

Media, Crime and the 2010 Soccer World Cup in South Africa: Pre-event Analysis and Perceptions

**Kamilla Swart
Urmilla Bob
Douglas Turco**

Abstract

This research article uses content analysis of selected written media to investigate the media's portrayal of crime in relation to the 2010 World Cup in South Africa. Media reports from 2005 and 2006 on crime compiled by the Government Communication Information Services (GCIS) were analysed with four themes emerging: safety of tourists, destination imaging, safety and security, and readiness to host. Data from South African Tourism (SAT) on tourists' perceptions and attitudes toward crime and satisfaction with security in the country were also analysed. Discussion and implications address the current debates regarding media, safety and security in South Africa, and the impacts of crime on attracting future visitors to the country.

Keywords: World Cup, crime, media, tourism

Introduction

The trepidation over crime emerged as a central concern in relation to South Africa's ability to effectively host arguably Africa's first mega-event, the 2010 Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup. The centrality of crime in relation to 2010 gained prominence in the media and political debates. This focus in part reflects South African society's outcry pertaining to widespread and persistent crime prevalent in the country.

George (2003:576) states that despite the steady increase in popularity with the international community, South Africa has developed a reputation for being an unsafe place to visit and has been labeled the 'crime capital of the world'. Steyn *et al.* (2009) assert that the key issues in the build up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup was the negative impacts of high levels of crime in South Africa and the concerns that this was likely to deter tourists from visiting the country. Demombynes and Ozler (2005) assert that crime is among the most difficult of the many challenges facing South Africa in the post-apartheid era. The Durban Metropolitan Council (2000) states that effective crime prevention can contribute significantly to economic growth by boosting investor confidence in a location, which can have a positive impact on residents' quality of life and employment. It is also important to note that low crime levels are one of the global indicators of social stability and integration.

This article examines some of the key issues pertaining to media and crime in relation to the 2010 World Cup. This includes undertaking a content analysis of selected media to investigate the media's portrayal of crime and the 2010 World Cup in South Africa prior to the event being held. The study analyses the influence of written media on the debates regarding South Africa's organisational abilities to host a successful 2010 event, and specifically the impact of crime on attracting visitors to South Africa for the event. An analysis of media reports (2005 and 2006 directly after South Africa won the bid to host the event) relating to crime compiled by the Government Communication Information Services (GCIS) is undertaken thematically. The article also cites South African Tourism (SAT) data on tourists' perceptions, attitudes and satisfaction; and reviews this information in relation to the debates regarding safety and security in South Africa and the hosting of mega-events. Although South Africa has successfully hosted the World Cup, it is important to examine media perceptions and concerns in relation to crime and safety.

The media plays a key role in informing perceptions and framing debates. In relation to tourism specifically, the media influences the image of destinations as news reports of crime magnify the danger of crime at destinations. Consequently, tourists may decide not to visit and reduce participation in activities at the host destination, thus limiting economic impact. Moreover, repeat visitation and 'word of mouth' sales can also be

impacted by a negative impression of a destination (George 2003). The high crime rate has become a key media issue, but many journalists talk about crime and violence in society in simplistic and misleading ways. This often results in crime being viewed as having a single, overriding cause and therefore a single solution.

South Africa as Host of the 2010 Soccer World Cup

Post-apartheid South Africa has increasingly incorporated the bidding and hosting of major events (such as the 1995 Rugby World Cup, the 2004 Olympic Bid, 2003 Cricket World Cup and the 2010 FIFA World Cup) to profile itself on the global stage as it moves towards an event-driven economy. Seemingly, the strategy adopted by the South African government is to use the hosting of large-scale and mega-events to signal international recognition in terms of its economic, social and political capacity. Thus, sport mega-events are being utilised by the South African government as key social and political instruments: on the one hand events are regarded as a mechanism to support the government's nation-building project, while on the other, they are viewed as economic and development catalysts (Cornelissen & Swart 2006). To date, the country's bidding campaigns have been underpinned by a strong developmental philosophy. It is of significance to note that one of the major criticisms levelled at the failed bid (1995-1997) for the 2004 Olympic Games pertains to the high level of crime in South Africa. De Lange (1998) contends that this issue that was not adequately dealt with by the Bid Committee, whilst the problem of visitors' safety was a constant worry for the International Olympic Committee (IOC) decision-makers.

