The 2010 Football World Cup as a catalyst for urban and infrastructural development in Cape Town
big push and urban splintering in Cape Town

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Executive summary

While economists are sceptical on the benefits of hosting world cups and other mega events countries actively vie to be allowed to accommodate the event. In order to gain the support of the population very positive estimations are published and expectations rise sky-high. In 2004 the country of South Africa won the bid to host the 2010 Football World Cup and started to prepare its cities and infrastructure to welcome event and its visitors.

This paper investigates the effects this mega event had on the city of Cape Town in light of the theories of splintering urbanism and the big push model. The concept of splintering urbanism was first launched by Steven Graham and Simon Marvin in 2001 through which they bring attention to the unbundling of infrastructure networks into smaller elements which affects cities and their inhabitants unevenly. In a neo-liberal approach private investors break up the modern infrastructure ideal. Bypasses, unbundling, premium networks and exclusion can all negatively affect part of the population.

The model of big push has its roots in economic development thinking. First introduced in 1943 it argues that countries, regions or people can be trapped in poverty traps. On their own they cannot escape because they can only do little investments which are immediately absorbed. A larger investment may be needed and thus a big push may lift them out of this trap and over the critical threshold. Mega events such as the world cup has the potential to act as a big push.

The city of Cape Town offers a unique setting: a highly segregated city which aims at providing pro-poor development through large-scale projects. Its geography places the poor neighbourhoods – townships – far away from the city centre and create an extra degree of spatial segregation. The township of Langa was selected to act as a case study to investigate what the effects of the infrastructure built for the world cup had on the township and its residents; in general and in relation to splintering urbanism and the big push model.

The government chose to focus most of the world cup in the touristic region consisting of the city centre, V&A Waterfront, Green Point and Sea Point. These areas should support a positive legacy which in turn should attract further investments and tourists, and create spill-over effects that would trickle down to the townships. While tourism is a major employer of the residents of townships this employment is located far away from them and causes the need for residents to spend much time and money of transportation to and from work.

The townships are located on the other side of the city; far away from the city centre, and with few employment opportunities and services. These are the areas that need socio-economic and urban development and rejuvenation the most. By choosing the touristic locations over the townships the city of Cape Town passed the opportunity to make a big impact –push– on the townships. This would have meant a lot of employment, investment in infrastructure and services, and better access to and quality of services.

In order to make basic services available to residents in townships –and thereby countering splintering urbanism– the government has expanded and upgraded networks. It has also set up a progressive tariff system which makes these services more affordable to the poor. However, unofficial residents – people living in shacks and backyard dwellings– do not have the same access as other residents, and do not qualify for the favourable rates offered under the tariff system. This excludes the poorest citizens and actually leads to splintering urbanism despite well-meant policies to counter this.
In some townships urban rejuvenation projects are being explored. Although urban rejuvenation was not explored before and during the world cup, the government has now embraced the first experiments. Contrary to the situation where public space was owned by no one and crime could flourish in this no-man’s land, urban rejuvenation empowers communities. This creates a feeling of being responsible for your own neighbourhood and residents do not let their own space become run-down by crime, vandalism or lack of maintenance. At the same time, these upgraded public spaces give room to local entrepreneurs who can economically benefit from this.

What is needed most are more permanent employment opportunities in or close to the townships. The world cup generally failed to provide long-term employment as most employment was only temporary. The creation of permanent employment opportunities close to townships will help to tackle issues with unemployment, low income and high transportation costs, and can lift residents out of the poverty trap they are in. It is doubtful that private investors will create this on their own. Therefore it requires ambitious policy decisions as well as significant long-term –public–investments: a big push.

The city of Cape Town for various reasons has not made use of the full potential of the world cup when it comes to urban transformation and rejuvenation, economic development, social sustainability and poverty alleviation. Its stance regarding the world cup has been mostly in line with a liberalist approach to the matter in their assumption that a strong legacy will attract investment and tourism which will then trickle down to other sectors and to the poor. This trickle down effect has so far been too little. Big pushes may be needed to lift people in townships out of poverty traps.

When the government did take pro-poor action it did so in a very paternalistic and top-down approach. The N2 Gateway project is a good example of this. It is recommended that government policy will focus more on social sustainable goals to improve the lives of residents in and the livelihood of townships. To translate this into actions a more inclusive approach is required. This way the needs and wishes of the residents will be fully taken into account.
Introduction

This report will give insight in the effects infrastructure constructed for the 2010 Football World Cup had on the city of Cape Town. In 2010 the country of South Africa was the first African country to host the Football World Cup. This created many expectations throughout the country and continent. Also concerns were raised over whether the country would be able to upgrade its sport facilities and infrastructure fast enough. Possible economic spill-over effects of upgrading their urban infrastructure were pointed out as a major benefit of hosting the world cup (Bond and Cottle, 2011).

In 2010 the city of Cape Town, South Africa, hosted a number of football matches for the World Cup. To accommodate the teams and spectators current transport, power and telecommunication infrastructure, hotels and facilities had to be upgraded or had to be newly built. This brought along with it considerable cost, time and effort while on the other hand offered event revenues and the possibility to use the event as a catalyst for urban and infrastructural change in the form of new infrastructure and facilities for future use (Essex and Chalkley, 2007). This paper investigates the challenges, opportunities and effects that the infrastructural changes brought Cape Town and its inhabitants based on literature, interviews and personal experiences.

Urban challenges and infrastructure

Cape Town nowadays faces many challenges of which most are directly or indirectly related to infrastructure and segregation. While during the apartheid regime the population was divided among ethnic lines, today the divide is along economic lines. Yet, those are almost the same: on the one end the white population lives near the city centre, is well educated and has high levels of employment while on the other end the black population lives on the outskirts of the city, has often received lower levels of education and has therefore trouble finding decent long-term jobs and escaping deplorable living conditions (Marx, et al., 2013).

In recent decades the population of Cape Town has grown due to migration. Most migrants come from poorer rural areas of western South Africa or from other African countries and often settle in informal settlements in the townships at the periphery of the city. This puts increased pressure on these areas as they are already overpopulated and lack adequate sanitation, electrification, transportation, employment and safety. As a result the city is characterised by strong economic and social inequality (Marx, et al., 2013).

A major contributor to sustainable economic growth and livelihood is sustainable urban infrastructure (Marx, et al., 2013; Maile, 2013). It enables necessary goods and services to be provided. For the livelihood of the entire city it is important these are available throughout the city while for economic activity these have to be offered for the most optimal goal at the most optimal location. Urban infrastructure includes transportation networks such as roads, railway systems and ports, energy networks such as electricity grids, sanitation and water, telecommunication and information networks. Lacking this infrastructure can seriously hinder the livelihood and economic changes of regions. However, there are high costs associated with the construction of these networks and therefore poorer regions are often less served compared to richer regions as they can offset the costs of construction. For poor regions this can turn into a vicious cycle when a lack of infrastructure hinders the economic development and keeps the region poor which in turn makes policy makers and investors shun away from constructing necessary infrastructure. Several authors such as Rosenstein-Rodan (1943) and Sachs (2006) have argued that these regions are caught in a so-called poverty trap and need a substantial boost to escape this trap in order to achieve long-term sustainable economic growth. These
poverty traps are strong in Cape Town’s townships (Marx, et al., 2013). Hosting a mega event such as a football world cup may be the catalyst to cause a substantial boost. This growth model is called the Big Push model and is further explained in the next chapter.

At the same time, Cape Town has to be weary of increased inequality due to selective private investment in infrastructure. The development of new infrastructure all sounds very positive but there is a risk that existing infrastructure networks will suffer when private networks are built (Graham and Marvin, 2001). For example, some existing networks rely on the current user base to offset costs. If a private premium network takes away part of the user base then the rest of the older –and previously more inclusive network– will suffer. This leaves these other areas at risk of becoming neglected or isolated from the premium network.

In the most developed countries the physical basis of many of the infrastructure networks such as power grids, telecommunication and sanitation was established in the 19th or early 20th century. The ideal was a system which provided standardised essential services to the population of a decent minimum quality at an affordable price with equal access (Coutard, 2008; Graham and Marvin, 2001). Recent developments show that promising parts of these infrastructural networks are becoming privatised with more focus on high performance, cost-efficiency and resource efficiency while other parts are at risk of neglect and isolation. This phenomenon is known as splintering urbanism (Graham and Marvin, 2001). However, most of Cape Town’s infrastructure has its origins in or around the apartheid era when equal access, fair pricing and a decent quality differed between the racially segregated areas of the city. Even nowadays some subordinated parts of urban neighbourhoods still lack access to a decent level of electricity, clean drinking water and sanitation, and other essential infrastructural services.

**Research questions**

This paper will discuss the impact of newly built infrastructure for the 2010 Football World Cup in Cape Town. Two theoretical frameworks will be used as a point of origin through which the infrastructural projects and their impacts will be reviewed. The main research question is:

“How has the infrastructure built in Cape Town for the 2010 Football World Cup been used as a catalyst for urban and infrastructural development?”

The big push model advocates for a coordinated set of investments to lift the economy out of a so-called poverty trap. This has been a popular argument to host the football world cup and other mega events in less developed nations around the world (Burbank, Andranovich, and Heying, 2002; Essex and Chalkley, 2007). In order to answer the main research question the report aims to find answers to the following questions related to the big push model:

“Does the big push model help us understand the role of infrastructure projects conducted for the World Cup 2010 in Cape Town?”

“Have the infrastructure projects conducted for the World Cup 2010 in Cape Town so far resulted in big push effects?”

Splintering urbanism places the various networks of infrastructure –that are often hidden beneath the surface of a city– in a more prominent role of aspects that shape a city and the lives of its inhabitants (Coutard, 2008). For the World Cup 2010 in South Africa many old and new networks of infrastructure was built, demolished or adjusted. These changes and transitions will have affected the
livelihood of neighbourhoods and the lives of people. The following questions will provide insight into the possible splintering effects of the World Cup infrastructure in Cape Town:

“Does the concept of splintering urbanism help us understand the effects of the infrastructure projects conducted for the World Cup 2010 in Cape Town?”

“Have the infrastructure projects conducted for the World Cup 2010 in Cape Town so far resulted in splintering urbanism effects?”

Furthermore, it is important to pinpoint lessons to be learned from the developments that have taken place in Cape Town and offer suggestions for future practices.

**Report structure**

This report aims to give insight into the urban effects on Cape Town of the infrastructure built for the world cup. For this two theories will be introduced in the next chapter. The theory of splintering urbanism gives insight into the process and effects of privatisation of large-scale networks. The infrastructure projects surrounding the world cup will have influenced the environment in which splintering urbanism in Cape Town can take place. Due to Cape Town’s specific history this city promises to be an interesting case study. The second theory is based on the big push model which is an economic theory often used in arguments to host mega events and undertake major projects in less developed countries. These countries may experience a poverty trap and require big investments to escape it to leap over the threshold. Argumentation for and against will be given in chapter one.

The methodology of this research is presented in chapter two. The use of various data gathering methods as well as their pros and cons are explained and discussed. This is followed by an in-depth look into the city of Cape Town, its infrastructural problems and the world cup in chapter three. The main focus will be on segregation, population density in relation to infrastructural demands and choices made regarding the location of the world cup. This will provide a solid background on which the theoretical frameworks of splintering urbanism and big push can be discussed.

In chapter four and five the two main theoretical frameworks will be put into action to analyse the effects of the infrastructure of the world cup in Cape Town. In the fourth chapter concerning splintering urbanism the specific situation of the infrastructure networks of Cape Town will first be discussed in the perspective of splintering urbanism. This leads an investigation into the emergence of townships, the township of Langa and the N2 Gateway project. The fourth chapter finally discusses the practice and recent experiences of urban rejuvenation – successfully used for the 1992 Summer Olympic Games in Barcelona – in the city of Cape Town.

Chapter five places the main focus on the economic model of big push. This chapter is divided into a macro economic and a micro economic part. The macro part revolves around country and city-wide issues such as growth rates, economic sectors and corruption. This then provides a solid background to analyse and discuss the micro economic effects and experiences of the world cup on citizens in townships in light of the big push model. This includes the residents’ expectations, employment effects, local tourism and spill-over effects.

The conclusion of this research will give answer to the research questions based on the previous chapters. Furthermore, it will provide recommendations for the city of Cape Town and future mega event hosts. This is followed by discussion and reflection regarding methodology and process.
1. Theoretical framework

The two main theories that will provide a framework on which part this report is built upon are the big push model and the concept of splintering urbanism. The first theory of splintering urbanism argues that the privatisation of infrastructural networks can have certain negative consequences for the socio-spatial urban environment as networks may become unbundled, quality of services may drop in certain areas and certain groups may become neglected. The second theory discussed is the big push model which advocates for a large coordinated investment in several parts of the economy of which infrastructure is a key element. In this chapter each theory will be shortly introduced, followed by a theoretical clarification and the role of the theory in recent studies. Each theory will finally be put into perspective of the 2010 Football World Cup explaining how this framework is relevant for this paper.

Splintering urbanism

The term splintering urbanism was first launched by Steven Graham and Simon Marvin in 2001 through which they bring attention to the unbundling of infrastructure networks into smaller elements which affects cities and their inhabitants unevenly. Graham and Marvin describe their view on splintering urbanism as “a new and broad framework for exploring the relations between contemporary cities, new technologies and networked infrastructures” (Graham and Marvin, 2001). Urban infrastructural systems have always been part of many disciplines of studies: among others urban planning, engineering, science technology and society, and sociology. They affect human life in many ways, yet are often as a whole overlooked (Graham and Marvin, 2001; Coutard, 2008; Swilling, 2014).

Bypasses

Globally many urban infrastructural systems are undergoing a process of unbundling due to changes in economic policies –mainly neo-liberalism–, in consumer behaviour and in network management, and internationalisation of economies. The transition from integrated networks to more disintegrated networks allow for the establishment of so-called bypasses which lead to favouritism of certain higher valued groups at the expense of others. As a result certain groups benefit from networks of infrastructural systems while others get disadvantaged. Given that societies become more networked this may lead to an added form of poverty: a poverty of connections that limits the disadvantaged in their capacity to exercise their influence over issues concerning them (Coutard, 2008; Graham and Marvin, 2001).

Risks of unbundling

Because infrastructure projects tend to be more long-term and risky than other investment opportunities private investors are reluctant to invest in them as a bundled network, but instead prefer to invest in infrastructure on a project-by-project base which reduces their risks and allows them to pick the most profitable ones. The increased linkages between private capital and infrastructure networks lead to uneven unbundling of infrastructures and network. The unbundling can happen geographically, technologically and organisationally. The private sector is mostly interested in low-risk and high-reward elements of the previously more coherent and integrated infrastructure networks. These elements are unbundled from the rest of the network which leaves this rest of the network being composed of more high-risk and low-profit –or even loss making– elements. The remaining elements in the network are vulnerable to underinvestment and neglect, and thereby leading to an uneven development of urban infrastructure and placing marginalised groups of people at risk. Through regulations governments recently have supported the splintering of networks yet also hope to protect disadvantaged groups from negative effects (Coutard, 2008; Graham and Marvin, 2001; Roy, 2011).
**Premium networks**

In most monopolistic networks there are groups of users who paid rates above their costs and thereby subsidised the system including other areas and users who would pay rates below their costs. By splintering of the network enclaves with above-cost rate users can evolve into premium network targets through the offering of more variety, more choice, lower costs, better connectivity with other enclaves and improved services. At the same time the previously subsidised area face higher costs or a decrease in services (Coutard, 2008; Graham and Marvin, 2001).

With a push to more internationally linked enclaves more importance is put on inter-urban connectivity and less on former dominant intra-urban and intra-regional connections. This creates more interaction between highly valued spaces of various urban environments. The emphasis will be more on technologies that support this inter-urban form of connectivity at the expense of technologies that made intra-urbanism possible. These high-value areas within urban environments may seem enclaves within their geographical region; however, they are often well connected with similar high-valued areas on a global scale. These premium networks are often internationally integrated while being unbundled on a local level (Coutard, 2008; Graham and Marvin, 2001).

**Exclusion**

The role of the welfare state as a provider of services evenly through extensive homogeneous infrastructure networks reaching all of its citizens is globally losing more and more ground as networks are being unbundled. Due to neo-liberal privatisation and unbundling these networks become more market-based and consumer-oriented while losing its social role of including all groups of society. This is a shift from a monopolistic inclusive and even network to a more consumer-oriented system. For some the new situation offers more choice as premium parts of the city benefit from the increased variety and services provided, but for other groups the choices are limited due to their geographical, spatial, social, education or economical disadvantaged situation and they may even be excluded from network access (Graham and Marvin, 2001).

