that property developers fund the Democratic Alliance (DA) election campaigns and there are officials in the DA that receive private capital from developers in exchange for state land and buildings in the inner-city hence Salt River, Woodstock and Bo-Kaap are gentrified. The inner-city of City of Cape Town (COCT) is revitalized through the construction of mixed-use buildings by property developers which cause spatial segregation. Civil society organizations such as Reclaim the City and Ndifuna Ukwazi assist members of the geographic community affected by gentrification in opposing state-led gentrification and forced evictions. Lastly, inner-city residential communities namely Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap are gentrified through mixed-use developments.

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Key Concepts

Forcefully evicted: Forcing people to leave their homes due to property developments that are occurring in their communities.

Gentrification: Change of neighbourhoods due to movement of middle-income families into low-income neighbourhoods.

Instrumental State: State that is used to generate capital by and for wealthy individuals.

Mixed-Use Development: Construction of a building that offers space for a variety of commercial activities.

Private property developers: Individuals and companies that develop property to generate private capital.

Social Houses: Houses that are subsidized by the state for low-income families.

Urban Revitalisation: Property developments that are occurring in a particular geographical area.



List of Abbreviations

CCID: Central City Improvement District

CED: City's Economic Development Strategy

COCTDMIGLM: City of Cape Town's Development Management Information Guidelines Series: Land Use Management

COCTZSR: City of Cape Town's Zoning Scheme Regulations: A Component of the Policy-Driven Land Use Management System

COCT: City of Cape Town, an entity that is responsible for the governance of the municipality.

CPSGPS: City Private-Sector Growth Partnership Project

DAG: Development Action Group

DMGSC: Design and Management Guidelines for a Safer City IDP Integrated Development Plan

IEGS: Inclusive Economic Growth Strategy

MSDF: Municipal Spatial Development Framework

MURP: Mayoral Urban Renewal Programme

SDF: Spatial Development Framework



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Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis explores the argument made by civil society organizations such as Ndifuna Ukwazi, Reclaim the City, Development Action Group (DAG) and housing activists who are defying spatial developments that are occurring in the inner-city of Cape Town. These organizations together with activists argue that spatial developments and property renovations gentrify Salt River, Woodstock and, Bo-Kaap. The insurgency of these organisations prompted the development of the main research question which asks: why and how is the City of Cape Town (COCT) gentrifying the inner-city? The research problem is centred on the perspective that COCT implements property development policies that cause gentrification in the city. This research paper is divided into chapters and the first chapter introduces the study and it also a contextual analysis of the study, followed by the limitations of the study and the research objectives. The last section of this chapter discusses the research problem, and it also mentions the research question and sub-questions.

Modern cities, with an emphasis on inner-city spaces, are experiencing gentrification due to the revitalization of property for commercial purposes by property developers. According to Kennedy and Leonard (2001) gentrification refers to the movement of middle-income citizens into low-income neighbourhoods of the inner-city due to the construction of commercial and residential buildings in these communities. These scholars claim that gentrification is caused by property renewal developments that are occurring in the inner-city that enable middle-class families to occupy the inner-city residence while displacing low-income families. This perspective is supported by Rogerson (2002) who argues local government implements development frameworks and policies that cause spatial developments in the city hence property in the inner-city is developed for the generation of private capital. For Meltzer (2016), gentrification must also be

understood as a phenomenon that is directed by investors who influence some of the decisions that are made by the local government regarding property developments that are occurring in the city because they invest in cities urban structure. This means that gentrification occurs in cities due to property developments that are implemented by local government who is propelled by developers to initiate spatial development projects that generate for developers (Rogerson, 2002, p. 45). An integral actor in these developments is the state because it approves policy recommendations that are made by investors and some of the decisions made by political representatives in cities are influenced by local and international property developers. The constant need for local government to improve its financial operations and spatial structure causes political representatives to allow foreign companies to establish businesses in their urban regimes.

According to Butler and Lees (2006) local and international companies are given property rights in cities because local governments use liberal economist frameworks that stipulate that the local property market must be open to international investors who want to invest in the city's economy. This illustrates that enabling developers to invest in property leads to the monopolization of land and buildings in the inner-city by local and international investors. Furthermore, cities across the globe acquire funds from investors to build infrastructure and residential complexes used by private property developers to generate private capital. Rodriguez-Pose and Wilkie (2017) claim that most local governments claim not to have enough funds to source property development projects which results in the outsourcing of these projects to private companies. However, privatizing land and buildings in the city enables developers to have political and economic powers which they use to subvert some of the decisions made by local government. Subverting the local government's political and economic powers enables developers to influence the state to provide them with buildings and land which they use to accumulate capital. This demonstrates that to a certain degree,

local government is not sovereign because some of the decisions it makes are influenced by developers because they have direct access to the cities' spatial operations. However, spatial developments marginalize low-income families that are living in the inner-city because families are forcefully evicted from their homes due to spatial developments. Desmond (2012) argues that displacements are transpiring in cities because developers use the legal system to prevent low-income families from living in the city. Furthermore, developers ensure that local government approves some evictions notices that prohibit low-income families from owning property in areas they want to develop (Teubner, 1988, p. 156). These scholars argue that local government is not autonomous because it is used by the property developers to generate capital at the expense of low-income families that are living in the inner-city. The state uses violence when evicting low-income families from their communities because it is conditioned by developers to act coercively against low-income families.

According to Visser (2003), forced evictions occur due to partnerships between government and private entities that are used by property developers to finance and advance their spatial developments in the city. For example, the construction of healthcare facilities and schools by private developers spares state resources, although some of these facilities are constructed for private usage. This indicates that government cannot meet the needs of every citizen due to financial constraints, mismanagement of state resources, and other factors that have a negative impact on the effective functioning of the state. However, the inability of the government to provide citizens with social welfare services is rooted in their defect of not being concerned with the wellbeing of ordinary citizens because the state is an entity that is used by the ruling class to generate private capital. Therefore, the inner-city is an integral investment arena because property that is in the inner-city has high property value compared to property on the outskirts of the city,

hence developers prefer to initiate infrastructure developments in the inner-city. Literature regarding gentrification in urban communities is often written by geographers and urban sociologists who are tasked with explaining the urban condition. Other academic disciplines do not have major contributions in conceptualizing the nature of urban development. Thus, this paper seeks to address this problem by locating gentrification as a phenomenon that requires the role of the state in urban transformation to be re-thought. This thesis provides an important baseline study for interpreting urban development from a philosophical standpoint.

Contextual Background

Research conducted by scholars, non-governmental organizations, and other persons interested in property development in Cape Town indicates that the city's property is developed for public and private investment purposes. Secondly, the inner-city property is developed for private investors to generate capital and spatial developments occur in the city because local government must generate capital that is used to respond to citizen's needs. In this case, the state-owned property is used to generate capital through selling and leasing it to property developers and other actors in the city that invests in the city's property. According to Bacher and Williams (2014), property developments are facilitated by the state through legal regulations that allow state-owned land and buildings to be occupied by people who want to reside on the property and by those who desire to develop the property to generate private capital. For Evans (2017), the inner-city is important because it is an investment conducive environment and a business cluster that provides spaces for different economic activities to occur. This space centralizes capital for the property developers and investors and in Cape Town, the inner-city is constantly recreated through the establishment of industrial companies because entrepreneurial industries recognize the importance of operating in a capitalist concentrated environment. Property developments that are occurring in the inner-

city have resulted in the renovation and construction of new infrastructure in the city for commercial purposes. According to Kirk (1980), the usage of land as a technical economic, and political facet is important because vacant land in the city is used to create jobs and build schools, hospitals, and houses for the city's populace. This scholar also argues that property developments in Cape Town are extended to residential areas such as Woodstock, Salt River, and Bo-Kaap because homes that belong to the working class are being gentrified and have been converted into commercial businesses that provide goods and services to the city's populace. These residential communities, like many others in the world, are experiencing gentrification because the middle class relocates to these communities, and this results in the constant redevelopment of people's houses for commercial purposes and increases the property values of these communities.

In the inner-city of Cape Town, gentrification has resulted in the displacement and forced removal of people from Woodstock, Salt River, and Bo-Kaap. This occurrence resembles the continuation of apartheid spatial segregation because, during the apartheid era, people that lived in the inner-city of Cape Town were forced to relocate to other residential areas in the city. For example, the implementation of the Group Areas Act of 1950 resulted in the forced removal of coloured and black people from District Six (Rex et al, 2014, p. 8). The apartheid state institutionalized spatial and racial segregation, hence residence in the inner-city was reserved for white people and the post-apartheid city, forced evictions from the inner-city are perpetuated by the COCT because it is privatizing state-owned land and infrastructure. Property developers improve the physical condition of the city's property, particularly in Woodstock, Salt River, and Bo-Kaap, and this causes forced evictions. The development of these residential communities has resulted in an increase in property value which results in people who cannot afford to reside in these communities being forcefully evicted from these residential areas by the COCT and by property developers

because they cannot pay the monthly property rents. Urban planners encourage property reforms because these developments contribute significantly towards the development of the city's socio-economic and political landscape. For them, it is important to implement spatial development frameworks planning that will advance the economic viability of the city and attract investors to pursue their economic interests in the city. Therefore, this will examine the role of the state in perpetuating gentrification in the inner-city of Cape Town, particularly in Woodstock, Bo-Kaap, and Salt River.

Delimitation of the Study

The scope of the study is limited to gentrification in Cape Town and not to other cities in the country. Examining spatial developments that are transpiring in cities across the country would have been an interesting task because a comparative analysis would have been conducted. However, due to specific interest rooted in exploring the development of gentrification in Cape Town, other cities were not considered relevant for the study. Thus, this study is limited because it focuses only on the role of the COCT in the surging of infrastructure developments and urban renewal projects that are occurring in the inner-city of Cape Town. The research was conducted from a political studies perspective, or the researcher is trained in political philosophy and not necessarily in urban studies or geography. The researcher is conscious that the study might not provide an extensive explanation of predicaments that are occurring in Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap because they are not trained in a discipline that addresses urban matters. Due to Covid-19, four interviews were conducted, and data was collected using documents. This is a limitation because limited primary data was collected.

Objectives

Drawing from existing research the thesis illustrates that the COCT perpetuates gentrification. The first objective is then to understand *how* the COCT perpetuates gentrification, and the second objective is to understand *why* the COCT perpetuates gentrification. Both these objectives will be addressed using a political philosophical theory.

Research problem

The research problem that has been identified is that COCT implements property development policies that cause gentrification in the inner-city. This is a problem because the city enacts spatial development frameworks that have resulted in the renovation and construction of massive buildings in the city. These developments are important for the city because they attract new investors and guarantee financial prosperity for the city's property market. However, the construction of new buildings for entrepreneurial purposes increases property rates in Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap and this causes forced evictions.

People who cannot afford to pay high property rates are forced to relocate to other residential areas and some people sell their homes to developers because they cannot afford to live in their neighbourhoods due to the new property developments (Ahmad, 2018, p. 14). According to Rex, Campbell and Visser (2014), propelling low- income residents to reside on the outskirts of the city erodes their cultural identity which has been formulated by the space they have been occupying for decades. However, when they reside in a different space, their historical-geographical space fades away because they must create a new identity. Furthermore, the increase in property markets and the establishment of world-class corporate enterprises in inner-city spaces diminish notions of heritage and belonging for inner-city residents (Fleming & Ngewana, 2013, p. 23).

Research Question

Why and how is the City of Cape Town gentrifying the inner-city?

Sub-questions

What is gentrification?

What policies is the City of Cape Town implementing with regards to property development?

Why is the City of Cape Town implementing these property development policies?

How are the policies implemented by the City of Cape Town leading to gentrification in Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap?

Conclusion

The construction of new infrastructure is driven by the need to construct buildings that improve the cities infrastructure, and this enables developers to generate private capital and construction of these buildings. Property developments are not necessarily driven by the need to improve the urban structure of the city but rather, these developments are informed by the need to ensure certain people accumulate wealth through spatial developments. For infrastructure developments to take place, local governments must implement spatial development policies that perpetuate spatial developments in the city. The following chapter will discuss literature that details how spatial developments unfold in cities.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter provides a thorough conception of gentrification by providing literature that discusses spatial developments that occur in cities. Moreover, this chapter explores different arguments regarding gentrification from a global perspective and on a local basis, and it analysis these arguments about spatial developments that are occurring in the inner-city of Cape Town. The first section of this chapter discusses infrastructure developments that occur in cities due to the establishment of industrial and commercial enterprises in cities. After this discussion, literature that discusses the way tourism contributes towards gentrification is examined and the third section of this chapter details debates about urban revitalization and mixed-use development as contributing factors towards gentrification in cities. The fourth section in this chapter provides arguments of scholars who claim spatial developments segregate the city followed by a section that argues that informal settlements emerge in cities due to urban renewal programs.

Debates regarding residential communities that are established due to gentrification will be detailed in the sixth section followed by a discussion concerning the construction of social houses in cities. The last section of this chapter discusses civil society organizations and their attempts to oppose spatial developments through challenging local government. Literature regarding gentrification is orientated on gentrification being caused by property developers purchasing land and buildings in the inner-city for businesses purposes. Urban scholars that write about this urban phenomenon scandalize gentrification from a scholarly stance, providing a linear account of the mechanisms that give rise to gentrification. Understandably, they fail to rigorously examine the role of the state in the perpetuation of gentrification, and this is the ultimate gap that has been identified in the literature.

Spatial Transformation in Capitalist Cities

The following sections will be discussing how spatial developments occur in cities and it will examine the role of industrial and commercial developments in the instigation of property developments that occur in cities. Cities are important spaces because they are characterized by industrial operations, businesses, residential areas, and other markers that constitute capital and social reproduction and urban environments. People move to cities because there are job opportunities in the urban environment, others prefer the city because it guarantees access to services such as health care, decent housing, and other social welfare services that are needed to improve their wellbeing. Interestingly, city's undergo rapid infrastructure developments that improve the spatial dimension of the city hence gentrification is occurring in Cape Town, and this has resulted in the commodification of property in the inner-city that cause gentrification. The term gentrification was coined by Ruth Glass, a British Sociologist in 1964 that it referred to a change in residential demographics due to the relocation of middle-income families into low-income residential areas (Freeman, 2016, p. 164)

According to Hamnett, Glass, gentrification explained the purchase of houses and land in residential areas for commercial purposes and this perspective also centred on the commodification of low-income family homes for the establishment of businesses in low-income neighbourhoods (Freeman, 2016, p. 165). The term gentrification has been used to explain the “restoration and upgrading of deteriorated urban property by middle class and affluent people in the inner-city” and there has been three waves of gentrification that have occurred (Lees et al., 2015, p. 8). The first wave of gentrification began in the 19th century in Europe where houses were revitalized by people employed by the state and the private sector. In the late 1950s, the second wave occurred, and it

was caused by policies that focused on urban renewal through property ownership and the third wave of gentrification began transpired in the late 1970s. These developments occurred on industrial lands and were aided by the government as a mechanism to support the working class in their occupation of the inner-city. According to O’regan (2016), the third wave of gentrification, which continues today, is caused by patterns of developments that shifted beyond neighbourhoods because developers started to purchase state-owned properties to generate capital. However, this wave, occurring in cities across the world, has resulted in forced evictions because middle-income residents are moving into inner-city residential areas forcing low-income families to relocate to other parts of the city. Low-income families are forced to live on the periphery of the city because property developments have led to increased property rates and taxes that they cannot afford.

The arguments made by some of the scholars here will be used to illustrate that in the inner-city of Cape Town, the establishment of commercial buildings due to gentrification causes suburbanization and forced evictions because developers are constructing new buildings in the inner-city. Furthermore, their claims will be used to examine the negative consequences of spatial developments on low-income families that are living in the inner-city of Cape Town. The purpose of this exploration is to illustrate that low-income families are forcefully evicted from their homes due to gentrification and spatial developments that are occurring in their communities. Urban revitalization and the development of new property in the inner-city restoring deteriorated buildings are becoming the prime factor behind inner-city gentrification because spatial development frameworks are implemented by local government. These policies enable property developers to improve the cities physical landscape, and this also attracts new property investors to direct capital towards the improvement of the cities infrastructure.