In 1998, South Africa announced its intention to bid for the 2006 FIFA World Cup. Although the bid was unsuccessful, the outcome of the 2006 bid nevertheless led to FIFA's implementation of continental rotation for future bids. With Africa being nominated for the 2010 FIFA World Cup, South Africa proceeded to revise its bid for the 2010 event. Unsurprisingly, on 15 May 2004, South Africa was announced as the winner of the bid to host the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup. Jordaan (2005) emphasised that a key priority for the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa, in contrast to previous World Cups, is ensuring a social legacy. In addition, the event is viewed as an opportunity to leverage 2010 to promote nation-building,

development, brand-building and African solidarity. In order to achieve this goal, the 2010 National Communication Partnership identified ‘good news flow’ and ‘addressing negative perceptions’ as key issues in ensuring an effective communication strategy (Netshitenzhe 2005). Thus, efforts to address crime within the global sporting arena become highly significant.

Crime in South Africa

Societies in transition especially those distinguished by high levels of inequality and discrepancy between the rich and the poor (as is the case in South Africa), are often characterised by high crime levels (Breetzke 2010; Department of Safety and Security 1998). The White Paper on Safety and Security (Department of Safety and Security 1998:13) states:

South African Police Services statistics suggest that crime in the country increased from 1985. This began to change in 1996 when most categories of crime showed a stabilisation. Despite this trend, current levels of crime remain high and continue to breed insecurity in the country. Crime has severe implications through the costs of victimisation which undermine economic and social development. Also, fear of crime often changes lifestyles, negatively affecting the quality of living.

The Department of Safety and Security (1998:11) further asserts that the post-apartheid crime levels in South Africa can be partly attributed to a long history of social inequality and exclusion and a lack of institutional and social control:

What is required are social crime prevention programmes which target the causes of particular types of crime at national, provincial and local level. More generally, such an approach also recognises the impact of broader government economic, development and social policies for crime prevention. Thus, the effective delivery of basic services such as housing, education and health as well as job creation, have in themselves, a critical role to play in ensuring living environments less conducive to crime.

Kinnes (2003:51) indicates that in Cape Town the gap between the rich and the poor is increasing – ‘the city is divided between Black and White and the interface between the rich and poor is often violent’. Bob *et al.* (2006) state that violence is an integral part of South African history and society. They also indicate that despite the widespread fear of violence in many communities across the country, there is almost a societal obsession with violence that in part emanates from the media and world of entertainment. For example, contact sports such as wrestling, rugby and boxing are popular. Elements of violence are celebrated and watched as entertainment. At the same time we struggle to develop and implement effective strategies to reduce the threat of violence and crime in society. In fact, many live in constant fear of the threat of violence. Yet, we celebrate and are entertained by violence.

The Institute for Security Studies (ISS 2001) notes that the total number of murders and vehicular thefts recorded in South Africa has been declining since 1994. These are the very crimes most reported by victims and recorded by the police. Altbeker (2005) examined data from the South African Police Service (SAPS) on eight types of crime: murder, attempted murder, serious assault, and rape (collectively, ‘violent crime’); and aggravated robbery, common robbery, car theft and housebreaking (collectively, ‘property crime’). Trend analysis revealed that the aggregate of these crimes rose from about 855,000 in 1994/95 to nearly 1.1 million in 2002/03, before falling to 980,000 in 2004/05. Since 2002/03, reported violent crime levels in South Africa have fallen by 8% and property crime levels have fallen by 11%. It appears that South Africa has reversed the trend of rising crime in general. However, Altbeker (2005) shows that incident rates for certain types of crime have increased. Among the categories of crime in which the recorded number of incidents rose in 2004/05 relative to 2003/04 are rape (up 5 percent to 55,114), indecent assault (9% increase to 10,123), common assault (which rose by 5% to 267,857), and drug offenses (up 34% to 84,001).