While more wealthy areas of the city will see existing networks being upgraded and bypasses being created, the less lucrative parts of a city will keep the existing monopolistic network. Combining that the government has diverted attention from providing extensive and collective infrastructure networks to only providing the bare necessities, and the likelihood that the former network may erode due to the loss of the most promising elements of its network, these poorer parts of a city may have to rely on the state to supply just a basic level of public services as they are too poor or otherwise not interesting enough for private investors to improve networks or set up risky new networks. There is a risk that the poor will lose access to certain services while they benefited the most from the inclusiveness of the previous monopolistic networks (Graham and Marvin, 2001). Susan Leigh-Star (1999) once said: “One person’s infrastructure is another person’s difficulty”.

If splintering urbanism is left unchecked there is a possible risk that a vicious cycle of infrastructural unbundling and socio-technical secession may lead to further secessions. While the emergence of premium network enclaves seems like a great opportunity for the rest of the city to catch up through spill-over effects, when left unchecked the reverse may occur: poorer and less connected parts of a city are at risk of being cut off from the rest of the city and turning into underprotected, high-risk and disordered ghettos while premium network enclaves become overprotected and ordered fortresses (Graham and Marvin, 2001; Roy, 2011).
Reception
The theory of splintering urbanism has in general had a positive reception. Hillier (2003) sums it up as: “Splintering Urbanism is a tour de force.” and Swyngedouw (2003) welcomes the work with the remark: “Critical studies of networked infrastructures became an almost extinct species... Stephen Graham’s and Simon Marvin's Splintering urbanism is a long overdue correction to this strange silencing of infrastructure studies on the part of critical analysts.” The strength of the theory is in its comprehensiveness, rich and wide range of examples, critical vantage point and the historical geographies of technological systems in an ever changing socio-cultural and economic-political environment (Hillier, 2003; Swyngedouw, 2003; Burgers, 2002).

More critical notes come from Coutard (2008) and Jaglin (2008). Coutard argues that broadly speaking empirical validation is lacking. The theory misses an historical analysis which places doubt to the validity of the conclusions on the integrated ideal versus the current processes. The interpretation of the reasons for the existence of the infrastructure related to the modern infrastructural ideal merely in certain contexts is limited. This results in a lack of definition between this and the developments in the present period of time, and puts questions on the historical model which is mostly confined to high-income countries in western Europe and North America. The theory is based on the thought that neo-liberalism strongly influences the network systems while the urban environment has low influence which is questioned by case studies. Also validation lack on the assumption that unbundled networks and splintering urbanism go hand in hand. However, Coutard does acknowledge the theory as a valuable analytical framework to show the role of and infrastructure perspective in understanding urban dynamics. Therefore, he regards it as an interesting theory and not a proven hypothesis.

Just as Coutard does, Jaglin reasons (2008) that the theory does not always fit reality. While the modern infrastructure ideal in Graham and Marvin’s splintering urbanism opts for a network system which offers services of a standardised minimal quality at fixed costs to all people. However, in the case of Cape Town the approach for the provision of public services of a “one-size for all” is actually leading to splintering urbanism as it excludes the poor from the infrastructure (Jaglin, 2008; Brown-Luthango, 2016), while cross-subsidising –used to finance the provision of services to low-income groups– is pushing higher income groups to privatised suppliers of services that also offer a wider variety of choices (Jaglin, 2008).

Urban splintering in less developed urban environments
While in most cities in the more developed countries modern infrastructure networks were first constructed many decades ago and governments put emphasis on the provision of services of a standardised minimal quality at fixed costs to all people. As infrastructure networks become more and more privatised the risk of splintering networks and urbanism occurs in these cities. This however is not so much the case in many cities in less developed countries. Even nowadays in less developed countries some subordinated urban neighbourhoods still lack access to electricity, clean drinking water and other essential infrastructural services, therefore the modern infrastructure ideal is not completely present (Coutard, 2008; Roy, 2011). New networks may connect more people who were unconnected to the previous network and thereby catch up to other citizens. This cannot happen if the previous state was along the lines of the modern infrastructural ideal, but this state is often not present in less developed countries (Botton and De Gouvello, 2008; Zérah, 2008).

A study by Jaglin (2008) of various infrastructure networks in Cape Town paints a picture of Cape Town where the provision of urban water and sanitation services was already fragmented because the modern infrastructural ideal did not exist in Cape Town. The city is known for its growing income
inequalities and as a result social exclusion of people. The city has always known a fairly high degree of urban splintering. In recent years the lower middle class has benefited from investments and free basic services while at the same time the poorest people are not reached as they still lack access to these services and networks. Because of a high variety of user demand of different services it is difficult to provide more standardised forms of services. This leads to increased difficulty to reach the poor who still lack access, as well as higher income users are being targeted by private firms who cater to their differentiated demands (Jaglin, 2008; Zérah, 2008). A strategy that the city of Cape Town may use is to offer a diversity of services, quality and pricing to meet the diverse user demands while at the same time attempt to minimise urban inequalities, and to regulate rules, tariffs and minimum quality standards throughout the city. The alternative seems to be a city with nearly unregulated premium networks offered by private firms combined with a standardised network to try to meet the diverse demands of the middle class while the poor remain lacking in access (Jaglin, 2008).

The splintering urbanism hypothesis seems to hold valid arguments that privatising networks may lead to bypasses, unbundling, premium networks and exclusion: splintering urbanism. Not all urban environments were previously unsplintered and fit the modern infrastructure ideal. The theory however offers a useful framework to analyse socio-spatial changes that have occurred due to privatisation of urban infrastructural networks (Oviedo and Dávila, 2016; Coutard, 2008; Zérah, 2008).

**Mega events**

Mega events such as the 2010 Football World Cup in South Africa have in the last decades often been combined with major infrastructural projects of urban transformation (Essex and Chalkley, 2007; Poynter, 2012). In certain cases –Barcelona 1992 Summer Olympic Games, London 2012 Summer Olympic Games– inclusiveness and well checked planning made sure disadvantaged groups were heard and had to suffer as little as possible from splintering urbanism effects.

In 1992 the city of Barcelona hosted the Summer Olympic Games and had set a goal to use the event as a catalyst for urban rejuvenation of its run down industrial areas and waterfront. They used ambitious zonal redevelopment to turn these areas into vibrant residential and commercial areas. This approach offered previously neglected residents access to services and included them back into the city (Poynter, 2012). Another example of using a mega event to address social inequalities comes from London and the 2012 Summer Olympic Games. The city was able to redevelop brownfield sites from the industrial period, connect with its own eastern boroughs leading to greater accessibility, and reduces social inequality (Poynter, 2012).

Other cases show different results. Take for example the 2014 Winter Olympic Games in Sochi, Russia where the village of Akhshtyr had been left without a reliable water supply for over five years. This had happened after the construction of a highway for the Winter Olympic Games destroyed the village’s drinking wells. The village also no longer had access to public transportation and most other services due to the construction of that highway. The highway cut off the previous dirt road and this left the village nearly completely cut off from the outside world. Except water deliveries by truck and the very temporary use of a small water pump little was being done to restore access or services to the disadvantaged villagers (Wolfe, 2013). While the 2014 Winter Olympic Games have had the most to spend compared to any other Winter or Summer Olympic Games in history, their attention to the infrastructural needs of poor and rural citizens has been very limited and infrastructural projects conducted for the Games have often deprived them of access to existing networks.
The city of Cape Town—like the rest of South Africa—has had a history of social exclusion of some groups and high income inequality. In a sense the urban environment was already much splintered.

**Big push model**

Picture yourself as a farmer in a rural village in sub-Saharan Africa. Your family has worked the fields for generations. Over the course of time some innovations in technology and methodology has made its way into your farming practices. Now the opportunity arises to improve the soil and the annual yield by making use of new fertiliser. However, this fertiliser has to be produced and transported domestically or it has to be imported abroad and transported both abroad and domestically. This not only requires domestic factories with skilled labourers, or ports with dock workers, and roads and trucks, but also related sectors such as a banking sector for providing credit, industrial sectors to provide packaging for the fertiliser, utilities for ports, roads and trucks, and other supplies and services. Suppose you are the first farmer in the region to use this new fertiliser and the infrastructures to supply you with it is not present. The lack of this infrastructure and therefore extreme high costs of constructing them will undoubtedly keep you from making use of the new fertiliser and its economical benefits (The Economist, 2011; Walton and Culiuc, 2011).

**Origins & theory**

According to The Economist (2011): “You cannot do anything until you can do everything”, and this is what best describes Rosenstein-Rodan’s first notion of the “big push” model in 1943 (Rosenstein-Rodan, 1943). Rosenstein-Rodan was the first to develop the concept of the big push in his work on the problem of industrialisation of eastern and south-eastern Europe. His theory is that certain equilibria states exist because underdeveloped countries—when they are at low levels of income per capita—may be caught in a vicious cycle of low savings and low returns on investments, combined with coordination problems, lack of infrastructure and increasing returns. This may trap a country into a low equilibrium of poverty, and a coordinated set of investments—a push—may be able lift the economy into a higher equilibrium enabling future sustained growth. The idea is that without a big push every attempt by the country to escape a so-called poverty trap will be futile as it will automatically slip back due to too high costs and low returns on these small investments (Pillay and Bass, 2008). Poverty traps can reinforce themselves when cycles cause countries, groups of people or future generations to keep falling back. This cycle may have many causes such as low access to capital and credit, corruption, lack of education and poor infrastructure. Several of these causes will be further discussed in chapter 5.

In the case of infrastructure, a seemingly simple activity such as using fertiliser requires a vast network of other activities, which not always is present in developing countries, or at the least not operating as smoothly as hoped. In order to develop such a large infrastructure network a big investment or big push—from the government, through foreign aid or other large entities—might be required (Walton and Culiuc, 2011).

**Equilibria**

There are three lines of thought how a country can escape the poverty trap. The first concept is based on the idea that a country lacks in savings and income to offset the population growth and depreciation and thereby experiences stagnating economic growth. Through an temporary economic push by aid or other investments the country will achieve economic growth again. It will move past the threshold and not fall back to the poverty equilibrium, but instead keep on developing economically. In the case that a push is not large enough the country will not pass the threshold and
will return to the poverty equilibrium—as shown in figures 1.1 and 1.2—(Walton and Culiuc, 2011; Sachs, 2006; Murphy et al., 1989).

Figure 1.1 Poverty trap in an economy with a subsistence constraint (Walton and Culiuc, 2011)

Figure 1.2 The effects of aid on savings (Walton and Culiuc, 2011)

Figure 1.3 Poverty trap with non-convex production function (Walton and Culiuc, 2011)

Figure 1.4 Malthusian poverty trap (Walton and Culiuc, 2011)

A second explanation is that changing the production function to a non-convex one results in increased returns to scale in combination with a big push in infrastructure will lead to an economy escaping the poverty equilibrium to a state above the threshold. An example of a non-convex production function is a firm that prefers to invest in one type of technology or another type, but not half in both as the returns on investment will be higher when choosing fully for just one technology. It describes a situation where establishing a certain economic activity depends on the existence of other economic activities because of positive spill-over effects. In case of these activities not being present, a big push to develop these activities will attract further economic activities and increasing returns to scale, and thereby lifting the economy to beyond the threshold—as seen in figure 1.3—(Walton and Culiuc, 2011; Sachs, 2006; Pais and Pontes, 2016).

The third line of thought is based on the notion of the Malthusian trap where the deprecation function changes for
different incomes. Instead of a constant population growth in wealthier economies people divert from population growth to investments in their children through education and health and thereby escape the poverty trap—see figure 1.4—(Walton and Culiuc, 2011; Sachs, 2006).

Easterly (2006) finds no evidence of the first aspect: low savings rate at low levels of income. He does however find evidence that Malthusian traps do exist in the historical evolution of Western countries where long periods of economic growth first led to increased population growth, and over the course of time a transition into increased income per capita—partly at the expense of population growth—occurred. Escaping this Malthusian took a long time (Walton and Culiuc, 2011).

Only a few countries in the world fit the big push model in a sense that they experienced little to no growth before a big push, and after the push have experienced sustainable and significantly higher growth rates than before. Examples are mostly found in East Asia: Japan, South Korea and Taiwan. These countries have experienced long-term growth based on a combination of several policies. They adopted first import substitution industrialisation and later export oriented industrialisation to stimulate the development of mature domestic industries. Combined with large investments in infrastructure and these industries this helped the country escape the poverty trap. However, the number of countries attempting a big push has been limited and many countries face numerous other difficulties that may hinder economic growth. An important other factor is the quality of institutions which reduces economic growth (Murphy et al., 1989; Rapley, 2007).

**Big push versus private investments**

Due to the large scale of industrialisation within the big push model and the large investments required a key role is reserved for governments as the private sector is often unable to deliver them. Because of short-term profit-driven motives the private sector is often unwilling to undertake investments in these infrastructure projects due to limited private benefits while public benefits may be much larger; therefore these projects may not be interesting investment opportunities for private investors, but may be very beneficial for the economy as a whole (Rapley, 2007; Pais and Pontes, 2016). Interestingly, the theory of splintering urbanism is based on the notion that private investors may be interested in certain parts—but not the whole—of infrastructure networks and thereby create unequal development of networks leading to underinvestment and exclusion of areas. These theories can very well co-exist because seldom private investors are willing to invest in region-wide networks (Rapley, 2007; Sachs, 2006; Pais and Pontes, 2016).

A case can be made for starting economic development through investments in infrastructure. If a private entrepreneur invests in new infrastructure it will want to make a profit from its investment. Only if a sufficient level of usage of the infrastructure is reached—and usage can be charged—will the investor make a profit and deem his investment worthwhile. Therefore a certain amount of economic activity that will make use of the infrastructure is required before private investments will be made. However, at the same time a certain amount of infrastructure is required before a certain level of economic activity is will settle and develop in a region; a classic chicken and egg situation. If both remain too low to allow the other to make a leap forward a big push in infrastructure may provide enough incentive for economic activity to grow and in the future provide a base for further infrastructural growth (Rapley, 2007; Walton and Culiuc, 2011; Pais and Pontes, 2016).

Along the market failures to provide the necessary push there are government failures that might make a push ineffective. Governments may face problems regarding lack of information, the inability of picking the right sectors and methods for a push, the inability of coordinating a push, incentives to undertake a push if the government is more interested in rent-seeking, corruption or clientelism. And
if the government lacks credibility among private investors these investors might decide not to invest in fear of a future change of policies. (Rapley, 2007; Walton and Culiuc, 2011)

As Peter Evans (1995) points out in the case of South Korea that the government was effectively promoting transformation of its industrial sectors in combination with close links to society so that policies were supported by those who has to implement and work with them, and in an environment where the government was capable of respond to market and governmental failures. He calls this embedded autonomy.

**Big push reception in recent history**

When many –mainly sub-Saharan African– nations gained independence in the 1960s the big push model was a dominant development theory (Rapley, 2007; Sachs, 2006). In the 1970s and 1980s the idea of the big push model lost some interest from development thinkers (Rapley, 2007; Sachs, 2006). In recent years the big push model has regain popularity among development scholars such as Jeffrey Sachs, Paul Collier, UNCTAD and in the Millennium Goals. Most of the discussions on big push is strongly related to foreign aid as the source of a big push. According to Sachs household incomes, savings and local investment will increase when public investment and foreign aid flow into the economy and its infrastructures have reached a certain level. This requires properly functioning institutions and good policies. More critic notes come from Dambisa Moyo (2009), Abuzeid (2009) and William Easterly who even mockingly named 2005 as the Year of the Big Push (Easterly, 2006) in relation to debates on Africa and the Millennium Goals.

With the major global institutions committed to the Millennium Development Goals the big push model has gained importance. This is described in a quote from the UN Millennium Project (2005): “escaping the poverty trap requires a Big Push of basic investments in public administration, human capital and key infrastructure (roads, electricity, ports, water and sanitation, affordable housing and environmental management)”. At the same time the IMF and World Bank are opting for doubling the Official Development Assistance to support low-income countries in sub-saharan Africa (IMF and World Bank, 2005), and the Millennium Village Project was launched. This demonstration project was started in 2004. The aim was to create economic growth and development through improving access to basic services such as sanitation, water, electricity and health care, as well as access to seeds and advanced fertiliser. This way communities could lift themselves out of the poverty trap (Friedrich, 2007; Wanjala, 2016). There is strong discussion between Easterly and Sachs on the existence of poverty traps and the role of aid in growth and development. Quantitative data shows that large-scale projects and projects initiated by governments have provided very limited results in development (Platteau, 2003).

While the big push model is based on the poverty trap and through coordinated large investments a country can escape this trap, the absorptive capacity theory is based on a lack of possibilities for a country to benefit from big investments. In the early stages of development countries have trouble allocating funds for productive purposes for many reasons. Often countries do not have enough skilled manpower readily available, their institutions and financial structures are still underdeveloped and the amount of promising investment opportunities is limited. When one or more of these problems occur it is difficult for a country to invest their development aid wise (Guillaumont Jeanneney, 2010; Moyo, 2009). When countries have trouble finding suitable investment opportunities because they are limited, the country has a shortage of skilled manpower or the financial structures and institutions cannot process it, the best thing a country can do is stop investing capital beyond the limits of the available investment opportunities. In this way the excess funds are not wasted on unnecessary projects (Guillaumont Jeanneney, 2010; Moyo, 2009; Abuzeid, 2009). Increased attention has gone
out to the importance of good policies and institutions of the country; especially in the case of a big push through aid. The effects of a big push is substantially larger in countries with strong institutions and good policies than in countries lacking those (Abuzeid, 2009).

