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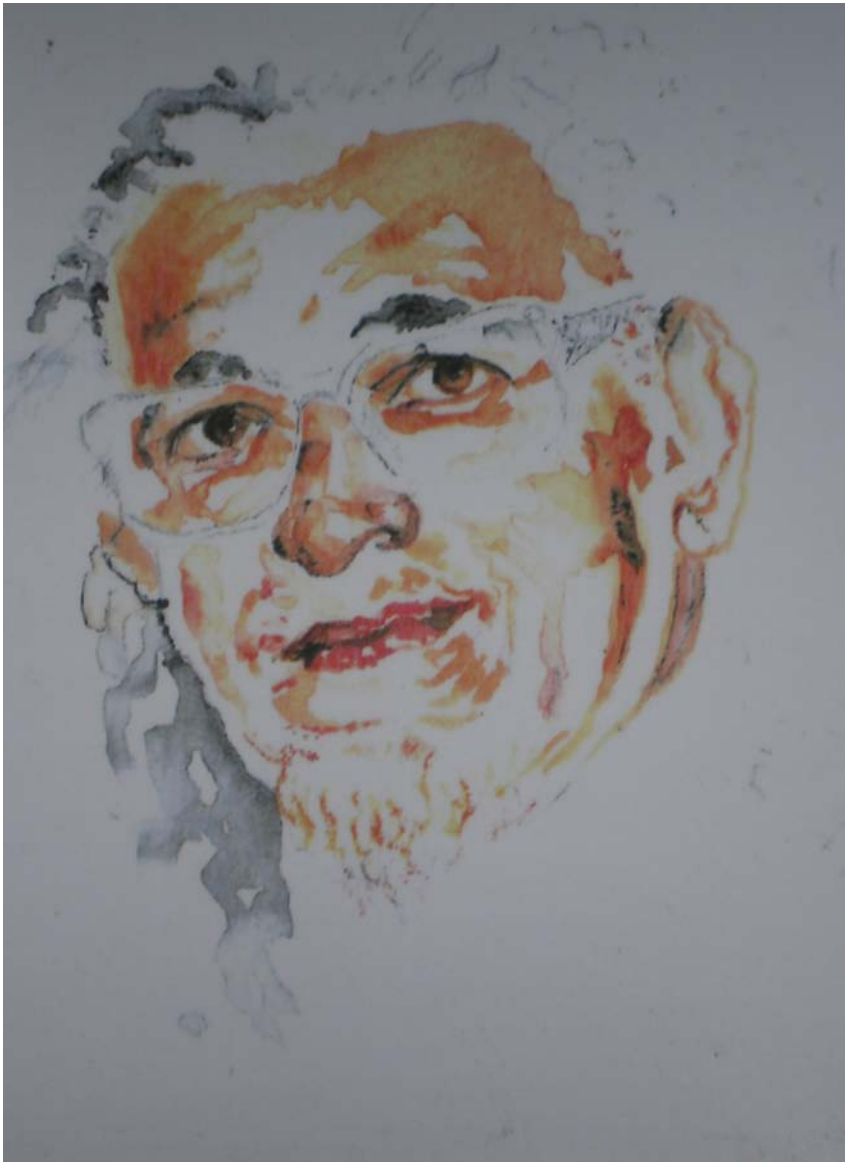

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Social Legacies and Sport Mega-events

Guest Editors
Urmilla Bob and Kamilla Swart

2010

CSSALL
Durban

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Editorial

Urmilla Bob
Kamilla Swart
Johannes A. Smit

Sport events have emerged as a key component of economic and development agendas among several developed and developing countries. This special issue of *Alter*nation engages the legacy impacts of sport events with a particular focus on mega-events, especially South Africa's recent hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Additionally, the issue examines a range of legacies under the broader social rubric, namely, economic, destination marketing, environmental, sport and management aspects. The importance of social legacies are underscored since this is a neglected field of research in relation to sport events given the general tendency to focus on economic and destination profiling legacies. A focus on legacies in relation to sport events centralises the importance of examining long-term impacts of hosting sport events. This has become increasingly significant given that sport events are a major part of big business and often require massive investments from public funding sources, especially in developing contexts such as South Africa. Since existing infrastructure and facilities may not be adequate to host the highly sought after mega sport events such as the FIFA World Cup and the Olympic Games additional investments are needed. Thus, there is increasing pressure on governments and event organisers who support the hosting of these sport events to demonstrate and plan for legacy impacts. Even so, it is important to note that legacies remain a contested term in relation to what constitutes a legacy, how long an impact should be sustained, which stakeholder group/s should benefit, and how should legacy impacts be monitored. Legacies include both the positive and negative impacts associated with hosting sport events. Moreover, the legacy impacts are complex in that positive impacts for some may result in negative impacts for others. The articles clearly reveal that the larger the event the greater the

legacy impacts (both positive and negative). The importance of research in examining legacies is also highlighted.

This first article 'Dennis Brutus: Activist for Non-racialism and the Freedom of the Human Spirit' by Smit is a tribute to one of South Africa's greatest activists, the humanitarian and academic, Dennis Brutus. Brutus is a legacy in his own right and his contributions will be a signpost for generations to come. The article provides a valuable synthesis of Brutus' life and focuses on the major impact he had and continues to have on the politics of sport. He was an advocate for non-racial sport and was a visionary who understood the potential that sport had to break social barriers and build meaningful relationships. Sport was seen as centrally part of society and therefore not distinct from the political realm. The power of sport to contribute to a better understanding of and dealing with societal conflicts as well as being a mechanism to promote human rights and challenge injustices emerged as key aspects of Brutus' activism. The article concludes by reminding us that the struggles that Brutus initiated and participated in remain. The inequalities in sport (including racism), the questions around who benefits and who loses from hosting sport events, the power dynamics associated with sport mega-events, access to sporting facilities and opportunities, etc. continue and need to be addressed. Thus, the legacy of Brutus requires us to take on these challenges. This article provides a historical backdrop for the critical analyses pertaining to sport events and legacies in relation to specific thematic areas.

Bob and Swart's article on 'Sport Events and Social Legacies' examines the range of different types of sport events (with a key focus on mega-events) and the social legacies associated with them. The article critically unpacks the concept of legacies and highlights the neglect of social legacies in the context of sport event legacy and/or impact studies. The array of social legacies is discussed and the interrelationships between economic, political and environmental legacies are examined. The importance of understanding tangible/direct versus intangible/indirect impacts is also investigated. Finally, methodological challenges and options for undertaking social legacy research are considered.

In terms of social legacies, Bob and Swart identify feel-good effects are one of the key benefits of hosting sport events, especially mega-events. Cornelissen and Maennig focus on this intangible/immeasurable aspect of

hosting the FIFA World Cup in their article, 'On the 'Feel-good' Effects at Sport Mega-events: Experiences from the FIFA Germany 2006 and Prospects for South Africa 2010'. By drawing on the two experiences of the FIFA World Cups, Cornelissen and Maennig examine this sense of communal well-being and how these mega-events evoke the 'feel-good factor'. They also explore the influences of political and socio-cultural processes. The article shows that while the main research and media focus was on economic and related tourism impacts, the feel-good effect appeared to be the largest and most obvious consequence of the World Cups. In both countries a sense of national pride emerged. The article also examines the impacts of these feel-good effects on the longer-term political implications for host locations.

The next two articles focus on residents' perceptions of the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Durban and Cape Town. Both articles emphasise the neglect of resident perception studies in relation to mega-events. Bassa and Jaggernath's article, 'Living Close to 2010 Stadiums: Residents' Perceptions of the 2010 FIA World Cup and Stadium Development in Durban South Africa', uses primary data collected among residents located in close proximity to the Moses Mabhida stadium to ascertain resident perceptions relating to the World Cup and stadium development. Chain and Swart adopt a similar approach in their article, 'Residents' Perceptions of the 2010 FIFA World Cup: A Case Study of a Suburb in Cape Town, South Africa'. The main focus of this article is on the contentious Cape Town stadium. The articles illustrate that locals in both locations under study supported South Africa and their respective cities hosting the event. They exhibited positive attitudes towards the event generally with most supporting South Africa's ability to successfully host the event. Furthermore, residents had high expectations regarding the social and economic impacts of the event, especially in terms of local economic development and job creation. Residents generally realised that benefits will be unevenly distributed and that the average South African (especially the poor) are unlikely to directly benefit economically from South Africa hosting the event. They did, however, express high levels of national pride which supports Cornelissen and Maennig's assertion that the social experience related to the 'feel-good effect' is likely to be the most widespread benefit among locals. Residents identified several concerns that included disruptions experienced during stadium construction and during the event, crime, increase in the cost of

living, and possible increases in rates and taxes after the event. The latter suggests that locals were concerned whether they will be required to 'foot the bill' after the event, a concern that is warranted given the financial downturns experienced in other host countries and cities after a mega-event.

Tichaawa and Swart's article, 'Cameroonian Fans' Perceptions of the 2010 FIFA World Cup: A Case Study of Buea and Limbe', examines aspects pertaining to the African legacy impacts of the continent hosting its first mega-event. Specifically, 728 interviews were conducted among Cameroonian fans in Buea and Limbe to ascertain their perceptions regarding South Africa's hosting of the World Cup, their interest in attending the World Cup and attitudes regarding legacy impacts. The results show that anticipated benefits of the 2010 FIFA World Cup are expected beyond South Africa's borders. Cameroonian fans expressed positive attitudes towards the 'African World Cup'.

In 'Business Perceptions of the 2010 FIFA World Cup and Related Infrastructural Development: A Case Study of the Moses Mabhida Stadium and Durban Beachfront Developments', McKenna and Bob focus on the infrastructural and related legacies. The article deals with the significant increase in development occurring in the urban centres of South Africa in preparation for the World Cup and local business perceptions towards these developments. The urban centre of Durban where development has been accelerated due to the 2010 World Cup provides the setting for this study. The iconic, new Moses Mabhida Stadium, the centre-piece of Durban during the World Cup, and the upgrades on the Durban Beachfront creates a link between these two areas to provide an entertainment precinct during the event and improve accessibility after the event. The focus on local business perceptions provides insights into the concerns and attitudes of a key yet neglected stakeholder. Very few studies on mega-events examine local business perceptions despite the almost exclusive spotlight on economic impacts.

The next article by Swart, Bob and Turco, 'Media, Crime and the 2010 Soccer World Cup in South Africa: Pre-Event Analysis and Perceptions', examines media reports compiled by the Government Communication Information Services (GCIS) from 2005 to 2006 that focused on crime and the 2010 World Cup. Crime was and remains a major consideration in the South African context and unsurprisingly emerged as a

key issue before the event, garnering significant media attention. The analysis of the reports highlighted four major issues: safety of tourists, destination imaging, safety and security, and readiness to host. The importance of the media in destination profiling and image building is explored and underscored in this article.

Maharaj's article, 'The 2010 FIFA World Cup. Sport Events and Tourism in Durban: Prospects and Challenges', broadens the scope of the discussion beyond the 2010 FIFA World Cup to explore the links between sport events and tourism in Durban. Durban has positioned itself as a sport tourism destination. This article examines the key challenges and issues for Durban as a sport event host city. The focus is on examining tourism trends in Durban (and the KwaZulu-Natal province more generally) and assessing whether sport events contribute to Durban's position as a tourist destination. Additionally, the attention is on infrastructural development projects (including sustainability imperatives), skills enhancement, crime and urban management, and urban integration and regeneration.

The next article by Ahmed and Pretorius, 'Mega-events and Environmental Impacts: The 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa', focuses on a neglected but increasingly important aspect of sport events impacts, environmental issues in the context of promoting sustainability. The authors indicate that there is an increased awareness on sustainability imperatives in relation specifically to minimising and mitigating against negative environmental impacts associated with hosting mega-events. Notably, the focus on the 'greening of events' has gained prominence. The sport events industry and related activities often attract significant numbers of people (especially hallmark and mega-events) and interacts with the environment in numerous ways. However, in the past environmental concerns have been largely ignored in relation to event planning and design as well as impact studies. The 2010 FIFA World Cup's 'Green Goal' programme is used as an illustrative example to examine environmental issues pertaining to the hosting of mega-events. Additionally, strategies and approaches to integrate environmental considerations in the planning and design of events are forwarded.

Billed as 'Africa's World Cup', the expectation was that the 2010 FIFA World Cup would not only contribute towards the country's economics but also be a 'unifier of humanity'. Yet, our country suffers under outbreaks

of both xenophobia and 'Afrophobia'. In their article, 'The 2010 FIFA World Cup: Service Delivery, "Afrophobia" and Brand Imperialism: Through the Eyes of Frantz Fanon', Conjé, van Wyk and Botha use views of Frantz Fanon on nationalism and unity as a conceptual framework for the assessment of some of the main challenges the FIFA world Cup presented to South Africans – seeing that soccer is immensely popular, especially in poor communities, yet also pose challenges with regard to social investment in the country. Rather than contributing towards infrastructural development and service delivery, significant state resources were redirected to the infrastructure development associated with the World Cup. This, so they argue, raises the question of whether resources should have been channelled to service delivery in poor areas rather than the World Cup. In this perspective, this first line of deprivation was ignored. The second line of deprivation concerns FIFA's intolerance of competition and the impact of its brand imposition – the result of its insistence that its sponsors be given monopoly preference in the economic opportunities associated with the event. As an empirical sample, the article also reports on a study done on these issues in Berea, Bertrams, Ellis Park, Melville and Yeoville, Gauteng.

The final article in this special issue, Olivier's 'Terror(ism) in the Context of Cosmpolitanism', raises the spectre of international terrorism – a phenomenon that has impacted on sport mega-events of the past. It shows that rather than approaching the question of 'terror' or 'terrorism' from the 'us' versus 'them' or nation-state and its other(s), perspective, it should employ a different logic. Drawing on contributions by Jacques Derrida, and Ulrich Beck, it could be better to argue that the old dichotomies are outdated. As an 'event', *9/11*, for instance, was something that one could have predicted and of which one could make sense in terms of Derrida's analysis of 'autoimmunity'. A similar logic, so Olivier argues, is present in the social thinker, Ulrich Beck's reflections on 'cosmopolitanism'. These he finds suggestive for overcoming perceptions of 'terrorism' as it relates to the nation-state, e.g. in Beck's notion of 'sovereignty'. This allows for the thinking of interdependency and collaboration as ways of 'solving' national and international problems rather than suppression and marginalisation.

This special issue draws to attention a range of issues that need to be considered when focusing on sport events and legacies. The contributions reveal a rich tapestry of methodological approaches to examine a range of

aspects pertinent to sport event legacies from different stakeholder perspectives. Reflecting on best practices and critically engaging with debates pertaining to the benefits and costs associated with hosting mega-events provide important lessons to inform the future bidding for events, especially in developing countries like South Africa. Cities in South Africa (such as Durban and Cape Town) have already indicated an interest to bid for the Olympic Games. Yet, we have not adequately undertaken a critical appraisal of the 2010 FIFA World Cup and as several authors in this contribution have stressed, the long-term legacy benefits remain to be seen. This contribution adds to the body of knowledge on legacy impacts and highlights key issues to be considered when bidding for and hosting sport events. The importance of leveraging positive legacy benefits and minimising negative impacts are stressed. Furthermore, the significance of being realistic and refraining from over-estimating benefits is emphasised.

This journal issue is dedicated to the memory of Dennis Vincent Brutus (1924 – 2009). Not only did Dennis play a major international role in bringing apartheid to an end. He will also be remembered as literary scholar and as a major international activist for global social, political, and economic justice.

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Dennis Brutus: Activist for Non-racialism and Freedom of the Human Spirit

Johannes A. Smit

> For the struggle for human rights, for justice, is one struggle (Dennis Brutus, 'Steve Biko: In Memoriam' [1978] 2006).

Abstract

This article provides a detailed overview of Dennis Vincent Brutus's anti-apartheid sports activism. Focusing primarily on the period of 1948 – 1970, it traces Brutus's activism from his earliest critical consciousness of racism in the apartheid state's sport codes, positions it vis-à-vis apartheid as part of the struggle for freedom in 1950s South Africa, and follows him on his international travels in his quest for non-racialism in sport and the isolation of the apartheid sporting fraternity. Brutus's literary activism as an integral component of his sports activism is also addressed. This is done in the broader theoretical framework of the ideological hegemony of the racist apartheid state, and Brutus's advocacy for non-racial sports, as a conflict between apartheid and human rights in ideological terms. The main contention of the article is that it was Brutus's commitment to non-racialism and the 'freedom of the human spirit' that served as navigating mechanism through all the socio-political turmoil he has had to live and struggle as exile and activist.

Keywords: Activism, Non-racialism, human rights, ideology, apartheid, IOC, SANROC

Introduction

Certainly one of the great political enigmas of the twentieth century is South Africa's white minority's decision to follow the road of apartheid while the rest of the enlightened and developing world took a firm decision for equality and human rights. While the National Party used the first decade of the 1950s to lay the foundations and do the groundwork for what would become the exclusionary oppressive and repressive racist apartheid state, the progressive forces in the country followed the road of defiance, peaceful protest and non-violent resistance. And whereas the apartheid machinery systematically put its ideological framework with all its laws, regulations and police brutality in place during its first decade, the pinnacle of the resistance was the launching of the *Freedom Charter* at Kliptown in 1955 following the defiance campaign of 1952. This tense and superficially peaceful decade came to a violent end during the approximately five years following the anti-pass campaign, Sharpeville and banning of the PAC and ANC in April 1960. As the international critical community strengthened its resolve to oppose apartheid South Africa, apartheid machinery equally strengthened its grip on the South African polity. Following the Sharpeville massacre (21 March 1960), the Rivonia trial (1963 - 1964) and exile, bannings and incarceration of South Africa's resistance and democratic leaders, all critical and enlightened forces in the country were faced with the bleak alternatives of silence or interminable imprisonment. As for many prominent leaders of South Africa, this and the following decade were also the world of Dennis Brutus's rise to prominence as arguably the singly most significant South African activist for non-racialism and human rights on the world stage[1].

Born in Harare on November 28, 1924, Brutus grew up in Port Elizabeth (now Nelson Mandela Metropolitan) and completed his tertiary education with a BA majoring in English and Psychology (1947) at Fort Hare University. In 1955 he participated in the founding of the Coordinating

[1] Dennis Vincent Brutus (b. November 24, 1924) passed away on 26 December 2009. He received a very large number of testimonials and obituaries in a wide variety of media. Patrick Bond has collected some of these from institutions, individuals and the media – cf. http://pambazuka.org/en/category/obituary/61249. For the *Dennis Brutus online Archive*, see http://ccs.ukzn.ac.za/default.asp?4,79.

Committee for International Relations in Sport. Its main objective was to persuade international sports organizations to only participate in interracial South African sports events (cf. Reddy n.d.). This strategy aimed at preventing South African sports bodies participating in international sports under the auspices of South Africa's racist ideology, and lead to the founding of the South African Sports Association (SASA) in October 1958[2]. SASA advocated non-racial sports on the sole basis of merit, with its main aim being 'to fight against racism in sport and press for international recognition of the non-racial sports bodies in South Africa' (cf. Reddy n.d.)[3]. Principally due to his anti-apartheid advocacy in sport as secretary of SASA, his anti-apartheid publications ranging from 'Sports Test for South Africa' (1959)[4] to his publications in *Fighting Talk*[5] and his founding of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) in 1963 (Odendaal 2003:180), Brutus was banned in October 1961 under the Suppression of Communism Act, shot and arrested in 1963, sentenced in 1964, and jailed and imprisoned on Robben Island (cf. Brutus 2006a:41). Released eighteen months later in July 1965 and served with three banning orders – banned from teaching,

[2] Brutus found SASA with Alan Paton as patron, Chris de Broglio as first President, and himself as secretary (cf. http://www.africansuccess.org/visuFiche.php?id=356&lang=en). Initially, SASA comprised eight non-racial sporting bodies, viz. Athletics, Boxing, Cycling, Lawn Tennis, Netball, Softball, Baseball and Weightlifting (cf. Brutus 1959:36).

[3] Ironically this body's first major triumph was its stopping of the all-black 1959 West-Indies cricket tour to South Africa. For other major accomplishments of the anti-apartheid sports campaigns during the next decade, see point 6 below – 'Non-racial Sports Activism Achievements'.

[4] The entry under his name on the *African Success: People Changing the Face of Africa* website, describes the publication as 'an opening salvo in his campaign to eject apartheid South Africa from international sporting competition' (cf. http://www.africansuccess.org/visuFiche.php?id= 356& lang=en).

[5] Cf. Brutus 1959; 1960/1961; 1961; 1962; 1963. Whereas Sustar and Karim's *Poetry & Protest: A Dennis Brutus Reader* (2006) does not treat these publications in chronological order, this article will do so because of its time-historical approach.

writing and publishing – he went into exile and soon became internationally renowned as both anti-apartheid activist for non-racialism in sport, and human rights– not least in his capacity as President of SANROC[6] and through his involvement in African literature studies in his capacity as poet and African literary scholar. Focusing on this, the first part of Brutus's life-long career as political activist, this article critically reflects on the nature of his activism for non-racialism in sport that had him make such a major impact on the politics of sports, and his human rights activism as present in his writings[7].

In order to provide a theoretical framework for Brutus's activism, I first briefly sketch the ideological conflict in which he advocated non-racial sports, as a conflict between apartheid and human rights in ideological terms. For the main argument I draw on extant sources in South Africa, and briefly

[6] SANROC's main objective was 'to fight against racism in sport and press for international recognition of the non-racial sports bodies in South Africa' (cf. Reddy n.d.; de Broglio & Brutus 2009). Since Africans did not participate in many of the sports on offer in South Africa yet, and because the different sports bodies were the result of the reification of ethnic colonial groupings (cf. Desai *et al.* 2002:5ff), this body initially mainly comprised of Indian and Coloured representatives (Brutus 2006a:39). Brutus relates how it was formed – as replacing SASA precisely because it would be possible to serve as vehicle to oppose apartheid South Africa's racist policies in the International Olympic Committee (IOC) – and how he became its first president (cf. Brutus 2006a:36,40f).

[7] From South African perspective, I divide Brutus's career into three parts, his pre-1980 anti-apartheid sports activism – with the two components of activism inside South Africa (pre-1965), and activism on the international stage (1966 - 1980) – his pre-1994 divestment and anti-apartheid cultural activism in which he advocated a cultural embargo of South Africa (1980 - 1994), and his post-1994 anti-globalisation activism. (Indicative of his personal hardship and constant struggles for recognition, he only won the right to stay in the United States as a political refugee after a protracted legal struggle in 1983 – which may allow for the demarcation of different time frames in his life, from biographical perspective. This is however not the focus of this article.)

cover the first phase of Brutus's life during which he became conscious of the challenges for non-racialism, his rise to prominence in the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa, the nature and dynamics of his commitment to non-racialism and the 'human spirit', and his focus on sport activism in practice internationally (1946 - 1980). Needless to say, the wisdom of hindsight often obscures the dynamics and fury of the turbulence of current junctures and the ebb and flow of the complex hegemonic and counter-hegemonic forces in the global political ocean. As all who have met Dennis Brutus personally know, Dennis was a veteran in negotiating the clashing views and personalities in the midst of discursive turbulence and instability. It is at this, the highest level of abstraction that the main contention of this article is that it was Brutus's commitment to non-racialism and the 'freedom of the human spirit' that served as navigating mechanism through all such turmoil – turmoil epitomized in the nature of his poetry[8].

1 Human Rights and the Apartheid Ideology

1.1 The Founding of International Human Rights

The General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on December 10, 1948. On May 26 of the same year, the Reformed National Party, under its banner of 'apartheid', won the elections in South Africa. Yet, whereas the dominant white racist ideology of apartheid aimed at instituting and enforcing racial segregation at all levels in the polity – that would drive racial groups ever further apart while inevitably mainly benefiting whites – the international progressive enlightened forces opened a different space – that of the 'recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family'. Significantly this first segment continues.

[8] The article does not address this matter in Brutus's *oeuvre*, except for referring to his views on political commitment in poetry and writing. Cf. the very comprehensive study edited by McLucky and Colbert (1995) though. It divides into five sections. Sections one, three, four and five comprise one, three, two and again one contribution each. Section two, however, which forms the central part of the book, comprise of ten chapters, each dealing with one of Brutus's poetry collections.

It assumes that since all human beings aim at freedom, justice and peace, these would only be achievable if 'the inherent dignity', and 'equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family' are recognised (cf. the 'Preamble' in UDHR). The achievement of freedom, justice and peace are hereby made conditional on the upholding and recognition of human rights. Alternatively: The universal upholding of human rights is made the means to the end of freedom, justice and peace for all. Freedom, justice and peace would therefore not be possible if human rights is not upheld and practiced.

In addition to this first conditional statement, the 'Preamble' states another six. Even so, their full import culminates in the conclusion – and this is worth quoting in full:

> Now, Therefore THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY proclaims THIS UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction (UDHR).

No other international event had the socio-political repercussions this momentous event had on the South African politics of the next fifty years[9]. It fired the imagination – not least of Dennis Brutus – to campaign for

[9] On his 2002 visit to Durban, Wole Soyinka, close friend and collaborator of Brutus, mentioned to me that Human Rights was the greatest 'discovery' of the twentieth century (cf. Smit 2003:287). I concur with this view. It was the propagation of human rights in all their multiform ways that resulted in the dissolution of the hold of colonization on the colonies, the East-West cold war divide as well as the apartheid state and other similarly rogue state systems of exclusion and oppression in the twentieth century. Focusing on Dennis Brutus, this article provides one sample of how this was achieved through his tireless activism in the case of the racist system of apartheid South Africa.

and advocate the dignity and equality of all in terms of the notion of the Fundamental Human Rights of all who partake in the 'human family'. Not only in terms of the conditional statements but especially in terms of the conclusion of this 'Preamble', the racist apartheid ideology would not only dismally fail but also open the door wide for the rightful attacks by its detractors. It did not have the objective of the achieving of freedom, justice and peace for all of the human family and therefore did not assume that the upholding of fundamental human rights in terms of the 'inherent dignity', and 'equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family' would be needed to achieve this goal. Failing this, it was in addition in conflict with each of the other six conditionals. But, as stated, it ultimately opened the door for activists like Brutus. It was especially in terms of the conclusion that they could assert the human dignity of all as 'common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations'. They could further propagate the requirement that 'every individual and every organ of society[!]' should conscientiously adhere to the Declaration, but especially 'strive by teaching[!] and education[!] to promote respect for these rights and freedoms'. Moreover, they could propagate these rights 'by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance'. Whereas apartheid did not recognise universal human rights, and whereas it progressively sought to curb such rights and obligations, Brutus, among others, would go in the opposite direction.

- Firstly, he would organize and found non-racial sports organizations and through his activism strive to have them rather than those of the apartheid state, internationally recognized, especially the IOC;
- Secondly, Brutus would throughout his career promote non-racialism, and ceaselessly propagate the recognition of the common humanity of all, not only in terms of the sports codes of his time, but also the progressive and enlightened bodies of the literary establishment.
- Thirdly, he would promote these values by teaching and education – starting in his home town – through his critical writing as well as his poetry – for which he received banning orders in 1963 – in the face of racist apartheid teachings, values and education.

Needless to say – it was not only through his critical and poetic exposés but especially through his proactive activism that he would become one of the prime non-racialism and human rights activists of the twentieth century. In this, he not only opposed apartheid but strove for human rights as a current and future objective for local, national and international practice. It was this future, Brutus dedicated his life's work to. For the moment, and to understand the context in which he started his lifelong career as activist, we need to however provide a brief overview of apartheid's 1950s ideological framework.

1.2 The Apartheid Ideological Framework

Apartheid reasoning went a different route than that of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights[10]. This ideology's reason was founded in racial superiority and not the equal recognition of 'the inherent dignity', and 'equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family' as declared in the UDHR. An important deduction that needs to be made here is that one major reason for not subscribing to these values has been that this ideology propagated racial superiority as a strategy to retain privilege and not commit to the project of seeking the ends of universal freedom, justice and peace for all. With this stance, it also committed to what the UDHR Preamble sought to dispel with its project of human rights recognition of all, viz. to use force (police and army if need be) to entrench racial privilege and advancement. Two additional points however need to be made in this connection – the one on the nature and role of the racist state's Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) in putting in place of the apartheid ideology, and secondly, how its Repressive State Apparatuses (RSAs) functioned as unifying umbrella practice for the entrenching of the racist state's laws and policies – as this for instance compares with the UDHR.

[10] The main influences were the gathering ideological momentum of the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism (the National Party was founded in 1914/1915), links with the de jure racial segregational Jim Crow laws (1876 - 1965), Nazism (1919-1945) and the resentment against Britain for the 1st and 2nd Anglo-Boer wars around the turn of the century. There are numerous documents that cover expositions of this history. In the current context, one of the brief but better ones is that by Peter Hain (1971:15-90).

Firstly, we may acknowledge that apartheid's Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) were indeed disparate – those chosen by the state could have been different. Yet, as a brief overview of the state's legal framework shows, the racist state's ISAs as founded in state laws, formed a firm grid in terms of which the ruling racist elite and its Repressive State Apparatuses (RSAs) could function[11]. Drawing on an earlier paper (cf. Smit 2002), they can be briefly outlined in terms of 1) the legislation prior to 1948 which cultivated certain racial practices and social formations in society broadly speaking; and 2) the actual legal framework the racist state put in place – i.e. as it was supposed to not only structure society ideologically, but also use these systems and structures to enforce and inculcate racial superiority and conditions of existence under the racist ideology by both oppressor and oppressed. The legal framework mainly focused on the governance of sex, suppressing and prevention of political resistance and opposition, the governing of relations in local communities ('little apartheid'), as well as in education, the economy, and the establishment of the black homelands[12]. Against the background of the fully operationalising of the systems and institutions that inculcated the ideology, direct governance – akin to Althusser's RSAs (1971:138) – provided a unified coordinating and

[11] In order to make a distinction between direct state governance of the ruling elite via its direct repressive systems and its indirect governance via its co-opting of systems and institutions in the sate, Althusser's (1971) distinction between the RSAs and ISAs is helpful. In his context of 1950s France, the ISA's comprised of: 1) the religious ISA (the system of the different churches/ [religions]); 2) the educational ISA (the system of the different public and private 'schools'); 3) the family ISA; 4) the legal ISA; 5) the political ISA (the political system, including the different parties); 6) the trade-union ISA; 7) the communications ISA (press, radio and television, etc.); 8) the cultural ISA (literature, the arts, sports, etc.).

[12] I only provide a sample of these laws. For a full break-down with discussions of the different Acts impacting on or contributing to the establishing of apartheid South Africa, consult, http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/chronology/special - chrono/governance/apartheid - legislation.html. The different timeframes this website treats are: 1856 – 1913; 1920s; 1930s; 1940s; 1950s; 1960s; 1970s.

managerial ideological function. Starting from the head of state the racist apartheid ideology were made to permeate government and state administration, and where dissent was encountered, it was policed through the police, the courts, and prisons.

Legislation prior to 1948 provided the governance framework in which apartheid could develop its own legislated racist ideological hegemony. Amongst others, the most significant were:

- The Black Land Act (No 27 of 1913);
- The Black Urban Areas Act (No 21 of 1923 - preceded by [the British] Ordinance No 17 of 1905);
- The Native Administration Act (No 38 of 1927); and
- The Development Trust and Land Act (No 18 of 1936);

In order to entrench the racist ideology along racial grounds, the newly constituted racist government pushed legislation aimed at the eventual policing of sex, through parliament soon after the election.

- The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (No 55 of 1949);
- The Immorality Amendment Act (No 21 of 1950) which eventually developed into the Immorality Act (23 of 1957).

A sample of the Acts that were put in place to directly criminalise political opposition – which obviously included the opposition deriving from Brutus's organising and founding of non-racial bodies and his teaching, writing and publishing – were:

- The Suppression of Communism Act (No 44 of 1950);
- Public Safety Act of 1953 (in response to the civil disobedience campaigns of the ANC);
- The Criminal Law Amendment Act (No 8 of 1953);
- Riotous Assemblies and Suppression of Communism Amendment Act (No 15 of 1954);
- Criminal Procedure Act (No 56 of 1955) - later replaced by the Criminal Procedure Act (No 51 of 1977);

- Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act (No 64 of 1956);
- Riotous Assemblies Act (No 17 of 1956) – prohibiting open-air gatherings if regarded as endangering public peace;
- Unlawful Organisations Act (No 34 of 1960) – under which the PAC and ANC were banned/ declared unlawful;
- General Law Amendment Act (No 39 of 1961) – provided for twelve day detention;
- Indemnity Act (No 61 of 1961) – absolving all government officials for acts committed or orders issued 'in good faith for the prevention or suppression of internal disorder, the maintenance or restoration of good order, public safety or essential services, or the preservation of life or property in any part of the Republic'.
- General Law Amendment Act (Sabotage Act) (No 76 of 1962) – which gave the State President added powers for declaring organisations unlawful;
- Terrorism Act (No 83 of 1962) – following a broad definition of terrorism, the act that authorised indefinite detention without trial;
- General Law Amendment Act (No 37 of 1963) – which allowed for commissioned officers to detain any suspect of political crime, for up to ninety days (which could be extended for another twelve months);
- General Law Amendment Act (No 80 of 1964) – which allowed for even lengthier extensions of detention without trail, and which saw Robert Sobukwe only released in 1969 under this act;
- The Criminal Procedure Amendment Act No 96 (180-Day Detention Law) of 1965 – which provided for 180-day detention and re-detention thereafter without any trial.
- The General Law Amendment Act (No 62 of 1966) – in response to guerrila events on the northern border to South West Africa, but aimed at detention of suspected terrorists – which would lead to the 1967 Terrorism Act which was introduced on 4 November 1966.
- Suppression of Communism Act (No 24 of 1967);
- The Prohibition of Political Interference Act (No 51 of 1968) – which legislated against the formation of non-racial political parties; and
- The Public Service Amendment Act No 86 of 1969 – which legis-

lated the formation of the much feared BOSS, the Bureau of State Security.

For formal and 'little' apartheid, for purposes of control and monitoring of people at local levels, the racist government promulgated:

- The Population Registration Act (No 30 of 1950);
- The Group Areas Act (No 41 of 1950);
- The Separate Representation of Voters Act (No 46 of 1951);
- The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act (No 52 of 1951);
- The Bantu Authorities Act (No 68 of 1951);
- The Natives Laws Amendment Act of 1952;
- The Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act (No 67 of 1952);
- The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (No 49 of 1953), so-called 'little apartheid'; and
- The Promotion of the Black Self-Government Act (No 46 of 1959).

Two of the most significant education acts which not only determined the racial separation of educational institutions but also put in place systems of unequal education, were:

- The Extension of University Education Act (No 45 of 1949); which eventually lead to
- The Black Education Act (No 47 of 1953).

For the economy, even though it was already determined by the acts referred to above to various degrees, we have the following:

- The Bantu/Native Building Workers Act, Act (No 27 of 1951);
- The Native Labour Settlement of Dispute Act (No 48 of 1953); which lead to
- The Mines and Works Act (No 27 of 1956); and
- The Industrial Conciliation Act (No 28 of 1956) – aimed at separating unions along racial lines.

- The Black Labour Act (No 67 of 1965) – which consolidated the all laws governing the recruitment, employment, accommodation, feeding and health conditions of Black labourers.

For the formalising of separate homelands development, in distinction to an equal and integrated development, at least four acts were important:

- The Urban Black Council Act (No 79 of 1961);
- The Prohibition of Political Interference Act (No 51 of 1968);
- The Black Homelands Citizenship Act (No 26 of 1970); and the
- The Black States Constitution Act (No 21 of 1971).

This is only a sample of the legal framework for the apartheid ideology – principally managed by the head of State, the government and the administration and monitored and regulated by the police, the courts, the prisons – that functioned through public violence. The real invidious criminality of this racist ideology is that it developed its parallel ISAs as these functioned to implement and naturalise the ideology in the private domains, e.g. some churches, parties, trade unions, families, schools, most newspapers, cultural ventures, etc. were co-opted to become the ideology's instruments (cf. Althusser 1971:138,144).

Secondly, in comparison with the UDHR, we can draw on especially its 'Preamble' and summarise the general rationale of the racist ruling ideology. In this regard we need to note the racist apartheid state's 'contempt for human rights' and that this has indeed resulted in 'barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of humanity' prior to 1948 but especially in the next forty-odd years of apartheid's rule. With this it shunned the international commitment to a 'world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want' – the 'highest aspiration of the common people'. Given the fact that the racist state rejected the recognition of the 'freedom of speech and belief' and ignored 'freedom from fear and want' of all in South Africa equally – and this consequence was well recognised by the drafters of the UDHR – this state of affairs would inevitably lead to the oppressed peoples of South Africa, seeking recourse to first non-violent peaceful resistance and ultimately open rebellion and armed struggle against state tyranny. Whereas the entrenching of these freedoms in

the rule of law would have meant the cultivation of 'friendly relations' between the diffrent groups in South Africa, as well as equality between men and women, 'social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom', this ideology's commitment to force would lead in the opposite direction – escalating state violence, ever greater inequality, social stagnation, ever poorer standards of life, diminishing freedom and ever increasing break-downs in common understanding.

Against the background of this very brief overview, it is clear that the racist state's ideological route of conflict and forceful oppression and repression, would eventually fail. If the UDHR was not there, it would have been more difficult for progressive forces to find common ground in terms of which equality could be propagated and the racist state opposed. However, with it, and a growing international support of human rights nationally and internationally, the racist state would eventually collapse under the sheer pressure of the weight of its own unsupported violence. Among others, Dennis Brutus realised this very well at the dawn of the 1950s South Africa – it was inevitable that apartheid would fail. It was for this reason that he initially embarked on his role as opponent of apartheid sports inside South Africa, a role that would ultimately propel him into the international arena and place him on countless international fora. Yet, it was his stance on the universality of human rights and his advocacy of humanity of all internationally, that would not only withdraw international support or progressively diminish international support and relations with the racist state, but also brought about the racist state's implosion. The direct strategy of Brutus' activism was the advocating of non-racialism and the indirect strategy the deprivation and starving of apartheid racism of international veracity, relations, competitions and recognition.

2 Dennis Brutus and Human Rights in Sports: Awakenings

In the context of apartheid's formidable ideological state apparatuses, Brutus focused on apartheid South Africa's most visible and vulnerable form – international sport. His coming to consciousness on this issue was in 1937. He recounts:

> There was a seminal moment in my life connected to this school [a previously white school]. On Saturdays and Sundays, we had nowhere to go—there were no playgrounds. So we would go back to the school, even though it was in a white area, and kick a ball around. One Saturday afternoon, as we were kicking a ball around, it bounced out of the school yard, into one of the gardens of one of the white, middle-class houses around there. The husband and the wife and everybody else were sitting on the stoop in the sunny, warm Saturday afternoon, listening to a radio broadcast of a rugby match between South Africa and New Zealand, the two great rugby rivals. As the ball bounced in the garden, I went and got the ball.
>
> And the man says to his wife 'Ah, future Springboks'—meaning future members of the South African rugby team. But he's saying it cynically because no non-white ever gets onto the team! I'm not sure, but his wife says to him, 'You know, sarcasm is the lowest form of wit'. So I'm maybe twelve or thirteen, listening to this. And it strikes me, this guy's saying that coloreds—blacks—won't ever get onto the team. I think it stuck with me, until years later, when I began to challenge the whole barrier—questioning why blacks can't be on the team. I remember both the cynicism with which the possibility was dismissed, and the woman alerting this man to the fact that maybe he's not as smart as he thinks he is (Brutus 2006a:25).

Taking Brutus's age into consideration, this event dates from around 1936/ 1937 and could refer to the 1937 springbok rugby team's touring of New Zealand in that year[13]. The significance of this observation is that

[13] Immediately prior to this date, there was only the 1928 New Zealand rugby tour to South Africa and following the springboks' tour of New Zeeland in 1937, the New Zealand tour to South Africa of 1939 (cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_rugby_union_matches_between_New_Zealand_and_South_Africa). It appears correct to surmise that the event in question that had such a profound impact on the twelve year-old Brutus, was the 1937 tour of the springboks to New Zealand. There were obviously no tours during the war period.

Brutus would only become more overtly politically aware a decade later while studying at Fort Hare. Yet, one can surmise that this early experience – as indicated in his observation – was a formative influence on his life, and could be regarded as a founding moment that would continue to impact on his eventual involvement in the propagation of non-racial sports and sports bodies, his opposition to the racist sport codes of the apartheid government, and his lifelong commitment to challenge the race barrier on the basis of human equality and equal access to all human systems. But, this human rights attitude especially impacted on his non-racial sports organizing in 1950s South Africa and his international anti-apartheid activism between 1965 – 1970. I provide two examples.

Firstly, on his return to his former school as teacher, he was soon reprimanded and received his first banning order.

> After I graduated, I started teaching, from 1946 to 1948, at Paterson High School, the same school from which I had matriculated. When the apartheid government came into power in 1948, the differences that had existed before were suddenly exacerbated. You had a new system—virtually a Nazi system—imposed by people who supported Hitler during the Second World War. They were now running the country. So even had I chosen not to be in collision with the system, the system was in fact becoming so much worse that you could not avoid collision with it. *I began to challenge apartheid in education, because there was black education, white education, and brown education, and each one was different*. And the brown one was much worse than any white one, and slightly better than any black one. So again, you had this variation. Eventually of course, I was banned from teaching and the government decided that I was a dangerous person. Their own language was, 'unfit to teach young minds'. Obviously because they wanted a different kind of teaching for young minds! (Brutus 2006a:27; e.a.).

The exploitation of diversity for sectional racist interests and oppressive measures could only challenge Brutus to collide with this system, not least because of the inequality(!) between these systems of education. Moreover, his challenging of the racist system would lead to ever more prohibitions – banning from teaching – and gagging orders that would follow

Brutus all his life (cf. below).

Secondly, and impacting more directly on racism in sport, Brutus relates how it happened that he connected his concerns with the Olympics.

> One of my colleagues, Aldridge Adamson, had just come back from Europe, where he had been working. He had been in London at the time of the Empire and Olympic Games, the first Olympics after the war. This was 1948, and the Helsinki Olympics of 1952 were approaching. *I was beginning to be aware of the whole race and sports issue and its significance.* Also on the same staff was another teacher who was a Marxist, Harry Jeftha, who also was a strong influence on me. He pointed out the fact that *the Olympic charter makes it illegal for any participating country to discriminate on the grounds of race.*
>
> I put the pieces together. The facts of apartheid in South Africa were in *contradiction* with the Olympic governing rules. That got me into the Olympic issue, for which many people know me chiefly, having pretty much spearheaded the expulsion of South Africa from the Olympic Games in 1970 (Brutus 2006a:38; e.a.).

As part of the international dynamics during the 1948 – 1952 period, and developing the 1938 Charter, the 'Fundamental Principles' of the *Charter of the Olympic Games* came into force. By 1949, the first statement after the war, this basic assertion on 'equal competition' and 'perfect conditions' is retained but a very significant element added – the one that Brutus refers to in his 'Memoir'[14]:

[14] The rules themselves have a history. In the 1933 Charter it reads: 'The *moral virtue attached to sport* had hitherto been neglected. The revivor of the Olympic Games, as well as his first collaborators were convinced that *this power could be utilised if all sports were conducted on an equal footing and under conditions as perfect as possible*. They thought quite rightly that those gatherings of young men were one of the best ways to make the *different classes* in a country as well as the units of *different civilizations* well *acquainted with each other and to promote better understanding*. Those who followed did their utmost to improve that wonderful manifestation, which is the sporting criterion of the races of the world, and contributed worthily to bring together those who have taken part in the Games'.

> The Olympic Games are held every four years and assemble amateurs of all nations in fair and equal competition under conditions which are to be as perfect as possible.
> *No discrimination is allowed against any country or person on grounds of colour*[15]*, religion or politics* (e.a.) (cf. http://www.olympic. org/Documents/OSC/Ressources/Bibliotheque/Olympic_ Charter/ 1949%20-%20Olympic%20Charter.pdf.).

Significantly, this statement is a new addition to the earlier principle used for the preceding two decades, which was stated in terms of the 'moral virtue' attached to sport. This would remain the same since, with only three changes – 'colour' would be replaced by 'race' in 1956[16], 'politics' would

[15] The notion of 'races' (cf. previous footnote) followed the nomenclature as developed since Darwin and which mostly had negative connotations attached to it, but positive here since it called for equality. Yet, important here, is that Olympic sports can harness this 'moral virtue' if it takes place 'on an equal footing and under conditions as perfect as possible'. Furthermore, the moral virtue exist precisely in that sports conducted 'on an equal footing', will be able to 'bring together' the 'races' and more specifically, to make the 'different classes in a country as well as the units of different civilizations well acquainted with each other and to promote better understanding'. Sports would thus be able to transcend both race and class.

This statement under the rubric of 'moral virtue' however changed from 1938. For the first time, the Olympic Committee states its charter beginning with 'Fundamental Principles'. Here, before WWII, the statement on equality is retained from the 1933 statement: 'The Olympic Games are celebrated every four years. They assemble the AMATEURS of all nations on an equal footing and under conditions as perfect as possible'.

[16] Brutus already places the use of 'race' in the 1949 declaration which is not correct. It only replaced 'colour' in 1956. Also: compare the 1955 charter with the 1956 one: http://www.olympic.org/Documents/OSC/Ressources /Bibliotheque/Olympic _ Charter/1955%20 - %20Olympic%20Charter%20 - %20The%20OG%20 - %20charter,%20rules%20and%20regulations, %20 general%20information.pdf, and, http://www.olympic.org/Documents/OSC/ Resources/Bibliotheque/Olympic _ Charter/1956%20-olympic.Charter.pdf.

become 'political affiliation' by 1966[17] but revert back to 'politics' in 1971, and sexual orientation would be added under the rubric of 'sex' in 1991[18], but 'gender', by 2004[19].

By 1948, South Africa had in fact already violated the first principle of the Olympic Charter for more than twenty years, on two counts – it excluded equal participation in sports on the grounds of 'colour'/ 'race' as well as 'politics'. Apartheid South Africa entrenched this state of affairs in law, and by subscribing to and promoting discrimination in terms of its apartheid and racist policies and laws, not least in sport itself, apartheid South Africa had in fact prevented itself from 'belonging to the Olympic Movement'[20]. They have in fact excluded themselves.

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[17] Cf. http://www.olympic.org/Documents/OSC/Ressources/Bibliotheque/Olympic_Charter/1966%20-%20Olympic %20Charter.pdf.

[18] Cf. http://www.olympic.org/Documents/OSC/Ressources/Bibliotheque/Olympic_Charter/1991%20 Olympic%20Charter.pdf

[19] In the 2004 Charter, the fundamental principle number 5 is stated for the first time in the form we have it at present: 'Any form of discrimination with regard to a country or a person on grounds of race, religion, politics, gender or otherwise is incompatible with belonging to the Olympic Movement'.

[20] In its modern form (2010), this violation is even more clearly stated – currently it would in fact violate two of the six 'Fundamental Principles of Olympism', namely principles 4 and 5. The modern statement starts off by pointing out in principle 4 that the practicing of sport is a human right(!), and that this principle bars all forms of discrimination: '4. The practice of sport is *a human right. Every individual must have the possibility of practicing sport, without discrimination of any kind* and in the Olympic spirit, which requires mutual understanding with a spirit of friendship, solidarity and fair play. The organisation, administration and management of sport must be controlled by independent sports organizations (e.a.)'. Building on principle 4, principle 5 specifies the point about discrimination even closer. It states: '5. Any form of *discrimination* with regard to a *country* or a *person* on grounds of *race, religion, politics, gender or otherwise* is incompatible with belonging to the Olympic Movement'. This most recent statement of these principles is present in the IOC's 'Fundamental Principles of Olympism' as adopted on February 11, 2010. Cf. the 2010 version of the *Olympic Charter* below.

3 Taking the Struggle for Non-racialism in Sport Nationally: 1950 - 1965

'SOUTH AFRICA, it is generally admitted, is sport mad'. Thus starts Brutus's article 'Sports Test for South Africa' (1959:35) precisely ten years later. Departing from the assumption that South Africa is 'sports mad', it continues to show how the South Africa's populace's pre-occupation with sports in fact detracts from the more pressing issues – an attempt to escape 'from the pressing problems of a multi-racial society', the constructive '[role] the electorate can play' and that it allows for 'professional politicians [to] get on with the dirty work'. This, he argued was amply demonstrated in the daily press, radio, arguments about sports in bus and bar, and the thousands who attend sports events. '[C]ertainly, South Africa has succeeded very well in expelling the race-problem from sport' (Brutus 1959:35). Not with some dry irony, Brutus set himself the task to bring it back to centre court – the issue of international recognition.

> SOUTH AFRICA, it is generally admitted, is sport mad. The extensive daily press and radio coverage, the interminable arguments in bus and bar, and the thousands who flock to the sportsgrounds all testify to this. There are some who say that this is just an escape for the masses from the pressing problems of a multi-racial society that the electorate can play, because the professional politicians get on with the dirty work. Certainly, South Africa has succeeded very well in *expelling the race-problem from sport*—up to now. But there are ominous signs that all this is changing, and leading sports officials are suffering 'big match jitters'. The news that the International Olympic Committee is to discuss *South Africa's colourbar in sport* has only added to the unease they previously felt. For *sport in South Africa means 'white sport'*, something peculiar to the country and vastly different to the meaning given to the term elsewhere. Selection on *merit—the fundamental of sport—is meaningless in South Africa*, except in relation to the 3 million *White South Africans*. *No one of the 12 million non-Whites is ever considered for a national team, no matter what his ability or how clearly he merits selection*. And so our sport is a fraud, and our international reputation for sportsmanship acquired by deceit (e.a.).

In the context of the popularity of sport, the problem is that 'merit' or selection on the basis of 'ability' and not 'race', is not taken into consideration in the selection of sports teams. Rather, it is only applicable to white South Africans. The 'ability' and 'merit' of 'non-White' South Africans are not considered because of the 'colourbar' in sport.

Brutus then continues and further develops his focus on recognition by the IOC, namely that it will address the issue of the 'colourbar' in South African sports and then goes to the heart of the matter: the racist apartheid state violates a central constitutional principle of the International Olympic Committee (IOC).

> The rest of the world is not unaware of this [i.e. racism in sport], and the South African violation of the principles of the Olympic Games, as embodied in their fundamental article—'No discrimination is permitted on grounds of race, religion or politics'[21]—has already been challenged. But the big test lies ahead.

Significant for official articulation with the IOC, Brutus continues to point out that there are indeed legitimate, non-racial sports bodies in South Africa – mostly due to his own work, which he does not add[22] – and which should be the official representatives of South African sports on the IOC.

> For almost every South African national sporting body which admits only White South Africans, and which is recognized by the international bodies, there exists a parallel non-White body,

[21] Brutus is correct here. 'Colour' was replaced by 'race' in the 1956 'Charter' and was in force by 1959, the time of this publication.

[22] Prior to the founding and advancing of non-racial sports bodies, the situation was that sports clubs were established along racial lines. This was in keeping with the political domain where political parties or congresses were formed for the different ethnic groups. However, the 1950s push for collaboration above and beyond racial groupings in the political domain – as a response to apartheid's legislation in terms of racial politics – opened the door to a similar approach in sports. Under Brutus's leadership the result was the formation of SASA first and ultimately, SANROC.

> generally with a non-racial constitution, which is doomed to play its matches in the locations and denied all chance of ever providing national representatives. Some 200,000 non-Whites participate in sport every week, but not all of them are still content to be excluded from sport as they are excluded from other spheres of civilised living.

He then identifies the eight Olympic sports bodies that have parallel non-racial sports codes, that exist alongside the white sports bodies in South Africa, and that came into existence during the 1950s. These are Athletics, Boxing, Cycling, Lawn Tennis, Netball, Softball, Baseball and Weightlifting[23]. In the case of each of the sports, he provides examples of some events that lead to the questioning of the legitimacy of the white racist sports bodies and the affirmation of the non-racial ones, e.g. South Africans who outperform their white counter-parts nationally or internationally[24]. To this he also added examples from soccer, the Commonwealth Games, cricket, and table tennis, as well as international collaboration to exclude governments and their sports teams who interfere in sports, from international sports. The real test – and it is from this perspective that the article derives its topic – is that of the 'test' of both national and international recognition or rejection.

Nationally, the aim should be to convince the sportsmad public that not race but merit should be the principle for the selection of sportsmen and sportswomen to represent the country, and internationally, countries who compete with South Africa must be made aware that they not only accept this most 'distasteful form of racial prejudice' but also 'condone the export of apartheid to their own countries'. If this could be used to convince the

[23] The year before, 1958, a coordinating body for all non-racial sports was set up, the South African Sports Association (SASA).

[24] Independent of merit, African, Coloured and Indian sportsmen and sportswomen could not represent South Africa because it did not allow non-racial or interracial teams to represent it in international sports competition. For this reason, there was also a strict policy of underdevelopment with regard to the development of sports infrastructure in 'non-white' areas (cf. Korr & Close 2008: 16f; Desai *et al.* 2002).

different publics, then this 'fissure' may grow and eventually lead to the collapse of the 'entire indivisible structure of racial rule'. When the sports bodies meet – the white racist and the non-racial ones – the result is always 'a resounding defeat for the practitioners of apartheid'. The same should be the case also internationally. There is no alternative for South Africa than conform to the principles of international sport, characterized by non-racialism, selection on merit and therefore human equality.

Reflecting on his work as well as that of others, this very significant document's main thrust is to overview the achievements of the movement for non-racialism in sport up to this point. At the same time, and apart from numerous allusions, the argument from merit has at least two additional prominent examples, viz. the weightlifter and the prospective West-Indies tour to South Africa under a Black captain. For the first, Brutus recounts how a weightlifter, Precious McKenzie amongst many others has emigrated to England in order to participate in international competitions.

> Precious McKenzie wears an English blazer as a member of the English weightlifting team in Jamaica.
>
> Few people are aware of the fact that Precious McKenzie has been the best weightlifter in South Africa since 1960, but because Precious is a colored South African he was never able to compete in a South African championship and never represented his country—finally he was forced to emigrate to Great Britain in order to be able to compete in international sports.
>
> Within a few months he was shattering the British records in his division and is now the British champion.
>
> This sad state of affairs is the consequence of racialism in South African sports which has penalized many fine sportsmen (Brutus [1966] 2006:151).

The argument about merit and racism in sport on the West-Indies tour to South Africa, is curious in so far as the West Indies were to always have a white captain, independent of merit but as part of the British policy of trusteeship or 'leadership'. The tour to South Africa would have had a black captain, and would allow the West Indies to assert their own merit to captain

their own sides. Yet Brutus opposed and organized against the tour because it would lend legitimacy to the apartheid regime. He explains:

> In 1959, Frank Worrell, who was black, was a candidate to become captain of the West Indies team. He made the mistake of agreeing to tour South Africa as captain of the West Indies team and play ten matches—West Indies blacks vs. South African blacks—while the white South Africans were playing against England. This was a sop to the black players. Their argument was: 'You can't play against whites, but we'll actually bring in a black team to play against you guys, while we're playing against our guys'. I challenged this. I said, 'This is being done to consolidate apartheid'. Here C.L.R. and I were on opposite sides, although I was not really aware of it at the time (Brutus 2006a:129).