Influencing local and international investors to invest in the city is important because new infrastructure markets the city as a tourist destination and the transformation of the cities spatial structure responds to the needs of upper-class residents, consumers, and international visitors. The next section will be discussing tourism gentrification because the construction of new buildings is important because it contributes towards the attraction of international tourists to the city which enables property developers and local government to generate capital.

Tourism Gentrification in the Inner-City

According to Gotham (2005), another factor driving property development is tourism gentrification and this form of gentrification is a global strategy to ensure inner cities are transformed. The reformation of the inner city because of tourism gentrification is driven by the state, property developers, and the tourism industry. Moreover, tourism gentrification involves the establishment of inbuilt tourism projects and luxurious spaces, and these spatial transformations are important because they change urban cultures and lifestyles (Hwang, 2015, p. 325).

The circulation of capital investments in urban centre's enables tourism gentrification to transpire and this illustrates that investments change the culture and physical landscape of inner-city communities. This means that financing spatial changes in the city secures capital growth for the tourism sector because newly improved spatial spaces contribute towards the development of the sector itself. According to Pinkster and Boterman (2017), investments that are directed by the tourism sector promote the development of local tourism and the property market and they stimulate investments that result in the construction of private residential communities, shopping centres, recreational spaces, and the restoration of deteriorated architecture. Thus, in the case of Cape Town, it will be argued that commercially motivated developments and the construction of exhibition spaces for tourist enterprises reorganize the structure of inner-city residential

communities for the proliferation of private capital. Furthermore, it will be argued that spatial development projects initiated by the state commercialize homes that belong to low-income families and urban renewal projects transform inner-city residential areas as a favourable tourist site. Converting houses into commercial spaces increases the property value of these communities and people that cannot afford to pay rates are often forced to relocate to other residential communities. Reshaping the inner-city for tourists and other spatial consumption purposes results in the production of new cultural lifestyles in the inner-city because affluent individuals relocate to inner-city residences. This illustrates that tourism gentrification contributes significantly towards the making of mixed inner-city residential communities, generating diversified cultural preferences. In-addition, the incorporation of middle-class residents into the inner-city due to gentrification erases local history and dismisses the cultural identity that has been attained using historical infrastructure. The following section will discuss mixed-use developments because developers generate capital through the construction of buildings that accommodate a variety of commercial services, and the construction of mixed-use developments contributes towards spatial developments that are occurring in the city.

Urban Revitalisation: Mixed-Use Developments in the Urban Space

The construction of new buildings, such as mixed-use buildings indicates that city governors recognize the importance of up-scaling urban architecture and steer infrastructural developments that intensify gentrification in cities. There is an enormous inflow of private capital into the city, which is used to renovate old buildings and construct modern infrastructure because local government allows developers to re-develop the inner-city. Moreover, developments occurring in the inner-city due to gentrification indicate the hegemonic nature of developers and their autonomy over the city's property. This perspective is supported by Harvey (1985) who argues, the city's

infrastructure illustrates the economic and political powers of property developers and investors, and spatial developments also show the hegemonic nature of corporate entities that are gentrifying the city. The claim made by Harvey is correct because cities can be regarded as complex and legible documents that can tell us something about the values and aspirations of their rulers, designers, builders, owners, and inhabitants. Urban renewal projects signify property developers and the state's conception of urban design and the articulation of law, politics, and hence cities are spatial environments that depict powers of the dominant class. The argument made by Harvey will be used to argue that in the inner-city of Cape Town, mixed-use developments change the power structures of the neighbourhoods that are being gentrified because mixed-use developments propel new residents to advocate for reinvestments in their communities because they want the aesthetics of their communities to improve. For de Certeau (1984), physical infrastructure explains historical occurrences that cannot be seen but only experienced by individuals occupying the city and the physical nature of the city contributes to the psychological imagination, conscious and unconscious. The construction of mixed-use developments erodes imaginations of the city that have been formulated using historical infrastructure that is being re-developed for the construction of mixed-use developments. This is a negative aspect of cognitive mapping by urban planners because it prevents the urban poor from imaging the city as a space they can inhabit because they are spatially segregated from the inner-city. The construction of mixed-use developments is embedded in the idea that urban reformation is mandatory hence local government must ensure that it improves the infrastructure of the city. The following will be discussing spatial segregation in the city because low-income families are forced to relocate to other geographical locations in the city due to the construction of mixed-use development.

Urban Reformation: Spatial Segregation in a Capitalist City

Davis (1990, p. 20) regards cities as “arch semiotics of class war and the racial classics”, whereby the urban poor is demobilized by the capitalist architectural impurity and this the contestation of the public space. The privatization of urban environments propels the state and property developers to use public space for private capital accumulation hence people are forcefully evicted from their homes. Forced evictions emulate the highest form of segregating and militarisation of the city, constant existence of security personals in and of the city to protect infrastructure, and capitalist development of the bourgeoisie’s capital ad this occurs in a violent format. According to Legewie (2018), new architectural designs enforce spatial violence and hegemony on the urban poor because infrastructure developments cause spatial segregation. This scholar also argues that the construction of infrastructure in the city can also be understood as the making of spatial borders, organization of the jobless and poor into contained spaces, and this is the extreme form of specialization.

People who have fewer material resources are constantly forced to live in residential communities that are distant from the inner-city due to the implementation of urban renewal policies (Desmond, 2012, p. 95). The argument made by this scholar is interesting hence it will be used to argue that redeveloping the inner-city of Cape Town for industrial and commercial purposes enhances spatial demarcations in the inner-city because people’s homes are developed and used to accumulate capital by developers. Furthermore, it will be argued that capital developments occurring in the city produce and organize the city as a space of difference hence there are residential zones that are located on the outskirts of the city. According to Magre, Vallbe, and Tomas (2016), the establishment of new residential communities through the construction of new infrastructure has

resulted in the emergence of suburbanization hence there are spatial developments that are transpiring in the city. The constant construction of new infrastructure illustrates that urban developments in cities are part of the capitalist mode of urban planning. Cities have infrastructure that resembles oppressive historical moments hence modernizing the city's infrastructure dislocates people from the inner-city which causes people to create and forge new forms of engagement with the city. Therefore, it will be argued that capital that is channelled in the inner-city of Cape Town through infrastructure developments disenfranchises the urban population due to the construction of new infrastructure and establishment of private residential areas that perpetuate spatial segregation in the city. There are informal settlements that have been established because of urban renewal projects.

The emergence of Informal Settlements due to Urban Renewal Projects

According to Huchzermeyer (2002), people live in appalling conditions in informal settlements although they claim to be living in a democratic dispensation and the current government has not fully eradicated informal settlements across the country. The privatization of land and buildings in the city increases the establishment of informal settlements in cities hence O'Leary and Mutsonziwa (2007) argue that the privatization of property in the city gives rise to urban predicaments such as rise in the establishment of informal settlements. These scholars argue that people who are living in these areas are subjected to accommodate themselves in appalling conditions and these spaces are characterized by low rates of service delivery. Informal settlements can be understood as residential areas made up of poor people living in squatter camps because they cannot afford to purchase decent houses and informal settlements are characterized by overcrowding, insufficient clean water, sanitation, and people here cannot meet their day-to-day needs.

According to Davis (2007), there has been an increase in the number of people living in informal settlements due to property developments that are transpiring in the city. The apartheid government was pivotal in the establishment of informal settlements in South Africa. Blacks, coloured and Indians were not allowed to purchase property in cities because inner-city residence was reserved for white people. Separate development was enshrined in the apartheid constitution caused spatial segregation in South African cities and the apartheid government was not concerned with providing black, coloured, and Indians with social welfare services in townships.

According to Newton & Schuermans (2013), there is a housing crisis in post-apartheid South Africa and this shortage has increased the number of informal housing dwellers. Most people that were not regarded as being white were forcefully evicted from areas such as District Six in the case of Cape Town and people who were forcefully removed from these areas were subjected to reside in townships such as Langa, Crossroads, and many other black populated residential areas in Cape Town (Newton & Schuermans, 2013, p. 581). Furthermore, these scholars argue townships have expanded in Cape Town due to forced evictions that occurred during the apartheid era and the existence of townships in Cape Town illustrates the legacy of apartheid spatial. Spatial policies implemented by the apartheid government contributed towards the current informal housing predicament that is experienced by low-income families. The existence of squatter camps and townships demonstrates that the apartheid project of racial and spatial continue to exist in the democratic dispensation.

This also illustrates that people that are living in informal settlements cannot afford to purchase a decent house hence they are living in informal settlements that are ridden by poverty, unemployment, and high crime rate. Garnish (2005) problematizes the existence of informal settlements arguing that people who live in informal settlements are prone to suffer from diseases because they reside in polluted areas although this is not the case in every township. This scholar also argues that spatial developments contribute towards the emergence of social problems that are experienced by people that have been forcibly evicted from the inner-city due to gentrification. According to Massey (2013), the establishment of informal settlements due to spatial developments and forced evictions illustrates that local government has failed to enact policies that prevent displacement of low-income families from their homes due to property developments. Bhide (2016) argues that local government is aware that squatter camps pose health risks to people, yet it is enabling developers to acquire property that belongs to low-income families who end up living in informal settlements. For this scholar, local government must give people who are living in informal settlements decent houses because people are suffering in informal communities. The establishment of informal settlements in the city indicates that developers accumulate capital through ensuring that low-income residents are relocated away from the inner-city. Local government approves forced evictions because property investments are important because they allow local government to improve the city's infrastructure and some of these buildings are constructed in residential areas that are occupied by low-income families. The following section will discuss ways in which gentrification results in the formation of new residential communities.

Spatial Developments: Formation of Urban Residential Communities due to Gentrification

The construction of new residential communities that are distant from the inner-city is a capitalist mode of urban planning which causes people to produce a new way of life in these newly established areas. Furthermore, the establishment of new residential areas is part of an urban capitalist infrastructural development project that invests capital in the built environment. According to Rex, Campbell & Visser (2014), urban residential communities are defined by social networks and institutions, and they resemble the existence of an ethnic or racial community. These communities are important because they provide people with a sense of belonging, but displacements collapse the heteronormative structure of residential communities in the city. This claim is supported by Huchzermeyer (2002) who argues that local government implements spatial developments that cause forced evictions that divide low-income families that occupied inner-city residential communities.

Spatial developments have negative consequences because they spatially divide people that are living in the inner-city hence cities across the globe are characterized by forced evictions of low-income families. Furthermore, Landman, (2004) argues that spatial differentiation results in the formation of new communities in the city because new communities emerge due to spatial demarcations. Movement into new environments limits low-income family's physical mobility because they are distant and dislocated from the city and the urban space. Making of the modern city involves practices that escalate the improvement of the city's physical fabric and modern urban planning segregates the urban populace. The arguments made by these scholars will be used to argue that economic functions create barraged communities that are in residential zones that are adjacent to the inner-city because the inner-city is demarcated for property developments that generate capital for developers in the inner-city of Cape Town. Furthermore, it will be argued that

low-income families are forced to live in the periphery of the city because developers use their economic and political powers to perpetuate spatial segregation. Spatial differences are also caused by exclusive economic industrialization practices that are occurring in the inner-city because investments are directed into the inner-city. Monopolizing land for capital accumulation gives birth to urban problems such as short of houses, the establishment of informal settlements, and land being owned by property developments intensifies spatial segregation in the city. The concentration of people into recently established residential communities reinforces spatial segregation in the city

Social Housing: Response to Housing Shortages in the City

According to Maleas (2018), the term social housing is used to refer to any form of housing that is developed by the state for low-income families, and social houses are subsidized by the state even though they are constructed by private developers. These houses are catered for people that cannot afford houses from the private housing market and they receive affordable houses from the state. The state and private sector contribute towards the alleviation of housing needs amongst the urban poor and the subsidization of social houses is often justified alongside the perimeters of government's interest in ensuring that government builds houses for people who cannot build houses for themselves. The first justification behind the provision of social houses is entrenched in the discourse that the private property market has failed tremendously to provide people with houses, hence government needs to build people houses (Blake & Golland, 2003, p. 100). Secondly, the provision of social houses is centred on welfare economics that not all goods purchased and consumed in the economy are private, thus some should be considered as being public (Blake & Golland, 2003, p. 101). The third justification made by welfare economics is the notion that some goods should be considered as merit goods, and these are goods that should be

accessible to everyone. Furthermore, the provision of social houses improves the housing standards of people who cannot afford houses in the private market and the government often takes a commercial and market approach towards financing social houses. Vacant land in cities is often transferred from state ownership to private land ownership because property developers have been tasked to construct social houses. Furthermore, transferring land from the state into the private sector requires the government to change its public policies on land and property development, and this change is influenced by property developers because they inform government about policies it should implement and how if the government wants the private sector to address housing shortages in the city (Newton & Schuermans, 2013, p. 580). New social housing communities are primary sites for communities, the social adaption to new urban environments mimicked familiar spatial and cultural arrangements and transplanted older social and economic ties.

The establishment of new residential communities in the city permits the reconstitution of urban communities formed by people who are forcefully evicted from the inner city. These pre-emptive exclusions and dislocations condition residents to formulate new forms of collective existence, spatial unity, and social ties because change in space forces them to establish new kinds of identity frameworks. Moreover, the construction of social houses that are in the peripheries of the city socializes people into believing that residence in certain parts of the city is designated for certain groups of people. These houses signal the differentiation of neighbourhoods in the city that create distinct accounts of urban imaginings, hence cities are labeled as spaces that are constantly reproducing material differences. According to Jones (2012), local government supports housing renewal projects because they refurbish the city, and the construction of social houses eradicates informal settlements. There is limited land use in the inner-city due to the existence of traditional housing environments and areas that have not attracted housing developments that are recognized

as non-traditional housing developments. According to Kristensen (2002), the state subsidizes social houses because not every citizen can afford to purchase houses in the private property market because the private housing sector does not provide affordable housing units. Providing low-income citizens with houses is an important mandate for the government because people are living in squatter camps and shattered dwellings. The state needs to implement development projects that produce houses to improve the living conditions of low-income families that are living in the city. Building social houses forces government to collaborate with the private sector to assist in the initiation of housing development and this attracts property investors to acquire housing tenders from local government. The increase in the population of the city requires the state to build additional houses because existing housing stock cannot meet the housing demands of the new people living in the city. Governments are forced to promote public housing subsidies and to implement housing policies that will provide affordable housing and housing developments.

According to Maleas (2018), middle-income families prefer to live in the inner-city because these spaces are close to services and institutions that improve their standard of living. Social houses propel property developers to expect fewer investment returns because these houses are meant for those who cannot afford expensive homes hence social houses are subsidized by the state even though they are constructed by private developers. Thus, the state and private sector contribute towards the alleviation of housing needs amongst the urban poor and the subsidization of social houses is often justified alongside the perimeters of the government's interest in the establishment of an effective welfare state in the market economy.

Civil Society Movements: Challenging Urban Democratic Governance

Urban democratic governance in particular places the freedom of people at the forefront of local government's political objectives and local governments are mandated to ensure effective democratic governance. The first primary principle of democratic governance is political competition where different political parties compete during local government elections (Knox, 2008, p. 10). This scholar claims that local government elections are important because they ensure that there is political competition in urban governing systems and the existence of multiple parties that compete during elections is important because the political party that has been dominating local government elections is held accountable by citizens and opposition political parties.

Knotts & Haspel (2006) argue that some people do not vote for certain political parties in local elections because they are negatively affected by spatial development policies that are implemented by the political party that is in power. By not voting for that political party, citizens in cities exercise their political power although sometimes their refusal to vote for the political party that is gentrifying their residential areas does not yield favourable outcomes. According to Avakian (1986), property developers and investors influence local government elections because they finance election campaigns of the political party they want to in power because they want the party to allow them to private land and buildings in the city.

This argument is supported by Singh and Tiwana (2020) who claim that lack of funding for political parties is one of the constraints that limit the electoral competition during local government elections because some political parties receive funding from different sources, they use these funds to finance their campaigns during the elections.