Furthermore, critic authors have identified other possible problems with a big push effort to stimulate economic development such as inflationary effects due to heavy spending, and a too strong focus on services and certain sectors at the expense of agriculture which is a very important sector to most inhabitants of less developed countries (Moyo, 2009; Easterly, 2006). Also when private enterprises and public works are competitive the big push may create problems; this is not the case when the sectors are complementary as it will lead to increased opportunities rather than disrupt economic activity (Guillaumont Jeanneney, 2010; Moyo, 2009; Easterly, 2006; Abuzeid, 2009).

**Mega events**

World Cups and other mega events have the ability to trigger new investments in large-scale infrastructure that may lead to increased investment in other sectors too (Burbank, Andranovich, and Heying, 2002). As the mega events themselves grew in size, its urban planners and authorities began to rethink the role of the mega event and began to use it as a catalyst for urban transformation (Chen and Spaans, 2009; Essex and Chalkley, 2007).

The mega event plays an important role based on three major aspects. Firstly, a city needs to have a certain level of infrastructure to host the event itself. Cities lacking parts of the basic infrastructure will speed up the construction and upgrading of this infrastructure which may cause a big push effect by itself. Secondly, a mega event attracts private investments to the city. This investment has the potential to tilt the poverty function and create positive spill-over effects that may lead a city out of the poverty trap. Thirdly, hosting a mega event creates much more attention to the hosting region and may attract long-lasting positive tourism and investment effects. However, mega events come at a financial cost for the host cities, the effects may be only temporal and the facilities may turn out to be “white elephants” –venues that become abandoned after the mega event or cost much more in upkeep than they will bring in from future use– (Essex and Chalkley, 2007; Mills, 2010; Burbank, Andranovich, and Heying, 2002).

Townships and its residents may be in poverty traps of themselves. Lack of services, low levels of human capital and low investment in townships all hinder economic and social development of the residents (Maile, 2013; Marx, et al., 2013). A big push method would seem a perfect fit for the conditions of townships to tackle the lack of investments and to create spill-over effects (Maile, 2013; Marx, et al., 2013; Adato, et al., 2006). A mega event may draw enough attention to townships to coax public or private investors to cause a big push effect, or positive spill-over effects from the event may cause this. This however requires ambitious policy choices. The city of Barcelona was willing to make these choices when it hosted the 1992 Summer Olympic Games. One can easily see some commonalities between Cape Town in 2010 and Barcelona in 1992: both are domestically and economically very important cities, the nation was in a transition period from one regime –previously Franco regime and Apartheid– to a more inclusive democracy, and both cities had great opportunities for further economic development. This report will further examine in chapter five whether and to what extent the Big Push model played a role in economic and urban development concerning the 2010 World Cup in South Africa.
2. Methodology

To answer the research question an in-depth qualitative policy evaluation is conducted. One of the main goals of conducting field research in Cape Town was to gather information regarding the effects of infrastructure concerning the World Cup which could not have been gathered in another manner. The research required different kinds of information which in turn required different gathering methods.

While some of the published literature research offers a decent level of understanding and insight in parts of this research, other parts of the research require other methods such as face-to-face communication and observation. A qualitative approach is most suitable because it can address the many practices and underlying perspectives and opinions. To gain insight in the personal experiences of the citizens informal interviews have be taken and mental maps have been made. Using different sources of information – city officials, NGOs and citizens – and types of sources – official documents, research papers, interviews, surveys and mental mapping – will warrant the quality, reliability and credibility of the information and a certain level of triangulation is achieved.

Surveys

Surveys were used to gather some quantitative data regarding the expectations and experiences of the citizens of Cape Town and of Langa. These surveys were relatively quick to fill in and focused on just a few key issues such as some background information of the surveyee, their expectations and opinion regarding the world cup, and employment changes due to the world cup. This limited the depth of information gathered, but increased the amount of broad data. Because surveys use close-end questions or fixed responses the responses collected from the survey can be easily compared (Mack, et al., 2005).

The surveys were conducted at various spots in the city centre and in Langa during different times of the day to obtain data from a diverse and sizeable population. The data collected was used to analyse the main reasons for the expectations and later opinions, the differences between expectations and later opinions of the world cup and the differences between various population groups in regards to their expectations and opinions.

Observations

Observations were used in the form of semi-direct participant observation. I went on two township tours to get familiar with the township of Langa and its residents. I later visited the township a few more times for interviews. During these visits I observed the behaviour of its residents and this gave me the opportunity to have informal conversations with them related to my research and their experiences of everyday life in the townships. This allowed me to change my status of an outsider to somewhat more of an insider (Mack, et al., 2005).

The observations and conversations were written down in a field journal to improve the quality of observations and conversations. A field diary will help the researcher in the research process by recording events, observations, thoughts, ideas and questions for later use, as well as a tool for reflection (Newbury, 2001; Mack, et al., 2005). Due to the nature of a field diary there was little structure in the notes because I used them mostly to record thoughts, ideas and questions initiated by my observations. Most of these thoughts, ideas and questions were strengthened or weakened by further observations; and at a later stage were checked using literature and interviews.
The multiple visits to Langa helped to gain more insight in the township and its residents and this in turn helped to build trust with the people. During visits to other parts of the city observations played an important role as well. This was also documented in a field diary and with photographs.

**Case study: townships**

When talking about townships it is easy to merely talk about them without getting a feel for them. A case study can be a useful tool when the scale of research to too wide to conduct in-depth research on the whole. It takes selected samples of the population within the normal context and provide descriptive accounts (Schell, 1992). Case studies will help us look at the world around us. In this situation a case study of a selected part of the population may be used to offer insights that may not be achieved using other tools (Rowley, 2002; Yin, 1984). Case study research can use both quantitative and qualitative approaches and usually uses a mix of data sources (Schell, 1992; Rowley, 2002).

Why do townships play an important role in this report? The answer is quite simple: The townships make up around half of the city’s population, yet use only a small portion of the city’s electricity and have the worst access to basic services and public transportation of the entire city. Most of Cape Town’s challenges –whether they are infrastructural or socio-economical– are related to the townships. Here splintering urbanism and big push effects can have the strongest effects. Hence, it is only logical that townships occupy a central place in this report.

For the report the township of Langa has been selected. The choice for one township ensures in-depth research can be done within the time frame. The township of Langa is the oldest township of Cape Town and has –due to the world cup– been host of a controversial infrastructure project called the N2 Gateway project aimed at addressing the huge housing backlog and allegedly beautifying the city prior to the world cup.

**Interviews**

Interviews are a good method to learn more about the participant’s experiences and their views on the matter. It gives the interviewer the opportunity to ask in-depth questions tailored to the personal situation of the participant. Open-ended questions enables the interviewer to adjust their questions to new insights and fields of attention offered by the participant.

Interviews were conducted among managers within relevant economic sectors such as tourism, inhabitants of several suburbs and the township Langa. In Cape Town by far the easiest method of contacting someone is through a referral. Managers were selected on a referral base but response was still low and therefore it unfortunately covers only part of the wide spectrum of the tourism sector. To select the inhabitants of Langa I relied on a tour guide with roots in the township who interactively made the selection of diverse people to interview as well as referrals from previous interviewees. This method of snowball sampling provided me with rich sources of information. A drawback of snowball sampling is the risk of a bias towards interviewees with common characteristics and ideas while reducing diversity (Downing, 2005; Faugler and Sargeant, 1997). This drawback was reasonably covered as the tour guide had little knowledge of the interviewees experiences and opinions regarding the information being gathered and could thus not steer the research in such a way. As a result the interviewees’ backgrounds, ideas, interests and experiences were still fairly diverse. A number of other people were interviewed to have a more diverse source of information, such as street vendors and local entrepreneurs.
In Langa the selected interviewees were all willing to participate. Interviewees were asked prior to the interview by Nkosikhona Nompuku—a township guide—whether or not they were willing to be interviewed. They all spoke English as a second or third language well enough and therefore a translator was not necessary. The interviews lasted on average 45 minutes ranging from 20 minutes up to 70 minutes. Two interviews were not used as they offered too little information or new insights. Due to some logistical problems it was not possible to interview two possible interviewees as they were busy at work for most of the day and proved to be not possible to meet in a safe location during the evenings.

Interviews were taken at a place that was most convenient to the interviewee. In most cases this was at home while in some cases where the interviewee was self-employed this was at work. Before the interview a short introduction was given of the research explaining the purpose of the research and of the interview. This helped to build trust. During all interviews notes were taken with the consent of the interviewee.

Informal, conversational interviews were used when interviewing township citizens, because many specific aspects of the effects of infrastructure were not previously known and this type of interview can shed more light on them. The interviews were semi-structured on the basis of the core concepts of splintering urbanism and big push explained in the previous chapter. The semi-structure makes sure important issues are discussed while it allows for the interviewee to bring up issues they regard as relevant for the interview. To ensure no important topics were forgotten an interview guide was made based on literature research and this guide can be found in appendix I. Questions were added when the interview would reveal interesting themes and information unforeseen based on initial literature. These themes would come up on the initiative of the interviewee as they were regarded as important by them (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). The structure of the questions would then be temporarily wavered to create a more natural flow of the interview. This gives some freedom to follow up on interesting topics provided by the interviewee while all relevant issues will be discussed during the interview (Robson, 2002). One of the disadvantages is that an interviewee may stick to the order of questions and fails to elaborate on other interesting themes. When this would happen I would formulate my questions in a more open-ended and narrative style focusing on their experiences (Seidman, 2006). Questions were also designed to be most neutral in their phrasing to avoid interviewees giving desirable answers or putting words into the mouth of the interviewee (Fielding and Thomas, 2008). When useful after a narrative answer question would be asked to clarify certain aspects. The results of each interview were checked with other interviews and also with non-related people. This increased diversity helped triangulate the data. It is in the nature of qualitative data gathering that the material is somewhat unstructured and diverse, and it is difficult to translate this into meaningful results (Ritchie and Spencer, 2002). Appendix I contains a list of people interviewed and a question guide.

Concerns

Researchers try to bridge gaps between themselves and the research subjects such as interviewees. Undoubtedly there were many gaps between myself and the interviewees in terms of for example nationality, culture, language, ethnicity, income class and sometimes gender. Some authors (Gunaratman, 2003) argue that this may hinder the research. The reason behind it is that the researcher is viewed as an outsider and this limits access to people and information and limits the quality of the information. Insiders that share similar cultural backgrounds may obtain more intimate and in-depth information. Another trail of thought is that the diversity within a group is always fairly high. Therefore, a researcher will always lack some similar cultural characteristics while shares some with the interviewee (Koens and Fletcher, 2010).
In certain situations the opposite may be true where people are more willing to share information with outsiders than with insiders. Due to the different cultural characteristics the researcher may get different types of access to information (Harrington, 2003). And thereby outsiders may gain access to information that is not shared with insiders.

When conducting research in the townships I was aware of safety issues even though criminal activity is not so common during day time when one is aware of their surroundings. For this reason I chose to take notes of the interviews instead of recording them and conducted my interviews during the day time. This however made it impossible to interview two possibly very interesting residents who had no time during the day, and my research might therefore be slightly biased towards unemployed residents. Partly for safety reasons I also made use of the services of a township guide called Nkosikhona Nompuku who knows the township and some of its residents well. Nkosikhona was not present during the interviews so that interviewees were able to talk more free. Most of the interviewees’ level of English was very sufficient. In one case an interviewee’s confidence in their ability to speak in English proved to be limited. This posed no problems in our mutual understanding, but her answers remained fairly short and focused on the structured questions.

Alongside interviews, surveys and observations, published research, policy documents and other types of literature were used to provide more information and to compare the information provided by the interviews with. These results were validated by triangulation of the interviews, survey data, observations, reports and research.

This paper makes limited use of so-called grey literature. This type of literature consists of research and materials which are produced outside of academic and commercial publishing and distribution channels. These can include working papers, government documents and reports produced by organisations such as government departments, non-governmental organisations, academic organisations, media organisations, consultants and private firms. Because they are published and distributed outside academic and commercial channels their credibility, standard of quality and review may be in question. Grey literature may offer information or insight that is otherwise not available, but the quality and credibility of the production –both source as well as material– has to be investigated (Osayande and Upkebor, 2012).

**Triangulation**

A method of checking the credibility of material is through triangulation. Triangulation is the combining of several methods to shed light on the same subject of study, increase the credibility of the findings and deepen the understanding of the subject. Both quantitative and qualitative data can be used for this purpose such as the use of multiple observers, theories, methodologies and empirical data (Yeasmin and Rahman, 2012). By convergence of difference perspectives confirmation can be obtained. Several forms of triangulation are data triangulation, observer triangulation, theory triangulation, methodological triangulation and a mix of these (Johnston, et al., 2010). In this research I have mostly used mixes of triangulation at various points.
3. Cape Town and the world cup

The city of Cape Town is Africa’s southern most major city, and faces many challenges. A major challenge to the city of 3.7 million people is the backlog of 400,000 houses. Of these 900,000 households around 250,000 to 300,000 live in informal houses or shacks, and there is demand for another 150,000 houses to be built. The need for these 400,000 new houses puts considerable pressure on the government. Furthermore, these houses often lack access to a decent level of basic and essential services (Newton, 2011; Swilling, 2014; Swilling and Annecke, 2012).

One of the main points of focus of the post-apartheid municipal governments of Cape Town has been on the expansion of infrastructural networks that provide these services into the poorer areas that were often overlooked by the apartheid regimes. In the post-apartheid period the costs of expanding the energy, water, waste and sanitation services and address the backlogs accounted for approximately half of the total expenditure of the municipality. As a result, by 2010 just over 90 percent of all households had access to these services (Swilling, 2014; Swilling and Annecke, 2012).

While this backlog mostly occurred in the townships not all townships were equally affected by it. In 1994 Langa, the oldest township, had more access to infrastructure and at higher levels than most newer townships such as Khayelitsha. However, this level of infrastructure was still inadequate for the existing and growing needs of the citizens (Babalwa Mdloyi, personal communication, September 9 2016; Swilling and Annecke, 2012).

Segregation

The city of Cape Town is an excellent example to show how urban planning can create a segregated society. Prior to the apartheid era the neighbourhood known as District Six was known for its thriving multiracial community, but during apartheid many of its citizens were removed and the neighbourhood became abandoned. Cape Town’s white population lived around the city centre and the Table Mountain and in the northeast. Coloured people mostly resided in neighbourhoods just to the southeast of white neighbourhoods. And the black population lived at the outskirts of the city such as Khayelitsha (Newton, 2011; Fataar and Petzer, 2014; Ernsten, 2014). Though officially apartheid has ended in 1994 the effects of these urban plans are still very visible even today. While division by race has been replaced by division by money it has virtually been the same in the last two decades. In terms of education, employment, electrification, sanitation, life expectancy, etc. the numbers are still much correlated with ethnicity (Ernsten, 2014; Seekings, 2010; van Rooyen, 2012).

The ethnic make up of Cape Town’s inhabitants is quite uncommon for South Africa (Seekings, 2010). Its share of coloured people –42%– is well above the nation’s average of 9%. Like many large cities the percentage of whites living in Cape Town is above average as well –15% compared to 9%--, while the share of Black Africans falls short of the national average –39% versus 79%–. An interesting suggestion to why Cape Town is still one of the most segregated cities in South Africa was offered to me by a taxi driver and life-long Capetonian called Kareem Makani (personal communication, August 20 2016), and supported by guesthouse owner Sandra du Plessis. According to him this is a result partly of the specific demographics of Cape Town where there is a large group of coloured people. While many coloured Capetonians fluently speak English and/or Afrikaans and have a decent level of education, for many black Capetonians English is a second or even third language and their level of education generally is somewhat lower. It is not uncommon for employers to hire coloured people in favour of black people due to the differences in languages spoken and education received. In most other South African cities the share of coloured people is much smaller.
and as a result black people in those cities will get job offers which in Cape Town would mostly be offered to coloured people.

**World Cup locations**

Setting these issues aside, the main focus of attention was to unite the rainbow country, create a strong legacy and show the rest of the world a very positive image of South Africa (Pillay, et al., 2009). The idea behind it was that this would lead to increased tourism, foreign investment and employment on the mid-long term. In order to paint a positive picture of South Africa the government chose to centre the 2010 World Cup and its urban infrastructural projects in Cape Town on the city centre and its touristic surroundings, and on the N2 gateway leading from the international airport to the city centre (as shown in figure 3.1). The city of Cape Town had to built a new stadium for the world cup because its existing stadium Athlone was located in the suburb of Parow and was considered too far away from the city centre, and the location was in a too poor and too unsafe area (Mail & Guardian, 2010). The building of this new stadium increased costs and with the limited use of the stadium nowadays the city is making a yearly loss on the construction and maintenance costs (City of Cape Town, 2012).