While C.L.R. James was supporting the tour to prove their ability to captain themselves, Brutus and SASA opposed it because of the legitimacy it would give to the regime[25]. Even so, it was as secretary of SASA and later President of SANROC, that Brutus was refused a passport and served with stringent 'banning orders'. He managed to escape to Mozambique in 1963 on his way to an IOC meeting, but the Portuguese authorities captured him and handed him over to South Africa. He was incarcerated on Robben Island and left for Britain on release eighteen months later. Banned from teaching for the first time in 1947, and suffering under various forms of investigation and persecution by the Special Branch of the police during the 1950s this article as well as those that would follow in *Fighting Talk* (1960 – 1963) were central to Brutus's detention.

[25] Brutus and other opponents to the tour argued that 'the tour would have strengthened the apartheid state by consolidating a conception that Blacks should play cricket against Blacks, and Whites should play international cricket with Whites' (cf. Desai *et al.* 2002:10f,221f). Cf. Desai *et al.* (2002: 222f) for a comparison of advantages and disadvantages, had the tour go ahead; and Hain (1971:53) on the significance of SASA on this issue.

4 The Human Rights Struggle: Perspectives from South Africa

Very closely related to his sentiments in 'Sports Test for South Africa' (1959), and Brutus's related organising and activism for international human rights recognition, at least three developments in his thinking while still in South Africa, could be identified in his *oeuvre*, *viz*. his critical reflection on the so-called 'gagging clause of the Sabotage Act – the General Law Amendment Act (No 76 of 1962) – in his 'Silent Poets, Strangled Writers' (1963); his critical problematisation of 'Negritude' in 'Negritude, Literature and Nationalism: A Word from South Africa' (1962); and his recognition in prison in his autobiographical notes in '"You've come to Hell Island": A political prisoner under apartheid', of how the apartheid system produce criminals (1974).

4.1 In his reflections on the 'gagging clause' of the Sabotage Act – the General Law Amendment Act (No 76 of 1962) – Brutus ([1963] 2006) uses the reference to being human more than in any other of his published documents – nine times in fact. Vis-à-vis the 'civilised world' Brutus accuses the racist supremacist regime about its inhumanity by not giving people the freedom to 'speak and write' (!) against its inhumanity.

> In 1962, a fresh *barbarism* was perpetrated in South Africa. While the civilized world has repeatedly been shocked by revelations of the *inhumanities* committed here in the name of racial supremacy, the 'Gagging Clause' of the Sabotage Act *should move all humans to the profoundest disgust*. It is a disgust which must find expression in action.
>
> What does the Gagging Clause mean? And what can be done about it?
>
> The General Laws Amendment Act—to give the Sabotage Act its official name—was aimed at those who seem in ANY WAY to change a state of society intolerable to the majority and portending destruction to all. A special clause in the Act enabled the Minister of Justice to gag those who might *speak* or *write* against the system of

> oppression which the world knows as apartheid (Brutus [1963] 2006: 46; e.a.).

Apart from the 'disgust' this law generates, it is also a 'sabotage', 'rape' and 'prostitution' of the 'human spirit' (Brutus [1963] 2006: 47) and he therefore rightfully calls for appropriate action. He calls for those who 'care for the human spirit' to not remain silent – as happened in the time of Nazi Germany – but to write and speak out against it. Significantly, and referring again to the law, he points out:

> Men and women are dammed to silence without a trial. They are forbidden to communicate their emotions, experiences and visions to their fellow men. Protest is strangled in the throat, The creative outpouring which could enrich the community is blasted.
>
> True, in the context of the overall savagery and barbarism which 'General Law' means in South Africa, this is a trifle. But no one in the world who cares for freedom of thought, speech and the *human spirit* can permit this particular act of barbarism to pass in silence (Brutus [1963] 2006: 47; e.a.).

For his outline of writers' action, he points out that they could 1) declare their opposition and contempt for this measure; 2) hold up this disgusting gallows to the contempt of the entire world; 3) collectively refuse to 3.1) have their books sold in South Africa; refuse to 3.2) grant performing rights for their works in South Africa's apartheid theaters, cinemas and concert halls; 3.3) refuse to have any truck with apartheid in South Africa. Such action, rather than 'turning South Africa into a cultural desert', would mean that all writers and artists would resist becoming 'compost for the dungheap where noxious and strangling weeds proliferate'. And referring to 'humanism', he says that many who crusade for bringing 'humanism' to the 'new Neanderthalers' [through their relations with racist apartheid] are doing nothing than just continuing to feed their own greed, profits and prestige – which belies their 'crusading [as] mere cant'. Rather, in order to make an impact, what should happen is to mobilise P.E.N. clubs, Writers' and Artists' Guilds, the Congress for Cultural Freedom, and the great international agency of UNECSO. He concludes:

> It will not bring the 'Baasskap' barbarians to their senses. But it will establish the contempt and opposition of the world. And it will hearten those who are trying to keep alive the flicker of *human values* in South Africa as we go down into the Pit.
>
> It is a small flicker. But if the *flame of freedom* is ever to burn again in South Africa, it will have to start with small beginnings. It will have to start in the *conscience* of a few individual writers in South Africa and all over the world.
>
> It will have to start soon (Brutus [1963] 2006: 48).

4.2 If Brutus's critique of the racism to the white side is needle sharp, his problematisation of the negritude movement, is equally telling. In his 1962 *Fighting Talk* article, 'Negritude, Literature and Nationalism: A Word from South Africa', he first comments on 'negritude' as coming especially from French Africa:

> – an expression of a peculiar blackness or African-ness in literature which is related to matters like the development of an African personality and the cultivation of a recognizably African literature (Brutus [1962] 2006:49).

Yet, he muses:

> … on this subject, South African writers are strangely silent. True, the trio of Lewis Nkosi, Zeke Mphahlele, and Bloke Modisane, effectively punctured the mystical aura which surrounds the concept—and in his 'African Image' Zeke drove a truck through it.

He nevertheless does not want to reject it out of hand – to 'dismiss the subject by pungent criticism' – but gives it its due, in that it:

- is typical of the 'Gallic tendency to ratiocination and the abstraction of theory from a small number of observed facts';
- can be partly understood as 'a reaction against European-ness or whiteness'; and

- asserts 'the black man's pride in his ancestry and blackness in defiance of the superiority and disdain which he encountered in many white circles—including the literati'.

The problem, as he saw it, however, is how to more closely specify the problem of 'expressing Africa in literature' – in terms of:

- how does one express the atmosphere and customs of the people of Africa?
- how does one avoid slavish imitation of 'European' models?
- to what extent should one conform to the standards set by 'European' writers? and
- how does one achieve a literature which is genuinely and peculiarly expressive of thought, custom and ideals in Africa? (Brutus [1962] 2006:59) [26].

In terms of these problematisations he then proffers some answers – at the risk of 'sounding charlatan'. Assuming that the life of people on the African continent is indeed different from those of people on other continents, and that its literary expression is not only desireable but 'laudable', he points out that such literature should nevertheless not only be African, but also add to the already existing literature which should then be 'a literature as great and *universally human* as that of any other continent'. The problem, however lies in the single notion of African, or in his terms, 'African nations and African nationalism'. If these are not negotiated, such talk about African difference or negritude, is nothing but mere wishful

[26] There is a very large discourse, with a wide number of positions on what has become known as the discourse on the 'African difference'. The discourse on literature in indigenous languages is well-known – that between writing exclusively in indigenous languages or not, with Ngugi wa Thiong'o being the leader in this direction; the philosophical discourse has a number of positions which have been mapped by Tsenay Serequeberan (cf. also Smit 1996) with a quite definitive argument from ethnophilosophical perspective recently by Kebede (2004).

thinking. For his own proposal – and that is if African literature wishes to achieve the hights of being counted as a world literature that measures up to others which can be counted as 'universally human' – a two-step process needs to be undertaken. The first step is to foster an indigenous national literature; and the second step, to then cultivate its evolutionary development internationally. He says:

> The first [step] is from the late Lionel Forman, writing in *Liberation* in 1959: 'The best way to achieve a fusion of national cultures in the future into one culture, is to favor the blossoming of many cultures first'.
>
> The second [step] is from a recent publication by the African National Bureau of Political and Social Studies: 'African Nationalism is evolutionary, dynamic and progressive (because) we recognize that it is in itself restrictive and exclusive but as it evolves and progresses its dynamism makes it less restrictive and more inclusive and finally becomes all-embracing'.
>
> This, it seems to me, is a good point to start from: that we must recognize and accept the existence of nationalism—and be prepared to use it and give expression to it—but that we must always be aware that it is evolving into something more all-embracing in which we can find the expression and ultimate fusion of many diverse cultures (Brutus [1962] 2006:50).

Practically, in terms of these approaches' impact on real literary engagements he recommends,

> that the writer makes use of the material at hand—material he (sic.) knows and understands and loves. It means that the West African, the Kenyan and the South African alike can depict in their writing the milieu they know—and make it available to the world. It means to write with understanding of the remnants of tribal culture where they exist, and the bustling life of the South African proletariat—a peculiar fusion of European culture and the vestiges of a tribal culture.

> It means that we can speak freely and understandingly of what we know, and share our knowledge with the world. It means too that we must be sufficiently catholic to have a keen eye for and assimilate the diverse cultures which make up life on the African continent (Brutus [1962] 2006:50f).

Quite critical of Gordimer, Paton, Abrahams and Mphahlele, he nevertheless asks that writers learn from the existing African writers' literary endeavours – 'our own special world' – and then generate 'the literature which will be Africa's special contribution to world literature ('out of this rich and varied soil').

> Little has been written or said on this subject: it is uncharted waters and one sets sail perilously: but it is time that we struck out and began to fix a course (Brutus [1962] 2006:51).

This perspective in which Brutus is not content to either side with a nebulous notion of 'negritude' nor with the platitudes of colloquialisms but pushes for being, or at least becoming fully part of the global 'human family' or in his terms, to be counted with the literatures of other continents as being 'universally human', does not stand on its own. Evidence of Brutus's unflinching stand on the equality of the human family appears throughout his writings and activism but is nowhere more evident than in his declining of his winning of the Mbari prize. Having had his poetry collection *Sirens, Knuckles and Boots* published in 1965 in Nigeria while still in jail, he was awarded this prize but declined it. His reason was that it was reserved for 'black poets of distinction' only and that 'poetry is not about ethnicity' (Brutus 2006c:154f,189). Such shying away from racial or more specifically, ethnic exclusivity and his demurring of any form of preferential treatment on the basis of race or ethnicity, not only characterized Brutus's pro-active racially inclusive sport activism but also formed the bedrock and non-negotiable value base of his international human rights activism (cf. http://www.africansuccess.org/visuFiche.php?id=356&lang=en).

4.3 There are two perspectives relevant to Brutus's assertion of humanity in the face of how the apartheid system produced criminals. The *first* is his account of the non-comprehension of regular criminals – murders

– of the political prisoners' fighting for an ideal and not for immediate material gain and gratification. While he appreciates their 'matter-of-factness' – which signals a concern for human life in its brute data – they lack in their understanding of the broader concerns of humanity. He recounts:

> One of the things that I learned from the non-political prisoners was their wonderful matter-of-factness, their understanding of the nature of the South African system as an oppressive system, and their rather contemptuous attitude towards us, particularly those of us who thought of change by nonviolent methods. And, of course, the folly of going to prison for an ideal rather than for a bank robbery was something that caused them endless amusement (Brutus [1974] 2006:90).

Secondly, it is precisely this appreciation of criminality that brought him to a further insight – if these bankrobbers and murderers have been produced by the racist apartheid system (which would not have happened if t was not for this system), then this datum must be negotiated as part of the liberation movement's struggle. This is evident from his narrative in prison where he says:

> But I learned for myself to work out how much those who were made criminals by the violations of the criminal code were themselves victims of injustice in another form, that the racism and oppression which we challenged and which denied us our *human freedom* was in other ways operating to destroy their *human dignity* and their *freedom*. They were outlaws and proud of it. They stood outside the law, and they had very few illusions about the *justice* of the system under which they lived. They spoke frequently about their exploits outside, many of them perhaps boasting, and they were extremely curious to know what the politicians would do about them when they came to power. The notion that they would be *excluded from justice* when we took over was one that appalled them. It antagonized them, of course, because they saw no reason why they should support us when we were liable to imprison them as well; that may simply be because they had a better understanding of the conditions which

> produced their predicament than we had (Brutus [1974] 2006:90; e.a.).

Brutus states his idea thus:

> This raises an interesting idea: I believe that if the liberation movement came out with a clear statement on this issue, it would be able to enlist a far greater measure of support from a section of the South African public which does not now support us. They include the criminals, the tsotsis, the riff-raff—the people compelled to live outside the law because no opportunity exists for them inside the law, or simply because they've lost their documents and there is no way of reestablishing their identity. This would entail an announcement directed at the reexamination of the South African legal system so that fewer people will be made criminals by the system, apart from those who become criminals by challenging the section of the law dealing with political activity and racial justice, but simply in terms of the *economic relations*, *opportunity*, the *right to function in a society*, and *work within it*, and *live comfortably within it* (Brutus [1974] 2006:91; e.a.).

Significantly for our argument in terms of the transformation from ISAs which served the apartheid regime, Brutus goes even further than calling for the mere dissolving and replacement of these ISAs. A more fundamental change is needed! He says:

> It is not enough for us to think of our reforms simply in terms of *legislation which affects racism*, *equal opportunity*, the *right to vote*, and *the right to form trade unions and things like that*, some of which is necessary and some of it merely reformist. It is also necessary to attack, *to go to the heart of the South African system and define the degree to which the system creates criminals*, and to make the statements indicating that *we will reject and overthrow that system so that the present conditions will no longer obtain*. I think that one could make not only an important contribution to the *transformation* of the society and declaration of one's objectives, but

> one would also elicit an extremely significant measure of support of the kind that we need very badly …. This issue, I believe, deserves a special comment—a memorandum perhaps addressed to the ANC, with a copy to Albie Sachs, who I think would be responsive to this notion as a result of his study on justice in South Africa (Brutus [1974] 2006a:91f; e.a.).

If considerations of human rights and equality are central to Brutus's thought on the banning of speech, writing and teaching, his unpacking of the relevant issues in the 'negritude' movement and his critique of the apartheid system's production of criminals, it is even more so, in his activism for non-racialism on the international stage and in international fora.

5 The Human Rights Struggle: International Perspectives

After Brutus left South Africa in 1965, he started to work for the humanitarian and United Nations paid South African Defense and Aid Fund to support political prisoners[27] in 1965 in London (Brutus 2006b:132) – which he always regarded as his main focus in his international activism of the 1960s to the 1980s. From this position as well as his appointment as Professor of literature first at Northwestern University and subsequently, the University of Pittsburgh, he would step up his human rights activism and grace international podiums with his presence and views. From these vantage points, he addresses at least six critical aspects of human rights. These perspectives often contain critical perspectives for not only South Africa but also further afield, wherever such issues manifest internationally.

5.1 Brutus often critically reflected on South African literati's critique or collaboration of apartheid. In 'Protest against Apartheid: Alan Paton, Nadine Gordimer, Athol Fugard, Alfred Hutchinson, and Arthur Nortje' (1969) he for instance critically reflect on the banning of Nadine Gordimer's *The Late*

[27] This organisation was founded in 1960 and banned in 1966 in South Africa.

Bourgeois World. He is not only appreciative of her own exposé of apartheid's inhumanity but also critical of her own humanity! He wrote:

> People have said that *The Late Bourgeois World* has been banned because Nadine Gordimer suggested the possibility of a sexual relationship. I don't think this is true myself. I think the whole novel is, by implication, *a criticism and a condemnation of white society in South Africa today: of its ruthlessness, of the lack of feeling, of the lack of communication not only between black and white, but also between white and white*.
>
> I think that Nadine Gordimer has tried to say in *The Late Bourgeois World* that white South Africa is becoming *dehumanized*, that it is afraid *to live and feel as human beings do* because it has agreed *to live by a set of rules which are themselves inhuman*, and that once it has accepted that premise, it must *watch its own humanity withering away*. Some atrophy must set in. This, I think, is her criticism; this I think is her protest. There is this disadvantage, that I am afraid that Nadine Gordimer would find *the same lack of humanity in other societies*. This is because there is in her the kind of impersonality that you find in a microscope. She does not herself react to feeling. In her books even the emotional relationships are forced, are conjured up, are synthetic. Though Nadine Gordimer would say that she is condemning South African society for being *dehumanized*, I would say that Nadine Gordimer, who is one of our most sensitive writers, is also the standing, the living example of how *dehumanized* South African society has become—that an artist like *this lacks warmth*, *lacks feeling*, but can observe with a detachment, with the coldness of a machine. There is in her, herself, no warmth and feeling (Brutus [1969] 2006:187; e.a.).

Significantly he identifies the inhumanity of society as well as the author as lacking in 'warmth' and 'feeling'. He further reasons that this is in fact produced because society itself functions according to rules which are themselves, inhuman, which in turn generates the inhumanity – a downward spiral of dehumanization. The opposite would be the fostering of warmth and

feeling of the equality of all, which would mean the generation of an upward spiral of the always ever more cultivation of humanity.

5.2 In his critical reflection on the 'human spirit' in 'African culture and liberation: Speech at the First Pan-African Cultural Festival, Algiers, July' (1969) he posits African humanity vis-à-vis two related problems, Western affluence and its investment in technology and its related rising racialism vis-à-vis other peoples of the world. He says:

> There are two further considerations, with implications which extend beyond the boundaries of our great continent, which I believe deserve the consideration of us all.
>
> The first is that the *gap* between the *affluent world*, which derived so much of its *affluence* from others, and the '*developing world'* grows rapidly greater. Those who have, will have more. Those who have little, will have less. This is a matter of declared and defined policy, evidenced in such studies as the recent one by Duncan of Rio Tinto in which the 'Third World was discounted' and certain areas selected 'for the greater future concentration of efforts and resources'. The great expenditure on the exploration of the moon must also be seen in this context. While we salute, as *a triumph of Man's intellect and of the human spirit*, this great achievement, we must also be conscious of this *turning towards mechanical and material concern* as *a turning away from the urgent and immediate human problems, which are crying out for solutions*. What might not the money spent on the moon probe, have done to relieve the agony of black Americans? What might it not have done in social engineering to alleviate the *agony* and *racialism* which disfigure the United States: they can boast about their achievements on the moon; they cannot boast about what they are doing in their own country. Nor about what they are doing in Africa.
>
> The second consideration of global significance is *the increasing emergence of racialism in areas of the white world*. …
>
> There is evidence of unthinking and automatic lining up of people—sometimes even those who believe themselves to be "liberals"—on the side of their kith and kin, *a division of the world*

> *on the line of color*. It is this *blind loyalty to race and color*—this *coalescence of the centuries of racial oppression by different white nations in different parts of the world into a single global lineup on the basis of pigmentation—which some of us see with great dread, looming in the future.*
>
> It is here that Africa, particularly in this cultural festival, has a special role to play, a special gift to give to the world. It is for us to assert the singleness of the human race, and the primacy of human values. We are on the side of humanity. It is this assertion, this declaration, that we must send ringing round the world—to save not only Africa but all the peoples of the world, and to ward off this catastrophic conflict, which some, in their blindness, their folly, and their avariciousness, would thrust upon the world. I trust that of the many and important assertions that the festival—and all of African culture—will give to the world, this declaration will be paramount: *Africa declares itself for the full freedom of Man and the family of Man* (Brutus [1969] 2006:194).

5.3 In his 'Somehow Tenderness Survives' in which he talked about his life and poetry with Bernth Lindfors (1970) he provides a number of critical perspectives on commitment as part of his own existence. He talks about his notion of commitment to South Africa and the people of South Africa, and points out that he distinguishes commitment of a poet and as a human being. Whereas one can expect of all human beings to be committed to the furthering of humanity one cannot expect that of each and every poet. Moreover, one cannot prescribe to poets what they ought to address in their poetry – that is in the nature of art.

> I should add that I make a very clear distinction between personal and poetic commitment, I believe that the poet—as poet—has no obligation to be committed, but the man—as a man—has an obligation to be committed. What I'm saying is that I think everybody ought to be committed and the poet is just one more of the many 'everybodies'. His commitment may or may not come through in his work; I don't think this means writing on specific political themes. I think it is immoral for an artist to import propaganda into

> his work. It shows a lack of integrity. But I am convinced that we all have a role; we've all got a job to do in society, chiefly in the transforming or even in the destroying of a given society. This happens, not because we're poets, hut because we're people living in the society.
>
> … I would hate to go around the place telling people, 'You've got to be committed because you are a poet'. I'll say to them, '*We ought all to be committed, because we are people, we're all part of the same human environment'* (Brutus [1970] 2006:180).

He then reflects on the many forms his commitment took as social worker, teacher, but also as religious person and prisoner, living under house arrest and under bannings. As these were existential experiences, they would become part of his poetry.

> … [T]he moment it began to hit me, I reacted to it—not because I imported it, but because it was now the stuff of my existence, it was part of the fabric of my existence. To reflect what I was [in my poetry], was to include it.
>
> … I'm still asking certain questions about the nature of my existence and certain theological concepts, if you like, religious concepts. That is still there. I still write the kind of intimate, personal, lyrical poetry—generally love lyrics and things like that or for nature or for South Africa … (Brutus 1970:181).

And, on his attachment to South Africa, his argument is similar. If it affects him existentially, yes, one can say that he is attached to South Africa, that he knows the people and their own struggles and that would then coerce him to remain committed to the country, its people and their cause. However, this does not mean one develops and fosters a 'ghettoized mentality'. One must struggle against that. He says:

> … one of the ways I managed not to become ghettoized myself, so that I never became the typical subservient black man or for that matter, the typical rebellious and frustrated black man, but something in between, was because I said, "In fact, I am a citizen of the world. I

> can go anywhere and I can meet anybody and I do not accept this kind of limitation on me, either the sub-man or the man confined in a particular locality or location defined for him by the state, with boundaries that he could not go beyond." I felt I was not localized, I couldn't be kept in my place. And this meant that one transcended a local patriotism.
>
> … You must do what you can do where you are. Although it is fine to fight for humanity, one must always see "humanity" in terms of real persons. One's reaction to good or evil is a reaction derived from real experience, so that the evil I must fight is the evil I know. The people I must fight for are the people I know. It's fine to fight for blacks in Britain, and I do what I can, but the blacks I know best and the situation I know best are the blacks of South Africa and the situation in South Africa (Brutus [1970] 2006:182).

This, however means that one is not merely committed to one geographical area … rather one's commitment should be to the world. He says:

> … there's very little justification for being sentimentally and narrowly attached to a particular strip of the earth, because our concerns more and more are global. It's one family; 'one world', in Wendell Willkie's words, which I read long ago. I've always accepted it as one world. So we ought to be patriots of the world rather than of a country, but to get a focus, I think you need a place and you need people. So my greatest commitment—personal as well as poetic—is still to South Africa (Brutus [1970] 2006:182).

5.4 In 'Certain Countries are Determined to Protect South Africa' - United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid Hears Mr. Dennis Brutus, March 23, 1970, Brutus argues for the total exclusion of apartheid South Africa from international sports by 1971. He first points out that apartheid's racism is built on the foundation of racial supremacy, and that it is impossible for people who are not white to participate in sports on the basis of equality. White supremacy excludes apartheid South Africa from the 'international family of nations'.

> … To allow a black man in to play, and perhaps beat, a white man would have been a contradiction of the concept of white supremacy. In fact, merely for a black man to play in terms of *equality* with a white man, whether he won or lost, is still not permissible because this too would undermine the doctrine of *racial supremacy—white supremacy*.
>
> … South Africa wishes to be a part of the *international family of nations*, at least as far as sports are concerned, while at the same time violating the international code of sports which says 'there will be no racial discrimination in sports'. They have this peculiar dilemma: on the one hand they wish to have *racial discrimination* and they enshrine it in their constitution, and, on the other hand, they wish to participate with the rest of the world on the basis of *equality* while they declare that they are committed to a policy of *inequality* (Brutus [1970] 2006:147; e.a.).

Having established this argument he then addresses the Western nations, especially the United States, Britain, France and Australia who continue to have sporting relations with apartheid South Africa. On the one hand, they continue these relations, he argues, for economic and political reasons. However, if they do continue these relations, they in fact function as 'protectors' of South Africa which is unacceptable. If they do not break sporting relations 'then we will know that their concern for civil rights, for equality of citizens as far as sport are concerned, is hypocrisy' (Brutus [1970] 2006:148). What is needed is international 'unity' in the total exclusion of South Africa from international participation in sports. And for this, the main argument derives from human rights.

> I believe that the countries that have taken a stand against South Africa in sports must now go further, and they must make it clear that not only will they break off relations with South Africa but they will break off relations with the countries which continue to strengthen and support the South African racists. If this means no longer participating at White City, London, or at Madison Square Garden, New York, I believe that countries have to go to that point of saying, "If you will support racism, then we are no longer

> prepared to associate with you." It is a high price to ask sportsmen to pay, to ask them to sacrifice international competition and the opportunity to achieve their maximum development, but *in the name of the human rights we all believe in, and those human rights imply the highest development of the human personality, it is not too high a price to pay to ask a man to take a stand*. I am convinced that it will not be a stand taken in vain and that such coordinated action will, in fact, achieve its effect. It will compel those who at present are still associating with South Africa to choose between *the minority of racists in one corner of the world* and *the rest of the world which is combined in its opposition to racism* (Brutus [1970] 2006:149; e.a.).

The second aspect of his human rights argument for the total exclusion of South Africa from international sports is that of the way in which it treats its political prisoners. He says:

> I would like to pass from that, Mr. Chairman, to the other and far more profound concern in the field of *human rights* which for a long time has been my concern, and I know is the concern of this committee, the subject of *political prisoners*, the *conditions under which they are kept*, and the *campaign for their release* (Brutus [1970] 2006:150; e.a.).

5.5 In his 'Literature and Commitment in South Africa', Speech at the African Literature Association meeting, University of Texas at Austin, March 1975, Brutus argues that committed black writers differ in their literature from both white liberal writers and professors only concerned with elite literature and literati. Departing from the assumptions that 'there is no uncommitted writing' (following Kgositsile) – he argues that even in cases where the liberation struggle does get some support – from liberal writers from within South Africa or 'the West' – this is not the same as experienced by committed black South African writers. Symptomatic of their experience of Western (literary) criticism when they are subjected to it, is not the criticism itself that they find irritating but their experience of it at a 'much deeper' level.

> … It is not just the rejection of a set of literary values, it is a *questioning of a whole social order*, of the Western way of life and its values. So the criticism expressed by Africans which exists within the literary field must be seen in a very much larger context.
>
> I think in Africa we are trying to discover painfully and often unsuccessfully, a way of recovering our humanity, and in that process we find that what the West has to offer is a deformation and a mutilation of humanity. Fortunately we are not alone. There are people in the West who themselves feel this profound dissatisfaction and are engaged in challenging the system; the people who demonstrated on this campus yesterday and a week ago on issues of racism (Sharpeville and discrimination against minorities) were the embodiment of that dissatisfaction (Brutus [1975] 2006:200).

The social order which committed African writers find distasteful is not only because of a lack of humanity, but that it is in fact a 'deformation and a mutilation of humanity'!

As he develops his argument further he does not include luminaries such as Nadine Gordimer, Guy Butler, or even Alan Paton or Athol Fugard in this category. From within South Africa, they are rather represented by Pascal Gwala, James Matthews, Joyce Sikakane, Oswald Mtshali and Wally Serote on the one hand and Samuel Mqhayi, Jolobe, Peter Abraharns, Ezekiel Mphahlele and Willy Kgositsile, counting himself into this group. The problem as he saw it between these groups is that the one supports and benefits from the system whereas the latter challenges the system. In this difference, there is no shared language – communication – nor a set of shared values that writers could agree on in their commitment vis-à-vis the apartheid system.

> But even more fundamental than that failure in a shared language is the failure to share values. They really are talking about different societies, and therefore, even when they use the same words, what they are about is something so different as to be unintelligible to the other ….
>
> It seems to me that one of the things we are doing is to engage ourselves in the struggle to *recover and rediscover our*

> *humanity*, and in that struggle there are a great many people who can't understand what this is about. They fail to see the necessity; they ask, "What are you going on about?" …. On the subject of commitment, Chinua Achebe said long ago in an interview … 'Commitment runs right through our work. In fact, I should say, all our writers, whether they are aware of it or not, are committed writers'. And he went on to say, 'I believe it's impossible to write anything in Africa without some kind of commitment, some kind of message, some kind of protest' (Brutus [1975] 2006:201f.e.a.).

The main point of departure of this recovery of humanity in literature is the most basic point that 'literature is about life and about people' and not about the issues professors of literature continuously raise in very learned discourses in the *New York Review of Books* and *Times Literary Supplement* for example. The related questions are about 'who' these people are and 'who' the people are one is both 'writing about and writing for'. 'Critics and the elite' read one kind of writing. The general populace may however be reading something very degrading and negative – he mentions Xaviera Hollander's *The Happy Hooker* and then comments:

> I suspect, I fear very much, that we are not troubled when people are fed that garbage. It doesn't trouble those of us who are involved in the business of literature. And yet if thirty million people or more read *The Happy Hooker*, that's where literature for people is happening. One ought to ask *questions about a society* and *a social order* in which that kind of thing occurs, because *that is a deformation and a mutilation of the human mind and the human personality in its commercialization and merchandizing of the human body* (Brutus [1975] 2006:204, e.a.).

The main argument is that the elite approach to literature opens a gap for a commercializing literature which merchandises and dehumanizes the human body and not cultivates humanity and the humanization of human life.

5.6 In line with his commitment to humanity, and his views that black committed African writers are committed to something much deeper than the

commercialising of literature, Brutus's input in the resolutions of the 'Meeting of African writers, Accra, Ghana, June 8 1975', make the same point. In the resolutions of the Accra meeting, points B5 and 6 emphasise that the system to be put in place should serve not only African but also 'world Humanities in general' and should include a journal of 'literature and criticism' on the humanities. It reads:

> B. 5. We find that the establishing of an African cooperative publishing house is indispensable to the healthy development of African literature and educational texts; to the development of indigenous publishing houses; the protection of African writers from further exploitation and, the general promotion of an authentic literary culture. We consider also that the most favorable location for such an enterprise is Senegal …; a strong continent-wide distribution system; a low-priced sale policy to remove the stigma of privilege in literacy and culture; a translation bureau …. insistence on an All-African copyright; collaboration with smaller indigenous publishers; full control over an integrated, modern printing press; assurance of royalties at all stages to its authors; reprint of African classics in translation, etc. It is our collective responsibility to persuade African governments, cultural and technical organizations, international organizations such as UNESCO, etc. to give vital assistance to *this project which is essential to the cultural progress of the continent and to the world Humanities in general*.
> 6. To undertake the publication of a regular journal of literature and criticism and the humanities (Brutus [1975] 2006: 206f).

Specifying the focus even more, point 8 reads:

> 8. The Union of African Writers, aware of nameless atrocities perpetrated on Africans in Africa by external forces as well as by African authorities hereby expresses its *vigorous condemnation of such atrocities* wherever they do occur. This union wishes to stress its profound indignation against all attempts at the denial of *human dignity*, *freedom*, and *security* as is currently the situation in Uganda

> and South Africa, not to mention the other concentration camps on the continent (Brutus [1975] 2006: 207).

It concludes by referring to the 'common humanity' of all, which should be the value system in which collaborative action takes place.

5.7 In his 'English and the Dynamics of South African Creative Writing', from *Opening up the Canon*, Leslie Fiedler and Houston Baker (eds) (1979), Brutus makes three related points – South African writing vis-à-vis the laws that restrict it, prejudices of the academy and myths about Africa. For the *first*, Brutus mentions the laws which were being used to curb black writing. He says:

> The government was literally legislating literature out of existence, … it was becoming impossible for people to write. It might be worthwhile to mention some of the legislation. One of the blanket laws that permits much of control legislation dates back to 1927; it is called the Bantu Administration Act. Since then the South African government has passed the Entertainment Censorship Act of 1931, the Unlawful Organization Act (1960), and the Publications and Entertainment Act (1956). In 1969 a great kind of umbrella law that makes virtually everything illegal if the state *deems* it to be illegal, called the General Laws Amendment Act, was passed (Brutus [1979] 2006: 210).

It is obvious that these same acts were used to ban pornography. For this reason, Brutus is at pains – as elsewhere to point to the difference – to be banned for political and committed writing or for pornography. For his own and his fellow writers' bannings – which include publishing, being read, quoted or even gathering – he reasons as follows:

> … roughly 25,000 books have been banned in South Africa and declared illegal. Possession of these books, reading them, and quoting from them are all criminal acts. Some fairly obvious books, such as obscene publications, are banned on the grounds of pornography. But many of the banned books would he considered

> harmless, if perhaps radical, elsewhere in the world. As of now *750 persons in South Africa are banned* from *publishing* in South Africa or from having their work *read* or *quoted* in South Africa. They are also forbidden to attend any *gathering where more than two people are present*. (I myself fell into all of these categories when I was living in South Africa, and my work continues to be banned.) Most of the major writers, both white and black, are in exile at the present time. And perhaps a more dismaying statistic is that at least three major Afrikaner poets, and twice as many black writers according to some reports, committed suicide in South Africa in recent years. (Brutus [1979] 2006: 209).

Against this ideological point – Ideological State Apparatuses – Brutus responds by asserting the common humanity of all, despite what has been termed the 'African difference'. This is his view on the matter of Africa's 'different world view and a different cosmology'.

> I cannot see a great deal that is significantly new or inventive; if there were time, I could catalogue some of the minor variations, particularly in African perception of a creator, a universal force that tends generally to be female. I could tell you that the African sense of time is circular, and that the living and the dead coexist in the same kind of human fabric. I think these are incipient rather than developed features. They are implicit in some of the writings and, given an opportunity, may become more evident (Brutus [1979] 2006: 211).

The African difference is not a difference in humanity. It is for this reason that he continues to point out what the inhuman element of African existence in apartheid South Africa is.

> We are dealing with a society where communication between people is illegal, a society that creates a battery of laws that makes communication between people from different cultures or from different groups a criminal act. It can be a crime in South Africa for two people of different races to drink tea together, or to be in the same restaurant together.

> One example, my favorite, is drawn from the area in which I was most deeply involved in South Africa—that of sports. A black athlete running on the same track with a white athlete could be arrested, or a black tennis player on the same tennis court with a white tennis player could go to prison. There are very blatant forms of discrimination imposed by the legal system, for which there are sanctions. Those who attempt to communicate are punished. It may be that in such a society one can neither come up with insights and perceptions into another culture nor with new ways of expressing what already exists in that culture (Brutus [1979] 2006:211f).

Brutus's *second* point is that the African writers do not only suffer from the ISAs and RSAs, but also prejudice from literary critics.

> The writer suffers, however, not only from the restraints and limitations imposed on him by the legal system, but by a whole new set of pressures that flow from convention and prejudice rather than from the law. These restraints, these pressures on black writers and writing are due to the arrogance of the literary critics and the contemptuous handling of black writers by established literary persons. It seems to me to be so pervasive that I am beginning to wonder whether arrogance is not an occupational hazard for all critics.

Central – and as he has already pointed out earlier in his career – the most significant is the prejudice that the South African writers are 'committed' writers. In this, some quote W.H. Auden. Yet, Brutus reasons, in Auden's poetry, one finds his own commitment to and 'concern for humanity'. Brutus explains:

> Wyett goes on to criticize African poetry for another weakness: *the poet has become too committed, too much of an engaged poet*. Here Wyett can cite W. H. Auden's authority; Auden said (and I think that this has become, unfortunately, almost an article of faith), 'Let a poet if he wants to, write engaged poems. But let him remember this: the only person who will benefit from it is himself. The evil or injustice

> will remain exactly as it would have been if he had kept his mouth shut'. I think Auden underestimates his impact on his own, and on future, generations. *I believe he has moved others through his sense of concern for humanity*. So, he may have judged his own work too meanly (Brutus [1979] 2006: 214).

Thirdly, Brutus picks up again on the problem of dialogue and communication across the racist divides in South Africa – which is also a divide in dialogue or communication between the West and Africa. This, however, he reasons, will remain 'until Europe is ready to *concede total African humanity'* (Brutus [1979] 2006: 216f). And here, Brutus articulates a very sensitive conundrum – he calls it a 'bind' – for the African writer.

> There is a very special bind here, though, that I ought to explain. Because the apartheid government—the minority white government—has tried to revive the old tribal structures and to force the Africans back into those structures in order to prevent them from participating in the present political processes, the Africans tend to be suspicious even of their own languages and literary vehicles. They are fearful that these might be turned against them and used as one further pretext to force them back into a tribal mode within a broad policy of what are known as the Bantustans—a strategy that is aimed at forcing black Africans back into tribal structures. But nevertheless there is a great deal of literature being created (Brutus [1979] 2006: 217).

Since this is the case, and in the light of the restraint of laws, prejudices and myths, he ends his paper by calling on his hearers (and especially creative writers) of the time to oppose apartheid South Africa. Still holding that a massive disastrous conflict lies in the future of South Africa, his call is to mainly reduce all forms of aid to apartheid South Africa, and thereby making a 'humane contribution' (Brutus [1979] 2006: 219). Writers should therefore be committed, precisely to oppose and expose the inhumanity of the racist apartheid system, thereby not only 'conced[ing] total African humanity' but cultivating humanity.

6 Non-racial Sports Activism Achievements

Brutus's central strategy throughout his life-long career as activist, was double-sided. On the one hand, his main approach was to frustrate, impede and ultimately obstruct any form of participation or interaction of national and international bodies with South African teams that subscribe to the racist sports code of the apartheid government and not to non-racialism in sport and measure up to such in practice. On the other hand – and to not only displace but ultimately replace such ideologically-founded codes and practices – he proactively founded non-racial bodies which actively fostered and advanced non- or interracial sports. In other words, he followed an indirect strategy. Rather than confronting the apartheid government head-on politically – which would be futile as his imprisonment and banning show – he confronted the international bodies who dared to compete with apartheid teams under the racist sports code. They were then persuaded to rather work through and compete with teams under the non-racial sports code. It was therefore not Brutus himself that won the battle for non-racialism in sport vis-à-vis the apartheid government's marrying of politics and sport[28], but the international community that withdrew from competition with South Africa. Moreover, Brutus's arrival on the international scene in 1965 and his

[28] Vinokur's *More than a Game: Sports and Politics* (1988) broke new ground when it systematically unpacked the articulation of sports and politics in functionlist terms. In the face of claims that it forms part of 'culture' and is not 'political', he showed how politics uses achievements of elite sports men and sports women in the international arena, as instruments of propaganda and international prestige, but also for consolidating national culture and education – for purposes of nation-building, to intensify nationalism, national identity, and a socializing force for national integration (cf. Vinokur 1988:15-19). Apartheid attempted to use its international sports competitions to bring about greater integration among whites both nationally and internationally while increasing the distance between people on the basis of class and race. Cf. especially Vinokur's (1988:33-58; 59-94) case studies on Romania and East Germany as samples for studying more specifically these countries' political use of sport. His study falls short however, because it does not consider racial injustice and its articulation with sport (cf. Vinokur 1988: 138).

subsequent international activist work would provide him with ever greater opportunities to put this strategy into practice. Under the auspices of SANROC, he would have achieved many more remarkable outcomes with his human rights-based sports activism by 1970. De Broglio and Brutus (2009), first President and secretary of SASA respectively, list the following.

- Table-Tennis – White body expelled and Non-racial body recognised 1956
- Fencing – South Africa suspended 1964
- Football – South Africa suspended 1964 and expelled 1976
- Boxing – South Africa expelled 1968
- Judo – South Africa refused membership 1969
- Pentathlon – South Africa barred from World Championships 1969
- Weightlifting – South Africa expelled 1969
- IOC – International Olympic Committee – South Africa expelled May 1970
- Basketball – South Africa barred from the World Championships
- Cycling – South Africa barred from World Championships April 1970
- Gymnastics – South Africa barred from World Championships 1970
- Netball – South Africa Excluded from 1970 World Netball Tournament
- Tennis – South Africa suspended from Davis Cup 1970
- Wrestling – South Africa expelled 1970
- Cricket – Tour of Britain 1970 - Cancelled
- Rugby – After 1970, Stop the Seventy Tour was responsible for stopping all further tours
- Athletics – Suspended 1972

Significantly, South Africa was the first country to be banned from participating in the Olympics in 1964 (cf. Korr & Close 2008:55).

By the mid 1970s the international community expelled South Africa with its racist sports codes from all sports, except one, rugby. Peter Hain (1971) provides a thorough overview of the dynamics involved, especially the Stop The Seventy Tour (STST) campaign, as well as the variety of

dynamics that involved the blocking and isolation of all the other sports codes. In one of his last interviews as part of the *Fair Play* documentary by filmmaker Connie Field, Brutus made two very significant statements[29]. The first is that South Africa was the 'number one power in the world in rugby. They just crushed their opposition'. Given this fact and that an international sport like rugby was 'out there, in the public eye', and that it was extremely popular – 'like a religion' – the decision was to hit the rugby fraternity hard in order to get the message of non-racialism across, that South Africa was not welcome internationally as long as it practiced racism in sport. This lead to the 1970s boycott and demonstrations against touring rugby teams in both England and in New Zealand. This was very effective. The demonstrations and the worldwide media coverage it received severely discredited rugby and especially the apartheid government. By bringing the apartheid government into disrepute so publically, and having had the media report on it worldwide, South Africa's sports culture was severely damaged. In the same *Fair Play* documentary programme, former Minister Barend du Plessis says:

> Watching before your very eyes the disintegration of your sports culture, internationally, was very effective in changing the attitude of white South Africans.

Peter Hein added: 'We just had to say, guys, sorry, the game is up. That was what they understood …'. In the second of his statements, Brutus concludes:

> It was the first area [rugby] in which apartheid was successfully

[29] Providing perspectives from a number of athletes and activists, Connie Field's documentary *Fair Play* provides factual background to *Clint* Eastwood's film *Invictus.* It is part of the new *series* called *Have You Heard From Johannesburg? A Global Engagement Campaign for Human Rights* and provides glimpses into the dynamics that brought international teams and athletes from around the world to refuse competition with the apartheid state's teams, and sportsmen and sportswomen as well as their allies, and so forced apartheid South African sports out of international competition (http://activevoice.net/haveyouheard_fairplay.html). For the dynamics leading to and the significance of winning the rugby world cup in 1995 after the end of apartheid, see Carlin (2008).

> challenged. And it sent an absolute earthquake through white South Africa. It said: You are in real trouble.

It was in this way that Brutus and NOCSA brought the human rights crisis in South Africa to the world's attention, but also had the disdain of the world impact most dispiritingly on South Africa's white racist sports and political culture. Sports boycotts and NOCSA's international lobbying for non-competition with South Africa's white teams, most forcefully brought the realities of this, the world's most brutal repressive system to the fall. One of the statements on the documentary reads:

> Calling for fairness on and off the field, citizens around the world leveraged sports to bring the human rights crisis in South Africa to the forefront of global attention. Part of a powerful documentary, *Fair Play* shows how sports boycotts helped bring one of the world's most brutally repressive systems to its knees (http://activevoice.net/haveyouheard_fairplay.html).

This phase of Brutus's career – his anti-apartheid and pro-integration human rights-based sports activism – was followed by his disinvestment activism in the 1980s, and his activism against globalization forces since the 1990s. As in his sports activism, also here, his activism would be centrally marked by his human rights convictions about human equality. In sports, this translated to selection for sports teams on the basis of only merit and not race.

7 Writing Freedom/ Humanity

As literary figure, Brutus first rose to prominence as teacher in 1946 - 1948 but also received his first banning order (Brutus 2006a:27). In 1950, he joined the Teachers' League and became the editor of its mouthpiece in Port Elizabeth, the journal, *Education News*. It was 'a voice for the local radical position' (Brutus 2006a:31). Open to 'anything that would help the struggle', he collaborated with Govan Mbeki and Z.K. Matthews in collecting and forwarding the requested submissions from all over the country as preparation of the drafting of the Freedom Charter (Brutus 2006a:33).

Throughout the 1950s and his continued activities in the sporting bodies – he earned the reputation as 'the most efficient secretary in any sport' in the 1950s (Brutus 2006a:39) – he distinguished himself in playing the primary role in the founding and building of SASA and ultimately SANROC inside South Africa. In addition to his writings already mentioned, we also find him writing a sports column for the Communist Party (CP) newspaper until the time of its banning in 1961. The newspaper was published under various names. He explains:

> Of course, it wasn't known as the CP newspaper, and it had to change names each time it was banned: from the *Guardian* to the *Clarion* to *People's World* to *Advance* to *New Age* to *Spark*. I wrote under the name of A. de Bruin—'a brown' in Afrikaans— over a three-year period before I was banned in 1961. The column, which appeared on the back page, was ostensibly about sports results, but also about *the politics of race and sports* as I was building the South African Sports Association (SASA) (Brutus 2006:34).

In South Africa, he also counted some of the most vociferous critics of apartheid among his scholarly and literary friends, e.g. Alan Paton, Nadine Gordimer and his erstwhile student, Arthur Nortje.

Internationally, and, having arrived in the U.S., it was through his leadership that African Literature was established as a category in U.S. curricula, and the African Literature Association (ALA)[30] was founded in Chicago in 1975. It was as literary figure and poet-activist that he eventually started his career as professor in literature first at Northwestern university in Evanston and finally at Pittsburgh university (cf. Brutus 2006c:159ff). Yet, when one reads his memoirs, it becomes evident that his literary activism was just as significant as his political activism. And if his main critical pieces on apartheid South Africa appeared between 1959 and 1963 it is also in his

[30] Significantly, Brutus (2006c:162) reflects: 'At the ALA meeting, I was elected chair of the steering committee and eventually I became the first president, and wrote the constitution. For the first time for any academic organization, the constitution said in the opening clause that we were committed to the liberation of the African peoples. That phrase is still there'.

reflections on this period that brings to the fore his early critical perspectives on culture, resistance, imperialism, and the language of struggle. It were these perspectives that form the central component of the non-racial and non-partisan human rights map according to which Brutus chartered his activism from our own local situation.

Reflecting on *culture* two important deductions can be made from Brutus's writings, the *first* that for him, 'culture' is equivalent to (African) 'humanity' and secondly, that non-racial activism fly in the face of politicized race – culture cannot been seen as separate from politics by the mere fact that racial existence has been politicised. The first perspective is evident in his piece, 'Culture and Resistance' (2006c:156f) where he reflects on his experience of the articulation of culture and politics due to the severe white racism they experienced at Fort Hare University.

> Black resistance to that overt white racism naturally drew from their own rich African cultural experience. This was a collision of cultures—the result of a long, ancient, rich culture now being derided and denigrated. I came out of the colored community—a segregated colored community that, while very humane, did not have the kind of cultural richness you had among Africans. They had the chieftainships—extended families, the marvelous values, and a way of recognizing other people's humanity, a whole rich culture. You don't have access to that if you're in an urbanized ghetto.

Significant for the topic of this paper is that the rich African culture is defined in terms of its rich heritage of 'recognising other people's humanity'. To be cultured means to be humane. This stands in stark contrast to the racist education he experienced at the time. Viewed in this way, then resistance is not merely political, but derives from the rich African culture's humaneness.

Secondly, even as culture could not be seen as separate from politics, it was nevertheless divided – that of the Trotskyists on the one side – which stood for non-racialism irrespective of racial background –and the ANC which recognized the diversity of ethnic groups in politics:

> The Trotskyists had always called for a non-racial South Africa; the ANC perspective was for a non-racial South Africa that would

> consist of the ANC for Africans, and separate congresses each for coloreds, Asians, and white democrats. Ironically SANROC, by being non-racial, was acting in opposition to official ANC policy. It was only later in the 1960s that the ANC became open to all. Of course, they've rewritten the history, so that one is no longer aware of that fact (Brutus 2006c:157).

Parallel to the resistance politics for national liberation ran the resistance to *imperialism.* In his position that he found himself and in his attendance of the first Pan-African Cultural Festival in Algiers in 1969, Brutus' non-partisan human rights position again, becomes evident. He explains:

> I did not represent any particular group at the Algiers conference. At the time, I was working in London for the International Defense and Aid Fund, supported by the United Nations' Trust Fund for South Africa and accredited to the UN via UNESCO, the UN Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization. In that work, I could not distinguish between the ANC, the PAC, the Trotskyist groups in the Non-European Unity Movement (later the Unity Movement), or any other group. One had to be evenhanded. In fact, I preferred it that way. So in Algiers, I was part of the liberation struggle, but in an undifferentiated way. I was neither ANC nor PAC, but something in between. I was also, of course, supporting FRELIMO, the liberation movement coming out of Mozambique, and the MPLA in Angola (Brutus 2006c:158).

It was also, due to his non-partisan and non-racial human rights position, that he was asked to be the spokesperson for the liberation movements:

> The Algiers conference was sponsored by the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The OAU, which was full of reactionaries, insisted that only one person was allowed to speak for all the liberation movements. The movements elected me to speak on behalf of all of them, which was a high compliment. It was also evidence

> that they trusted me to be impartial, nonpartisan. I wasn't going to back any one of them while they were fighting each other. They could trust me to simply put the case for the liberation struggles straight …. Algiers … was really a conference for the Cold War struggle. I came in initially as a poet, and then the liberation movements asked me to speak for them.

Finally, Brutus's reflection on the language of struggle is significant for our current discussions on this matter on at least two counts. The *first* is that of writing on Africa as if Africa's problems are generated inside Africa and the opposing view that it is mainly due to Africa's postcolonial – or as he prefers to name it – neocolonial – condition. The neocolonial position cannot ignore the negative impact policies of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank have on Africa, and these must be negotiated in literature.

The *second* concerns the use of a European or an indigenous language.

> Another key debate in African literature has been on the question of language—in fact between Chinua Achebe and Ngugi, who says, you are not an African if you don't write in an African language, which is as categorical as one can be. Of course he's supported by some very bright people, including someone like Chinweizu, who in my opinion is one of the best theoretical writers in Africa. A Nigerian, Chinweizu is author of *The West and the Rest of Us*, and contends you are only an African writer if you write in an African language. And that's it. Achebe says, 'Too bad. I write in English because I'm comfortable in English'. And so you have two very clear schools of thought.

Closely associated is that the language itself brings its culture with it – which calls for the 'decolonization of the mind'.

> African languages were not part of the syllabus. For me, for one thing the choice was imposed. So when I am asked to take sides between Achebe and Ngugi, I say I am on the side of both. But I can see how the colonial language has an enormous influence in shaping

> the colonial mentality. That's why Ngugi's great book is called *Decolonizing the Mind*. Because if you have enslaved the mind, you don't really need chains after that.
>
> I am sympathetic to those who are opposed to the colonial language, hut I don't condemn those who use the colonial language, particularly under the circumstances that gave it to them (Brutus 2006c:164,165).

For other scholar-writers, Brutus did not appreciate V.S. Naipaul's Afro-pessimism and appreciated Said's arguments on the expansion of the canon of literature studies. Yet, in his own criticism of postcolonial theory and his own preference for the critique of neocolonialism as the paradigm which determines our existence, this choice is especially relevant in terms of his statement on globalism.

> I said, 'We're not in post-colonialism anymore. We're in post-postcolonialism. We are now dealing with a global agenda to create an empire'. I talked about Paul Wolfowitz, Iraq, the preemptive war strategy, and all that. Then I went on to discuss Africa and say, 'Here's NEPAD, the New Partnership for Africa's Development—the global agenda in its African manifestation. This is South African President Thabo Mbeki functioning on behalf of George W. Bush as his point man, carrying out a subimperial agenda in Africa'.
>
> I was trying to move them past the stage they were at. I was saying, 'You've got to take a leap into the present, because you're still in the past' (Brutus 2006c:165,166).

This statement at the 2005 conference of the European Association for Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies, characterized his work of the 1990s and first decade of the twenty-first century – the struggle against neo-imperialist forces in the present.

8 Conclusion: Taking a Leap into the Present

Ideology has no history – it perceives itself as eternal and without contradiction. It also has material existence (Althusser 1971: 159, 165) and perpetrates its material excesses on the bodies of its others. This is how the

racist state functioned, and how it put its own ISAs and RSAs in place, administered and managed it. In addition, 'Ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence' (Althusser 1971:162). What constitutes ideology in reality is not only the imaginary representation of existence which is distorted in the imaginary – '[people] represent their real conditions of existence to themselves in an imaginary form' – but the fact that the relationship itself is an imaginary relationship. The distortion of the real conditions of existence in representation is such because it is present in the relationship that characterizes ideology and the imaginary nature of this relationship. In our current argument this means that the significance of Brutus's activism lies precisely in this: that he attacked the imaginary relationships that apartheid representations produced through its race-based ISAs and RSAs. His lifelong commitment to non-racialism – even when confronted with a prize exclusively for Africans, or the discourse of negritude – speaks about his rejection of all forms of race-based relationships in favour of the human[31]. As these found expression in apartheid laws, apartheid sports bodies and institutions, they sought to produce distorted relations to being-human – constituting primary and secondary humanities. Yet, by propagating non-racialism and organizing and founding non-racial bodies and institutions, Brutus created the conditions of possibility and laid the future groundwork for the production of human rights-based relations of production[32]. That he would have had to continuously seek to describe the real relations in which people lived is therefore a given fact of his activism and is present in his writings and in his poetry. His activism was therefore the knife that cut the imaginary relations of racist apartheid production at both the national and international

[31] It is quite ironic that a book such as Luke Alfred's *Testing Times* (2003) about the period 1947 – 1963 in South African cricket mentions Brutus as only black South African. Cf. Odendaal and Desai *et al.* (2002) to set the record straight – also Odendaal's (2003:338f) stringent critique of this book in which he argues that it is quite wrong of Alfred to assume that it is these white men who 'severed the game from its imperial connections'.

[32] For the international human rights instruments South Africa is party to, see 'Post Apartheid South Africa' at: http://www.racism.gov.za/host/pasa.htm.

levels[33]. And, the cause he sought to posit for real relations of production, non-racialism and human rights, he aimed at producing the 'freedom of the human spirit'.