In addition to the above, it is important to note that under-reporting of crime in South Africa is a major concern. Moser (2004) illustrates that crime statistics (as proxy levels for violence) are notoriously unreliable due to under-reporting, difficulties in interpretation and lack of reliability of data. A significant percentage of crime goes unrecorded because they are not

reported to the police. To develop effective solutions, crime and its causes must be disaggregated. Furthermore, there are many different kinds of crime caused by a range of often complicated factors. The implication is that attempts to address crime require many different types of strategies and interventions. Additionally, the integrity and efficiency of the police force as well as the trust they command in the public arena are critical in terms of reporting crime. In South Africa, for example, there is deep-seated animosity between the police and civil society as a result of historical processes.

Data from several studies (DMC 2000; ISS 2001) indicate, unsurprisingly, that the poor are disadvantaged in terms of their access to safety. A significant proportion of South Africans, living primarily in informal settlements or low cost housing, have no protection for their homes at all. White (and wealthier) residents are much more likely to use physical security measures than Black residents who tended to be poorer. The results suggest that those most at risk of crime therefore had the least protection for their homes.

Noguera (1999) states that within the context of the fight against violence, symbolic actions take on great significance, even though they may have little bearing upon the actual occurrence of violence or its perception. For example, visible security guards or police officers, metal detectors, barbed wire fences, alarm systems, vicious dogs (even if only the sign) and burglar guards are symbols or warnings of protection, all dominant in the South African landscape. Even if they do not actually work they provide a sense of safety and security. Noguera (1999) also argues that these traditional approaches are rooted in their inability to address the contextual factors which influence the incidence of violence and reactions to it.

George (2003) contends that if a tourist feels unsafe or threatened at a holiday destination, he or she can develop a negative impression of the destination that can be very damaging to the destination's tourism industry and can result in the decline of tourism to the area. George (2003:577) indicates that this can happen in the following ways:

- Prospective tourists may decide not to visit the destination because it has a reputation for having a high crime rate;
- If tourists feel unsafe at destinations, they are not likely to take part in activities outside their accommodation facilities; and

- Tourists who have felt threatened or unsafe are not likely to return to the destination, and they are not likely to recommend the destination to other.

George's (2003) study on tourists' perceptions of safety and security while visiting Cape Town reveals that respondents had reasonably positive perceptions of safety and security, although they felt unsafe going out at night and using the city's public transport.

Statistics derived from SAT for specific quarters [Q] in 2004 and 2005 (SAT 2004; SAT 2005) illustrate that tourists exiting South Africa exhibited high levels of satisfaction with their experiences generally in the country and in relation to safety and security specifically. SAT's departure surveys were conducted at land border posts (600 a month) and at international airports (1 000 a month), thus 26 400 departure surveys per year. More than 75% of the respondents during all the survey periods did not have any bad experiences while visiting South Africa. Theft/ robbery/ crime/ violence was identified by a few respondents in quarter 2 2004 (5%), quarter 4 2004 (6.6%) and quarter 1 2005 (5.3%). In quarter 2 2005 and quarter 3 2005 some of the respondents (4% and 4.3%, respectively) identified safety and security as their worst experience. If one takes SAT's figure of 5.7 million visitors to South Africa in 2001 as a general annual trend, this translates into approximately 285 000 tourists experiencing some form of crime or feeling insecure while visiting the country. Although this figure is significantly less than the number of persons having no bad experience, this does reveal that crime and issues of safety and security are important to consider in relation to South African tourism. Also, it must be noted that in relation to other worst experiences identified by the tourists interviewed, issues pertaining to crime and security were consistently the highest.

The average satisfaction ratings on a 5-point scale among tourists interviewed by SAT ranged from 3.92 (quarter 1 2005) to 4.16 (quarter 2 2004). This again suggests that the majority of respondents were satisfied with safety and security while visiting South Africa. However, with the exception of quarter 4 2004 (3.94) and quarter 1 2005 (3.92), safety and security was rated the lowest in comparison to other indicators that were rated. What is interesting to note is the results within quarter 4 2004 and quarter 5 2005, the peak summer tourist season. During this period, domestic

flights (1.45 and 1.31, respectively), public transportation (1.79 and 1.81, respectively), natural attractions (3.21 in both quarters), accommodation (3.74 and 3.7, respectively) and availability of information (3.54 and 3.41, respectively) were rated lower (in some instances significantly so) than safety and security. The results suggest that from the perspective of tourists, infrastructural and logistical inadequacies in relation to tourism is impacting more negatively on tourists' experiences than safety and security issues, especially during the peak period.