Private funders can source political parties with the objective that once the political party is in power, it will make sure that the funder benefits through the provision of tenders and other incentives. Singh and Tiwana (2020) also argue that elections are controlled by capitalists who use government to legitimize their exploitative operations. These scholars also argue that the electoral process fails to represent citizen's sovereignty, instead, it solidifies and maintains the dictatorship of the ruling class over local government. However, allowing developers to influence elections causes serious issues in cities governance because people that do not finance political party's election campaigns are not consulted when local government makes decisions (Raco & Livingstone, 2020, p. 31). The exclusion of the urban population from the urban spaces through the implementation of infrastructure development frameworks is justified by local government on the basis that economic growth is fostered by the private sector. Theoretically, people have rights, they can vote and are not prohibited from active participation in the state's affairs, however these rights are subverted by developers.

Despite these faults, liberal democracy is often portrayed as a need for progressive change in Africa although there are contradictions between the theoretical incubation and practical implication of liberal democracy. According to Kasongo (2005), to effectively critique liberal democracy, there must be a critical analysis of a state and institutions that are operationalizing democracy. Central to liberal democracy is the organization and exertion of power according to the universal norms of democratic rule or governance and the first universal principle of democracy is the idea that legitimate power or authority emanates from the people and governors are chosen by and are

accountable to the people (Ntalaja & Lee, 1998, p. 14). This democratic facet delves into the implication that democracy is rooted in collective governance whereby people influence some of the decisions made by government or local government in this context.



The case in many cities because low-income families are not contributing towards the management of public affairs through local governments structures. In actual fact, the bureaucracy in cities is controlled by political representatives and property developers hence urban democratic processes are conditioned by corporate entities because they develop the cities infrastructure, and they have autonomy over the city's spatial frameworks. This indicates that some urban democratic governance approaches are flawed because it commodifies urban governance because the private sector thrives due to the establishment of democratic principles that give the private sector powers to direct spatial developments in the city. According to Ricci (2019) government is constrained by the private sector and this limits the effectiveness of the government's policies because the key role of urban governance is to assist private enterprises in securing profit prosperity and capital accumulation. This scholar argues that local government has minimum intervention in property developers that are occurring in the city hence it does not oppose forced evictions, and this demonstrates that spatial development frameworks subjugate the urban poor.

For Gerometta, Haussermann and Longo (2005), civil society organizations together with citizens, call upon local government to practice effective urban democratic governance because their current governing methods disenfranchise low-income families that are living in the city. These organizations are making an emphasis on the protection of the liberty of the urban populace to reside in the inner-city and not be subjected to displacements because of developers who want to use their homes to generate wealth. Civil society organizations argue that local government has failed to protect people living in gentrified areas from developers. This failure shows that the democratic governance principle which is often understood as the anchor of good governance which stipulates that "legitimate power or authority emanates from the people, delegation through elected assemblies, elected executives, or some other mode of representation" does not apply in

some cities (Ntalaja & Lee, 1998, p. 13). Local government implements policies and laws that advance the economic interests of property developers under the conception that these policies are rooted in progressive democratic governance. These policies are causing property developments, gentrification, forced evictions in cities, and civil organizations to challenge local governments for initiating development frameworks that enable property developers to influence urban democratic governance. Allowing developers to direct urban governing procedures demonstrates that urban governance in cities is no longer democratic because decisions regarding the socio-economic and political stature of the urban space are taken by the ruling class. Citizens and civil society organizations hold local governments accountable for initiating spatial developments that hinder effective democratic governance in cities.

Through protest and other forms of mass demonstrations, citizens challenge local government for privatizing land and buildings in inner-city communities. Moreover, these organizations assist the urban population in protecting their neighbourhoods from being revitalized because people are forcefully evicted from these spaces due to urban developments that are initiated by local government. According to Boterman and Pinkster (2017), civil society organizations and citizens establish community associations which they use as instruments to channel their grievances that are emerging due to spatial developments. Through constant engagement with the state, civil society organizations transform the urban space and structure because these associations want to successfully alter material inequalities that are emerging in the inner-city due to property developments and gentrification (Maskariano, 2019, p. 16).

Insurgent citizens and civil society organizations are a problem for local government because they create political unrest in the city because they challenge urban renewal projects that are initiated by the local government. Furthermore, they challenge the usage of coercion against low-income families that are living in communities whose property is refurbished. Interestingly, civil society organizations contest local government for demarcating property in the inner-city for private developments. The conduct of civil society organizations can be understood as politics of liberation from the oppressive city government because these movements address urban problems that are experienced by the city's populace. The claims made by these scholars will be used to argue that in the inner-city of Cape Town, civil society organizations mobilize people into revolutionary associations to defy the marginalization of low-income families in the inner-city due to property developments.

Furthermore, it will be argued that civil society movements in the urban space are revolting against the urban capitalist system because it produces capital for elites through property developments and through the exclusion of low-income families from the inner-city. These civil society organizations are important because they are constantly altering and opposing urban capitalist planning so that it does not infringe the rights of the urban poor. They encourage people to occupy vacant land and buildings for residential purposes and capital accumulation and the monopolization of public property conditions civil society organizations to utilize the urban space as a contestation environment for collective property consumption. According to Harvey (1981), civil society organizations seek to reverse spatial changes that are occurring in the inner-city due to the inflow of capital into the built environment. In the context of Cape Town, Harvey's analogy will be used to argue that spatial restructuring programs that are fostered by local government enable investors and property developers to have economic and political power in the city.

This creates conflict between local government states, property developers and civil society organizations emerge due to the unequal distribution and occupation of the city's land and buildings. According to Forster and Ammann (2018), civil society organizations challenge class inequalities and spatial differences that are perpetuated by urban planners because they are of the view that opposition parties are not holding the current political party that is in power accountable for the decisions it is making in the city. However, Avakain (1986) argues that horrendous crimes are committed in a democratic state by political representatives that have been elected into power by the citizens of the state. Franzen (2005) also argues that urban democracy is a form of dictatorship because governance is regulated by developers and investors and the argument made by these scholars is entrenched in the urban Marxian analogy that low-income families are exploited, and their rights are violated by political representatives and developers. However, civil society movements oppose the operationalization of the oppressive capitalist status quo developers and political representatives who use the cities bureaucracy to advance the financial interests of developers. Challenging local government for commodifying urban governance is important because civil society organizations are defying the usage of local government by political representatives and developers to generate capital.

Conclusion

The state implements property development frameworks that legitimize developers and investors monopolization of land and buildings in the city. Although developments improve the cities infrastructure, they generate capital for local government and property developers but low-income families that are living in the inner-city are forcefully evicted from their homes due to spatial developments. Displacing people from their homes is also caused propagated through spatial segregations that are occurring in the city due to property developments.

Demarcating the city, subjecting low-income families to relocate to other parts of the city is an indication that developers generate capital at the expense of the wellbeing of low-income families who cannot defend themselves against developers who convert their homes and communities into commercial spaces. Their inability to fully oppose spatial developments that are occurring in their communities has influenced civil society organizations to oppose urban development and to challenge democratic governance at the local state level. This illustrates that spatial developments give birth to a range of issues and the following chapter will provide a theory that will explain the role of the state in the emergence of urban problems. The next chapter will discuss the instrumental state theory which will be applied to the case study to examine whether the COCT is deliberately gentrifying Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap.



Chapter 3: Theoretical framework

This chapter will be discussing the instrumental state theory that will be applied on the case study but before it explains this theory, it provides an overview of the state and discusses fundamental facts of the state. Secondly, this chapter discusses the instrumental state theory which provides an ideological conceptualization of the state hence it was chosen for this study. The third section of this chapter discusses the constitutional theory of the state which claims that the state is an entity that draws its legitimacy from the constitution. The application of the theory to the case study is the last section in this chapter and this section discusses how the theory will be applied to the case study. The first important aspect of the state is a territory, referring to a geographical area that is demarcated and recognized as belonging to a particular state (Teubner, 1988, p. 130). These demarcations are important because they demonstrate a tangible area that is sovereign, has absolute powers and no internal or external force has overt control and dominance over it.

Establishing a territorial base as a physical definer of a state has resulted in the establishment of government, the second characteristic of a state. The government can be understood as a managerial entity whose primary responsibility is to establish institutions, policies, and legal frameworks that are used to maintain state affairs (Cousins, 2005, p. 14). States are sovereign, they have absolute independence from internal and external forces, and this is the third characteristic of a state. The last characteristic of a state is population, citizens that are governed by the state. There are many characteristics of the state, but these are the main characteristics, and the following section will be discussing a theory that provides an ideological explanation of a state.

Instrumental State Theory

Government includes people that have been voted into power by citizens and this applies to democratic states and must ensure that citizens have basic services such as water, sanitation, electricity, and other basic welfare services. However, the instrumental state theory argues that the state is an instrument that is controlled by the ruling class and it manages the affairs of the ruling class (Meckstroth, 2000, p. 71). The core duty of the capitalist state is the maintenance of the social conditions of the different classes which is the prime political interest of the dominant class. Furthermore, the instrumental state theory claim that the state is an instrument that is controlled by the ruling class demystifies the liberal view of the state as a neutral phenomenon, one that protects the interests of both the working and ruling classes (Jessop, 1982, p. 12).

This theory proves that the state is not neutral because its prime responsibility is to secure capital for the capitalist class and the state's character is measured by the constraints the capitalist structure has imposed on the state (Jessop, 1982, p. 12). These constraints enable the socio-economic and political systems of the state to be controlled by the ruling class which they use to assert their common interest and to exploit the working class. The capitalist state depends on the ruling class because this class generates income for them, thus state officials must ensure the ruling class is not prevented from monopolizing state resources. Furthermore, the ruling class conditions the state to use its sovereignty and supremacy to enact laws and policies that structure the operations of civil societies, and a key aspect of the ruling class is their monopoly over resources that enable them to have economic and political powers (Jessop, 1982, p. 12). The description of the state provided by the instrumental state theory extends beyond welfare orientated understanding of the state which argues that a welfare state is based "upon the acceptance of collective responsibility for providing all individuals with equality of opportunity; implying as the

elimination of disparities brought about through racial and religious discrimination and the universal availability of adequate educational facilities” (Humphrey, 1955, p. 431). According to this scholar, welfare states have an objective of ensuring that every citizen of the state has access to social services and another mandate of a welfare state is protecting its citizens from any form of oppression and violation of its citizen’s rights. Welfare states invest in developmental projects because they want to improve their citizens living conditions and these states understand the importance of the private sector because they encourage the existence and expansion of private markets.

Most welfare states bear the responsibility of creating jobs, collective ownership of state resources, and equal distribution of wealth in society. Moreover, welfare states foster collective participation in the market by allowing every member of society to own the means of production, achieved through the establishment of public and private entrepreneurial institutions. According to Cousins (2005), welfare states emerged as “part of the logic of industrialization” and this scholar argues that functionalists viewed the emergence of welfare states as an entity that needed to attend to the needs of the society during the industrial stage, as well as during modernization and the advancement of capitalism. They developed as a response towards the needs of capitalism, which was the advancement of the process of capital accumulation and maintaining political stability in the social order. Modernization, the growth of societies, and the “processes of social and political mobilization”, informed the establishment of welfare states (Cousins, 2005, p. 14). The economy in the welfare state is controlled by the ruling class causing conflict between the ruling class and the working class because the working class does not have access to nor monopoly over resources compared to the ruling class. However, the legal system has limited autonomy in welfare states as argued by the instrumental state theory because it fails to “preserve human value and cannot protect

the rights of all citizens” (Cousins, 2005, p.22). The primary duty of the legal system in welfare states is the protection of legal rights, such as property rights, and the rule of law tends to work in favour of those who have access to these rights, discerning against those who do not (Cousins, 2005, p.29). Law enforcement is important for the government of welfare states because the government uses the law to regulate activities on the market. An important aspect to consider is that the law protects citizens from the intervention of the government in their affairs at the “expense of the achievement of more general affairs” (Cousins, 2005, p.32). The law is also used to ensure that some citizens do not have access to these rights and this critique is probed by the instrumental state theory and the capitalist legal system prevents the working class from having control over the means of production because in a capitalist system, law is used to subjugate the working class to protect the economic interests of the ruling class. Protecting the rights of citizens is pivotal for the welfare state and these rights are often enshrined in the state’s constitution but the instrumental state theory dismisses this on the basis that the state is not autonomous because it is used by the capitalist class, or ruling class, to accumulate capital and to exploit the working class.

Constitutional theory of the state

The constitutional theory provides a different analysis of the state, and it argues that the constitution is important because it defines the nature of the state’s institutional structure. According to Loughlin (2005) to this theory, constitutional laws are independent and essentially govern the state, they are pivotal for controlling state apparatus and the state is authorized by the constitution to enforce the legal system using the constitution. The constitutional theory of the state contradicts the instrumental state theory regarding the centralization of the state’s powers because it argues that constitutional practices are embedded within the three spheres of government. Furthermore, constitutionalists have ensured that a state’s authority is diversified,

hence the executive, judiciary, and legislature are important to ensure transparency in the functionalities of the state (Vir, 2007, p. 562.). This scholar argues constitutional governments were established to protect and maintain fundamental rights such as the right to property, life, and liberty. The legislature, executive, and judiciary regulate economic relations for the capitalist class to ensure that the dominant class generates capital and the ruling class use the different structures of government to bypass frameworks that hinder the process of capital accumulation (Jessop, 1982, p. 9). These arms of government ensure that they preserve the legitimacy of the system that it propagates and protects the interests of the ruling class. The judiciary legalizes policies and laws that are directed to ensure that the capitalist system produces wealth for the ruling class, and the legal system is also deployed to subvert the insurgency of people who want to oppose and challenge the system for exploiting the working class.

Furthermore, police, criminal courts, and prisons in a capitalist society are primarily designed to guarantee the private property of capitalists hence crimes that involve taking people's property are highly punished by the state but financial institutions that exploit people are not held accountable for their criminal offences. Thus, the legal system in a constitutional state as argued by the instrumental state theory is used to ensure that processes that enable the production and reproduction of capital for the ruling class are not disrupted. However, the instrumental state theory opposes this theoretical framework because the different spheres of government are used to control and create conditions for the ruling class to generate capital. Capitalist states regulate the ruling class economic relations to ensure capital growth for the ruling class hence their primary duty is to maintain the structure of the capitalist system. The government is constrained by the private sector, and this limits the effectiveness of their policies, and the system of private property and investment sets growth objectives for corporations and the constitutional state. A key role of

the capitalist state is to assist private enterprises in securing capital for the ruling class and its political agenda is directed to ensuring the development of the private system. Furthermore, legal principles articulated in the constitution are used to secure public order and to ensure that civil society operates within the boundaries set by the state, and this renders the constitution a vital document because it defines operational perimeters for state institutions. Therefore, the instrumental theory can be understood as a theory that claims that state laws directed to ensure that civil society abides by the capitalist system are enshrined in the capitalist state's constitution.

Applying Theory to the Case Study

The core premise of instrumental state theory stipulates that the state is not autonomous because it is used by the capitalist ruling class to accumulate capital and to exploit the working class and this theory will be used to examine the relationship between the COCT and property developers. The first premise will be used to argue that political representatives implement property development frameworks, policies, and laws that result in private property developments in the inner-city. This argument will be based on the idea that central to the capitalist system is the constant production and reproduction of capital which means that certain processes need to transpire for property developers to accumulate capital.

The purpose behind this investigation is to examine whether the development of vacant land and buildings by developers subjects the COCT to adhere to private entrepreneurial operations which minimize the government's influence in the property market. According to Jessop (1982, p. 148), the state as an entity that is controlled by the ruling class, uses violence to maintain the dominance of the ruling class. The repressive nature of the state is exemplified through the usage of violence and through deploying state police and military against citizens that limit the capital production process (Jessop, 1982, p.150). More so, repressive state apparatus will be used as a theme to

examine whether the COCT becomes repressive towards people that prohibit developers from generating capital through the initiation of property developments in the inner-city. Moreover, an investigation will be made as to whether the COCT displaces low-income families from inner-city residential communities because they need to ensure these communities become prospective areas for developers. Lastly, the repressive state premise will be used to investigate whether the COCT is conditioned by property developer's capitalist class to ensure that it provides developers with property for the establishment of commercial enterprises through forcing people to relocate to other parts of the city.