Finally, one of the ironies of irony in Dennis Brutus's life is that apartheid banned him from speaking (teaching), writing, and printing his views in the interests of non-racialism. On the one hand, both mouth and ear were to be silenced, and writing, printing and reading forbidden on the other. Yet, if not in the international anti-apartheid movement then in Brutus himself, and especially his move into the international arena, apartheid racism met its nemesis. In Brutus we have had a non-conformist and uncompromising activist for equality and humanity – someone who showed supreme 'care[] for freedom of thought, speech and the human spirit' (Brutus 1963:47) vis-à-vis the 'barbarism' of racism. From his early experience of racism in sport at the age of twelve, his voice for justice would be characterized by his quest for and recognition of human equality. Most significantly, it would eventually show Brutus as the ultimate organizer who founded anti-apartheid institutions and as someone who has worked together and rubbed shoulders with some of the twentieth century's great humanists – not least Wole Soyinka. It would eventually be on the international stage that he would attract an international audience, given that his relations to his audience at home were shut down. All this was the irony – that it was by having been banned, that Brutus could accomplish his task even better (cf. Hain 1971:56 – 59). It is from this position that he would serve the liberation struggle and eventually achieve so much, not least the international isolation of the segregationist and racist state. That sport was the main tool through which he accomplished this is a *sine qua non* in so far as it is the main arena in which a 'sportsmad' public could be brought to its senses – by attacking its competition through international relations. Moreover it was through his tireless activism that he could further his push for human equality, not least in sports. One crucial area, however remained, and that was the non-racial

[33] If Brutus's activism attacked these relations on the sporting front in the 1960s and 1970s, he attacked them in the more specific economic and labour relations in the 1980s divestment campaigns – with regard to apartheid South Africa – and in terms of globalization and neoimperialism since the 1990s.

sports infrastructure inside South Africa. Sixteen years into democracy, this is still an area that needs the nation's urgent attention.

It's time for new confrontations – if it is not Brutus's international anti-globalisation and anti-neo-imperialist and -neo-liberal struggles that need to be continued, then it is his agitation for the local development of sports in schools and clubs, the requisite infrastructure, and for schools to become the feeders for a new non-racial human rights-based generation of athletes[34]. Amongst others this is a major area that South Africa suffers from in her more than fifty years of underdevelopment. If Brutus asked for our attention to our real conditions of existence – equal human beings that need to compete on the basis of equality and merit – then it is only the decades of racist underdevelopment in sport that stand in our way of becoming a non-racial nation of great sportsmen and sportswomen. In this we need to ask questions of the current relations of production. As is well-known, this 'explodes' the traditional answers of the question as to the nature of the imaginary relationship present in ideology[35]. And, if Dennis Brutus propagated non-racialism and the freedom of the human spirit throughout his life, the continuation of this legacy in the sports arena concerns the question of the radical exclusion of racism in sport in all its aspects. Have we progressed to a fully-fledged non-racial sports code yet? [36] And an equally important question – which we should ponder in the wake of the 2010 World Cup – concerns Brutus' ideal of non-racial sports in the context of mass

[34] A helpful distinction is between physical education and sports we normally associate with schools, 'recreational or leisure sports' the general population engages in and 'elite' (professional) sports – sport activities and events that international-level sport stars normally compete in (cf. Vinokur 1988:7ff).

[35] Theoretical analogies are those of Lacan's (1977) psychoanalytical analysis of the impact of the symbolic on the imaginary, the philosophical between essence and appearance of Adorno's 'intellectual experience' (cf. esp. [1966] 2008:96ff) and Foucault's critique of the universal notion of man (cf. Deleuze 1988:90) – in the interest of some form of outside contingent struggle, recognition and for justice.

[36] This is a question that continues to haunt South African sport and needs to be addressed comprehensively and collectively (cf. Odendaal 2003:355, n. 37; also Keohane 2002).

culture. Is not sport one of the ultimate tools in the service of capitalism – even fair, non-racial sport? (cf. Adorno 1991:90ff).

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Sport Events and Social Legacies

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Abstract

Sport events are used more and more in both developing and developed contexts to promote development (especially economic growth), enhance social cohesion and healthy lifestyles and profile locations as tourist destinations. Associated with an increased number of sport events and academic interest is greater focus on legacies, that is, what are the likely impacts (both positive and negative) of sport events. There are a range of legacies associated with sport events that include economic, social, political, tourism, infrastructural and sport impacts. There is a tendency to focus on the economic and infrastructural impacts and social legacies are often neglected. This is particularly the case the bigger the sport events. Furthermore, there is increased debate in the literature about what constitutes a sport event legacy and how can they be encouraged and assessed. In terms of the latter, the importance of undertaking research on legacy impacts is highlighted and methodological approaches are debated. This article draws on the growing body of literature on sport events and legacies to examine social aspects, an under-researched component of legacy research, in relation to key debates and issues as well as methodological aspects. Given the recent successful hosting of Africa's first mega-event, the 2010 Fédération of International Football Association (FIFA) World Cup, the article reflects on the social legacies associated with this event.

Keywords: Sport events, social legacies, 2010 FIFA World Cup

Introduction

This article focuses on the social legacies associated with sport events and critically examines key thematic considerations. South Africa's hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup forms the backdrop for these discussions. The focus of the article is two-fold. Firstly, the article examines the debates pertaining to legacies in relation to sport events. Secondly, the social legacy impacts in relation to sport events are discussed. Various sport event case studies are examined to identify key issues and trends, and they form the basis to identify best practices as well as appropriate social legacy indicators. Finally, methodological issues for assessing legacy impacts and knowledge management are considered.

Kirkup and Major (2007) assert that leaving suitable legacies has become a discourse which has left an unforgettable mark on the way in which planning for a mega-event takes shape. Furthermore, Weed and Bull (2004) assert that in recent years the necessity to use events to drive long-term developmental plans has popularised the concept of appropriate event legacies as an aspect of event planning. It is important to emphasise that different types of legacies are interrelated and often overlap. For example, tourism is often viewed as a positive economic legacy linked to the profiling of a specific destination and increased interest post the successful hosting of high profile events such as the 2010 FIFA World Cup. However, tourism itself is linked to several social and environmental impacts on host areas.

The focus on legacies and benefits have been related to a concomitant increase in research that questions whether these are realised, and if it is, the extent and nature of the legacies associated with hosting especially mega sport events (Cashman 2006; Matheson 2008; Preuss 2007). The legacy concerns pertaining to large-scale sport events are significant given the massive initial investments required by host cities and countries, especially in developing contexts.

Sport Events

Getz (1997:4) states: 'events are temporary occurrences, either planned or unplanned. They have a finite length, and for planned events this is usually

fixed and publicised. Events are transient, and every event is a unique blending of its duration, setting, management, and people'. Sport events are planned events that revolve around a sporting activity. Sport events have become increasingly important in an effort to achieve growth in the tourism industry. Getz (1997) states that sport events contribute significantly towards increasing tourist traffic and driving economic development in a region. Thus, hosting and bidding for events have become a central component of the overall tourism product of many countries, including countries such as South Africa. Swart (2001:68) indicates that there are a variety of benefits for a destination that hosts sport tourism events such as the creation of local employment and creating a sense of community pride.

The table below summarises the main benefits that Junod (2006:103-104) identified in relation to a region/destination hosting sport events. The triple-bottom-line approach is adopted that addresses social, economic and environmental benefits. The table illustrates that a range of benefits are likely to be accrued. However, these depend on whether planning to leverage benefits occur, the allocation of resources to generate benefits and political will.

Table 1: Benefits derived from hosting sport events using the triple-bottom-line approach

Triple-bottom-line components	**Potential benefits**
Economic	Investments from outside the hosting region As a result of investments, new infrastructure and sport facilities can be developed Support from political leaders Rejuvenation and upgrading of existing facilities Positive impacts for tourism in terms of money spent on accommodation and shopping Creating a positive tourism image through the media and using the opportunities through media for destination marketing purposes Sustaining a presence as a sport tourism destination and expanding the market to host smaller events

Social	An event can be used to encourage the local host community to engage in physical activity and cultivate a culture of health and wellness Sport stars can be used as examples to cultivate this ethic of health and wellness, especially in the youth market, to be used as role-models in healthy living Can instil pride in and for a community Can provide opportunities to engage in skills development and voluntarism
Environmental	Sport events can bring in the necessary funding to embark upon environmental and heritage projects

The benefits/impacts of sport events are interrelated. For example, improvements in infrastructure can improve quality of life and therefore have social influences. Furthermore, there are different sizes and types of sport events related to number of attendees (including spectators, organisers and participants), media coverage and target markets as indicated in Table 2. The larger the event, the higher expectations there are about the anticipated legacy impacts.

Table 2: Categories of sport events (adapted from Roche 2001)

Type of event	Example of event	Target audience/ market	Media interest
Mega Event	Olympic Games Football World Cup	Global	Global TV
Special Event	F1 Grand Prix World Regional Sports such as the Pan-American and Commonwealth Games	World/ regional/ national	International/ National TV

	National sport event such as the Curry Cup and ABSA Premier League	National	National TV
Hallmark Event	Large and established sport event in a particular location such as the Comrades Marathon	Regional	Regional TV
Community Event	Local community sports event	Local	Local TV/Press

According to Cornelissen (2004a:1294), 'sport mega-events are rapidly developing into one aspect of the global capitalist structure' and until recently, the majority of these mega-events were held in First World countries. Cornelissen (2004b) also indicates that much of the research surrounding large-scale sporting events is structured around the economic, social and political circumstances of the developed world and as a result cannot be readily applied to the developing world. Furthermore, although in recent years many African countries have either bid to host or hosted such events, there is still a lack of research and 'analysis of mega-events in the context of the developing world' (Cornelissen 2004b:40). This includes an assessment of legacy impacts. Cornelissen indicates that the main reasons for hosting large-scale events is the perceived economic benefits and tourism gains associated with it, despite the fact that there exists little research on the probability of their success. Little attention has also been given to the 'specific nature and dynamics' of mega-events in the developing context, especially in relation to the reasons for the recent increase in efforts by developping countries to host large-scale sporting events (Cornelissen 2004b:42).

In relation to mega-event legacies, Van Der Merwe (2007:68) states that mega-events which are hosted in developing countries can be termed a 'mixed blessing' since, although they may bring the promise of numerous economic benefits and the hope of uplifting the host nation in a number of

ways, these events also tend to be the 'source of much controversy', and if not carefully planned, can lead to enormous financial losses. Host locations of mega-events centralise legacy impacts. This was certainly the case in South Africa as well. Marthinus van Schalkwyk, Minister of Tourism stated in December 2010 (cited in South African Tourism 2011:2):

> The 2010 FIFA World Cup™ was never about the hosting of a tournament, but rather about building a legacy for our country and our continent - a legacy in terms of, amongst others, infrastructure development, economic growth, skills development, job creation, nation building and brand awareness. We as South Africans believed, and the world came to believe with us.

South African Tourism (2011) further states that the results of the 2010 FIFA World Cup impact study by South African Tourism and the National Department of Tourism illustrate that the event will have a lasting legacy for the country and its tourism industry. This indicates that there is a strong focus on legacy impacts of the 2010 FIFA World Cup.

Sport events are gaining prominence in the global, regional and local arenas (and are often associated with massive investments by many host countries and/or cities to promote sport events). This has resulted in a growing interest to examine the legacies associated with sport events. Furthermore, the hosting of particularly large-scale events is often justified on the premise that these events are likely to generate direct and long-term impacts, especially in relation to economic benefits. The nature and extent of specific social impacts tend to be neglected with a focus primarily on economic and infrastructural impacts. In relation to the economic impacts, it is important to highlight that these projections are often based on *ex-ante* studies and reports that tend to inflate anticipated outcomes and impacts. The long-term economic impacts of mega-event impacts tend to be ignored. The next section examines in more detail legacies and sport events followed by a discussion on social legacies specifically.

Legacies and Sport Events

Chappelet and Junod (2006) and Preuss (2007) assert that there is no clear

definition of the term legacy despite the focus of several studies on the legacy impacts of mega sport events. Preuss (2007) specifically argues that the confusion surrounding the concept of legacy and the elements which form part of a legacy make it difficult to accurately measure the legacy of mega sport events. Furthermore, Preuss (2007) finds it rather surprising that countries bid to host mega-events without fully understanding the complexity of event legacy and acknowledge that not all legacies are positive, nor can they always be planned. This is referred to as the intended and unintended consequences of hosting a sport event. The aspect of neglecting negative legacies (often the unintended consequences since organisers and governments tend to underscore the anticipated positive impacts) is highlighted by Chappelet and Junod (2006) who state that although a legacy is perceived by many to be associated with positive impacts only, this term also relates to the negative consequences of mega-events. It is also important to note that research has indicated that several of the legacies that are associated with the hosting of mega-events are not realised. Specifically, the economic impacts (the main reason articulated for attracting these events) are not realised with several sport mega-events resulting in host countries and/or cities being in debt post the event. Additionally, there is no evidence that the long-term economic benefits in terms of increased tourism and investments are realised.

Given the lack of a clear definition of legacy, Preuss (2007:211) proposes the following comprehensive and useful definition: 'irrespective of the time of production and space, legacy is all planned and unplanned, positive and negative, tangible and intangible structures created for and by a sport event that remain longer than the event itself'. Mann (2008) states that legacy can be defined as ensuring as many long-term benefits are generated for the host city, region and nation – well before, during and long after the event. A legacy therefore includes 'all unforeseen and planned effects and the material or tangible effects refer to the infrastructure built for the event' (Chappelet & Junod 2006:84). Tangible effects such as infrastructural development and increase in tourism numbers are easier to monitor while intangible effects such as community pride and social cohesion are more difficult to assess. The latter relate to subjective experiences and concerns such as attitudes towards a specific destination or sport. However, the intangible effects are extremely important to consider, especially since they

often capture the social impacts and experiences. It is important to note that the 'feel-good' experience, discussed further later, has emerged as one the most important aspects of hosting mega-events and several studies have highlighted the potential importance of this aspect (Brenke & Wagner 2006; Chappelet and Junod 2006; Maennig and Porsche 2008; Tomlinson *et al.* 2009). However, the social aspects remain a neglected area of research in relation to sport events.

Sport event effects may also either be direct or indirect/induced. Sport facilities and/or infrastructure that are developed especially for the event are viewed as direct effects. On the other hand, indirectly linked effects refer to facilities or infrastructure that would have been built even if the event did not take place but was fast-tracked because of the event. Indirect effects also include the intangible outcomes. In the case of South Africa hosting the FIFA World Cup in 2010, for example, direct effects related to stadiums built specifically for the hosting of the matches as per FIFA specifications while the development and upgrading of transport infrastructure could be viewed as indirect effects since the South African government maintains that these were part of the country's development plans but the hosting of the mega-event provided an opportunity to accelerate the pace of planned development.

It is important to note that existing definitions of event legacies do not provide a specific duration of the temporal duration of a legacy impact, implying simply that the effects are experiences 'after the event'. While not specified, it is imperative that legacies should be sustained for a considerable time after the event, for at least 20 years. Very few events are evaluated for this period of time and therefore it remains unclear whether long-lasting legacies can be associated with sport events. The definitions also do not provide the spatial parameters regarding legacy impacts. However, legacy impacts are most likely to be experienced and sustained closer to where the sport event was held and within the host cities/locations. Furthermore, often the impacts in relation to the larger-scale events that require bidding (such as most World Cups) are stipulated in the bid book that details the capacity for the host nation/s and/or town/s to successfully host the event as well as the planned activities/impacts. These impacts are often stipulated, especially to garner political and public support. For example, South Africa's hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup was embedded in producing and facilitating local

and national developmental agendas. Thus, the evaluation of the World Cup's legacy impacts should provide a broad-based national impact that is beyond the nine host cities.

Chappelet and Junod (2006) differentiate between five different types of legacies associated with mega-events, many aspects of which are relevant to sport events in general. These are summarised in Table 3 below. The social legacies can also relate to interactions between locals and visitors as well as changes in perceptions and attitudes outside the host country/city.

Table 3: Different types of legacies associated with mega sport events (Chappelet & Junod 2006:84)

Type of legacy	Description
Sporting legacy	Refers to sporting facilities newly built or renovated for an event and which will serve some purpose after the event has concluded. These sporting infrastructures often become emblematic symbols for the host city and depict its link with sports. Furthermore, they may also play a role in changing local sporting culture by either increasing people's participation in sport, introducing new and different types of sport to the area or by the organisation of more mega sport events on a regular basis.
Urban legacy	Refers to buildings which were built for the mega-event but which serve no sporting functions. Included here are changes made to the urban structure of the host city as well as the development of new urban districts and specialised areas.
Infrastructural legacy	Refers to the different types of networks, ranging from transport to telecommunications, which are renovated or developed for a mega-event and maintained after the event is complete. New access routes by air, water, road or rail are also part of the infrastructural legacy. Additionally, an event can provide the trigger for promoting modernisation of basic services, such as water, electricity, waste treatment, etc.

Economic legacy	Mega-events are often associated with increases in the number of tourists to a host city. Although it is difficult to determine the impact of tourism in the long-term, the tourist legacy needs to be evaluated by measuring the number of tourists over a long-term scale. In addition, the economic legacy also includes the setting up of non-tourism orientated companies that were attracted to the host region by its dynamism, that is, leveraging investment opportunities. Other good indicators of the economic legacy of mega-events are changes in the number of permanent jobs created and changes in the unemployment rate of the host region or city.
Social legacy	Mega-events are symbolic in nature and thus often lead to the creation of many stories and myths. These stories and myths form part of what Chappelet and Junod (2006:85) term, the 'collective memory' of an event. This term refers to local residents' memories and experiences of the mega-event and can also include the actual skills and experiences which people gain through their direct or indirect involvement in the mega-event. An essential part of the social legacy of mega-events is the change in perceptions of local residents of the host city or region.

Environmental and political legacies were not identified by Chappelet and Junod (2006). Environmental legacies relate to achieving sustainability objectives which include minimising negative impacts of the natural resource base, reducing and managing waste, and decreasing pollution. The intention is to reduce the carbon footprint of an event and promote greening principles such as ensuring that the environment is considered in the design, construction and operation of sporting facilities; use of alternative, environmentally-friendly energy sources; water conservation and management; promoting the conservation of nature and encouraging sport event attendees to become more environmentally responsible. Environmental legacies are directly linked to social impacts since an improved environment results in a better quality of life and healthier surroundings.

Political legacies relate to encouraging participation, good governance and democratic principles. Furthermore, sport events can be used to re-position a host destination's political image. For example, the 2006 FIFA World Cup provided Germany with an opportunity to change well established perceptions internationally of 'Nazi', divided Germany'. The hosting of large-scale sport events in South Africa such as the 1995 Rugby World Cup, 2003 Cricket World Cup and 2010 FIFA World Cup reinforced the country's post-apartheid transition in the global arena. Nationally, the events helped to unify and strengthen a South African identity among citizens that were previously divided. This sense of national pride and identity is a key social legacy discussed later. The planning of a large-scale event itself is also part of a political process that requires event management skills and the ability of different tiers of government to work together. The upskilling of human resources is therefore a legacy as well. Skills development is also associated with voluntarism and programmes targeting historically disadvantaged groups.

Additionally, the media attention and destination marketing are viewed as critical components to the hosting of sport events, especially large-scale events, and are closely linked to political debates and positions. For example, the 2010 FIFA World Cup was from the beginning marred with media focus relating to whether South Africa will be able to host the event, especially in terms of the concern over high crime levels in the country. Supporters of South Africa hosting the event, especially the Local Organising Committee and the government more generally, were consistently defending their stance in the media. The successful hosting of the World Cup with minor crime incidents (and given the global media coverage that the country received) is likely to change perceptions of South Africa among foreigners and locals. Of course, should there have been major crime incidents during the World Cup this would have resulted in negative media focus that would have had an opposite effect.

Mann (2008) indicates that a legacy needs to be created not left, and that setting clear targets, securing stakeholder buy-in and monitoring and evaluating key performance indicators are all critical to creating a positive legacy. Key legacies, as alluded to earlier, are generally associated with economic, social, environmental, political, sport and other intangible benefits

such a sense of national pride and unity, the 'feel-good factor' (du Plessis 2008; Maennig & Porsche 2008).

Social Legacy Impacts

The above sections highlighted key issues in relation to sport events and legacies. Integrated in the discussion are social considerations. This section focuses specifically on social legacy impacts since this is a neglected aspect of research on sport events. According to Deccio and Baloglu (2002) and Kim and Petrick (2005), this neglect is because event organisers, for political reasons, tend to use economic impacts only as a means of generating support for and interest amongst residents in host cities; social impacts are more complicated than economic impacts and therefore more difficult to understand and accurately calculate; and social impacts are associated with various negative impacts which range from increases in crime, prostitution, drug-peddling and traffic congestion to additional security costs. Bob (2010:210) states that the core elements of achieving social sustainability in relation to sport events are:

> ... safeguarding existing and future members of society, the maintenance and development of social resources, equity in terms of access to resources and opportunities, participation in decision-making processes and investments in social capital.

As indicated earlier most sport event impact studies focus on economic aspects pertaining to income generation and employment multipliers such as contributions to the Gross Domestic Product related primarily from the generation of revenues from domestic and foreign investors and visitors, increases in government taxes, creation of jobs (although it is often unclear as to how many of these jobs are permanent or temporary/seasonal and the levels of the jobs created), and investments in infrastructure and other development projects. Negative economic aspects are often associated with negative impacts on traffic flows, residents, local governments, crime and violence, and tourism displacement. Many of these economic impacts have social implications that relate to improved or worsened quality of life as well as creation of opportunities that result in skills development. For example,

jobs created as a result of a sport event can change the social circumstances of the individual and household. On the other hand, if households are forcefully removed to accommodate infrastructural development, this could result in social disruptions and dislocations. The social legacies associated with economic impacts are difficult to ascertain since the economic impacts are often over-estimated and studies of many events reveal inconclusive or negligible results (Allmers & Maennig 2008; Cornelissen *et al.* 2011).

Another aspect is that the construction or upgrading of sporting facilities is often viewed as part of economic and/or infrastructural legacy impacts. However, as Allmers and Maenning (2008) reveal, the novelty effects of the stadiums (and sports facilities more generally) are related to intangible, social effects as well. Specifically, Allmers and Maennig (2008) assert that since many of the stadium projects in South Africa have been used as a mechanism to induce positive urban economic effects, these 'signature' projects could assist these host cities in 'getting their name on the world map', further inducing the 'feel-good effect' and social legacies. Maennig and Porsche (2008) state that in addition to the success of the home team as experienced in Germany 2006, the transmission of the event through free TV and the creation of fan parks as free and experience-oriented reception alternatives in host cities contributed towards counteracting the frustration of the ticket allocation policy. These sites were also central to provide opportunities for local residents to participate in the event and interact with visitors, a key expectation raised in resident survey studies. Fan parks and public viewing areas emerged as significant spaces for social interaction and celebration during the 2010 FIFA World Cup as well.

In terms of the media, the manner in which destinations are profiled can also have broad-based social implications. An illustrative example is the co-hosting of the 1996 Cricket World Cup by India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Dimeo and Kay (2004) examine the response of the international press to the co-hosting of this event by these three countries. They argue that while some aspects of the event organisation was unsuccessful, the problems faced by South Asian countries in trying to use the event to promote positive images were further exacerbated by the media overinflating problems and reconfirming underlying stereotypes and criticisms of South Asian cultures. The focus was on socio-cultural aspects that were criticised from a western perspective. This reinforces an issue raised earlier that media attention can

reinforce negative stereotypes and perceptions rather than challenge these. Dimeo and Kay (2004) add that developing countries are less able to control the images that are projected in the media as the Western media and their audiences have a generally negative set of images in mind. When dealing with social legacies, a key focus should be on the manner in which sport events respect, improve and encourage the development of local socio-cultural systems as well as value and protect these resources.

Other potential social benefits associated with sport events and media attention include boosting local residents' national pride and morale which serves to increase corporate involvement and generate public support (Saayman & Rossouw 2008). Allmers and Maennig (2008) underscore the importance of focusing on the 'non-use' or 'feel-good effect'. They define this as the benefit for the host country's population of the event taking place in their neighbourhood even if they themselves do not visit the stadiums. Allmers and Maennig (2008) note that the value of this effect is often being neglected in *ex ante* and *ex post* studies on mega-events. They add that an analysis of 'willingness to pay' (WTP) for the 2006 World Cup indicates that this effect is amongst the most significant effect of this event and could be possibly as a result of participation in the numerous fan park opportunities. Heyne *et al.* (2007) account that the increase in WTP is attributable to, above all, a change in attitude of those who, before the World Cup were not willing to pay anything. Post the World Cup, an increased WTP was expressed especially by East Germans and low-skilled persons. They conclude that mega-events have an 'experience value'. Research in South Africa that focused on resident perceptions prior to the hosting of the FIFA World Cup (Bob & Swart 2008; Pillay & Bass 2008; Swart & Bob 2007) indicate that generally most South Africans supported South Africa hosting the World Cup and were excited about this unique opportunity. However, there were fears and concerns raised which were related to who will directly benefit and the negative impacts that they may experience such as noise pollution, increase in costs of goods and services, traffic congestion and disruptions to their daily lives.

Kersting (2007:281) asserts that the 2006 World Cup in Germany enabled 'certain expressions of identification which became broadly legitimated for the first time'. Two social marketing campaigns focused on national pride and national culture, namely 'You are Germany' which tried to

strengthen German national identity and 'The world as a guest visiting friends' was aimed at strengthening hospitality and reducing potential xenophobic tendencies during the event (Kersting 2007). Surveys on national pride in Germany showed an increase from 71% before the event to 78% during the World Cup, and in the months thereafter national pride went down to its normal status (72%) (Kersting 2007). He adds that an analysis of survey data indicates that during the World Cup xenophobia was reduced slightly and that these small effects may have long-term sustainable influences. In addition, a peaceful and friendly atmosphere during the 2006 World Cup could be seen as an indicator of a multicultural, non-racist and non-xenophobic society (Kersting 2007). Kersting (2007) argues that while sport patriotism may not be sustainable, mega-events can contribute towards diminishing xenophobia and strengthening national identity and unity.

The aspect of nation building was also important for South Africa in relation to its hosting of large-scale sport events after the demise of apartheid. Cornelissen and Swart (2006) assert that South Africa's pursuit of mega-events has also been used as an instrument for reconciliation. South Africa's bid for the 2006 and 2010 FIFA World Cups, as was the case for the Olympic bid, was linked to government's larger nation building processes and its developmental approach to bidding and hosting mega-events (Cornelissen 2004a; 2004b; Swart & Bob 2004). Similarly, the bid was characterised by its pan-Africanist thrust, characterised by the 2006 World Cup bid slogan 'It's Africa's turn' (Cornelissen 2004a; 2004b). The slogan was to signify to the rest of the word that despite Africa being a large football region, it never hosted the World Cup before. South Africa persisted with and enhanced this theme for the 2010 World Cup bid with an additional slogan being '*Ke Nako*: Celebrate Africa's Humanity'. A continent-wide legacy makes the legacy of the World Cup different from previous World Cups by virtue of the extension of the benefits beyond the host country (Black 2007) and centralises a key political aspect.

The President of South Africa (Zuma 2010:2) also highlighted the importance of social aspects in relation to sport (especially in relation to the 2010 World Cup) in a media statement issued four days before the start of the event:

> It is clear that millions of our people have waited for years and

> looked upon this tournament with hope, pride and a sense of belonging. Sport has always played an important role in our historical mission to build a united, non-racial and prosperous South Africa and a better world. Almost all sporting codes in our country such as rugby and cricket have made a contribution to build social cohesion and human solidarity.

The focus on the ability of sport to promote unity and nation building has not gone unchallenged. Labuschagne (2008) states that while the impact of sport on nation building is a popular theme in political science and sociology, sport as a nation builder has limited potential. He specifically states that several analysts see sport as 'nothing more than ninety minute patriotism' (Labuschagne 2008:3). Labaschagne (2008:13) is, however, optimistic and concludes that sport does have the capacity to unify people, although temporarily, and the positive effects of sport 'could be made more enduring by careful planning and deliberate efforts to ensure that its benefits are felt as widely as possible'. The potential of sport 'to inculcate in people a feeling of unity, and to motivate them' can only be achieved if there is a 'comprehensive, structured plan' for this to happen (Labaschagne 2008:13).

A key social aspect of sport in developing contexts such as South Africa is the issue of crime. This relates to perceptions about crime at the host destination as well as how to deal with the potential of crime during a sport event. Larger events in particular are associated with increased criminal activities due to the sheer increase in the numbers of people in a particular location. It is for this reason that most large-scale events have elaborate safety and security plans in place. Safety and security measures during sporting events are often heightened. As indicated earlier, the media plays a critical role in profiling sport events and the destinations in which they occur. The aspect of crime and safety is often a key focus of media coverage before and during the event. In reflecting on the failed Cape Town 2004 Olympic bid, one of the most significant criticisms levelled against the bid pertained to the high levels of crime in South Africa that was not adequately dealt with by the Bid Committee (Swart & Bob 2004). They add that it is worth underscoring that a critical aspect of the issue of crime is linked to perceptions and the way in which international media portray criminal activities and crime rates. The massive investments in safety and security

infrastructure and service provision for the 2010 World Cup in South Africa is also a major source of angst among local residents who feel that the safety and security strategy for 2010 was geared towards making tourists, participants and FIFA safe rather than being a long-term legacy that will make a significant impact on crime which is undoubtedly one of the main concerns among residents and visitors alike. Bob *et al.* (2006:201) assert that 2010 'provides the platform and the impetus to initiate proactive measures and evaluate existing strategies to ensure safe environments' for both visitors and the general South African populace. It remains to be seen whether this legacy will be realised.

Sport events are also linked to philanthropic projects aimed at benefitting local communities. These projects often target disadvantaged and vulnerable groups. A case in point is the *Amabeadi* project associated with the Comrades Marathon where proceeds from the sale of beaded traditional jewellery are used to support five charitable organisations. The 2010 FIFA World Cup was also associated with a range of sport-related and socially responsible development projects that included the African Legacy project established in 2006 aimed at supporting African renaissance efforts on the continent, the Win in Africa with Africa project which established activities and programmes for skills development on the continent and Football for Hope, a programme aimed at promoting social development. These programmes were initiated and implemented by a range of organisations/institutions including FIFA, government departments and community-based organisation. Football for Hope is an illustrative example of a global partnership between FIFA, several private corporations (such as Adidas, CocaCola, Emirates, Kia, Sony and Visa) and 'streetfootballworld', a social profit organisation founded in 2002 that promotes positive change through football and operates in more than 50 countries (FIFA 2010). Joseph S. Blatter (FIFA president cited in FIFA 2010:2) asserts:

> With its unique appeal and core values that reach across generations and cultures, football offers a common ground for engaging in a wide range of social development activities, including education, health promotion, social integration and gender equality. That is why Football for Hope is of strategic importance to FIFA. Football is and needs to remain a school for life.

FIFA (2011:3) further states:

> Football has become a vital instrument for hundreds of social development programmes run by non-governmental and community-based organisations all around the world. These programmes are providing children and young people with valuable tools that make a difference to their lives and, by addressing the most pressing issues in each community, they are contributing to positive social change on a global scale.

Football for Hope is deemed to be one such programme. It is important to note that the life-spans of these projects are not stipulated and their spread across the African continent is limited. Whether these programmes will continue and emerge as long-term legacies remain to be seen.

Approaches to Examine Social Legacy Impacts and Knowledge Management

Smith and Fox (2007) assert that one way of understanding cities (and host nations) is by analysing the legacies of the events they staged. Thus, the evaluation of social legacy impacts can contribute to knowledge management, specifically in relation to identifying best practices and lessons for future efforts to bid for sport events. Smith and Fox (2007) add that securing regeneration from events require vigilant planning by event managers who are sensitive to the significance of legacy. Moreover, they state that delivering a successful event, whilst ensuring a positive legacy, requires effective coordination between a range of stakeholders such as event organisers, regeneration agencies, different spheres of government, local businesses and community representatives.

Notwithstanding the challenges experienced and the benefits derived, the hosting of sport events (especially large-scale events the scale of the World Cups and Olympic Games, for example) is important from a learning perspective. However, research on these events have been ad hoc and limited. Thus, the knowledge legacies associated with sport events have been inadequate and as yet there have been limited attempts to systematically

examine and track legacy impacts. Halbwirth and Toohey (2001:91) stress the importance of sport and event organisations 'to successfully capture, share, manage and harness their corporate knowledge to reduce uncertainty of outcomes and co-ordinate and facilitate strategy and policy implementation'.

There are several approaches to examine and assess social legacy impacts of mega-events. One such approach is the Balanced Scorecard Approach to event evaluation presented by Gratton *et al.* (2006). This approach examines the range of impacts associated with hosting a sport event, including social aspects. The Olympic Games Impact Programme (OGI) is another example of systematically evaluating legacy impacts. Cornelissen (2007) contends that within the Olympic Movement there have been more advances in establishing knowledge about the effects of the Games in contrast to the FIFA World Cup to date. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) acknowledges the importance of sustainable development and social responsibility, and developed the OGI programme in 2003 (Vancouver Olympic Committee OGI 2007). The purpose of OGI is to measure the long-term impact of the Olympic and Paralympic Games through a consistent and comparable reporting system across all future Games. Moreover, it is intended to assist cities that are bidding for Olympic Games and future organisers to identify potential legacies to maximise Games' benefits. One hundred and twenty six (126) indicators measure the status of a range of environmental, socio-cultural, and economic dimensions of the host city, region and nation (Vancouver Olympic Committee OGI 2007). The social indicators include disruptions in the lives of locals (such as traffic congestion and housing displacements/relocations), political representation in decision-making structures linked to the event and related activities, community-based pressure groups (including minority representation in these groups), crime rates and incidences, changes in health status, sports and physical activities, availability of and access to sporting facilities, discrimination in sport, and cultural activities associated with the event.

Conclusion

The importance of understanding and critically examining the impacts of sport events, especially in relation to social legacies, is emphasised in this

article. The significance of undertaking research in relation to social legacies is highlighted. However, it is also underscored that these issues are complex and related to economic, environmental and other types of legacies associated with sport events. Additionally, the larger the sport event the bigger and more complex the range of legacies experienced. Both positive and negative impacts are heightened as the size of the event increases. In fact, Ahmed *et al.* (2008) warn that as sporting events are getting bigger and bigger the negative impacts associated with them are growing. To summarise, the key social issues pertaining to sport events relate to respecting and supporting local socio-cultural systems; the 'feel-good', experiential aspects; disruptions to the lives of locals; opportunities for nation and community building (including promoting unity and social cohesion); increased safety and security measures; the development of sport facilities and increased access to these; improvement in the environment; skills development and training; and philanthropic projects.

The discussion notes that there are considerable debates that relate to the definitional and conceptual aspects pertaining to what constitutes a legacy, the variety of legacy impacts and how they interrelate to each other, and methodological approaches to monitor and assess social legacy impacts. In terms of the latter, the discussion informs the identification of potential social legacy indicators and approaches to assess impacts associated with sport events. The article highlighted that they are both positive and negative impacts which need to be understood. Additionally, there are intended and unintended consequences as well as tangible and intangible outcomes. These result in complex dimensions. An important aspect to consider from a social legacy perspective is changing perceptions and promoting more responsible social and environmental behaviour.

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On the Political Economy of 'Feel-good' Effects at Sport Mega-events: Experiences from FIFA Germany 2006 and Prospects for South Africa 2010

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Abstract

In the rapidly growing body of scholarship on sport mega-events it has become commonplace to contend that the intangible (or immeasurable) elements of these events, such as the positive emotions they can evoke among spectators, are often among their most important consequences. This paper reflects on one particular aspect of sport mega-events' intangibles – the feel-good effect, or sense of communal wellbeing that can be elicited under certain circumstances - and the political and socio-cultural processes that are contingent with this. The paper focuses on the 2006 FIFA World Cup which was hosted in Germany, and the 2010 FIFA finals, staged in South Africa. For Germany, since the hopes for significant positive effects on tourism, income, and employment that were prominent before the World Cup were (as in the case of most other such events) not realised, the feel-good effect seemed to be the largest and most obvious effect of the 2006 World Cup. Similarly, in the case of South Africa, which faced some severe organisational challenges, a sense of pride or national cohesion may be the most important and durable outcome of its hosting of the FIFA finals. The paper reviews the dimensions and significance of the feel-good effect and some of its longer-term political implications for host locations.

Keywords: Sport mega-events, feel-good effect, FIFA World Cup, Germany, South Africa

Introduction

It has become convention for the scholars of sport mega-events to argue that the intangible (or immeasurable) elements of these events, such as the positive emotions they can evoke among spectators, are often among their most important consequences (e.g. Baade & Matheson 2002; Tomlinson and Young 2006). Yet, to a significant extent, little substantive development of this idea is present in available scholarship. This paper reflects on one particular aspect of sport mega-events' intangibles – the feel-good effect, or sense of communal wellbeing that appears to be provoked under certain circumstances – in relation to the FIFA World Cup hosted in 2006 by Germany and which will be held in South Africa in 2010. The paper probes and compares the dimensions and significance of the feel-good effect of the event in these two locales, posing the question of how, and through which processes feel-good has been/can be induced and what the consequences could be. The paper does this from the position that the feel-good effect was among the most significant outcomes of the 2006 FIFA World Cup (Maennig 2007), and that, in the face of some major infrastructural, budgeting and social challenges, it is likely to be the most durable and important product of the South African hosted event.

Invariably, any direct comparison of the 2006 and 2010 FIFA World Cups is impeded by the vastly different infrastructural and organisational environments of these two events, and by the rather unique socio-political context within which FIFA 2010 will take place. The technical/ organisational requirements of the two events, as well as the profile of the visitors and spectators will differ. Moreover, major sporting events are subject to a strong (perceived) change in meaning. Yet strikingly, for both Germany and South Africa hosting an event such as the football World Cup has had political value beyond what is generally associated with them: for Germany the 2006 World Cup apparently helped the country overcome a difficult twentieth-century history, while the 2010 tournament is intended as much to cement post-apartheid South Africa's racial and political transformation, as it is to intensify economic development. Elsewhere, scholars have reviewed the potential impacts of the FIFA 2010 World Cup on the political and symbolic capital it is likely to generate for the South African government (e.g. Black 2007; Cornelissen 2008). This paper extends such work by considering what the major determinants of the feel-good

effect have been at Germany's World Cup, and what some of the prospects are for South Africa. Four components are addressed: the interrelationship between planning, infrastructural arrangements, security and feel-good; the role of branding, imaging and marketing; national pride, identity and patriotism; and the significance of sites of fandom, such as public viewing areas. In the second part of the paper a brief conceptualisation is given of the feel-good effect in relation to sport mega-events. The remaining parts discuss and compare each of the above components in relation to the two FIFA World Cups.

Feel-good and Sport Mega-events

As a concept, 'feel-good' has been variously defined. In the realm of economics and business administration it is mostly used interchangeably with 'happiness', 'wellbeing' and 'utility' (see e.g. Böhnke & Kohler 2008), although psychologists tend to differentiate between at least some of these items. A broad consensus exists among scholars of social sciences that the measurement of these concepts is (still) problematic (see e.g. Bertrand & Mullainathan 2001). Nevertheless, as Ng (1996: 1) puts it, happiness (or feel-good) is 'the main, if not the only objective of life'. This notwithstanding, there are at least three interrelated ways in which the feel-good impacts of sport mega-events can be conceived. The first is in relation to the economic offshoots that can be generated from a general feeling of social contentment and cheerfulness in attending or being in other ways party to a sporting spectacle. In this regard there is mounting evidence that hosting sport mega-events may significantly increase the sense of wellbeing of the people in the host country. Kavetsos and Szymanski (2008) analyse the impact of hosting the Olympic Games, the Football World Cup or the Football European Championships on happiness in European countries over a thirty-year period, and find a significant and positive effect provoked by World Cups. Heyne, Maennig and Süßmuth (2007) estimated, on the basis of an ex post contingent valuation method, a willingness to pay of around €830 million on the occasion of the 2006 FIFA World Cup. 'Greater willingness to pay for a sporting event or for other events in Germany has … not hitherto been recorded. In this respect … the 2006 soccer World Cup was one of the

greatest and economically most important events in Germany' (Maennig 2007:379).

The second way in which feel-good effects may be important in sport mega-events, relates to their socio-cultural contingencies, i.e. the manner in which feel-good is either expressed or coincides or conflicts with social markers and communal boundaries. Sport fandom has been shown to take on pronounced features on the occasion of mega-events (e.g. Crabbe 2008; Tomlinson & Young 2006; Weed 2007), with such events often providing the platform for the articulation of specific forms of sport fandom (such as hooliganism), or heightened brand and team loyalty. But expressions of communalism, shaped by sharpened senses of wellbeing could also relate to broader targets of identity ascription, such as the nation-state. It has by now been well documented how sport mega-events become milieus for nationalism (Bandyopadhay 2008; Manzenreiter & Horne 2008) however benign or temporary such displays of national identity may be. One of the most distinctive features of the FIFA 2006 World Cup in Germany was how a host society, generally apprehensive and suspicious of exhibitions of national pride, in a spirit of exuberance and feel-good, wholeheartedly proceeded to display all the trappings of German statehood (national flag, etc). Indeed, for Germany the feel-good effect was so intense and long-lasting that some observers pondered the emergence of a new era of national pride (see Kersting 2007 for a review).

The third way in which feel-good is of significance for sport mega-events therefore, is in terms of the political meaning – and instrumentalisation – of the mass feelings of pride or passion which these events can evoke. Hosting a sport mega-event often has to be rationalised to a sceptical public in terms of their potential economic impacts. Increasingly, in the face of zero (or even negative) effects of the mega-event on income and employment, decisions can only be accounted for in terms of positive political, social, feel-good, and/or image effects (Baade & Matheson 2002). A widespread sense of feel-good during and in the immediate aftermath of an event lightens the burden on authorities and planners when they have to defend public (over)expenditures. But more broadly, however, because of their size and their ability to capture the popular imagination, sport mega-events also tend to carry with them political inflections which extend beyond sport itself. These could relate to how events are used by political elites to

increase their domestic legitimacy; to give momentum to nascent processes of political transition or economic development; or to gain prestige and standing in the international sphere[1]. Sport - and the positive ascriptions which it is generally given, such as goodwill, sportsmanship, neighbourliness or amity - constitutes a proxy arena for wider ranging political processes, whether as a means to convey political discourses around national identity or patriotism, or to gloss over or subvert major social cleavages. In such instances, it should be noted, sport mega-events' potential feel-good effects may be more contrived than accidental, making the analysis of these kinds of effects even more pertinent.

Planning, Infrastructure, Security and Feel-good

Mega sports events suffer in part from the criticism that they raise problems in the areas of security, transport, and ecology and/or that they require (too much) public funds. Such criticisms, when echoed in the media, can have a negative influence on public perception. Even at an early stage, aside from the central task of smoothly organising the sport tournament itself, the Organising Committee for the 2006 World Cup and the German Federal Government stressed the importance of avoiding problems of this nature. In the framework of the national security strategy for the 2006 World Cup, around 250,000 German police officers, 1,700 members of the Federal armed forces, and 16,000 security personnel were deployed, and emphasis was placed on giving a deliberately subdued image to the security operations (Klauser 2008). To accompany small groups of potentially aggressive foreign fans, more than 570 operatives from thirteen European countries, as well as thirty-six operatives from other countries were deployed. This was done in the hope that for these groups of fans a confrontation with security forces of their own nationality would be less 'attractive' than a confrontation with the German forces. Stadium security was ensured through an electronic ticket and access control system (BMI 2006b). As a result, there were no large-scale threats to security in the stadia, nor at the public viewing events, which

[1] For discussions of the political uses of specific events see for example: Brownell (2008) and Xu (2006) on the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games; Black (2007) on the 2010 Commonwealth Games; and Bandyopadhay (2008) on cricket in India-Pakistan relations.

made an important contribution to the perception of a peaceful and friendly World Cup.

To avoid traffic and ecological problems, the ecology project 'Green Goal' was launched, and extensive investments in transport infrastructure were made. 'Green Goal' set up measurable environmental protection targets as an integral part of the organisation of the World Cup and, for example, through ecological mobility measures, reduced the greenhouse gas emissions of the event by almost one-fifth (OK WM 2006). On the basis of the combined tickets[2] on offer, up to 70 per cent of the stadium visitors travelled by bus and train to the games in the stadia (BMI 2006b). To be able to meet the additional demand for local public transport, considerable investments were made in the relevant infrastructure. Together with the investments made in the infrastructure for private transport, the public funds invested totalled some €1.6 billion (Maennig & Büttner 2006).

Questions of infrastructural development, public investments and security are uppermost in the current discussions about South Africa's state of preparedness for the 2010 tournament. Reporting in the international media has reflected a deep-seated sense of international scepticism over the country's ability to host an event of this magnitude. South Africa's planners and authorities face the additional strain of delivering on their projections and promises that the World Cup will create employment and lead to economic development, not least to a highly expectant domestic constituency. As such, 'getting it right' as far as infrastructural developments for the tournament are concerned, was as essential for the long-term socio-economic legacies such developments could leave, as it was for a successful tournament and positive assessments of the World Cup.

In the face of this, much emphasis was placed on the timely development or preparation of three types of infrastructure: the competition venues/stadia; transportation; and tourist accommodation (see Cornelissen, 2009 for a fuller discussion). Of the ten stadiums which were used for World Cup matches, six were newly built or refurbished (these were in the host cities of Cape Town, Durban, Johannesburg (Soccer City stadium), Port

[2] The admission tickets for the 2006 World Cup were also valid as tickets on local public transport services and permitted stadium visitors free journeys to and from the venues by public transport.

Elizabeth, Nelspruit and Polokwane), while four existing stadiums – used in the past mostly for rugby – were upgraded. The latter were located in the cities of Bloemfontein, Johannesburg (Ellis Park stadium), Pretoria and Rustenburg. In 2007 the national government allocated R9bn of the national budget for the construction of the new stadia, and a similar amount for the upgrading of the national road network and main airports, to be spent over a four-year period. In total, the government committed themselves to a four-year budget of over R400bn for the World Cup (Manuel 2007). Many of the country's larger cities, secure with the prospects of hosting higher order matches in the tournament proceeded to invest a great deal of resources on the development of flagship stadia, but the development of some of the more prominent (and expensive) ones were marked by unfettered cost escalation[3].

By 2010 budget overruns for stadium construction – caused by a variety of factors, including high international prices for construction material such as cement - was estimated at R3.2bn (*Independent Online*, 10 March 2010). Some of the major transport developments which have been linked to the World Cup, such as the Gautrain rapid rail system in the Gauteng province, witnessed delays in schedule and excessive rises in cost. In a gloomy international economic environment, and given the fact that national growth prospects have been adversely affected by the country's energy supply deficit, it was generally expected that the South African government would end up spending much more on the 2010 World Cup than initially projected (*The Witness* 16 October 2008). It was against this backdrop that even some orthodox economists surmised that the World Cup could have positive stimulatory effects which could help offset the deflationary pressures which the economy was expected to experience over the next few years (e.g. Pickworth 2008).

[3] For example, Johannesburg's Soccer City, refurbished to increase its seating capacity to 94 700, and to host the headquarters of FIFA and the South African Football Association before and during the tournament, had by early 2010 drawn cost overruns of more than R1bn while it is estimated that the construction of Cape Town's stadium will cost R4,5bn, substantially more than the 2.4bn initially projected for it (*Independent Online* 3 March 2010).

The implementation of an appropriate World Cup security plan presented another challenge to South African authorities. This is because in addition to the standard security measures which needed to be undertaken for a tournament of that kind – directed against hooliganism and the prevention of potential terror attacks – authorities also needed to take measures against crime. South Africa had gained international notoriety for the depth of crime and social violence in the country; indeed, this reputation has widely been regarded as a deterrent to potential foreign visitors to the tournament. To a significant extent the 2010 World Cup security plan therefore also had to consist of an effective communication strategy to counter negative international perceptions of the country. Drawing on, *inter alia*, assistance from Germany and international bodies such as Interpol, the security blueprint for the tournament had in principle been approved by FIFA (Mthethwa 2010).

During June and July 2009 South Africa hosted the Confederations Cup, which although smaller in scale than the World Cup, is regarded as the dry run for the bigger tournament. It became clear during the Confederations Cup that the country's World Cup security plans were in need of improvement. A few days before the start of the Cup, for instance, the Local Organising Committee (LOC) had failed to appoint a security company, necessitating the hasty deployment of an additional number of officers from the South African police force. A few incidents of crime occurred against Confederation Cup visitors (mainly robberies), which were widely reported in the international media. A well developed and efficiently implemented security plan was a major component of the positive atmosphere that reigned at the 2006 World Cup. To gain the same effects, South Africa had to do much to counter widespread cynicism about the ability of overstretched security and policing infrastructure to deliver an effective World Cup anti-crime strategy. For the 2010 World Cup 41 000 security staff were eventually deployed.

Branding, Imaging and Marketing

During the 2006 World Cup a number of large-scale branding and marketing activities occurred which – intentionally and accidentally – yielded some positive results. In collaboration with the Organising Committee and

subsidiary companies founded specifically for the tournament, the federal government drew up a host plan whereby Germany was to be promoted as an economic and scientific centre and as a cultural nation that was also attractive as a tourist destination. In the effort to present Germany as a prosperous and future-ready economic location and to improve the branding of the German nation, the location campaign 'Deutschland – Land der Ideen' ('Germany – land of ideas') of 'FC Deutschland GmbH' is regarded as one of the most successful image campaigns in the history of the Federal Republic. The art and culture programme that was integrated into the framework of the World Cup encompassed a total of 194 events in forty-five cities and enhanced the leisure and recreational activities of around 3.5 million domestic and foreign visitors (Allmers & Maennig 2009).

Worldwide, around 4.2 billion media contacts underlined the acceptance of the events on offer (BMI 2006a). The aim of presenting Germany as a worthwhile tourist destination was promoted by the German Central Tourist Board (DZT), who in line with the official World Cup slogan 'Die Welt zu Gast bei Freunden' ('the world as a guest with friends') used 'national service and friendliness campaigns' and 'service ambassadors to convey a tourist image of Germany as cosmopolitan and tolerant'. In the frame of the latter project, more than 6,000 employees in the hotel and catering trade were trained to present Germany as warm and welcoming (BMI 2006b). Numerous projects were added to motivate the population (especially the young) to become involved in sporting activities and voluntary work and charity campaigns and initiatives to engender tolerance and integration. Also of significance was the World Cup volunteer programme, in which 15,000 voluntary co-workers helped to take care of fans and guests (BMI 2006b).

In all, the organisers succeeded in extending the football World Cup beyond a primary sporting concern to stage an event by which a country and its people were motivated to optimise the experiences of event visitors and international television viewers. In particular, it was possible to avoid the impression that Germany's interest in the World Cup was primarily linked to business motives such as hopes for economic, infrastructure, and growth effects. The success of these efforts abroad was measurable: as a result of hosting the World Cup, Germany improved its international standing and in the autumn of 2006 occupied second position in the Anholt Nation Brands

Index (2006). Germany, whose erstwhile image abroad was 'hard and cold [...] not a nation much associated with warmth, hospitality, beauty, culture or fun' (Anholt Nation Brands Index 2006), improved its image through the World Cup in all seventeen criteria that constitute the 'Anholt Nation Brands Index', particularly in the areas of tourism and culture. Overseas visitors to the World Cup experienced a host nation that clearly exceeded their expectations with regard to the qualities of 'tolerance' and 'friendliness towards foreigners' (BMI 2006b). This relatively rapid improvement in the country's international image explains a part of the feel-good effect.

In addition to this, the communication and marketing activities of private businesses - albeit perhaps initially unintentionally – contributed to the feel-good effect. Aside from the activities of the official FIFA sponsors and World Cup partners, and in spite of the restrictive actions of FIFA in connection with legal rights concerning the use of names of the event, forty-three per cent of the advertising-driven business in Germany operated ambush marketing relating to the World Cup. The total investment for sport sponsoring in the country increased by 55 per cent in comparison with the value for the previous year to an unprecedented €2.7 billion (Pilot 2007), making the 2006 World Cup one of the greatest communication tools of all time in Germany.

With a current annual foreign tourism market of about 1.5m and the number of foreign visitors to the 2010 World Cup expected to be in excess of 400 000 (DEAT and South African Tourism 2005)[4]. South African authorities also regard the tournament as a major international marketing and (re)branding opportunity. Indeed, the country's early host campaigning for the FIFA tournaments (first for the 2006 World Cups, and upon failure, for the 2010 finals) was in part motivated by the prospect of dovetailing the hosting of the sport event with some international re-imaging, and to boost the tourism sector. In the post-apartheid era tourism has developed as a major economic sector, with South Africa currently ranked as the top foreign tourism destination in Africa (WTO 2010).

[4] During the first part of 2010, faced with much lower than expected international ticket sales, official estimations of foreign tourist arrivals during the World Cup were revised downward to 373 000 (see Grant Thornton 2010).

As far as the branding preparations for the World Cup were concerned, however, developments were of a rather varied nature. The main recent thrusts of the national branding campaign have centred on the endorsement of the tournament as 'Africa's World Cup' and of the promotion of the event's 'African legacy'. The official 2010 World Cup emblem which was launched at the closure of the 2006 finals carried some African features, such as colours usually associated with pan-African political movements. Finally, South Africa's national tourism authorities have adopted a tourism logo which states simply, 'South Africa: It's Possible'. There was also some alignment between South African Tourism and the International Marketing Council to try to consolidate the international promotion campaign known as 'Brand SA'. In the case of the 2006 World Cup German authorities implemented a systematic programme to inscribe the event with a specific motif. It is not clear whether South Africa's World Cup had a similar, sustainable 'marketing message' with potential long-term tourism ramifications.

It is also not clear whether 2010 World Cup imaging which was African-centred (such as the Ke Nako! campaign) had the desired effects on a select cohort of international sport tourists. The few studies which have been conducted on the profile of mega-event visitors generally show their travel to be motivated primarily by their interest in sport and the type of sport event they visit, rather than the characteristics of the destination (Gratton *et al.* 2001; Weed & Bull 2004). Perhaps one of the major shortcomings of South Africa's World Cup tourism planning was that there was little systematic ex-ante profiling of expected foreign visitors. In the case of Germany event campaigning was combined with tourist imaging. South African tourism growth will be contingent on changes in a number of structural factors, although a positive reputation gained from hosting a successful World Cup will significantly strengthen the prospects of longer-term tourism rewards.

National Pride, Identity and Patriotism

For the success of a mega-event, an appropriate level of success by the home players plays a fundamental role in maintaining the interest of the national viewers. While in March 2006, at the height of a poor preparation phase, the

German national team was described as 'the worst German team of all time' (N.N. 2006), by reaching third place in the World Cup finals they exceeded general expectations. Through their tournament achievements, decisions by the national manager, Jürgen Klinsmann, that were initially regarded as highly controversial by the public, came to be seen as measures of a carefully considered plan, and Jürgen Klinsmann was seen as a 'reformer' of the German Football Association (DFB). The German public, who were otherwise accustomed to a tight, defensive game from the national team, based above all on 'German' virtues such as will and tenacity (in short: with a degree of stubbornness), showed their enthusiasm for the apparently offensive, dynamic, and team-oriented selection of the DFB (Brinkbäumer & Kramer 2006). In putting these reforms into practice, Klinsmann ensured the fitness of his team and modernised the German game in terms of tactics and style of play. Moreover, he provided a rejuvenation of the national team.