![Figure 3.1](image-url)  
*Figure 3.1 Map of ethnic background of residents in Cape Town in relation to infrastructural projects for the 2010 Football World Cup (Statistics South Africa, 2011)*

While football traditionally has been popular in South Africa among the black and coloured population –to describe the various ethnic groups “black”, “white”, “coloureds”, and “Indians” or "Asian" are commonly used in South Africa–, in Cape Town the 2010 World Cup was held primarily in white neighbourhoods. A new stadium was built in Green Point; far away from black and coloured...
suburbs where the old stadium in Athlone was located. Tourists found accommodation in Green Point or the nearby city centre and Sea Point; again far away from any black or coloured neighbourhoods.

The main focus of attention when choosing the locations for the world cup was to create a strong legacy and show the rest of the world a very positive image of South Africa. The reasoning behind it was that this would lead to increased tourism, foreign investment and employment on the mid-long term. In order to paint a positive picture of South Africa the government chose to centre the 2010 World Cup and its urban infrastructural projects in Cape Town on the city centre and its touristic surroundings, and to upgrade the N2 gateway leading from the international airport to the city centre (as shown in figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2  Map of infrastructural projects in Cape Town for the world cup (Izquierdo and Gastaldon, 2010)

The situation of Cape Town resembles that of the New World metropolis described by Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990). The waterfront of the coastal city was once the connection to the mother country and continues to play an important role in the current metropolis. These waterfront areas contain most of Cape Town’s landmark sites, key infrastructure as well as most of its hotels (Ferreira and Boshoff, 2014). In chapter five a more in-depth look is given on the development of hotels and tourism in Cape town.

The suburbs of Green Point and Sea Point are one of the most vibrant and trendy neighbourhoods of Cape Town and attract many tourists. They are located close to the city centre, the Table Mountain and Lion’s Head, the V&A Waterfront and the beach making them ideal tourist operation base. Apart from providing space for luxurious housing they also offer a wide variety of tourist accommodations, restaurants, bars and other venues. This made them an ideal hotspot to show to the expected visitors of the world cup the most pleasant sides of Cape Town. It is in Green Point where the new Green Point
The N2 Settlers Road runs through most of the southern and eastern parts of the country and connects major cities such as Cape Town, Port Elisabeth and Durban. Within the municipality of Cape Town it is a major road connecting most townships with the city centre. Noteworthy is that it also runs past the airport and connects it with the city centre. For most foreign visitors this would be one of the first things they would see of South Africa. The sight of several townships with hundreds of dense informal settlements that are located along the first part of the route from the airport to the inner city was not one the government wanted to present. Along with a huge housing backlog, this area seemed to be a perfect location for the government to focus its housing projects on dubbed the N2 Gateway Housing Project in order to “dress up for the world” as Jordhus-Lier puts it (2015). In 2004 the city of Cape Town and the National Department of Housing started the N2 Gateway project (Jordhus-Lier, 2015; COHRE, 2009; Newton, 2011).

Located further to the southeast from the airport are the townships of Delft, Khayelitsha and Mitchells Plain. These are located the furthest from the economic hub of the city centre and are among the poorest areas of the city –especially the huge township of Khayelitsha–. They were built on low ground and are sometimes experiencing floods. These neighbourhhoods are known for their high crime rates, and high poverty and unemployment levels. Here the housing backlog is the highest, the existing infrastructure is not up to the considerable pressure put on it and many households lack access to services.

Stadium

The location of the new stadium was not a tough choice as there was already a small stadium located in Green Point. Built in 1940 it has accommodated three small football clubs of which Ajax Cape town is the most prominent. The City of Cape Town decided to use this location to build a brand new stadium for the 2010 Football World Cup with a worth of 4.5 billion Rand –280 million Euro– (Mail & Guardian, 2010; City of Cape Town, 2012). The City knew it would either require a considerable external subsidy or it would become a substantial financial burden on the budgets in the future. Currently the deficit amounts to 39 million Rand per year –2.5 million Euro– (City of Cape Town, 2015a). Nevertheless, the City argued that the stadium and the surrounding Green Point Park would be “a ‘green jewel’ for use by, and the benefit of all Capetonians”, and would give Cape town “exceptional international marketing exposure” (City of Cape Town, 2012) which would give the tourism sector a significant boost (City of Cape Town, 2012). Some of the arguments to explain the limited amount of opportunities could have been known in advance such as the increased competition in the stadium business sector as several cities in South Africa built new or improved existing stadiums for the world cup. At the same time the City is also limited in commercial opportunities due to land zoning restrictions and municipal legislation for which they are responsible themselves. One of the major reasons the venues are making a net loss is the lack of a premium anchor tenant. The City
describes it well when they state: “From a financial and a social perspective, the stadium and park do not represent the best value to the City and its ratepayers in their current form” (City of Cape Town, 2012). The City is now looking for further commercial opportunities in sporting and entertainment. However, the stadium is unlikely to break-even in the medium term (City of Cape Town, 2012; City of Cape Town, 2015a).

On the first truly sunny Monday of September 2016 I visited the Green Point Stadium and Green Point Park –see figures 3.3 and 3.4–. The area looks quite remarkable as it is so closely located to the ocean and it is well maintained. However, not many people actually use it. During the late morning and early afternoon the golf course was completely unused, the area around the stadium was occupied by just one couple of students taking a little break from lectures and the south-eastern part of the Green Point Park was used by two joggers. Things were somewhat different at the crown jewel of the park –the central part of the Green Point Park– where a high school class and some recreationists were paying a visit to the park. Overall the area felt deserted even during lunch hour on a sunny day.

Figure 3.3 Panorama of Green Point Park (own photo)

Figure 3.4 Map of Green Point Stadium and Green Point Park (City of Cape Town, 2012)
Infrastructure

In order to host the 2010 Football World Cup matches and accommodate the many visitors the city of Cape Town had to upgrade its existing infrastructure (Ugo, 2014). During the apartheid era public transportation had not been high on the agenda of policymakers. Most white and coloured people relied on cars and taxis, while the black population was basically forced to use unofficial minibus taxis and trains for transportation. At the end of apartheid in 1994 it was quite clear that the often impoverished black and coloured population of the suburbs required a more extensive network of public transportation than what was previously used. However, the provision of housing and other services had priority over public transportation and only in the last decade serious and significant steps have been taken to improve the public transportation network of Cape Town (Ugo, 2014).

The taxibus system provided the residents with a much needed system but was run by partly trained drivers and lacked regulatory control and enforcement, safety, facilities and quality. This system was run by drivers whose concern for the safety of their passengers was often overruled by revenue targets set by the owners. Still passengers had little to no alternatives to this system. With the 2010 Football World Cup at its doorstep the City of Cape town set up a bus rapid transit system called MyCiti which started operating in 2010 with an route between the airport and the city centre (Ugo, 2014; Boulle and Van Ryneveld, 2015).

The 2010 Football World Cup had considerable influence on the development of the MyCiti system. It set a specific deadline for the first route to be fully operational which helped the project to be pushed through. The main focus was on a pilot with limited service but high reliability. This pilot formed the base of the rest of the network and showed what the system could achieve while creating visibility to it. With the MyCiti project being part of the legacy of the world cup the City of Cape Town was more eager to support the development of the rest of the system –see figure 3.6– (Boulle and Van Ryneveld, 2015).

The system was slowly extended to connect suburbs to the city centre where the Civic Centre acts as a hub. Important aspects of the system were quality services, reliability, affordability and safety (Ugo, 2014). Most commuters are very satisfied with the services offered by MyCiti. What needs attention is the rolling out of new routes –see Appendix I–. Currently the system is in phase 3 and connects most –wealthier– suburbs with the city centre –see figure 3.7–. However, the connections with the...
townships urgently require expansion – these are specified in figures 3.8 by the area called “Lack of opportunity” and in figure 3.7 as phase 4. During my stay in Cape Town most busses to the phase 1 and 2 destinations were frequently used and at the same time they were seldom crowded except during peak hours. The only exception to this situation were busses on the routes to the townships; long lines even during off-peak hours were very common. Citizens living in the townships make use of the bus system on a more regular basis than others it offers them an affordable and safer mode of transportation, and car ownership is relatively low in the townships. Keeping in mind that the townships were designed for much fewer inhabitants and even fewer cars than there currently are, it is highly advisable to make the bus rapid transit system one of the best options for transportation (Ugo, 2014; Boulle and Van Ryneveld, 2015).

![Figure 3.7 Phases of the Bus Rapid Transit system](image)

![Figure 3.8 Social and economic opportunities correlate with segregation](image)
Comparison

While most emphasis during the bid and the preparations for a mega event is put on the profitability of the event itself some of the arguments in favour of hosting the event focus on the long-term development of the region –big push– due to the hosting of the event. Hosting a mega event can indeed have considerable benefits for the hosting city and region. However, certain aspects are required. The mega event should be part of the long-term urban planning goals of the region. The mega event itself can be used as a catalyst or big push for necessary urban transformation. The infrastructure and facilities constructed for the mega event have to have a purpose after the event is over; events only last a few months at best while infrastructure lasts decades (Essex and Chalkley, 2007).

The 2010 World Cup itself was a success despite lower than predicted benefits. The number of visitors, the effects of the event on GDP and the number of long-term jobs generated all fall short of the predictions. Considering the large lobby for bringing mega events to a country it is not surprising the predictions were too optimistic –they often are–. On the other hand, the mega event united the various groups of the nation –which is very rare in South Africa– and it allowed the nation to give the rest of the world a positive image of the country and of the city of Cape Town.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Host City</td>
<td>Barcelona</td>
<td>Hanover</td>
<td>Athens</td>
<td>Shanghai</td>
<td>Sochi</td>
<td>Cape Town (South Africa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reception of event itself</td>
<td>Success</td>
<td>Failure (low attendance)</td>
<td>Slight failure (high costs)</td>
<td>Success</td>
<td>Mixed (orchestrated well; high costs)</td>
<td>Success (lower than expected benefits)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Throughout city Mostly old industrial area at waterfront</td>
<td>Outside city Near newly developed neighbourhood and infrastructure</td>
<td>Throughout city Mainly near coastal region</td>
<td>Near inner city At old industrial complex near river</td>
<td>Outside city</td>
<td>City centre and nearby wealthy neighbourhoods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban development</td>
<td>Successfully used event for urban development Event and infrastructure used as catalyst for urban development. Partially successfully used event for urban development Event used to develop new infrastructure and urban neighbourhood Event location and local infrastructure little future utilisation (due to economic crisis)</td>
<td>Little attention to future use of facilities Transport infrastructure partially used for urban development</td>
<td>Successfully used event for urban development Event and infrastructure used as catalyst for urban development</td>
<td>Partially successfully used event for urban development; however little to no attention for citizens’ needs Little to no future utilisation of event infrastructure</td>
<td>Event location ill-chosen to use event as catalyst for urban development (of poor townships) Event facilities little future utilisation Infrastructure future use is promising</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future use</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High (infrastructure) Medium (facilities)</td>
<td>Medium (infrastructure) Low (facilities)</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium-high (infrastructure) Low (facilities)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1 Overview of the key characteristics of five hosts of mega events

The case of Cape Town can be described as a mix between Athens and Barcelona –as shown in Table 3.1–. One the one hand, the lack of future use for the sport facilities is worrisome and is a heavy
burden on the municipality’s budget much like is the case with Athens. Somewhat similar to what happened in Barcelona the non-sport infrastructure –such as electricity and N2 road upgrades– built for the event was highly needed and is being used extensive. In terms of using the event as a catalyst for urban rejuvenation the 2010 Football World Cup has offered the city of Cape Town mixed results. It has given extra incentives to speed up the development of houses in townships, public transportation networks and the socio-urban environment around train stations. However, it failed to address key challenges of the city due to the main locations of the event. Had the event been hosted nearer to townships these problems would have been more adequately tackled.

While the mega event initially offered opportunities to reach the poorest residents the chosen location –near the richest neighbourhoods and far away from the poorer townships– as well as prohibiting street vending around the stadium negatively affected the poorest residents. This is the opposite of choices cities like Barcelona and Shanghai made; they chose locations that needed urban rejuvenation while Cape Town chose for locations that would create the most beautiful image of the city without reaching the poor. There were good arguments to actually choose to host the world cup matches in the reasonably poor township of Athlone, because the stadium of the city’s main football club was already located in this township. Upgrades to infrastructure and the urban environment would likely have made a big impact on the livelihood of the township.

As the poorer residents are mostly relying on public transport to commute an important positive development is the upgrading and upscaling of public transportation networks. While this was previously lacking in most of the poorer townships –due to the history of apartheid– these townships are now becoming better connected to the rest of the metropolitan area.

4. Urban development and splintering urbanism

Splintering urbanism describes the unbundling of infrastructure networks into smaller elements which affects cities and their inhabitants unevenly. Globally urban infrastructural systems may be undergoing a process of unbundling due to changes in neo-liberalist economic policies, in consumer behaviour and in network management, and internationalisation of economies (Coutard, 2008). Private investors are reluctant to invest in bundled networks, but instead prefer to invest in infrastructure on a project-by-project base which allows them to pick the most profitable parts. These elements are unbundled from the rest of the network which leaves this rest of the network being composed of more high-risk and low-profit –or even loss making– elements (Graham and Marvin, 2001). The remaining elements in the network are vulnerable to underinvestment and neglect, and thereby leading to an uneven development of urban infrastructure and placing marginalised groups of people at risk. This may lead to an added form of poverty: poverty of connections which limits the disadvantaged people in their capacity to exercise their influence over issues concerning them (Coutard, 2008; Graham and Marvin, 2001).

If splintering urbanism is left unchecked there is a possible risk that a vicious cycle of infrastructural unbundling and socio-technical secession may lead to further secessions (Coutard, 2008). While the emergence of premium network enclaves seems like a great opportunity for the rest of the city to catch up through spill-over effects, when left unchecked the reverse may occur: poorer and less connected parts of a city are at risk of being cut off from the rest of the city and turning into underprotected, high-risk and disordered ghettos while premium network enclaves become overprotected and ordered fortresses (Graham and Marvin, 2001).
While in cities in more developed countries governments guaranteed a basic level of services of a standardised minimal quality at fixed costs to all people. However, in less developed countries people did not always have access to the networks or their basic quality levels were not guaranteed. Therefore the modern infrastructure ideal is not completely present (Coutard, 2008).

**Cape Town**

Cape Town is known for its growing income inequalities and social exclusion of people. The city has always known a fairly high degree of urban splintering through segregation. In recent years the lower middle class has benefited from investments and free basic services while at the same time the poorest people are not reached as they still lack access to these services and networks (Jaglin, 2008).

The splintering urbanism hypothesis seems to hold valid arguments that privatising networks may lead to bypasses, unbundling, premium networks and exclusion: splintering urbanism. However, not all urban environments were previously unsplintered and fit the modern infrastructure ideal well. The city of Cape Town has had a history of social exclusion of some groups and high income inequality. In a sense the urban environment was already very splintered.

Due to global economic sanctions as a response to its apartheid policies South Africa was forced to actively promote the development of companies in manufacturing and essential services. In order to protect the white minority it intervened many times with labour policies. This eventually led to a strong presence of the state in many key enterprises and sectors such as communication, transport infrastructure and energy (Bhorat, et al., 2013). These semi-monopolistic structures gave the government an important role in the economy and in the provision of services. Even today most essential services are provided by semi-state-owned enterprises such as Eskom, Transnet and Telkom.

After the apartheid era the city of Cape town had to tackle two challenges. In the previous period the city had become spatially very segregated and income inequality had risen dramatically. Cape Town existed as 61 municipalities divided by race, but in 2000 this was transformed into a stronger metropolitan entity. This gave the area better opportunities and means to tackle these challenges, and provide more equal access to basic services (Swilling and Annecke, 2012).

Around 1994 a wave of neo-liberalisation and privatisation swept through most of the world. But during this period Cape Town was foremost engaged in the merging of most of its fragmented systems of services into large technological systems –LTS– which are highly complex networked infrastructures managed by vertically integrated institutions. In 2008 the City of Cape town still provided all of the municipal services, and the systems were actively expanding their networks to connect poorer households. The combination of neo-liberalism ideas and the merging and expansion of systems created a unique hybrid where services were publicly provided and managed but with increased focus on cost recovery and service delivery (Swilling and Annecke, 2012; Jaglin, 2008).