Conclusion

The instrumental state theory was important for this study because it was used to examine the role of the COCT in the occurrence of spatial developments in the city. Furthermore, this theory was also used to analyze the data that indicated that the COCT implements spatial development policies that gentrify the city. In the data analysis chapter, this theory demonstrated that the sole purpose behind property developments in the city is assuring that developers have access to land and buildings which they refurbish for commercial purposes. This theory was used as a tool to argue that private property developers acquire land and buildings from the City of Cape Town hence the inner-city of Cape Town is characterized by the construction of massive buildings. This theory helped argue that the COCT's partnerships with developers is embedded in the need to provide developers with property for development purposes. The following chapter will explain the research methods that were used to conduct the study and it will also explain the case study that required the application of the instrumental state theory.

Chapter 4: Research Methods and Case Study Context

This chapter will be discussing research methods that were used to conduct the study and the first research method that is discussed in this chapter is the research design. A research design is a detailed structure that will be used to conduct the study. Secondly, this chapter will discuss the exploratory case study, a research method that is used when an in-depth study is conducted. Thirdly, this chapter discusses how data will be collected and ethical principles that were upheld by the researcher are discussed after the data section. The last section of this chapter provides a brief history of Cape Town. A comprehensive understanding of the role of the COCT and property developers in causing gentrification in the inner-city of Cape Town requires a thorough analysis of spatial and property developments occurring in the city. This chapter also discusses the research design and reasons that motivated the researcher to select this design for the exploratory research. Furthermore, this chapter discusses the data collected and explains the primary and secondary data used to acquire information to validate the study. Research ethics that were upheld by the researcher when conducting interviews have also been discussed and it also provides a history of Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap because these are the areas where the methodology was applied.

Research Design

Barrow (2000) defines research design as a plan of action the researcher uses when they conduct their research and qualitative research was chosen for this study because it enables the researcher to thoroughly study “social and cultural relations in a given society and it focuses on ways in which the studied subjects perceive the world” (Silverman, 2016, p. 5). Primary and secondary data were used to collect data for the study, and qualitative research enabled the researcher to understand ways in which the COCT gentrifies the inner-city. Lastly, qualitative research allowed the researcher to investigate urban resident’s responses to property developments occurring in their neighbourhoods.

Case Study

According to Groenewold and Phillips (2012), a case study approach was used to conduct this study because it is a method that allows a researcher to apply a theory of the studied phenomenon that has been selected as a case study for the research. For this study, the COCT is the main case study, and the focus will be placed on three areas in the COCT, namely Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap because these residential areas are undergoing gentrification. A case study research method often selects a small geographical area or limited persons as subjects to be studied and a researcher using a case study can either adopt a single case or multiple cases depending on the research question and topic (Dumez, 2015, p. 47). According to this scholars, there are two categories of case studies, and they include descriptive and exploratory case studies. Descriptive case studies are set to describe the natural factor with the data being considered and data is collected to describe the occurrence of a phenomenon, hence the researcher must commence their study with a theory that is descriptive to support the description of the phenomenon. For this study, an explanatory case study was used and this research method enabled the researcher to apply the

theory to the chosen case study. This research method was helpful because it enabled the researcher to interrogate ways in which spatial developments cause gentrification in the city. The researcher conducted prior research, small-scale data collection, and went to the field before the research topic, research question, and other specifics of the study were generated.

Data Collection

Research methodology places great emphasis on data collection methods hence data was collected using primary and secondary sources. Primary sources were used to collect data and documentary analysis was used to interpret the data. The COCT infrastructure and spatial development frameworks and other policies that provided information regarding property developments that are transpiring in the city were read. Research reports, newspaper articles, journals, and other documents regarding property development and gentrification were also read to acquire data for the research. Data was collected using documented sources and some of these sources included the *Integrated Development Plan 2017-2022*, *City of Cape Town's Zoning Scheme Regulations: A Component of the Policy-Driven Land Use Management System*, and *City's Economic Development Strategy (CCZSRPDLMCEDS)*.

Other documents that were used to collect data included the *City of Cape Town's Development Management Information Guidelines Series: Land Use Management (CCTDMIGS)*. Sources from civil society movements that operate in the city that were read include *Reclaim the City: Land For People Not for Profit*, *Re-imagining Woodstock & Salt River: Development Action Group 2020*, *Ndifuna Ukwazi: Evictions and Displacement in Cape Town a Growing Crisis in the Inner-City*, *Municipal Planning By-Law of 2015 and Design and Management Guidelines for a Safer City*. There are many sources that were used to collect data, but these are just indication of the kind of COCT documents that were used to collect the data. These sources provided information regarding

spatial developments occurring in the inner-city of Cape Town. In terms of sampling, the study used the snowball sampling method, often defined as a non-probability sampling technique and it enabled the researcher to request the participants to gather other people that could be interviewed for the study (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981, p. 150). Four people were interviewed, and they included individuals from civil society organizations that are responding to the COCT's infrastructure development programs and residents of Salt River. Due to Covid- 19, some people refused to be interviewed for the study, focus groups, political representatives of the COCT, and ward councillor were not interviewed and focus groups were also not conducted. The inability to conduct interviews due to Covid-19 resulted in data triangulation not being conducted as initially planned.

Research Ethics

There are ethical principles that researchers need to uphold when they conduct their research and informed consent is the first ethical principle that was upheld. This principle requires the researcher to be granted permission by interviewees for the interviews to be conducted (Burnham et al, 2008, p. 287). The researcher upheld this ethical principle by requesting the participant to allow the researcher to conduct the interview and the participants provided their consent to be interviewed. Participants were also provided with a consent form that they signed as an indication of their willingness to be interviewed. Confidentiality is the second ethical principle that researchers need to uphold, and this ethical principle obligates the researcher to keep the identities of their participants or organizations a secret This ethical principle was upheld by the researcher by not mentioning the names of the interviewees. Instead of using their real names, the researcher used alphabets such as X when referring to the participants. Moreover, the information that was provided by the participants was

not discussed with other people. The third ethical principle is veracity, which obligates the researcher to be truthful towards their participants for the participant to make rational choices concerning their willingness to be part of the study (Burnham et al, 2008, p. 290). Information provided by the researcher to the participant must be clear so that the participant can have a thorough understanding of the study. This principle was upheld because the researcher was honest and transparent and did not mislead the interviewees by providing them with false information regarding the research.

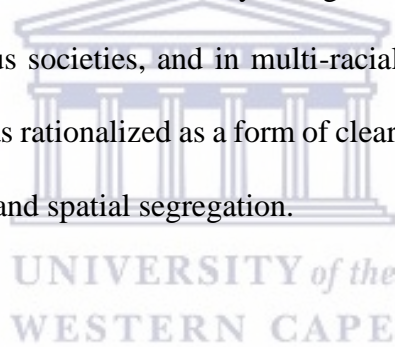
Case Study Context: A Brief History of Cape Town

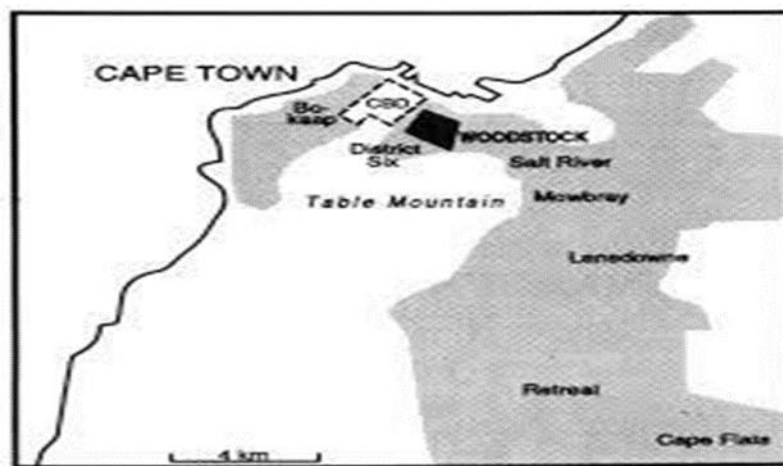
The Cape was a stronghold for European capitalists with segregationist policies and these policies conditioned Africans to reside in townships located in the outskirts of the city and Ndabeni was one of the first locations established by Europeans in 1903 for Africans in Cape Town and the native population was allowed to occupy the city as labours for Europeans (Youe, 2002, p. 325). The 1910 Constitution and the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts authorized that “three-quarters of the country belongs to white people, agricultural land and infrastructure were to be controlled by the white population” and property ownership was only granted to white people (Youe, 2002, p. 330). Furthermore, the Native Land Act (Act No. 27 of 1913) was used to dispossess natives from their land across the entire country. The Native Land Act of 1913 created territorial segregation because the act ensured that land is set aside for Africans and this act had three major aims, the first being to prevent Africans from residing on white-owned land, ensure segregation and prevent Africans from purchasing land in white reserves.

Alongside the Native Land Act, the colonial government enacted squatter laws, and these laws reserved land only for the occupation of and central to the establishment of land reserves for Africans was ensuring the continued provision of labour for the colonial government and Africans were granted access to land in exchange for labour (Feinberg, 1993, p. 70). During the apartheid period, Europeans monopolized land and property in urban spaces and deprived the local populace of land as most state resources were owned by Europeans. For example, the Native Land Act of 1913 declared land owned by black and coloured people reserved for white people and the “legalization regularised territorial segregation, minimizing black people’s occupation of inner-city spaces hence Africans were regarded as subjects in their territory” (Youe, 2002, p. 559).

The apartheid government intensified oppression of the native population because Africans were prohibited from owning land in the cities. They were not allowed to reside in towns and were denied citizenship in the urban areas and natives only contacted the city as labourers, working in the newly established white urban neighbourhoods (Freund, 2007, p. 80). Moreover, urban life in Cape Town was constituted through segregationist policies, and urban planners needed to ensure that cities were designed to socially organize natives as labourers for apartheid authorities (Freund, 2007, p. 109). According to this scholar, areas occupied by the coloured population, such as District Six, were later prescribed as residential areas for the white populace and were available for gentrification for the prosperous white population. Integration and citizenship in the Cape were impossible for non-whites, who were instead subjected to reside in squatter camps. People were forced to move from their homes in towns and reside in newly established townships and hostels and they had limited access to property ownership. According to Davids (2017), in Cape Town was hierarchal because white people were viewed as first-class citizens, while black, coloured, and Indian people were noted as second-class citizens, obligated to carry pass laws, and not allowed to

purchase nor sell property in the city. Salt River, Bo-Kaap, and Woodstock are residential communities located in the inner-city of Cape Town and these areas accommodated the coloured population, but due to the Group Areas Act of 1950, racial dynamics changed in these communities. Arguably, the Groups Areas Act was implemented by the apartheid government to institute racial and spatial segregation in cities across the country. This act prohibited non-whites from residing in urban areas hence black, coloured and Indians that resided in Salt River, District Six, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap were forced to relocate to other residential areas in the city and the Group Areas Act was also used by the apartheid government to ensure an increase in the number of white people living in areas that accommodated non-whites. Integral to the Groups Areas Act was the assurance that societies are not racially integrating, hence inner-city residential communities become homogenous societies, and in multi-racial areas such as District Six, Salt River, and Woodstock, the Act was rationalized as a form of clearing slums in the city even though its main aim was to ensure racial and spatial segregation.





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Figure 1: Map of Cape Town showing the location of Bo-Kaap, Woodstock, and Salt River. Many places in this map are undergoing property development and urban revitalization instigated by the City of Cape Town together with private property developers (Picture By: Jayne Garside).

People that lived in District Six were coloured people but when the Group Areas Act was implemented, the area became a white-only area, and homes that belonged to coloured, Cape Malay, and Indian people were destroyed by the government (Jethro, 2009, p. 25). In District Six, Woodstock, Salt River, and other parts of Cape Town, the Group Areas Act ensured that white political power was transformed into economic power. Furthermore, the apartheid government institutionalized evictions hence black and coloured people resided in townships that were distant from the inner-city.

In District Six, coloured families were forcefully evicted by the apartheid government and these evictions were justified under the perspective that spatial segregation was important for the development of the urban economy. These land acts were implemented to prevent and reduce the number of non-whites relocating to urban spaces due to industrialization and it was also used to respond to residential issues created by the socio-economic and political changes in the country and the creation of residential zones alongside racial lines was pivotal. According to Satgar (2019), segregation remains exceptionally high in post-apartheid South Africa and the government failed to ensure racial integration in residential areas that were occupied by Europeans which have become highly racialized in post-apartheid South Africa. The demolition of people's homes signified racial and spatial segregation perpetrated by the apartheid government using the Group Areas Act. In District Six, Woodstock, Salt River, and other parts of Cape Town, the Group Areas Act ensured that white political power was transformed into white materialistic power. Due to spatial segregation, coloured, Indians, and black people were distanced from the inner city and the apartheid government ensured that it spatially demarcated the inner-city for the proliferation of the elite's economic desires.

Conclusion

The existence of informal settlements in Cape Town indicates that low-income families continue to live in disadvantaged communities. The existence of informal settlements in democratic South Africa is an illustration that the apartheid project of spatial segregation continues to affect people that are living in urban areas. Spatial segregation in Cape Town has been a historical legacy of apartheid spatial planning that distanced non-whites from residing in the inner-city, leading to the establishment of informal settlements in Cape Town. The following chapter will provide data that has been collected for this study and some of the data indicated that spatial segregation is occurring in the inner-city of Cape Town due to spatial developments.



Chapter 5: Findings

This chapter presents the data was collected and it is thematically structured, and the first theme is the local government's approach to spatial development and this theme discusses the COCT's spatial development policies that permit the construction of new buildings in Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap. Financing spatial developments in Cape Town is the second theme that is discussed in this chapter. This theme presents financial approaches the COCT, and property developers use to ensure spatial developments occur in the inner-city. The third theme is mixed-use developments in the inner-City of Cape Town and it provides data that indicates that the construction of buildings that accommodate a variety of commercial services causes gentrification in the city.

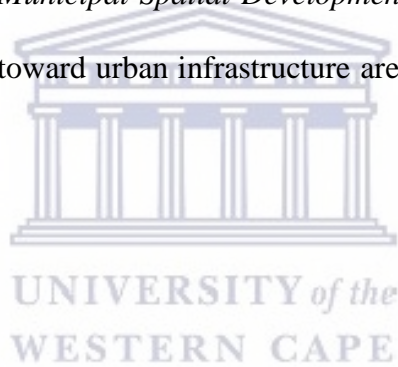
Constructing social houses for low-income families is the fourth theme that presents data that indicates that the COCT subsidizes the construction of low-income houses for the urban poor. The fifth theme is forced evictions, displacement of families due to spatial developments in Salt River, Woodstock and Bo-Kaap is the fourth finding that explains that low-income families are forcefully evicted from their homes due to property developments that are occurring in their residential spaces. The last theme is civil society movements resisting spatial developments and this theme discusses data that suggests that spatial developments in the inner-city are contested by civil society organizations because low-income families are displaced from the inner-city due to urban renewal projects.

Financing Spatial Developments in Cape Town

According to the *Inclusive Economic Growth Strategy (IEGS)*, establishing partnerships with the private sector enables the COCT to acquire funds from investors that can be used to develop the city's spatial environment. These partnerships are essential because property investments enable local government to build new infrastructure, and this helps create jobs for the local populace. Private-public partnerships are integral for spatial development in Cape Town to the extent that local government enables developers to detect spatial developments that are transpiring in the city (Olver, 2019, p. 131). Moreover, the *City Private-Sector Growth Partnership Project (CPSGPS)*, is one of the projects established by local government to there is capital to fund spatial developments.