The successful performance of a national team leads, on the basis of individual objectives, to a heightened estimation of self-worth. This happens because the affiliation to a positively valued group, and the association with their symbols of success ('basking in reflected glory') (Schlicht & Strauß 2003) raise self-esteem. Aside from the German national team's unexpected success in the tournament, their modern and team-oriented style of play and offensive and attractive game strategy gave rise to positive identification effects within the national population (Kurbjuweit *et al.* 2006). Through such effects, the 2006 World Cup was able to counteract a general tendency towards social individualisation. With regard to derived stereotyping, sporting values can take on special meaning, since sport will often be used in simplified ways to convey qualities of the stereotype of the population such as 'imagined charisma' (Maguire 1999). The footballer, Christoph Metzelder, summed up how the new style of play of the national team established a connection between a feeling of nation and that of life in general for his generation: 'We can live uninhibited and carefree, and we can also play football in this way'[5]. After the World Cup, almost 60 per cent of Germans identified themselves with the team, in contrast to 31 per cent before the tournament) (Psychonomics 2006); 95 per cent of Germans were proud of the performances of their national team (Medien BW 2006).

[5] In Kurbjuweit *et al.* (2006).

Accordingly, the World Cup brought to Germany a sense of patriotism that had not been known for a long time (cf. Westerhoff 2007). As a general feature the population does not like to display national devotional objects. However, during the World Cup around five million German flags were displayed on the streets and in the stadia, and adorned personal automobiles.

Immediately after the World Cup, almost 70 per cent of the German population declared a positive change in their national awareness (Köcher 2006); almost 90 per cent of those asked welcomed the distinctive black-red-gold symbolism of the summer of 2006. A year after the tournament, 62 per cent of Germans expressed a lasting increased national pride, which they associate directly with the 2006 World Cup (Luttmer 2006). The reasons for these changes in awareness lay in particular in the cosmopolitan way in which the country had presented itself during the World Cup (Köcher 2006).

The manifestation of patriotism or the use of national symbols in Germany has in the meantime reverted to the level before the World Cup. In this respect, the willingness to express identity induced by the World Cup may be interpreted in terms of a latent social force that moved public awareness in the context of a supposedly apolitical sporting event (Köcher 2006; Kurbjuweit *et al.* 2006). The World Cup attained the character of a platform for 'public confession' (Westerhoff 2007).

In the international sphere, perceptions of Germany also changed. While at the start of 2006, in anticipation of a well-organised but soulless World Cup, the international press emphasised German stereotypes such as reliability and success, the reporting during the tournament was characterised by terms such as 'party', 'pride', 'positivity', 'peace', 'atmospheric', and 'friendly' (IfA 2007). Even the media from countries with a traditionally aloof attitude towards Germany were clearly surprised by the joyful, relaxed, sporting Germany and the population's capacity for enthusiasm (Harding 2006). In all, Germany succeeded in supplementing its image, which had hitherto been dominated by economic and 'hard' attributes, with 'soft' factors such as hospitality, the warmth of the people, and cultural values, and thereby achieved a higher international reputation (Anholt Nation Brands Index 2006).

While the positive national self-appraisal brought experienced by the Germans as a result of the World Cup could be interpreted first of all as an

indicator of a distinct quality of life - therefore as a manifestation of the feel-good effect - it could also be regarded as a change of the German stereotype. The positive resonance of the international reporting in the course of the World Cup, characterised by the change of atmosphere experienced in Germany, was picked up by German people through the national press and organs of the media. The boost in the national image and in civic pride initiated a further strengthening of the feel-good effect.

This kind of dynamic might be the most important long-term outcome of hosting the 2010 World Cup for South Africa. In the post-apartheid era successful sport performance has become one of the main ingredients of the country's nascent nation-building process. The association between post-apartheid sporting success, national pride and cohesion started with South Africa's hosting and victory in the 1995 Rugby World Cup. The sight of then president Nelson Mandela appearing side by side with the captain of the predominantly white rugby team, to celebrate victory in a sport long considered emblematic of apartheid's racism and segregation, became a metaphor for the endeavours toward racial reconciliation that came to define Mandela's presidency. The widespread euphoria generated by the success in the 1995 Rugby World Cup was quickly seized upon by political figures as an opportunity to forge national unity. This has helped to engender an instrumentalist orientation to sport mega-events by South Africa's sport and political elites, for whom the idea to use such events to foster racial integration and stimulate other political dividends, has been a key motivation in what has become since 1995, an extended mega-events campaign. South Africa's bid to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup was the culmination of a lengthy series of bids – only some of them successful - for a range of mega- and medium-scale international sport tournaments, such as the 2004 Olympic Games, the 2003 Cricket World Cup and the 2007 Rugby World Cup.

Yet the experience in hosting and competing in sport mega-events has been a speckled one, with performances by national teams generally falling well below expectations, concomitantly affecting not only domestic support for teams, but in many instances, popular regard for sport events. For example, the national cricket team underperformed during the 2003 Cricket World Cup which was held in South Africa, and the team's early exit from the tournament dampened the population's enthusiasm and support for the event as a whole. The national rugby team displayed some dismal

performances in major international tournaments, inviting the scorn of domestic supporters. Improvements in the team's standing in international league tables in recent years, inter alia through victory in the 2007 Rugby World Cup, have helped them regain support from the population. Finally, the team dispatched to the 2008 Beijing Olympics was able to win only a single medal; in the media and in popular discourse the lacklustre performance of the Olympic team was attributed to factors such as poor sport administration and prolonged political interference in sport affairs (*Business Day* 5 September 2008). These are factors which have been raised as general points of criticism towards all of South Africa's major sports. Thus, while the country's elites still consider sport events as important instruments to yield political dividends, the general deterioration in South Africa's international sport performances, and the apparent frailty of South African sport administration, have prompted a widespread cynicism for almost all the major sports among the broader population.

In football this sense of cynicism has become more pronounced in recent years as the national football team, known popularly as Bafana Bafana, has been on a steady path of decline, performing poorly in virtually all major international tournaments and failing to progress beyond the first round. This presents a marked departure from the team's early successes and fervent support when, for instance it had won the 1996 Africa Cup of Nations, also hosted in South Africa. Keenly aware of the importance for the 2010 tournament of a good performance by the national team, South Africa's football authorities have chosen to invest a great deal of resources in the appointment of a national manager, securing first the high-profile Carlos Alberto Parreira, a man who had achieved marked success with the Brazilian national team, and upon his abrupt and untimely resignation in April 2008, the lesser known but equally expensive Brazilian Joel Santana. In October 2009, after a string of losses and only a few months before the start of the World Cup, Santana was dismissed by the South African Football Association and replaced by Parreira. This has not helped to allay the deep-laid cynicism in South Africa about the ability of Bafana Bafana to achieve much success during the 2010 finals. From FIFA's perspective, a poor performance by Bafana Bafana could be potentially damaging for the World Cup as a whole, and the international body made an improvement of the team

one of the principal requirements for the preparation of the event (*The Times* 19 September 2008).

The experience of the German team during the 2006 World Cup shows that home teams should try to influence the type and style of play and the demeanour of their team.

Spaces of Fandom

The approximately 3.3 million spectators in the stadia of the 2006 World Cup benefited not only from the sporting spectacle itself, but also from the 'unique' atmosphere which reigned (Schnibben 2006). 'Atmosphere' can be viewed as the sum total of emotional and interactive expressions of the varied moods of the crowd, conditioned through the individual regulation of state of mind as well as the overt expression of behaviour (Schlicht & Strauß 2003).

In the case of the 2006 World Cup, initially passive spectators became an active and constructive part of the event, 'creating their own experiences' (Brinkbäumer & Kramer 2006). 'Atmosphere' is therefore a phenomenon that needs to be analysed in an interdisciplinary manner, where psychological and sociological aspects play an essential role. In any case, the goal-oriented management strategies that were put into operation at the 2006 World Cup should not be neglected.

The fact that the stadia were occupied to an average of 99.5 per cent of capacity contributed to the creation of the special atmosphere (FIFA 2006). Full-to-capacity stadia were ensured through several key elements of the ticket allocation process. First, the bulk of the tickets had to be ordered and paid for at a time well in advance of the tournament, as the teams which were due to meet were not known. In this way, it was ensured that stadia were sold out not only, for instance, for the games of the German team. Second, the price levels were chosen – in part through subsidies provided by the official sponsors – such that a clear surplus demand was to be expected. For the approximately one million admission tickets that were available for general sale in Germany before the World Cup, around 14.7 million orders were received. This indicated to the organisers that many people had realised that the likelihood for them to attend a World Cup tournament in the future was not very high, and that the uniqueness of the event drove ticket demand (Wann *et al.* 2001).

Incidentally, as a technical point, for the creation of a special atmosphere, it was significant that the majority of the venues were pure football arenas in which spectators were not separated from the pitch by an athletics track. The resulting 'intimacy' can increase the esteem of the spectators (Feddersen & Maennig 2008).

The disappointment that resulted from surplus demand for tickets barely played a role during the World Cup (Schulke 2007) because attractive participation alternatives were available. The comprehensive acquisition of broadcast rights through the public service television companies, as well as RTL, and the transmission of fifty-six of the sixty-four games by free television[6] gave Germans the chance to follow the World Cup almost in its entirety (Gerhard 2006). Eighty-three per cent of Germans saw at least one World Cup game live on television and formed an audience of over 61 million. Eight matches were at any one time followed by more than 20 million television viewers, among them all of the games of the German national team. The semi-final between Germany and Italy had 29.66 million domestic television viewers, and a further 16.4 million people watched the match in places elsewhere than their homes (Gerhard 2006), making the football World Cup the biggest television event in Germany to that date. Of comparable significance were the approximately 2000 public viewing events and the FIFA fan festivals in the twelve venue cities. The official 'Fanmeilen' ('fan miles') alone attracted over 21 million visitors. Pictures of celebrating fans and seas of flags in public places epitomised the 'Germany party' (N.N. 2006). 'Fanmeile' became the German word of the year in 2006.

Public viewing, which first came to prominence at the 2002 World Cup in South Korea and Japan, constituted a new 'culture of viewing', a combination of the two established types of experience of visiting a stadium and watching television (Schulke 2007). The out-of-home media reception served to intensify the emotional aspects of the entertainment and the escape from everyday life, and also enhanced feelings of companionship, group affiliation, and release (Raney 2004). Within large and anonymous groups, intense feelings were experienced: individual identification with the event

[6] The two public-service broadcasters, ARD and ZDF, each broadcast twenty-four matches, while eight matches were shown by the private channel, RTL (Gerhard 2006).

and membership of the group were enhanced through sensory stimulation, emotional activation, as well as the intense focus on what was happening ('de-individualisation') (Herkner 2004). Public viewing offered a production platform with appeal to the public and presented a multitude of possibilities for affecting the collective mood of the crowd as well as extrovert self-expression.

The positive perception and broad acceptance of the FIFA fan festivals may be traced back to a multitude of organisational concepts and production features. The starting point for the popularity with visitors was the central and in many places prominent location of the public viewing areas which, not least through the establishment of official 'fan embassies', functioned as inner-city orientation and meeting points (Schulke 2007). Throughout the duration of the World Cup, the fan festivals symbolised social centres and a kind of modern market place, at which communication, interaction, and human coexistence came to the fore and feelings of community were strengthened (Diehl 2006).

South Africa's World Cup planners were well aware of the potential benefits of public viewing, both as a way to offset spectator surplus demand for scheduled matches, and, taking the example of the 2006 World Cup, for the positive atmosphere public viewing sites could generate. In the build-up to the 2010 World Cup, the sale and distribution of match tickets was somewhat politicised, meshed with wider issues about the possible elite nature of the event and its exclusionary effects on a generally poor domestic football support public. The strong emphasis on the World Cup as an African event (and the fact that one of the principal rationales for the initial World Cup bids was that hosting the tournament by South Africa would help to consolidate a sense of pride among Africans) placed a specific obligation on the LOC to deliver on this promise. But it also related to the organisers' desire to ensure that the tournament will ensure a loyal football support base in the aftermath of the World Cup.

To enable better domestic access to match tickets, the LOC had negotiated with FIFA and MATCH AG that 'cheaper' tickets would be made available exclusively to South African supporters. For its part the LOC committed to absorb additional ticket costs brought through currency fluctuations - through the agreement with FIFA, the price of category 4 tickets had been set at a flat rate. Before the tournament, fearful that in the

general international sale of tickets, few would reach other African countries, the LOC also indicated that it would aim to ensure that tickets were obtainable for the rest of the continent.

The method of ticket distribution for the 2006 World Cup ensured that the composition of stadium spectators was of a generally heterogeneous nature, and this played a major role in the positive spirit which prevailed at matches. While not intended as such, and despite the attempt to enable social groups of diverse means to attend the 2010 matches, there was the possibility that the way in which ticket allocation for the South African hosted tournament was structured, might lead to the perceived and real exclusion of significant portions of the domestic population, which might potentially have stimulated some negative sentiments.

Given this, 2010 organisers were placing emphasis on the importance of public viewing sites modelled on the 'Fanmeilen' of the 2006 World Cup. One of the major challenges for South Africa's planners was how to ensure adequate security arrangements at public viewing areas. In addition, some concerns were raised about how to effectively deal with local fan behaviour and 'fan culture', both within and outside stadia. For example, the 2010 Organising Committee had expressed concern over 'the culture of South African … fans to disregard the principle of reserved seating' at matches (*The Times* 12 December 2008). This latter aspect draws attention to the fact that the cultural contexts of the 2006 and 2010 World Cups were significantly different, a factor which could play a major role in not only the kinds of feel-good effects that are generated at the respective tournaments, but also how feel-good is expressed.

Conclusion

The feel-good effect was among the largest overt effects of the 2006 football World Cup. The effect was so large, that the 2006 World Cup turned into one of the most significant events in Germany. The 2006 World Cup yields some insights for South Africa. First, while feel-good is to a significant extent a spontaneous large-scale psycho-social sentiment that can arise in highly unpredictable circumstances, it is also possible to anticipate and channel its stimulation. As far as the communication and marketing activities of public stakeholders were concerned, the 2006 World Cup was stage-managed less as a sport event than as a superordinate event, by which a country and its

people realised their role as host nation. Through various activities, such as fan festivals, expanded participation opportunities could limit feelings of exclusion from those who did not receive tickets, and/or those who could not afford them. Such reorientation of communication activities would lend itself in particular to countries with more pronounced disparities in incomes, and is an aspect on which South Africa's planners should place more emphasis than had hitherto been the case. Organisational and technical features play an important positive or negative influence in tournament attendees' impressions of an event, but here the cultural and social values of a particular host population can be important. In a country such as Germany, which has among the highest per capita CO_2 emission rates in the world, an emphasis on ecology, both internally and externally, was especially meaningful. In South Africa, where criminality is of considerable significance, special attention to security aspects may prove important.

The (unexpected) success of the home team was an important part of the feel-good effect among the domestic population at the 2006 World Cup. Of comparable significance, however, were the type and style of play and the demeanour of the home team, and favourable domestic media coverage of them during the tournament, which the organisers of the South African World Cup should take into consideration. The off-field presentation of the host team can even partly compensate for a lack of sporting success. In addition, the creation of appropriate – and well secured – sites of fandom was one of the key ingredients for the German World Cup's feel-good effect. While recognised as important, progress with and planning around this aspect for the 2010 World Cup was sluggish before the tournament. Cultural factors and adequate security arrangements were major determinants of the success of public viewing areas during the 2010 finals. However, if planned appropriately, public viewing sites could not only be important means to enable wide sectors of the population to participate in the event, but could also have major social and economic benefits. This holds true, finally for the most significant aspect of feel-good that arose for Germany as a consequence of the 2006 World Cup, which was the prompting of a healthy sense of patriotism, which bore longer-term gains for that country's international tourism image. The stimulation of national pride and national cohesion has a different primary significance for South Africa, where these two factors constitute inputs into the overall political stability of the country. With the

possibility that hosting the 2010 World Cup may present hidden fiscal costs long after the event had come to an end and in this way be a potential source of instability, it will be important to off-set this by emphasising the positive socio-political consequences – such as national fortitude – of the World Cup.

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Living Close to 2010 Stadiums: Residents' Perceptions of the 2010 FIFA World Cup and Stadium Development in Durban, South Africa

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Abstract

The hosting of mega-events can result in a variety of impacts on the communities of the host country/countries. The existing body of research on these events has so far focused on wider economic impacts, with little attention being given to the social impacts of large sporting events on local residents. This study investigates Durban residents' perceptions of the 2010 Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup and the Moses Mabhida Stadium. Using a systematic sampling approach, 100 questionnaires were administered to residents living within 2 km of the stadium. The key findings from the face-to-face interviews conducted revealed that on the whole, South Africans had a positive attitude towards the World Cup; with most believing that South Africa would be ready to host a triumphant mega-event. Residents had high expectations regarding the social and economic impacts of the event, especially in terms of local economic development and the increase in employment opportunities. There were some concerns over increasing noise pollution and traffic congestion during the construction phase of the stadium. Results from the study suggest that respondents' major concerns relating to the World Cup were: crime, increase in the cost of living, and possible increases in rates and taxes after the event. Further analysis demonstrates that despite socio-economic and historical differences, the perceptions of residents towards the World Cup were more

or less similar. It is recommended that further research be undertaken to assess the social impacts of mega-events on host communities, and that more effort be made to involve local residents in the planning of these events.

Keywords: FIFA World Cup, residents' perceptions, Moses Mabhida Stadium

Introduction

Football is a widely played sport and has a huge worldwide following and therefore hosting of a mega-event, such as the 2010 FIFA World Cup, has the potential to attract many foreign investors and tourists to the host nation (Cornelissen 2004a). It is thus these perceived economic benefits, especially with regards to the tourism sector, associated with the football World Cup that plays a major role when countries bid to host an event of such magnitude (Cornelissen 2004b; Pennington & Berndsen 2007). Hosting of this hallmark event in South Africa will not only showcase the nine host cities world-class tourist destinations, but there is also potential for non-host cities to 'maximise their slice of the tourism windfall' (Atkinson 2009:153).

According to Burbank *et al.* (2002:183), mega- or hallmark events are 'large-scale, high profile occurrences of limited duration intended to attract attention and visitors to a host city'. Over the past two decades interest in mega-events has risen significantly with an increasing number of countries bidding to host events such as the Olympics and football World Cup (Cornelissen 2004b). Kim *et al.* (2006) add that these events can have both positive and negative impacts, many of which could be long-term. Some of the main positive impacts include potential increases in economic benefits, increased tourism, greater international awareness and more developmental opportunities (Hall 1992 in Cornelissen 2004b:39; Cornelissen 2004b). Environmental degradation, price hikes, increased tax as well as the huge cost of hosting such an event are some of the negative impacts (Atkinson 2009; Kim *et al.* 2006). Consequently, the key to hosting a successful event is to maximise the positive impacts (Atkinson 2009).

In the case of South Africa, Pennington and Berndsen (2007) regard tourism as the sector which stood to benefit the most during the 2010 World Cup. An estimated 400 000 tourists were expected to descend on the country

for the duration of the event, increasing both the tourism potential of the country and the associated spin-offs of tourism growth, for example, new employment opportunities and improvements to existing infrastructure (Kim *et al.* 2006). South African Tourism (2011) states that 309 000 visitors arrived in South Africa for the sole purpose of attending the 2010World Cup. Regional tourism in non-host areas, as noted by Atkinson (2009), was also hoped to be a possible outcome of this mega-event, especially since FIFA decided to contract non-hotel accommodation, such as national parks, to host tourists and players in 2010, essentially serving as base camps (Pennington and Berndsen 2007). These spill-over effects was expected to allow for widespread economic growth throughout the country (Atkinson 2009:153).

With regards to non-economic impacts of mega-events, Kim and Petrick (2005) note that there is limited research available on this particular subject. Many of the studies, which have focused on the impacts of mega-events on host nations, have tended to disregard social and cultural impacts, and have rather chosen to focus on the more easily quantified, economic impacts. Furthermore, Kim and Petrick (2005) argue that although there have been several studies which have investigated residents' perceptions of mega-events, there is still a distinct lack of research which explores the perceptions of residents with different socio-demographic characteristics. Additionally the authors believe that by examining and understanding residents' perceptions, event organisers and managers can maximise residents' perceived positive impacts and decrease their perceived negative impacts (Kim & Petrick 2005). This is critically important to consider in relation to the hosting of large-scale sporting events.

According to Cornelissen (2004a:1294), 'sport mega-events are rapidly developing into one aspect of the global capitalist structure' and until recently, the majority of these mega-events were held in First World countries. Much of the research surrounding large-scale sporting-events is structured around the economic, social and political circumstances of the developed world and as a result cannot be readily applied to the developing world (Cornelissen 2004b). Although in recent years many African countries have either bid to host or hosted such events, there is still a lack of research and 'analysis of mega-events in the context of the developing world' (Cornelissen 2004b:40). This is especially true with regards to African countries, where the main reasons for hosting hallmark events is the

perceived economic benefits and tourism gains associated with it, yet there exists little research on the probability of their success (Cornelissen 2004b) and the way in which locals experienced the event and their concerns and perceptions.

Of vital importance to the success of a mega-event is local community support and participation (Kim & Petrick 2005; Twynam and Johnston 2004). Although all mega-events have some impact on the community upon which they are held research relating to these events has severely neglected the perceptions and concerns of local residents (Ohmann *et al.* 2006). Furthermore, Bob and Swart (2009) note that with very few exceptions, local residents are not given much chance to raise their own views when the 2010 FIFA World Cup is discussed and debated. Instead their views are raised by a variety of politicians and government officials who claim to speak on behalf of the local community and yet may in fact be serving their own interests (Bob & Swart 2009). Thus, this study seeks to examine the perceptions of Durban residents towards the 2010 FIFA World Cup.

Resident Perceptions and Attitudes

With regards to local resident views and concerns, there is a lack of information regarding resident perceptions of the impacts of mega-events and the change these impacts cause within the community (Kim & Petrick 2005). Additionally, much of the research on mega-events, according to Twynam and Johnston (2004), tend to put a lot of emphasis on the economic aspects of these events and yet pay little attention to other aspects, such as the environmental and social implications of mega-events. These perceptions are difficult to quantify and differ across socio-economic profiles because, according to Kim and Petrick (2005:26), each 'segment has its own social exchange relations with other stakeholders in hosting mega-events'. For example, a vendor may maintain a positive attitude towards the World Cup as he or she views this event as an opportunity to sell products and gain economic benefits. Conversely, a tenant may perceive a mega-event negatively due to the higher rental fee which he or she will have to pay, as a consequence of the increase in rental fees and real estate prices (Kim & Petrick 2005). Thus, Kim and Petrick (2005) believe that in order to gain a

better and more exact understanding of who the real beneficiaries and victims of mega-events are, one needs to understand the perceptions of different socio-demographic groups towards the impacts of mega-events. Furthermore, Twynam and Johnston (2004) assert that although communities may express support for tourism development, many local residents are becoming concerned with its associated inconveniences such as traffic congestion, crime and overcrowding. The negative social and environmental outcomes of mega-events and other tourism development programmes are of some concern to communities as they affect the quality of life of local residents (Twynam & Johnston 2004).

There are a few studies which have examined resident perceptions of mega-events. Two of these include that by Fredline and Faulkner (2002) and Kim and Petrick (2005). The former examined residents' perceptions to the hosting of two motorsport events, the Indy Gold Coast and Australian Formula One. The authors found that residents' perceptions were effected both by their direct experience with the event and their own personal and societal values. Furthermore, although the residents interviewed reacted positively to the mega-event in their community, Fredline and Faulkner (2002) conclude that people within close proximity to where the event was taking place are more likely to be affected and thus due consideration should be given to ensuring that negative impacts of the event are minimised. The study conducted by Kim and Petrick (2005) dealt with residents' perceptions of the 2002 World Cup in Seoul and revealed that people tend to perceive less positive impacts once an event was over as compared to during the event. The authors attribute this change to the fact that over time, local residents become concerned about the large amount of public funds used to host the event. These studies show that resident perceptions of mega-events change over time and people from different socio-economic groups respond to events differently (Swart & Bob 2009).

There are two variables which are used to assist in the explanation of resident perceptions, namely, extrinsic and intrinsic variables. Extrinsic variables refer to factors or impacts which affect the community as a whole whilst those impacts which affect individuals or specific groups in a community are referred to as intrinsic variables (Twynam & Johnston 2004). Accordingly, the former set of variables includes factors such as stage development and seasonality to explain residents' perceptions at the

community level. At the individual level, residents' perceptions are explained by their involvement in tourism and their demographic characteristics (Twynam & Johnston 2004). Thus, according to Hsu (2000:391), the impacts of mega-events will be unique to individual communities due to their history, economic structure, population composition, pre-existing infrastructure, and tourism/gaming development patterns'.

Background and Methodology

This study was conducted within a 2 km radius of the Moses Mabhida stadium, which is located in the city of Durban. Durban is regarded as one of the fastest-growing urban areas in the world, with a population of over 3 million people. It is the third-largest city in South Africa and possesses one of the ten largest ports in the world and is the busiest port in Africa (SA 2010 2008). The economy of Durban comprises various sectors such as the tourism, transportation, finance, manufacturing and government sectors. The city is famous for its moderate climate, beaches, nature reserves, holiday resorts and sporting facilities. In terms of hosting large-scale events in the past, Durban has considerable experience having been a host city of many events. These events include the 1995 Rugby World Cup, 1996 Africa Cup of Nations, 2003 Cricket World Cup and 2006, 2007 and 2008 A1 Grand Prix, together with numerous other smaller scale events (SA 2010 2008; FIFA 2008).

Parts of the following suburbs (components close to the Moses Mabhida Stadium) comprised the study area for this research: Morningside, Windermere, Essenwood and Riverside. Parts of the beachfront and areas immediately adjacent to the stadium were also viewed as part of the study area. These suburbs reflect the Group Areas Act of the Apartheid era, as most of the residents in these areas are Whites and Indians. Furthermore, the majority of residents are middle to high income earners, with many earning more than R38 000 a year (eThekwini 2008a). The study area comprises predominantly formal housing with only 3% of residents living in either informal or traditional homes (eThekwini 2008a). Additionally, these suburbs boast many community facilities, such as schools, libraries and police stations (eThekwini 2008a).

The Moses Mabhida stadium has been promoted as a state-of-the-art stadium which is expected to be a 'hard-working and easy-to-maintain asset for Durban' from which all residents are expected to benefit (eThekwini 2008b). This world-class, multi-functional stadium has been built adjacent to the ABSA stadium, in place of the old Kings Park stadium and was completed in November 2009 (eThekwini 2008b). Maennig and Schwarthoff (2006:124) state that the new stadium and its sporting facilities is intended to represent an 'innovation which should become the centre for sports, culture, and leisure activities, representing a unique world attraction' in the years to come.

A total of 100 residents, living within 2 km of the Moses Mabhida stadium, were interviewed using a systematic sampling approach. This meant that every n^{th} house along a road was selected and willing participants within each household were interviewed. The first household was purposively chosen close to the stadium and then every 20^{th} household was chosen until the desired sample size of 100 was achieved. If the selected household was not available, a neighbouring household was interviewed instead.

The survey comprised of several questions arranged under the headings: resident profile, residents' general understanding of sport-tourism and mega-events, residents awareness of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, residents' interest in football, involvement in 2010 World Cup activities, perceptions and attitudes towards the construction of the stadium and impacts (pre, during and post-event), and perceptions and attitudes of various impacts. Under the latter section, respondents' were asked to rate various statements pertaining to the World Cup and the Moses Mabhida stadium. The rating was based on a 5 point Likert scale which ranged from 1 = Strongly Agree to 5 = Strongly Disagree. The surveys were undertaken in 2009, a year before the event and provides a window into residents' perceptions and concerns prior to the event.

Results

Demographic Characteristics

Analysis of the 100 questionnaires distributed to residents' living within 2 km of the Moses Mabhida stadium revealed that 49% of the respondents

were male and 51% female. The majority of the respondents fell within the 41-50 years age group (40%) followed by the 21-30 years, 31-40 years and 51-60 years age categories, all of which had an equal percentage of 16%.

In terms of the historical racial categories, many of the respondents were Indians (48%), followed by Whites (32%), Africans (14%) and lastly Coloureds (6%). The results are an indication of the fact that many of the suburbs, which formed part of the study area, were previously demarcated as 'White' areas during the apartheid era, and thus the presence of non-White residents may be attributed to the fact that many of them are from middle to upper income backgrounds who have recently relocated into these areas. This statement is confirmed by the fact that 69% of the respondents earn a monthly income of more than R11 000. The average monthly income of the respondents was calculated to be R20 187.50 and ranged from less than R10 000 to R60 000. The high socio-economic status of residents in these suburbs implies a relatively high educational level amongst respondents. With reference to education levels, the majority of the respondents indicated secondary completed (40%), undergraduate degree (21%) and postgraduate degree (20%). Furthermore, many respondents appear to have relatively high paying jobs, that is, professionals (18%), businesspersons (16%), administrators/managers (16%) and sales/marketing (14%).

Residents' Interest in Football

Table 1 illustrates that there was considerable interest in football amongst respondents, with only 8% indicating that they had absolutely no interest in the sport. The majority of respondents (32%) indicated that they were avid fans and always tried to attend or watch football matches on television, while the rest of the respondents revealed that they had some interest in football.

Table 1: Statements that best Summarises Respondent Interest in Football as a Spectator

	Percentage (n=100)
I am an avid fan of the sport and always try to attend or watch it on TV	32

I am interested in the sport and see it when I can	25
I am not particularly interested in the sport, but I enjoy seeing it when it comes to our area	17
I am not interested in the sport but sometimes attend or watch it because family or friends are interested	18
I have no interest in this sport or the associated festivities even when it is held in our area	8

In terms of current attendance at football matches, 58% of respondent indicated that they currently attend matches in Durban. This relatively high percentage further demonstrates respondents' interest in football. More than half of the respondents (57%), only one percent less than current attendance at football matches, indicated that they intend to attend the 2010 Football World Cup matches. Furthermore, cross tabulations (Table 2) between respondents' monthly income and their desire to attend some of the World Cup matches, revealed that this desire was not constrained to higher income groups but there were in fact many people with low monthly incomes who also intended to attend these matches.

Table 2: Cross-tabulation between Residents' Monthly Income and Attendance at World Cup Matches

	Attendance at 2010 matches	
Monthly Income (in Rands)	**Yes**	**No**
None	11%	9%
0 - 10 000	17%	14%
11 000 - 20 000	11%	6%
21 000 - 30 000	4%	4%
31 000 - 40 000	3%	3%
41 000 - 50 000	6%	5%
51 000 - 60 000	5%	2%

Despite the huge interest in attending World Cup matches, the majority of respondents were not willing to pay more than R300 a ticket. The average amount residents were willing to pay was approximately R240. Common reasons cited by 33% of the respondents for not attending any of the 2010

matches were: will not be able to afford to purchase tickets (23%), prefer to watch the game on television (12%) and not interested in football (7%).

The results revealed that 68% of respondents would consider watching matches at dedicated spectator locations on big screens. However, only 23% were willing to pay to watch the tournament at these venues. The amount which people were willing to pay ranged from R10 to R500, with an average of R82. The fan parks and public viewing areas did not have an admission fee during the World Cup and were extremely well attended during the event. For example, in Durban close to a million people attended the event during the duration of the World Cup.

Perceptions of the 2010 World Cup Event and Moses Mabhida Stadium

All respondents were aware of the major sport event that would be taking place in South Africa in 2010 and 98% of the respondents identified this event to be the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Furthermore, 73% of respondents recognised Moses Mabhida to be a legacy stadium.

Involvement in the 2010 World Cup

The majority of the respondents interviewed (59%) saw their involvement limited to that of a spectator only. Sixteen percent indicated that they would like to be involved in income generating events linked to the 2010 World Cup, while only 14% indicated that they would like to be directly employed. A fairly low number of respondents (11%) indicated that they would like to volunteer during the tournament.

Cross-tabulations (refer to Tables 3, 4 and 5) between residents' monthly income and their desire to volunteer at the World Cup, revealed that it was mainly low income earning respondents who hoped to volunteer or be directly employed or involved in income generating opportunities linked to the World Cup. Additionally, the results also reveal that younger respondents were more inclined to volunteer at the World Cup matches in comparison to the older respondents. Despite the interest among some of the residents to be involved directly in World Cup activities few were provided with an

opportunity to do so. The opportunities for income generation and voluntarism were limited.

Table 3: Cross-Tabulation between Residents' Monthly Income and Desire to Volunteer at the World Cup

Monthly Income	Volunteer		
	Yes	No	Uncertain
None	4	14	2
0 - 10 000	6	20	5
11 000 - 20 000	0	15	2
21 000 - 30 000	0	4	4
31 000 - 40 000	0	5	1
41 000 - 50 000	0	6	5
51 000 - 60 000	0	5	2

Table 4: Cross-tabulation between Residents' Monthly Income and Desire to be Directly Employed by the World Cup

Monthly Income	Directly Employed		
	Yes	No	Uncertain
None	2	15	3
0 - 10 000	6	22	3
11 000 - 20 000	2	12	3
21 000 - 30 000	0	5	3
31 000 - 40 000	1	4	1
41 000 - 50 000	1	6	4
51 000 - 60 000	0	5	2

Table 5: Cross-tabulation between Residents' Monthly Income and Desire to be Involved in Income Generating Events Linked to the World Cup

Monthly Income	Income generating events linked to event		
	Yes	No	Uncertain
None	1	18	1
0 - 10 000	8	19	4
11 000 - 20 000	2	11	4

21 000 - 30 000	1	4	3
31 000 - 40 000	2	4	0
41 000 - 50 000	0	8	3
51 000 - 60 000	0	3	4

Sixty nine percent of the respondents indicated that they would like to be updated on stadium developments in their area. A preference for a wide variety of communication types was indicated by respondents. The top three were television (25%), newspapers (33%) and Short Message Service (SMS) (25%). According to Bob and Swart (2009), event organisers of large-scale events should consider a range of communication strategies and present information in a style that is easily understood by local residents. The majority of the respondents (52%) forwarded suggestions for improving the communication relating to the 2010 event. These included putting up informative billboards and distributing flyers at various locations, such as intersections, petrol stations and gyms. The results reveal that residents expressed a desire to be informed about activities related to the event and the stadium. Involving locals and providing them with sufficient information is critical to ensure community buy-in.

Impact of Stadium and 2010 Event on Local Residents

Slightly more than half of the respondents (55%) indicated that as of the time of the interview they had not been impacted upon by the construction of the stadium. This suggests that to a large extent the construction of the stadium was well managed to minimise disruptions to local residents. The construction was almost complete during the time of the interviews with the focus being more on beautification and landscaping. The other 45% of respondents listed the following impacts: noise, overcrowding and traffic congestion. Suggestions to address these problems mainly revolved around employing more traffic officers and putting up more road signs. Many residents (66%) believed the stadium to be a positive outcome of the World Cup, while others raised concerns that after the event the stadium will become a ‘white elephant’. However, 52% of respondents did indicate that they would use the stadium in the future for a variety of sporting activities.

This suggests that almost half of the respondents perceived the stadium to be an asset in the community and indicated their desire to use the facilities. It remains to be seen whether local residents will be able to access the facilities on a regular basis. Currently, locals utilise the public space outside the stadium to run, walk, bicycle, etc. Access to facilities inside the stadium is controlled.

In order to determine the perceptions of local residents to the 2010 event, the Likert scale was used. Table 6 summarises the main findings relating to the perceived impacts of the 2010 event on local residents.

The majority of the respondents agreed (50%) and strongly agreed (20%) with the statement 'South Africa will attain a legendary sports event and achieve a legacy' indicating that respondents felt positively both about South Africa hosting the 2010 World Cup and the event having a legacy. This positive attitude towards South Africa hosting the World Cup can be attributed to the fact that many of the respondents interviewed expressed a great deal of interest in football, both as a spectator and participant. According to Twynam and Johnston (2004:242), event support most likely relates more to a 'community's attachment' to a particular sport rather than their interest in hosting the mega-event. This sentiment is certainly reflected in this study's findings.

However, many respondents also felt the 2010 World Cup event will result in a delay of basic services in the poor areas and that too much public money will be spent on the event that could have been spent on other activities. This feeling amongst residents was similar to those expressed by local residents interviewed after the 2002 World Cup (Kim & Petrick 2005). The authors found that many residents were concerned about the large amounts of public funds that were used for the mega-event.

With regards to the economic impact of this mega-event, respondents were generally positive with the majority (69%) indicating that jobs will increase. Seventy percent of respondents also agreed and strongly agreed that 'businesses will increase their sales and their profits' as a result of the 2010 event. These results indicate that the vast majority of residents interviewed believe that hosting of the 2010 World Cup will result in economic benefits on both the national and local level. Although Grant Thornton predicted that 159 000 jobs will be created as a result of this World Cup, this statement has been heavily criticised by Swinnen and Vandemoortele (2008) who believe

this number to be overestimated. Thus it would appear that although local residents have high economic expectations regarding the World Cup, some researchers do not believe that these expectations would be or were met.

The positive attitude maintained by local residents towards the economic impacts also extends to the community impacts as well. Most of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed with most of the statements made regarding community benefits. Sixty four percent felt that the 'standard of living for communities located close to the stadium will increase as a result of the stadium being built in the area for the 2010 event', while 62% supported the statement 'the event will stimulate training and skills development for members of the community where events are held'. In addition, 59% of respondents felt that 'the community will benefit directly from the 2010 event'. Thus, it can be concluded that many local residents believed that both the 2010 event and stadium development will result in many community benefits. However, it is important to note that although respondents believe that this mega-event will impact positively on the community, the majority (62%) of respondents feel that 'only some members of the community will benefit from the 2010 event/ the 2010 event will increase social inequity'. Thus, the residents echoed concerns raised by researchers regarding the extent of the benefits and who are most likely to benefit from the 2010 World Cup (Bob & Swart 2009; Pillay & Bass 2008).

In terms of the inconveniences which were expected to arise as a consequence of South Africa hosting the World Cup, the results revealed that local residents were concerned about possible disruptions. Eighty seven percent of the residents interviewed agreed and strongly agreed with the statement 'the 2010 event will disrupt the lives of local residents and create inconvenience'. Furthermore, the majority of the residents (85%) were also concerned about traffic congestion and parking difficulties as well as the excessive noise (69%) which the event was expected to create. The most significant concern seems to that of crime, with 90% of the respondents agreeing and strongly agreeing with the statement 'criminal activities will occur'. In addition, 82% of the respondents indicated that the cost of living will increase in host cities.

Table 6: Respondents' Level of Agreement with Regards to Key Impacts of the World Cup

Impacts	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
NATIONAL					
South Africa will attain a legendary sports event and achieve a legacy	20	50	16	11	3
There will be a delay of basic services in the poor areas	41	46	12	1	0
PUBLIC MONEY					
Too much money will be spent on the 2010 event that could be spent on other activities	39	29	12	18	2
ECONOMIC BENEFIITS					
Jobs will increase	30	39	12	14	5
The businesses will increases their sales and their profits	31	39	13	13	4
COMMUNITY BENEFITS					
The standard of living for communities located close to the stadia will increase as a result of the stadium being built in the area for the 2010 event.	20	44	23	10	3
The event will stimulate training and skills development for members of the community where events are held.	19	43	30	7	1
The community will benefit directly from the 2010 event	25	34	26	13	2
Only some members of the community will benefit from the 2010 event/ the 2010 event will increase social inequity	19	43	23	12	3
DISRUPTION TO LOCAL RESIDENTS					
Disruption to local residents- the 2010 event will disrupt the lives of local residents and create inconvenience.	45	32	15	7	1

There will be many inconveniences such as traffic congestion and parking difficulties.	31	54	6	7	2
The 2010 event will create excessive noise in the community	33	36	20	10	1
Criminal activities will occur	49	41	1	6	3

PRICE					
During the 2010 event period, the overall cost of living will increase around the stadia locations and host cities.	32	50	9	7	2

Residents' Views of Benefits of the World Cup

Although in previous sections it was found that many of the residents displayed positive views towards the World Cup, when asked about how long they thought the benefits of this event will last, 44% indicated that they thought the benefits would be mostly short-term. Only 8% of respondents thought the World Cup would have long-term benefits for South Africa. A further 20% of the respondents indicated they were not sure of the length of the benefits, while 28% felt that the benefits would be medium-term.

In terms of whom the residents perceived will benefit the most from the World Cup, the majority of the respondents (48%) indicated that they felt the 'wealthy and rich' stood to benefit the most from the World Cup followed by 'businesses' and 'people living in towns and cities', both of which were indicated by 17% of the respondents. It appears that the majority of the people interviewed felt that only people who lived within close proximity of the stadium (where the mega-event took place) stood to benefit. These results are in line with the findings by Fredline and Faulkner (2002), who in their study also concluded that proximity to an event plays an important role when understanding the impacts of mega-events.

On the other hand, the following beneficiaries: no one, everyone and people directly involved in the construction/ management of the stadium, were each indicated by one person only. Thus although many of the legacy programmes for the 2010 FIFA World Cup promoted widespread benefits for all, it appears that some local residents were of the opinion that only selected groups of people can take advantage of South Africa hosting this mega-event

and that proximity and accessibility to the event were regarded as critical factors in deciding who the real beneficiaries of the World Cup was expected to be.

Concerns and Recommendations Relating to South Africa Hosting the World Cup

In relation to South Africa hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup, residents were asked to answer the following question: what are you most concerned about South Africa hosting the 2010 event? Table 7 illustrates some of the most common responses by the respondents. It appears that the main concern the majority of local residents (40%) had is the issue of crime together with increases in other illegal activities, such as drug abuse (13%), prostitution (14%) and gangsterism and hooliganism (16%). This was followed by concerns over the increase in various commodities as well as the cost of living, with nine people mentioning that these increases would likely impact negatively on the poorer members of the community, who unfortunately will be the most likely to suffer during the World Cup. Thus, although local residents were concerned about the economic impacts of this mega-event on their local community, it is evident that the majority of respondents were more concerned about the social impacts, further reinforcing the views of researchers such as Burbank *et al.* (2002) and Chalip (2006) who promote and recognise the need to understand and consider the social impacts of mega-events on host communities.

Table 7: Residents' Main Concerns Relating to South Africa Hosting the World Cup: Multiple Responses

	Percentage (n=100)
Crime/organised crime/ robberies	40%
Increases in rates, taxes, petrol, taxi and bus fare, rent, the price of houses and food	24%
Cost of living will increase	16%
Gangsterism/ hooliganism	16%
Traffic congestion, overcrowding	15%
Prostitution	14%

Drug abuse/dealing/peddling will become a problem	13%
Xenophobia	12%
Too much public money used for stadia	12%
Alcoholism	12%

Another issue which the respondents were worried about was that of the use of public funds for stadium construction. Twelve percent of the residents interviewed felt that too much public money was spent on the stadiums and a few respondents mentioned that the money should rather have been used for improving existing and/or building more hospitals and schools. Furthermore, two respondents questioned the sustainability of the stadium, believing that after the 2010 FIFA World Cup the stadiums would become 'white elephants'. However, despite this negative view 52% of respondents did indicate that they would use the stadium for various purposes after the mega-event as indicated earlier. These activities included jogging, football, rugby and sprinting. Several respondents also indicated that the stadium should be used to host music concerts and fundraising events.

In terms of residents' recommendations, it appears that most of these revolved around implementing more and stricter security measures in order to ensure that crime was kept under control during the event as indicated by 7% of the respondents. Specific recommendations included the need to employ more police (33%) and increase and tighten security in all areas (20%). Crime was indeed a very sensitive and worrying concern for many residents with three respondents suggesting that the country employ more drastic measures for dealing with this issue, such as bringing back the death penalty. Crime remains a serious concern among South Africans. During the World Cup it was clear that security measures were increased and these were generally extremely successful. The recommendations by residents were not only confined to dealing with crime but respondents proposed methods for solving disruptions to the local community. These included increasing the number of traffic officers in the area so as to effectively control traffic congestion (9%), restricting the number of buses and/or taxis to the area (6%), improving or rather developing a good transport system (2%) and some respondents even suggested that a road be allocated for local resident use only (3%).

Respondents also put forward several general suggestions regarding the World Cup and stadium construction. One of the key suggestions to be taken note of is that 13% of the respondents indicated that they would like to be informed about the benefits associated with the World Cup, thereby implying that many local residents are confused as to how the World Cup will actually benefit the local community directly. Additionally, other respondents again stressed the need to ensure that strict security measures are put into place not only for this mega-event but all year round as well. Some respondents (13%) were also of the opinion that due to the inconveniences which stadium construction had created, local residents should be given complimentary tickets as compensation. They highlighted that this should be the case for other events as well since a major concern among the respondents were disruptions to local residents every time an event is held in the stadium. With regards to stadium use, 4% of respondents felt that the stadia should be used for events after the World Cup and additionally they felt that people need to be informed about access to the facilities.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The majority of the respondents expressed a high degree of expectation regarding both economic and social benefits. A key finding of this study was that local residents were more concerned with social impacts in comparison to economic impacts. This trend amongst the respondents is not uncommon as researchers such as Kim and Petrick (2005) and Chalip (2006) also alluded to this conclusion in their studies.

With regards to local residents' expectations, Swart and Bob (2009) underscore the importance of promoting realistic expectations. The authors note that it is unlikely that mega-events (and large-scale events generally) will result in widespread economic and social benefits as anticipated, especially given the fact that mega-events are essentially controlled by outside forces, such as FIFA. Thus it is important that local communities be informed about the exact nature of the benefits which they can expect, especially in relation to job creation, disruptions and opportunities to participate. This problem of unrealistic expectations may be a by-product of incorrect economic impact assessments of mega-events. For example, the Grant Thornton (2003) economic impact assessment of the 2010 World Cup

has been heavily criticised by authors like Swinnen and Vandemoortele (2008) who found that Grant Thornton overestimated economic benefits and underestimated costs.

With regards to the major concerns respondents had towards the World Cup, these revolved mainly around issues of crime, increases in the cost of goods and services and the inconveniences which have been created by stadium development in the local community. The issue of crime appears to be one of great importance, however, this concern is not only constrained to this mega-event but extends to people's everyday lives as well. It is evident therefore that drastic measures are needed to ensure that this issue as well as the others are addressed in South Africa. Kim *et al.* (2006) assert that should authorities neglect issues and concerns of local residents, they stand to lose valuable community support, which Kim and Petrick (2005) state can have several negative consequences for tourism development. Additionally, future mega-events may not be well supported by local residents and they may protest about the fact that their tax money is being spent on building new facilities for an event which they do not fully support (Kim *et al.* 2006). This view is supported by Pennington-Gray and Holdnak (2002) who found that a community may not always be willing to support a mega-event if they feel that they have to subsidise the event and yet do not experience any benefits. Kim *et al.* (2006) add that this may push governments to spend less money on the event, resulting in inadequate facilities and thus serving to worsen the image of the country.

With regards to the concern of public expenditure on the infrastructure needed for mega-events, Kim *et al.* (2006) believe that it is important for government, prior to the event, to provide people with information as to how these infrastructures will be utilised once the event is completed. An example is how football stadiums can be used is to create spaces for more sporting codes to use the facilities, especially amateur sports that local residents participate in. This will result in residents viewing the facility as a community asset and they will be less likely to resent the facility. Other community events could also be permitted and community members, as indicated by the respondents themselves, could be allocated tickets for major events either at discounted rates or on a complementary basis.

Other concerns which were raised by local residents were in reference to the disruptions which were likely to arise during the

construction phase and World Cup as well as when other events took place in the stadium after the event. Residents located closer to the stadium were particularly concerned. These included traffic congestion, overcrowding and parking difficulties. Additionally, illegal activities such as drug peddling and abuse, prostitution, hooliganism and gangsterism were also issues which were of concern to some of the local residents together with increases in rates, taxes and the cost of living.

The suggestions and recommendations by local residents focused mainly on addressing their safety and security concerns. Of importance to respondents was the need to employ more policemen and ensure that security was stringent and visible throughout the year rather than just at the mega-event. Inconveniences, such as traffic congestion which appeared to be another common problem, was recommended by respondents to be addressed through the employment of more traffic officers as well as the development of effective transport plans. Also, in relation to their concerns, many respondents felt that local residents should be kept informed about developments regarding the World Cup and stadium construction in their area together with the benefits which this event would have for them. This was also relevant post the event in relation to other developments and events in the area. Bob and Swart (2009) stress the need for both government officials and event organisers to carefully consider appropriate communication strategies together with consultation mechanisms so as to keep local people informed about issues relating to events and facilities.

The results of the study together with the literature reviewed highlighted the need and importance of both considering and doing research on local residents' perceptions of mega-events. The timeframe of such research is an important matter to consider as it is often found that perceptions change over time (Twynam & Johnston 2004). There exists relatively more studies on residents' perceptions before an event than after the event and it is thus the opinion of many authors that more residents' perceptions need to be undertaken some time after an event. The main reason for this is that mega-events have long-term effects on host communities and as a result the survey will not yield completely accurate results if conducted immediately after an event (Kim *et al.* 2006; Twynam & Johnston 2004). Thus, it is recommended that more research is conducted after a mega-event has taken place. However, future research should take into account the fact

that perceptions and attitudes change over time and therefore in order to gain an understanding of the long term impacts of an event, researchers need to carefully consider the appropriate time to conduct the research. It would be important to undertake a similar study a year after the 2010 World Cup event to assess resident perceptions in comparison to views expressed prior to the hosting of the event.

More research on local residents' perceptions will not only further our understanding of how local communities feel about mega-events, but will also help to understand the concerns and factors which contribute to the way people feel about mega-events (Twynam & Johnston 2004). Furthermore, Twynam and Johnston (2004) state that the many different impacts of mega-events have several implications for the quality of life of people within the local community which should receive due consideration. Understanding of these impacts and implications are especially important when countries decide to host future events, as it provides event organisers with an estimate of the amount of community support the event is likely to receive and whether or not this type of event is appropriate for this location (Twynam & Johnston 2004).

This study has reiterated the need to consider and understand local residents' perceptions of mega-events. It is the view of many authors, such as Kim and Petrick (2005) and Swart and Bob (2009), that event organisers should allocate resources to understand and address the many complexities of local residents thereby increasing perceived positive impacts and reducing perceived negative impacts. Furthermore, Smith and Fox (2007) state that in order to achieve a successful event, there has to be effective participation between all stakeholders, that is, government, local residents, event organisers and regeneration agencies. This is especially vital for a country like South Africa who, according to Swart and Bob (2009:129), is still struggling with the 'challenges of transformation', and as a result the neglect of local residents' perceptions of the FIFA World Cup may serve to actually increase tensions amongst communities. Thus, it is imperative that effective communication strategies and communication mechanisms are established so as to inform local residents about issues relating to the hosting of large-scale events. More importantly, these strategies and mechanisms should be used to promote realistic expectations amongst local residents (Bob & Swart 2009; Kim & Petrick 2005; Swart & Bob 2009).

South Africa has, it is commonly accepted, hosted a successful FIFA World Cup. In particular several of the fears expressed by the respondents were unfounded, especially in relation to security concerns. However, a challenge is whether the level of security attained during the World Cup can be sustained post the event. An interesting research component, as indicated earlier, is to examine and compare resident perceptions post the event. However, this research is useful to incorporate residents' concerns and perceptions in relation to the hosting of mega-events.

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Residents' Perceptions of the 2010 FIFA World Cup: A Case Study of a Suburb in Cape Town, South Africa

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Abstract

Sport tourism events have grown in prominence globally. Governments increasingly include these activities into their development strategies. Notably, there are benefits and costs to host destinations. The 2010 Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup presents South Africa with tangible and intangible impacts. Residents' perception studies on sport event impacts are limited and it is further recognised that those living closest to the stadium are most impacted by the development. This study investigated Green Point residents' perceptions of the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the impacts of the Green Point Stadium (now named Cape Town Stadium), especially given the contentious nature of the selection of the competition venue for the City of Cape Town. A spatially based stratified random sampling method was used to interview 344 residents living within one kilometre of the Stadium. The findings reveal that while the location of the stadium remains a contentious issue with some of the respondents, a large majority of residents are in favour of the chosen stadium site in Green Point. Residents also expressed their support for the event but indicated various levels of participation. They also generally have positive perceptions and attitudes toward the 2010 FIFA World Cup but highlighted concerns in relation the negative environmental impacts of the event, social concerns with respect to inconveniences related to traffic congestion and crime and social inequities. It is concluded that the purported macro-

economic and social costs and benefits seem to override concerns expressed at a local level. It is therefore recommended that these concerns be addressed through more democratic planning processes to reduce the negative impacts and enhance the potential benefits.

Keywords: 2010 FIFA World Cup, sport tourism, mega-events, impacts

Introduction

Sport tourism events are globally significant in terms of their ability to generate popular appeal and this strategy is used by communities to attract investment (Turco *et al.* 2002:73). Hiller (1998:47) notes that bidding and hosting sport mega-events is linked to the economic benefits from these events. Jones (2001:241) and Turco *et al*. (2003:223) confirm that mega-events contribute significantly to economic development but also emphasises its increasing importance in the development of tourism. On the other hand, Andranovich *et al.* (2001:114) emphasise the importance of national and international media attention for the host city derived from hosting these sport events.

South Africa in comparison with other African countries has aggressively promoted itself as a host destination for major international sport events (Cornelissen 2005:138). Cornelissen adds that this emphasises the country's ambitions around sport mega-events and sporting events in the context of its wider internationally focussed tourism and other urban development programmes. According to Kotze (2006:291) and Pillay *et al.* (2008:1), South Africa successfully hosted the 1995 Rugby World Cup, the 1996 African Cup of Nations and the 2003 Cricket World Cup which helped create a new image and identity for the country, reflecting a new post-apartheid society further amplifying its reputation as a 'rainbow nation'. The successful hosting of these events helped leverage the country's position in bidding and hosting of other major sport events.

Pillay and Bass (2009:77) note that a very comprehensive and well grounded plan emerged in the bid phase for the 2010 FIFA World Cup, laying the foundation for a truly meaningful development agenda. Furthermore, the mega-event presented the nation with the ideal opportunity

to give the country's urban development agenda increased momentum (Pillay & Bass 2009:79). Cornelissen (2005:144) confirms that the bid was underpinned by economic and developmental objectives in conjunction with goals of reconciliation and nation building. As a result of its robust attempt to position itself in the international mega-events arena (Cornelissen, 2005:138), South Africa won the right to host the first FIFA World Cup which was held on the African continent from 11 June to 11 July 2010 utilising ten stadiums in nine cities around the country.

Several authors (Turco *et al.* 2002:158; Kim & Petrick 2005:27; Kim *et al.* 2006:89; Fredline 2008:393) confirm that although there are number of studies that have been conducted on residents' perceptions of tourism developments, there is a lack of research investigating the responses of residents in perceiving the impacts of mega-events. Moreover, Turco *et al.* (2002:158) indicate that few impact studies have specifically investigated residents' attitudes towards sport tourism events in their community. Pillay and Bass (2009:81) suggest that public perceptions with regard to a range of issues need to be constantly measured and analysed to directly inform the part of the development agenda that speak about the benefits that could potentially accrue.