The post-1994 environment united the diverse actors into the goal of overcoming apartheid partly through expanding services and make them affordable to all (Swilling and Annecke, 2012). This included universal access, single tariff structures and so-called cross-subsidising. In recent years the expansion of the service networks has resulted in at most 5% of the population being disconnected from these services, and around 10% being partially connected. There are however still differences in the level and standards of the access to these services (Swilling and Annecke, 2012; Jaglin, 2008).

The municipality of Cape Town made a choice that the levels and standards that existed in 1994 in the richer neighbourhoods should be applied to the entire city to ensure equal levels of service. This
however posed a major strain on the budgets of the services providers as well as the City. While most capital was used to expand the networks and finance cross-subsidising, less focus was given to the maintenance and upgrades of the system (Swilling and Annecke, 2012; Jaglin, 2008)

The service providers are often criticised for being run inefficiently and politically. In the case of Eskom the situation is so dire that due to insufficient fund to increase capacity the country had to impose scheduled blackouts (Eskom, 2015). While I was in Cape Town there were little to no blackouts. Guesthouse owner Sandra du Plessis (personal communication, August 8 2016) explains: “This winter [2016] we have seen no blackouts. But it used to be much worse and there were many scheduled blackouts. It is being said that blackouts never occurred in the neighbourhoods where mayors and other important officials reside. I do not know if this is true.” Eskom has had trouble meeting energy demand in cold winters when demand by businesses and households would peak (Eskom, 2014). Due to lower demand in the mild winter of 2016 Eskom had no trouble meeting demand. This situation will only be temporary as certain heavy energy demanding sectors have decreased demand due to the state of the economy. However, when the economic situation will improve demand may again outgrow supply and scheduled load shedding to avoid blackouts will be necessary again. This in turn limits economic growth and reduces demand. This cycle of events shows signs of a possible poverty trap.

One of the ways to finance the expansion of these services to and affordability by the poorer households of Cape Town is through cross-subsidising where revenues from some users are used to finance the provision of services to other users. The tariff structures that the municipality chose to adopt mostly benefited the poor as their consumption was relatively low. The price for the first amount is reasonably low and prices increase progressively for higher levels of consumption. In this manner bigger consumers cross-subsidise the consumption by smaller ones (Swilling and Annecke, 2012; Jaglin 2008; Sandra du Plessis, personal communication, August 8 2016).

Through these service systems Cape town aimed at increasing inclusive urbanism (Swilling and Annecke, 2012; Jaglin 2008). The result was unique: inclusive urbanism in a spatially segregated city. This differs from the modern infrastructure ideal presented by Graham and Marvin (2001) as it keeps the city fragmented even though services are provided in a more inclusive manner.

**Population densities**

An interesting phenomena of Cape Town is that—contrary to the situation in many other major cities—the city’s poor live in crowded outskirts of the city instead of a crowded innercity. This poses many unique problems to the city when it comes to infrastructure, employment and housing issues.

As presented in chapter three the city of Cape Town partly resembles the New World metropolis of Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990). Most of the economic activity is focused on the waterfront and city centre. The makeup of Cape Town’s socio-economic demographics is in a way an example of Sjoberg’s pre-industrial city—see figure 4.1. In this model the elite lived in the city

![Figure 4.1](image.png)

*Figure 4.1* Sjoberg’s idealized model of the social and geographical structure of the pre-industrial city (Knox and Pinch, 2010)
centre as they had direct links with the economical, social and administrative activities of the city, and the money to afford to live in the best spaces. Over time, the elite created a distance between them and the rest of the population. Around the centre there were neighbourhoods for the lower to middle classes; each neighbourhood being significantly different from other areas. On the outskirts were the poor and outcasts who lived in the lowest level of housing. During the industrial period new groups social emerged and changed the socio-economical makeup of the city. The elite moved to the outskirts of the city and poor workers started to occupy small and low quality houses in the dense populated inner city, resulting in changes in the infrastructural layout of the city (Knox and Pinch, 2010). This latter demographical development only partly took place in Cape Town.

During these periods of time socio-economical and infrastructural demands were highly different from present-day. Therefore, it is highly remarkable that the socio-economic demographics of Cape Town still resembles that of a pre-industrial town, and as a result faces significant and very specific infrastructural challenges.

In most cases present-day major cities have a high population density around the city centre and low density in suburbs –see figure 4.2. Cape Town however has the opposite –see figure 4.3: the highest densities are in townships that are typically located far away from the city centre while the city centre has a very low population density.

Cape Town still has the characteristics of Sjoberg’s pre-industrial city. The main reason is historical. During the apartheid era the government made the city centre only available to the white population which had the role of the elite in Sjoberg’s model. At the same time, the coloured and Asian people lived in the neighbourhoods around the city centre –acting as the lower and middle classes in the model– while the black population was moved to the outskirts of the city in townships. The city never made a transition to an industrial or post-industrial city, and as a result its poorest citizens face extreme high transportation costs and they put more and more pressure on the transportation system.

Yet, while Cape Town as a whole has the characteristics of Sjoberg’s pre-industrial city some of its neighbourhoods –mainly the city centre and some wealthy areas– show signs of urban transition through knowledge-based neo-fordism. Under knowledge-based neo-fordism less people are needed
to manufacture products which leads to de-industrialisation and more emphasis on offering services. Certain parts of cities will recentralise companies within the same sectors to create knowledge centres with a strong demand for high-end telecommunication networks. At the same time, other parts remain individual parts of the pre-industrial city without having access to the same level of network services. This creates an unequal division between areas in the city and can lead to social polarisation and protective measures by the advantaged population such as gated communities and other “opting out” strategies (Knox and Pinch, 2010).

**The outskirts: townships**

The last century saw the establishment of the first townships around Cape Town. One of the first was the so-called location of Ndabeni. It was established at the end of the 19th century at a distance of several kilometres from Cape Town and was used as a residential area for black migrant labourers. It was argued that the native population had to be housed away from the rest of the city. Through legislation it became the only residential area where the black population was allowed to rent houses (Coetzer, 2009).

As the city of Cape Town grew the old location of Ndabeni became surrounded by the city. The township of Langa was designed and created in 1927 to address the need for more housing options for the black population farther away from the main city (Coetzer, 2009). It was initially design as a garden suburb where the population of Ndabeni would be moved to. The ideals of an English garden suburb to uplift the population was combined with a need to socio-spatially control and segregate the black population. However, as the establishment of the township was underfunded most of these ideals diminished and the main focus was moved to mere housing and control (Coetzer, 2009; Musemwa, 1993). In the following decades there was a steady flow of migrants into the city looking for housing in townships. At the same period of time, many black Africans were removed from their homes in other parts of the city such District Six and relocated in the townships. This increased the pressure on the existing housing capacity, infrastructure and services (Field, 2015; Bond, 2008).

Under the apartheid regime urban planning was used to separate the different ethnic groups. When the city expanded it began to close the distance between wealthy neighbourhoods and townships. As a response spatial separation of neighbourhoods was strengthened using types of infrastructure and land use that would reinforce the segregation. Examples of this can be seen even today. The photographer Johnny Miller of Millefoto made several aerial photographs of the boundaries between highly different urban neighbourhoods and bundled them in a project called Unequal Scenes –see figures 4.4 and 4.5–.

The ideal of a multiracial integrated community appears to have been realised in the private owned neighbourhood of Century City. Here people from all races live together, employment is at a record

![Figure 4.4](image-url)
height, and crime rates are low. But one look at the income levels immediately pinpoint the crux of the situation: only middle to high income households can afford to live in this community and can pretty much opt out of the problems of the rest of the city. Yet it is a sign that should not be underestimated that in post-apartheid South Africa people from all races can harmoniously live side by side; though not by opting out. Architect Ayesha Kamalie says it like this: “A democratic city is one in which all of its citizens, regardless of age and race, can feel safe and proud of and at home in. At the moment Cape Town does not really meet these objectives, but it is starting to, and yes, I do believe that it can get there.” (Fataar and Petzer, 2014).

**Social sustainability**

Sustainability was once fully within the ecological and environmental domains. But it has since expanded into the social and economic disciplines due to the acute awareness of social issues such as poverty and deprivation which brought much suffering. This new concept of social sustainability includes social capital, social cohesion and social inclusion. Places where people want to work and life and feel safe, all in the present and the future; places which contribute to a high quality of life, meet the needs of its residents, offer good services, are inclusive and offer equality can be considered to be social sustainable communities (Dempsey, et al., 2009). Social sustainability has many dimensions (Sen, 2013). For this paper the dimensions of equity, social cohesion and quality of life are most prominent. The first two manifest themselves though equitable opportunities for all and everyone is connected –there is no exclusion and no one is disadvantaged or or left out–. Also the community should seek to meet the basic needs of all and ensure a decent quality of life for all. These three dimensions directly touch the two main theories in this paper of splintering urbanism and big push –which enables people to improve their quality of life–.

**Townships today**

Townships nowadays provide housing for approximately a third to half the population of Cape Town –see figure 4.6–. These townships were often designed for much fewer inhabitants than the amount who are now residing in them. Some of the quite small houses are being shared by multiple families. Also a large number of people are living in so-called backyard shelters. This are additional units that are constructed on a piece of land. While the plot was meant to accommodate one family it now is home to multiple buildings each housing one or more families. Another option for migrants is to build a shack on a piece of unoccupied land (Huchzermeyer, 2011; Bond, 2008). According to township guide and life-long resident of Langa Nkosikhona Nompuku people can build a shack in most unoccupied places as long as they do not hinder the community and no one objects to it within a few days; that way you informally own the land (personal communication, September 7 2016). This way the occupant does not own the right officially, but on a local level this right is acknowledge and enforced (Marx, et al., 2013). The government has made shacks and backyard shelters illegal to live in. But at the same time there would be enormous problems evicting people from these shelters and
therefore the municipality has to look for solutions and compromises (Huchzermeyer, 2011; Bond, 2008).

As a result of the overpopulation and underfinancing in townships infrastructure is often lacking capacity, maintenance or simply not present at all, and this negatively affects the residents’ quality of life. As mentioned before townships are composed of different types of houses occupied by residents with different levels of income. Most services and infrastructure are provided to what the government considers to be legal residents. Other people have limited access to these services and infrastructure. In case of backyard dwellers, they often have access through the main occupant of the plot but they have to share. This results in some capacity problems (Braathen, et al., 2014; Nkosikhona Nompuku, personal communication, September 9 2016). In the case of people living in shacks there initially was little to no access to basic services for sanitation and water. However, the government has constructed several communal areas which provides access to basic levels of sanitation and water as portrayed in figure 4.7.

Some of the infrastructure is not easy to expand. The sewerage system constructed in the early days of the townships is an example of such an infrastructure. Due to the overpopulation, poor construction and lack or maintenance sewerage systems in townships such as Langa are overloaded. This in turn leads to blockages, surcharges and even spilling over and flooding of roads. Public sanitation facilities such as toilets are occasionally cleaned but are health hazards to the population. One of the promises that has largely been unfulfilled is the expansion and upgrading of the delivery of energy. This was mainly caused by poor management, neglect of the infrastructure and weak local capacity (Bhorat, et al., 2013).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster Group</th>
<th>% of suburbs</th>
<th>No of households</th>
<th>% of total households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elite suburbs</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>54 630</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper middle class</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>68 129</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>122 759</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle suburbia</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>77 380</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner city</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>17 564</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi/skilled labour pool</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>42 404</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New bonded areas</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>101 638</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>238 986</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional townships</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>80 980</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dense run-down high-rise</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>170 752</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban and working poor</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>26 108</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below the poverty line (mainly formal townships, with some shacks)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>111 770</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>389 610</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainly stand alone shack settlements, with &amp; without tenure, approx half ‘unserviced’</td>
<td>Not calculated</td>
<td>94 766</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>846 121</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.6 Type of household accommodation (Swilling and Annecke, 2012)

Figure 4.7 Public water supply in Langa – often shared between 20 to 50 families (own photo)

Figure 4.6 Type of household accommodation (Swilling and Annecke, 2012)

Figure 4.7 Public water supply in Langa – often shared between 20 to 50 families (own photo)
A serious problem to education in townships is the high rates of drop outs; not the access to education. Peer pressure and crime are affecting the high amount of drop outs as they show easy and early rewards while undermining social morality. Education has been identified by many Langa residents as a way to escape poverty including Yamkela and Nombulelo Mtibe. Yamkela (personal communication, July 16 2016) has a little brother who dropped out of high school in his last year, but soon realised without a higher level of education his employment opportunities are very slim. Nombulelo Mtibe (personal communication, September 9 2016) operates a market stall and she had decided long ago to invest everything she can into the education of her children “so they can have a better future than I had.”

Unemployment figures are higher than the city’s average. This is partly as a result of overall lower levels of education within the population of townships. This will further be discussed in chapter 5. One of the other reasons unemployment is high has to do with the location of townships. These are typically located on the outskirts of the city; far away from centres of employment. The City of Cape Town developed the Transportation Development Index which revealed that people in townships spend a large share of their income on transportations. This is a result of the distance to centres of employment and the rest of the city combined with an underdeveloped public transportation network. In some townships the average amount spent on public transportation is 45% of their monthly income (City of Cape Town, 2015b; Lewis, 2015). The TDI also showed that a larger share of commuters are low-income commuters who come from townships than originally was assumed (City of Cape Town, 2015b; Lewis, 2015). Sandra du Plessis (personal communication 8 August 2016): “Bright [the gardener] wanted to live here close to the city centre so that he would not have to spend much time and money on transportation. Now he can just walk to his work and is very happy about that.”

Many low-skilled job seeking people live in areas far away from areas with job opportunities. Small and Medium Enterprises –SMEs– are identified by the government to help address these issues but are hindered by regulatory burdens and social housing policies. Furthermore, infrastructural capacity in transport and electricity in townships have hampered the development of these enterprises. Key elements that can alleviate the situation are the expansion and integration of public transportation and of energy systems, increasing density of neighbourhoods close to employment centres such as the city centre and increasing economic activity in already dense urban areas (OECD, 2015; City of Cape Town, 2015b).

**Development of Langa**

Langa is the oldest township on Cape Town. While originally designed for less than 10,000 inhabitants it now houses around 50,000. Streets with government houses of the RDP programme are surrounded by informal houses and shacks. Due to overcrowding plots now accommodate multiple dwellings. While the RDP houses have basic sanitation and electricity, the shacks often lack these necessities and toilets and water taps are shared with ten to up to fifty other households. A small area of Langa contains more luxurious houses which has existed for many decades –as shown in figure 4.8– (Babalwa Mdloyi, personal communication, September 9 2016). Babalwa Mdloyi has lived all her life in Beverly Hills –as the locals call this part of Langa– in one of these bigger houses and recently joined the backyard dwellers when her parents built a house in their backyard for her and her husband.
Yamkela confirms (personal communication, July 16 2016) that the presence of Beverly Hills works inspiring for the other residence: “We can see that if we work hard we can make it on our own.” Though he reckons that many Langa residents will never reach it as they lack education, innovative entrepreneurship and the real will. Yamkela: “I could be having a nice time this [Saturday] evening drinking with my friends. But I rather work now so that one day I can invite my friends over to my house in Beverly Hills for drinks.” When asked about the many smartphones and cars –shown in figure 4.9– in the township he admits that most other people are more concerned with immediate consumption than with saving or investing.

An alternative or even an addition to the big push model is the absorptive capacity theory which explains how actors are unable to benefit from investments. An explanation for this is that the actors may not be educated or skilled enough, they lack access to institutions and services, the amount of promising investment opportunities is limited and there may be cultural-historical differences (Guillaumont Jeanneney, 2010; Moyo, 2009; Maile, 2013). In relation to the latter, a well-known remark in Cape Town is that when each of the four main racial groups –black, coloured, Indian and white people– are offered a pie everyone will take it home for the long-term except the black person who will eat it (Thomas Aanhuizen, personal communication, September 10 2016). The reason behind it is historical; during the apartheid era economic opportunities and education levels were low among black people and as a result experience with savings and investments were slim. Even nowadays, innovative entrepreneurial activity is very low in townships. Many people do work hard and earn enough to keep themselves fed, clothed and can sometimes afford some luxury such as a car, but they fail to save (Yamkela, personal communication, July 16 2016).

This rise of the number of cars in a township as Langa raises infrastructural concerns. While most residents used to rely on minitaxi busses as their mode of transportation from and to work, now more and more residents own a car and this puts more pressure on the township’s access roads as well as the city’s overall transport network. When asked about the township’s infrastructure several interviewees –Nombulelo Mtibe, Yonele Pokolo and Nkosikhona Nompuku– confirmed increased problems of traffic jams on the access roads from and to Langa as well as within the township.
**N2 Gateway project**

All of these three interviewees have experiences with the so-called N2 Gateway project that was conducted in the township of Langa. The city of Cape Town is not a stranger to large-scale urban development projects as mentioned earlier this chapter in relation to the development of Ndabeni, Langa and other townships. Being host of several matches during the 2010 Football World Cup the city of Cape Town was eager to use this to portray itself onto the world as an ideal tourist location. At the same time it faced many challenges from inward migration, socio-spatial segregation, poverty, a huge housing backlog and lacking infrastructure (Jordhus-Lier, 2015).