In terms of major sport events and crime, Bob et al.'s (2006) study illustrates that event attendees and residents living adjacent to major event venues in Kwazulu-Natal and the Western Cape (specifically at the Comrades Marathon and Old Mutual Two Oceans Marathon) did not associate the events with crime. The results underscore the general satisfaction with security and safety at events in South Africa. However, the main negative feature of the destinations where the events took place (in relation to the cities and provinces) related to crime/ poor security. Their results clearly illustrate that while event locations are generally perceived to be safe and secure, the main negative perceptions of the destinations related to crime and security. This position is further supported by Kromberg (2003:46) who stated that while nearly half of 'overseas visitors come to South African shores feeling insecure about their safety, 81% go home without having experienced any problems'.

2010 Soccer World Cup Tourism Organising Plan

Based on the above discussions, it is not surprising that despite the continuous increase in tourist arrivals, tourist safety and security was identified as one of the key challenges for tourism in relation to the 2010 Soccer World Cup (DEAT and SAT 2005). They further note that a large proportion of tourists from South Africa's target markets choose not to visit this destination due to safety concerns. Tourist safety and security was ranked as the top most important area for infrastructure investment by tourism stakeholders. The 2010 Soccer World Cup Tourism Organising Plan identified the following challenges with regard to tourists' safety and security (DEAT and SAT 2005:30):

- Insufficient focus on tourism safety and security – while most locations indicated their intention to develop safety and security contingency plans for the event, there appeared to be limited focus on tourist safety.
- Limited crime prevention strategy – there were insufficient resources available within many of the host locations.
- Lack of a national tourist safety and security plan – there was no integrated national tourist safety and security plan. In this regard, there was an opportunity to leverage the experience and learnings from Mpumalanga and Western Cape provinces, both of which had established tourist safety and security mechanisms.

The plan further recognised the necessity for tourist safety and security interventions to address both the negative perceptions around safety, as well as minimising actual incidents.

Media and Crime

Collins *et al.* (2006) indicate that the media influences on their audiences are complex and take the following effects: informing audiences (major sources of information), agenda setting (media's ability to raise the salience of novel or existing issues, and the corresponding level of importance the public assigns to these issues), framing (the subtle selection of certain aspects of an issue by the media to emphasis a particular aspect) and persuading (ability of the media to persuade the public regarding the issues they represent). Crime has been an important subject matter in the media worldwide. Furthermore, attitudes and perceptions relating to crime and violence are influenced by the form and content of media coverage of crime. Additionally, the public seems to derive much of the information about crime and violence at all levels (locally, nationally and globally) from media sources, especially newspapers, the television and increasingly the Internet. In fact, technological advancements in the information and technology sector have resulted in information about crime, whether factual or perceptual, being easily accessible to those who have the technical means. Avraham (2000) states that people construct place images and cognitive maps according to the

information they receive from various sources. The role of the mass media is deemed to be particularly important.

Public perceptions of crime which are rarely based on statistical information about crime levels or the risk of crime are influenced by a range of factors that include actual victimisation and first hand experiences of crime and violence; impressions and opinions of the city environment; the media; interaction with colleagues, friends and family; perceptions about government's ability to provide safety; and the extent to which people feel helpless against crime (ISS 2001). Johnson (2005) states that concerns about crime are generally more widespread than recent direct experiences of victimisation. The fear of crime can impact on people's lives as much as actual crime (Grabosky 1995). Fear informed by perceptions of crime can be extremely debilitating and restrictive. It can limit people's movement, participation in activities and opportunities. Perceptions of safety and the fear of crime significantly inform images of destinations and influence potential tourists. The media is central in shaping perceptions and attitudes towards crime. The importance of understanding perceptions and subjectivity in relation to crime and violence is underscored by Stavrou (1993:3): 'However inaccurate subjective beliefs about crime are, it is subjective world views that we are ultimately dealing with'. Avraham (2000) states that a number of studies have shown that there is no correlation between the actual crime statistics of a place and the number of reports on crime in the media. In fact, the media is highly selective and there is a preference to report on crimes that are exceptional, sensational and violent.