The aim of this article is to provide an understanding of Green Point residents' perceptions of and attitudes towards the 2010 FIFA World Cup, especially given the contentious nature of the selection of the competition venue in Cape Town. The objectives were firstly, to assess residents' perceptions about the location of the Green Point Stadium. It must be noted that the Green Point Stadium was subsequently renamed to Cape Town Stadium by the City of Cape Town (CoCT) after the study was conducted (CoCT 2009a). Therefore, reference will be made to Green Point Stadium throughout the article. The second objective is to explore the level of support of residents for the 2010 FIFA World Cup; and finally, to evaluate the residents' perceptions of and attitudes toward the mega-event.

The Impacts of Sport Tourism Events

Kurtzman (2005:49) notes that sport tourism includes six supply-side tourism categories: events, resorts, cruises, attractions, adventures, and tours. Mega-events are located within the events category and are defined 'in terms of the

number of visitors, length of the event and/or the degree of presence or absence of touristic developments' (Kim *et al.* 2006:86). Fredline (2004:156) indicates that understanding the potential impacts of events and how these may affect the quality of life of residents is a fundamental part of sport event planning and management processes. However, they often tend to be overlooked in the bidding and hosting phases of a mega-event. The next section will briefly highlight the benefits and costs associated with hosting sport tourism events.

The Benefits of Hosting Sport Mega-events

The touted benefits of major sport events for a host destination are wide ranging (Black 2007:261). Andranovich *et al.* (2001:114) indicate that mega-events allow cities to focus on economic development and attention for gain. Tassiopoulos and Haydam (2008:870) add that sport tourism events are recognised as powerful forces for development, stimulating investment in infrastructure projects which can be enjoyed by both the local population and tourists alike. According to Feng (2008:125), city officials generally use similar motivations for investing in sport facilities. Feng adds that these claims usually revolve around substantial economic impacts such as income increases, job creation, and tax-revenue increases. Rosentraub (2008:66) confirms that the potential exists for new sport facilities to be developed which in turn generate important benefits for governments and residents in the long-term. Both Black (2007:261) and Tomlinson (2009:100) add that the anticipated benefits of mega-events for host cities also include unrivalled 'place promotion' opportunities, re-imaging of the city, creating awareness and branding of the city, aimed at expanding investments, tourism, and not least the ability to attract future events.

Swart and Bob (2007:37) note that the FIFA World Cup has numerous benefits. They state that in addition to leaving a lasting legacy for the hosts through the development of international standard sporting facilities and related infrastructure upgrades, the hosting of this event provides a country and city high profile promotion of their products and services which is given global exposure. Lee *et al.* (2005:840) confirm that the FIFA World Cup not only increases tourism receipts, income and

employment; it also raises awareness and knowledge of the country or region involved.

Chalip (2006:112) argues that events offer more than just economic value, the energy, excitement and togetherness of community increases its appeal, making it attractive to host and to attend. Haferburg *et al.* (2009:195) note that public viewing areas (PVAs) contribute to social interaction and cohesion, enhancing the social experience by hosts and guests. In addition, PVAs create a myriad of business opportunities for the local residents (Haferburg *et al.* 2009:195; Saayman and Rossouw 2008:4).

Pillay and Bass (2009:79) noted that that the South African government recognised urban development and renewal as a key national imperative, stating that this has gained momentum and has become critical as a result of hosting the World Cup in 2010. In addition, it will improve intangible benefits like national pride and more than likely nurture a true South African identity. The event in essence gives the country a unique opportunity to fast-track urban development, while also providing the prospect of reconstructing underdeveloped and peripheral areas around South Africa (Pillay & Bass 2009:80). However, Collins *et al.* (2007:459) indicate that any benefits of hosting sports events are likely to be a series of 'costs' that are rarely considered in ex-ante or ex-post economic assessments. The negative costs of mega-events will be examined next.

The Costs of Hosting Sport Mega-events

Gursoy and Kendall (2006:608) and Kim *et al.* (2006:88) indicate that host communities, political leaders and organisers frequently ignore the negative impacts and glorify the expected benefits. Cornelissen (2005:149) suggests that mega-events produce varied, often negative economic outcomes and that they are costly affairs, the opportunity costs related to them need to be queried when they are too high, especially for developing countries. This assessment becomes more pertinent in the context of Africa. Kim and Petrick (2005:25) add that economic cost impacts of sport tourism events include price inflation for tourism goods and services, opportunity and substitution costs. In addition, increases in crime, environmental degradation, and disruption of resident's lifestyles and patterns may also yield economic costs. Turco *et al.* (2002:56) state that quantifying some of these impacts into

economic terms is difficult and that difficulty may be one reason why they are typically ignored.

Haruo and Toshio (2002:183) indicate that residents often raise concerns about the negative aspects of sport mega-events such as the absence of a long-term operational plan for the new sport facilities; the burden of a long and heavy financial debt on local taxpayers. Pillay and Bass (2009:87) argue that infrastructure provision does not benefit the local residents because it is often not extensively used after the event. In addition, improvements in transport, infrastructure, service provision and the quality of urban fabric, will be highly centralised and benefits for marginal urban, rural areas and non-host cities will be limited.

Horne (2007:89) indicates that the impact of mega-events on employment should be treated with caution. Pillay and Bass (2009:76) add that while there may be low and intermediate-skilled job creation opportunities in the construction and built environment sectors ahead of the 2010 World Cup, these are likely to be mostly short-term and/or temporary employment opportunities involving a limited number of people.

Sporting events potentially attract criminals who engage in criminal activities as a result of the temporal and spatial opportunities for tourism-related crime which is enhanced during the hosting of the event (Barker 2004:175-179). In addition, other common nuisances that have a widespread impact on the local community by event visitors may be related to public drunkenness, disorderly conduct, vandalism and hooliganism (Barker 2004:175-179).

Residents' Reactions to Sport Tourism Events

Kim *et al.* (2006:87) state that several factors affect the way residents evaluate the rewards of hosting a mega-event in relation to the costs before hosting the event. They further note that social exchange theory suggests that local residents are likely to form perceptions which are likely to differ based on the expected value of the exchange before the actual exchange occurs. The social representation theory asserts that local residents are likely to form their own preconceptions and images that based on each individual's value system and experiences. Consequently several authors (Kim & Petrick 2005:28; Kim *et al.* 2006:89 and Ohmann *et al.* 2006:130) state that

measuring perceptions of mega-events often lack credibility and objectivity due to varying residents' views, nevertheless it is critical to assess their attitudes towards the potential impacts.

A longitudinal study by Kim *et al.* (2006:93) concerning the impact of the 2002 FIFA World Cup revealed that residents' perceptions changed over time. While residents had high expectations of economic and cultural benefits, these were lower than anticipated; and the economic benefits in particular were a disappointment. In addition, concerns regarding vandalism, prostitution and crime and increases in property prices as well as goods and services were much less than residents expected. Traffic congestion appeared to be the largest problem during the event however it was managed better than residents expected.

A study by Ohmann *et al.* (2006:129) on the perceived social impacts of the 2006 FIFA World Cup on residents of Munich revealed that the impacts were mainly perceived to be positive in terms urban regeneration, increased sense of security, positive fan behaviour and the general atmosphere surrounding the event. They also note that fewer residents perceived negative impacts related to increased crime, prostitution and displacement of local residents.

It is further stressed that while there are a range of factors that contribute to residents reactions to sport events, it is important to understand what influences these responses (Fredline 2004:155). Fredline (2004:166) adds that people living closer to the event may have different reactions to those living away further away. Fredline notes that residents living close to these events are subject to localised impacts such as noise, traffic and parking and access restrictions to a larger extent than those residents that reside further away from the event location. Swart and Bob (2009:123) confirm and agree that residents of host localities, more especially those that reside close to the event are stakeholders that are directly impacted by these events.

Pillay *et al.* (2008:1) indicate in their findings of a longitudinal survey on South Africans attitudes towards the 2010 World Cup that people consistently perceive there to be benefits from hosting this mega-event. These benefits include economic growth, job creation, profiling South Africa and increased tourism.

Turco *et al.* (2002:1) indicate that hosting sport mega-events come with a huge degree of importance and prestige and this often leads to fast tracking the planning and development often ignoring community resistance to hosting the event or the construction of associated infrastructure. Fredline (2004:155) cautions that residents' may engage stakeholders in several ways in order to stop or delay the event by taking legal action, form protest groups or even vote against public officials who support the event if they are not consulted or included in the process. The newly built Green Point Stadium is a case in point and is further elaborated upon in the next section.

Hosting the FIFA World Cup – Cape Town, Western Cape

Green Point Stadium was the designated competition venue in the CoCT (CoCT 2008a). The CoCT indicated that hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup gives the city a unique opportunity to improve its infrastructure by taking advantage of funds made available nationally for these 2010 related projects which include new stadiums, transport and other upgrades. In addition, the event presents a platform to market Cape Town and the Western Cape to the world thereby creating a more desirable destination for leisure, business and its residents. The City further indicated that hosting this mega-event will leave the country and the region with a lasting legacy through tangible and intangible benefits (CoCT 2008a). However, the stadium location was highly contested in the initial stages of development as outlined next (CoCT 2008b).

Choosing a Location: The Green Point Stadium Debate

Cape Town's initial competition venue was changed from Newlands Stadium to Athlone Stadium in 2004 by the City Council and the Western Cape provincial government (Alegi 2004:318). Several authors (Alegi 2004:318; Cornelissen 2007:251; Western Cape Government & CoCT 2007:7) note that the change from Newlands Stadium to Athlone Stadium would bring much needed social development opportunities to the area from the 2010 World Cup.

FIFA was approached to consider the change from Newlands Stadium to Athlone Stadium, which was agreed to in principle but was

subject to a site inspection (Western Cape Government & CoCT 2007:7-8). Green Point Stadium was initially proposed to be a training venue. However, FIFA was not willing to consider Athlone as an option after its inspection, moreover the organisation was surprised that Green Point was not put forward as the competition venue. FIFA noted that it was a prime location to showcase the city, South Africa and the continent through the event (Western Cape Government & CoCT 2007:7).

It must be mentioned that after lengthy venue selection disagreements in Cape Town, FIFA expressed preference for the Green Point Stadium even though the site was not initially identified by bid promoters (Cornelissen 2007:250). Green Point was eventually chosen as the official competition venue for the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Cape Town while Athlone Stadium was chosen as a training venue, leaving the city with a long-term benefit in the form of a key legacy that emerged from the event (Bob & Swart 2009:50).

Adding to the venue selection delay, Detlinger (2007:1) reported that the CoCT received notification of objection to building the stadium in Green Point from residents living in Green Point, Sea Point and Mouille Point during the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) process undertaken by Provincial Government. Notably, the strongest opposition came from Cape Town Environmental Protection Association (CEPA) which staged protests and initiated court actions to prevent the CoCT from building the stadium in Green Point (CoCT 2008b). According to the City's 2010 World Cup spokesperson, Pieter Cronje (as cited in Detlinger 2007:1), the objections centred around the stadium being built in the area, while other concerns raised were noted as traffic congestion and disruption, noise, the attraction of anti-social elements, the impact on property values and increasing rates bills, cost overruns and escalations. Further concerns highlighted by residents which were noted by the city included questions surrounding the sustainability of the stadium and the stadium not being completed on time for the event, hence becoming a 'coliseum' (CoCT 2008b).

The Western Cape government (Cape Gateway 2008) argued that this was the best location for the stadium and a prolonged delay meant that the Western Cape would lose out on the benefits of hosting some World Cup matches in the city. However, after a number of legal confrontations with the City, the group finally agreed and reached a so called 'compromise scenario'

to the building of the stadium at this site and the Green Point Common Association was given a say in the management of the urban park planned around the stadium precinct (CoCT 2008b; Detlinger, 2007).

Methodology

The suburb of Green Point is located at the foot of Signal Hill, a geographically significant landmark in Cape Town. It is situated approximately two to three kilometres northwest from the city centre. Green Point together with Three Anchor Bay and Sea Point form part of Ward 54 (City of Cape Town 2009b:3).

The questionnaire used to assess residents' perceptions was based on the survey instrument that was developed by Fredline and Faulkner (2002) and Fredline (2004) and was modified and adapted to suit the South African context. Questions focused on the location of the stadium, event support in terms of participation and perceptions and attitudes toward the event.

The target population of the study was Green Point residents that resided within one kilometre of the Green Point Stadium. Interviewer completed surveys were conducted between June and July 2009 using a spatially based stratified random sampling method. The targeted sample size of respondents was 346 and the actual response rate was 344 respondents. Residents were interviewed in homes and flats situated on both sides of the street. The Statistical Packages for Social Sciences (SPSS) software was used to analyse the data.

Findings, Data Analysis and Discussion

This section sets out the findings, analysis and discussion of the responses of residents from the primary data collected. Tables are used to present the findings.

Demographic Profile of Respondents

A demographic profile of respondents reveals that 54.7% were male while 45.3% were female (Table 1). Historically, Green Point was a White

residential suburb (Bob & Swart 2009:50), which is clearly reflected in the historical racial classification. The results indicate that more than half of the respondents were White (53%) and the rest were African (26.7%), Coloured (17.7%) and Indian (2.6%) (Table 1).

The age of respondents interviewed ranged from 19 years to 85 years. The average age of the respondents was 40.7 years. More than 67.1% of the respondents had post-school qualifications, with the majority possessing certificates/diplomas (31.7%). In terms of the respondents employment status, 15.4% of the respondents indicated that they were self employed, 13.1% were retired, 12.8% were employed as administrators/managers while 10.8% indicated sales/marketing. The average income of respondents was R10 092.

Table 1: Gender and historical racial classification

Gender	**Percent (n=344)**
Male	54.7
Female	45.3
Historical racial classification	
White	53.0
African	26.7
Coloured	17.7
Indian	2.6

Location of Stadium

Despite the objections to the stadium by CEPA, it is important to note that the majority of the respondents (75%) were in favour of the stadium being located in Green Point (Table 2). This represents strong support for the competition venue by residents living in close proximity to the stadium, and who are likely to be most impacted by the stadium (Fredline 2004:166).

Table 2: Level of agreement with the Green Point Stadium location

	Percent (n=344)
Yes	75
No	25

On the other hand, 25% of the respondents objected to the stadium being located in their area. Respondents cited the following reasons for their objection:

- The area is small and does not have adequate infrastructure to handle high volumes of people and traffic (9.6%);
- the stadium should not be built in a residential area (6.7%);
- the stadium should have been built in an area that could have benefited from the resulting infrastructure upgrade and sporting facilities (4.1%);
- soccer fans live away from the area, the stadium would have been better suited and more accessible if it was constructed closer to where the soccer fans live (2.6%);
- there was no consultative process in deciding where the stadium should be located (1.2%); and
- less than one percent (0.9%) of the respondents indicated that building the stadium changes the landscape of the area and interrupts views from residents' homes.

These concerns were similar to those raised by CEPA in their objection the stadium, and reference is also made to the lack of public consultation that may have contributed to raising these concerns about the stadium location. This disagreement with the stadium location, albeit by a minority of residents, supports Fredline's (2004:155) contestation that residents may engage stakeholders in several ways in order to stop or delay the event by taking legal action, form protest groups or even vote against public officials who support the event if they are not consulted or included in the process as mentioned previously.

Despite some of the residents not being in favour of the stadium location, the results illustrate positive attitudes and strong support among residents to 2010 stadium development and the World Cup in general. Notably, these high levels of support by residents for the stadium being located in the area where they reside are consistent with findings from a previous study conducted by Swart and Bob (2009:125) that indicated a high rate of support for the Green Point Stadium. It could be argued that since

community comments and concerns were required for the EIA and the fact that and the Green Point Common Association was given a say in the management of the urban park planned around the stadium precinct as part of the compromise reached, this engagement could have contributed to a large proportion of residents supporting the stadium location.

Event Support

Slightly more than half of the respondents (50.9%) indicated that they would be attending the 2010 FIFA World Cup matches while 49.1% indicated the opposite (Table 3).

Table 3: Respondents' attendance of 2010 FIFA World Cup matches

	Percent (n=344)
Yes	50.9
No	49.1

Of the 50.9% who indicated that they would attend 2010 World Cup matches, 93.1% indicated that they intended to attend matches in Cape Town while 3.4% indicated that they would attend matches in Johannesburg. Less than two percent each indicated that they would attend matches in Durban (1.7%), Pretoria (1.1%) and Port Elizabeth (0.6%). No respondents indicated that they would attend matches in Rustenburg, Nelspruit, Polokwane and Bloemfontein.

In addition, respondents (49.1%) were requested to provide reasons for not attending any of the 2010 FIFA World Cup matches. Some of the respondents (34.9%) indicated that they were not interested in soccer, 27.8% prefer to watch the matches on television, 20.1% indicated that they would not be able to afford the tickets and 17.2% specified other reasons. Respondents cited the following reasons:

- Unable to access tickets (5.8%). Respondents indicated that they were unable to access tickets due to the lengthy and cumbersome ticket purchase process;
- Travelling abroad for the duration of the event (4.6%);

- Work commitments during the event (4.2%);
- Don't like large crowds (1.2%);
- Too much noise at the stadium (0.6%); and
- Do not agree with the location choice (0.6%).

However, when respondents were asked whether they would consider watching the 2010 FIFA World Cup matches on television, an overwhelming majority (87.2%) indicated that they would consider it while 12.8% indicated that they would not watch any matches on television.

Table 4: Respondents use of the dedicated spectator locations

	Percent (n=344)
Yes	60.8
No	39.2

In addition, 60.8% indicated that they would consider watching the matches at the dedicated PVAs, while 39.2% were not interested in watching the matches at these sites (Table 4). Moreover, 54.1% felt that access to PVAs should be free while 45.9% of the respondents indicated that they would pay for access. More than ten percent (10.5%) of the respondents indicated that they were willing to pay R100.00, 9% were willing to pay R50.00 and 4.7% were willing to pay R150.00. The average price that respondents were willing to pay for entry into the PVAs was R67.00. Haferburg *et al.* (2009:175) note that there are no access restrictions to the public and no registration is required to use these facilities, although in some cases a fee may be charged. However, the PVAs for the 2010 FIFA World Cup were 'free' events. Notably, the respondents' willingness to pay to use these dedicated facilities highlights the residents' level of support for the event. In addition, it indicates that residents are willing to take part in the associated festivities of the event thereby contributing to the success of the World Cup.

The CoCT used PVAs and the official fan park as interventions to strengthen and create cohesion within the country's and cities' urban fabric thereby providing long term social and spatial benefits (Haferburg *et al.* 2009:195). Bob and Swart (2009:53) confirm that PVAs create opportunities for access to the matches thereby facilitating participation and social interaction by providing dedicated viewing areas.

Notably, the results in this section reveal a moderate to high response of respondents' interest in participating in the event in some way; public viewing was rated the highest, followed by watching on television and watching live matches respectively. These results point to support for the concept of PVAs to increase access to the event and can be considered an indicator of resident support for the event, however cognisance should be taken of issues concerning the accessibility and affordability of tickets for local residents.

Perceptions and Attitudes of Respondents

In order to determine the perceptions and attitudes of residents, respondents were asked to rate the level of agreement with a range of relevant statements pertaining to the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The Lickert scale was used with the following options available as responses: SD = Strongly disagree, D = Disagree, N = Neutral, A = Agree, SA = Strongly agree.

Table 5 presents a summary of resident's perceptions, attitudes and reactions to the impacts of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. As there is a close relationship between the strongly disagreed and disagreed and strongly agreed and agreed responses, it was necessary to group these responses for a greater understanding of the results.

Table 5: Respondents' level of agreement with impacts of the 2010 FIFA World Cup (in %) (n=344)

	SD	D	N	A	SA
Environmental impacts					
Pollution will occur close to the stadium	1.5	14.2	7.0	51.2	26.2
Excessive degradation of land as a result of the tarred areas (such as parking lots) and infrastructural development	2.6	27.3	15.1	35.8	19.2
Economic benefits					
All residents will reap the rewards of the 2010 World Cup	9.6	28.5	17.2	32.6	12.2
Jobs will increase	2.3	7.0	8.4	60.5	21.8
Small business will benefit	0.9	7.3	5.8	62.2	23.8

Social impacts					
There will be many inconveniences such as traffic congestion and parking difficulties	2.9	4.9	3.2	41.0	48.0
There will be a higher incidence of criminal activities	4.9	11.6	9.9	39.8	33.7
Locals will benefit from entertainment opportunities created by the 2010 World Cup	3.5	15.1	8.7	50.0	22.7
Community benefits					
Only some members of the community will benefit from the 2010 World Cup event/ the 2010 World Cup event will increase social inequity	6.7	17.7	20.1	43.3	12.2
The event will stimulate training and skills development for members of the community where events are held	2.6	10.8	19.2	54.4	13.1
Ordinary residents will get a say in the planning and management of the 2010 World Cup event	18.9	27.9	16.6	29.1	7.6
Infrastructure development impacts					
Roads, parking facilities and amenities will be refurbished	1.2	1.5	7.0	60.8	29.7
Legacy impact of the 2010 FIFA World Cup					
South Africa will attain a legendary sports event and achieve a legacy	1.7	5.2	15.7	53.2	24.1

Environmental Impacts

Results indicate that 77.4% of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed that pollution will occur close to the stadium while 15.7% strongly disagreed and disagreed with this statement. Respondents' strong agreement and agreement with the above statements support assertions made by Kim *et al.* (2006:89) and Collins *et al.* (2007:473) that highlight residents concerns around the destruction of the physical and natural environment as well as the

perceived negative physical and environmental impacts as a result of the influx of visitors to a host city.

In addition, the above response by respondents mirrors concerns echoed by the CoCT (2009c) that the event will generate large amounts of waste. However, the CoCT plans to introduce waste management plans to minimise pollution. In addition, the CoCT (2009d) in conjunction with the Western Cape government has committed to the 'Green Goal 2010' programme in an effort to raise awareness, minimise waste, diversify and use energy efficiently, compensate for the event's carbon footprint, practise responsible tourism, and construct infrastructure with future generations in mind beyond the duration of the event. Notably, the strong agreement with the above statements by respondents seemingly reflects the CoCT's failure to communicate these environmental management plans to residents leading to lack of awareness of these programmes.

More than half of the respondents (55%) strongly agreed and agreed that there would be excessive degradation of land as a result of the tarred areas (such as parking lots) and infrastructural development while 29.9% strongly disagreed and disagreed with this statement. A further 15.1% of the respondents chose to remain neutral. Respondents' concern associated with the above statement support claims made by Haruo and Toshio (2002:183) and Kim and Petrick (2005:25) that the potential for the destruction of the natural environment exists and is associated with the negative aspect of sport mega-events that may also lead to economic costs.

Economic Benefits

In terms of economic benefits, almost 45% (44.8%) strongly agreed and agreed that all residents will reap the rewards of the 2010 World Cup and 38.1% indicated the opposite. Furthermore, 17.2% of the respondents indicated that they were neutral with regards to this statement.

The majority of respondents (82.3%) strongly agreed and agreed that jobs will increase as a result of the 2010 FIFA World Cup while 9.3% strongly disagreed and disagreed with this statement. There were consistently high levels of agreement in terms of benefits to businesses, with 86% strongly agreeing and agreeing that small businesses will benefit from the

event while 8.2% strongly disagreed and disagreed that any benefits will accrue to small businesses. While residents' expectations pertaining to businesses are high, Smith and Fox (2007:1129) indicate that often events assist local businesses; however there is a likelihood that events can sometimes have the opposite effect. Therefore, support and assistance may be needed to ensure local businesses benefit from the event. Furthermore, they assert that it is important to ensure that local business and disadvantaged individuals are able to benefit from lucrative contracts usually associated with large events.

While there seemed to be strong support for the positive impact of the event on job creation and small business, it is also evident that residents did not believe that the economic benefits would be spread uniformly. These results therefore contradict the more generalised claims made regarding the substantial macro-economic benefits of hosting sport mega-events as mentioned previously.

Social Impacts

In terms of social impacts of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, the overwhelming majority of respondents (89%) strongly agreed and agreed that there will be many inconveniences such as traffic congestion and parking difficulties while 7.8% strongly disagreed and disagreed with this statement. The high percentage of agreement with the above statements support the assertion by Fredline (2004:166) that residents living close to the event sites are subjected to localised event impacts such as noise, traffic and parking, and access restrictions to a greater extent than those living further away.

The majority of the respondents (73.5%) also strongly agreed and agreed that there will be a higher incidence of criminal activities while 16.5% strongly disagreed and disagreed that criminal activities will increase as a result of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The survey findings reveal strongly that residents have a negative perception about crime, safety and security related to the event as stated earlier in this section. However, Donaldson and Ferreira (2007:369) assert that the South African government supported by all law enforcement agencies, have an ideal opportunity to improve their performance with regard to crime prevention. Notably, this would be a long lasting beneficial consequence for the tourism industry and the local citizens.

The majority of respondents (72.7%) indicated that locals will benefit from entertainment opportunities created by the 2010 World Cup while 18.6% strongly disagreed and disagreed with this statement. These responses indicate that the event has an entertainment value as supported by previous studies conducted by Fredline and Faulkner (2002). Residents' perceptions of the social impacts of the event seem to be mixed with traffic congestion and increases in crime being raised as major concerns, however the entertainment value of the event was also recognised.

Community Benefits

More than half of the respondents (55.5%) strongly agreed and agreed that the event will increase social inequity, indicating that only some members of the community will benefit from the event while 24.4% indicated the opposite. This result is consistent with residents' mixed perceptions of the economic benefits for all residents as highlighted previously. These responses by residents support Pillay and Bass' (2009:92) assertion that more widespread development benefits is not a direct consequence on spending associated with mega-events therefore increases the likelihood of inequality.

In terms of the event stimulating training and skills development for members of the community where events are held, 67.5% strongly agreed and agreed while 13.4% strongly disagreed and disagreed with this statement. The strong agreement and agreement with the above statement support assertions made by Smith and Fox (2007:1128) that some events encourage economic and social regeneration by providing new skills and support for the local people. Furthermore, this is often achieved through volunteer programmes to help stage the event, while offering employment as well as training and skills development (Smith & Fox 2007:1128).

With regard to ordinary residents getting a say in the planning and management of the event, 46.8% strongly disagreed and disagreed with this statement, while 36.7% strongly agreed and agreed indicating that ordinary residents will get a say in this process. The strong agreement and agreement with this statement raise concerns that there is a perception that ordinary residents have no say in the planning and management of the event. This perception was in all likelihood fuelled by a perceived lack of public

consultation by the CoCT, since objections raised are considered merely as part of the EIA and perhaps broader consultation with residents is suggested.

The above reaction by respondents support assertions made by Ntloko and Swart (2008:90) that for community benefits to be addressed there needs to be community involvement in the planning and organising of the event. In addition, community involvement will ensure there is a common understanding of the costs and benefits associated with the event and minimise the potential conflicts between the organisers and the community (Ntloko & Swart 2008:90). This type of engagement goes beyond the input required by residents as part of the EIA process. It may therefore be worthwhile to heed Gursoy and Kendall's (2006:605) advice for future mega-events to adopt a more democratic planning model which can be achieved through a collaborative approach by stakeholders, encouraging engagement, joint decision-making and collective responsibility to resolve conflicts or to advance vision. They further contend that public discussions on the anticipated impacts and widespread community involvement will in all likelihood result in broad agreement on how to reduce the negative impacts and enhance the benefits.

Infrastructure Development Impacts

The results reveal high levels of agreement with infrastructure development impacts, the overwhelming majority (90.5%) strongly agreed and agreed that roads, parking facilities and amenities will be refurbished. These findings supports assertions made by Hall (1997:77) that the hosting of major sporting events is often used to rejuvenate or redevelop urban areas that require renewal through the construction and development of new infrastructure, including roads and rail networks, airports, sewage and housing. In addition, Tassiopoulos and Haydam (2008:870) note that tourism and sport stimulates investment in infrastructure projects which can be enjoyed by both the local population and tourists alike. The results indicate that residents have very high expectations regarding improvement of their general quality of life in the form of infrastructure development as a result of the mega-event.

Legacy Impact of the 2010 FIFA World Cup

The majority of the respondents (79.4%) strongly agreed and agreed that the country will attain a legendary sport event and achieve a legacy. The above findings support assertions by Hall (1997:75) and Standeven and De Knop (1999:204) that mega-events are extremely significant as they leave behind legacies which will have an impact on the host community far greater than the period in which the event took place. Residents therefore acknowledged the long-term impacts of the 2010 event.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Understanding the potential impacts of events and how these may impact on residents is a critical aspect of sport tourism event management and planning. The research aimed at investigating Green Point residents' perceptions, attitudes and views of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, specifically in relation to the Green Point Stadium, the competition venue for the City of Cape Town. This study was undertaken due to the highly contentious nature of the selection of the stadium location in Cape Town, and given that studies of local residents' perceptions of mega-events are limited and tend to be overlooked in the bidding and hosting phases of a mega-event.

While the location of the stadium remains a contentious issue with some of the respondents, a large majority of residents are in favour of the chosen stadium site in Green Point. For the large majority, perhaps the fact that community comments and concerns were taken into consideration in the EIA and the involvement of the Green Point Common Association in the management of the urban park around the stadium precinct as part of the compromise position achieved, could have contributed to the positive support for the stadium location. What is less clear and needs to be investigated in future studies is whether the purpose of community participation is to improve plans and mitigate negative externalities or simply to alleviate concerns.

Residents' participation in the event is an indicator of event support; however this support was varied. Participation via public viewing was rated the highest, followed by watching on television and the lowest form of participation was as a spectator at live matches. The concept of PVAs was

therefore supported while concerns regarding direct participation as a result of accessibility and affordability of tickets are further noted.

While residents generally have positive perceptions and attitudes toward the 2010 FIFA World Cup, it is important to highlight the concerns forwarded. Residents raised concerns about the negative environmental impacts of the event, despite the City's proposed plan to 'green' the event. These concerns seemingly reflect the CoCT's failure to communicate these plans to residents resulting in a lack of awareness of these programmes. The results further contradict the widely held notion of the positive macro-economic benefits of a mega-event in that residents did not perceive the economic benefits to be spread uniformly and the event will increase social inequity. Residents also expressed social concerns with respect to inconveniences related to traffic congestion and crime. Seemingly, the purported macro-economic and social costs and benefits seem to override concerns expressed at a local level. It is therefore recommended that these concerns be addressed through more democratic planning processes to reduce the negative impacts and enhance the potential benefits.

Although nearly half of the residents indicated that they do not get a say in the planning and management of the event, this perspective is counterbalanced by some residents expressing that they indeed have a say in the planning and management of the event, possibly due to their comments being considered as part of the EIA process and as a result of the Green Point Common Association getting a say in the management of the urban park planned around the stadium precinct. However, it is recommended that residents are continuously engaged beyond the EIA requirements in order to improve the plans especially for the residents in closest proximity to the stadium and who are impacted the most. Finally, longitudinal research is recommended to evaluate changes in residents' attitudes and the potential impacts of the 2010 FIFA World Cup over a period of time.

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Cameroonian Fans' Perceptions of the 2010 FIFA World Cup: A Case Study of Buea and Limbe

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Abstract
Football is regarded as one of the most important sports in Africa. The 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa was the first time that the content hosted this mega-event which was heralded as the 'African World Cup'. There is very little research that focuses on African perceptions and experiences of the World Cup outside South Africa. This article uses Cameroon as a case study to address the limited knowledge of the profile of football tourists (particularly in relation to the identities of African football tourists who would have liked to attend the 2010 FIFA World Cup). Additionally, Cameroonian fans' perceptions of the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the associated African legacy are examined. A total of 728 questionnaires were administered to soccer fans in Buea (367) and Limbe (361). The study revealed that football fans in Cameroon expressed positive attitudes towards South Africa's hosting of the World Cup and the African legacy associated with it.

Keywords: FIFA World Cup, Cameroon, fans' perceptions

Introduction
Football is considered as one of the most important sports in several of the 53 African countries and is the biggest sport in terms of viewership and participation (Desai & Vahed 2010:155; Pannenborg 2008:8). After years of remaining rooted at the base of the world economic and political order, it is

in the international sporting arena that the African continent is beginning to make its presence felt. By securing the rights to host the 2010 Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup, South Africa takes the entire African continent to the global sporting audience. The 2010 event has been widely publicised by the South African government from the early stages of the bidding process as an 'African World Cup', one which was envisaged as promoting a sense of confidence and prosperity across the entire continent thereby leaving a lasting legacy (Department of Sports and Recreation 2007:1).

A review of relevant literature indicates that numerous studies have been conducted with regards to the socio-economic and environmental impacts of hosting mega-events internationally. Similarly, the body of knowledge that comprises analyses of the implications that South Africa's hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup holds is growing. Even so, most academic research has mainly focused on economic impacts (Allmers & Maennig 2008; Bohlmann 2006; Saayman & Rossouw 2008). Swart and Bob (2007) and Pillay and Bass (2009) examine social impacts in relation to resident perceptions of the 2010 event and the event itself as a tool for poverty reduction and urban development. However, only limited research has been conducted so far with regards to South Africa's positioning of the 2010 event as an 'African World Cup' and on African fans, specifically those who will attend the event as well as their perceptions on the projected African legacy.

Using Cameroon as a case study, the aims of this paper therefore, were threefold. Firstly, to determine and enhance the limited knowledge of the profile of football tourists, particularly in relation to the identities of African football tourists, specifically those who will attend the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Secondly, to ascertain where in South Africa Cameroonian fans will be based and thirdly, fans perceptions of the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the associated African legacy.

Mega-events, the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the African Legacy

The FIFA World Cup events and the Olympic football tournaments have been enriched by the presence of African Nations (Darby 2000:2).

Pannenborg (2008: 9) notes Cameroon's achievements at the 1990 FIFA World Cup in Italy, when they became the first African nation to qualify for the quarter-finals of the tournament. They also won a gold medal at the Olympic Games in Sydney in 2000. Nicknamed the 'Indomitable Lions' by their fans, the national football team has won four Confederation of African Football (CAF) Nations Cup, and has represented Africa on six occasions at FIFA World Cup tournaments. During the 1980s and 1990s, the team boasted of such football stars and icons as the African player of the century, Roger Albert Mila, and Patrick Mboma, as well as, current, four times CAF footballer of the year and Inter Milan football club centre forward Samuel Eto'o Fils.

Nkwi and Vidacs (1997:3), in their research into football, politics and power in Cameroon, concluded that it is perhaps the national football team's performances, coupled with their fan's colourful and patriotic support, which has placed the nation on the map, rather than the country's good governance and democratic history. With South Africa showcasing the 2010 FIFA World Cup as an 'African World Cup', and Cameroon being considered as a great football nation, the current study is of key importance in determining the perceptions of its fans in relation to the World Cup.

Emery (2002:316) asserts that cities and countries around the world are increasingly choosing to host high-profile sporting events as a potential growth strategy, and as a means for achieving strategic corporate objectives. Cornelissen and Swart (2006:100) refer to such mega-events as 'complex affairs, which originate from a specific set of economic objectives, but which have political and social corollaries that usually extend far beyond'. They further contend that sport mega-events are generally initiated and driven by cadres of societal (political and corporate) elites, and that they are aimed at satisfying development goals or ambitions around projection, and competitiveness or growth targets.

Mega-events are, by definition, short-term events of a fixed duration. The high-profile nature of the event generates analyses of consequences in terms of cause-effect relationships, such as an increase in tourism activities, urban and infrastructural development and improvement, civic pride, boosting of image, and image-building (Hiller 1998:47). Another definition by Roche (2000:1) refers to mega-events as 'large scale cultural (including commercial and sporting) events, which have a dramatic character, mass

popular appeal and international significance'. Central to both definitions is the fact that mega-events are seen to have significant consequences for the host country and as attracting widespread media coverage. For example, Saayman and Rossouw (2008:3) estimated that the 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany attracted a cumulative television audience of 30 billion people.

Mega-event Legacy

Several definitions have been put forward for what the term legacy means, albeit not satisfactory. Hiller (1998:51) asserts that, legacies can be interpreted not only as permanent effects, but also as readjustments to normality, or adaptations to changes that an event has brought. A recent reference to sport mega-events' legacy by Mann (2008:2) involves 'ensuring that as many long- term benefits are generated for the host city, region and nation – well before, during and long after the event'. Such definitions, according to Preuss (2007:2), cannot be generalised because it is dependent on qualitative examples. He advocates for a general definition of legacy, which is independent from qualitative examples. He states:

> Legacy is planned and unplanned, positive and negative, intangible and tangible structures that were/will be created through a sport event and remain after the event (Preuss 2007:2).

The basis for the definition above is that it identifies three legacy dimensions: firstly, the degree of planned structure; secondly, the degree of positive structure; and thirdly, the degree of quantifiable structure (Preuss 2007:2). Such dimensions imply that a legacy consists of a multi-facet outcome, consequently, the legacy of such an event as the 2010 FIFA World Cup might easily serve to encompass all the different elements of the impact that it creates. According to Preuss (2007:1), the FIFA World Cup is an exorbitantly expensive event to host, despite the final tournament taking place within only a four-week period. The wish expressed by public authorities to invest in the World Cup is justified if the event is to create long-lasting effects. Such effects are necessary to counter the negative legacy of stadium infrastructure, which was left by the 2004 Euro tournament in

Portugal, and the 2002 FIFA World Cup, which was co-hosted by Japan and Korea.

Preuss (2007:1) outlines three reasons why a positive legacy is valuable for both the host nation and FIFA. He explains the reasons, which maybe imperative for South Africa and the 2010 FIFA World Cup in the following terms:

- A positive legacy helps to overcome complaints about FIFA and provides evidence of why the World Cup has been good for the host country.
- Such a legacy justifies using scarce public resources to construct stadia and general infrastructure, ensure that all necessary event structures for the World Cup are ready in time.
- A positive legacy also motivates other nations to bid to host future World Cups Preuss 2007:1)

Mega-event Impacts on Host Communities

Academic consensus regarding the impacts of mega-events is that they have both positive and negative outcomes. A review of literature concerning socio-economic, socio-cultural, physical and political impacts of the FIFA World Cup, concludes that economic benefits are prime motives for the degree of interest that has been expressed in hosting them (Allmers & Maennig 2008; Black 2007; Bohlmann 2006; Cornelissen & Swart 2006; Getz 2003; Horne & Manzenreiter 2006; Kim *et al.* 2006; Lee & Taylor 2005).

Horne and Manzenreiter (2006:9) suggest that the positive impacts on employment or unemployment, the additional government spending undertaken in communities, the visiting tourist and spectator numbers, and the increased media coverage are some of the claims that are made in favour of hosting mega-events. Getz (2003:53) cites extended leisure opportunities, improved facilities, an increased feeling of pride at being able to host leading events, and a heightened interest in sport and fitness as key motivators of such hosting. Getz (2003:54) emphasise that the positive word-of-mouth recommendations from sport event tourists can also help to enhance a destination's reputation and to create a positive image of an inviting place to

visit or in which to host more events. Horne and Manzenreiter (2006:11) conclude that, economically, mega-events have been viewed as an industry, around which cities can devise urban regeneration strategies. Socially, the hosting of mega-events has been viewed as a tool with which to urge the development of urban communities and a means of reducing social exclusion and crime (Swart & Bob 2007:374).

Despite the above-mentioned benefits, opponents of mega-events are quick to elaborate on the negative impacts of such events. Higham's (1999) analysis of the positive and negative impacts of sport mega-events postulates that negative impacts include major costs that are associated with the bidding process; economic benefits which are dominated by big business, rather than by host communities; social issues, such as overcrowding and infrastructural congestion; security issues; the displacement or removal of local residents; increases in rates and rents; and, finally, a legacy of under-utilised and expensive facilities, with their associated financial debt.

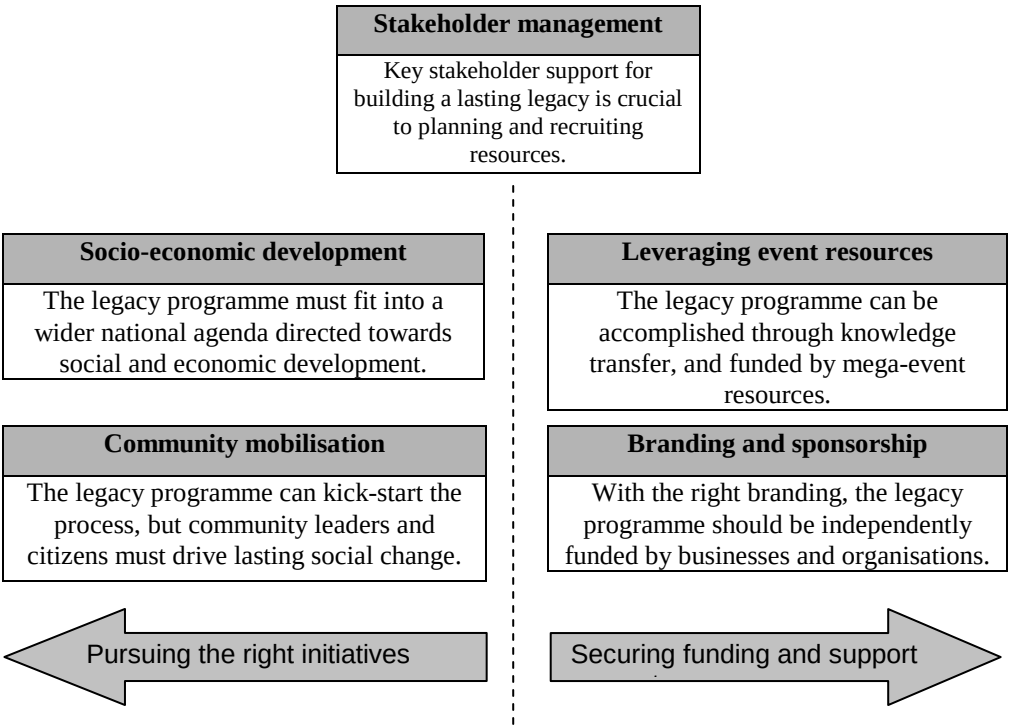
In an attempt to clarify the different impacts that mega-events may have, Hiller (1998:48) proposes that mega-events should not be viewed as isolated unique occurrences. Rather, they should be seen as part of a chain in the relationship, which is expressed through a linkage analytical model consisting of forward, backward, parallel and longitudinal linkages. Such linkages impact upon the communities within which the event is hosted. To ensure a positive impact or legacy, Clark (2008:29) proposes a comprehensive legacy planning from bidding stage to the post event.

African Legacy

The importance of South Africa's hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup cannot be overemphasised. The post-event should not merely provide positive spin-offs in terms of sport, but should also act as a catalyst for socio-economic growth and development in Africa. Researchers such as Bohlmann (2006:383) and Swart and Bob (2007:374) believe that mega-events of such a magnitude have the potential to act as such a catalyst. According to the South African government, the event should effectively contribute to the awakening of Africa's potential as a prosperous, united and influential global colossus (South Africa Tourism, 2008:2). However, Kearney (2005:5) suggests that the strongest legacy results are likely to be achieved by using a

comprehensive programme comprising five components, which are initiated at the bidding stage and refined throughout the mega-event life cycle. The implementation of such a programme should help to ensure that the goal of masterminding the legacy is integrated into the overall vision. Figure 1 below illustrates the five key components of a legacy programme which could be adopted by 2010 organisers in an attempt to build a positive legacy for the African continent.

Figure 1: The Five Components of a Legacy Programme (Kearney 2005: 6).



In November 2006, the African Legacy Programme (ALP), which is a joint responsibility of the South African government and the LOC, was initiated in response to the objective of making the 2010 FIFA World Cup an African

event, which will leave a lasting legacy for the entire African continent. The programme aims to support the realisation of African Renaissance objectives, including those programmes, such as the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), devised by the AU to ensure maximum and effective African participationduring the 2010 event. The programme also aims to strengthen, develop and advance African football and to improve Africa's global image, while it also aims to overcome any remaining Afro-pessimism (South African Tourism 2008).

The ALP has received strong support from key stakeholders, including FIFA, CAF, the United Nations (UN) and the AU. For example, the 8th Assembly of the AU Heads of State and Government reaffirmed its undertaking to become fully and substantively involved in the preparations leading up to the hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Member states also pledged all-round support, and urged the international community to provide necessary support to South Africa for the event (South African Tourism 2008:87). According to the South African government (South African Tourism 2007: 89), projects embarked upon under the ALP fall mainly within the following domains:

- Peace and nation-building;
- Football support and development;
- Environment and tourism;
- Culture and heritage;
- Communications and information communication technology; and
- Continental security co-operation on mega-events that will be hosted on the African continent.

The potential of the 2010 FIFA World Cup to leave a lasting legacy for South Africa and the African continent cannot be denied, as is supported by previous studies mentioned earlier. Though several initiatives have already been espoused to this effect, careful planning and implementation by the stakeholders will determine how successful the programme ultimately is.

Methodology

Both qualitative and quantitative techniques were used for collecting the data. The survey questionnaire included both open-ended and closed-ended

questions. The target population in the study involved soccer fans and football stakeholders in Cameroon (in the South West region of Buea and Limbe). A total of 738 questionnaires were administered, of which 728 questionnaires were administered to soccer fans. The 728 questionnaires were divided into those to be administered in two separate areas, namely Buea (367) and Limbe (361).The questionnaires were administered during soccer matches at both venues, using the systematic stratified sampling method. Both venues had 4 entry points where respondents were targeted. The questionnaires were equally divided based on such points. At the match venue in Buea, every 21st arriving fan was selected while in Limbe, it was every 16th arriving fan selected. In this way, the targeted and evenly spread sample size was achieved. Additionally, key informant interviews were conducted with 10 different football stakeholders, such as club presidents and owners, team managers, coaches, and officials, of the South West branch of Federation Camerounaise de Football (FECAFOOT), using a convenience sampling method. The sample was chosen based on the respective capacity (6 000 and 8 000) of the two different match venues. The sample size was decided upon based on a table that was devised for the determination of how large a randomly chosen sample from a given finite population should be, as illustrated by Isaac and Michael (1981:193). The Statistical Package Social Science software was used to analyse the quantitative data. Such software enables data to be described and summarised, using descriptive statistics, tables, bar charts and graphic presentations. The qualitative data were analysed in the different conceptual categories, in terms of the constant comparative method.

Results

From 12 to 17 December 2008, all 738 valid participants were surveyed, including the set number of soccer fans, players, members of FECAFOOT, club presidents and owners, as well as team managers and coaches at Buea and Limbe, respectively.

Fan profile – Demographics

Age

In this study, the respondents were asked to state their current age. The

responses were captured and grouped into six different age categories. The data showed that 75.7% of respondents were mainly from the two age groups of 21 to 30 years (52.1%) and 31 to 40 years (23.6%) combined. This indicates that, football matches tend to attract young and middle age people in Cameroon. Furthermore, the results show a close similarity in those responses received from the younger age group of 18 to 20 years (9.6%), and those received from the respondents falling in the age group 41 to 50 years (9.9%). A total of 3.4% and 1.1% of the respondents were found to fall within the older age categories of 51 to 60 years and 61 years and above, respectively.

Gender

Football events or games include both active and passive participants, as mentioned by Gibson (1998:156). Results of the respondents in terms of gender, reveals the highest (77.6%) percentage being found to be male, in comparison with only 22.4% female. Such a finding supports those made in previous studies by Getz (2003:58), who asserted that more males, compared to females, attended sport events, and by Rubin (2009:270), who reported that most football fans are men. However the 22.4% attendance by females represents a step forward towards challenging male domination of the sport.

Income

The respondents were asked to indicate what their monthly household income was before deductions, including taxes. The results as represented by Table 1 below, show that 41% of the respondents were found to live in households earning less than R1 000 a month. Such a finding is significant, and consistent with UN (2009) statistics, which state that about a third of Cameroon's population lives on under $1.25 per day. It is worth noting that 10% of the respondents were found to be students, while another 11.4% work on a part-time basis. A total of 36% of the respondents were found to earn between R1 001 and R4 000 per month, while 14% earn between R4 001 and R8 000 monthly. Whereas 4% were found to earn between R8 001 and R12 000 per month; 1% were found to earn between R12 001 and

R16 000 per month, as was the case with the remaining income groups (those who earn between R16 001 and R20 000 per month and high income earners of over R20 000 per month). Most key informants also were found to fall within the high income group. Similarly, those respondents who declared that they regarded their income to be confidential, and those who reported earning no income at all also made up 1% respectively. Respondents in this regard are noted to earn a decent income that allows them to travel to attend games or at least purchase game tickets.

Table 1: Respondents' monthly household income

Monthly household income in Rands (*n*=, 728 in %)	
	Total (*n*=728)
>1000	41
1001 – 4000	36
4001 – 8000	14
8001 – 12000	4
12001 – 16000	1
16001 – 20000	1
<20000	1
None	1
Confidential	1

Employment

Most of the respondents, including the key informants, were found either to work on a full-time basis (38.2%) or to be self-employed (32.7%). The results also revealed closely similar responses to have been received from those respondents who reported working part-time (11.4%), and from those who said that they were students (10%). A similar scenario was seen in regard to the number of respondents who reported being retired (1.9%), and those who declared themselves to be housewives (1.8%). However, 4% of the respondents stated that they were unemployed.

Level of Interest in Football

Sutton *et al.* (1997:17) assert that, not all fans display the same level of fervour and devotion about, as well as commitment to, their favourite team. They identify three levels of fans: low (social fans); medium (focused fans); and high (vested fans). In order to determine the different types of Cameroonian football fans, the respondents were asked about their involvement in football, as reflected in responses to a variety of given statements. The results are detailed in the following paragraphs.

When they were asked to describe their interest in football as a spectator, over half of the respondents (56.6%) said that they considered themselves to be avid fans (allowing for their categorisation as fans with high identification, or vested fans), who always try to attend games or to watch them on television. A further 30.6% expressed an interest in football, stating that they watched it whenever they could (allowing for their categorisation as medium fans). Relatively few (6.6%) stated that they were social fans (meaning fans with low identification), who were not particularly interested in following the game closely, but who enjoyed watching a game of football when it came to their area. A further, 6.2% of the respondents stated that they were not interested in football, but watched or attended games under the influence of family or friends, who were interested in it.

With reference to interest in local Cameroonian football, a total of 75.9% of respondents stated that they either follow their team occasionally (42.9%) or followed their team to every football match (33%). A total of 16.8% said that they watched their local team on television, while a minority (7.4%) indicated that they were not interested in local football.

In terms of the Cameroonian national team, most of the fans (88.7%) were found to follow international football on television whenever their national team (the 'Indomitable Lions') played. An in-depth interpretation of the data collected reveals a close similarity to those who also claimed to follow international football on television (88.9%) whenever other teams other than their own played, compared to that above. A total of 7.1% stated that they were not interested in the national team, while a minority (4.1%) of Cameroonian fans stated that they travelled to watch international football games. In contrast to the fans, most key informants indicated that they travelled to watch international games.

In sum, the level of interest in football in Cameroon is seen to be high both in terms of participating in the sport as a fan or in the sport as a recreational activity.

Travel Group Size

According to Weed and Bull (2004:63), committed football fans are more likely than other fans to travel in groups to support their favourite team at games or tournaments. As committed fans, they are attracted to the 'whole package' experience that the event offers. As summarised below, the majority of the fans (60.3%) indicated that, if they should visit South Africa for the 2010 FIFA World Cup, they would choose to travel in a group comprising of 1 to 3 people. Although 27.5% of the respondents indicated that they would travel alone, other group compositions included 4 to 6 people (10.3%), and 1 to 10 people (1.9%), though the latter formed the minority.

Duration of Stay

According to Page and Connell (2009:386), the visitor length of stay and spending patterns tend to determine the economic impacts of tourism. The longer that a tourist tends to stay at a destination; the more likely it is that they will gain socio-economic benefits from their stay. Mega-events entail travel by those sport tourists who either actively or passively participate in an event. The FIFA World Cup tournament takes place over a period of 32 days. Considering the number of audiences and visitors that such an event attracts, tourism is considered to be a major beneficiary of such a mega-event.

In order to determine the tourism potential for South Africa from Cameroon as a result of the World Cup, those respondents who will attend the 2010 event (n=273) were asked to indicate the number of days that they would spend in the country. Most of the respondents (40.4%) indicated that they would spend between 29 and 30 days, followed by those who would spend 8 to 14 days (26%), 15 to 21 days (20.1%), and less than 7 days (10.4%). Very few of the respondents (0.5%) said that would stay for over 33 days. The average number of days that the respondents said that they would spend in the country was 21 days. Such results reflect the intention of those

fans who intend to stay for the duration of the tournament to support their team, based on its progress in the tournament. In addition to wanting to support their teams, those fans most likely want to stay and experience the final game of the tournament. In contrast to the findings regarding the fans, all the key informants indicated that they would stay for the duration of the tournament.

Previous Attendance at FIFA World Cup Tournaments

At the stage of conducting the survey, given that the Cameroonian national team has represented Africa on five occasions at FIFA World Cup tournaments, the results show a significant disparity between the respondents concerned, in terms of them being generally less travelled. The overwhelming majority (95.5%) of the respondents reported never before having travelled to a FIFA World Cup match, compared with 4.5% who reported having travelled to attend such a match. The results show that such a mega-event as the FIFA World Cup has not previously been a sufficient inducement to African fans to travel, which might have led to them not feeling as involved with the game as they presently are. However, such a disparity can again be explained by the constraints, including the travel costs that are experienced. In addition, mega-events are generally perceived as expensive to access, as noted by Zhang (2007:110).

In contrast to the responses that were received from the fans participating in the study, the majority of key informants reported having travelled to at least one previous World Cup tournament. This could be explained by their monthly income and their higher level of involvement with the game, as previously discussed.