Driving along the N2 –also called the Settlers Road– one can see almost everything Cape Town has to offer. As we travel from east to west the main road shows us a few glimpses into the lives of the people living in the townships along the road –see figure 4.10–. After a few miles one passes the international airport on the right and the view changes significantly. The chaotic collection of slums each struggling to occupy a tiny bit of land is replaced by neatly structured houses painted in bright colours as to liven up the township and at the same time attract the N2 viewer’s eye –see figure 4.11–. These houses are built by the government and given away to people who used to live in shacks and other informal dwellings. Most of these homes were built around the world cup and new ones are still being constructed. For a few miles these houses dictate the view until the Devil’s Peak and Table Mountain come into view and we gradually make our way into the city centre. Here the first high-rise buildings enter our sight and dominate the scenery while occasionally being interrupted by historical buildings such as the castle and town hall.

The World Cup 2010 was not without controversies. Most noteworthy are the evictions of people from their homes in poor townships along the main access roads. While evictions are not uncommon in South Africa the number and locations of these evictions in the period running up to the world cup
made many believe one of the motives was to make the city look more beautiful to foreign visitors travelling over the N2 from the airport to the city centre, while paying little attention to the effects it had on its evicted citizens. Evicted citizens would often end up in transit camps during the world cup and relocated to more remote townships (Newton, 2011; Jordhus-Lier, 2015).

One of the larger-scale eviction programs concerned the citizens of Joe Slovo Informal Settlement within the Langa township in Cape Town. The shanty-town shacks in the informal settlement had to make room for newly built rental apartments and neat brick and render bond-houses along the important N2 Gateway. The N2 Gateway project area is a strip located along the N2 Gateway, but beyond this area covered by the project many square miles of shacks still remain in the township. This meant the eviction of 20,000 residents of the informal settlement to one of the poorest townships in Cape Town: Delft on the outskirts of Cape Town. The new settlement for the former Joe Slovo residents is called Symphony Way Temporary Relocation Area – though locals call it Blikkiesdorp as it resembles just that –. Living conditions within the settlement are poor with high crime rates, high unemployment, lack of transportation services and substandard living conditions (The Guardian, 2014; Ernsten, 2014; Newton, 2011; Jordhus-Lier, 2015).

The eviction of these Joe Slovo residents has been influenced strongly by political reasons. When South Africa signed up to host the 2010 Football World Cup it also bound itself to its own strategy of creating a legacy aimed at international fame, carrying out a message of unity and advertising its touristic possibilities. The informal settlements between the airport and the innercity along the N2 Gateway were an eyesore and triggered the wish of the municipality to beautify the main highway of entry in time for the 2010 Football World Cup (Newton, 2011; COHRE, 2009; Jordhus-Lier, 2015).

While the project was initially a joint project of the City of Cape Town, the province of Western Cape and the National Ministry of Housing called the M3. At the start of the project these were all dominated by the political party ANC. But after the 2006 March municipality elections the ANC lost its dominance in the city of Cape town to the main opposition party DA and consequently the City of Cape Town was effectively removed from the M3 and its role was limited to the provision of certain services. In 2009 the DA also won a majority in the Western Cape which further strained cooperation within the M3. The rivalry between the two major political parties hindered the project considerably and fuelled social resentment for controversial decisions concerning the project (Jordhus-Lier, 2015).

Part of this resentment originated from the choice to allow the private sector to build bond houses in the informal settlement of Joe Slovo with monthly rents between 3,500 to 7,000 Rand –220 to 440 Euro– which many original residents could not afford. Only months earlier a fire in Joe Slovo left 12,000 people homeless and some residents were relocated to a Temporarily Relocation Area in the township of Delft. This posed many problems for the Joe Slovo residents as schools in Delft were full and Delft is located much further away from the rest of the city which led to increased transportation costs (Jordhus-Lier, 2015; Newton, 2011). While this relocation was to be only temporary some residents had to stay there for a long time. Nkosikhona Nompuku (personal communication, September 7 2016) explains the concerns that residents of Joe Slovo had towards relocating: “In Cape Town something that is supposed to be temporary has a tendency to become permanent.”

Resentment however did not only exist within the informal settlement of Joe Slovo. There was a housing backlog of 400,000 and the M3 made a choice to build fully subsidised houses alongside the bonded houses. This created high hopes for the many residents of areas around Joe Slovo of obtaining one of these houses; especially among backyard and shack dwellers who would then gain official status as resident including better access to services (Newton, 2011; Jordhus-Lier, 2015). These high
hopes led to tensions between social groups in and around Joe Slovo. Tensions increased as a result of a lack of communication and consultation by the M3, the inability of a significant amount of residents to register for housing due to too low or unstable income contrary to earlier signals and a rise of initial rental levels. Residents felt not being included and not taken seriously as well as demoralised. This led to protests and even a high court case in 2007 and 2008 (Jordhus-Lier, 2015; Newton, 2011; COHRE, 2009). Nombulelo Mtibe marched alongside many other residents of Langa and other neighbourhoods. Her reason to be there was that she felt the governments did not listen to the people and that the Joe Slovo project was useless to the residents of the informal settlement and the surrounding areas (personal communication, September 9 2016).

Several lessons can be learned from the N2 Gateway project. Even though the project was set up as a pro-poor project it failed to deliver part of its pro poor goals. Due to the establishment of bonded houses with considerable rents some of the previous residents were effectively forced out of the neighbourhood to areas much further away and thereby impoverishing them even more. Better communication could have prevented the unrest under residents of the informal settlement itself and the surrounding ones due to the lack of clear communication and broken promises. Furthermore, a more inclusive approach to housing projects would possibly create broader support and more inclusive design solutions.

**Inclusive urbanism through urban rejuvenation**

Barcelona’s legacy as host city to the 1992 Summer Olympic Games has centred around urban rejuvenation. It has successfully done so using ambitious zonal redevelopment and shown the world that mega events can be catalysts for urban transformation (Poynter, 2012). While some other host cities of mega events have made attempts at urban rejuvenation through the hosting of the mega event this has often not been high on their agenda. A notable exception may be the city of London which hosted the 2012 Summer Olympic Games. The city was able to redevelop brownfield sites from the industrial period and attempted to reduce social inequality (Poynter, 2012; Brown-Luthango, 2016; Fataar and Petzer, 2014).

Urban rejuvenation is not an easy task as it demands recognition that previous urban projects and environments have deteriorated over time and improvements in urban and social infrastructure is required. When combined with mega events the main points of focus clash with one another. While host cities try for economic-political reasons to make the mega event financially viable on the short-term, the urban rejuvenation project requires the same people to change their focus to long-term goals of reducing social inequality through urban transformation (Essex and Chalkley, 2007; Poynter, 2012; Brown-Luthango, 2016; Fataar and Petzer, 2014).

One of the biggest townships of Cape Town is Khayelitsha. It has among the highest crime rates in the country partly due to the poor living conditions and economic opportunities. Recently – years after the 2010 Football World Cup has moved on –, urban planners have taken up the task of redesigning urban spaces and building community centres to empower the community, stand up to crime by so-called active citizenship and claim a feeling of ownership of the urban spaces previously unclaimed and left to accommodate crime (Mills, 2010). This approach creates a more active community that helps each other, provides passive safety and offers alternatives to crime. Key in this approach is to enable people to do it themselves (City of Cape Town, 2011; The Guardian, 2014). In the nearby township of Harare this approach has proven to be successful as crime rates were reduced, feelings of safety has gone up and people make more use of the newly developed services and local shops. This approach contrasts highly with the top-down approach of the government which is still very paternalistic (Brown-Luthango, 2016). The colonial and apartheid eras have left the South Africans with little
capacity of self-determinism and entrepreneurship, and people expect the government to provide for them rather than upgrade their living conditions themselves. At the same time, the government still fears that giving freedom to people will make it harder to control them, and there is great belief in grand building projects. However, this has a tendency to make the same mistakes as the past: to put the poorest people furthest away of the city (Mills, 2010; The Guardian, 2014; Ernstsen, 2014).

A striking example of segregation under the apartheid regime was the construction of Cape Town’s central train station. Built in 1966 it is actually one train station for white commuters and another one accommodating to non-white commuters in one building. The 2010 World Cup offered the city an immediate reason to redesign the entire station (Fataar and Petzer, 2014). The architects decided to open up the station letting in light, allowing freedom of movement. During the apartheid era public transport mostly served areas that were frequently visited by the white population. In recent years public transportation has been expanded. With an expansion into black and coloured townships the number of commuters they serve has gone up by 90% in mere months. The new train station design combines the station with other forms of public transport as well as informal economic activity –street food vendors, hairdressers, repair shops, local entertainers– that is popular among the poorest citizens. This helped it transform an icon of segregation into a symbol of integration and become one of the most appreciated post-apartheid buildings in the city. Currently five more train stations are scheduled to be redesigned by the same architects. One of which is the train station near Langa. Local residents Zodwa and Yonele Pokolo (personal communications, September 9 2016) are thrilled about this development. The design includes types of shops that were not yet present near Langa. This means residents no longer have to travel as far as before for these shops.

Urban improvement plans in Cape Town have often disrupted the economic activity of informal traders (Fataar and Petzer, 2014; Mkhokeli Gabisa, personal communication, August 26, 2016). However, in the new train stations designs they become included. Local street vendor and part-time market stall operator Mkhokeli Gabisa believes these developments are very promising to small vendors such as himself. It allows him to sell his wares near potential costumers while in turn he and his colleagues feel and acts as if they are semi-responsible for the public space. Together with increased and better lit pedestrian access roads these stations are likely to serve as hot spots within town centres. This offers those living in townships cheaper, more reliable, safer and faster transportation thereby reducing barriers to economic development (Brown-Luthango, 2016; Fataar and Petzer, 2014).

A shadow is cast though on these developments as residents of townships fear that improvements in the urban environment of the township will outpace that of the economic development of its residents. In turn this might make the cost of living in the township too high and force them out of the upgraded townships (Brown-Luthango, 2016; Fataar and Petzer, 2014; Jordhus-Lier, 2015). They prefer a shack with little services near jobs over a formal house with excellent services that is located on the outskirts away from employment opportunities. A resident of one of the townships –Europe which located between the airport and an industrial complex– put it: “You cannot eat a government house”. Accepting formal housing would mean relocating to the township of Delft which is 15 kilometres further away from major employment opportunities (Jordhus-Lier, 2015; Brown-Luthango, 2016; Fataar and Petzer, 2014).

An important development is the recent initiative of the Upgrading Informal Settlements Programme which offers townships that are well located basic services like electrification and sanitation. This is often better regaled than relocating residents to the already crowded townships at the city’s outskirts. One aspect that is lacking is that its residents do not receive title deeds or legal tenure for the building
plots they occupy. This creates tension between older and newer residents as people from outside move into these townships for these reasons (Brown-Luthango, 2016; Fataar and Petzer, 2014).

5. Economic development and big push effects

The big push model has been used numerous times as an argument to host mega events (Burbank, Andranovich, and Heying, 2002). These events have the ability to trigger new investments in infrastructure and economic activities, and that may trigger a virtuous cycle of investments. It may also create employment, attract short-term private investments and spill-over effects, add to the region’s legacy attracting tourism and long-term investments. However, not all mega events have had these positive effects on the host city as several examples at the end of chapter 3 have shown. In many cases politicians, policymakers and the population were very optimistic about hosting the mega event and did not share the doubts some economists (Baade and Matheson, 2002; Rose and Spiegel, 2009) share on the tangible economic benefits and considerable costs associated with hosting mega events. For example, in the case of Cape town the current use of the Green Point Stadium after the world cup has been inadequate and it struggles to even finance its own upkeep.

This chapter first gives a detailed background overview of various aspects of the country’s current situation such as governmental policies, economic sectors and employment. These aspects such as various economic sectors and the presence of corruption are all very much related to possible poverty traps and whether a big push is a useful tool to escape them. In the latter part of the chapter the emphasis shifts to a micro economic view on Cape Town—in particular the township of Langa, poverty traps on a micro economic level and possible approaches to escape these traps.

South Africa’s macro economy

From 1994 onward when the apartheid era ended South Africa has experienced a near consistent economic growth rate. This is shown in figure 5.1. In the last 22 years it faced few periods of negative growth. However, during this period growth has not always been very high. The annual growth rates

![Quarterly Economic Growth Rate per president of South Africa](chart)

Figure 5.1 Quarterly growth rates in percentages (Biznews, 2016)
for the Western Cape –of which Cape Town accounts for 80%– were around the same level of 4.7% (Swilling and Annecke, 2012). Most of the country’s growth can be attributed to a commodity price boom spurred by demand from China. The dependence on volatile revenues from minerals and other commodities as well as foreign investment leave the country quite vulnerable (The Guardian, 2015). Even though the country has shown decent growth figures in the past one has to account for population growth as well. If population growth rates exceed the nation’s economic growth rates the GDP per capita will decrease and people will actually become poorer. In recent years GDP per capita in Rand has somewhat stagnated under president Zuma after growth between 2001 and 2007 as shown in figure 5.2.

**Figure 5.2** Annual GDP per capita in Euro (Biznews, 2016)

The motivation to host mega events are both formulated in economic and in non-economic terms. Non-economic benefits are somewhat harder to measure than economic ones. One of the methods of investigating whether a big push effect from a mega event has been successful is to compare economic growth rates prior to the mega event with those during and after. In the case of the 2010 Football World Cup and South Africa the mega event seemed to coincide with the after effects of the 2008 global economic crisis. This crisis which has been considered to be the worst economic crisis since 1930 had been spreading to developing countries –including South Africa–. While the crisis itself did not affect the African continent much the effects it had on the global economy and especially the fall in prices and demand of commodities slowed down South Africa’s economy drastically (Baxter, 2008; Padayachee, 2010; Zulu, 2011). Rose and Spiegel (2009) have identified substantive permanent increases in trade by hosts of mega events after the allocation of the event. They call this the Olympic Effect. In 2004 South Africa’s bid to host the world cup won and economic growth in South Africa seems to coincide with this period. During this time trade has grown significantly, although imports have outgrown exports (Baxter, 2008).

During the apartheid era the white population made up much of the skilled labour. Selective access to education, services and transportation fancied this minority which created high levels of economic and social inequality (OECD, 2015). Unemployment and inequality in Cape Town remain high and
there are severe location and infrastructure problems to be addressed. The Gini coefficient to measure
inequality rose from 0.67 in 1994 to 0.70 in 2008 indicating a rising inequality despite government
efforts to decrease income differences. Within the black population a middle and upper class has
emerged. However, South Africa’s middle class remains small (Leibbrandt, et al., 2010). At the same
time many South Africans are living beyond their means; an example also set by their government
who saw its debt increasing rapidly over the last decade.

South Africa has been and still is combating poverty levels by increasing access to education, housing
and basic services. Sound fiscal policies, managing inflation and the exchange rate, and attracting
international investments strengthened the economy (OECD, 2015). The transition from the apartheid
era to an inclusive democratic system supported by strong independent institutions has not been easy
and is still very much ongoing (Stocker, 2013). Under the apartheid regime South Africa faced many
economic sanctions and had to build its own industries and service sectors. This resulted in the
establishment of manufacturing industries and services. However these were not used to foreign
competition. In the post-apartheid period these companies faced many challenges when the market
was opened up. Today South Africa remain insufficiently integrated in the global value chains. On a
positive note, the 2008 economic crisis did not hit South Africa as hard as it hit other countries who
were more integrated. However, South African companies struggle to be globally competitive and this
is reinforced by government policies –directed at reducing inequalities–. To gain global
competitiveness firms have to import necessary knowledge it is lacking and creating links worldwide.
South Africa’s policies have often been targeting domestic consumption and redistribution –which is
tempting poverty traps to occur– rather than focusing on global integration, competitiveness and
employment creation (Maile, 2013). Most economic growth has been artificial through domestic
consumption stimulation and fuelled by high commodity prices. Instead a stronger focus by South
Africa on a growing educated middle class, savings and investments, and global competitiveness
while living within their budget would help the country not to get stuck in poverty traps (Burger, et
al., 2014).

President Jacob Zuma assumed office on the 9th of May 2009 and in recent years has been criticised
for several reasons, including allegations of corruption, patronage, clientelism and some of his
economic policies (Jaap Kreeftenberg, personal communication, July 19 2016). In December 2015
Zuma sacked his Minister of Finance Nhlanhla Nene. Nene and Zuma clashed over several spend-
ing issues which Nene opposed partly on grounds that debt-ridden South Africa could not afford them
while Zuma was set on them (SwissCham South Africa, 2016).