While most people understand that crime is part of the reality of urban life, and a legitimate subject for news coverage, the amount and nature of media coverage given to crime has come into question. Yanich (1998) argues that local newscasters in Baltimore and Philadelphia made conscious decisions to cover more crime news than any other social issue. They also decided what crimes they would cover (mostly murder) and how they would cover them (in a montage of stories placed in the first segment).

It is generally difficult to ascertain and demonstrate the extent to which the media influenced attitudes and perceptions pertaining to crime and the 2010 World Cup, since it is only one of many sources to which people are exposed. Family members, colleagues, political organisations, and so on also exert their influences. However, it is important to note that when the

media echoes and reflects positions on specific issues, it is difficult to separate out the specific effects of media messages. In a world where many people are exposed to the media daily, issues and concerns highlighted in the media are constantly reinforced. Lawlink (n.d.) states that sensational newspaper and television reporting of crimes such as sexual assault and murder make people feel unsafe. Barnett (2003) illustrates the importance of representation and power of discourse in the media.

Noguera's (1999) analysis of school violence such as the shootings at Columbine High School in the United States leads him to conclude that the responses (especially by politicians and the media) reveal several contradictory things about society's attitudes and perceptions toward violence. First, they tell us that while violence of this kind may be repulsive and frightening it is also on another level intriguing, and perhaps even in some morbid sense, entertaining. The media, he asserts, consistently defends its sensationalised coverage of such events by arguing that they merely provide what the public wants, and the public's appetite for graphic depictions of violence is at times insatiable. Secondly, it suggests that though violence is prohibited in school, its use in other contexts can be rationalised as legitimate if the perpetrator is the State such as the war in Iraq. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, there is the failure throughout much of American society to recognise the connection between the deplorable social conditions under which large numbers of children live and the increased likelihood that these same children will become victims or perpetrators of violence. Noguera's (1999) analysis is also reflective of South African society.

Definitions of crime and criminals are often linked to the politics of power related to issues such as gender, race, age, wealth or class. Violence and crime are deeply embedded in political, economic and social dynamics. Crime is a social phenomena and social construction linked primarily to how the State and the media manage crime (Lehman & Okcabol 2005). People's perceptions of locations and destinations are influenced by how the media interprets where violent assaults are committed – designating what are 'safe' and 'unsafe' areas.

The fear of crime and violence can also be embedded in political dynamics. Lawlink (n.d.) states that this is a complicated factor and as yet there is no research that explores how the political climate impacts on fear of

crime. Lawlink (n.d.) further illustrates that political campaigning around law and order can sometimes lead to sensational reporting about crime which can contribute to higher levels of fear.

Selected Media Content Analysis

A content analysis of selected extracts from media articles tracked by the South African government's GCIS Communication Centre during 2005 and 2006 relating to the 2010 World Cup and crime reveal the following debates and concerns:

- There was a perception that crime is a problem in South Africa and will be a key challenge for organisers of the 2010 World Cup, especially in relation to its readiness and capacity to host the event.
- There was generally major concern pertaining to the likely impacts of crime during the 2010 event on the willingness of tourists to visit South Africa and their experiences while in the country.
- Safety and security strategies focused on tourist safety to a greater extent than that of the citizens of South Africa.

Safety of Tourists

The safety of tourists during the 2010 World Cup was a major issue emerging in the media. The following quotes from selected national media reports serve to illustrate this issue:

- 'Thabo Mbeki has expressed his irritation at media reports which have questioned the safety of South Africa as a World Cup venue' (Le Roux 2006, August 24).
- Government admitted that it is going to be a challenge ensuring the safety of tourists at the 2010 World Cup. Dr Patrick Matlou, deputy director of tourism in the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, said: 'We will have to supply them with safety tips' (Smith 2006, August 24).
- 'As hosts, one of the key responsibilities of SA will be to guarantee the safety of thousands of football fans who will descend on the

country for the event There is no doubt that this country will pass the test, taking into consideration our excellent security record at the major international sporting events we have hosted in the past' (Motale 2006, June 30).

- 'The crime stories involving our streets, homes, shopping centres, all places public and private, are becoming so frequent and gruesome that only "Braveheart" spectators will dare to venture into this country by 2010' (Saunders 2006, June 27).