Attendance at 2010 FIFA World Cup

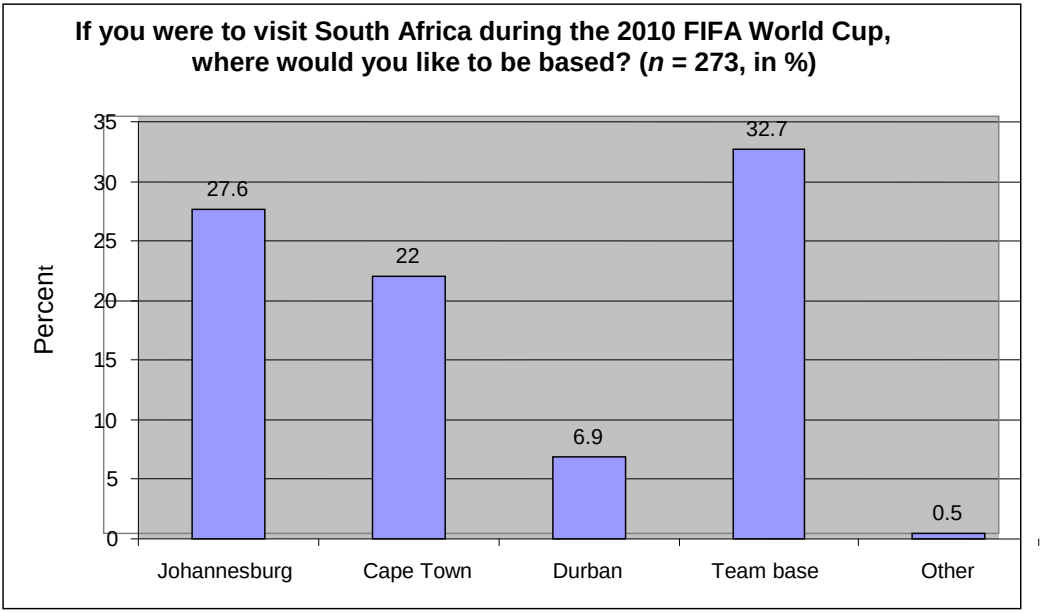
In order to ascertain whether Cameroonian fans will travel to South Africa for the 2010 FIFA World Cup, the respondents were asked to indicate whether they will attend the event. The percentages of ‘yes’ or ‘no’ responses were found to be almost equal, with 44% of the respondents indicating that they would not attend the 2010 tournament, and 37.5%

indicating that they would travel to South Africa for the event. However, a significant 18.5% of the respondents indicated that they were unsure as to whether or not they would attend the event. It is worth noting that, at the time at which the data collection for the current study was taking place; Cameroon had not yet qualified for the tournament concerned.

Cameroonian Fans' Base Choice

FIFA requires prospective host nations to provide sufficient stadia infrastructure and related facilities for the hosting of the teams and their fans. For 2010, the Local Organising Committee has identified the following nine cities in South Africa for the hosting of the games: Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Bloemfontein, Nelspruit, Polokwane, Rustenburg and Tshwane (Pretoria). To determine where in South Africa Cameroonian fans would like to be based, those respondents who had said that they intended to attend the event(n=273) were asked to indicate in which host city they would like to be based. The results illustrated in Figure 2 below reveal that the majority of the fans (32.7%), as well as the key informants, would most likely follow their favourite team to where it would be based in South Africa. Both Johannesburg (27.6%) and Cape Town (22%) were said to be popular host cities among the fans, compared with those who chose Durban (6.9%) or other cities (0.5%) as their base. Historically, business and media wise Johannesburg and Cape Town are regarded as popular worldwide. Johannesburg, for example, is considered to be the economic powerhouse of South Africa, while Cape Town and Durban are popular tourist destinations (South African Tourism 2007:47). Eventually, during the 2010 event itself, the team was based at Umhlanga – Durban.

Figure 2: Respondents' choice of base for the 2010 (*n* = 273, in %)



Fans' Support of South Africa's Hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup

Authors such as Cornelissen (2006:249) and Black (2007:267) detail the extent of politicking that is involved in the process of bidding for the hosting of mega-events. Their narratives paint a picture of the divided nature of the support for South Africa and Morocco which occurred during the bidding stages of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. At the time, South Africa was considered to be a 'new' member of FIFA, compared with the relatively long record of Morocco in this regard. The respondents were asked to indicate whether they supported South Africa's hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The results shows a remarkably high level of support for South Africa among both the fans and the key informants, with the majority of respondents (90%) answering the question in the affirmative, whereas 7.6% responded negatively. A minority (2.4%) of the respondents stated that they were not sure about whether or not they supported South Africa's hosting of the

tournament. The reasons for the responses that the respondents provided were asked in the form of a follow-up question, of which the results are explained below. Because such reasons were several, the responses were strategically grouped to present a clearer understanding of the results. In this light, the responses were structured in to two main conceptual categories i.e. those reasons relating to the African continent in general and those relating to South Africa as a nation. The responses were both positive and negative in nature.

Responses Related to the African Continent

The respondents gave several reasons for supporting the hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa. According to the results, 9.4% of the respondents who said that they supported South Africa expressed the belief that the 2010 event would lead to the 'development of football' on the African continent. A further 7.7% of the respondents stated that the event would lead to the development of Africa as a whole. In addition, 6.1% said that they felt that an African country deserved the chance to host the tournament. The provision of such a reason echoes sentiments regarding the fact that, despite its being the largest confederation within FIFA, Africa has never before been awarded the opportunity to host the World Cup. Furthermore, 5% of the respondents said that they supported such a hosting, because they believed that 'an African team will win the Cup'. Among other reasons given for supporting South Africa's hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup were: 'I am an African' (4.5%); 'it is an African Cup' (2%); 'African nations will benefit' (1.5%); 'the event will improve Africa's image' (0.4%); and 'Africans will unite' (0.4%).

Responses Related to South Africa

Many fans (23.3%) and key informants indicated that South Africa has 'excellent stadiums' and facilities for the hosting of matches, whereas 9.9% of those respondents who were fans indicated that their reason for supporting South Africa was because 'South Africa is part of Africa'. A total of 8.9% of the respondents did not support the hosting, due to the underperformance of the South African national team. Such respondents might have felt that the

FIFA World Cup should only be allowed to be hosted by a nation on the basis of their manifested football-playing prowess. A total of 5.1% of the respondents indicated that the internationally acknowledged repute of the former South African president Nelson Mandela was the reason for their support, while 4.8% stated that they felt that 'South Africa is closer to Cameroon', highlighting the geographic location of the two countries, which are situated closely on the African continent, as the basis for their support. Other reasons cited by respondents included: 'South Africa is a beautiful country' (4.2%) and 'South Africa has the ability to host' (3.7%). A minority (1.8%) of the respondents gave no reason for their support, whereas the remaining 1.3% stated that the existence of xenophobia in South Africa was the reason for them not supporting South Africa's hosting of the tournament.

Fans' Perceptions of African Legacy

Those nations and cities that focus on both the immediate and longer-term benefits to be gained from hosting a mega-event do not merely regard the hosting of the event as an end in itself, but, rather, focus on the building of the associated legacy (Kearney 2005:5). As mentioned previously, South Africa has positioned the 2010 FIFA World Cup as an 'African World Cup'. The government and LOC initiated the ALP with the intention of making 2010 a truly African event. They envisage that the hosting of the event should effectively contribute to the awakening of Africa's potential as a prosperous and united continent (South African Tourism 2008:2). Moreover, Swart and Bob (2007:373) note that the after-effects of the 2010 FIFA World Cup should not only provide positive spin-offs in the domain of sport, but should also act as a catalyst for the socio-economic growth and development of Africa as a whole. Using a traditional likert type scale, the respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement (whether they strongly agreed, agreed, were neutral about, disagreed, or strongly disagreed) with a variety of given statements in relation to South Africa's hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. In order to expedite the interpretation and understanding of the responses received, in some instances they have been grouped into appropriate categories i.e. strongly agree and agree and strongly disagree and disagree. The following subsections present the key findings relating to the respondents' perceptions regarding the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the associated African legacy.

Other African Countries will Benefit from South Africa's Hosting of the Event

Previous research has shown that such mega-events as the FIFA World Cup and the Olympic Games have the potential to generate substantial socio-economic and environmental benefits for a host region (Bohlmann 2006; Maennig and du Plessis 2007; Ohmann *et al.* 2006). According to the ALP, the benefits to be gained from the hosting of the 2010 event will be likely to filter across to other African countries (Department of Sports and Recreation 2007:86). In this study, when the statement above was put forward to respondents, the majority (85.2%) agreed with such a statement. Only 6.9% of the respondents stated that they disagreed with the statement, whereas 8.1% stated that they were neutral in regards to the statement. Interestingly, the majority of key informants did not openly agree that other African countries would be likely to benefit from the event as well. They tended to see only South Africa as benefiting from its hosting of the tournament.

South Africa will Successfully Host the 2010 FIFA World Cup

Although South Africa has, in the past successfully hosted several major international sporting events, those who are critical of its hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup question the magnitude of such events, in comparison with the size of the FIFA World Cup. Factors such as the ability to combat crime (Barker 2004:180) and xenophobia (Kersting 2007:286) have been openly discussed and presented as obstacles to the staging of a successful event. The respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement with the statement that South Africa would successfully host the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The results clearly reveal that the large majority (86.9%) of respondents believed that the mega-event would be hosted successfully. Once again, very few respondents (3.1%) disagreed, while 9.8% of the respondents stated that they were neutral regarding the statement. Unlike the previous statement, all the key informants agreed with the statement in the present case.

The 2010 FIFA World Cup can be Considered an 'African World Cup'

Regarding the notion of an 'African World Cup', the majority (60.2%) of the respondents, albeit to a lesser extent than in their responses to the previous

statements, agreed that such a notion was acceptable. However, some of the respondents disagreed with the statement, or indicated that they were neutral regarding the statement, which is an answer, in the present case, which cannot be overlooked. Some of the respondents (24.6%) disagreed with the statement, whereas 15.25% of the respondents expressed their neutrality about it. Such a finding suggests that some of the respondents either did not understand what the concept of an 'African World Cup' meant, or simply regarded the event as purely a South African affair. Compared to the responses that were received from the fans, all the key informants agreed that the notion of an 'African World Cup' was acceptable. Such a result can be seen as an interesting development on their previous responses to a related question, as reflected above.

After the 2010 FIFA World Cup, African Peoples' Standards of Living will Improve

The hosting of mega-events can lead to the transformation of the host nation, to the fast-tracking of urban renewal, to the upgrading of transport for the enhancing of mobility, and to the creation of sustainable jobs for a host country or region (Pellegrino and Hancock 2010:2). Such effects can contribute to the improvement of living standards for all the citizens of the host country. The respondents were asked to indicate their levels of agreement with the statement that, after the 2010 event, African peoples' standard of living will improve. Both responses disagreeing (24.1%) with the statement should be considered, as well as those (19.9%) expressing neutrality towards it. Relatively little disagreement was expressed in relation to the statement in comparison with the 56% expressed in agreement with it (African peoples' standard of living will improve). In comparison with the responses received from the fans, the majority of key informants disagreed that, after 2010, the standard of living of African people would improve.

The 2010 FIFA World Cup is not an 'African Cup', but a South African Cup

Further findings show that 69.9% of the respondents disagreed with the above statement that the 2010 FIFA World Cup is not an 'African Cup', but a South African Cup. Such results paint an interesting, and slightly different,

picture than that which is painted by the results reflected above regarding the notion of an 'African World Cup', with which 60.2% of the respondents were in agreement. Close to 10% (9.7%) of the respondents displayed a change of mind in their answering of the two questions, having come, by this stage of answering the questionnaire, to consider the event as an 'African Cup'. Most (6%) of those who appeared to change their minds on the subject had disagreed with the previous related question, as is reflected above. A total of 18% of the respondents disagreed with the statement regarding the 2010 FIFA World Cup being a South African Cup, whereas 13.2% adopted a neutral stance towards the question.

Africa has a Better Chance of Hosting the Olympic Games by Virtue of Hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup

Both developed and developing nations consistently bid for the right to host mega-events, owing to the accompanying socio-economic benefits to be gained from such hosting. Before securing the rights to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup, South Africa, as indicated by the City of Cape Town, failed in its bid to host the 2004 Olympic Games (Swart 1999:7). The respondents were next asked to indicate their level of agreement with the statement that Africa now has a better chance of hosting the Olympic Games, by virtue of its hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The results in regards to this question reveal that the majority (70.9%) of the respondents openly agreed with the statement, whereas a total of 14% disagreed with it. The fans were found to express a degree of uncertainty regarding Africa's chances of hosting yet another mega-event. Such a finding appears to be even more important when the neutrality, which was expressed by 15.1% of the respondents in relation to the given statement, is brought into the equation. Similarly, most of the key informants expressed their strong agreement that South Africa's hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup would enhance the chances of a future Olympic Games being hosted in Africa.

The 2010 FIFA World Cup will Change Negative Perceptions of Africa

Africa has, in the past, been perceived by many as a 'dark' continent, plagued by wars and corruption, and generally unable to solve its problems

(Department of Sports and Recreation 2007:2). During the bidding stage for the 2010 FIFA World Cup, South Africa, by means of its former president Thabo Mbeki, emphasised to FIFA that, in hosting the 2010 event, the host will ensure that historians will reflect upon the post event as a moment when Africa stood tall and resolutely turned the tide on centuries of poverty and conflict (Department of Sports and Recreation, 2007:3). The respondents were asked whether they felt that the hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup by South Africa would help to change any remaining negative perceptions of Africa as a whole. The results that were achieved in response to the statement reveal a significant majority (82%) being shown to have expressed their agreement with it, in comparison with the 14.3% who disagreed with it, and the 13.7% who remained neutral towards it.

The 2010 Event will Help to Market Africa as a Tourism and Investment Destination

The hosting of the World Cup is usually regarded as providing an opportunity for self-marketing and image-building, which is expected to produce lasting improvements in terms of the host nation's competitive environment (Allmers & Maennig 2008:2; Lee & Taylor 2005:596). Such events, when successfully staged, provide opportunities for demonstrating organisational and technological know-how, and for showcasing the hospitality and tourism potential of a country (Dolles & Soderman 2007:148). As such, the hosting of mega-events might also be associated with the securing of intangible benefits. The breakdown of the answers received in response to such a statement shows the level of agreement attained among the respondents with regard to the statement that the 2010 FIFA World Cup would help to market Africa as a tourism and investment destination. The majority (87.7%) of the respondents agreed with the statement, while a minority (5.7%) disagreed with it. The remaining 6.7% indicated that they were neutral towards the statement.

Conclusion

This article reveals that the profile of Cameroonian football tourists who intend to attend the 2010 event to be that of male with an average age of 31

years old, working full-time or self-employed, and earning an average monthly income of R3 201.75 per month. Almost 40% of fans indicated that they will attend the 2010 FIFA World Cup. This reflects a significant increase in the potential participation of Cameroonian fans at 2010 when compared to previous attendance levels at such tournaments and cannot be ignored. Such an increase could have been influenced by the fact that the event is being staged for the first time on the African continent. Durban was eventually chosen as the base camp for the Cameroonian national team by its football authorities for the event. The majority of fans declared that they would be likely to follow their team to its base in South Africa, although Johannesburg and Cape Town were identified as popular host cities. Such popularity might have been influenced by such factors as media coverage and the historical associations of such cities, the indications are that the overall situation, as far as the popularity of such destinations is concerned, might remain the same in 2010. The skewed popularity of host cities might result in an uneven spread of visitors throughout the country, and therefore lead to the loss of socio-economic benefits that might have been derived by other centres.

In order for every region to be able effectively to capitalise on, and to benefit from, the tourism potential that the hosting of mega-events as the 2010 FIFA World Cup present, the spread of visitors is important. For such spread to have its maximum impact, a concerted marketing effort is required by the key stakeholders, including the mega-event organisers, as well as national, provincial and local government involved. An increase in tourist numbers would lead to the expansion of the opportunities provided in the various regions, enabling their communities effectively to benefit from the tourism potential of mega-events.

Cameroonian fans, generally, reported having positive perceptions of both the 2010 FIFA World Cup, and the associated African legacy. Although some tentative disagreement was expressed with the idea that the event is an 'African World Cup', and that it should lead to the improvement of the lives of African people, in general, after the event; the importance of the hosting of the World Cup by a country in Africa seems to have spread throughout the continent. In the light of the strong level of agreement that the event will leave a positive legacy for Africa, there seems to be a high level of expectation in terms of the legacy benefits to be gained by all African people.

Consequently, the need for comprehensive legacy planning and management of such a mega-event is crucial for the maximisation of the benefits to be gained from it.

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Business Perceptions of the 2010 FIFA World Cup and Related Infrastructural Development: A Case Study of the Moses Mabhida Stadium and the Durban Beachfront Developments

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Abstract

Following South Africa's successful bid to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup there has been a significant increase in development occurring in the urban centres of the country. One of the major goals following this successful bid was to re-design the apartheid cities in order to create new functional linkages (Pillay & Bass 2008). Besides the several new sporting facilities being constructed, the urban centres are being revamped significantly in terms of their infrastructure in an attempt to hospitably accommodate the potential tourists and make the cities more functional. The urban centre of Durban is a prime example where development has been accelerated due to the 2010 World Cup in South Africa. The new Moses Mabhida Stadium is deemed to be an iconic stadium, the centre-piece of Durban during the World Cup. There has also been a planned upgrade of the Durban Beachfront to create a precinct. The reason for this is to link the Beachfront to the new Stadium and improve accessibility between the two. This was done during the World Cup to link the stadium (the main event venue) and the beachfront and fan parks (the main entertainment precinct). This article examines local business perceptions in relation to the In particular, results from primary research undertaken with 30 local businesses located in close proximity to

the stadium and beachfront areas are examined to assess the possible benefits and negative impacts of the major developments, specifically the construction of the Moses Mabhiba Stadium Precinct and the Beachfront development programme. By analysing the local businesses in close proximity to the Moses Mabhida Stadium and the Durban Beachfront promenade development program, the impacts and benefits behind the rapid change in urban infrastructure will be revealed. Furthermore, the potential economic impacts of these developments will be highlighted.

Keywords: 2010 FIFA World Cup, business perceptions, infrastructural development, stadium, Durban

Introduction

Following South Africa's successful bid to host the 2010 Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup there was been a significant increase in development occurring in the urban centres of the country, especially the nine host cities. One of the major goals following this successful bid was to re-design the apartheid cities in order to create new functional linkages (Pillay & Bass 2008). Besides the several new sporting facilities constructed, the urban centres were revamped significantly in terms of their infrastructure in an attempt to hospitably accommodate the visitors to the 2010 event as well as future tourists. The developments were also intended to make the cities more functional. The urban centre of Durban is a prime example where development was accelerated due to the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa. The new Moses Mabhida Stadium in particular was the centre-piece of the Durban city during the World Cup and is an iconic visitor site post the event. Preparations for the World Cup were also accompanied by upgrades in the Durban Beachfront area which were aimed at linking the Beachfront to the new Stadium and improving accessibility between the two.

This article looks directly at the linking promenades and how they will contribute to accessibility and mobility within Durban. In particular, results from primary research undertaken with businesses residing close to the stadium or in the beachfront area are examined to assess the possible

benefits and negative impacts of the major developments in Durban, such as the Moses Mabhida Stadium Precinct and the Beachfront development programme. This article provides greater insight into the driving force of mega-sporting events and how they influence accelerated development in urban areas. Cities are pressured into improving their infrastructure and service provision in order to facilitate mass influx of tourists over the duration of the sporting event and positioning the localities as tourist destinations subsequent to the event. By analysing the perceptions of local businesses that are located in close proximity to the Moses Mabhida Stadium and the Durban Beachfront promenade, the impacts and benefits behind the rapid changes in urban infrastructure are examined. Furthermore, the potential economic impacts of these developments are highlighted. Thirty businesses were interviewed in 2009 prior to the hosting of the event in 2010.

Sport Mega-events and Development

Mega-events are often seen as 'spectacles that can best be understood as either instruments of hegemonic power, or displays of urban 'boosterism' by economic elites attached to a particularly narrow-minded pro-growth vision of the city' (Pillay & Bass 2008:3). Furthermore, mega-events are seen as vehicles to create employment opportunities. For example, in relation to the 2010 FIFA World Cup, Van Wyk (2008) indicated that there were to be approximately 368 250 new employment opportunities created in the construction sector. This massive influx of capital is largely thanks to foreign direct investment. The FIFA World Cup was an opportunity for South Africa to showcase itself to an international audience, thereby attracting the necessary foreign investment opportunities needed in developing nations (Cornelissen 2004).

The FIFA World Cup in South Africa acted as a catalyst for massive infrastructural development investments to take place that was largely State funded. In order for the host cities to be prepared to host a mega-event such as the FIFA World Cup, it is often necessary for governments to improve the infrastructure within these cities. This is especially the case in a developing nation like South Africa. It is important to note that prior to winning the right to host the FIFA World Cup, South Africa did not have the infrastructure and

services necessary to accommodate this mega-event. Thus, investments in infrastructural development including transport and stadium construction were a key feature of South Africa's preparations to host the World Cup.

Maennig and Du Plessis (2009) consider whether hosting a mega-event such as the 2010 FIFA World Cup will have positive effects on urban development. In October 2006, the Minister of Finance, Trevor Manuel budgeted R15 billion to finance any World Cup related investments (Maennig & Du Plessis 2009). Of this, R8.4 billion was earmarked for stadiums and R6.7 billion for infrastructural development (Maennig & Du Plessis 2009). Therefore it is noticeable that infrastructural improvements and development was high up on the national government's agenda prior to this mega-event. Maennig and Du Plessis (2009) use Durban as a case study and explore whether the new stadium is being used as an urban economic development tool. The Moses Mabhida Stadium was a semi-final venue for the 2010 FIFA World Cup and had a seating capacity of 70 000 spectators. The main aim for the stadium was for it to be the anchor for a concept to develop the city area and re-image Durban as one of the leading sports cities in Africa (Maennig & Du Plessis 2009). In order to achieve this goal, the city's planners decided on four central characteristics of the stadium and its establishment into urban design (Maennig & Du Plessis 2009):

- The architecture of the stadium is vital as it needs to convey an image of the city, the nation and all of Africa. An example is the arch crossing the stadium represents the national flag of South Africa.
- The stadium must stand out and be seen as a monument within Durban's urban skyline, thereby attracting future development within and around the stadium precinct.
- The stadium is centrally located within the city, which acts as the initiating point for future development of urban and recreational facilities
- There is significant attention paid to the development of urban design. Therefore, it is vital that the stadium forms part of the city and its networks, in order for it to generate future development.

As indicated earlier, most research on mega-events focus on the economic and infrastructural development impacts which are linked (see Maennig 2007; Maennig & Du Plessis 2009). Baade and Matheson (2004) and Matheson (2006) have also undertaken significant research on the impacts of the world's biggest sporting events on local, regional and national economies. Their focus has been on the Olympics and FIFA World Cups, and how they have contributed to the economies of host nations. They are very critical of these mega-events and find a number of negative outcomes associated with hosting an event of this magnitude.

Czegledy (2009) also investigates whether the financial benefits mentioned in the media are true reflections of reality. In 2007, for example, a flyer was seen in Johannesburg with the headline 'R48 000 000' (Czegledy 2009:226). This referred to the projected income generated from the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Czegledy (2009) was sceptical that this incoming money will fall in the wrong hands. Due to the present post-apartheid era, people have the belief of democratic access and the sense that all will benefit from the 2010 FIFA World Cup (Czegledy 2009). Overall, Czegledy (2009) emphasises that there are many misconceptions regarding the benefits of mega-events and feels that it benefits the rich but not the poor. Unfortunately, in South Africa's case, as a developing nation, the rich are amongst the minority and it is the poor who need the income generated from the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Furthermore, Tomlinson *et al.* (2009:3) share the views of Czegledy (2009) in that they too feel that the economic projections for the 2010 FIFA World Cup are 'invariably erroneous, overestimating the benefits and underestimating the costs'.

Tomlinson (2009) also provides a critical assessment of the probable economic impacts of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, raising concerns that the event will harm the national economy and promote inequality (Tomlinson 2009). Tomlinson *et al.* (2009:7) feel that there is the possible 'displacement of investment from more productive uses to less productive uses'. Furthermore, these investments were being purposely understated so as to elevate the possible benefits of the mega-event (Tomlinson 2009). For example, the costs of the stadiums have risen from the initial expenditure of R818 million to an astounding R10 billion (Tomlinson 2009). Tomlinson (2009) outlined a number of benefits that host cities were anticipating for the 2010 FIFA World Cup. A major benefit is that host cities believe that the

mega-event will 'provide free money to invest in and expedite infrastructure projects already identified' (Tomlinson 2009:8). In many cases this has been true. However, Tomlinson (2009) found that the provincial and local governments also had to contribute significantly to these development projects. Tomlinson (2009) examined Durban specifically and its expectations for the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Sport tourism is the core of Durban's economic strategies and it is obvious that this mega-event was seen as the foundation to the future success of the city (Tomlinson 2009). The 2006 eThekwini Integrated Development Plan (IDP) highlights four key areas of focus: construction of the stadium, investment in infrastructure to create higher value land uses, transport and tourism (Tomlinson 2009). Furthermore, Tomlinson (2009:10) discovered from a number of interviews that the 2010 FIFA World Cup 'represents a vehicle for investing in infrastructure and the stadium necessary for an Olympic bid'.

A few studies (increasing in number) focus on social aspects, particularly resident perceptions of mega-events. For example, Kim *et al.* (2006) focused on the perceptions of the local people in relation to the 2002 FIFA World Cup in Japan and South Korea, and compared these perceptions to the actual impacts experienced after the mega-event was over. It is evident that due to national hype and the media generated prior to a mega-event certain perceptions were created in the local residents minds (Kim *et al.* 2006). Therefore from the outset the local residents were likely to believe that the benefits were going to outweigh the costs of such an event (Kim *et al.* 2006). Some of these perceived benefits indicate that the local people are often economically inclined with the main focus on economic benefits such as tax revenues, employment and additional sources of income. Growth of tourism, international publicity, improved infrastructure, improved recreational facilities and the improvement of quality of life are among the positive perceptions among residents associated with hosting mega-event (Kim *et al.* 2006). Noticeably, the local residents ignore the possible negative impacts of mega-events. Price inflation, increase in local tax, mismanagement of public funds by organisers, traffic congestion, increased crime and destruction of the natural environment are some of the negative implications that arose from the 2002 FIFA World Cup (Kim *et al.* 2006). Through the use of Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA), a statistical method, they were also able to reveal that the Korean public had high expectations that

were not met (Kim *et al.* 2006). Kim *et al.* (2006) also found that the 2002 FIFA World Cup created a lot more societal and cultural benefits rather than economic gains. This was also emphasised in relation to the 2006 FIFA World Cup held in Germany. Maennig and Porsche (2008:1) highlight that one of the most important social effects of the 2006 football World Cup was the 'feel-good effect'.

Maennig (2007) pays special attention to the fact that the iconic architecture of the stadiums act as a catalyst for urban regeneration within cities, resulting in accelerated development. The so-called 'Feel Good' effect results are important whereby the stadium itself inspires a personal experience of leisure and enjoyment, which results in social cohesion and increased local and national pride (Maennig 2007). Therefore, it is noticeable that Maennig (2007) feels that the social aspects of the FIFA World Cup have a much more beneficial impact on a nation than the economic factors. The development of the iconic stadiums and the precinct was aimed at promoting social cohesion during and after the World Cup. Thus, the social benefits of infrastructure are important aspects to consider. Often, infrastructural development is associated with economic considerations and the links to social and environmental aspects are neglected.

Bass (2009) focuses her research on urban imaging and whether staging a mega-event such as the 2010 FIFA World Cup can project new identities and images for cities. The 1995 Rugby World Cup was a prime example, where it had a visible unifying impact on South Africa's identity and image both within and outside the country. Bass (2009:247) refers to this process as 'sport re-imaging', which can be loosely defined as 'the process by which local government, acting independently or partnering with the private sector, deliberatively exploits sport to modify the image of a place'. Therefore, cities use the opportunity of hosting a mega-event like the 2010 FIFA World Cup to stimulate and symbolise the urban transition that the re-imaging discourse envisages (Bass 2009). Bass (2009), using Durban as an example, shows how cities use their host status to negate negative perceptions and project a particular image of itself. In the words of the Municipal Manager of Durban Mike Sutcliffe, Durban has long positioned itself as a 'sporting and lifestyle city' (in Bass 2009:251). It is noticeable that hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup is extremely important to the future of Durban as an urban area, a tourist destination and a sport events city. Within

Durban's Integrated Development Plan (IDP), the municipality has refined and refocused its strategic programmes to respond more effectively to the 2010 FIFA World Cup, as well as maximise the potential benefits (Bass 2009). Furthermore, Bass (2009) identified that sporting activities and events are clearly acknowledged as one of the key strategies in the City and the Province. In addition, the mega-event was intended to serve as an opportunity to 'engage, inform and enthuse citizens about the changes in the city and the new facilities being created' (Bass 2009:251). The Premier of Kwazulu-Natal, Sibusiso Ndebele, was quoted as saying '2010 will be a major catalyst for further enhancing our image and growing the economy and tourism potential' (in Bass 2009:253). Therefore, the 2010 FIFA World Cup is seen as a prospect for the city of Durban, as well as the province of Kwazulu-Natal, to brand and market itself on the global stage.

There is a dearth in the literature in relation to examining local business perceptions despite an overwhelming focus on economic boosterism in relation to the hosting of mega-events. In relation to the 2010 FIFA World Cup, Czegledy (2009) examines the different expectations perceived by people, and in particular local businesses, in relation to the 2010 FIFA World Cup. A Grant Thornton International survey of 200 medium to large private businesses in South Africa, found that 75% of the respondents believed that the 2010 FIFA World Cup would benefit them financially (Czegledy 2009). Czegledy (2009:230) believes that the present day mega-events like the FIFA World Cup are 'commercial spectacles geared more to profit than to providing entertainment, employment or an appropriate product of intrinsic value'. Czegledy (2009) discusses the two main purposes behind hosting a mega-event like the FIFA World Cup. Firstly, it serves as a partnership between business enterprises and international associations such as FIFA (Czegledy 2009). It is noticeable that associations like FIFA take on civic and judicial functions by dictating terms to governments and businesses through complex relationships of dependency with nationalism and corporate funding (Czegledy 2009). Secondly, Czegledy (2009) considers this mega-event as a catalyst for transformation in the host nation. They are therefore aimed at changing the international image of a country, generating tourism and providing a thrust for infrastructural development (Czegledy 2009), aspects discussed in the previous section. Pillay and Bass (2008), however, doubt that the mega-event will benefit the local people (including local

businesses) and moreover, will not address the major issue of poverty in the developing nation's context.

There are a number of local businesses found in close proximity to the Moses Mabhida Stadium and the Beachfront Precinct which is a key tourism destination in Durban. Local business perceptions of the 2010 FIFA World Cup provide a useful insight into the potential impacts arising from this mega-event and events generally. Furthermore, the 2010 developments in this area are likely to directly affect these local businesses during and after the World Cup. Examining local business perceptions and concern permits an assessment of their insights into urban development in the area and whether it has been accelerated due to the forces of hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Furthermore, the likely impacts on local businesses are also discussed. It is important to reiterate that very few studies focus on local business perceptions and therefore this article examines the voices of a key stakeholder. The next section focuses on the case study and methodological approach adopted in this research endeavour.

Methodology

This research endeavour focused on businesses located in close proximity to the Moses Mabhida Stadium and the Durban Beachfront Precinct (known as North and South beaches). The study area extended south along the majority of Umgeni Road. From there, it extended further south along the beachfront, on Marine Parade. The southern most point of the study area was approximately 2 kilometres from the Moses Mabhida Stadium.

A questionnaire survey was used to collect data from 30 businesses in the study area. The systematic sampling method was used to identify the businesses to be interviewed. This method involved the purposive selection of the first unit and then all the other units were selected systematically, that is, a chosen number of units away from the previous unit. In the case of this study, the first unit chosen was the Virgin Active opposite the Moses Mabhida stadium which was deemed to be the closest business to the stadium. Then every 7^{th} business was selected along Umgeni Road and the Beachfront. In total 30 businesses were chosen from approximately 200 businesses in the area. It is important to note that only formally established businesses in the area were targeted.

Data Analysis

This section presents the main findings of the primary research undertaken, aimed at ascertaining business perceptions of the 2010 FIFA World Cup and urban development linked to the hosting of the mega-event. The analysis is undertaken thematically, starting with business profiles of the interviewees. Then the data is analysed in relation to business perceptions and attitudes towards the construction of the stadium and related impacts; perceived economic, social and environmental impacts of hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup; infrastructural development impacts; and awareness of regulations regarding the 2010 FIFA World Cup.

Business Profiles

Table 1 shows the variety of businesses that participated in this study. The majority (93%) of the businesses were privately owned with the remaining 7% being public enterprises. These privately owned businesses ranged from entertainment businesses (bar and nightclubs), health (medical and gym), accommodation (hotels), food and beverage (restaurant, convenience store and food wholesaler), transport (car dealership and fitment centre), clothing (clothing stores and tailor), general sales (electrical, shelving, tiles and paint supplier) and cosmetic (hairdressers) enterprises. A significant proportion (23%) of the respondents was from the food and beverage industry. This indicates that there is a large target market requiring food in this area. There is a strong blend of sales and services within this area. In terms of sales, there are the food and beverage, clothing and general sales businesses. On the other hand, there are the health, accommodation, transport and cosmetic businesses that cover the service sector. However, some of the businesses overlap with sales and services. For example, a bar serves people's needs in terms of being social meeting places but also sells products for human consumption.

Table 1: Various business types interviewed (n=30)

Business Type	**Percentage**
General sales	17
Clothing	13
Transport	13

Food and Beverage	23
Health	10
Accommodation	10
Entertainment	10
Cosmetic	3

Perceptions and Attitudes Towards the Construction of the Stadium and Impacts (During and Post-event)

Eighty seven percent (87%) of the respondents felt that having the Moses Mabhida stadium in the area was an asset. The results are similar to those of Kim *et al.* (2006) on the 2002 FIFA World Cup. They found that due to national hype and the media generated prior to a mega-event certain perceptions were created in the local residents minds, resulting in local residents being led to believe that the benefits are going to outweigh the costs of such an event (Kim *et al.* 2006). The results reveal that local businesses had similar perceptions to local residents.

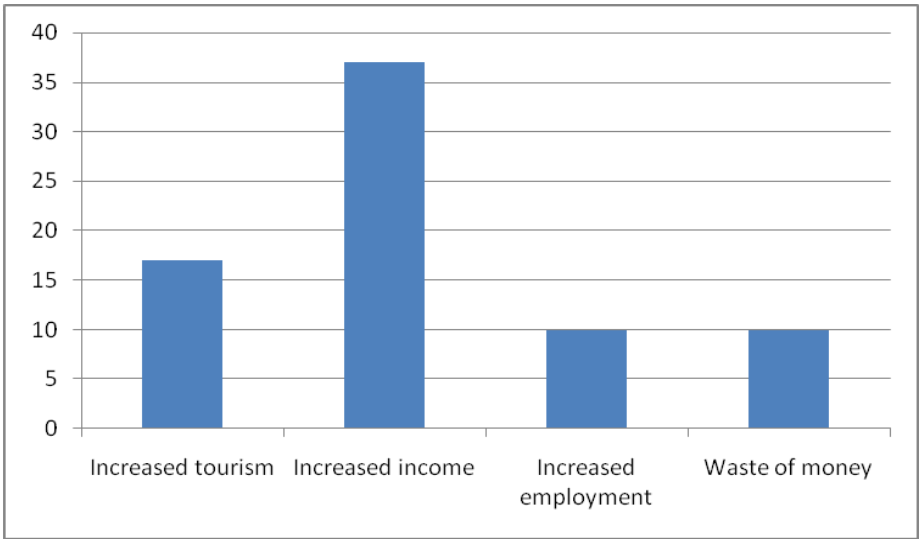

Figure 1: Reasons for why the 2010 FIFA World Cup is positive or not (n=30)

As seen from Figure 1, the respondents were asked to explain why the stadium was positive or negative for their area. Increased income was the most common response (37% of the respondents). Increased tourism and increased employment received 17% and 10% of the responses, respectively. In Kim *et al.*'s (2006) research, employment and additional sources of income as well as growth of tourism featured as positive perceptions of the event. The results show that economic benefits of having a stadium were prominent among local business respondents. Ten percent of the respondents (those who perceived the stadium negatively) indicated that the stadium was a waste of money.

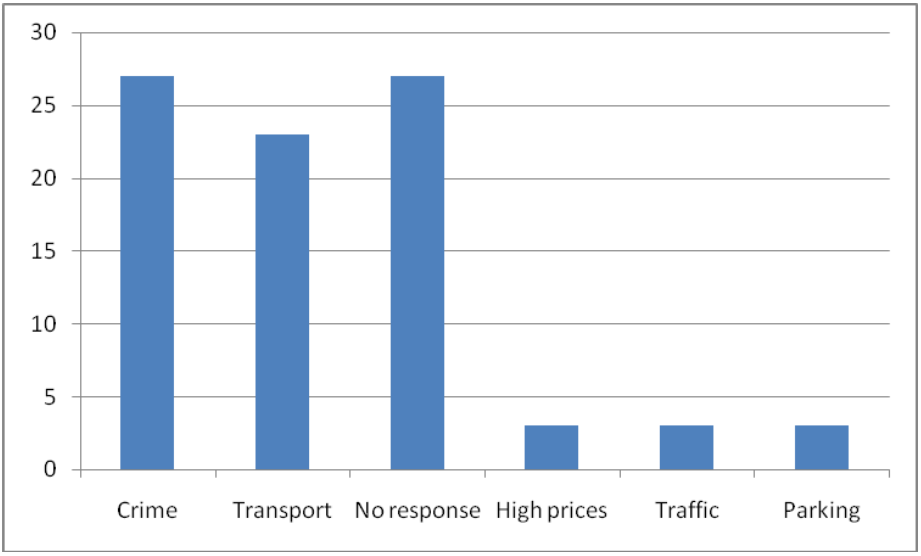

Figure 2: Negative impacts associated with the 2010 FIFA World Cup (n=30)

Figure 2 shows the various perceived problems identified by local business in relation to the hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. It is important to highlight that problems were identified even among those respondents who perceived the stadium as an asset. Crime and transport received the most responses with 27% and 23%, respectively. Kim *et al.* (2006) and Maennig

(2007) suggest that there are increased criminal activities during a mega-event. Furthermore, in this study when asked if they feel criminal activities will occur during the event, 93% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with this statement. Additionally, respondents felt that criminal activities were likely to occur after the World Cup as well, especially when events were hosted in the stadium. This suggests that local businesses associated the increase in the number of persons in the area to increased crime.

The issue of public transport has been a significant problem in South Africa. One respondent even said, 'the transport system is disgusting'. This is most likely due to the prevalence of private working taxi drivers throughout the country. These taxi drivers focus on quantity rather than quality when it comes to their service, which results in overcrowded conditions and reckless driving as they try to transport their customers as rapidly as possible, resulting in accidents and negligence on the road. People are therefore concerned that these taxi drivers will give a bad impression of South Africa and the tourists will feel unsafe using this service. Furthermore, the bus system was renovated for the 2010 FIFA World Cup. This is due to the fact that at prior to the 2010 World Cup there was no organised, planned system in place, whereby buses pick up customers at random instead of following a schedule. Lastly, there has been an overhaul of the present railway system. One measure that has been put in place for the 2010 FIFA World Cup was the 'Park and Ride' system, where privately owned cars parked in large designated parking spaces away from the stadiums and were then transported to the stadium via public transport systems. This was intended to alleviate issues like congestion and traffic nearby the stadium.

The remaining negative impacts identified by the respondents included high prices, traffic and parking. Only 2% of the respondents felt that these impacts would occur during the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The traffic and parking impacts relate to the abovementioned impacts of transport. Generally, it can be seen that the businesses were concerned with the transport system that was in place and its ability to adequately and hospitably accommodate the incoming tourists during the 2010 mega-event and visitors to the area when events are hosted in the stadium and precinct locations. Lastly, there was a significant percentage of respondents (27%) that did not respond to this question. This may be attributed to the respondents feeling there would be no negative impacts arising from the event.

In order to determine the perceptions and attitudes of the residents towards the 2010 World Cup and infrastructural development in the Durban stadium precinct and beachfront areas, respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement with a range of relevant statements. The Lickert scale was used with the following options available: SA = Strongly Agree, A = Agree, N = Neutral, D = Disagree and SD = Strongly disagree. The results are thematically presented below in relation to economic, social, community pride, infrastructural and environmental aspects.

Perceived Economic Impacts of Hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup

Table 2: Various economic impacts of hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup (in %) (n=30)

	SA	A	N	D	SD
The event will benefit the rich not the poor	30	27	27	13	3
Jobs will increase	20	63	13	0	3
Businesses will increase their sales and profits	23	53	23	0	0
Businesses will strengthen in the area	23	60	17	0	0
Foreign investment will increase	17	53	27	3	0
Small businesses will benefit	17	50	30	3	0
Black Economic Empowerment will improve	10	43	47	0	0

Table 2 indicates the perceptions of local businesses in relation to the economic impacts of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The general trend is that most of the responses are positive with the majority agreeing and strongly agreeing with the statements. Firstly, 57% of the respondents either agreed or strongly agreed that the event will benefit the rich not the poor. This reflects the literature, which states that large sums of money are spent on the event in order to generate income for the host nation, whereby the large corporations in conjunction with FIFA will benefit substantially (Tomlinson *et al.* 2009; Van Wyk 2008; Greef 2008). Furthermore, as indicated by Pillay and Bass's (2008), pro-growth and urban development is the government's main agenda, which results in the poor being further marginalised. Maennig (2007) also

found the marginalisation of the poor was a major negative spin off during the 2006 FIFA World Cup. This illustrates that it does not only happen in developing nations, and it is a common issue occurring in the host nations during the mega-event. However, 27% of the responses were neutral and this indicated that some respondents were unsure of where the money generated will go to. Furthermore, 16% of the respondents believed that the income generated from the 2010 FIFA World Cup will reach the poor.

In terms of jobs, the majority of the responses felt that there would be a significant increase in employment during the event. Eighty three percent (83%) of the responses agreed or strongly agreed that jobs will increase. Various projection studies on the 2010 FIFA World Cup agreed with this notion that there will be an increase in jobs, however, they will be temporary in nature (Maennig & Du Plessis 2009; Saayman & Rossouw 2008; Van Wyk 2008). Furthermore, past studies on previous FIFA World Cups also revealed an increase in employment during the mega-event (Kim *et al.* 2006; Maennig 2007).

The local businesses generally perceived that their sales and profits would increase (76%) and that their business would strengthen from the 2010 FIFA World Cup (83%). Some of the respondents were unsure. Saayman and Rossouw (2008) found that there were likely to be significant economic benefits with a projected R5 billion going towards the South African economy and a projected 0.48% increase in the country's GDP. Greef (2008) and Saayman and Rossouw (2008) also believed that the foreign investment opportunities will proliferate as a result of South Africa hosting this mega-event. Seventy percent of the respondents corroborated with the literature and believe that foreign investments will increase during and after the 2010 FIFA World Cup. There was, however, a significant proportion (27%) of the respondents who were uncertain about the increase in foreign investment. This could be due to the lack of investment in these local businesses to date. However, Greef (2008) points out that the influx of foreign capital mainly occurs during and after the event. Furthermore, these investments occur in specific sectors and are generally not widespread.

Another issue examined related to small businesses and whether they will benefit economically from the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The results in this study contradicts the literature by Greef (2008), Tomlinson *et al.* (2009) and Van Wyk (2008), which found that the large corporations in conjunction

with FIFA benefit from the event. However, 67% of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed that small businesses will benefit. This relates to the work by Kim *et al.* (2006) who show that the majority of perceived benefits identified by the local people are often economically inclined. The results suggest that the local businesses interviewed expected to benefit directly from having the World Cup literally on their doorsteps. However, a post World Cup survey is required (and planned by the researchers in June-July 2011, a year after the event) to assess whether these expectations were met. It is important to note that 30% of the respondents were unsure about whether small businesses would benefit from the 2010 FIFA World Cup.

The economic impact in relation to Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and whether it will benefit from the mega-event was also considered in this study. Just over half of the responses (53%) stated that BEE will improve as a result of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. However, the remainder of respondents (47%) were unsure whether it will benefit or suffer from the event. This relates to the literature by Pillay and Bass (2008) who found that the government's main agenda is pro-growth and urban development, which results in the poor being further marginalised. Therefore, there are significant doubts in the literature and perceptions among the local people that the money generated from this mega-event will be falling into the right hands (that is, the previously disadvantaged).

Perceived Social Impacts of hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup

Table 3: Social impacts of hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup (in %) (n=30)

	SA	A	N	D	SD
Traffic congestion, noise and parking difficulties will result	37	47	10	7	0
Disruptions such as power failures	27	37	23	10	3
Criminal activities	43	50	7	0	0
Disrupt the lives of local residents and businesses	23	47	17	13	0
Locals will benefit from entertainment opportunities	27	60	10	3	0

There are a number of social impacts that result from a mega-event such as the FIFA World Cup. Table 3 shows that in relation to traffic congestion, noise and parking difficulties 84% of the respondents felt that these issues would arise during the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Kim *et al.* (2006) found that traffic congestion was a major negative impact that arose during the 2002 FIFA World Cup in Japan and Korea. As stated previously, the 'Park and Ride' system was implemented during the 2010 FIFA World Cup, which was intended to help alleviate parking and traffic congestion nearby the stadium. Little is written on noise issues during mega-events. This is perhaps due to the fact that everyone expects there to be noise generated from the matches and it is part of the atmosphere created by mega-events.

Another possible social impact is the prospect of power failures during the matches of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Sixty four percent (64%) of the respondents perceived that there would be power failures during the period of hosting the mega-event. These perceptions could be due to the previous experiences of 'load shedding' and the locals' uncertainties over the efficiency of Eskom as a power service provider. However, 23% of the respondents were impartial and 13% felt that power failures would not be an issue. It is interesting to note that during the World Cup power failures did not emerge as a problem.

Crime is a major issue in South Africa currently as alluded to earlier, and it is obvious that it would have been a major concern during the 2010 FIFA World Cup. As seen in past events, such as the 2002 and 2006 FIFA World Cups, crime has featured as a negative constraint (Baade & Matheson 2004; Kim *et al.* 2006; Maennig 2007). Ninety three percent (93%) of the respondents perceived that there would be criminal activities occurring during the 2010 event. Again, despite a major focus on crime in relation to South Africa's ability to successfully host the 2010 FIFA World Cup, this did not emerge as a significant problem.

The next social issue is whether the mega-event will disrupt the lives of local residents and businesses. Seventy percent (70%) of the respondents felt that the 2010 FIFA World Cup would impact negatively on the lives of residents and businesses. This contradicts Maennig (2007) and Bass' (2009) findings that the mega-event creates a sense of social cohesion and the local people have increased local and national pride. The reason for this high percentage of responses is probably because it is businesses that were

interviewed and their perspective differs significantly to the local residents. Greef (2008) identified that FIFA maintains ownership of the mega-event and all businesses and traders not in partnership with FIFA are excluded during the event. This is where businesses were likely to be disrupted in terms of FIFA's stranglehold on the event.

Lastly, there is the impact of entertainment opportunities and whether the local people (including businesses) will benefit from them during the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Haferburg *et al.* (2009) examined public viewing areas and how they created a sense of social interaction and entertainment for the locals as well as the tourists. The 2006 FIFA World Cup was the first mega-event that made use of huge public viewing areas. Approximately 18 million people visited the nationwide FIFA fan parks in 12 host cities (Haferburg *et al.* 2009). The reaction was astounding and it brought the German people together. South Africa created a number of these fan parks throughout the host cities, which resulted in more viable options for spectators who were unable to afford to purchase tickets or could not access limited tickets to 'participate' directly in the event by viewing the matches in the stadiums. The vast majority of respondents (87%) felt that the entertainment opportunities would benefit the local people. Additionally, these respondents also indicated that they planned to attend the fan park.

Table 4: A sense of community pride from hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup (%) (n=30)

	SA	A	N	D	SD
The 2010 event will be a major boost for national pride and nation building	40	37	13	10	0
The 2010 event will make locals feel good about themselves and their community	33	43	13	10	0

Table 4 shows the responses of local businesses in relation to the 2010 FIFA World Cup creating community pride and nation building within South Africa. This notion is strongly associated with the work done by Maennig (2007) and Maennig and Porsche (2008) and their 'feel-good' theory discussed earlier. Seventy seven percent (77%) of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed that the 2010 event will be a major boost for national pride and nation building. Therefore, local businesses have realised that there are

also intangible benefits that may result from the hosting of mega-events. Table 4 also reveals that 76% of the respondents felt that the 2010 FIFA World Cup would make locals feel good about themselves and the community. The overwhelming majority of responses were in favour of this 'feel-good' effect.

Infrastructural Development Impacts

Table 5: Infrastructural development impacts of hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup (in %) (n=30)

	SA	A	N	D	SD
The access to amenities and improvement of road facilities will result	17	57	27	0	0
Roads, parking facilities and amenities will be refurbished	20	53	23	3	0
There will be a delay of basic services in the poor areas	17	50	27	3	3
Run-down parts of this area will be upgraded	20	50	27	0	3

This research endeavour seeks to relate urban development to the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the impacts that result. Table 5 shows a number of scenarios in relation to the perceived infrastructural development impacts. The first impact related to access to amenities and improvement of road facilities. The majority of respondents (74%) perceived that due to the 2010 FIFA World Cup, there would be better access to amenities and improvement in road facilities. Thus, the perceptions among the local businesses is similar to Bass (2009), Pillay and Bass (2008) and Van Wyk (2008) who assert that infrastructural development increased significantly once South Africa won the bid to host the World Cup. Furthermore, Kim *et al.* (2006) revealed that following the 2002 FIFA World Cup improved infrastructure and facilities were resultant benefits of the event. As indicated earlier, infrastructural developments were deemed as the most tanglible outcomes of South Africa hosting the World Cup. Interestingly, there was significant doubt in the responses to this impact and 27% of the respondents were unsure whether the

access to amenities and road facilities would improve. A similar statement (roads, parking facilities and amenities will be refurbished) to the abovementioned impact was asked and yielded comparable responses.

The delay of basic services to poor areas is another infrastructural development impact that was identified as a result of the 2010 FIFA World Cup given the massive government investments in preparation to host the event. As stated earlier, the literature found that there was an increase in development occurring in the urban centres of South Africa (Bass 2009; Pillay & Bass 2008; Van Wyk 2008), especially the host cities. This could result in the poor being further marginalised. In addition, there was concern that the urban renewal projects being undertaken were dislocating the urban poor because developers wanted to reclaim potentially valuable properties (Baatjies & Kirkby 2008). Two-thirds (67%) of the respondents believed that there would be a significant delay in services to the poor areas of the country. Twenty seven percent (27%) of these respondents were unsure or neutral in relation to this impact and only 6% disagreed, and felt that there would be services reaching the poor areas.

In contrast to the aforementioned impact, the respondents felt that the run down parts of the area surrounding the Moses Mabhida Stadium would be upgraded. Seventy percent (70%) of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed that this process would occur. These perceptions are closely aligned to Bass' (2009) position. Bass (2009) asserted that the eThekwini Municipality strongly believed that by developing an iconic stadium it will provide a powerful catalyst for destination creation. This in turn would lead to value creation and thus urban regeneration (Bass 2009). Therefore the Moses Mabhida Stadium is acting as the foundation for the renewal and upgrading of the surrounding infrastructure.

Perceived Environmental Impacts of Hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup

Table 6: Environmental impacts of hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup (in %) (n=30)

	SA	A	N	D	SD
Pollution will occur close to the stadium	33	43	17	7	0
Excessive degradation of land as a result of the tarred areas and infrastructural development	13	30	43	10	3
Conservation/environmental issues will attract greater attention during 2010	17	40	33	7	3

Environmental issues are increasing viewed as critical components to assess the impacts of mega-events and are an under-researched aspect of mega-event research. Table 6 highlights these impacts by showing what the views of local businesses are on the potential environmental impacts that may arise as a result of the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa. The first major environmental impact is pollution close to the stadium. Seventy six percent of the respondents felt that pollution would occur in close proximity to the stadium. This issue is related to accelerated urban development that occurred and is occurring around the stadium. Unfortunately, one of the consequences of development is a number of impacts upon the environment such as pollution. This pollution occurs in a number of forms such as noise, air and waste. For example, during the construction of the stadium all three of the abovementioned forms of pollution would have occurred at some stage. Significant amounts of fossil fuels would have been burnt (petrol from cranes, bulldozers, etc.) during the construction phase, which impacts negatively on the environment in terms of air quality. However, in contrast, 17% of the respondents were unsure about the pollution issue and 7% felt that pollution would not be an issue at all around the stadium.

In terms of land degradation, there was a wide range of responses found for this environmental impact. Less than half (43%) of the respondents believed that tarred roads and infrastructural development would cause land degradation. Kim *et al.* (2006) discovered that destruction of the natural environment was a significant negative implication that arose from the 2002

FIFA World Cup. The same proportion of respondents (43%) was unsure whether land degradation would occur from these developments. The remainder of the respondents (16%) felt that there would be no land degradation as a result of tarred roads and infrastructural developments. The reason for these doubts may be due to the inexperience or lack of knowledge among the general public towards environmental issues. This was emphasised when many of the respondents required the researcher to explain the various environmental issues to them. It is noticeable that in developing nations issues like the environment take a back seat to the 'brown issues' such as poverty and disease. Therefore, the respondents may have not been exposed to the various environmental issues. Furthermore, when asked whether environmental degradation will be given attention during the planning and management phase, the responses remained irregular. For instance, 47% of the respondents agreed with the aforementioned statement, 40% were unsure and 14% disagreed.

Awareness of Regulations Regarding the 2010 FIFA World Cup

Slightly more than half (53%) of the businesses planned to market themselves during the World Cup. However, none of the businesses understood the regulations and/or restrictions that FIFA had in place during the event. Greef (2008) asserts that FIFA maintains full control of planning and organising the World Cups and the host nation does not have full ownership of the event. An example is that FIFA stipulates which brands are allowed to be advertised and sold during the World Cup (Greef 2008; Van Wyk 2008). Therefore, the local businesses needed to consult with FIFA before they would have been able to advertise their product/s during the event. Greef (2008) looked at an example whereby the South African Department of Trade and Industry had to amend legislation to exclude all businesses and traders not in partnership with FIFA. It is obvious from the responses to this question that the local businesses were unaware of these regulations and this further enhanced FIFA's image of concealment and secrecy (Czegledy 2009; Greef 2008; Van Wyk 2008). In addition, the information that was fed through to the host cities and the Local Organising Committee (LOC) by FIFA was not effectively communicated to the public.

Conclusion

This article shows that a variety of perceptions on the 2010 FIFA World Cup existed among local businesses in the case study area of Durban prior to the event. The majority of the respondents felt that the 2010 FIFA World Cup would be positive for South Africa as a host nation. Some of the major benefits identified were increased tourism, employment, income, national pride and entertainment opportunities. In contrast, the major negative impacts identified were crime/security, transport and pollution. It is recommended that post-event studies be conducted with businesses to ascertain whether anticipated perceptions and benefits were realized, especially in relation to the expected economic benefits that most of the respondents hoped for.