Securing capital through private-public partnership propelled the COCT to implement the *Investment Incentive Policy (IIP)* which aims to assist in the targeting of desirable investment in particular spatial locations that require intervention and contribute to improving urban. This policy is important because it also seeks to ensure that it secures investment opportunities for the city's spatial developments that will be used to provide profitable financial incentives for existing and newly established businesses in the city. Government is less likely to oppose the developmental frameworks of property developers because they invest large sums of capital in core properties that attract investments to the city. Supporting private-led spatial development conditions the COCT to approve property developments proposals that are submitted by developers (Olver, 2019, p.157). For example, massive buildings are built in Salt River because "developers come with long term investment in mind in the inner-city and they realized that Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap are well located in the inner-city and they have a good heritage and what they did is they set up what we define as exclusionary development which causes gentrification due to flow of capital into these neighbourhoods" (Participant B, 2020).

This participant also mentioned that developments are occurring because “state officials acquire private capital from developers hence they support privately-led spatial developments that are occurring in the city”. They also mentioned that developers receive vacant land and property from the COCT because they fund the DA’s election campaigns and this illustrated that state officials implement business-orientated policies that are steered by private developers, and this enables private developers to influence local government’s spatial development agenda. According to Participant B (2020), the “City of Cape Town has set aside R3 million for the planning of Salt River, which includes the improvement of residences and the establishment of commercial business in Salt River and there has been an establishment of new partnerships between the City of Cape Town and developers”. The *Municipal Spatial Development Framework (MSDF)* mentions that property investments directed toward urban infrastructure are used to improve the



physical condition of the city's infrastructure and the COCT uses these buildings to offer goods and services to the public. According to the Cape Town *Spatial Development Framework Statutory Report (SDFSR)*, investments will be directed towards areas that are suitable for urban development and in areas where the impacts of the development need to be managed. Securing private investment for spatial development will assist the COCT in ensuring that the city becomes investor-friendly, business-friendly, and a popular tourist destination hence property investments are important as described in the *IDP*. An example of a partnership between the COCT and property developers is the "establishment of the Woodstock improvement district, whereby all business owners including City of Cape Town meet and discuss issues affecting their businesses in the area" (Participant B, 2020). These partnerships enable developers to use their alliances with the state to accumulate private capital through spatial developments.

Local Government's Approach to Spatial Development

According to the *City's Economic Development Strategy (CEDS)*, the COCT stipulates that local government would adopt spatial upgrading initiatives to ensure that the city's property is developed in a manner that is suitable for commercial activities through urban designs that are deemed to be appropriate. This document is important because it encouraged the COCT to develop the *Integrated Development Plan (IDP) 2017-2022* which maps out local government's spatial development objectives. According to the *IDP 201-2022*, the COCT wants to ensure that it uses the city's property, buildings, and land to construct new buildings for business activities and to establish new residential communities. The COCT also developed the *Spatial Development Framework (SDF)*, a document that ensured that the COCT's spatial development objectives that are mentioned in the *IDP* are achieved. The *SDF* is important because it is a framework that guides local government's spatial development, and it details the COCT's spatial structuring programs, providing insight on spatial programs to be enacted and adopted by local government to

achieve its spatial development objectives. One of the programs adopted by the COCT using the *SDF* includes the *Mayoral UrbanRenewal Programme (MURP)*. This program aims to ensure that public infrastructure in the inner-city does not decay, it compels the COCT to ensure that it refurbishes infrastructure in the inner-city and it also promotes private sector-led investments in commercial and residential developments occurring in the city. The *Municipal Planning By-Law (MPL)*, which was implemented in 2015 and it indicated that “property developments occurring in Cape Town are administered by the COCT using the framework provided by land use management that seeks to ensure that land within the geographic area of the City must be zoned for development”.



According to the *City of Cape Town's Development Management Information Guidelines Series: Land Use Management (COCTDMIGSLM)*. This document stipulates that the COCT must use the land to foster property developments that will ensure the city's economy grows and this can only be achieved through regulating and managing the use of land in the city and through building new infrastructure for commercial and residential purposes. The COCT implements land management objectives using a system called zoning that sets aside land for development purposes. According to Participant B (2020), who works for one of the civil society movements addressing the negative consequences of the COCT spatial developments occurring in the inner-city, zoning occurs because "the City of Cape Town has given all these rights away and value away and they give these rights for free which enables developers to create an incredible amount of land value through zoning schemes in particular through planning scheme." In this participant's opinion, spatial developments that are occurring in the inner-city are initiated by the COCT.

Mixed-Use Developments in the Inner-City of Cape Town

COCTDMIGSLM indicates that COCT general business and industrial zonings are designed to promote economic development in business districts, development corridors, and include a wide range of land uses such as business, residential, and community uses, although industrial development is restricted. According to the *City of Cape Town's Zoning Scheme Regulations: A Component of the Policy-Driven Land Use Management System (COCTZSR)*. Business zonings enable mixed-use developments that cater for the establishment of industrial, business, and residential areas to be constructed in the inner-city. Furthermore, Participant B (2020) mentioned that "mixed-use developments are occurring in the city and old factories are closing down and left for redevelopment, the establishment of businesses and these developments are driven through planning schemes and the COCT is pushing developments because there is a decline in national grants that are coming into the city".

According to Participant D (2020), “gentrification occurs in Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap because the COCT allows property developers to construct mixed-use buildings, and this is done through privatizing land and through the provision of private property rights to property developers which results in development projects that cause gentrification in the inner-city”. In a document titled *Design and Management Guidelines for a Safer City (DMGSC)*, the COCT mentions that mixed-use buildings are preferred by developers because they cater for three or more significant revenue-producing uses such as retail, entertainment, office, residential, hotel. According to Participant B’s (2020), these developments are occurring because “each area has a local development plan, and they prescribe rights for the urban dwellers and the COCT give developer’s property rights and they do not need to acquire additional rights because the COCT has given them all the rights.” This participant also mentioned that “we as a civil society movement intervene and drive the city to use vacant land to initiate social housing projects in the city and there are 11 social housing sites in the city because we suggested that the city’s social houses because Bo-Kaap is gone and they have 12 big monster buildings” (Participant B, 2020).

Constructing Social Houses for Low-Income Families

According to the IDP, the construction of social houses for urban citizens is part of the COCT’s spatial development objectives and the construction of low-cost houses is rooted in the idea that building integrated communities would address apartheid’s spatial planning legacy that still exists in COCT. The *IDP* also mentions that the construction of social houses in the city is important for the COCT because it wants to ensure that there is a greater mix of income groups, land uses, population density, and adequate and equitable provision of social facilities, recreational spaces, and public institutions in newly established residential areas. According to Participant B (2020), “property developers deliver rental housing for working-class over a long period and some of the

families that will be living in these houses have been living in the inner-city for decades hence we regard this as a big social development”. They are only rental which means you can never own these units and they are families that earn between R1, 500 and R15, 000 per month. Participant B (2020) also mentioned that “the state said we want social housing but then it needs to fit in the bigger urban fabric hence the state is doing mixed social housing with commercial and residential hence social houses are built by big property development companies”. The *Five-Year Integrated Development Plan – Executive Summary* mentioned that the COCT has placed great emphasis on providing low-cost houses, commonly referred to as social houses, and the state has initiated housing developments that are occurring in various parts of the city.



Figure 2: Social housing projects that have been launched in Mitchells Plain Cape Town (Picture by Joy Abrahams).

This figure shows a social housing project that was initiated by the COCT in Mitchells Plain. The construction of social houses will also enable people that are homeless and those that cannot acquire bonds to purchase a low-cost house from the COCT. Subsequently, local government

subsidizes social houses because it must ensure that citizens have shelter and social houses improve the standard of living of people who cannot afford houses in the private housing market.

Forced Evictions: Displacement of families due to Spatial Developments in Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap.

People are forcefully evicted from Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap due to property developments that are occurring in their residential areas. In an interview, a member of a family evicted due to property developments that are occurring in the inner-city said “families have been evicted from St James Street when they could not afford the high rents and in the same year, immigrant families were left on the streets on Victoria Road”. In another eviction case, a reporter published an article that claimed seven families that were comprised of elderly people and young children were forcefully evicted from their homes and the COCT was aware of these evictions but decided not to protect families from being evicted. These evictions caused residents of Salt River and Woodstock to organize a campaign called “We Are Not Going Anywhere”. The purpose of this campaign was to create a platform for residents to discuss forced evictions that were occurring in their communities. In an interview with a local news reporter X, a resident of Salt River mentioned that she will not vacate from Salt River because her family has been living in this community for decades. A local journalist reported that people are forcefully evicted from their homes because developers are encouraged to buy properties in Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap by the COCT hence forced evictions are occurring in these communities.

However, some of the forced evictees decided to occupy a former hospital in Woodstock which they called Cissie Gool House. One of the leaders of the Cissie Gool House who was evicted from her house which is now an Airbnb property said that “in Woodstock, families were often able to rent in the same home for many years, which allowed traditions to form between our generations and our inheritance was our place in the community and this place is what we received from our parents and grandparents”. Furthermore, a researcher from one of the organizations that are anti-spatial developments that are occurring in the inner-city mentioned that, “developers are doing what they want in the city, completely ungoverned and city officials are not being accountable to national planning frameworks”. Some families have lost their homes in Woodstock, Salt River and Bo-Kaap due to the establishment of businesses in their communities and one of the residents said, “developers are doing what they want in the city, completely ungoverned and city officials are not being accountable to national planning frameworks”.

According to a resident who was forcefully evicted from Salt River, “there are several strategies that are used to perpetuate gentrification and the first is the *CCDS* which involves getting investors to develop the cities property”. The second approach that is used to instigate gentrification in the city is the according to this resident is the “Problem Buildings Bylaw which enables the city to forcefully evict tenants from buildings that the city renders uninhabitable, and these residents also mentioned that gentrification causes people to relocate to newly formed townships such as Blikkiesdorp”. Urban renewal projects that are directed by property developers have a negative impact on families living in gentrified communities because X who was interviewed for this study mentioned that “her two young nephews, a seven-year-old and 19-month-old, she was taking care of, were suffering because they had to sleep outside and even though it's hard to live like this, it's OK for us adults who can understand what's going on, but it's traumatising for the children”.

The claim made by X is supported by another resident from Woodstock who mentioned that “we are no longer comfortable in our roads because we have to constantly be fighting the next big development willing to destroy our sacred places”. These utterances indicate that residents are frustrated by property renovations that are occurring in spaces they occupied for decades and a resident that received an eviction notice said, “if I can’t find a place, I’m going to live under the bridge,” she said, referring to the bridge beside their row of apartments” and there are hundreds of other residents who are in this predicament. Some people were subjected to live in Blikkiesdorp and a former resident of Woodstock who relocated to this informal settlement mentioned that “it’s like an ‘apartheid dumping ground and it is a concentration camp” and this perspective demonstrates that some people think that the COCT is using the apartheid spatial planning model that segregates the inner-city.

In an interview, with a researcher from Ndifuna Ukwazi, X said “we don’t want people pushed out of their communities because of money, developers are constantly taking over our communities because they want to make money”. According to an interview that was conducted by DAG, one of their interviewees mentioned that “we can’t afford to live here anymore and we’re going to end up evicted soon because we can’t keep up with the rent money because gentrification is displacing our people, people are being pushed to live in relocation camps, but that is not our heritage because Woodstock is our heritage and we have every right to be here today”. The frustrations echoed by residents of communities that are undergoing property developments indicate that they are also concerned with protecting their neighbourhoods from developers who are not interested in protecting their heritage because if they were concerned with preserving the heritage of Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap, they would not be gentrifying these communities.

Opposing gentrification by residents is also driven by the need to protect the historical relevance of inner-city residential communities because if new buildings are constructed, communities lose their sense of identity, culture, and social milieu. Moreover, residents are not in support of infrastructure refurbishments that are occurring in their communities because their homes are gentrified by private developers who are solely interested in generating capital and eliminating residents who are prohibiting them from achieving their financial ends. Investments that are directed towards improving the infrastructure of inner-city communities are the primary causes behind forced evictions that are occurring in these areas. People are losing their homes daily and developers are generating capital despite families being forcefully evicted from spaces they occupied for decades. Local community members are defying commercial urban developments that are occurring in their communities and some of these argue that property developments are rationalized as property renewal initiatives. However, these developments are driven by private property developers because they want to generate capital through increasing property rates and rent. There are residents who cannot afford to pay these rates and they are forcefully evicted by developers, and they have appealed to the COCT to prevent developers from gentrifying their communities because they are negatively affected by these developments.

Civil Society Movements Resisting Spatial Developments

Civil society movements such as Reclaim the City, Development Action Group, and Ndifuna Ukwazi pressure the COCT to use public land to construct social houses for low-income residents living in the city. According to Participant B, “these organizations want to ensure that spatial developments in the city transpire in a manner that does not have negative consequences on inner-city residents”. Their ultimate objective is to protect and preserve inner-city neighbourhoods that are being gentrified by property developers for commercial purposes.

These organizations want to ensure that low-income residents that are displaced due to spatial developments receive social houses from the COCT. According to Participant A (2020), “there are businesses that are built on property that belonged to low-income families and some people became homeless due to gentrification and forced evictions”. This has resulted in the occupation of certain buildings and land in the city because they cannot afford a decent house and other residents were forced to relocate to informal settlements such as Blikkiesdorp. A study conducted by DAG indicated that there are companies in Woodstock, Salt River, and Bo-Kaap that have been established on property that belonged to low-income families who were forcefully evicted for the companies to be constructed.

The construction of businesses on property that belonged to low-income families caused civil society movements to challenge the COCT for approving developments that are gentrifying inner-city communities. DAG claims that the COCT and property developers do not provide forced evictees with decent homes after they have displaced them from areas they want to develop. According to DAG, people who cannot afford to pay off their municipal debts are often forced to sell their homes to private property developers or to people who want to live in Salt River, Woodstock, or in Bo-Kaap. For Reclaim the City, commercial enterprises have been built in areas that have been demarcated for the construction of social houses and property developers do this because they influence the decisions made by the COCT because they invest capital in the DA and in their state officials and they condition local government to implement social housing. Participant C (2020) argued that “political representatives of the DA approve property developments in the city hence Reclaim the City, Development Action and Ndifuna Ukwazi are constantly challenging the COCT for approving development in the city”.

An interesting and common objective of these organizations is their dedication in ensuring that Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap are not converted into massive business spaces that privileges high-income residents. These organizations are determined in ensuring that forced evictions do not transpire and they influence the COCT to provide forced evictees with social houses. According to Participant B, (2020) the COCT takes state-owned land and gives it to the developers, communities become gentrified, and people lose their homes hence civil society organizations argue that and the state is implicit in these developments.

These organizations are important because they support people that live in the inner-city who have been forcefully evicted from their homes and they constantly pressurize local government to implement policies and initiatives that will lead to the construction of social houses in the city. For example, “DAG has a project steering committee that works with the City of Cape Town and other organizations to drive a different form of regeneration and we work a lot with Reclaim the City, a civil society organization that has emerged as support for forced evictees and rough sleepers, people that have been forced to live under the Salt River Bridge and having been made to occupy state-owned buildings and the Old Woodstock Hospital” (Participant B, 2020). According to Reclaim the City, in response to these evictions they have established an advice assembly at the old Woodstock hospital, and here, forced evictees receive legal advice and moral support as they oppose being forcefully removed from their homes by developers and the COCT. Reclaim the City and Ndifuna Ukwazi support the forced evictees by providing them with legal support and open court cases against the COCT. Moreover, these civil society organizations assist people in organizing protest campaigns against forced evictions and the sale of public land occurring in the inner-city that is permitted by the COCT. These campaigns are justifiable because “there are people that have been forcefully evicted by the COCT that have stayed here for decades

and gentrification is occurring in Salt River, Woodstock and Bo-Kaap due to the purchase of houses and land in these residential areas and the COCT sells property located in these areas to private property developers” (Participant B, 2020).



Figure 3: Residents from Woodstock River opposing forced evictions in the inner-city of Cape Town by protesting outside the Western High Court (Picture taken by Ashraf Hendricks).

Conclusion

The COCT has long-term development frameworks for the city and these frameworks are aimed at improving the cities physical landscape hence there are spatial developments that are occurring in the city. Gentrification is occurring in the inner-city of Cape Town because the COCT allows property developers to construct buildings that are needed for the establishment of businesses in the city. Building new infrastructure in the city is a positive factor for the COCT because developments attract investors who want to invest in the city’s property market. The COCT needs to ensure that it has effective and practical measures that enhance the spatial realm of the city hence there are construction sites in many parts of the city. The following chapter will be analysing data that has been presented in this chapter to provide a comprehensive interpretation of the findings.