Several researchers have examined the relationship between crime, tourism and events (Barker *et al.* 2002; Taylor & Toohey 2006; Bob *et al.* 2006). George (2003) specifically highlights the research that has been undertaken to examine whether crime and safety problems at a tourist destination have an impact on tourist demand. What is noteworthy is that much of the research concludes that it is difficult to link tourist victimisation directly to tourist demand because there are many exogenous factors that are involved in the tourist's decision-making process. Furthermore, data limitations linked to the inability to monitor crime in relation to tourists specifically (a problem experienced in South Africa as well as indicated earlier) make it difficult to ascertain trends and patterns in relation to crime and tourism that can be informed by empirical evidence. For the purposes of this study, it is important to note that despite the media (and several politicians) asserting that crime levels negatively impact on tourist visits, South Africa recorded its highest number of foreign arrivals in 2005 and recorded a 10.3% increase with over 7 million foreign arrivals (SAT 2005). Furthermore, more than 250 000 foreign visitors attended the World Cup despite the media fixation that concerns over crime will deter them from attending. This suggests that while perceived and actual crime appears to be a challenge for South Africa as a tourist destination, other factors are at play. None of the articles examined in this study highlights or even acknowledges that recorded crime rates have been stable or decreasing in the last five years. Furthermore, these articles failed to address the apparent contradiction with the 'gloom and doom' scenario presented in relation to the number of tourists likely to attend the 2010 World Cup and the continued increase in tourist arrivals to South Africa before the World Cup.

Destination Imaging

Image building is an important aspect of event management and is stated as a major positive outcome of hosting mega-events. Mega-events provide the opportunity to market a destination (and its related image) internationally. Mercille (2005) illustrates the influence that the media has on the image and representation of tourist destinations. Avraham (2000) states that city officials are often concerned about their cities' coverage patterns in the news media. Avraham (2000) further asserts that city decision-makers tend to accuse the media of distorting their cities' images by means of news definitions that focus mainly on negative events such as crime, violence and social problems, while ignoring positive aspects and important developments. The following quotes demonstrate how the issue of crime, especially the coverage of violent crime, impacts on South Africa's image as a tourist and investment destination:

- 'As we build up a good PR (Public Relations) image of SA's progress and tourist attractions in preparation for the 2010 Soccer World Cup, we need to overcome two potentially damaging problems that we need like holes in the head – violent crime and Zimbabwe' (Davis 2006, June 30).
- 'But it remains a matter of grave concern that violent crime continues to inflict massive damage on the image of this country' (Motale 2006, June 30).
- 'While many South Africans share Watson's concern about unacceptable high levels of crime, running a campaign that is far from being a solution to crime, and clearly designed to further cripple the country's image, is not a wise idea' (Motale 2006, June 30).

Clearly, the media reflects academic assertions that the image of tourist destinations is influenced greatly by perceptions of crime and safety. If the 2010 World Cup is to contribute to building South Africa's (and Africa generally) image as a premier tourist and investment destination, then issues pertaining to crime (both real and perceived) must be addressed. It is also important to note that the claims in the media are rarely supported by facts

and figures. Again, this suggests that the assertions of widespread and pervasive crime in South Africa and its impact on the hosting of 2010 as well as South Africa's ability to boost its image from the event as a premier tourist destination is deeply rooted in perceptions about crime levels. This assertion is particularly relevant given that the event was hosted without any major crime and security concerns. However, this could be attributed to the unusually high presence of security personnel during the World Cup and it remains to be seen whether this level of security will continue post the event.

Readiness to Host

The negative perceptions of crime and personal safety in South Africa are a threat not only to its image but also South Africa's ability to successfully host the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The quotes below from the articles examined reflect an important concern emerging in the media before the event that crime was the main threat to South Africa's ability to successfully host the 2010 World Cup.

- 'Should FIFA decide SA is unfit to host the World Cup it won't be because of the stadiums not being up to European standards, or the Gautrain that isn't ready, or the lack of a transport system quite as smooth as Germany's – it will be because of crime' (du Plessis 2006, June 25).
- 'Critics have cited crime as the biggest stumbling block' (Nzapheza and AFP 2006, July 5).
- 'Danny Jordaan's statement about big sponsors not supporting an event if they did not have absolute confidence in the host's ability to pull it off is partly right. However, it is mostly confidence in FIFA, not SA that ensures their support and investment. Again it is stated that the biggest challenges for 2010 is crime' (Greyling 2006, July 28).