Zuma appointed David van Rooyen who had little experience with finances and economic issues; only
to replace him with Pravin Gordhan a mere 4 days later after the market reacted and the Rand
depreciated by over 5% in a single day. During this period credit agencies downgraded the credit
rating of South Africa to only two rates above the junk status (SwissCham South Africa, 2016; The

At the same time unemployment rates are still among the highest in the world at 35% overall and
youth unemployment between 50% and 70% (Leibbrandt, et al., 2010; The Guardian, 2015). These
figures are even worse in the townships: the symbols of the previous apartheid regime. These were
supposed to be transformed by now. Most people are feeling let down by their government for not
fulfilling its promises, and protests are more and more common nowadays. Zuma’s government has
sometimes given in to protesters’ demands which further drains the nation’s coffers (Stocker, 2013;
The South Africans have heard tough promises from their government to tackle corruption and maladministration, but the general impression is that governmental action is too little. Even the president is under investigation for several cases of corruption; most noteworthy when his private mansion was redesigned and several hundred million Rand –tens of million Euro– intended for security purposes were misused to upgrade his house with luxuries such as a huge swimming pool. This form of corruption and waste of taxpayer’s money as well as the way the matter was dealt with decreased confidence in the government and the nation. The Public Protector set up an independent investigation, but was hindered by government and ANC officials. In the end an interministerial taskforce was able to put the blame on lower level officials in government and president Zuma merely had to pay back a small portion of the money wasted (Stocker, 2013).

Throughout all levels of government corruption and maladministration are major problems as it diverts resources from the government and its projects. On most levels officials receive pay-offs in return for inflated government tenders or so-called tenderpreneurship. Concerns over corruption is increasing in South Africa. As a response to this government has taken a stance against corruption in public. However, there is a lack of accountability and even when sanctions are issued these are too few and too little. The Zuma government abolished the previous very successful anti-corruption elite unit who was at the time investigating him in a corruption case. And he set up a new but weaker elite team. Anti-corruption agencies are generally understaffed, short on funds and lack the authority to act effectively (Stocker, 2013).

One of the main problems with the current administration seems to be the inability to implement, coordinate and stick to policies and not making use of outside advice. At the same time policies seem to be influenced by different groups within the ANC party which opposes other policies and are sometimes selfserving. This hinders the learning process from previous policies and the implementation of new ones (Stocker, 2013).

As a result of the power struggle between the various groups within the ANC president Zuma seems to have used patronage to strengthen his own position and without an economic strategy this comes at the expense of economic policies. Many institutions, governmental agencies and state-owned firms are now run by people who owe loyalty to Zuma and who are more likely to protect him in case corruption and other investigations will be started up again after he leaves office in 2019. The people are not being appointed based on merit, but on loyalty ties, and this has had a devastating effect on the operations of these departments and companies as well as on the country because the institutions place little obstacles to the president’s overspending (Stocker, 2013; The Guardian, 2015).

In the last few decades most of Cape Town’s economic growth can be contributed to the growth of the service sector. Around two thirds of total employment comes from this sector. It mostly employs medium to high level skilled workers with the exception of the security and tourism sectors. Another sector that mainly employs low level skilled workers and has grown over the years is the –relatively small– construction sector. At the same time the previously very important manufacturing sector only grew at 3% per year while exports of their products decreased (Swilling and Annecke, 2012). These developments have led to increased employment opportunities for medium to high skilled workers while it decreased them for low skilled workers. Unemployment in absolute figures has risen from 175 000 in 1995 to 225 000 in 2008 and keeps pace with the city’s growth. However, the share of medium skill levels within those employed rose from 52% to 55%, and of elementary levels dropped from 25% to 23% (Swilling and Annecke, 2012).
The economy has managed to grow at an average rate of 3 percent over the last two decades and has created a few strong sectors such as finance and retailing. However, growth rate predictions and estimations have continuously not been met over the years mainly due to issues with corruption and rent-seeking behaviour (Maile, 2013). This shows signs that the country of South Africa may be experiencing some form of poverty trap. A big push may help the country escape this trap to set it onward to further economic growth. Limited economic growth is being achieved while there are problems with corruption, clientelism, patronage, maladministration, mismanagement and more which puts South Africa at risk of slipping further into a poverty trap. If South Africa can manage to tackle those issues the nation can achieve better and more sustainable economic and social growth – supported by the market and a government backed by strong independent institutions– (Maile, 2013). Stocker (2013) heartily agrees, but notices a different trend in South Africa: “... unlike most rapidly developing countries that realize that corruption must be reined in to realize goals of economic growth and be attractive to foreign direct investment, this message seems to be lost to the powers that be in South Africa.”

It can be argued that the country of South Africa is in a poverty trap. Lack of impressive growth in the last few decades –and especially in the last few years– can for a large part be contributed to weak government policies, corruption, clientelism and patronage. This in turn lowers trust and creates a lack of viable and sustainable investment opportunities.

### Tourism developments

One of the arguments to host the 2010 Football World Cup was to promote South Africa abroad as a good place to invest and as a good place to spend a holiday (Du Plessis and Maenning, 2010). While changes in tourist numbers are used to determine whether a mega event has had a positive effect on a country’s reputation, it would be wrong to contribute all of the growth in tourism to the 2010 Football World Cup.

![Average Rand/Dollar exchange rate per president of South Africa](image)

*Figure 5.3 Exchange rates of Rand to the US Dollar (Biznews, 2016)*
The Rand had been a fairly strong currency until the end of the apartheid era and saw slow but steady depreciation in the first 15 years of post-apartheid. The depreciation of the South African Rand has definitely not been an unknown phenomena during Zuma’s presidency as the national currency has lost nearly half of its value between 2011 and 2015 –as shown in figure 5.3– and has continued to depreciate in 2016. This means that GDP per capita in US dollars has decreased sharply in the last 5 years despite GDP per capita in Rand being stagnant during the same period.

In an interview with tourism entrepreneur Jaap Kreeftenberg (personal conversation, July 19 2016) he says: “The tourist sector is booming the last few years. As a result I have a hard time finding enough qualified personnel. But this growth is probably to a large part due to the very low exchange rate of the Rand. Tourists can now get a lot of value for their foreign money.”. Guesthouse owner Sandra du Plessis who rents rooms to long-term domestic and foreign visitors agrees: “I used to have a lot of guests from South Africa. But because of rising prices due to higher import prices I had to raise my prices as well. I now get more foreign visitors than local guests as they can still afford coming here. My rooms have become too expensive for some South Africans, but to foreign visitors they are actually cheaper in their currency than they were a few years ago” (personal conversation, July 24 2016).

More tourists have visited South Africa annually in the years after the world cup than in the years prior to it. However, tourist numbers are highly influenced by the depreciation of the Rand. The depreciation has strong negative effects on most of the country’s economic sectors, but it has also made a visit to South Africa much more affordable to foreign visitors. Tourism is thriving as a result. This makes it very hard to make a fair comparison between tourist figures prior to and after the mega event.

While mega events are relatively short-term and one-time events the infrastructure built to accommodate the event and the visitors are of a more long term nature. Often a city is unable to accommodate all the visitors within the existing supply of hotel rooms and therefore investments are made to increase the number of hotel rooms. This way mega events bring forward long-term investments that would otherwise have taken a long time to be initiated. The benefits on the short term are evident as the construction industry as well as the tourism industry receive significant boosts (Ferreira and Boshoff, 2014; Gold and Gold, 2008). Hosts of mega events have a tendency to be positive in their expectations when it comes to the number of visitors. As the mega event creates a short-term peak in demand for accommodation it would be devastating for the tourism sector if long-term investments would create a significant oversupply merely to meet this peak demand. This is exacerbated by expectations that after a mega event has left the host city demand of accommodation will be higher than before the event leading to overcapacity (Rogerson, 2013; Gold and Gold, 2008; Ferreira and Boshoff, 2014).

Hotels take a long time to plan and build and this time lag makes the sector vulnerable to the so-called fallacy of composition. This phenomenon occurs when the economic environment leads investors to make the same decision one after another and due to time lag only later realise the situation has changed considerably and their decision proved to be ill-suited for the present time. In this manner during the period between 2008 and 2010 nearly 10,000 hotel rooms were added which is the equivalent of 3.5 million guest nights per year. Already weeks after the world cup the tourism sector concluded that the overcapacity would lead to bankruptcies if no steps would have been taken such as the transformation of some hotels into apartments (Rogerson, 2013; Ferreira and Boshoff, 2014). The current depreciation of the Rand may have eased the overcapacity problems in the hotel sector as it
attracts foreign visitors to the city. However, this situation will only be temporary and structural adjustments are still needed.

**Poverty traps**

Townships may be poverty traps in themselves as many residents are unable to lift themselves out of poverty for several reasons. Despite efforts by the government living conditions in the townships remain deplorable. There is a lack of living space, and insufficient access to and poor quality of services which leads to considerable health issues. Also access to higher levels of education is low mainly for economic reasons. In townships the quality and cleanliness of water, sanitation and waste disposal services as well as the overall hygiene are very poor. Many residents do not have their own toilet or bathroom and instead make use of public services shared by many, but for which no one feels responsible (Marx, et al., 2013; Nkosikhona Nompuku, personal communication, September 9 2016). Due to overpopulation sewerage systems are overloaded and occasionally lead to flooding of areas. These living conditions often lead to health issues and may result in lower life expectancy. Low levels of human capital may lead to low social mobility across generations (Marx, et al., 2013). This makes it harder for residents who suffer from poor health to capitalise their human capital through the labour market. This is exacerbated by the lack of developed services and physical capital in the townships. Very few private or public investors are providing public goods in the townships (Maile, 2013; Marx, et al., 2013; Adato, et al., 2006).

Another reason is the low margin of returns from small investments into upgrades. This is contrary to small upgrading investments in rural areas which generally have a high margin of return and can lead to a substantial increase in income. Also most urban upgrade investments require more capital than those in rural areas, and the urban poor are often unable to raise enough capital (Yamkela, personal communication, July 16 2016; Maile, 2013). A big push method would seem a perfect fit for the conditions of townships to tackle the lack of investments and to create spill-over effects (Maile, 2013; Marx, et al., 2013; Adato, et al., 2006).

The Harris-Todaro paradox may come into effect when townships are able to attract these investments and lift themselves out of the poverty trap. This paradox describes how the development of a township may cause people from outside of the township to migrate to it and thereby increase unemployment, decrease living conditions and discourage investments (Marx, et al., 2013).

South Africa has so far been unable to make good on its promises to help millions of its citizens escape poverty. Those people and groups of people are struggling every day to lift themselves out of poverty. They have a hard time saving money and investing it for further growth in income; they are stuck in a poverty trap. Combined with corruption and populist policies that discourage investments this locks the country and its citizens in a recurring cycle.

The employment figures presented in the macro economic part of this chapter showed a decrease in the demand for low-skilled employees and increased demand for higher skilled personnel (Swilling and Annecke, 2012). This is quite worrisome to the low skilled employment seeking migrants who come in fairly large numbers to Cape town from other parts of the country as well as to the large group of low-skilled residents of townships. It also stresses the need for education as a means to increase employment opportunities and escape poverty.

It is plausible to argue that townships and its residents are in a poverty trap. Nombulelo Mtibe who has lived nearly all her life in the township of Langa describes her childhood as living inside a shack with seven brothers and sisters. There was little money and as the oldest she had to work from an
early age to help support the family. “I did not want that for my children so contrary to many people
in the townships I only have two children.” When asked whether she is able to save any money from
her job at the grill –preparing sheep heads– she broadly smiles and replies: “No, not at all. Everything
I earn goes to the education of my children so they can have a better future than I had.” (personal
communication, August 10 2016). Even though her income is low she seems to have found a way for
her two children to escape the Malthusian poverty trap by offering them a better education.

Expectations

Three types of data gathering methods have been used to collect information about the expectation
around the world cup. Both literature (Du Plessis and Maenning, 2010; Bond and Cottle, 2010),
interviews and surveys revealed fairly high levels of expectation. Main reasons for the high
expectations were job creation and economic growth. This was especially the case for low-income
residents as they often expected to benefit personally from the world cup (Bond and Cottle, 2010).

The survey data –see Appendix II– from 100 surveyees supports this as most low-income surveyees
with high expectations listed “employment” as the main reason for these high expectations. In the case
of surveyees with a monthly income of 0 to 5,000 Rand – 0 to 312 Euro– 23 out of 27 respondents answered
“Employment” as their main reason for their high expectations –as shown in figure 5.4–. Out of the 23
surveyees with an income of 5,000 to 10,000 Rand – 312 to 625 Euro– 16 answered “Employment” as well.

Information from interviews point in the same
direction. Nombulelo Mtibe (personal communication,
September 9 2016) is very negative about the world
cup because the promises of economic development and employment were never kept. In her
experience many people in townships expected tourists to come and upgraded their housing to
accommodate them. However very few tourists if any at all stayed in the townships. Furthermore,
several tourism related businesses went bankrupt after the world cup or had to slim down to survive –
possibly due to the overcapacity generated by the world cup height–. Nombulelo shares her
experiences. She used to sell many roasted sheep heads to several restaurants. But after the world cup
demand decreased when these restaurants too slimmed down.

Babalwa Mdloyi is less negative about the effects of the world cup, but she does agree that positive
effects have been low contrary to the expectations. In Babalwa’s experience (personal
communication, September 9 2016) the world cup came as a big hype and went without changing
much. “The same people live here, in the same houses, they do the same jobs as before and the
infrastructure is the same. At best the world cup offered temporary jobs.” She noticed some people
fixing up their houses to offer rooms for tourists, but only a few came. However, she is positive about
the positive exposure townships received over the years due to more and more tourists visiting.

Yonele Pokolo (personal communication, September 5 2016) on the other hand is very positive about
the world cup. She moved into a subsidised government house two years ago and has noticed the
township changing slowly. She mentions the building over several new shopping malls in Cape town
and the upgrading of some infrastructure in Langa such as public lights, the fixing of roads, improving
school buildings and grounds and the development of a junction at Langa station. This she attributes to the hosting of the world cup because these developments never took place before then.

**Township tourism**

One of the fastest growing tourist destinations in Cape town are the townships. This can be partly attributed to the world cup. While the world cup may not have led many visitors of the world cup to the townships it has nevertheless provided townships with much needed exposure among future tourists. Images of poverty-stricken neighbourhoods overrun by crime and violence have probably been formed in the minds of many tourists by international media. Tourists whose curiosity and willingness to experience some of the townships overcomes these images are treated to a much different environment than previously expected. Living conditions are not all as bad as expected, and positive elements in the townships such as social cohesion are added to their images. As a result visitors often have a more realistic and less negative image of the townships (Rolfes, et al., 2009).

The effects of township tourism on townships are growing. These township tours started as a few white people packed in a minibus and too afraid to go outside into the township. Now they include much more interaction with the residents. Not only do local vendors and residents benefit from this economically it also creates mutual understanding and social connectiveness. This form of pro-poor and community based tourism holds promises of positive spill-over effects into the community (Rolfes, et al., 2009). This concept should therefore be further developed while significantly including the local residents. This strengthens the participation of formerly disadvantaged people in their own socio-economic development; with a small push.
Conclusion

This paper has discussed the impact of the 2010 world cup and government policies on the citizens, economy and urban environment of Cape town with special reference to the township of Langa. It has been argued that mega events can be used as catalysts for infrastructure and urban development and rejuvenation. The 2010 Football World Cup in Cape town does not score all too well as a catalyst however; nor as a vehicle for a big push to escape poverty traps, nor to avoid splintering urbanism.

The city struggles with out-dated infrastructure which has been somewhat neglected when it comes to maintenance and upgrading. At the same time, most of its population lives in townships with few economic opportunities and low levels of development. The lack of access to and quality of infrastructure and services as well as a lack of economic opportunities are most noticeable here.

What is needed most are more permanent employment opportunities in or close to the townships. The world cup generally failed to provide these as most employment was temporary if any employment at all –expectations of citizens were set much too high--. Permanent employment opportunities close to townships will help to tackle issues with unemployment, low income and high transportation costs, and can lift residents out of the poverty trap they are in. It is doubtful that private investors will create this on their own. Therefore it requires ambitious policy decisions as well as significant long-term – public–investments: a big push.

The world cup has been unable to achieve this. First of all, the choice of the location did not help. Most of the investments done have served the more wealthy neighbourhoods. Few investments were made that affected the townships save for the N2 Gateway project which provide improved accommodation delivered little to no long-term investment and employment. Second of all, the legacy of the world cup seemed to have provided South Africa with little economic benefits. It coincided with a severe economic depression as well as governmental upheaval, corruption, clientelism and strong depreciation of the Rand.

The latter is likely contributing to the –temporary– boom in tourism. In a sense the tourist sector created its own big push due to the hosting of world cup. Unfortunately and ironically the tourism sector showed little signs of being in a poverty trap; it actually led to overinvestment and created overcapacity for high quality hotel rooms. Even through all the irony involved this does help us understand the role of infrastructure and the world cup within the big push model. The government aimed at creating a very positive legacy which in turn would lead to extra foreign investment and trade, and a growth in tourism. The latter is currently happening but it is too early to say if this has been caused by a big push, or merely by a strong depreciation of the Rand.