Chapter 6: Data Analysis

This chapter provides an analysis of the data, and it is structured thematically, and the first theme discusses the COCT as an entity that is used to generate capital by property developers. Secondly, this chapter discusses the revitalization of the inner-city through the construction of mixed-use developments and this is the second theme that is discussed in this chapter. The third section of this chapter discusses civil society movements that are opposing spatial developments that are occurring in the inner-city of Cape Town. The final section of this chapter analysis data indicated that the COCT constructs social houses for the urban poor and people that have been forcefully evicted from the inner-city due to property developments.

City of Cape Town: An Instrument used to Generate Private Capital

South African cities adopted the *Central City Improvement District Policy (CCID)* together with inner-city development frameworks that were aimed at attracting the middle class to reside in the inner-city. According to Fleming (2017), this initiative and many other spatial developments frameworks, the COCT and property developers privatized the city's land and buildings, and this enabled property developers to generate capital by using property they have monopolized. Refurbishing the inner-city, renovating and constructing new mixed-use buildings gentrifies Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap because the COCT allows developers to purchase property in these areas. Instigating spatial developments subjects COCT to implement spatial development frameworks that will generate capital for property developers hence it has implemented development projects that have resulted in the construction of multiple buildings for commercial purposes in Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap.

Kotze (2013) argued that gentrification in Cape Town is caused by property developments that are enacted by the COCT because local government provides developers with land and infrastructure so that they can establish their business and generate private capital. The findings in chapter five indicated that political representatives of the DA implement property development frameworks because they acquire capital from developers. By doing this, the political representatives of the DA and COCT ensure that property developments transpiring in inner-city residential areas generate private capital for property developers. Furthermore, the COCT provides developers with development permits that allow them to privately own and build on certain parts of the city.

According to Olver (2019), officials of the COCT are of the view that “property developers should set the pace and make decisions because they are in the best position to make financial assessments and market risks because they are aware of investment systems”. This indicates that argument made by the instrumental state theory that the state is used by the ruling class to accumulate capital is evident in Cape Town because the COCT allows developers to generate capital by zoning certain parts of the city as spaces reserved to be developed so that businesses can be developed in the city.

According to *City of Cape Town’s Zoning Scheme Regulations: A Component of the Policy-Driven Land Use Management System (COCTZSRCPDLMS)*, companies and people that invest in spatial developments in the city influence local government to ensure that they can construct new office spaces and business centres because they fund spatial developments occurring in the city. Developers influence some of the decisions made by the state because the development of vacant land and buildings by developers subjects the COCT to adhere to private entrepreneurial operations which minimize government’s influence in the property market. These developments are problematic because beneficiaries of these developments are private developers, investors, and state officials who have relations with the private property sector monopolizing the city’s property.

In the *City's Economic Development Strategy framework (CEDSF)*, the COCT claims that it wants to ensure that the city's property is developed in a manner that is suitable for commercial activities through urban designs that are deemed to be appropriate. This indicates that the physical landscape of deteriorated buildings in the inner-city is essential for the COCT and private property developers hence there is an increase in the number of property developments transpiring in the inner-city (Middleton, 2018, p. 18). However, property developments cause gentrification in Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap because areas are renovated, and new buildings are constructed by developers in these communities.

The COCT implemented the mayoral urban renewal program that intended to establish commercial businesses that offer diverse services are established in the inner-city because the COCT wants to ensure that the cities infrastructure does not decay. This illustrates that property occupied by low-income families living in the inner-city is converted into businesses because the COCT is used by developers to generate private capital. Furthermore, the COCT needs to ensure that it provides developers with property for the establishment of industrial, retail, and commercial hubs in the inner-city. These developments cause gentrification because inner-city property is demolished and renovated due to "property developments that are occurring in the inner-city, Salt River, Woodstock and Bo-Kaap that are funded by developers who bribe state officials to secure land and buildings in the inner-city" (Olver, 2019, p. 147). This indicates that political representatives of the DA are co-opted and influenced by the ruling class, developers to ensure that they enact spatial development projects that propagate property developments in the city and to ensure that developers generate capital. The extensive monopolization of state-owned property by property developers and the establishment of industrial companies cause forced evictions in the inner-city. For example, low-income residents from Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap are forced to

relocate to other residential areas by the COCT because their homes need to be converted into commercial spaces and property developers acquire these properties to generate private capital. The displacement of low-income families from their homes is a defining aspect of gentrification because property revitalizations exert pressure on low-income families to relocate to other locations in the inner-city. Residents that cannot afford to pay these figures choose to sell their homes to developers and developments condition them to market their homes for commercial businesses that are owned by private investors.

According to Participant A (2020), “families that lived in the premises where new companies are built received eviction notices from the COCT because these people do not have lawyers to assist them to oppose evictions” (Participant A, 2020). The COCT does this because it is propelled by developers to be coercive against inner-city residents so that developers can acquire their homes and build businesses, and this validates the argument made by the instrumental state theory that the state becomes violent against people who prohibit the ruling class from generating capital. This conduct is problematic because the COCT violence against low-income families because it wants to meet the capital demands of property developers at the expense of the livelihoods of the urban poor. Research conducted by DAG, indicated that low-income residents cannot oppose property developments that are gentrifying their communities because the COCT becomes repressive towards people that prohibit developers from generating capital through the initiation of property developments in the inner-city. The ability of private actors to influence the COCT to implement property development frameworks illustrates that indeed the city is used by developers to maximize profit through property development. According to McGuirk (2000), the involvement of the businesses sector in state affairs indicates that property developers shape the nature of developments occurring in the city and this is rooted in their bargaining capacity to deal with the

government through joining growth coalitions with government that results in the development of the city's property. This shows that developers and investors shape the city's urban policy because they are the ruling class, they influence the decisions made by the COCT, and to a certain degree, they shape spatial development policies that are implemented by the COCT. The ability of developers to influence spatial developments that are occurring in the city has resulted in the construction of mixed-use developments. These are buildings that offer space for residential and commercial purposes and the construction of these buildings is often justified through the urban revitalization discourse. The following sections will be discussing how the inner-city of Cape Town is gentrified through the construction of mixed-use developments.

Revitalizing the Inner-City of Cape Town through Mixed-Use Developments

According to Morris (2013), mixed-use developments are constructed because there is a need for buildings that accommodate a variety of economic activities and the construction of new buildings, and the refurbishment of old buildings illustrates the hegemonic nature of property developers and their autonomy over the city's bureaucracy. For example, "the City of Cape Town gentrifies the inner-city by privatizing land and through the provision of private property rights to property developers which results in the development of mixed-use developments which cause gentrification in the inner-city" (Participant B, 2020). This indicates that mixed-used buildings are constructed in the inner-city of Cape Town because private property developers invest an enormous amount of capital in the development of property in the city. They make these investments because they are the ruling cabal, they control some of the spatial developments that are occurring in the city, and they influence the implementation of property development policies. The *COCTDMIGSLM* mentions that mixed-use zonings are essential for inner-city spatial development because land zoning results in the construction of mixed-use developments that cater

to the establishment of industrial, business, and residential areas. According to Participant B (2020), “political representatives of the DA legitimize mixed-use developments to improve the condition of the city’s property hence the City of Cape Town approves mixed-use development proposals that are submitted by developers” (Participant B, 2020). For example, in the *DMGSC* the COCT mentions that it supports the construction of mixed-use developments because this form of development allows the government to secure land and buildings that are used by property developers to accumulate private capital.



According to the *CEDS*, property developers prefer to construct mixed-use buildings in the inner-city because this form of development attracts new investors. Furthermore, mixed-use developments are advanced in the inner-city of Cape Town because the COCT is obligated to ensure that this form of development transpires in the city because it assists developers to re-investment capital in the built environment. These architectural improvements resemble capitalist cultural modernist values, and they illustrate that developers influence the COCT to implement policies that enable them to generate private capital through property developments.

Revitalizing the inner-city through mixed-use developments according to Harvey (1985) contributes towards gentrification of the inner-city residential communities are upgraded for the enhancement of the capital interests of developers. According to Participant C (2020), “political representatives of the DA approve the construction of mixed-use developments because the COCT must implement spatial development frameworks and policies that foster infrastructural developments that allow property developers to renovate deteriorated buildings and construct new infrastructure”. This means that the construction of mixed-use buildings and the refurbishment of old buildings illustrate the hegemonic nature of developers and their autonomy over the city’s bureaucracy.

The ability of developers to exercise power over the COCT validates the argument made by the instrumental state theory that the ruling class influences the state’s bureaucratic processes. This dominance is effective because the COCT together with property developers have adopted an entrepreneurial approach to urban development hence gentrification is occurring in Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap. According to Participant C (2020), “mixed-use developments are causing gentrification in the inner-city of Cape Town because property developers decide which form of development is suitable for the inner-city city”.

The claim made by the participant is supported by Harvey (1985) who argues that capital restructuring rearranges cities because the shift of capital from the primary circuit of production to the secondary circuit of the built environment is part of a larger movement towards financial manipulations rather than productive. Public-private partnerships between the COCT and developers have given birth to spatial development policies and urban renewal projects that are used to accumulate private capital and most of these developments occur in the inner-city. This causes the inflow of capital into the built environment and these investments are used to transform inner-city infrastructure causing gentrification in Woodstock, Salt River, and Bo-Kaap. Government and private property development institutions prefer mixed-use developments because they want to increase the construction of offices spaces and residential areas in the city. Participant D (2020) claims that “the construction of mixed-use developments in the inner-city is an indication that property developers influence political representatives of the DA to approve such construction”. The utterance made by this participant indicates that the COCT contributes towards gentrification because it provides developers with state-owned property to generate private capital and it has relations with investors, developers and other entities that direct property developments in the city.

Renovating inner-city buildings improves the aesthetics of the inner-city and developers are motivated to invest in the cities infrastructure and these investments are used to build new infrastructure in Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap. However, low-income families that are living in these communities are displaced and are forced to relocate to other residential communities in the city. These evictions influenced civil society to oppose some of the spatial developments that are occurring in the inner-city and the following section will be discussing the way civil society organizations challenge urban renewal projects that are occurring in the city.

Civil Society Movements and the Anti-Gentrification Struggle

The COCT is implementing policies that cause property developments, gentrification, and forced evictions in Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap hence civil society organizations such as DAG, Reclaim the City and Ndifuna Ukwazi are challenging the COCT for implementing frameworks and policies that are gentrifying the inner-city. According to the findings in chapter five, Reclaim the City organizes protest campaigns against forced evictions occurring in inner-city residential areas due to property developments. The progressive and unique aspect of civil society movements in the inner-city of Cape Town is that they are deliberately opposing exclusionary privatization of the city space, property developments, and forced evictions. These organizations are challenging the COCT for being used by developers to generate private capital for developers. According to the findings in chapter five, Ndifuna Ukwazi is of the view that the COCT and property developers forcefully evict people from their homes in Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap, and no one is held accountable for this irregular conduct. This organization, like many other civil society organizations, is of the view that low-income residents should not be exploited and excluded from the inner-city due to urban revitalization.

The actions of civil society movements in the inner-city of Cape Town illustrate that civil society organizations oppose the destruction of people's homes due to the inflow of capital into low-income residences. These evictions caused residents of Salt River and Woodstock to organize a campaign called "We Are Not Going Anywhere" and the purpose of this campaign was to oppose evictions of people from these communities. Moreover, civil society organizations defy the capitalist state organization, the COCT in this context through assisting low-income residents in Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap to protect their neighbourhoods and they encourage them to oppose urban renewal projects transpiring in their communities. As much as these people want to

continue living in their communities, they are forced to relocate to other residential areas in the city due to property developments occurring in their communities. Interestingly, some of the people that have been forcefully evicted from their homes in the inner-city decided to occupy the old Woodstock Hospital which is called Cissie Gool House. A leader of this space who is also a victim of gentrification said, “in Woodstock, families were often able to rent in the same home for many years, which allowed traditions to form between our generations and our inheritance was our place in the community and this place is what we received from our parents and grandparents”. It is such stories that motivate civil society organizations to constantly defy property developments that are occurring in the inner-city. These organizations find it problematic that the COCT uses coercion to intensify the privatization of land and buildings in the inner-city. For example, Ndifuna Ukwazi argued that courts in Cape Town issue eviction notices to families that are residing in houses that are demarcated for property developments.

A researcher from one of the organizations that are opposing gentrification, mentioned that “developers are doing what they want in the city, completely ungoverned and city officials are not being accountable to national planning frameworks”. According to a resident who was forcefully evicted from Salt River, “there are several strategies that are used to perpetuate gentrification and some of these strategies include the Central City Developments Strategy CCDS, Problem Buildings Bylaw and there are many other policies that are implemented by the COCT to legitimize spatial developments and forced evictions”. These policies are problematic because residents cannot occupy the inner-city space freely hence a resident from Woodstock mentioned that “we are no longer comfortable in our roads because we have to constantly be fighting the next big development willing to destroy our sacred places”.

Another resident said that she will live under the bridge should she be forcefully evicted from her home and many other people are homeless due to forced evictions. Research conducted by Reclaim the City indicates that some people displaced from Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap are now residing in Blikkiesdorp, an informal settlement known for its inhumane living conditions. The establishment of this informal settlement is an indication that forced evictions are forcing urban poor residents to reside in the outskirts of the city and that forced evictees are subjected to accommodate themselves in appalling conditions.

During the interview, X mentioned that “we don’t want people pushed out of their communities because of money, developers are constantly taking over our communities because they want to make money”. Another participant who was interviewed said, “we can’t afford to live here anymore and we’re going to end up evicted soon because we can’t keep up with the rent money because gentrification is displacing our people, people are being pushed to live in relocation camps, but that is not our heritage because Woodstock is our heritage, and we have every right to be here today”. However, these utterances are not considered by the COCT because it is mandated to ensure spatial developments occur in the inner-city and this clearly shows that to a certain degree, the bureaucracy of the COCT is influenced by property developers. Proceeding with urban renewal projects in the inner-city despite there being oppositions to forced evictions and problematic spatial developments that are transpiring in the city illustrates that the COCT insists that the privatization of land and buildings in the. The COCT implements flawed urban renewals projects that are used to accumulate capital for developers hence civil society organizations oppose spatial developments that are occurring in the inner-city. Interestingly, civil society organizations pressurized the COCT to allocate land for the construction of social houses for families that have been displaced from Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap.

Constructing Social Houses for the Urban Poor

According to DAG, the construction of social houses in Cape Town is interesting because civil society movements pressurize the COCT to subsidize the construction of social houses for forced evictees and this is important because it enables low-income residents to reside in proper homes. The COCT has placed great emphasis on providing social houses for low-income families who cannot afford to purchase a house on the private property market. These houses are also given to people who struggle to get bonds from financial institutions to purchase decent homes. Furthermore, the shortage of houses in the city has influenced the COCT to ensure that it provides low-cost houses for homeless people and those forcefully evicted from Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap.

The *IDP* mentions that the COCT subsidizes social houses, and it implements housing policies that will enable property developers to provide affordable houses for the urban poor. This indicates that local government responds to the housing needs of low-income citizens because forced evictees and other homeless families cannot afford to purchase property in the commercial property market. The construction of social houses demonstrates that the COCT responds to the basic needs of its citizens. Subsidizing the construction of social housing by the local government presents the COCT as a welfare state, referring to a state that is “responsible for providing all individuals with social welfare services that will improve their individual and collective wellbeing” (Humphrey, 1955, p. 431). This ideological perspective about the state has conditioned the COCT to implement policies that initiate housing developments for the urban poor.

According to the *COCTDMIGSLM*, the COCT claims that it needs to ensure that citizens have a place to stay hence for the COCT to successfully achieve its social housing construction mandate through issuing out tenders to private property developers to assist the state with the construction of social houses. This means that the construction of social houses in Cape Town is mandated by the shortage of houses and the need for local government to ensure that developers generate private capital through property developments. It is private property developers who are responsible for the construction of social houses because they influence the COCT to ensure that they are responsible for the provision of low-cost houses in the city. The findings indicated that property developers secure land and property in the city for the establishment of commercial enterprises hence they are given tenders to build social houses for the urban poor and this validates the claim made by the instrumental state theory that the ruling class uses the state to accumulate capital.