The above quotes reveal that crime was deemed to be a critical factor in relation to South Africa's ability to host the 2010 World Cup. This was also linked to media speculation that FIFA may reconsider its decision relating to

South Africa hosting the 2010 World Cup, despite FIFA's adamant stance that this is not the case. Nzapheza and AFP (2006, July 4) state:

He (Rudi du Plooy, party leader of the Christian Front) said Jordaan and the government need 'to wake up to the reality that criminals operate without fear in SA'. It will be a great pity if we lose this opportunity to stage the World Cup.

The above quote illustrates that political parties are also involved in the debates and discussions. The statement also reflects that within political circles the rumours that FIFA will change its mind about South Africa hosting the 2010 World Cup prevailed. Political parties leveraging media opportunities in relation to 2010 and crime was also prevalent in South Africa. This was indicated as a key concern earlier in the article.

Safety and Security

The concern with safety and security and the hosting of mega-events is not unique to South Africa. Stoeveken (2006) states that security was the primary discussion in the media in Germany (2006 World Cup) as well. The concept of safety and security emerging in the media is clearly associated with policing and justice. Although poverty and social inequalities are recognised as significant contributors to crime, there appears to be a general consensus that dealing with crime in preparation for 2010 required improved policing and security. An assessment of media reports pertaining to safety and security during 2005 and 2006 illustrates that the focus in relation to the preparations for the World Cup was expected to be primarily on creating safe and secure zones at event locations as illustrated below:

- 'As hosts, one of the key responsibilities of SA will be to guarantee the safety of thousands of football fans who will descend on the country for the event....There is no doubt that this country will pass the test, taking into consideration our excellent security record at the major international sporting events we have hosted in the past' (Motale 2006, June 30).

- ‘We are not taking chances, says Andre Pruis, the national deputy commissioner of the South African Police Services. Pruis is also the chairperson of the joint operations and intelligence structure of the 2010 World Cup. This budget (R40 billion) will ensure that security is up to scratch for the global sporting event. People will be safe in the country. During the cricket and rugby world cups, crime was high in the country, but we had no incidents, he says. He has guaranteed visible policing all over the country, checking streets, restaurants, hotels, residential areas, pubs and all other public areas’ (Ramphweka 2006, July 23).

The response to the widespread fear of crime in South Africa, by those who can afford to do so, is the development of gated or ‘secure’ communities. Gated communities are marketed as safe havens that literally keep criminal elements out of geographically designated spaces. It is clear from the media analysis that a prominent strategy in terms of dealing with crime and safety at the 2010 Games was to create safe soccer venues and precincts – in essence creating a ‘gated/ secure’ 2010 Games. This is best illustrated by the ‘Guiliani strategy’ indicated below:

Former New York Mayor, Rudolph Giuliani – who revived the rotting ‘Big Apple’ into an economically vibrant city - has a Marshall plan to fix up SA’s main cities before the 2010 World Cup kicks off. His quick-fix solution for SA is ‘fight crime and corruption’ and build a ‘safe haven’ for its investors and the 450 000 foreign tourists expected for the soccer spectacle (Naidoo 2006, July 25).

Bob *et al.* (2006) argued that this approach to addressing crime and security could result in the World Cup being restricted to many, especially informal traders and the poor who will be unable to afford to enter these ‘safe’ zones. The developmental thrust and notion of an African Games belonging to the people will likely be lost under this scenario. Furthermore, Bob *et al.* (2006) assert that this strategy could fuel increasing resentment that the South African State and 2010 organisers are more concerned about keeping visitors and ‘the Games’ safe and secure rather than dealing with the

persistent and root causes of crime in South Africa. Post-event resident perceptions studies are important to assess whether the strategies implemented to keep tourists and organisers safe impacted on their ability to experience the event.

The above strategy was also intended to discourage tourist visits to locations away from the events, especially those perceived to be (and reinforced by the media as) unsafe places. This may have discouraged tourism in previously disadvantaged communities such as townships, peri-urban and rural locations. Thus, the ability to leverage benefits associated with the 2010 World Cup may have been largely constrained to a few. Benefits during the 2010 World Cup were not spread with only a few reaping direct economic opportunities.