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

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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 Guiliani – 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 be 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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The 2010 FIFA World Cup, Sport Events and Tourism in Durban: Prospects and Challenges

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Abstract

Sport tourism has emerged as a key feature of South Africa's socio-political landscape. South Africa hosted the world's largest event, the FIFA World Cup between 11th June 2010 and 11th July 2010. The country has expended a large amount of resources in preparing for the event with the objective of increasing the country's profile, increasing tourism and attracting greater investment. The focus of the event was on the host cities where matches are held and the majority of visitors will stay. Durban is one such host city, which has spent billions of Rands on new and improved infrastructure to cater for the event. However, a feature of many projects within the host cities has been investment on infrastructure that will have a long-term impact, beyond 2010. Durban's positioning in terms of sport tourism has a history that goes back beyond the awarding of host city status. As far back as 2002, the City was using the branding 'South Africa's Playground', which had a particular emphasis on sport tourism. Currently Durban's positioning statement is 'Africa's Sports Capital'. This article explores sport and event tourism in general and highlights some key challenges and issues for Durban as a host city. The article does not place great focus on the financial and economic arguments around the event as that would warrant a separate paper and cannot be treated adequately within the context of this discussion.

Keywords: Sport tourism, events, host city, Durban

Introduction

Sport tourism has been approached from different angles with a point of departure being the different definitions adopted. Hautbois *et al.* (2003:260-261) describe the sport tourist as consisting primarily of practicing sport people and can be defined as those who travel and stay essentially to practice outdoor activities for at least two days. This definition is clearly a narrow one and excludes special events such as the Olympics or the FIFA World Cup. It also excludes the greatest number of sport tourists, the spectators. Several writers point to a predetermined or incidental participation in, or attendance at, sports-based activities by people or groups outside their home environment (Delpy 1998; all in Turco *et al.* 2003:223-224).

Whitson and Macintosh (1993:222-225) identified that team sports in particular have provided the opportunity for people to be part of a wider society with a common interest. They argue that the process of globalisation with its new technologies, have further resulted in an extension of this community. Additionally, they argue that sports teams and self-identity appear to be closely linked. They note that in the early part of this century sports was not highly commercialised. However, during the second half of this century, every aspect of the game has become highly competitive and commercialised. They state that the sale of television and broadcasting rights, sponsorship, corporate hospitality, advertising space, memorabilia, clothing, food and beverage concessions, players, stadiums/arena, conferencing and brand, have all become common practice. The key aspect for a city is whether the sporting or special event can bring a net inflow of visitors and income to the city, either on its own or in conjunction with other attractions (Whitson & Macintosh 1993; Turco *et al.* 2003:223-224).

According to Whitson and Macintosh (1993:224-228), a number of professional sport teams in the United States moved around from one city to another. They note that in some instances cities built stadiums for well-known teams as having a resident popular team was perceived to indicate status. It was hoped that having the right team would bring publicity and an image of success and thereby attract new business as well as tourists. Apart from the image the visitorship of major games also brought many visitors to the city, who stayed in the city for at least a night and spent on accommodation, food and other items on offer. Baade and Dye (1990:8) note that of the 29 stadiums built in the United States between 1960 and 1990, 25

were built by the public sector and of the 94 stadiums used by professional teams, 67 were publicly owned. They add that due to the fact that there were a limited number of teams in a league, this resulted in an oversupply of facilities and teams found themselves in a buyer's market. This resulted in lease charges, which were often below operational costs (Baade & Dye 1990:8).

Hamilton and Kahn (1997) state that sport facilities located in or adjacent to the city centre can play a role in the revitalisation of the inner city. However, as Rosentraub and Przybylski (1997) note, because of the scale and low frequency of sport events, it is unlikely that on their own they will have a major impact on inner city regeneration. Despite this, they state that as part of a comprehensive long-term strategy they can make a contribution.

Collins (1991:260) states that many British cities have bid for famous sporting events. Lawson (1996:21) notes that Sheffield hosted the World Student Games in 1991 and promotes itself as a sports city. Manchester, Cardiff and Edinburgh hosted the Commonwealth Games, and Manchester and Birmingham bid unsuccessfully for the Olympic Games. Gratton and Henry (2001) point out that both Liverpool and Manchester used soccer effectively to market the city and promote sport weekend breaks involving game and entertainment tickets as well as hotel accommodation. However, Law (2002) highlights that Britain has a relatively low number of sports museums when compared to the United States. He states that there are possibly a dozen sports museums in Britain compared to approximately 400 in the United States. Despite the efforts of many cities in using existing resources and building new facilities to position themselves within this growing market, sports on its own is seldom enough and an appropriate range of other attractions is necessary (Petersen 1989).

Baade and Dye (1988:38) identify that a number of studies have been undertaken in the United States by municipalities to determine the economic impact of sports and sporting events. In some instances teams also undertook such assessments as part of their motivation for public sector subsidies (Baade & Dye 1988:39). Such studies were generally structured around cost-benefit models or on the wider economic benefits for the area (Baade & Dye 1988:39). Baade and Dye (1988:40) argue that where studies have shown a deficit to the public sector, the emphasis normally shifted to demonstrating

the wider economic benefit for the area. They point out that calculations were usually based on the amount spectators spent inside and outside the stadium to indicate an estimate of the economic advantage to the area. However, since a large percentage of spectators are often locals, this cannot be taken into account as it is not additional benefit, but merely funds which are displaced from alternate activities (Baade & Dye 1988:41). Petersen (1989) estimates that in the United States approximately 5% to 10% of spectators are from another city and stay overnight. He further indicates that this percentage increases depending on the importance or scale of the game, for example, for the Super Bowl the figure could rise to about 90% visitors.

Petersen (1989) argues that the distance from which the sports event draws spectators also plays an important role. He points out that in the United States the cities are relatively far apart and spectators coming from another city to watch a game are likely to stay overnight. However, in Britain the cities are relatively closer and thus may experience a greater number of day visitors. Baade and Dye (1988:41) and Petersen (1989) indicate that sports programmes can have their greatest economic impact when they are linked to other tourist attractions and when there are family leisure activities.

With regard to the impact of sports on general economic development, this relationship is difficult to disentangle since this is only one factor among many that will effect the economic growth and performance of a city. Baade and Dye (1990:12) found no relationship between the building of stadiums and the growth of personal incomes in nine United States metropolitan areas. They further point out that in Britain, while Liverpool Football Club was at the top of the Premiership League for many years during 1970s and 1980s and attracted many visitors to their games, Merseyside remained one of the poorest urban areas in the country. They note that at the local scale sports facilities may have both positive and negative effects. It may be positive as greater number of people may provide opportunities for greater investment in, for example, catering. It may be negative as the greater number of people causes crowds and congestion, which could discourage investment. Baade and Dye (1990:12) suggest that the greatest impact of a stadium is likely to be felt when it is close to other tourist attractions and hotels.

Special and Mega-events

According to Getz (1991), 'special event' is a term used to describe themed events which are once off or occur infrequently outside the normal programme of activities. He states that special events are also an opportunity for people to undertake leisure, social and cultural experiences, which are normally outside of the realm of choices or everyday experience. Special events are usually unique and even when they occur periodically each one is branded as a unique, once in a lifetime opportunity (Getz 1991).

Getz (1991) identifies that a 'hallmark' event may be used by the city to enhance awareness, appeal and profitability of the tourist destination in the short or long-term. He states that a mega-event is accompanied by high levels of tourism, media coverage, prestige and economic impact for the destination. Hall (1992) notes that such events are of global significance and can have a big impact on the image of the host destination. Bramwell (1997:170) argues that special events usually last a few days or perhaps a month at the most. However, some events such as World Expos can last for several months. Mega-events are essentially special events that are large in scale. To be effective they need to be planned as part of a wider strategy with long-term plans for later use of the facilities that were used for the event (Bramwell 1997:172).

Event Creation and Development

While many events have developed organically over time through the local heritage and culture, many destinations deliberately create events with a view to promoting tourism (Getz 1991). Getz (1991) lists the reasons and objectives for cities investing in special events and promoting its growth:

- To offer a high quality cultural and sporting experience
- To involve the community in a civic celebration
- To encourage participation in the arts or sports
- To promote civic pride
- To attract visitors into the area and ensure that it is on the tourist map
- To attract visitors outside the main tourist season to reduce seasonality, troughs and underutilisation of tourism infrastructure

- To attract media attention, raise the profile of the area, create a favourable image, combat negative images and thereby attract investment from outside the area
- To add animation and life to existing attractions
- To encourage repeat visits
- To assist in regeneration and improve the infrastructure of the area
- To level government grants for sports, art and culture
- To emulate the success of other communities
- To develop niche markets in a developing marketplace

According to Getz (1991), competition is forcing cities to discover new niche markets, new themes to be more spectacular and to increase the scale and length of the event. He points out that some cities have used special events as part of the wider inner city regeneration and to revive decayed downtown areas. Chicago's Mayor's Office of Special Events organises up to eighty events a year with the 'Taste of Chicago' attracting 3 million visitors of which about 20% come from outside the city (Getz 1991).

Getz (1991) points out that mega-events are of world significance and not only showcase the city but the country as well. A poor mega-event can impact negatively on the image and finances of the city as well as the country, and will damage a country's chances of hosting mega-events in the future. Apart from local government the commercial sector has increasingly become financially involved in specials events through sponsorship. Getz (1991) notes that sponsors seek out larger and more prestigious events to which they can associate their names and brand. Thus it is often the case that big cities which have famous events attract sponsors while lesser known cities and community driven events receive less sponsorship. Smaller cities and community groups therefore have to be more innovative and competitive to able to attract sponsorship (Getz 1991).

Roche (1992:578) argues that mega-events can be studied from a number of perspectives such as economic, social, political and planning. From an economic perspective, studies have generally tried to measure the number of people attending, their geographical origin, their social characteristics and their expenditure patterns. This enables an estimate of the net income generated for the community and the number of jobs created. In addition to this, Roche (1992:580) points out that an attempt may be made to

measure the level of familiarity of the event in other parts of the country and at overseas destination markets, as well as how the event has contributed to the improvement in perceptions of the area. Getz (1991) notes that the level of inward investment and growth of tourism can also be measured. He points out that some studies attempt to measure the impact on the local community. He further notes that special events are varied in nature such as arts festivals, sports (like the Olympic Games or Soccer World Cup), world fairs and expos, and historical celebrations with different measures being used for different types of events (Getz 1991; Roche 1992:585).

Tourism in Durban

South Africa has experienced significant growth in foreign tourist arrivals with about 6,677 million arrivals in 2004 and 9,6 million in 2008 (KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Authority (KZNTA) 2005:2; 2009:3). KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) is the primary domestic tourist destination, which generally attracts about 40% of all domestic trips (KZNTA 2003:10; 2009:3; South African Tourism (SAT) 2003:12; 2004:11; 2005:10). KZNTA (2009:8) indicates that KZN received 1, 227 million foreign visitors in 2008 who spent an average of R6 759 per trip and thus contributed R8,3 billion to the economy. The Durban Metro was visited by 88% of these foreign visitors. The domestic market was made up of 10,4 million trips with an average spend of R641 and a total direct value of R6,68 billion (KZNTA 2009:8).

The province brands itself as a cultural destination reflected in its branding the 'Zulu Kingdom' (KZNTA 2003:13). However, cultural tourism plays a relatively minor role in the tourism industry (eThekwini Municipality 2005a:546). Tourism products include the world heritage sites of the isiMangaliso Wetland Park (formerly the Greater St Lucia Wetland Park) and the uKhahlamba Drakensberg Park. However, the dominant type of tourism in the province remains beach tourism (SAT 2004:15-20). The three main beach tourist areas within the province consist of Durban, the South Coast and the North Coast. Durban remains the main tourist destination within the province attracting the greatest number of domestic tourists as well as international tourists to the province (KZNTA 2003:23-29; 2009:10). However, very little information is available on the significance of sport tourism in the city.

While Durban is a tourist city, its economy is far more diversified than tourism (eThekwini Municipality 2005a:540). The city has developed largely due to the existence of a natural port, which has developed into Africa's leading port (Monitor 2000a:6). Tourism in the city is centred on beach tourism. The Municipality also markets Durban as the sports and events capital of the country (Octagon 2001:5).

KZNTA (2009:4) notes that among domestic travellers, Durban receives 1 060 000 visitors with an average of 2.8 trips each, resulting in an estimated 2 968 000 trips. Durban's primary markets are middle income visitors from Gauteng. This figure excludes travellers that visit Durban from other parts of the province.

Durban has a large proportion of domestic tourists, which account for a disproportionately smaller share of receipts. While Durban's foreign market makes up a small proportion of the total number of visitors, the average spend is much higher and hence contributes disproportionately more to the local economy than the domestic segment (Monitor 2000b:60; Harley Sharpe 2003:9). The most visited tourist asset in the city and the province is the Durban Central Beachfront which is located adjacent to the new Moses Mabida Stadium. The stretch of coastal area where the inner city meets the sea has developed into a major tourist locality, which consists of a cluster of attractions. Such attractions include the uShaka Island Marine Park, Suncoast Casino, the Point, a promenade as well as beaches of differing character. This has been supported by a clustering of what Law (2002) terms, the secondary elements of tourism. These elements include hotels of varying standards, restaurants and beach related facilities. The mutually reinforcing role that beach, sport, eco and business tourism can play in the city needs to be further explored and developed to a greater extent. The spatial and functional linkages between major tourism assets such as the stadium, beachfront (and Ushaka Marine World), the estuary and port frontages as well as the ICC also present unique opportunities.

The Soccer World Cup in Durban

Between 11th June to 11th July 2010, South Africa hosted the FIFA Soccer World Cup, the world's most watched event. Durban was one of the nine host cities and was home to 7 matches over this period including a semi-final match. To be well positioned to do so, the City constructed a new 70 000

seater stadium that is both iconic and functional. Citigroup Global Markets Inc (2010) have highlighted that the spectrum of discussion and controversy around the hosting of the FIFA World Cup have ranged from 'Afro-Pessimists' who claimed the South Africa would not be ready to host the tournament, to over-eager real estate professionals who pinned the tournament as an opportunity to realise significant capital gains in the real estate market. They point out, however, that hosting an event of this nature accounts for a very minor portion of the countries total economic activity and the a short event such as the FIFA World Cup is unlikely to result in any structural shifts in the property market. They note that the main economic benefits would be, firstly, in the five years prior to the event during which Government spending on stadiums and infrastructure increased, secondly, during the year of the event through direct spending by visitors on accommodation and food etc., and thirdly, in the years following the event through improved reputation, increased tourism and possibly increased political clout.

In terms of measuring the economic impact of the event on the South African economy, Mabugu and Mohamed (2008 in Citigroup Global Markets Inc 2010:5), use the Social Accounting Matrix method to show that the event is likely to raise the real GDP by about R16.3 billion (or 1.2% of base year GDP). This takes into account the multiplier effect of rands spent in the economy. Bohlmann and Van Heerden (2005:9) estimated an impact of R10 billion on real GDP. Citigroup Global Markets Inc (2010:7) notes that past experience showed that actual benefits at the World Cup tendered to be lower than the initial estimates. They note that FIFA indicated on 27th January 2010 that 79% of ticket sales in the third round were from the host country. This posed a risk that actual visitor numbers during the event might be lower than the initial estimates. However, they concluded that it is most likely that the event will result in a strong rand and improved numbers of visitors from key source markets, particularly from Europe. The biggest risks they highlighted are media coverage on crime and logistics.

Brunet (2005 in Bohlmann 2006:9) traced the impact of the Barcelona Olympics in the period 1986 to 2004 and beyond. He concluded that the hosting of the event was a success and contributed significantly to the regeneration of the city. Furthermore, Barcelona IS generally regarded as the epitomy of success in the hosting of mega-events from urban planning,

economic, marketing and organisational perspectives. Brunet (2005) looked firstly at the period leading up to the Olympics, secondly at the period between 1992 to 2002 and thirdly, the future. Citigroup Global Markets Inc (2010:6) adopts a similar approach in their analysis. A key feature of the Barcelona strategy was to generate as much construction of infrastructure which would serve the city well after the hosting of the actual mega-event. In the case of Barcelona, a significant amount of the building work was carried out by the private sector in the construction of new hotels and retail developments. The net result was a decrease in unemployment, improvements in the services sector, improved international image, urban and economic transformation and increased investment (Bohlmann 2006:7). With regard to the Sydney Olympics, the Centre for Regional Economic Analysis (CREA) (1999) and Madden (2002 both in Bohlmann 2006:6) identified that in the post-event period the Municipality and the economy had to meet a large debt-repayment which impacted negatively on the economy and outweighed the positive benefits in terms of increased tourism numbers and investment inflows. However, the longer-term net effect of the event on the regional and Australian economy was identified as extremely positive. Tibbott (2005 in Bohlmann 2006:13) notes that while issues of the future sustainability of facilities such as the Homebush complex remain, the competitive economic outlook created by the Games ensured that the benefits outweighed and outlasted the negatives.

Matheson and Baade (2004:14-19) take a critical look at the hosting of mega-events by developing nations. Bohlmann (2006:18) identifies the construction of the Estadio Centrario in Montevideo for Uruguay's hosting of the 1930 FIFA World Cup as particularly significant. The stadium was originally planned for 100 000 capacity but has since been downgraded to 76 000. However, he notes that it regularly draws capacity crowds as the interest in the sport is great. The Estadio Mario Filho, or Maracana as its popularly known, is owned by the City of Rio de Janeiro and was capable of accommodating almost 200 000 spectators. The stadium also hosted the first FIFA World Club Championship in 2000 and still draws capacity crowds. The Estadio Azteca in Mexico City was built ahead of the 1968 Olympic Games and 1970 FIFA World Cup and is the only stadium to have hosted two World Cup finals.

The defining feature of these stadiums is that although the construction costs were high, they consistently draw capacity crowds and host major fixtures. In addition, Bohlmann (2006:10) points out that they have had a positive impact on the broader regions, as they have made contributions to the socio-economic development as well as the development of sport in those regions. He further notes that the tournament has the capacity to speed-up the delivery of infrastructure. However, the issue of sustainability of the stadiums remains a critical issue. He further points to examples in Japan and South Korea where stadiums became 'white elephants' as there was a lack of sufficient support infrastructure, as well as developmental capacity dedicated to soccer to be able to sustain and justify the existence of some stadiums resulting in some stadiums being demolished. Bolhmann (2006:20) notes that despite the political motivations for the hosting of these mega-events, it is only the sustained market for the sport that makes the stadiums feasible in the long-term.

Among the challenges in hosting mega-events is the need to transport large numbers of people in good quality transport. This poses a logistics problem for countries like South Africa, which due to its spatially fragmented form, is not characterised by good quality and efficient public transport. The transport infrastructure and capacity is especially important for the seamless transfer of spectators and players between matches. While players travelled in private buses on South Africa's high quality of road infrastructure, the public transport which was used by spectators was more of a concern.

Another challenge discussed by Bohlmann (2006:23) is the high rate of unemployment and the socio-economic challenges that the country is faced with. While South Africa has a fast-growing economy characterised by GDP averaging above 3%, the challenges associated with a wide disparity in income and large unemployed population pose a particular problem. Fundamental to the problem of unemployment is the low levels of skill among a sizeable portion of the population, due largely to the apartheid policy of the former government. Bohlmann (2006:24) emphasises the need for local contractors with domestic labour to enjoy the greatest benefits in the supply of products for the event (including infrastructure, consumables, etc.). He notes that the distance of South Africa from European markets poses a particular problem in the longer-term growth of tourism and sport tourism in

particular, while cities like Barcelona, due to their location in Europe experienced increased tourism numbers in the short-term. The influence of the regional political climate in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) is also significant as this area remains one of the poorest areas in the world. Political stability and a positive business environment would be important in creating a destination that is viewed favourably in terms of investment.

Challenges and Prospects for Durban

The main aim of this article is not to measure the economic impact of the event, but to highlight the major prospects and challenges for Durban in terms of sport tourism events. In Durban a number of large-scale investment projects were undertaken by the public sector which were both orientated towards the World Cup, as well as serving a longer-term purpose. The development of the Moses Mabida Stadium is of particular significance. According to Ghabisa Planning Investments (2007:29), of South Africa's total seating 'capacity of 570 700, the Moses Mabhida Stadium accounts for 12%. The stadium includes:

- 70 000 seats;
- 8 000 hospitality seats;
- 6 000 m^2 office space;
- 7 000 m^2 retail/commercial space; and
- 1 800 m^2 for sports history museum

The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT 2005 in Ghabisa Planning Investments 2007:30) estimated that a total of 105 000 people are expected to actively participate in each match. Of this total, approximately 56 000 will be ticketed. Some 23 500 foreigners were expected to attend each of the games. They estimated that R678 000 000 (R0.68 billion) in revenue will be generated in KZN during World Cup month.

A range of key issues relate to the hosting of the World Cup that are likely to impact on sport tourism efforts in the city. These are discussed below.

Infrastructural Development

According to DEAT (2005 in Ghabisa Planning Investments 2007:33), it is anticipated that post-2010 the stadium will stage 46 events annually and generate a revenue of R24.5 million per annum (the adjacent ABSA Stadium currently hosts 45 events per year). They point out that the annual operating cost for the stadium is estimated to be around R14 million per year. It is suggested that the GDP contribution of stadium over a 14 year period will be R4.3 billion due to increased employment in both construction and the tourism industry.

Apart from the construction of the Moses Mabida Stadium and the adjacent People's Park, the Municipality has also undertaken major upgrades of three potential training venues, as well as the redevelopment of the precinct surrounding each of these stadiums. The three stadiums consist of the Sugar-Ray Xulu Stadium in Clermont, the Princess Magogo Stadium in KwaMashu and the King Zwelithini stadium at Umlazi. All three stadiums are located in African townships and aimed at investments in poorer residential areas in the city. Other infrastructure developments have included public transport lanes which were constructed on the N3 freeway approach to the Inner City, major flyover links between the freeway and the Inner City, various city beautification projects and a major upgrade of the Durban Beachfront. In addition to the infrastructure that has been developed specifically for the 2010 FIFA World Cup, the event has also had the effect of speeding up the delivery of a range of infrastructure across the city mainly related to city beautification and urban maintenance. Apart from these infrastructural projects that were initiated by the Municipality, the Provincial Government has undertaken the development of the King Shaka International Airport and Dube Trade Port Zone. In terms of private sector development, several hotels undertook major upgrades along the coastal zone. Projects unrelated to the World Cup, but which have positive implications included the widening of the harbour mouth which enabled the world's largest passenger liner, the Queen Mary 2 to visit the city. However, the facilities at the port for cruise liners remain poor.

In Johannesburg and Cape Town, Bus Rapid Transport (BRT) systems have been implemented to improve public transport between various parts of the City. In Gauteng, the Gautrain is being developed to further

address issues related to public transport. However, the BRT system has not been implemented in Durban, and public transport interventions have been limited to the People Mover System that is restricted to the Inner City. This consists of a number of good quality and efficient busses that operate on a subsidised basis. The rest of the city is served by the existing bus and combi taxi service as well as rail. These existing systems are of questionable quality and are not noted for their efficiency. The issue of public transport in the metro region requires emphasis in Durban's preparations for the World Cup.

With regard to accommodation, according to DEAT (2005:16), the 32 900 beds available in the Durban area are anticipated to be adequate to supply the anticipated demand. The newly developed King Shaka International Airport which will open on 01 May 2010 is expected to cater for the increase in demand for travel to Durban during this period.

Skills Levels

According to DEAT (2005:18) there are certain systemic barriers, identified by the tourism industry, that need to be overcome in order to address the broader skills issue in the industry. These include:

- A perceived lack of urgency to address the skills issue;
- The exact nature and location of skills gaps within the value chain and within sub-sectors remain unknown;
- Structural issues within the industry (for example, largely highly fragmented, small family owned businesses) that drive the barriers to attracting and retaining skills;
- Misalingnment on the core issues due to the absence of a common language system around the issue of skills; and
- A perceived lack of coordinated leadership to address the problem.

A feature of the Durban Metro is the high proportion of the population with low levels of education. According to Global Insight (2010:27) in 2008, 123 522 people had no formal schooling, 269 029 had grade 6 or less and 1 090 941 had between grade 7 and 11. In total there were 1 539 485 people with less than matric, 674 631 with matric only and 244 373 with more than matric. Further, only 22 749 had a post-graduate degree.

It further indicated that there were 349 847 people that were classified as functionally illiterate. The study classified 40.5% of the total population as making up the economically active population.

It further indicated that in terms of sectoral employment, the tertiary sector accounted for 71.8% of formal employment while the secondary sector accounts for 27.3%. Durban decreased its unemployment rate from 29.7% in 2004 to 20.4% in 2008 which was the greatest decline (-9.3%) among all of South Africa's metropolitan cities. The population structure revealed that a large proportion of the population was young with a small elderly population. However, when one looks at it from the point of the different race groups, the pattern is very different (Global Insight 2010:34-37).

Durban accounts for 10.4% of national GDP and 65% of Provincial GDP. The tertiary sector accounts for the biggest portion of the economy (69.6%) while the secondary sector accounts for 28.7%. Manufacturing, which is part of the secondary sector accounts for 22.8% of the total local economy (Global Insight 2010:10).

Given the low levels of skills, sectors such as construction and manufacturing are particularly important as they are able to absorb unskilled and semi-skilled labour. While the construction activity in the build-up for the World Cup provided work opportunities in the unskilled categories, these contracts are reaching finality without significant projects of this nature in the post 2010 period. Bohlmann (2006:22) argues that post 2010 slowdown in construction will not have a significant impact on the construction sector as Eskom's expansions present a far greater capital spend. His argument is further supported if one considers that construction accounts for only 4.1% of Durban's remuneration. According to Global Insight (2010:23), between 2004 and 2009 labour remuneration grew significantly in manufacturing, construction, wholesale and retail trade and community services. As discussed, construction remains only 4.1% of the total labour remuneration for eThekwini, while manufacturing makes up 20.6%, community services 33.3%, wholesale and retail trade 14.3% and financial service 14.4% (Global Insight 2010:23). However, while the numbers in absolute terms suggest that construction is fairly minor in terms of wage remuneration, it should be borne in mind that the sector employs a large number of unskilled labour with a relatively lower wages than skilled workers. Hence the 'spread effect' of the labour remuneration in the construction industry and its impact on

poverty should not be underestimated. If one looks at the bottom-line in terms of the impact on GDP, the full impact cannot be adequately assessed. Hence, while the impact on GDP of the conclusion of 2010 related projects may be relatively minor, its impact on poverty maybe disproportionately larger.

It should further be noted that while most secondary and tertiary sectors in the eThekwini economy showed a decline between 2008 and 2009, construction remained at fairly high levels, sustained by government spending in 2010 and related infrastructure including the development of the King Shaka International Airport and widening of the Durban Port entrance.

Crime and Urban Management

DEAT (2005:18) identified that safety and security was an important purchase criterion for South Africa's target consumers in all its core markets. They highlighted that the perceptions and concerns that consumers have around safety are major challenges that South Africa faces as a tourism destination. In fact, a large proportion of tourists from our target markets choose not to come to South Africa because of safety concerns.

DEAT (2005:18) indicates that the World Cup provides the opportunity to address the negative perceptions around tourist safety and security by ensuring a safe and positive experience for tourists. They, however, identify several challenges that need to be addressed in order to achieve this:

- Insufficient focus on tourism safety and security at all levels including within host cities;
- Limited crime prevention capacity at many host locations; and
- Lack of of a national tourist safety and security plan.

In terms of crime rates Durban fared better than most other host cities in South Africa. According to Global Insight (2010:81), the highest crime indices for 2008 were recorded in Johannesburg (209), Nelson Mandela Bay (190.3), Cape Town (186.4), Tshwane (181.3), eThekwini (146.1) and Ekurhuleni (141.7). This pattern was fairly consistent from 2004

to 2008. Nonetheless, crime in eThekwini is still reflected as higher than the national average. Global Insight (2010:82) identifies that the problem associated with crime with regard to the World Cup is that crime over that period, particularly on tourists is likely to receive extensive media coverage around the world and has the potential to seriously damage the country's reputation. Crime did not emerge as a central issue during the World Cup with no major incidences reported.

In Durban, crime, particularly along its tourist localities has received extensive coverage in the media and has in the past damaged the reputation of the city as a tourist destination. Going as far back as 1998 when a visiting German tourist was attacked and killed on Durban's Beachfront, issues related to crime especially against tourists, have been prominently reported. In 2004 the media reported that a visiting British ship captain was attacked on the beachfront and that this was one of ten attacks in a few days by street children. It was further reported that an American couple was stabbed at Addington beach. Hotels and restaurants further threatened to stop paying rent and rates till the Municipality acknowledged the problem. Officials of the Urban Improvement Precinct (UIP) identified theft, stabbings, muggings and theft out of vehicle as daily occurrences. While the Municipality acknowledged that crime did exist in some areas it indicated that measures were in place to deal with it. All stakeholders identified street children as perpetrators of the crimes identified (Bisetty 2004a:1). Issues of security, crime and grime related to the Inner City also received media coverage on several occasions (Arde' 2003:8; Bisetty 2004a:1; 2004b:1; Bradford 2005:3; Corbett & Collins 2003:7; Hoskens 2003a:1; Naidoo 2003:3; Newman 2005:1; Sookha 2005:1; Sutcliffe & Corbett 2003:17).

KPMG (2000:12) identified the following key issues related to the tourist areas of the Inner City:

- Poor safety;
- Dirt and grime;
- Tacky attractions;
- Lack of pride in the city;
- Urban decay;
- Lack of by-law enforcement;
- The need for an attractive and clean environment;

- The need for a more hospitable city; and
- Lack of overall responsibility.

The Durban Inner City Plan (eThekwini Municipality 2005b:16) identified urban management and crime as a significant problem facing the revitalisation of the Inner City. The City has recently engaged the service of Drake and Skull Facilities Management company to manage areas of the Inner City adjacent to the International Convention Centre (ICC) to improve management. In addition, significant security measures have been developed to combat crime in the tourist areas in and around the Inner City.

Sustainability of the Stadiums

It is evident from the international cases reviewed that the sustainability of the facilities developed for the mega-events are of critical importance. Durban's Moses Mabida stadium has been developed with a particular emphasis on its usage as a year-round facility. The stadium incorporates several attractions. An arch that towers over the stadium supports the roof structure and adds to the aesthetic appeal of the stadium. The structure itself is a celebration of architecture and enhances the views of surrounding areas and adds a uniqueness to the Durban skyline. The arch has included a sky-car which takes visitors along the arch over the stadium to a platform from which there are magnificent views of the city and beaches. A bungee platform and adventure walk have also been incorporated into the arch. The stadium itself incorporates retail space the flanks onto the road and can be accessed at street level without going into the stadium. This will also incorporate a commercial gymnasium. Corporate suites within the stadium have been designed so that they may be used for corporate functions apart from simply viewing matches. Although property data was not yet available, it is likely that the stadium will significantly enhance property values and add to the revitalisation of the Inner City.

With regard to the three training venues being upgraded, significant investment has gone into the stadiums themselves as well as the surrounding precincts. While the stadiums at Umlazi and KwaMashu are located adjacent to existing nodes of activity, the Clermont stadium is relatively separated

from the main commercial node, although plans are being developed to ensure greater linkages in the longer-term.

The question that still remains unanswered with regard to all of these venues is the viability of it from a sports point of view. Soccer in South Africa is still largely patroned by lower income people and the ability of the sport to generate sufficient revenue to sustain the Moses Mabida Stadium as well as the three training venues that have been developed requires greater attention. The argument by Baade and Dye (1990) on the American experience related to the oversupply of venues requires consideration, especially due to the proximity of the existing ABSA Stadium.

Urban Integration and Regeneration

The Moses Mabida Stadium is located within Durban's Inner City. The Inner City Plan (eThekwini Municipality 2005b:95) highlights the area within which the stadium is located as a sports precinct. The precinct includes facilities for multiple sporting codes including soccer, rugby, cricket, swimming, golf, tennis, archery, horse riding and canoeing. The precinct itself is not isolated from the rest of the Inner City. The spatial and functional linkages need to be enhanced in order to ensure that the benefits of the world class stadium and sport tourism in general is used to assist in the regeneration of the Inner City. The Central Beachfront is located to the east of the stadium and is the most visited tourism asset in the province. It presents opportunities in terms of beach sports as well as beach tourism in general. The beachfront adds to the appeal and attractiveness of the stadium as a venue for sports events. Rosentraub's (1997) emphasis on ensuring that sport tourism forms part of a comprehensive strategy is of particular significance and it appears as if there is some attempts to integrate sport tourism development (especially the facilities and infrastructure linked to the World Cup) into the broader city development strategy.

The Municipality is currently undertaking a major upgrade of the Central Beachfront, part of which includes the improvement of linkages with the stadium. The beachfront also has the majority of tourist accommodation in the city as well as the Ushaka Marine World as a key attraction. Having this beachfront within pedestrian distance enhances the chances of tourists

walking to the stadium and also presents business opportunities. Pedestrian and tourist friendly transport within the Inner City travelling between the attractions adds to the accessibility and range of experiences available to tourists. To the north of the sports precinct is the Umgeni Estuary. The Inner City Plan (2005:9) highlights this area as an eco-tourist zone. This further presents tourism potential that may be exploited. Currently the Umgeni Estuary does not have any well developed tourist facilities or a management plan. This presents future opportunities to increase the stay and spend of tourists in the city through eco-tourism. To the south of the sports precinct is the ICC and core CBD. Further south is the harbour which includes the Victoria Embankment waterfront area, which includes a cruise liner terminal.

Sport tourism can be used in conjunction with beach tourism, eco-tourism, business tourism and cruise tourism in a mutually reinforcing way to regenerate the commercial core of the city. It is critical though that issues of urban management and safety are integrated into any such approach. With regard to the three training venues developed in disadvantaged townships, these have been developed within or adjacent to existing nodes and may contribute to the further development of these nodes, provided they are spatially and functionally integrated into the node.

The Durban Metro area has a population of 3 357 933 000, of which 1 052 452 (30.7%) live in poverty (Global Insight 2010:52). However, the figures indicate a consistent decreased in poverty levels, year on year from the 36.7% in 2004. The percentage of people living on less than a dollar a day in eThekwini in 2009 was 24 201, down from 99 131 in 2004. Per capita income shows an increase from R27 730 in 2004 to R44 026 in 2009 and this increase is consistent across all population groups (Global Insight 2010:52).

According to Global Insight (2010), the city showed a GDP growth of 5% to 6% between 2005 to 2007 and 3.5% in 2008 while this decreased to -2.0% in 2009. They identified that 12.4% of the population was HIV positive. With regard to the 2010 FIFA World Cup it is noted that there have been no major plans communicated with regard to protecting visitors from infections nor the spread of HIV during the event. Global Insight (2010:47) indicates that in terms of service delivery, 226 809 were without access to hygienic toilets. This was an increase from 222 771 in 2004. It estimated that 146 973 households were below RDP water standard, which increased from 145 796 in 2004. Furthermore, 102 896 were without electricity, which was a

decrease from 147 855 in 2004. Additionally, 117 890 people had no formal refuse removal which decreased from 127 196 in 2004. However, the research indicated that the overall share of households with services has increased across all categories of service (Global Insight 2010:47). Global Insight (2010:59) noted that the Gini Coefficient, which measures that gap between the rich and the poor was listed as 0.639. This, along with the City of Johannesburg was the highest among all the metros in the country. The gap between the rich and poor is the highest among the African population with 0.602 (Global Insight 2010:59).

In the face of such imminent challenges in poverty, evident in many service delivery protests that have occurred in the country, it may be argued that spending on preparations for the 2010 FIFA World Cup have diverted spending in many cash strapped cities, away from poverty and towards sport and entertainment. It is difficult for such arguments to be settled by cost benefit studies or macro-economic analysis, as these studies are laden with too many assumptions. The economic argument needs to occur within the context of political-economy and social discussion. In the context of stark socio-economic inequalities, the tendency is to look at the immediate benefits that spending on the World Cup could have yielded in gains in terms of poverty, had the government expenditure been diverted to social causes. However, in the longer-term perspective, the social and economic gains in hosting the event successfully may have a profound impact on society.

Conclusion

Many countries have hosted mega-sporting events, mainly with the aim of increasing its standing among countries and cities to improve its attractiveness as an investment destination and to grow its tourism industry. While most of these cities have been in developed countries, there have been developing countries in South America and Asia that have also hosted mega-sporting events. Sport tourism has been used as part of a longer-term strategy by Durban to grow its tourism industry and hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup adds to and enhances that vision. The skills profile of the population outlines a large number of unskilled and semi-skilled population, which is at the heart of the unemployment problem. To address this, a great emphasis is required on sectors that would absorb large amounts of unskilled and semi-

skilled labour. Such sectors include construction and manufacturing. While the World Cup has resulted in increased levels of construction and benefits in short-term job-creation, it is unlikely to have any significant impact in terms of permanent jobs in the manufacturing sector. However, the growth in the tourism industry will also create work opportunities in the semi-skilled category. The real economic benefits of hosting the World Cup are likely to be long-term, which may not satisfy the more immediate needs that face the country in the form of unemployment.

The development of the Moses Mabida Stadium in Durban has the potential to contribute significantly to the regeneration of Durban's Inner City, provided it becomes spatially and functionally integrated with the rest of the Inner City and an emphasis is placed on crime prevention and improved urban management. A number of activities have been included in the stadium to improve its sustainability. However, the real test will be the extent to which the stadium is used by customers that generate sufficient income to meet all the operational costs. One of the great benefits of the 2010 FIFA World Cup thus far has been the speeding up of infrastructure delivery. Most significantly for Durban has been the development of the King Shaka International Airport and Dube Trade Port as well as the development of high quality stadiums and urban environments in former disadvantaged townships. The real success of sport tourism will largely depend on the usage of the facilities developed.

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Mega-events and Environmental Impacts: The 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa

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Abstract

Sustainability, borne out of the desire for the future maintenance of human well-being, is undeniably linked to reconciling and balancing social, economic and environmental concerns through both the wise use and management of natural resources, commonly referred to as the triple bottom-line. This conceptual article provides critical impetus into the examination of mega sporting events in relation to environmental impacts and environmental education pertaining to sustainability imperatives, particularly in the South African context. It is deemed crucial to examine these impacts as they determine the ability of a country to host future mega-events, such as the Olympic Games, as in the case of South Africa. There exists a growing body of academic literature which suggests that 'optimistic' pre-event economic projections of post-event benefits have relegated the negative environmental costs to less or no form of comprehensive assessment, thus challenging the notion of what exactly is the legacy that is left in its wake. This concern, centred solely on economic imperatives, is particularly amplified due to the nature of and investment in such events – the former, that it is 'intrusive' and the latter, that the event and related activities necessarily require substantial ecological attention. The focus of this article presents a unique amalgamation of both the critical need to assess the environmental impacts of mega events, as well as to draw from this, opportunities to improve environmental awareness and education of nations hosting future mega sporting events. To this end, the FIFA World Cup's 'Green Goal' and Olympic Games' 'Green Games' programmes are used as illustrative examples of an attempt to draw attention to environmental aspects that are likely to be unique to specific

contexts and types of events. The article further advocates an integrated analysis of the triple bottom-line as fundamental to the planning, design and evaluation of events, and suggests recommendations for the hosting of future mega-events.

Keywords: Sustainability, environment, mega-events, green events

Introduction

Leeds (2008:461) defines a mega-event as 'any large-scale, organised gathering that draws large numbers of people to a limited geographic area for a relatively short period of time'. Although a global activity of this scale can be assumed to have a substantial negative impact on the environment, its consequences have seldom been reviewed, evaluated or quantified (Gossling 2002:283; Schmied *et al.* 2007:7; Wood 2005:38). Despite these uncertainties, current trends suggest that both developed and developing countries are aggregating towards event-driven economies, actively pursuing major sporting events such as the Olympic Games and the *Federation Internationale de Football Association* (FIFA) World Cup (Bob *et al.* 2008:49).These events have the capacity to attract significant numbers of people and spending power globally. The FIFA World Cup, for example, has become one of the world's biggest sporting events (Grundling & Steynberg 2008:15). The authors conclude that its coverage, in 2002, was 'broadcasted in more than 200 countries and regions around the world, covering over 41 100 hours of programming and reaching an estimated 28.8 billion television viewers' (Grundling & Steynberg 2008:15). Since South Africa's reintegration into international sport since 1994, it has progressively used sport tourism events, and mega-events in particular, such as the 1995 Rugby World Cup, the 2003 Cricket World Cup and the 2010 FIFA World Cup to reposition itself on equal footing within the international sport arena (Bob *et al.* 2008:49).

According to Ashworth and Goodall (1988 in Jones, 2001a:241), 'recognition effects' are often the major raison d'être for hosing such events. There is abundant literature which supports this perception. For instance, sport mega-events are seen as a nation builder, social unifier and

international image builder (Labuschagne 2008:3); they are often rationalised by their direct and indirect economic benefits to the host economy (Grant Thornton 2003 in Bohlmann & van Heerden 2005:3) and provide optimistic forecasts of increases in tourism, urban regeneration and urban infrastructural improvements (Persson *et al.* 1998 in Hiller 1998:47).

The macro-economic policy document, the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative–South Africa and the provincial growth and development strategy (which highlights spatial development corridors to promote economic development in the province), widely acknowledge the role of the 2010 World Cup as enabling the country to reach its economic growth targets and address crucial aspects of poverty and unemployment, while infrastructure development is constantly touted as the most important element for merging and spreading economic gains equitably (Kunene 2007:2). These recognition effects are a timely case in point for South Africa, as a country plagued by spatial and economic legacies of apartheid, and as the first developing country on the African continent to have hosted the FIFA World Cup. According to the United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace (UNOSDP 2010:5), 'the way in which South Africa manages the event, its successes and failures in this regard, are widely regarded as an important test case, leading the way for developing countries at large'. Furthermore, it is also a test of South Africa's ability to host the Olympic Games. Matheson (2006:5-6) sums up the sentiment that sport plays in South African society:

> The role of sports in a society such as South Africa in driving the developmental agenda cannot be over-emphasised. Sporting events do not only play an important economic role but are also useful catalysts in forging social cohesion and nation-building, albeit temporarily. The 1995 Rugby World Cup is a case in point. The picture of Nelson Mandela hosting the Cup with then Captain Francois Pienaar will forever be etched in history as a moment of non-racial triumphalism.

The impacts of mega-sporting events on the host city or region can be massive, and the idea that most outcomes are positive is widely acknowledged. Several authors, however, caution that these assumptions may

be short-term, where benefits are rarely made explicit and the 'legacies' – whether social, environmental, political, economic or sporting – also form part of the 'known unknowns', of sports mega-events (Jones 2001a:241; Campbell & Phago 2008:26; Horne & Manzenreiter 2006:9). Three critical questions need to be asked of mega-events: Are the results of hosting them sub-optimal development or clear unsustainability? Furthermore, are socio-economic benefits the only benefits, or is there a bigger picture? (Campbell & Phago 2008:26). What is the legacy that the event leaves with the host country?

Several studies focus on the social and economic dimensions of mega-events (for example Jones 2001a; 2001b; Bohlmann & van Heerden 2005; Matheson 2006; Campbell & Phago 2008). The focus of this article centres on the environmental impacts of mega-events, placing substantial attention on the key issues of sustainability in relation to event planning and design. Within this discussion, benefits are leveraged to minimise conflict, and specific strategies and approaches (including tools of environmental management) are illustrated to integrate the triple bottom-line considerations. The article then draws attention to environmental aspects that are likely to be unique to specific contexts, through the use of the FIFA World Cup's 'Green Goal' and Olympic Games' 'Green Games' programmes as examples. The next section argues that mega-events provide unique opportunities to learn from experience and inform environmental education in nations hosting future mega sporting events. The article further advocates an integrated analysis of the triple bottom-line as fundamental to the planning, design and evaluation of events, and makes recommendations for the hosting of future mega-events.

Key Issues

Legacies are defined as 'all planned and unplanned, positive and negative, intangible and tangible structures created by and for a sport event that remains for a longer time than the event itself' (Preuss 2007:86), and act as catalysts for change in the host country (Bob *et al.* 2008:49). Yet until recently, 'legacies and sustainable (that is, maintained over the long-term) development have historically been given little thought while planning a mega-event' (Koenig & Leopkey 2009:2). Mega-events also require massive

investments with anticipated high Return on Investments (ROIs) by host countries, with the anticipated long-term economic benefits accrued through tourism and business investments (Bob *et al.* 2008:49). While mega-events in all probability generate several positive benefits, this section interrogates the less contested (negative) environmental impacts, suggested in Table 1, which could result in various forms of environmental conflicts.

Table 1: Environmentally-relevant aspects of large sporting events (adapted from Schmied *et al.* 2007:13)

Mega-event	***Environmental Impacts***									
Marathon / Triathlon / Runs	Climate	Transport	Energy	Waste	Consumption of materials	Water/Wastewater	Nature and Landscape	Noise	Catering	Merchandising
Motor sport										
Skiing										
Riding										
Football										
Water sport										
Golf										
Beach Volleyball										
Athletics										
Tennis										
Other										

Environmental Impacts of Mega-events

The positive aspects of the environmental impacts of mega-events most frequently relate to the new physical infrastructure such as stadia, transport infrastructure, airport capacity and upgrades in water and sewage services that might not have been politically or financially feasible without the event (Dodouras & James 2004:5). However, Davenport and Davenport

(2006:281), attest to the reality that the greatest ecological threats that any form of mass tourism creates, indisputably lie in the infrastructure and transport arrangements required to support it (such as the physical development of resorts, consumption of fuel by buildings, aircraft, trains, buses, taxis and cars, overuse of water resources, pollution by vehicle emissions, sewage and litter), which accrue into substantial, often irreversible, environmental degradation as well as social consequences.

Furthermore, mega-events provide a rationale for 'fast-tracking' urban regeneration developments (and the allocation of scarce resources) that otherwise might have taken a longer period, thereby raising questions on the thoroughness of environmental impact assessments (EIA) process, the level of public participation (if they occur at all) and the need and desirability for these changes on local constituencies (Lenskyj 2000 in Malfas *et al.* 2004:215; Silvestre 2009:7).

Several authors raise issues around the lack of correlation between the pre-event investment in optimistic projections (benefits) and post-event outcomes, which are difficult to assess quantitatively, being complex and often occurring over extended periods (Malfas *et al.* 2004; Dodouras & James 2004; Collins *et al.* 2009), and there may well be environmental costs. An examination of the mega-event specific literature reveals, however, that the environmental impacts are very often overlooked, a position also supported in the recent academic work by Koenig and Leopkey (2009:14) and Jago et al (2010:6).

Tourism development, particularly in developing countries is highly dependent on the appeal of their natural resources and landscapes, and is often associated with sensitive ecosystems (Butler 1990 in Sasidharan *et al.* 2002:166). Emerging literature suggests that mega-events have the potential to impact negatively on local ecosystems by bringing pollution and waste into some of the world's most biologically and culturally diverse areas; utilising reserves of irreplaceable natural capital; releasing carbon emissions contributing to climate change and the high consumption of energy and water during the event, often causing adverse impacts on the environment and local communities (Schmied *et al.* 2007:12; Jones 2008 in Collins *et al.* 2009:829). Mega-events and the Olympic Games in particular have often attracted criticism for their perceived negative impacts on sensitive locations, and

more recently in terms of contributing to climate change (Greenpeace 2004 in Collins *et al.* 2009:829).

At a time when the factors contributing to and impacts of climate change cannot be obviated from policies and practices in both the public and private sectors, the huge carbon footprints associated with mega-events have honed in on the attention of the world (Collins *et al.* 2009:828). According to Gossling (2002:200), transport, primarily in the form of air traffic, is liable for the greater part of the environmental impacts associated with long-distance tourism, for example, more than 90% of a typical journey's contribution to climate change. Schmied *et al.* (2007:15) concur that transport was responsible for approximately 90% of the greenhouse gas of all large sporting events in Germany in 2005. The authors present calculations on the break-down of emissions:

> … the 25.6 million visitors to large sporting events in 2005 accounted for emissions of around 210,000 tonnes of greenhouse gases, that is, 8.0 kilograms per visitor. Travel on the part of some 500,000 competitors gave rise to total emissions of around 60,000 tonnes, which correspond to about 100 kg per person. This high figure is due, above all, to air travel to and from Germany by international competitors (Schmied *et al.* 2007:15).

According to Pellegrino *et al.* (2010: 2), the carbon footprint of the 2010 FIFA World Cup was expected to exceed that of the 2006 FIFA World Cup by nine times and weigh in at double that of the Olympics in Beijing. These larger carbon emissions was attributed to, in part the increased air traffic resulting from soccer teams and fans traveling increased distances abroad to attend the games, as well as from travel between widely separated hosting cities, as well as South Africa's reliance on coal for fully 90% of its energy (Pellegrino *et al.* 2010:2). A further contributing factor is the physical structure of its cities which are largely sprawling in structure. Electricity generation in South Africa is a particularly contentious issue due to the power outages that the country has faced just prior to the hosting of the World Cup. Jones (2001b:858) maintains that these outages will probably continue beyond 2010, and questions whether trade-offs between the host cities' demands will divert services away from other areas of the cities,

resulting in conflicts across geographic lines. Power outages were not experienced during South Africa's hosting of the FIFA World Cup. According to the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) (2010:13), South Africa has abundant renewable energy capacity in light of the fact that it has some of the highest levels of solar radiation in the world and good wind power generation potential in many parts of the country. The Department of Mineral Affairs (2004 in DEAT 2010:14) state that the national Government has set a target of 4% renewable energy of total energy demand by 2013. Whether this initiative received impetus due to the World Cup or not, the probe into renewable energy is heralded as a move in the responsible direction to meet the country's rapidly urbanising and industrialising needs.

Transport activities are another large contributor to carbon footprints, accounting for up to 50% of the energy use in South Africa (DEAT 2010:57). The country's inadequate public transport and an excellent road infrastructure has created a powerful momentum for private car use by middle and higher-income classes but more than 63% of the working population rely on inadequate public transport or non-motorised transport (Greening2010 2010). While strategies were put in place to cater for tourist transport needs during the World Cup (such as rapid transit systems, airport upgrades and cycle pathways) (DEAT 2010:57; Greening2010 2010), and the country ploughed impressively into improving the public infrastructure (some R3.8 billion) (Grundling & Steynberg 2008:20), there was no concrete effort put into developing a legacy of sustainable public transport system in the country. In retrospect, the massive investment in roads infrastructure, juxtaposed with sprawl further reinforce the sustained use of private transport.

Water issues chronologically follow on from climate issues, as water stresses and quality issues are gaining momentum as a matter of urgency in many parts of the world. The focus in water management is also increasingly shifting from water supply to demand management. The link between tourism and water availability and quality are significant issues, often because tourists shift their water demand to other regions, often water scarce areas like coastal zones (Gossling 2002: 284). Furthermore, they seem to use substantially more water on a per capita basis than at home, thus increasing global water demand, for example, the World Wildlife Fund (2000 in

Gossling 2002:284) reports that the average tourist in Spain consumes 440 litres per day, a value that increases to 880 litres if swimming pools and golf courses exist, thus tourism may substantially increase the overall use of water in coastal areas. In the Mediterranean, every tourist consumes between 300 and 850 litres of water per day through waste, recreation and drinking water (De Stefano 2004 in Cooper 2007:14). In certain cases, tourist peak seasons often do not coincide with corresponding water availability. This was the case in Durban, South Africa, which receives rainfall in the summer months, while the World Cup was staged in winter. Coastal Durban has the potential to explore the use of water desalinisation plants to meet its water demands, both in terms of the World Cup and the city's future water needs, however, the option was not considered. Conversely, according to Ahmed (2009:202) the provincial priority focus is on increasing the number of dams to facilitate water demand concerns.

Water quality issues in terms of organic and solid waste pollution, ranging from a multitude of land based and marine sources are presenting particular stresses for tourism, both with dire long-term threats to human health, economic activities, biodiversity and recreational and tourism opportunities in many parts of the world (Chia 2000:1). On the land side, infrastructure investment mainly in pollution prevention issues, such as sewerage, wastewater and solid waste management, has fallen behind schedule due to the lack of adequate planning, legislation and financing (Burak *et al.* 2004:519), resulting in pollution of groundwater, water courses and coastal waters from untreated sewerage and other contaminants. These problems, linked with tourism, are likely to exacerbate problems faced by the host populations in cities in many developing countries thereby positioning tourism in direct conflict with host populations.

Land (including strategic aquatic environments) alteration is seen as the single most important component of global environmental change affecting ecological systems (Vitousek *et al.* 1997 in Gossling 2002:284) through direct conversion for the development of tourist infrastructure, indirect conversion through fragmentation, as well as additional land and water as burying grounds for solid wastes (Gossling 2002:284). This indicates the huge ecological demand that tourism places on the environment, both in terms of consumption of resources as well as the waste assimilation capacities of ecosystems. According to Petschel-Held *et al.* (2006:143),

drivers of ecosystem change often interact with one another in synergistic ways, for example, they can trigger each other, reinforce each other, or constrain each other. Focus group discussions emerging from a study conducted on the rapidly transforming KwaZulu-Natal north coast of South Africa revealed that while the 2010 FIFA World Cup received extremely low priority as a direct driver of land use change in the area, it was seen as the indirect driver of tourism investment and infrastructure ahead of the 2010 event (Ahmed 2009:195). This investment in transformation, occurring in the absence of a strategic environmental assessment, was found to be impacting negatively on the area's biodiversity.

One often views the impacts of an event as those occurring only during the event. However, the United States Department of the Interior (1993 in the Island Resources Foundation 1996:10) further allude to the often low prioritised and subsidiary environmental impacts that occur during the event's planning and construction phases (Table 2), which probably impacts more on residents than tourists. These relate to traffic congestion, noise disturbance, local pollution, disruption to water services, and so forth. However, those impacted upon are rarely able to form community groups and protect their interests, as was the case of the construction of the Olympic Stadium in a working class neighborhood in Rio de Janeiro which was marked by community disturbance and public by-pass where local residents were not provided with detailed information regarding planned works and possible implications (Silvestre 2009:6). According to Cochrane *et al.* (1996 in Silvestre 2009:10), during the bid phase the host city showcases its strengths and opportunities while minimising or even denying its weaknesses and threats. In this light it is easy to understand uncertainties about public scrutiny (Silvestre 2009:10).

Respondents from the focus groups in the study conducted by Ahmed (2009:195) commented on the long-term viability of the 2010 driven investments by arguing that 'it is an attempt to show the best face of South Africa and lots of business linked to infrastructural and building development is generated because of 2010, but a key issue is the long-term sustainability of these development projects as no other major event is planned for after 2010'. Furthermore, '2010 is just a smoke-screen for encouraging foreign investor confidence in the area'.