According to Reclaim the City, there are commercial enterprises that have been built on some of the areas that have been demarcated for the construction of social houses and property developers do this because they influence the decisions made by the COCT. For DAG, the allocation of land by government to be used for the construction of social houses is also driven by the constant pressure exerted by developers unto the state to ensure that its capital accumulation process is not deferred by the unavailability of land and buildings in the city. Furthermore, political representatives of the DA advance housing programs that yield greater capital benefits for private property developers because they are given land to initiate housing programs. These developments enable developers to transfer state-owned property, land, and buildings to the private property sector, which subject's government to change property policies so that they enable developers to generate capital.

According to Participant B (2020), “developers inform government which policies it should implement and how it should implement those policies especially if the government wants the private sector to address housing shortages in the city”. This participant also mentioned that “property developers generate wealth through the construction of social houses because people pay monthly rent for houses, they will never own because these houses are built by the private sector”. The utterance of this participant suggests that property developers secure long-term income from the construction of social houses, indicating that they have absolute power over the property development market in the inner-city of COCT. This participant validates the argument that the COCT is an instrument that is used by property developers and investors to generate private capital through spatial developments occurring in the city.

According to Maleas (2018), the establishment of social houses resembles the existence of urban villages formed based on material despair and economic impoverishment because making a modern city involves practices that improve the city’s physical fabric and modern urban planning which segregates the urban populace. There are people who live in low-cost houses subsidized by the COCT but are distant from the inner-city hence one of the participants argued that the “establishment of new residential areas that are situated on the outskirts of the inner-city is part of the City of Cape Town’s urban capitalist spatial segregation and infrastructure development project” (Participant B, 2020). This suggests that the COCT is involved in the usage of social houses to reinforce the urban exclusion of low-income families from the inner-city. The COCT is used by property developers to generate private capital through the construction of social houses and the subsidization of social houses and the COCT is used to institutionalize spatial segregation in the city.

Conclusion

The COCT ensures that it improves the spatial structure of the city, and it does this through implementing spatial development frameworks because it needs to ensure that the city's property is developed. Private property developers acquire land and buildings from the COCT hence the inner-city of Cape Town is characterized by the construction of massive buildings. Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap are residential areas in the inner-city that are being gentrified due to property developments that are occurring in these communities. These areas are developed because property developers have relations with the COCT which they use to influence the COCT to provide them with land and buildings for development purposes. Giving developers property through the implementation of spatial development laws and frameworks causes forced evictions in Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap.

These evictions enable developers to convert homes of low-income families into corporate firms and this shows that developers generate capital through marginalizing low-income families that are living in the inner-city. The establishment of businesses in the inner-city benefits developers because they finance property developments in the city. Their ability to finance and invest in property developments that are occurring in the inner-city is a clear indication that to a certain degree, they have economic and political powers which they use to instigate urban renewal projects that gentrify the inner-city.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This study examined property developments that are occurring in Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap and it provided insight into how gentrification occurs due to these developments. The primary research question posed was why and how is the City of Cape Town gentrifying the inner-city? The research sub-questions posed?

What policies is the City of Cape Town implementing with regards to property development?

Why is the City of Cape Town implementing property development policies?

How are the policies implemented by the City of Cape Town leading to gentrification in Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap?

The first chapter provided the introduction, contextual background, delimitation of the study, objectives, research problem, research question, and sub-questions. Chapter two discussed literature that has been produced regarding spatial developments and the third chapter discussed the theory that was applied to the case study. The fourth chapter discussed the research methods, and the findings were presented in chapter five. Data collected was presented in chapter five and it was analysed in chapter six. This chapter provides the conclusion to the study, and it also gives insight into future research considerations. Gentrification is occurring in the inner-city of Cape Town because the COCT allows property developers to construct buildings that are needed for the establishment of businesses in the city. Allowing the construction of new buildings in the city is a positive factor for the COCT because developments attract investors who want to invest in the city's property market. The construction of new buildings commonly referred to as high-class buildings also contribute towards the attraction of tourists and investors. The COCT needs to ensure that it has effective and practical measures that enhance the spatial realm of the city hence there are construction sites in many parts of the city. However, some of these developments are

motivated by the need to accumulate capital hence these developments are driven by property developers. The COCT ensures that it improves the spatial structure of the city, and it does this through implementing spatial development frameworks that develop the cities land and infrastructure. Areas that are constantly developed in the inner-city are Salt River, Woodstock, and people's homes are developed for the construction of buildings that offer commercial and industrial services. The inner-city of Cape Town is developed through the construction of mixed-use developments and these buildings are important for the COCT and for property developers because they improve the cities property. Furthermore, the construction of mixed-use buildings is also a response to the high number of tourists who are coming to the province and need accommodation that meets their needs.

The COCT has policies and laws that enable property developers to acquire capital from the construction of mixed-use developments that are occurring in the inner-city. These policies are intended to justify the usage of states land and buildings for commercial activities that are established by developers. However, the initiation of urban renewal projects in the inner-city is an important project for the COCT because it needs to ensure that the cities property is redeveloped for the generation of capital for developers. The COCT appears to be having development frameworks that are solely rooted in the improvement of the city's property, but these frameworks are instruments used by developers to accumulate capital. Moreover, the construction of mixed-use developments is problematic because they are built in the inner-city, and low-income families are displaced due to the construction of these buildings. The COCT does not ensure that people living in Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap benefit from infrastructure developments that are occurring in their communities because low-income residents are negatively affected by these developments. The COCT contributes towards the displacement of people from their homes in

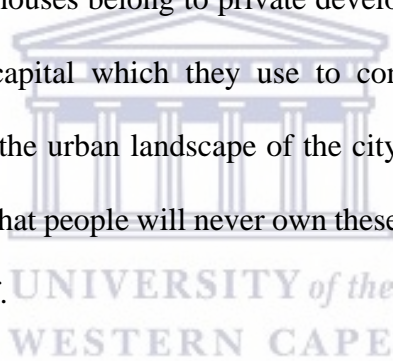
inner-city communities because it needs to ensure that inner-city residential areas are refurbished. This demonstrates that the livelihood of low-income residents living in the inner-city is not a primary concern for the COCT because it permits developers to gentrify and develop their communities although some people are negatively affected by the establishment of businesses in their communities. Furthermore, the COCT and developers displace low-income families from inner-city residential communities because they need to ensure that these communities become investable areas for developers. There are people living in Blikkiesdorp who have been forcefully evicted from Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap. Using coercion against low-income residents for developers to generate private capital indicates that the state uses violence against low-income families who are preventing developers from generating capital through the construction of buildings in their communities.

The conduct of the COCT demonstrates that the coalition between the COCT and property developers has resulted in the implementation of state policies that perpetuate property developments that cause gentrification in Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap. Developers use the COCT to generate capital because they understand that urban revitalization is important for the city's infrastructure hence, they instigate the construction of new buildings in the city. This indicates that the purpose of infrastructure developments in the inner-city of Cape Town is the commodification of land and buildings in the city for commercial purposes. Furthermore, the COCT is an instrument used by developers' capital because it is used by developers to enhance their financial agenda hence, they need to have access to land and buildings in the city. The COCT advances the capital interests of property developers by allowing them to construct buildings in the city and from an ideological perspective, this shows that the COCT is controlled by the ruling class, property developers in this case. This also shows that developers use the COCT to generate

private capital because they have gained economic powers in the city because they own businesses, land, and buildings which they use to accumulate capital. Providing property developers with property to develop and generate capital illustrates that to a certain degree, the COCT succumbs to the authority of developers because these people invest in the city's property. The problematic conduct of the COCT influenced civil society organizations such as DAG, Ndifuna Ukwazi, and Reclaim to oppose some of the developments that are occurring in the inner-city. Civil society organizations are important because they assist community members who have been issued with eviction notices to oppose these evictions.

Ndifuna Ukwazi has lawyers that assist low-income families when they are displaced from their homes it has taken the COCT and property developers to court for enforcing spatial developments that are forcefully removing people. These organisations also prevent the COCT from gentrifying inner-city communities through organizing protest campaigns that oppose forced evictions and developments that are occurring in the inner-city. These organizations are aware that the COCT is used by developers to generate private capital hence these organizations call upon the COCT and developers to withdraw from improving the property of inner-city communities. In some cases, these organizations have been successful in preventing property developments from occurring in low-income neighbours and this illustrates that civil society organizations are important because they prevent developments that are occurring in the inner-city. Without these organizations, many people would have been victims of gentrification, and some would have become homeless because of property developments that are occurring in their communities. These organizations influenced the COCT to construct social houses for forced evictees and there are several social houses that have been constructed in various parts of the city. Through drafting memorandums, protest campaigns, and taking the COCT to court, civil society movements managed to influence the

COCT to reserve some of the lands in the city for the establishment of social houses. Allocating vacant land for the construction of social houses is important because people who have been forcefully evicted from inner-city communities acquired a house. This illustrates that civil society organizations can influence the COCT to give forced evictees and low-income residents houses at an affordable price. However, the construction of social houses allows developers to generate capital because the COCT gives property developers tenders to build social houses and it subsidizes the construction of these houses. Social houses are also constructed for people who are residing in informal settlements and at the same time, they are intended to secure capital growth for developers. People that have been given social houses are required to pay monthly rent to the developer and most of the social houses belong to private development companies. Through rent payments, developers generate capital which they use to construct other social houses and infrastructure needed to improve the urban landscape of the city. However, the biggest problem with some of the social houses is that people will never own these houses because it is a long-term that COCT created on their behalf.



Furthermore, the construction of social houses reinforces spatial segregation in the city because these houses are built on the outskirts of the city for poor low-income families who cannot afford to reside in the inner-city. Despite responding to housing shortages in the city, the construction of social houses on land that is distant from the inner-city reinforces apartheid spatial planning in the cape. The COCT is not concerned with addressing spatial injustices that are emerging due to the construction of social houses because it continues to build houses that are distant from the inner-city. Therefore, gentrification in the inner-city of Cape Town is caused by spatial development policies that are implemented by the COCT. These policies enable developers to generate private capital through the construction of infrastructure in the inner-city.

Considerations for future areas of research

Future areas of research should examine the privatization of the inner-city because the COCT implements spatial development policies that enable property developers to generate capital through ensuring that there is vacant land needed to instigate property revitalizations. Moreover, spatial developments permit the supply of developers, real estate agents, and investors with the infrastructure they need for the construction of mixed-use developments and other infrastructure that enables them to generate capital. Property developers use the inbuilt environment to generate to steer urban renewal programs and the COCT rationalizes property developments as a key factor for the city because it improves deteriorated property in low-income communities. This must be investigated as an extreme form of space privatization because the construction of new infrastructure in the city has resulted in the establishment of coffee shops, restaurants, and other commercial enterprises in the city.

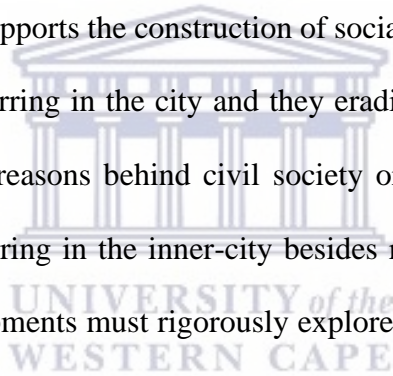
Developers influence some of the decisions that are made by the COCT hence it is important for future research to examine how this influence impacts the COCT. Property developers are aware that privatizing the inner city enables them to have economic and political powers in the city because property ownership grants sovereignty over space hence some of the developers contribute towards the COCT's urban renewal projects. They direct capital into inner-city property developments because the COCT supports private-public partnerships and these investments are important because they finance the COCT's urban renewal projects that are gentrifying Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap. Furthermore, future research must investigate how private ownership of infrastructure in the inner-city could possibly grant developers sovereignty over the COCT. This examination will enable future research to unpack core justifications behind public-private partnerships between COCT and corporate institutions that facilitate spatial developments in the

city. Examining these relations is important because spatial developments are corporate strategies that commodify the inner-city which results in the reinvestment of capital into the spatial landscape. Without any doubt, property developments cause gentrification in Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap due to the implementation of spatial development frameworks that are implemented by the COCT. The reality is that spatial developments of the COCT are intended to ensure that developers accumulate capital through developments occurring in the regeneration of the inner-city. Improving the infrastructure of the inner-city through the establishment of businesses marginalizes low-income residents because they are continuously subjected to relocations to other residential communities and some families become homeless due to these evictions.

Spatial developments negatively affect low-income families that are living in Salt River, Woodstock, and Bo-Kaap because these families are forcefully evicted from their homes due to gentrification. Forced evictions illustrate that to ensure spatial reconfigurations that enable property developers to generate capital in the inner-city, low-income families must be displaced from their homes. These displacements occur because property taxes increase and residents that cannot afford to pay these rates are forced to sell their homes to developers and middle-income families. Inner-city residents would ideally prefer to reside in their communities, but developments force them to market their homes for commercial businesses owned by private investors. The construction of these buildings forces low-income families living in these communities to fear these developments because their neighbourhoods are constantly renovated, and they become victims of forced evictions. In this case, future research must investigate the impact of urban renewal projects on the mental and emotional being of people who are victims of spatial developments that are occurring in their communities. People that have been living in the inner-

city for years find themselves being homeless because of spatial developments and this might have a negative impact on the psychological wellbeing of low-income families, and this is something that must be discussed in future research. Civil society organizations argue that improving the spatial structure of these communities entails demolishing houses and converting existing buildings into businesses, private residential communities that are rented by tenants and these developments maximize private capital for developers.

According to civil society organizations, the COCT approves spatial developments due to developers who lobby for the release of land and buildings for private development purposes. Some of the organizations influenced the COCT to build social houses for people that have been forcefully evicted and the COCT supports the construction of social houses because they contribute towards spatial developments occurring in the city and they eradicate informal settlements. Here, future research must examine the reasons behind civil society organization's interest in defying spatial developments that are occurring in the inner-city besides reasons they provide. Therefore, future studies about spatial developments must rigorously explore the motives behind civil society interests in assisting low-income families to oppose spatial developments.



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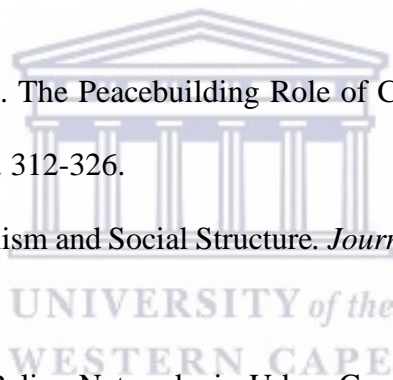
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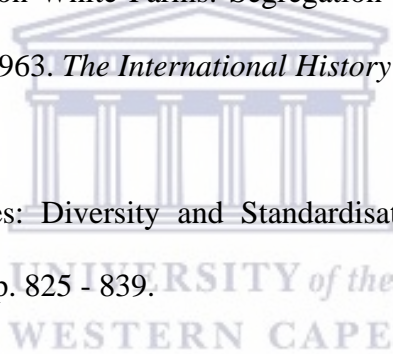
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Appendix

Dear Thuthu. Thank you for maintaining your composure during your Master's journey. There are many painful moments I can share yet I remained humble in thinking and doing. The nightmare has passed. I will sleep peacefully at night knowing that I do not need to submit a research paper. I spent three years working on this research paper. In those three years, I went through the most. I experienced things that still make me weep when I think about them. Today, I am reminded that warriors are acknowledged for their bravery on the battlefield, and I was the warrior that never lost sight of its enemy, the enemy being the thesis in this case. My flesh was scarved by this dissertation.