While tourism is a major employer of the residents of townships this employment is located far away from them and causes the need for residents to spend much time and money of transportation to and from work. This in turn causes pressure on the urban infrastructure –traffic jams– which was design many decades ago to meet the needs of the time. Not only is demand for transportation rising, townships are also demanding more and more electricity, water, waste disposal, etc. This creates problems with current networks as they already have a hard time meeting current demand. A positive note on the world cup is that it persuaded the government to develop the bus rapid transit system. This system provides much needed public transportation options across the city at very affordable rates which is much needed.
In order to make basic services available to residents in townships—and thereby countering splintering urbanism—the government has expanded and upgraded networks. It has also set up a progressive tariff system which makes these services more affordable to the poor. However, unofficial residents—people living in shacks and backyard dwellings—do not have the same access as other residents, and do not qualify for the favourable rates offered under the tariff system. This excludes the poorest citizens and actually leads to splintering urbanism despite well-meant policies to counter this.

Another well-meant undertaking by the government involves the N2 Gateway project where informal settlements consisting of mainly shacks had to make way for government and bond houses. Due to the mode of operation by the government this caused a lot of resentment and protest. Here a more inclusive approach to the project would probably have had much better results as it would mean the project could better cater to the needs of the residents, and residents would have a say in their own housing.

In some townships urban rejuvenation projects are being explored. These seem to be rather promising. Although urban rejuvenation was not explored before and during the world cup, the government has now embraced the first experiments—and maybe quickly learned from the world cup. Contrary to the situation where public space was owned by no one and crime could flourish in this no-man’s land, urban rejuvenation now empowers communities and gives them the feeling they own their urban environment. This creates a feeling of being responsible for your own neighbourhood and residents do not let their own space become run-down by crime, vandalism or lack of maintenance. At the same time, these upgraded public spaces give room to local entrepreneurs who can economically benefit from this.

**Policy recommendations**

The city of Cape Town for various reasons has not made use of the full potential of the world cup when it comes to urban transformation and rejuvenation, economic development, social sustainability and poverty alleviation. Its stance regarding the world cup has been mostly in line with a liberalist approach to the matter in their assumption that a strong legacy will attract investment and tourism which will then trickle down to other sectors and to the poor. This trickle down effect has so far been too little. Big pushes may be needed to lift people in townships out of poverty traps.

When the government did take pro-poor action it did so in a very paternalistic and top-down approach. The N2 Gateway project is a good example of this. Residents had little to no say in the matter and decisions about what type of homes to build, how to design the urban environment and who would be allowed to move into the houses was done with political whim. This upset most of the residents of the neighbourhood itself as well as in the surrounding neighbourhoods. Due to lack of information and the dissemination of wrong—and politically motivated—information residents had high expectations which not all could be met.

In a similar way expectations were very high concerning the world cup; especially concerning employment opportunities. These expectations were instigated by the national government to build support for the event. This left many dissatisfied with the mega event as well as with the government.

It is recommended that government policy will focus more on social sustainable goals to improve the lives of residents in and the livelihood of townships. To translate this into actions a more inclusive approach is required. This way the needs and wishes of the residents will be fully taken into account.
instead of a paternalistic government deciding—even with the best intentions—on issues without full knowledge of the situation. Two of the dimensions of social sustainability to take to heart for this process of change are interconnected social cohesion, and democracy and governance: a government that is fully accountable and includes the society.

Reflection

The theoretical framework of the big push model provided the useful insights it promised. By taking into account the many different actors, acting from diverging perspectives, we can see that the world cup had less effect in terms of providing a much needed big push to the right sectors in the right places. Instead it provided a minor push in areas which did not experience a poverty trap at all. The case of splintering urbanism provided much insight as well. While efforts are taken to reach the poor and give them access to basic services these actions only reach some while it excludes the others even more.

The methodologies used worked out quite well. By using multiple types of information and many different sources triangulation could take place and this strengthened the validation of the information. Even when grey literature was used the process of triangulation and investigating the source made the information credible enough. There were some limitations to the use of some information. Especially the data from surveys proved to be of less use than previously expected. Nevertheless it provided extra insight in the expectations of residents as well as the reasons for these expectations. The interviews that were carried out proved to be very insightful. The choice of location, type of questions and way of interviewing were well suited to the situation. However, the choice of interviewees proved to have some limitations. There is wide variety in the selection of interviewees in the township of Langa, but the number of other interviewees is problematic. This was caused by the fact that not many managers in tourism were willing to share their information with outsiders or had time to be interviewed. Because these interviews were scheduled in the last part of the field work time frame there was little to no time space to adjust for this.

This research has provided an extensive in-depth view of the effects of the world cup in Cape town in relation to splintering urbanism, big push, as well as social sustainability and urban rejuvenation. Areas that require further research are plenty however. This paper focused on the township of Langa which is only one of few. It may share some characteristics with other townships, but undoubtedly the townships are very diverse as well. Infrastructure is built for many decades while the world cup only happened a few years ago. At a later stage another analysis will provide useful extra information regarding these topics.
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Figures & tables


Figure 1.2 Walton, M. and Culiuc, A. 2011.

Figure 1.3 Walton, M. and Culiuc, A. 2011.

Figure 1.4 Walton, M. and Culiuc, A. 2011.

Figure 3.1 Statistics South Africa. 2015. *Measuring household expenditure on public transport: In-depth analysis of the National Household Travel Survey 2013 data.* Report Nr 03-20-11.

Figure 3.2 Izquierdo, N. and Gastaldon, F. 2010. *Cape Town: a World Cup for Tourists.* Accessed on 6-8-2016 at http://cartografareilpresente.org/en/article603

Figure 3.3 City of Cape Town. 2012. *Business plan for Cape Town Stadium and Green Point Park.* Cape Town.

Figure 3.4 Ugo, P. 2014. The bus rapid transit system: A service quality dimension of commuter uptake in Cape Town, South Africa. *Journal of Transport and Supply Chain Management.* Volume 8. Issue 1. pp. 1-10

Figure 3.5 Boule, M., Van Ryneveld, P. 2015. Unpacking implementation: understanding the case of the MyCiTi. *Mitigation Action Plans & Scenarios.* Cape Town.

Figure 3.6 Van Rooyen, J. 2012. *Studying the Persistence of Urban Segregation in the city of Cape Town through agent-based modelling.* University of London.


Figure 4.2 Rode, P. 2014. *Presentación de Philipp Rode en Chile: Reevolución Urbana.* Accessed on 20-9-2016 at http://www.slideshare.net/Camara_Chilena_de_la_Construccion/ci-presentacin-de-sergio-baeriswyl-en-chile-reevolucion-urbana

Figure 4.3 Petzer, B. 2015. *It is high time Cape Town understood why cycling as transport matters.* July 2015. Accessed on 8-8-2016 at http://www.studiorotterdam.co.za/blog/whycyclingmatters

Figure 4.4 Miller, J. 2016. *Unequal Scenes.* Accessed on 30-8-2016 at http://millefoto.com/2016/05/unequal-scenes/

Figure 4.5 Miller, J. 2016.


Figure 5.2 Biznews. 2016.

Figure 5.3 Biznews. 2016.

Appendix I – Interviews

Interviews were carried out with selected people. Qualitative information on the situation and experiences of people in townships was still lacking the main focus of the interviews was on people in Langa. The interviewees in Langa have diverse backgrounds and share relatively few characteristics such as age, gender, time they lived in Langa, social backgrounds and employment opportunities.

To obtain more perspectives of the relevant tourism issues several managers and owners within the tourism sector were contacted. Unfortunately response was very low and due to the fact that this part of the research was scheduled in the latter half of my stay in Cape Town there was too little time to correct for this.

Another two interviews were conducted with two street vendors who had been operating as street vendors from before the world cup. They were able to offer me their experiences and thereby additional information on the possible spill-over effects from the world cup.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yamkela</td>
<td>Tourist guide</td>
<td>City centre/ Langa</td>
<td>Tourist guide working all over Cape Town; lived his entire life in Langa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nkosikhona Nompuku</td>
<td>Township guide</td>
<td>Langa</td>
<td>Part-time township guide; lived his entire life in Langa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nombulelo MtiBe</td>
<td>Market stall owner</td>
<td>Langa</td>
<td>Operates a market stall in Langa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babalwa Mdloyi</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Langa</td>
<td>Resident of Beverly Hills in Langa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zodwa Pokolo</td>
<td>Receptionist</td>
<td>City centre / Langa</td>
<td>Receptionist for furniture company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yonele Pokolo</td>
<td>Hairdresser</td>
<td>Langa</td>
<td>A hairdresser who works from home; had just started business around world cup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ntando Sukwini</td>
<td>Owner of local minimarket</td>
<td>Langa</td>
<td>Life long owner of a local minimarket; also during the world cup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaap Kreeftenberg</td>
<td>Entrepreneur (tourism)</td>
<td>City centre</td>
<td>Tourism bureau operator and social entrepreneur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandra du Plessis</td>
<td>Guesthouse owner</td>
<td>Observatory</td>
<td>Guesthouse owner to local and international long-term guests; used extensively to verify and check observations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akhona Ntume</td>
<td>Street vendor</td>
<td>City centre / Khayelitsha</td>
<td>Sells magazines on the street; also around the world cup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mkhokeli Gabisa</td>
<td>Street vendor / market stall operator</td>
<td>City centre / Khayelitsha</td>
<td>Sells food on the street or in market stall; also around the world cup</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table I.1 List of interviewees
The interviews were carried out with a guide containing semi-structured and open-ended questions to softly lead the interviewee while offering plenty of opportunity to bring forward interesting information. Below is the interview question guide for interviews in Langa. The guide for street vendors was of course slightly adapted for interviews with street vendors. Depending on the background and responses of the interviewee additional questions were asked.

1. Basic background information
   a. What is your name?
   b. What is your current state of employment?
   c. How long have you lived in Langa? (or for street vendors “worked as a street vendor”)

2. What are your experiences with the 2010 Football World Cup?
   a. What were your expectations prior to the world cup?
   b. Do you feel these expectations were met? How so/not?
   c. Have you experienced much of the world cup here? (Tourists? Employment? B&B?)
   d. Did more tourists visit or stay in the townships?

3. Can you describe the development of Langa?
   a. What do you believe are the best and worst things about living in Langa? (Unemployment? Crime? Poverty? Lack of access to services? Follow up questions)
   b. What are your views on the housing projects in Langa? (government houses)
   c. How would you describe the infrastructure in Langa? (explain infrastructure if necessary)
   d. Are you familiar with any urban rejuvenation projects in townships (explain what urban rejuvenation is)
Appendix II - Survey

Surveys were conducted in the city centre and the township of Langa during various times of day and on different days. Surveyees were asked some background information about their age, native language and income level. The following questions were related to their perception of the 2010 Football World Cup. These question involved their expectations prior to the event and their main focus of expectation. The table below shows the various variables that were gathered. Those in bold and italic were obtained directly from the surveyees while the other variables were obtained from the first variables such as grouping the languages and measuring the differences between expectations prior to and feelings after the world cup.

The native language of the surveyees is grouped based on the two main language groups spoken in Cape Town: the European language group containing Afrikaans, English and other European languages, and the African language group containing Xhosa, Zulu and other African languages. None of the surveyees spoke a language outside of these groups as their native language.

All of the surveyees were at least 24 years old at the time of the survey. This made sure that all surveyees were at least 18 years old at the time of the world cup.

<table>
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<th>Variable</th>
<th>Descriptions</th>
<th>Type</th>
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<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Age of the surveyee in years</td>
<td>Interval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>First language spoken by surveyee (1=Afrikaans; 2=English; 3=Other western; 4=Xhosa; 5=Zulu; 6=Other African; 7=Other)</td>
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<td>Language Group</td>
<td>Language Group (1= European; 2= African)</td>
<td>Nominal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>Monthly income level of surveyee (1= &lt;5k Rand; 2= 5k-10k Rand; 3= 10k-15k Rand; 4= 15k-20k Rand; 5= 20k-25k Rand; 6= &gt;25k Rand)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expectations</td>
<td>Expectations prior to the World Cup (1= Very low; 2=Low; 3= Slightly low; 4= Medium; 5= Slightly high; 6= High; 7= Very high)</td>
<td>Ordinal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus</td>
<td>The main focus of the expectation (1=Employment; 2=Extra income; 3=Economically good for country; 4=Uniting the nation)</td>
<td>Nominal</td>
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<tr>
<td>After</td>
<td>Feeling of (the promises around) the World Cup after World Cup (1= Very low; 2= Low; 3= Slightly low; 4= Medium; 5= Slightly high; 6= High; 7= Very high)</td>
<td>Ordinal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>Employment gained from World Cup (1= Direct gain long-term; 2= Direct gain temporary; 3= Indirect gain long-term; 4= Indirect gain temporary; 5= No change 6= Indirect loss temporary; 7= Indirect loss long-term; 8= Direct loss temporary; 9= Direct loss long-term)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Difference Exp - after</td>
<td>Difference between expectations prior to and feelings after the World Cup</td>
<td>Ordinal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table II.1 Variables used in the surveys
The table below shows the data collected through the surveys. I filled in the forms based on the responses by the surveyees and there was no data missing or invalid. The observations are independent of each other.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Expectations</th>
<th>Focus</th>
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Table II.2 Data obtained from the surveys

Most of the data gathered is of the ordinal or nominal type. Nominal data are labeled without quantitative values. For example, gender or hair colour. This data can be used to differentiate between groups within the population. This is done in my data analysis along the lines of the language group to which each surveyee's native language belongs. Ordinal data does have a ranking order but the relative degree of differences between ranks are not the same. This limits some of the possibilities of data analysis. However, ordinal data on a ranking scale of around seven or more is still ordinal data but may be treated as interval data which does have a degree of difference. This way not only can
medians and modes be obtained from ordinal data it can also tell use the mean. Parametric and non-parametric tests often give the same results.

For my data analysis the Mann-Whitney U test is most appropriate. This test is a non-parametric test of the null hypothesis and it tests whether or not it is equally likely that a randomly selected value from one sample will be less than or greater than a randomly selected value from a second sample.

**Figure II.1** Histograms for Monthly Income (top), Expectations (middle) and After (lower) per Language Group
Unlike the t-test this test does not require the assumption of normal distributions—which my data does not have due to some degree of skewness as can be seen in the histograms in figure II.1. Furthermore, the test is quite robust.

As shown in the histograms the data is not normally distributed for the variables Monthly Income and After. What we can observe is the overall drop in how people regard the 2010 Football World Cup. While expectations were fairly high—especially within the African language group—the feelings after the world cup have dropped.

The Mann-Whitney U test show that the expectations were significantly higher within the African language group than the European language group, but that feelings after the world cup were not significantly higher or lower.

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<th>Mean Rank</th>
<th>Sum of Ranks</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1 = European; 2 = African)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Expectations prior to the World Cup (1 = Very low; 2 = Low; 3 = Slightly low; 4 = Medium; 5 = Slightly high; 6 = High; 7 = Very high)</td>
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<td>Feeling of (the promises around) the World Cup after World Cup (1 = Very low; 2 = Low; 3 = Slightly low; 4 = Medium; 5 = Slightly high; 6 = High; 7 = Very high)</td>
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<td>47</td>
<td>50.41</td>
<td>2369.50</td>
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Table II.3 Ranking from Mann-Whitney U test on Expectations and After grouped by Language Group

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<th>Test Statisticsa</th>
<th>Expectations prior to the World Cup (1 = Very low; 2 = Low; 3 = Slightly low; 4 = Medium; 5 = Slightly high; 6 = High; 7 = Very high)</th>
<th>Feeling of (the promises around) the World Cup after World Cup (1 = Very low; 2 = Low; 3 = Slightly low; 4 = Medium; 5 = Slightly high; 6 = High; 7 = Very high)</th>
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<td>Mann-Whitney U</td>
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<td>-.029</td>
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<td>Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
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<td>.977</td>
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</table>

a. Grouping Variable: Language Group (1 = European; 2 = African)

Table II.4 Test statistics of Mann Whitney U test on Expectations and After grouped by Language Group
Appendix III – MyCiti

The figure below shows the routes of the MyCiti busses. The neighbourhoods that were first served and are currently still being served most are the wealthier areas to the northeast, west and southwest of the city centre. These are frequented by tourists who occasionally but not too often make use of the MyCiti busses. On the other hand, the people who make use of public transportation the most live in the currently least served areas in the southeast. There are only 4 routes that serve the huge townships of Mitchells Plain and Khayelitsha.

MyCiTi routes as at 2 July 2016

Figure III.1 MyCiti routes as at 2 July 2016 (MyCiti)