In terms of hosting future large-scale events, it is critical that any crime strategies have strong local components that address implementation and sustainability challenges. The issue of sustainability in relation to event crime strategies is important because it foregrounds the importance of dealing with the real and perceived concerns of South African citizens and tourists rather than ensuring that we make specific places (especially stadia venues and precincts) safe for fans and visitors during these events. A real concern, for example, was that the 2010 Safety and Security strategy focused on protecting tourists while the plight of most South Africans was neglected. These concerns were also been raised by news media as illustrated in the passage below:

Law enforcement and the fight against crime must become part of our daily activities, not only when SA is hosting some international event. We all aspire to live in a society free of drugs, crime, landlessness, joblessness, and so on, even after the 2010 World Cup (Mogotsi 2006, July 11).

As Bob *et al.* (2006) state, if we revert to the status quo pre-2010 then the opportunity to address an overarching societal, economic and political problem that besets South Africa will be missed. Safety and security must be a public good for all.

Conclusion

Bob *et al.* (2006) highlight the need for a 2010 Safety and Security strategy to focus on designing and constructing places that promote feelings of safety and security at events and the destination areas generally. The strategy should focus on post-event security concerns to build a safer South Africa for South Africans first. This requires not only addressing crime prevention strategies but also confronting the issues including the media that fuel widespread perceptions that the host cities, and South Africa in general, are crime hotspots.

A major expected legacy of 2010 is building South Africa's (and Africa generally) image as a premier tourist and investment destination. Given Africa's history and marginalised position in the global arena, the opportunity provided by 2010 to reposition Africa is of paramount importance. Destination image and perceptions of safety play a significant role in one's decision to visit a destination. Personal risks relating primarily to safety and security concerns, whether perceived or actual, have a significant impact on the demand patterns of tourists, their attitudes towards destinations and their experiences. The negative perceptions of crime and personal safety in South Africa in the media are a threat to its image. The media is correct in asserting that 2010 provided South Africa with a unique opportunity to tackle the issue of crime. Since crime concerns did not emerge as major problems during the event, there is also post the event an opportunity to leverage on Africa hosting its first mega-event successfully and highlighting the fact that South Africa has the ability and capacity to deal with crime.

Public perceptions of crime and safety (locally, nationally and internationally) are greatly influenced by the media. The media certainly played a major role in terms of articulating the concerns and framing the debates around crime and South Africa's ability to successfully host the 2010 World Cup. The manner in which crime and security issues pertaining to 2010 are addressed after the event has far reaching implications for South Africa's ability to successfully bid and host post-2010 mega-events such as the Olympic Games. 2010 provided a unique opportunity for South Africa to shatter the perceptions pertaining to crime in the country – it will be critical for effectively branding and imaging South Africa as a tourist destination. Business Against Crime (BAC) also supports the position that the 2010

World Cup will encourage South Africans to effectively combat crime (Groenewald 2006, July 13).

The media are one among many influences that contribute to perceptions and attitudes about violence and crime. Managing and providing adequate and empirically based information to the media can play a major role in reducing misconceptions and media sensationalism. Furthermore, the contradictions mentioned in this study relating to statistics/data, perceptions and attitudes need to be addressed, not ignored. This requires creating spaces for critical engagement among stakeholders (organisers, media, researchers, security officials, etc.) to discuss these issues, share best practices and experiences and contribute to the development of a comprehensive Events Safety and Security strategy in South Africa.

A major challenge for the tourism industry, organisers of events and the government of South Africa is to deal with crime in a way that does not deter tourists from visiting the country before, during and after the event. This has to be done in a manner that effectively addresses South Africans' perceptions and fear of crime and security as well. Additionally, to effectively address crime in South Africa broader issues relating to economic opportunities and quality of life concerns need to be addressed.

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Yanich, D 1998. *Crime, Community and Local TV News: Covering Crime in Philadelphia and Baltimore*. Report for the Centre for Community Development and Family Policy, University of Delaware.

Kamilla Swart
Cape Peninsula University of Technology
swartk@cput.ac.za

Urmilla Bob
University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban
bobu@ukzn.ac.za

Douglas Turco
Drexel University
douglas.turco@drexel.edu