My wounds are invisible. I experienced it all. As I finalize the unending piece of intellectual material you produced, I hope I applaud myself for sailing with the dissertation even when storms appeared to downgrade your capabilities. I understand that kept my head above the waters. I drank in cups that polluted my state of mind because mine was to convince the system that I can produce a research paper. For the longest period, I convinced myself that I cannot think and write. Working on this paper challenged my ability to be myself. At some point in time, I never thought that I would arrive at the hour that marks the death of this paper. A part of me is happy that I am done with this paper and another part of me wished I could do more because I am certain that this paper contains nothing. Hear me out, I am saying what I have written is not good, but I am reminding myself that it is not what I have intended to write about. Ideally, I would have loved to sit in the Rocky Mountains and in the valleys of my village and paint the world using words. I found myself fielding words in a manner that describes the doings of the world. Yes, I spent much of my time trying to explain the occurrences of the world. My time was directed towards interpreting the escalation of earthly dynamics. It is sad to note that I was not still. It's sad to note that I did not

direct my attention towards my internal kingdom. The literature I read enlightened me about experiments that are occurring on earth. I wish I spent time understanding myself. I wish I was committed to exploring my internal graceful world. There are moments I will forever dignify. There are encounters with myself and with the world that I could have cherished but you did not because your reality was defined by your inability to complete this paper. Sorry, Thuthuzelekani for stagnating your world with this paper. Truth be told, I did not enjoy investing my energy in writing this thesis. Working on this paper was a nightmare hence submitting is a major achievement for me. But now, I am seeing the light at the end of the tunnel.

The agony of striving to meet the expectations of the academy kept me afloat. But it's alright Thuthuzelekani. This paper is departing, and I will no longer wake up to its existence. My days on earth will be meaningful. My nights will be crowned with great sleep. I will finally wake up and meditate. During the day, I will be still, observe humans and be fully present in the moment. After the submission of your thesis, I will consult my ancestors and remind them about the grace they bestowed upon me. God will get a chance to wipe away your tears. Sleeping will be my favorite hobby. It is guaranteed that I will live once again. I am certain that I will sleep like a newborn baby when the evening flows beneath my eyebrows. I have drawn the research paper closer to its end. I have ventured into unknown fields. I am here now, moments away from the finish line. The time has arrived for me to blink without this paper. Pass the bolt. Gravitate towards better ends. Let it go. Move without it. Live without it. Breath without it. Go outside and enjoy the sunshine. I have finally parted ways with your research paper.

Dear friend called thesis. Today marks the final day of us spending time together. You have been the closest friend I have ever the since the dawn of my childhood. Yesterday, as I was taking a shower, I thought of writing you a letter that would express my thoughts and feelings about you. Where do I start, I wondered? How do I even begin conversating with you on the dying hours of your stay in my life? There are many things I would like to tell you about. There are moments that I would like to bring to your attention but I'm not sure if you are willing to listen to me. I am somewhat afraid of letting you in my world because you shadowed me with clouds that were not bearable. As the water plunged my throat, as I mingled my fine body underneath the gift of nature, I tasted bits of my sweet tears as I concluded your existence. Wait, let me breathe consciously because you once made my breath foreign to me. Hear me out. I am not bitter nor am I angry with you. I am not throwing you off the cliff as you have with me. To be honest with you my dear friend, I will be gentle with you.

I will pardon you for my aching voice as I try to deliver you from evil you have located in my world. Today, I am reminded that sometimes I slept weeping because you plowed thorns in my veins. Today, I am reminded that I went to bed with a weary body because you kept me awake for years, months, weeks, and days. I remember when I slept without closing the door. My mind was caught in a bubble that was codified by your unforgiving grace. I've heard before that you are known for driving others to their death bed. Your peers, my dearest friend called thesis visited me and informed me that you are good at tearing people's worlds apart. I relate because you took away a piece of me. Did you deserve my grace? Did you earn your stay in my precious soul? Why were you so brutal towards me? What is it that I did wrong that made me a victim of your conditional love? My fingers died because they shaped you for examination. My left hand strained itself because I devoted its attention towards your satisfaction. Are you worth the blood-stained by my nail that I bit off because you daunted its shape? I am trying to hold back my tears as I am

writing you this will, but I can't. For the longest time, you've made me weak. For the longest of time, you made me resent existence. For the longest of time, you drove me towards the edge. But still, despite you corning me with storms, I found it appropriate to be intimate with you. Despite you being an enemy that I fought with daily, I still babied my inner-child and asked him her to accompany you to your place of completion. We are here now, seconds away from burying you. Maybe you will resurrect and applaud me for thriving under your guidance even if you gave me a bitter pill to swallow. For a second, I am drawn into a day that will forever be present in my mind. Do you want to hear what happened on this day? Are you interested in understanding the corpse I erected because of your hostile form? I doubt you are willing to listen to me because you never gave me a chance to be myself.

Honestly, I hate you. You drained me. You tired me. I am hungry because of me. I am shapeless because of you. I am dead because of you. I am dehydrated because of you. I cannot recognize myself because of your existence in my life. I am not being unkind to you like you have with me but I am simply being genuine with you because you've shown me your true colors. I don't know how many times I've left you aside, thinking that you will give in and not request my attention. There are days whereby I locked the door, but you crept underneath. This made me realize that meeting you can be a lifelong misery. You are unique in a way because you tantalized me with the hope that you were worth my attention. Honestly, I resent knowing you. Should I have known that you are a problematic folk, I would have walked past you and not even stare at you. But guess what, I invited you for breakfast and because you are you, my dearest friend called thesis, you occupied my body until I ate supper. I recall when I refused to dish up for you, you subtly reminded me that my journey into a Ph.D. program in 2022 depended on your approval of my intellect. You sighed after telling me this and I calmly said, get out of here. You refused to leave the house because you knew that I am chained alongside you. But guess what, I am about to

forcefully evict you from my Universe. I will no longer allow you to isolate me from myself as you did before. With the seconds left before you are shaken by the world, I am fine in saying that I can write although you invalidated my texturized art of using words. It is an honour to note that I will swing you away, I just want to tell you that, I will enjoy expressing myself through a canon called poetry which I could not visit because of you. With you thesis, I always found myself needing to be rigid in thinking and in writing hence I am certain that you haven't tasted the organics of my tongue. You will no longer resurrect farewell, my dear friend. I will visit the land of my forefathers on the day I erect a tombstone for your burial. Farewell, my dearest friend called thesis. Before conducting this research, I was not aware that property developments that are occurring in the inner-city are initiated by developers for the generation of private capital. I always thought that property developments are steered by the COCT, but this study has taught that some of the developments that directed by developers.

Existentially, this study has taught me that it is important to understand the flow of life I and I need to pay attention to things and not assume that I understand them by just looking that them. Conducting research regarding property developments that are occurring in the inner-city reminded me about the importance of examining things thoroughly. I have since discovered that I have not been conscious about the world. I was not paying attention to my thoughts, emotions, body, and my daily habits. I think that if I was self- conscious, then I would probably not have registered for a master's program in political studies and write about spatial developments that are occurring in the inner-city of Cape Town. I am certain that I would have dedicated my time and study existentialism and write a paper that questions the existences of life. I would have probably dismissed the existence of life. This takes me to the lessons this study has taught me, and I choose to label these lessons as existential lessons. As I work towards completing this paper, something said to me, write a section that discusses existential lessons you learnt as you concluded this study.

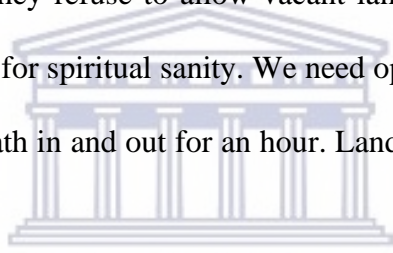
The first lesson I learnt is the importance of paying attention to things. For longest period, I was not aware of my thoughts, words, and actions. I did not observe ways in which I engage with myself and with the outside world. Although I am somewhat angry at myself for not being mindful, I am happy that I have reached this state, a state that allows me to constantly question existence and the meaning of life. Should I have known that I enjoy abstracting existence then I doubt I would pursued a master's degree in political studies. It is guaranteed that I would have devoted my time in writing about human beings because I find comfort in doing so. I do acknowledge that I needed to register in a wrong discipline for me to eventually come into terms with my thinking. Should I have paid attention to my thoughts, I would discovered at a tender age that I think philosophical, and that I enjoy writing philosophical and creative texts, but I never made these discoveries because I failed to simply observe myself, thoughts, words, and actions. Failure to understand myself resulted in researching something that does not excite me whatsoever. However, this taught me that, sometimes, we need to do what is wrong for us to do what is right. Instead of sobering and resenting this paper, I choose to embrace it as a journey that I needed to take to be in touch with my deeper self. Encountering my inner person, came after nights of crying because of this paper.

Truly speaking, I felt the urge of quitting, but I acted like a brave warrior and continued with battle. I decided to continue because giving up was not the better option. During this chaotic period in my life, I realised that I find comfort in observing human beings and writing about them. I remember I went to the inner-city of Cape Town to look at the construction of new buildings in the city. Instead of theorising the construction of new infrastructure in the city, I started writing lessons human beings were teaching me. For example, I saw a lady that walked out of a clothing shop with a teenage boy. I quickly jotted down that human beings are consumers of material things. I also noted that some of us including myself like to purchase

things and I doubt we need some of the things we buy. This reminded me that humans are consumers. We like to purchase and accumulate things and I am sure that the person who is reading this text purchased things they don't need. I doubt we wear all the clothes we have in our closets. I am certain that there are t-shirts and trousers that you haven't worn in a year, but they are still there. Why? Why don't you donate them? This is also something this study has taught me. Developers are portraying a consumption habit. They constantly acquire property from the COCT because they want to generate capital, and this indicates that they are deeply engrained in the consumption habit. Yes, they use the property to generate capital and to improve the city's infrastructure, but the bigger picture of these developments is rooted in their constant need to consume. This takes me to another lesson I learnt as I was documenting spatial developments that are occurring in the inner-city of Cape Town. Human beings cannot leave other human beings as they are. We constantly tempering with people. We wake up, send texts to people and forever talking to people.

We wake up and expect our employees to pitch up for work. Supervisors wake up and send their student's emails reminding them about their next tutorial submission or term test. My mother enjoyed waking me up for breakfast in the morning although I was never fond of her conduct. My older brother would ask me to walk with him when he is going to the shop. The existential problem here is that they never allowed me to be. My mother never allowed me to sleep the whole day without disturbing me. My brother refused to allow to just spend the entire day watching the television. Just like my family members, developers cannot allow nature to be nature. Through constructing massive buildings tempering with God's creation that's if God exists, they illustrate that humans cannot let things be. We always tempering with nature. Developers remove trees just to build a coffee shop. Trees are life. They are needed for oxygen. Trees are pure, they have no sins like us, doers of atrocities. They do not wake up and decide to

kill someone. They do not wake up and decide to bombard students with assignments. They are not like a manager that give their employees too much workload. Trees do not utter words that are harmful towards the second person. No, they do not do things that make people hate being alive. There are people out there who are wounded because of the words we have uttered. There are people out there who probably do not see the beauty of existence because of things that were said and done unto them. This simply shows that we cannot allow ourselves to be. This is a clear indication that we cannot allow nature to be. To be means to be still. To be means to be aligned with nature. To be means to be silent. To be still and not to do. To be means to abstain from doing and property developers cannot do that. Their daily mandate is to build, build and just cluster the city with buildings. They refuse to allow vacant land to breath. Land is needed not just for construction purposes but for spiritual sanity. We need open space for meditation. I enjoy sitting in an empty space and breath in and out for an hour. Land is life. Land produces fruits for us.



Traditional healers acquire traditional medication from land. We are buried on land. But for capitalist property developers, land is just something that can be used to generate capital. Their appreciation of land is solely based on its ability to generate capital for them. They do not see the inherent spiritual value of land because if they did, I think they would not be staunch in appropriating land from the state just to generate capital. They are being unfair towards nature. Imagine if they would treat land like their child and not give anyone a chance to harm land. Imagine if they would revolt and stand against the usage of land for human desires such as the generation of capital. But no, they do not care about the pain they are inflicting on land. No, they do not care that they are being aggressive towards land. Nature will deal with them accordingly. The Universe will punish them for acting in such a manner towards creation. Deep down, I wish I could demolish all the buildings they are constructing because those buildings have no value.

I am saying this because for me, things of this world have no value. I discovered that at the face of death life is meaningless. We live to die, and we do not know what happens after death. Christians claim that there's life after death and I doubt that this is true. These are just wild speculations. After realising that things of this world will eventually perish and I will die, I decided to devalue life hence I am certain that beyond the physical realm of existence, spatial developments have no value. One day, buildings developers have built will decay.

This thesis has no value and if it does have value then, I am aware that I have decided to give it value. Others claim that it has but for me it doesn't. It's just a piece of paper that will I use to acquire a better job, earn a salary, and buy things I want and need. Actually, I am not so different from developers who constantly invest in the construction of new developments. Just like them, I am also doing, wasting my precious energy on something of this world. Just like them, I choose to devote my time and physical strength towards something of this earth. This thesis will gather dust at the Universities library. I doubt I will ever read this paper ever again. I have tried to convince myself that this paper is important to me, but it is not. It will be graded, and I will receive a mark for words I typed on a blank piece of paper. To be honest with you, that does not matter. For me life does not matter and things of this world including this thesis does not matter. Although I do things of this world, they still do not matter. Yes, I am aware that I need to pass this thesis for me to register for a PhD program and that's the only thing that makes this thesis valuable I guess, and this is the. But even the PhD is not important because it's something of this world.

I wish to remind myself when I am experiencing challenges during my PhD journey that such challenges are caused by things of this world. When I experience a writer's block, I hope to remind myself that writing is something of this world, therefore, let me be kind to myself and rest when rest is needed. Where does this come from? This comes after realising that property developments cause forced evictions in Salt River, Woodstock and in Bo-Kaap. This made me realize that things of this world negatively affect people. The construction of new infrastructure in these communities is something of this world and there are people that lose their homes because of something of this world which is property developments. The construction of massive buildings in the city causes conflict between developers, civil society organisations and residents of Salt River, Woodstock and Bo-Kaap. This conflict emerges because residents and civil society organisations do not want these communities to be gentrified by developers. Our actions resemble our thoughts because we do what we think and sometimes our thoughts and actions harm others and this is exactly what's happening in Salt River, Woodstock and Bo-Kaap.

Property developers are doing that they want to do in these communities although their conduct negatively affects low-income families living in these spaces. They are aware that developments are not welcomed in these areas, yet they continue to build new infrastructure in these communities. The COCT gives developers land and property in these communities although its aware that property developments cause forced evictions in the inner-city. This shows that people will always fulfil their needs and wants at the expense of other people's wellbeing. I am guilty of this trait. We tend to place our needs and wants at the forefront of everything. These people have enough capital to afford their basic needs and wants but no, they choose to marginalise low-income families and displace them from their communities because they want to generate capital. They are being unfair towards people that have nothing. Some of the people they are displacing are employed. Some of them are poor yet they are subjected to inhumane

treatment that is perpetuated by developers and the COCT. I am vehemently against property developments because low-income families are suffering because of developers. This tells me that as humans we are never content with what we have hence we make others suffer because of things we want to achieve. So much can be written and said about property developments. We can spend days and years theorising and philosophising urban renewal projects that are occurring in the inner-city of Cape Town hence I think I must end it here. There are many existential lessons I can draw from this study, but I choose to stop and it is important to know when to stop. Sometimes we want to continue doing certain things even when we are supposed to stop. Sometimes we are caught up in the moment to an extent that we forget to stop. Developers are portraying this behaviour. They are building a none-stop. These people are forever constructing new infrastructure in the city.

The COCT is forever giving them property rights in the city, and it does not know when to stop. The COCT does not know when to stop giving low-income residents eviction notices. These people must learn to stop because it's enough. Low-income families cannot suffer because of property developers who don't want to stop gentrifying their communities. Just like developers, I do not know that at some point in time, I will have to stop writing and submit this thesis. On that note, I have decided to stop writing, save this work, and email it to my supervisor. I know that he will read it and stop reading it when he is done reading it. To you who is currently reading this paper, I hope you master the art of knowing when to stop because I do not know when to stop because I said I will stop writing in the previous sentence, yet I am still writing but now I have decided to stop writing.