Table 2: Environmental Impacts arising from Tourism Planning and Construction (adapted from The United States Department of the Interior 1993 in the Island Resources Foundation 1996:10)

Management Practice	***Pollution***	***Physical Processes***	***Biological Systems***
Site access, construction and landscaping	Noise Petroleum spills Vehicle pollution Toxic releases Traffic congestion	Surface water disruption Erosion Sediment Soil damages	Altered/ destroyed habitat and vegetation Reef impacts Exotic species introduction
Energy systems	Toxics released or spilled Air quality/ odors Petroleum Noise	Soil removed or disturbed	Altered/ destroyed habitat and vegetation Road kills Reef impacts
Water systems	Toxics released Noise, air, vehicles Hot water	Soil disturbed Water flow disrupted	Altered/ destroyed habitat Altered/ destroyed vegetation Reef impacts Exotic species supported Food chains altered
Waste disposal	Noise Air quality/odors Petroleum Spills Vehicle pollution Toxic releases	Soil disturbed Water flow disrupted groundwater used	Diseases introduced Altered habitat/ vegetation Roadkills Exotic species supported Food chains altered

Walls and fences	Toxins released	Soil disturbed Water flow disrupted	Destroyed habitat/vegetation Barriers to wildlife Life cycles disrupted
Operations and maintenance	Noise Toxins released Petroleum released	Erosion Sedimentation Water flow disrupted	Altered/ destroyed habitat and vegetation Reef impacts Exotic species supported Life cycles disrupted

Sustainability of Mega-events

'Sustainable events are those that can endure indefinitely without consuming or spoiling the resources upon which they depend' (Getz 2005:123). Considerations of sustainability usually take a long-term (50+ years) outlook, require a holistic and integrated view, need to consider different societal domains (social, ecological and economic) and occur at different scales (global to local) (Rotmans *et al.* 2001 in LOICZ 2001:37. To the contrary, mega-events are by their very nature, short-term events of fixed duration, intrusive activities (a diversion from normal processes and/or actors), have the potential to consume extensive resources and are usually legitimated by optimistic economic forecasts that enhance their desirability (Hiller 1998:47). Furthermore, as Collins *et al.* (2009:830) discuss, the issues facing event organisers and management regarding sustainability are necessarily complex, where the discussion pertaining to the environment has focused, when it occurs, on the physical and natural environment with decision-makers in an event sustainability assessment also having to grapple with the socio-cultural and economic dimensions of sustainability (triple bottom-line considerations). Dodouras and James (2004:5) further state that valuation techniques/processes rarely employ integrated triple bottom-line issues

successfully, predictions are often incorrect and as a result the decision-making processes do not rely heavily on this information.

Local development guidelines in both developed and developing countries, including the standpoint of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) now require environmental impact assessments (EIAs). However, EIAs have been criticised for being site specific, a mere tool to predict the likely impacts of intended projects, do not prevent government superseding impact recommendations, and do not deal with holistic questions of the impact of the event itself (Dodouras & James 2004:4). The mega-event and sustainability literature is thus aggregating towards more strategic and integrated assessments which imply that practitioners and decision-makers should exert influence from the very beginning of a project development until after project completion (Hiller 1998; Dodouras & James 2004, Collins *et al.* 2009). To date, strategic environmental assessments (SEAs) are not a legislated environmental management tool in South Africa, and hence, projects are undertaken on an ad hoc basis. Where an SEA is undertaken, it is done so by initiative rather than mandated. Furthermore, South Africa is currently undergoing an environmental law reform process, one of the objectives of which is to establish an integrated and internally consistent system of environmental laws for South Africa (DEAT 2006 in Ahmed 2009:137). There is a sense that both the tools of environmental management and the policy arena, although commendable, may not be sufficiently mature to deal with the scale of impacts generated by mega-events.

Integrated assessments are currently gaining momentum in mega-event research. They are characterised by the practice of combining different strands of knowledge (interdisciplinary) to accurately aid decision-making (Dodouras & James 2004:5). Its distinguishing feature, as opposed to disciplinary research, is its policy dimension, aiming to inform decision-makers on the complexity of real world problems (Dowlatabadi & Rotmans 2002 in Dodouras & James 2004:5).

Emerging literature, such as that advocated by Chalip (2004) is beginning to draw attention to leveraging the positive benefits of an event, drawing more on qualitative studies to analyse the equity of benefits and to explore the most productive strategies for enabling host communities to benefit from an event. Chalip (2004:228) argues that ‘a shift in thinking from event impact to event leverage mandates a shift in the ways that events are

planned, managed and evaluated'. Sweeting *et al.* (1999:17) assert that the transition from ideals of sustainability to responsible practice will necessitate a fundamental shift in the industry as a whole, including those with governments, local communities, international development agencies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and international tourism organisations. The authors stress that sustainable tourism development will require an integrated approach, comprised of:

- participatory land-use planning including the use of focus group discussions, resident perceptions (Swart *et al.* 2008:123) and participatory geographic information systems (GIS);
- private sector practices which both mitigate negative impacts and actively support conservation and local benefit; and
- the implementation of a range of public sector policies to promote responsible development (Sweeting *et al.* 1999:17).

Horne & Manzenreiter (2006:17) underscore the importance of integrated research into planning and organising mega-events, and highlight the following key characteristics:

- the adoption of methodological pluralism and theoretical openness;
- theory should be seen as a process, not an accomplishment; and
- theoretical oppositions, or dualisms, should be mobilised to address certain substantive concerns, rather than argued away.

The analysis of the impact of mega-events has incorporated frameworks that assess different impacts under different criteria; for example, separating impacts according to whether they occur before, during or after the event itself (Li & Blake 2009:1). Hiller (1998:51) concurs by proposing a longitudinal analysis of events; that is, viewing the event as not just a point in time but one that is:

- preceded by a social context which the event may alter or of which it may be a product. The *pre-event* period highlighted in backward linkages is important because it reveals how the event was both

intrusive and transformative of a prior situation. The focus on pre-event analysis is on conditions before the event so that it becomes clearer what role the event played and with what effects;

- The second point in time is during the *event* itself so that short-term impacts can be isolated from long-term impacts. For example, job creation and immediate tourist revenues may be desirable immediate benefits but increased prices or traffic congestion may be perceived as negative though clearly short-term (Jeong & Faulkner 1996 in Hiller 1998:51); and
- The third point in time is *post-event* where legacy is not only interpreted as permanent effects but the readjustments to normality or the adaptation to changed conditions caused by the event.

Assessing the environmental impacts of mega-events require a two-pronged approach, focusing attention on both the effects of policies which promote them as well quantifying the externalities linked to event-related infrastructure and consumption (Collins *et al.* 2009:829). The authors highlight the following, in terms of evaluating, benchmarking or certifying the effects of policies to mitigate environmental impacts:

> …life cycle analysis, cost benefit analysis, and with procedural and process tools available such as sustainable procurement, ISO (International Organization for Standardisation) certification, and environmental management systems;

They add the following related to quantifying selected externalities linked to event infrastructure and event-related consumption:

> Ecological Footprint focusing on the global impacts of resource consumption activity and the Environmental Input–Output approach focuses on more local effects (Collins *et al.* 2009:829).

Schmied *et al.* (2007:12) indicate several pro-active environmental measures in large and mega-events which pave the path to hosing sustainable events in the future:

- large events fulfill an exemplary and multiplier function for smaller events;
- large events can be a communications platform for environmental topics and sensitise visitors to ecological matters, also in everyday life; and
- large events can also improve the image of event organisers, sponsors, sports associations and regions.

Environmental Education and Mega-events

According to Koichiro Matsuura, Director-General UNESCO (UNESCO 2005:4):

> Education – in all its forms and all its levels – is not only an end in itself but is also one of the most powerful instruments we have for bringing about the changes required to achieve sustainable development.

Numerous studies (Smith 2002 in Ahmed *et al.* 2008:79) have sought to emphasise the importance of understanding the levels of environmental awareness among users of the natural resource base. This is in light of the fact, and as demonstrated in this literature, that the natural environment and sport events are two realms that are often in conflict.

Events are targeted as opportunities to demonstrate best practice models in waste management, for example, and to change public attitudes and habits (Allen *et al.* 2002:35). The inherent link between a clean environment and participation in sport is part of what makes sport a powerful tool for communicating environmental messages and encouraging action to clean up the environment (Ahmed *et al.* 2008:79). This message has primarily been advocated through event greening information and initiatives. Event greening refers to the organisation of events, by event managers, in such a way that it supports the triple bottom-line principles of sustainable development. This is typically done through successfully implementing programmes and practices which have a minimum or no impact on the natural resources base (such as water, energy, waste and biodiversity)

throughout the life cycle of the event, from conceptualisation to finish, and is an intensely deliberative process, thereby minimising potential conflict (DEAT 2010:2). Furthermore, it contributes towards job creation, skills development and other income generating activities (DEAT 2010:2).

The focus on improving the environmental awareness and education of nations hosting mega sporting events became increasingly evident with FIFA's Green Goal and the Olympics Green Games Programmes. The Green Goal was first implemented at the 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany. Bob (2010:11) states:

> The Green Goal, the Local Organising Committee (LOC) (2006) asserts, is an innovative and ambitious environmental programme which was successfully carried out at the 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany, which pursued new paths for large sporting events and intended to reduce to the greatest extent possible adverse effects on the environment, which is often associated with large-scale sport events such as the FIFA World Cup. The Green Goal programme focused specifically on water, waste, energy and transport. It also provided an opportunity to sensitise broad sections of the public about environmental and nature conservation beyond the World Cup, and that environmental protection can also be economically worthwhile.

Given that the Green Goal was part of the 2010 FIFA World Cup's planning, and with Germany previously laying the foundation for the Green Goal legacy, it was imperative that the 2010 World Cup also sufficiently considered environmental issues. The mega-event literature is increasingly allied with the idea of 'leaving a legacy', as this article has demonstrated. Bob *et al.* (2008:52) maintain that legacies include 'issues of sustainability' (the focus on the 'Green Games'), the development of hard (infrastructure) and soft (education, culture, skills development) components to gauge tangible and long-term impacts, as well as the transfer of knowledge (TOK) programme which was started in Sydney and has been central to passing on information and thereby avoiding mistakes of the past'. Furthermore, understanding consumption patterns, socio-economic characteristics and desirous activities relating to event visitors are important to ensure

appropriate and effective planning and development of the sport event, especially in relation to environmental education and conservation efforts (Ahmed *et al.* 2008:79).

To this end, the DEAT, the lead government agent in promoting and managing the environment for sustainable development in South Africa, has developed several guidelines for the education, awareness raising and management of mega-events (such as ambassador and green volunteer programmes). These guidelines reflect recommendations and international benchmarks carried over from countries which have hosted such events in the past, indicating that South Africa has built on prior knowledge in the events management repertoire. Integrated within the context unique to South Africa, DEAT has produced guidelines with regard to the following:

- Climate change and energy;
- Waste minimisation and management;
- Water conservation and management;
- Sustainable procurement;
- Biodiversity;
- Transport; and
- Design and construction

Conclusion and Recommendations for Hosting Mega-events

The discussion ensuing from the literature in this article indicates that environmental considerations command a significant component in planning and managing mega-events. Furthermore, the article has demonstrated that intricate threads link up these environmental issues with the social and economic, hence the need for integrated and 'bigger picture' assessments of mega-events. The hosting of the World Cup in South Africa has produced both tangible (infrastructure) and intangible (civic cohesion and nation-building) legacies for the country. However, the environmental legacies are simply assumed and not made specific. For instance, while DEAT's guidelines are applauded, they run the risk of appearing as mere politically correct sales pitches. They are not reflective of the *state* of the natural environment (apart from indicating generic threats to the environment, they

do not reflect sink capacities or thresholds for acceptable limits to change of natural resources), nor its interlinks with the other dimensions of sustainable development. For example, unless underlying issues are addressed, as in the case of developing a sustainable public transport system, the environmental aspects stand little chance of critical attention. Furthermore, the guidelines are not apparent regarding South Africa's environmental management capacities in terms of legislation, tools and institutional maturity, as this article has indicated. This article has demonstrated that South Africa's hosting of the FIFA World Cup has translated into sub-optimal development and not sustainable development.

Building on these findings, the following are recommended, should South Africa win the bid to host the Olympic Games:

- a legislated mega-event framework;
- dialogue and consultation with communities and residents;
- the legislation of strategic environmental management tools to assess the nature and scale of mega-events;
- informed and updated state of the environment reporting, and transparency in this regard; and
- the no-go option (in specific environmentally sensitive locations) of hosting mega-events in the future.

These aspects are also relevant not only to mega-events but should be adapted to the hosting of all events, irrespective of their scale.

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The 2010 FIFA World Cup – Service Delivery, 'Afrophobia' and Brand Imperialism: Through the Eyes of Frantz Fanon

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Abstract

Soccer is the most popular sport in the world. This game which has deep historical roots in working class communities of the big 19th century English industrial cities of Manchester, Liverpool and Sheffield, has captured the imagination of people all around the world. The game is considered a great unifier of humanity. The 2010 World Cup was the first such event on African soil, and South Africa was billing the event as Africa's World Cup.

Since being awarded the 2010 World Cup, South Africa has experienced outbreaks not of xenophobia, but of 'Afrophobia' as one informal sector informant coined the term; this implies attacks by poor black South Africans on foreign black Africans. This violence did not occur in places where the foreign Africans are majorities but in areas where they are minorities. Significant state resources were redirected to the infrastructure development associated with the World Cup; resources that could possibly have gone to service delivery in poor areas. Thus the outbreaks of 'Afrophobia' often occurred as part of service delivery protests. One could possibly refer to this as the first line of deprivation that has resulted from the awarding of the World Cup to South Africa.

The second line of deprivation is associated with the impact of brand imposition as a result of FIFA's insistence that its sponsors be given monopoly preference in the economic opportunities associated with the

event. FIFA is completely intolerant of any competition to its brand sponsors. In this sense, FIFA's impact is similar to the impact of shopping malls on small businesses on main-street, the informal sector and farm dairies and bakeries on the urban fringe.

This article will seek to scientifically investigate above-mentioned issues and voice the perceptions of the population of Berea, Bertrams, Ellis Park, Melville and Yeoville concerning the unfolding clash between FIFA and its brand sponsors and the formal and informal trades that form the basis of the survival strategies of communities surrounding the central part of Johannesburg. The views of Frantz Fanon on nationalism and unity were used as conceptual framework for the unfolding of the article.

Keywords: Xenophobia, afrophobia, nationalism, national unity, national consciousness, post-colonial, national middle class, crass materialism, neo-liberalism, brand imposition, patriotism, service delivery, state resources, nationalisation, informal sector, Apartheid.

1. Introduction

Soccer is the most popular sport in the world. This game which has deep historical roots in working class communities of the big 19th century English industrial cities of Manchester, Liverpool and Sheffield, has captured the imagination of people all around the world. The game is considered a great unifier of humanity. The 2010 World Cup was the first such event on African soil, and South Africa billed the event as Africa's World Cup. The slogan for the World Cup, chosen by the Local Organising Committee (LOC), was 'Celebrate Africa's Humanity'; in the cities the bill boards were shouting: 'World class stadiums, world class host cities' and 'United we shall stand'.

One of the most prominent latent functions of this world class event was expected to be the unification of the continent as well as to enhance the feeling of nationalism in South Africa. With that, of course, also came the hope to revive a faltering economy and crippling poverty in the country. However, since being awarded the 2010 World Cup, South Africa has experienced serious outbreaks of xenophobia; one informal sector informant referred to these attacks as 'Afrophobia' - this implies attacks by poor black

South Africans on foreign black Africans. This violence did not occur in places where the foreign Africans are majorities but in areas where they are minorities. Significant state resources were redirected to the infrastructure development associated with the World Cup; resources that could possibly have gone to service delivery in poor areas. Thus the outbreaks of 'Afrophobia' often occurred as part of service delivery protests. One could possibly refer to this ('Afrophobia' and service delivery protests) as the first line of deprivation that has resulted from the awarding of the World Cup to South Africa.

The second line of deprivation was associated with the impact of brand imposition as a result of FIFA's insistence that its sponsors be given monopoly preference in the economic opportunities associated with the event. In this sense, FIFA's impact is similar to the impact of shopping malls on small businesses on main-street, the informal sector and farm dairies and bakeries on the urban fringe. Taking into account these two lines of deprivation, it seems that FIFA – contrary to the initial expectation – is a major stumbling block in the way of nationalism and unity. The philosopher and psychiatrist Frantz Omar Fanon from Martinique (1925 – 1961), warned about the limitations of this consciousness of nationalism and unity, which eventually just becomes 'hollow and empty'. Some applicable facets of Fanon's work will be used as conceptual and theoretical pointers for the unfolding of this article.

2. Objectives

The objectives of the paper are seven fold:

- To introduce the work of Frantz Fanon as conceptual reference point regarding national consciousness and unity
- To give a brief historical contextualisation of nationalism in South Africa
- To scrutinise the relationship between the 2010 World Cup, strikes and service delivery protests
- To investigate 'Afrophobia' in South Africa as a result of the 2010 World Cup

- To assess the impacts of FIFA's brand imposition being done in a monopolistic way
- To take a 'post-mortem' of a post-World Cup South Africa
- To table recommendations for consideration in the planning of future major sport events and in doing so, avoid some pitfalls being discussed in this paper

3. Methodology

Two basic research procedures were used for the research, namely a literature study and the survey procedure.

The historical procedure (literature study) was used to conceptualise and contextualise all facets of the research. Reference in this regard can especially be made to literature on nationalism in the country, views of nationalism and unity of Frantz Fanon as well as supporting literature on FIFA's activities. Books, scientific journal articles, popular articles, newspapers, reports, conference proceedings, databases, official FIFA documents as well as the Internet were used as sources for applying the historical procedure.

To gather the empirical information, the survey procedure was used. The empirical part of the study tried to 'pick up the voices' and perceptions of the population of Berea, Bertrams, Ellis Park, Melville and Yeoville concerning the unfolding clash between FIFA and its brand sponsors and the formal and informal trades that form the basis of the survival strategies of communities surrounding the central part of Johannesburg.

When working with the 'more informal sector' and in poor and 'marginalised' communities, especially in Africa, a qualitative approach is the better choice for the subject matter in that it enables the respondents to expand on their points of view without being limited by the questions. Data collection methods included focus groups, interviews and researcher observations. As the elements of focus groups and interviews were not fixed beforehand, they were semi-structured on the basis of a list of topics related to the project objectives (see Objectives Point 2). A degree of flexibility was allowed to assist the interviewer(s) to probe deeper where more relevant information could be obtained through further questioning. Questions and topics were not necessarily asked in the same order each time as this

depended on the way the focus group discussion/interview developed. This allowed the person being interviewed a degree of freedom to voice concerns and to participate in directing the flow of the conversation. These focus group discussions and in-depth interviews assisted in clarifying what themes and topics were considered to be important and what the major concerns of individuals, communities, informal sector traders and restaurant and bar owners were regarding the impact of the FIFA 2010 World Cup.

Focus groups (8 to 12 people) and interviewees were selected purposely to take account of gender, race, migrant or local status, age and specific interest groups, e.g. street vendors and bar owners. To enhance the scientific nature of the study, at least two researchers (interviewers) facilitated each focus group and each personal interview. Different individuals in different areas were also used as key informants; '*Piet*' (not the real name) for example, owns a sport bar in one of the central parts of Johannesburg for more than thirty years. Patton (2002:321) describes key informants as

> … people who are particularly knowledgeable about the inquiry setting and articulate about their knowledge – people whose insights can prove particularly useful in helping an observer understand what is happening and why.

The interviews with the respondents were documented. The content of the data was then analysed by means of conceptual (thematic) analysis. According to Palmquist *et al.* (2005), the process of conceptual analysis comprises eight steps, namely:

- deciding on the level of analysis
- deciding on how many concepts to code for
- deciding whether to code for the existence or frequency of a concept
- deciding how to distinguish among the concepts
- developing rules for the coding of texts
- deciding what to do with irrelevant information
- coding texts
- analysing results

A more theoretical (contrary to a practical) approach - that is the interpretation of written sources (literature control; *also see historical procedure*) - was used as the basic point of departure for the analysis and interpretation of the results.

According to Guba (in Krefting 1991), there are four important elements for increasing trustworthiness in qualitative research:

- Truth value (confidence in the truth of the findings and the context in which the study was undertaken);
- Applicability (the degree to which the findings can be applied to other contexts and settings or with other groups);
- Consistency (whether the findings would be consistent if the inquiry were replicated with the same subjects or in a similar context); and
- Neutrality (the degree to which the findings are a function solely of the informants and conditions of the research and not other biases).

The researchers tried their utmost to guide their research according to these elements during the study.

4. Frantz Fanon: National Consciousness and Unity

Fanon was exceptionally critical of national liberation movements led by the urbanised intellectual elite. He did not believe that these movements were capable of transforming underdeveloped countries into states that could take their place on the world stage. He rejected the formation of a national middle class as much as he rejected the ideology of nationalism itself. Thus he believed that the national bourgeoisie of underdeveloped countries

> … should not be opposed because it threatens to slow down the total, harmonious development of the nation. It should simply be stoutly opposed because, literally, it is good for nothing (Wallerstein 2009).

Fanon (2001:164) then denounces the ideology itself:

> Nationalism is not a political doctrine, nor a programme. If you really wish your country to avoid regression, or at best halts and uncertainties, a rapid step must be taken from national consciousness to political and social consciousness …. A bourgeoisie that provides nationalism alone as food for the masses fails in its mission and gets caught up in a whole series of mishaps.

According to Fanon, national consciousness in the post colonial period, '… instead of being the all-embracing crystallisation of the innermost hopes …' of the nation, 'the whole people', '… instead of being the immediate and most obvious result of the mobilisation of the people', turns out to be '… an empty shell, a crude and fragile travesty of what it might have been'. This is because of the '… incapacity of the national middle class to rationalise popular action, that is to say their incapacity to see into the reasons for that action' (Fanon 2001:119).

This traditional weakness, which is common to the national consciousness of under-developed countries, is not only because of the legacy of colonialism, or in the case of South Africa, *Apartheid*. It is also, according to Fanon (2001:119) '… the result of the intellectual laziness of the national middle class, of its spiritual bankruptcy …', and of the profoundly cosmopolitan and neo-liberal mould that its mind is set in.

Fanon would typify the national middle class which took over power at the end of the *Apartheid* regime in South Africa as an under-developed middle class. It has practically no economic power, and in any case it is in no way commensurate with the global bourgeoisie and is no better than the Afrikaner 'administrative bourgeoisie' which it is in the process of replacing through affirmative action and black economic empowerment (BEE).

> The national bourgeoisie of under-developed countries is not engaged in production, nor in invention, nor building, nor labour; it is completely canalised into activities of the intermediary type. The psychology of the national bourgeoisie is that of the businessman, not that of a captain of industry; and it is only too true that the greed of the settlers and the system of embargoes set up by colonialism has hardly left them any other choice (Fanon 2001:120).

The national middle class in power in many post-colonial African countries quickly deteriorated into situations where,

> [t]he ruling party … is puffed up in a most dangerous way. In the presence of a member of the party, the people are silent, behave like a flock of sheep and publish panegyrics in praise of the government of the leader. But in the streets when evening comes, away from the village, in the cafés or by the river, the bitter disappointment of the people, their despair but also their unceasing anger makes itself heard (Fanon 2001:147).

The middle class who is in power vainly seek to recapture the popular imagination with fanfare, with national prestige projects, global events and conferences, through the blowing of trumpets, the dishing out of balloons, t-shirts and slogans – through an increasing number of carnivalesque processions; thus the middle class elite reverts to the global capitalist class for assistance and is

> … greatly assisted on its way towards decadence by the Western bourgeoisies, who come to it as tourists avid for the exotic, for big-game hunting and for casinos. The national bourgeoisie organises centres of rest and relaxation and pleasure resorts to meet the wishes of the Western bourgeoisie. Such activity is given the name of tourism, and for the occasion will be built up as a national industry (Fanon 2001:123).

According to Fanon (2001:136), the masses are not fooled, they

> … have no illusions …. They are hungry; and the police officers, though now they are Africans, do not serve to reassure them particularly. The masses begin to sulk; they turn away from this nation in which they have been given no place and begin to lose interest in it.

The current escalation of strikes, threats of strikes and service delivery protests before, during and after the 2010 World Cup, would suggest that South Africa has reached a similar stage.

5. Historical Contextualisation of Nationalism in South Africa

During the struggle against *Apartheid* there emerged a more nationalist consciousness – one which saw the need for a broad front type of struggle against the system. This broad front was achieved through an alliance between workers organised in the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the country and the African National Congress (ANC) in exile. A new consciousness began to emerge uniting the working class, educated elite, small business and rural peasants across tribal lines and gave hope that a new national consciousness would arise towards a common struggle for liberation.

The combined armed struggle of the 1970s and 1980s (*Mkhonto we Sizwe*) with the 'united front' struggle represented by the struggles of the UDF and the labour struggles led by COSATU during the same period, gave hope that South Africa would escape the post-independence pitfalls encountered by its neighbours in Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The neo-colonial disappointments suffered in the 'frontline' states were blamed on the brutal reaction of the *Apartheid* state in its own defence against the liberation struggle, and objective global conditions, particularly those associated with the Cold War.

However, when South Africa began making the same neo-colonial mistakes soon after 1994, it became clear that it was not only the actions of the *Apartheid* state, or the Cold War (both of which are now assigned to the scrapheap of history) that led frontline countries into mistaken policies. Furthermore, it is puzzling that South Africa seems to be walking down the same path as what its neighbours walked before it. Some argue that with the collapse of the Soviet Union and state communism in Eastern Europe, the objective global conditions favour neo-liberalism and therefore that the objective conditions are forcing South Africa down the same treacherous road. Yet others argue that 'historic compromises' such as the *Risorgimento* in 19th Century Italy, Bismarck's *Kultur Kampf*, Mugabe's Lancaster House, or Mandela's Kempton Park, invariably leads into historical *cul-de-sacs*, because such compromises paper over national and class fault lines and invariably just postpone the inevitable settling of historical scores. According to Fanon (2001:119), such historic compromises are incapable of moving a

formerly colonised country from a mere national consciousness to one with an effective political and social consciousness; a country that is capable of effectively dealing with the key challenges that confront it.

South Africa in the 1980s experienced a struggle that should have welded together national consciousness, and created conditions for the development of a deeper political and social consciousness given that it combined an armed struggle, international sanctions, a united front struggle at home and a labour/class struggle. The African National Congress seemingly attempted to build on these favourable conditions by proclaiming itself a broad non-racial church with the objective of constructing a unifying national identity in the place of the fractured, dehumanising divisions sponsored by more than forty years of *Apartheid*. Yet, Frantz Fanon (also see Point 4) reaches from the grave to sum up the current reality in South Africa when he writes:

> National consciousness, instead of being the all-embracing crystallisation of the innermost hopes of the whole people, instead of being the immediate and most obvious result of the mobilisation of the people, will be in any case an empty shell, a crude and fragile travesty of what it might have been (Fanon 2001:119).

Fanon correctly lays the blame for this ridiculous repeat of history at the door of the national middle class, the leaders of the liberation movements no less. According to Fanon it is the inability of this class, which now seeks to promote itself as a national policy of the ANC government to rationalise popular action. The middle class did not understand clearly why it mobilised the masses of the people against colonialism and *Apartheid*, and it can therefore not understand why people are now mobilising in service delivery protests, strikes and deviance against it. South Africa is lacking of a national consciousness; it is clear that a large part of the population, particularly the growing middle class, is suffering from a crass material consciousness, and they believe naturally that the ruling ideas of the current epoch should be the ideas of the current ruling class – crass materialism.

The spokespersons of this class lambasted the trade unions for unleashing a wave of strikes in the run up to the 2010 World Cup, called ‘unpatriotic’ any criticism of the event and demanded that the population

kneel as one before the altar of FIFA. Fanon's (2001:147) prescience in this is also remarkable:

> The [ruling] party, instead of welcoming the expression of discontentment, instead of taking for its fundamental purpose the free flow of ideas from the people up to the government, forms a screen, and forbids such ideas.

And despite the middle class flying national flags from car windows, the working class and the poor seemed to be singularly unimpressed. President Jacob Zuma could not understand why the people in townships heckled him, thus in Siyathemba Township near Balfour (in 2010) the president '…was so upset by the crowd's reaction that at one stage he threatened to abandon the meeting' (Ncana 2010:4).

The deputy minister of sport reported to parliament on 10 November 2009 that

> [a]s one of the most critical elements in the hosting of a successful World Cup, transport is a key focus area from government's point of view. With a total expenditure of R 170 billion over the past five years (the fiscal years 2005 to 2010), the South African government is certainly taking this very seriously - and demonstrating it. South Africa's rail system, road infrastructure and public transport will not be the same once 2010 rolls around. It will, in fact, be of world-class (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2009).

No wonder there has been no improvement of services in the townships and rural areas, and while the already over-developed infrastructure of the major urban centres were developed even further, the areas in which the poorest of the poor reside must have been under-developed even more – hence the escalation of service delivery protests and strikes. Instead of welding a national consciousness, the 2010 World Cup deepened the fault lines of the neo-colonial reality South Africa currently finds itself in.

This demonstrates a material and an intellectual bankruptcy on the part of this class which rode to power on the backs of the working class, the urban and rural poor and the peasantry. Black economic empowerment

(BEE) in reality simply translates into the taking over of government and business offices and mining and agricultural interests, and of course, homes in the formerly racially segregated suburbs formerly occupied by the *Apartheid* middle class.

The new black middle class consciously separates itself by dress, behaviour and consumption patterns from those it struggled with in a united front against *Apartheid*. The new middle class literally stepped into the shoes of the former *Apartheid* rulers, as BEE partners with those rulers. Now, instead of white national servicemen and policemen we see black policemen policing the working class on behalf of global capital. The black South African middle class has discovered its neo-colonial historic mission: that of administrator, manager and intermediary on behalf of global capital. It has now taken upon itself the task of creating conditions favourable to investment, it has set up NEDLAC for the purpose of minimising strikes and mediating the class struggle and finally to politically demobilise the masses of the people to 'take them back from the verge' of the unfathomable, namely a revolution.

The South African government has demonstrated time and again that it sees itself not only as the conveyor belt between the nation and global capitalism, but also as the transmission belt between Washington, London, Paris and Tokyo and the rest of Africa; now also the conveyor belt between the nation and FIFA.

In the run up to the World Cup 2010, the nation was 'mobilised' in preparation and expectation; after the month long event the nation will be expected to survive on fond memories of the event. The conspicuous world class stadiums now stand like monuments; pyramids to the organisational capacity of the black middle class. It argues that it has successfully replaced the white Afrikaner middle class, that it has arrived – the Afrikaner have been relieved of his responsibility as policeman, administrator and manager of the economy and government for global capital. The organisers intended for the event to demonstrate that the new middle class has so successfully stepped into the role of intermediary of global capital that it has successfully managing a global prestige project – that South Africa is truly the gateway through which global capital can penetrate Africa. The impact of the diversion of resources from service delivery, health, education, and economic development needs, for the time being, forgotten. Instead of being an event

that brings African unity in the continental sense, it could possibly already have been the underlying cause of serious social disorder in the country.

Eager to demonstrate its ability to organise and administer events of 'global significance', this middle class constantly fishes for every and all global events, including global conferences on racism and the environment, the Olympics, rugby and cricket World Cups and of course, the big one that did not get away, the 2010 FIFA World Cup.

In the sections to follow, the mentioned impact of the World Cup (see Introduction and Objectives) namely strikes and service delivery protests, 'Afrophobia' and brand imposition, will be dealt with in greater detail.

6. **2010 World Cup, Strikes and Service Delivery Protests**

John Kane-Berman (2010) writing about service delivery protests notes that '… revolt in the country, though not necessarily articulated as such, is against the ANC's top-down model of government'. On the other hand, the concern is about how much damage the recent service delivery protests had caused to South Africa's brand image, especially during the World Cup, as was reflected from the interview with International Marketing Council (IMC) chair, Anitha Soni, at the end of May by Jeremy Maggs (Eberl 2010). Allegations were made that the South African Police Service (SAPS) issued a directive to several municipalities not to allow marches for the duration of the World Cup (Mawande 2010). These allegations were confirmed by Prof. Jane Duncan, chairman of the Media and Information Society at the Rhodes University-based Highway Africa. Municipalities that had allegedly been issued with such a police directive included: Nelson Mandela Bay, Rustenburg, Mbombela, Cape Town and Ethekwini. The Gauteng Local Government and Housing MEC, Kgaogelo Lekgoro, believed strongly that violent service delivery protests will derail the progress made in staging a successful 2010 FIFA World Cup (Essop 2010). This was definitely not a far-fetched 'fear' from Lekgoro; according to Dave Zirin (2010) South Africa has more protests per capita than any nation on earth, in a normal month. He also warned that the World Cup crackdown could result in a national explosion:

> Over 70 000 workers had taken part in strikes connected to World Cup projects since the preparations have begun, with 26 strikes since 2007. On March 4th 2010, more than 250 people, in a press conference featuring representatives from four provinces, threatened to protest the opening game of the Cup unless their various demands were met (Zirin 2010).

In the international 'eye' and with the event already underway, striking World Cup stadium security guards joined the service delivery march attended by thousands of people in Durban on the morning of June 14. Security workers demanded their wages and complained about the lack of service delivery and high electricity prices; they demanded a 'World Cup for all', saying the country should put people before profit (Anon. 2010a). Two days after this event, as the country marked the 34th anniversary of the Soweto uprising against *Apartheid* rule, about 3 000 people marched in Durban to denounce FIFA and the government for their spending priorities while millions live in poverty. Walkouts by stewards elsewhere were triggered and police had to take control at the World Cup stadiums in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Durban and Johannesburg. Allan Murphy, organiser of the protest, stated that '[i]f we have money for stadiums, we should not have any homeless people or people having to live in shacks' (Veith 2010).

During the dragged-out civil service strike in August and September 2010, COSATU's spokesperson, Patrick Craven, said that the trade union refuses to accept that there is no money for increasing salaries, whilst the same government spent millions on World Cup tickets (Steenkamp 2010a:2). Furthermore, the government paid an astonishing R 10,2 million for functions and receptions during the World Cup (Smith 2010:2).

Although major strikes (luckily) didn't derail the global event, service delivery strikes continued on a daily basis across the country. Many of these strikes were in Nelson Mandela Bay, where residents in areas like Despatch, Kleinskool and Kwazakhele took to the streets almost daily (Mawande 2010). An indirect link can be drawn between these strikes and the World Cup; in most of these areas there is a lack of houses and a lack of proper basic services. The Gauteng provincial government has promised through the premier to intensify its work with municipalities in order to attend to issues raised during ongoing service delivery protests. Protesters in

Gauteng echoed the same concerns of unemployment, poor housing delivery, lack of clean water, electricity and the need for clinics and extra police resources. She (the premier) said it is understandable that communities threatened to intensify their protests during the World Cup (Anon. 2010b).

A research report to Parliament in 2009 found that the main provinces affected by protests were:

- Mpumalanga – e.g. Piet Retief and Balfour townships
- Gauteng – e.g. Thokoza and Diepsloot
- North West – e.g. Zeerust and Rustenburg
- Western Cape – e.g. Du Noon and Phillippi
- Free State – e.g. Jagersfontein and Kgotsong
- KwaZulu Natal – e.g. Durban and KwaMachibisa
- Eastern Cape – e.g. Duncan Village and Komga

The reasons put forward for the protests have included the following:

- Lack of / Poor service delivery (water, sanitation, electricity, refuse removal)
- Lack of / Inadequate housing
- Evictions
- High levels of unemployment
- Lack of communication with communities
- Lack of leadership in the municipality
- Corruption
- Nepotism
- Mal-administration
- Financial mismanagement

The same research report indicates that the possible reasons for violence can be attributed to:

- Aggression fuelled by intense prolonged frustration
- A sudden downturn in the economy triggering frustration and discontent, often leading to social unrest

- The reinforcement of violence as being 'acceptable' in families and communities often leads to a vicious cycle of violence in those families and communities
- Xenophobia, coupled with fierce competition for jobs and resources by poor South Africans, have often made foreigners targets of violence
- Vindictiveness, anger, arguments and provocation can lead to physical violence
- Group dynamics and power dynamics often play out in submission being enforced upon anyone perceived to be resistant, defiant or obstructive to a cause
- Lack of confidence, due to the legacy of apartheid; perceived racism and/or discrimination as well as a sense of 'threatened masculinity' in gender relations
- Availability of, and easy access to, fire-arms and other kinds of weapons
- Alcohol or substance abuse can lead to increased aggression
- The existence of gang or criminal activities can result in the exploitation of protests by criminal elements (The Research Unit: Parliament of South Africa 2009)

It is clear from the information above that there were competing and different perspectives about the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, and that those falling into Fanon's category of 'the wretched of the earth' did not share the patriotic passion of the ruling middle class elite, especially when they do not have a house or proper basic services.

7. 'Afrophobia' in South Africa

When looking at the holistic picture (also see Point 6), it is clear that most South Africans saw little direct or sustained economic benefit coming from the event (see Webb 2010). The global games offered opportunities and incentives to both local and foreign business elites and very little to the frustrated ordinary citizens on the ground; even the price of a ticket was out of reach for most South Africans (the cheapest ticket cost 55 Euros – R 570; the cheapest ticket for the final cost 275 Euros – R 2 842). On the one hand the event opened foreign opportunities for marketing, sponsorships,

investment and tourism; on the other hand, local business elites benefited from a vibrant global image. It was claimed that the World Cup would give relief to the country in terms of the recession – it was estimated by planners that the event would contribute approximately 5 billion USD to the economy and create 415 000 jobs (also see Point 9); these figures however, are ephemeral and un-measurable (Webb 2010).

As indicated in the *Introduction*, significant **state resources** were redirected to the infrastructure development associated with the World Cup; resources that could possibly have gone to service delivery in poor areas (also see Point 6). For the 50% of South Africans living below the poverty line, the World Cup did not bring better housing, healthcare or employment. In fact the country lost more than a million jobs during 2010. This situation can fuel the monster coined 'Afrophobia' and give momentum to the competition between South Africans and their 'brothers and sisters' from elsewhere in Africa for 'scarce goods'. The philosophy echoed by research subjects being interviewed on grass root level is simple: If billions can be founded for stadiums, why can't it be found for houses, water and electricity in shack dwellings…?

Webb (2010) points out that the World Cup had become the 'playing field' for many of the current burning debates in South Africa, and the World Cup was supposed to 'blank out' these debates: nationalisation of mines and resource industries, land distribution, divisions between the African National Congress (ANC) and its trade union and communist allies, illegal immigrants, xenophobia, etc. The distressing images of suffering in neighbouring Zimbabwe as well as the complex immigration problem and resulting cases of xenophobia in the country were apparently threatening the branding campaign of the World Cup. Spin-doctors then rolled out an image that these issues can be separated from the 'highly successful' country; Mahmood Mamdani rightly says South Africans have always seen themselves as unique from the rest of Africa… Unfortunately, all these issues are in an intricate way interwoven into the economics and politics of our country (see Webb 2010).

Safety was of course one of the biggest concerns for FIFA and for the hosting country. The reality is that safety measures were (to a great extent) in place for players and tourists, but not for poor and disenfranchised South Africans who face violent crime while living in poverty. According to

a Creamer Media reporter (Polity 2010), South Africa was prior to the tournament confident that the 2010 World Cup would be safe and secure, and to a great extent it was. More than 46 000 police officers were deployed to secure the hosting of the 2010 World Cup, Interpol set up an office in South Africa to assist authorities to secure the tournament and a special task team from the UK was also co-opted.

When informal sector operators were banned from the proverbial 'playing field' and poor people were literally removed to the outskirts (see next paragraph), a recipe for conflict, xenophobia and 'Afrophobia' was created which might have had bloody consequences. The charged up armed forces of the country didn't parade in these settlements to fight xenophobic attacks and restore order in criminal havens; tragically, not far away, the extravagant event commenced in glamour and peace. Ironically, despite all the safety measures as well as South Africa's international strategic position, the country as World Cup host was not completely immune against terrorist attacks. The government of Iraq arrested a senior member of Al-Qaida who apparently planned a terror attack against World Cup 2010 a month prior to the tournament. Terror attacks were planned (and luckily countered!) in all three tournaments since 1998 (France, Japan and Germany). Although extremist terror attacks can be politically complicated, these attacks might simply have to do with these kinds of mega-events (World Cup) and the potential for media exposure, and South Africa was and is no exception. When looking at a future mega-event in the country (e.g. the Olympic Games), poor border control and xenophobia can increase the vulnerability of South Africa in this regard (also see Gibson 2010:8).

Interestingly and alarmingly, crime and violence increased after the tournament ended; an investigation by the newspaper *Beeld* in this regard revealed that crime and violence has risen sharply in the first week after the tournament, especially in terms of farm attacks, house breaking and murder. The scope of the investigation included Johannesburg, the East and West Rand, the Vaal Triangle, Pretoria, Limpopo, North West, KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga. Unfortunately, the statistics couldn't be compared with that of the police (the SAPS statistics for this period will only be released later in 2011), but it is in line with the statistics for Johannesburg and Pretoria of the security company ADT (Edwards 2010:1).

As implied above, FIFA and the Government also had plans in place to remove some of the poor from the streets and inner city in order to present neat and world class cities to the world. Prominent in the world's eye was Blikkiesdorp, an informal settlement just north of Cape Town. Inhabitants, contrary to claims by the city, were of the opinion that they had been moved to this 'concentration camp' to showcase a clean city during the World Cup. Some inhabitants described the conditions as 'worse than *Apartheid*'. Blikkiesdorp, established in 2008 (initially to house illegal occupants of homes in Delft which formed part of the controversial N2 Gateway housing project), are now also accommodating people evicted from unsafe houses, vagrants and victims from xenophobic violence. Earlier in 2010, a special reporter on adequate housing for the UN presented a report to the UN Human Rights Commission on the negative effect of these mega-events on people's right to proper housing. The reporter specifically mentioned the case of 20 000 people that were removed from the Joe Slovo informal settlement to make way for the N2 Gateway housing project (Davids 2010; Smith 2010).

According to Webb (2010), police also relocated 600 people who had been camping alongside a city railway line in Cape Town to a transit zone outside of the city. It seems as if this (evictions) is standard practice when mega-events are around; it is estimated that 700 000 people were evicted in 1988 at the Seoul Olympics and at the Beijing Olympics (2008), 1,5 million people were displaced (Webb 2010). Research subjects in Johannesburg told the research team that FIFA and the city made sure that all 'second economies' close to Ellispark were 'cleaned up' before the start of the Games.

According to a recently released report from *Doctors Without Borders* (Le Roux 2010:13), there are 30 000 'survival immigrants' living in only 40 of the more than a 1 000 deserted buildings in the city centre of Johannesburg. This figure represents a fraction of the immigrants flowing into the country on a daily basis; most of them Mozambicans, Tanzanians and Zimbabweans. According to the report, there exists a strong feeling amongst most immigrants that the xenophobic temperature in the country is rising (also see Point 9). A situation like this, together with FIFA's 'cleaning up' policies, had serious explosive potential during the tournament. Fear was also expressed by the so-called Elders (an influential grouping of amongst others, former state presidents) that xenophobic violence will flame up again

after the World Cup, when the work in the construction industry will be finished (Van Wyk 2010:2).

It was estimated that the 2010 World Cup would bring 450 000 visitors to South Africa – the country with the highest number of people with HIV/Aids in the world. Furthermore, it is a fact that a number of tourists combined soccer and tourist attractions with **paid sex** (Richter *et al*., 2010). According to South Africa's Drug Central Authority (Skoch 2010), it was estimated that 40 000 sex workers trickled in for the event from as far as the Congo, Nigeria and Russia to cater to the wide-taste-spectrum of mostly male visitors and their soccer needs.

Despite the fact, as suggested, that sexual entertainment goes hand in hand with mega-events (it is estimated that about 40 000 women and children were moved into Germany for the World Cup in 2006), major plans from city fathers were made to ensure that there will be no prostitutes on the menu during the World Cup event in South Africa. According to Cape Town's safety and security mayoral committee member, the city had a comprehensive policing strategy in place which included cleaning the streets and closing all illegal brothels (Barnes 2010). An article by the Institute for Security Studies (Gould 2010) formed part of a 'massive' awareness campaign in Gauteng to counter human trafficking, especially during the FIFA World Cup. There were three legs of the campaign: public awareness raising, improving co-ordination in the fight against human trafficking and the identification of new measures to combat trafficking. The focus of the City of Johannesburg was particularly on Soweto and Alexandra. These areas were chosen because they were largely affected by xenophobia in 2008 and have a high density of informal settlements. The fact of the matter is that most of the prostitutes on the streets of Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg are immigrants; the abrupt closing down of these 'industries' will generate serious forms of conflict, especially during an event of this kind. A brothel owner (a Nigerian) in an area in Johannesburg told the researchers that '99%' of his ladies and more than 50% of his clientele are from elsewhere in Africa and that he is looking forward to a 'roaring trade' during the World Cup. Lastly, although more research needs to be done now that the tournament is over, there might be a strong link between human trafficking and xenophobic attacks.

8. Impact of FIFA's Brand Imposition

The FIFA World Cup is the world's largest single-sport event and, as such, attracts the interest from both sport fans and business people. It is still privately funded and the FIFA Rights Holders are guaranteed exclusive use of the Official Trademarks/Brands. Any unauthorised use of the Official Trademarks/brands – FIFA Logo, trademarks and slogans - by another party was not allowed and was seen as

> undermining of the integrity of the FIFA World Cup and its marketing programme and puts the interest of the worldwide football community at stake (FIFA 2010:3).

FIFA runs the Rights Protections Programme in order to ensure that its official trademarks and other intellectual property rights are properly protected and enforced. They tackled organised ambush marketers, counterfeiters and unauthorised traders – all of whom sought to profit from an event to which they have not contributed.

Some of the official sponsors of the Event in South Africa were: Adidas, Budweiser, Coca-Cola, Castrol Oil, Continental Tyres, Emirates, Hyundai, McDonalds, Visa, YingLi Solar and the Indian IT super-giant Mahindra Satyam. In addition, there were five national sponsors, which include First National Bank (FNB), British Petroleum (BP), Neo Africa, Telkom and Prasa.

The most important trademark terms included: '2010 FIFA World Cup', 'FIFA World Cup', 'World Cup', 'World Cup 2010', 'Football World Cup', 'SA 2010', 'ZA 2010', 'South Africa 2010', 'Ke Nako – Celebrate Africa's Humanity', 'Soccer World Cup' and 'Zakumi'.

The battle between FIFA, the sponsors, merchandising partners and teams of IP lawyers against those who attempted to 'cash in illegally' was a formidable one. Internationally known brands including Adidas, Emirates and Budweiser paid up to $50 million each to supply products and associate their brands with the event (Burgess 2010). It is therefore obvious that the organisation did not spare any person who illegally used its logo and trademarks for commercial purposes. The rules for using the FIFA logo, the trademarks and various slogans before and during the 2010 World Cup were thus obviously very strict.

'Brand police' patrolled the 2010 Soccer World Cup stadiums and hosting cities to ensure that the FIFA brand was not hijacked. In this regard, FIFA rights protection manager, Mpumi Mazibuko, said: 'We plan to have teams in each of the cities looking out … for brand hijackers'. Only FIFA brands were allowed in the commercial restriction zones in and around stadiums countrywide. According to FIFA marketing director, Thierry Weil, FIFA needed to protect its commercial affiliates. He emphasised:

> When you buy a car, you buy it completely…you don't let everybody drive the car and it is the same for our partners – they bought the car, they want the key and they want to be insured they are the only ones driving the car (Fin24 2010).

The main problems, amongst others, security officials had to face during the tournament, include the following:

- counterfeit
- sub-standard and unauthorised merchandise
- illegal and black market tickets
- improper use of logos and trademarks
- ambush marketing

FIFA (2010) claimed that the 2010 FIFA World Cup offered a wide range of opportunities for small and medium enterprises (SME's). Yet all those small and medium enterprises interviewed in Yeoville, Ellispark, Betrams and even Mellville complained that FIFA's strict protection of its own interests hampered their own chances of making the most from the event. Thousands of internationals poured into the country over the period of the tournament, creating opportunities in accommodation, health services, travel services, arts, crafts, entertainment, etc. Yet all these service providers had to go through a strict vetting process and pay FIFA for the rights to provide such services. FIFA, the Organising Committee and the Host Cities worked jointly to integrate the informal sector. Informal traders were accommodated around operational areas including the Fan Miles and Fan Fests; all located outside the FIFA exclusion zones around stadiums. Regarding this 'promise' of

FIFA, the fieldworkers for this research found a huge gap on the ground between policy and practice. The contrary situation was indeed confirmed by research being sponsored by the National Youth Development Agency (NYDA). The research revealed that despite the fact that 92% of small and medium enterprises indicated that the tournament as a whole was successful, only 14% indicated that the tournament contributed in a significant way to their individual success (Lamprecht 2010:3). Participants overwhelmingly blamed FIFA's policy (on branding, etc.) for the fact that they (SME's) didn't benefit more out of the tournament. More than 2 000 small and medium enterprises were involved in the research.

As mentioned above, FIFA imposed its branding on the whole of the country in an absolute monopolistic way. According to Georgina Guedes (2010), it is understandable that they need to protect their sponsors who gave them a lot of money, but to try to claim ownership of the year '2010' whenever it's used in a sporting context is ludicrous. She (Guedes) lists the following examples from the tournament:

- According to FIFA guidelines, you couldn't sell a t-shirt that says '2010' on it if there is any kind of link to the football, because FIFA owns all football rights in 2010.
- The use of an emblem, word, slogan or an event title or other reference to the 'Event' on a merchandising item creates an infringement of FIFA's rights.
- If you own a bar, and you would want to show football games on your big screen, you couldn't put up a chalk board outside your bar saying 'watch 2010 games here' or 'come in for a cool beer while you enjoy the World Cup on our big screen TV'. You could, however, say 'watch the football' or 'today's game'.

A few other examples of the monopolistic branding included:

- People wearing branded t-shirts would be allowed into stadiums if they do not move together wearing the same t-shirts in big groups.
- Vuvuzelas with small brands would be allowed into stadiums, but not vuvuzelas bearing 'huge words'.

- In stadiums, only Budweiser beer was sold. Restaurants and bars in the area should be closed an hour before the game, during the game and can open only an hour after the game. Interestingly, it seems as if South African Breweries (SAB) took on the fight; in certain places, for example Yeoville, they painted some sport bars out with striking colours and provided big screens. Also, participants in the research are seemingly not too keen on Budweiser. A bar owner in the vicinity of Ellispark stated clearly: '*Budweiser? Man, it is like a cup of piss…*'.
- Initially FIFA also wanted restaurant and bar owners to pay R 50 000 if they were to show the soccer on television. Luckily for hundreds of restaurant and bar owners this suggestion fell through. One manager of a family restaurant informed the research team of a 'threat' letter from FIFA that he received regarding this issue.
- Accommodation was handled for FIFA by its hospitality and logistics agent, Match. In this regard, there were problems as well. Initially Match reserved 1,9 million bed nights, just to later release 1,3 million again into the market. This was very negatively experienced by the accommodation sector; some received two months before the start of the tournament all their 'stock' back (Slabbert 2010:9). A hotel owner in one of the smaller cities being interviewed told the researchers that FIFA/Match went 'over his head' and without consultation built new facilities for accommodation during the tournament. Despite all the pre-planning and the monopolistic management of accommodation, FIFA had to give an extra injection of R 750 million at the end of the day in order to ensure the satisfaction of visiting teams (Grobbelaar 2010a:3).
- Ticket sales, also orchestrated by Match, were also accompanied by frustration and problems. FIFA released 90 000 more tickets on May, 28, but at more than one ticket centre (for example in Sandton and in the Brooklyn Mall) there were complete chaos due to 'failed computer systems' (Grobbelaar 2010b:3).
- As indicated already under *Point 7*, some informal traders and vendors were removed from areas close to stadiums. Many of these informal sector traders in central Johannesburg (and other cities) are

> foreign Africans, so are sex-workers, retailers, restaurant and bar and shebeen owners and guest house owners. Many visitors to South Africa during the World Cup from Africa naturally gravitated to those suburbs where their country men are staying and making use of the very affordable hospitality services provided in these suburbs, many of which were close to 2010 match venues. The only ironic problem is that FIFA is completely intolerant of any competition to its brand sponsors.

The monopolistic branding by FIFA also got some **serious resistance** in places. In Durban for example, Match had been stopped from erecting a tent town on the south side of the Moses Mabhida stadium because altered plans had not been submitted to the city. Furthermore, two new adjacent practice fields had been destroyed by heavy trucks when delivering the marquee tents and FIFA had to carry the costs of those repairs. The city was adamant that FIFA is not above the law (see Dardagan 2010). Another example is two pharmaceutical companies who are supplying chronic medicine from Pretoria. FIFA denied them access to and usage of their offices at Loftus Versfeld during the duration of the World Cup. The companies took FIFA, the Blue Bulls company (BBM) as well as the national police chief to court; the case had been settled out of court (Versluis 2010:5).

9. 2010 FIFA World Cup: The Aftermath

Despite all the above-mentioned 'negatives', one must admit that South Africa hosted one of the most magnificent soccer World Cups in the history of the game. FIFA made R 29 billion out of the tournament, which, makes it the most successful tournament in the history of FIFA (Sake24 2010:3). Worral (2010) called it an 'unquestionable smashing success' and further states that, according to some experts, the South African World Cup has set new standards for this major international event. Over 500 000 visitors came to South Africa and according to South African Finance Minister, Pravin Gordhan, these visitors added some USD 6 billion to South Africa's economy during 2010 (about the same amount spent to host the tournament – but with longer-term benefits in the form of new airports, roads and transport

systems and stadiums). The minister of tourism, Marthinus van Schalkwyk, claims that tourists spent R 3, 64 billion during the months of June and July; this amount does not include air fares and match tickets (Keogh 2010:7). Gordhan also reiterates that, despite the cost of the tournament (between R 36 billion and R 38 billion) and the economic benefits, a special social and psychological legacy was established that will last for very long (Grobbelaar 2010c:3; also see Landman's positive analysis of the tournament (Tempelhoff 2010:3)). The World Cup helped unite South Africans and changed Africa's relationship to the world and, by doing so, dispelled the 'deepest, darkest Africa' myths regarding the continent. It increased Africa's future tourism potential and put to bed the 'Afro-pessimism' which exists in the minds of people all over the world. A study by the Reputation Institute of South Africa has shown that as far as the reputation of countries goes, South Africa had moved into a better position post World Cup 2010. According to the Institute, South Africa since the hosting of the World Cup moved from a grouping of countries with serious reputational issues, such as Iran and the Ukraine, to a grouping where South Africa was statistically comparable to countries such as the US and India. This 'move' will obviously enhance a better investment climate in the country (Prinsloo 2010b).

The tournament also put the continent as a whole on the 'economic map'. Emerging markets in huge parts of Africa are already in a growth cycle, and according to the World Bank, a 5% economic growth in 2011 can be achieved. With other economies that are achieving economic levels of activity, e.g. Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Nigeria, Tanzania and Zambia, Africa can no longer be dismissed as insignificant in global terms (Worral 2010). Frank Blackmore, a senior economist, reiterates the above-mentioned and claims that South Africa, through the World Cup, created a favourable climate for direct foreign investment (DFI) and tourism growth (Prinsloo 2010a).

As mentioned above, great achievements have indeed been obtained, but these – as indicated throughout the article - also gave birth to great expectations. The expectation is that South Africa will be a different country after the World Cup, with amongst others, improvements regarding:

- Race relations
- Service delivery Housing

- Schools
- Hospitals
- Education system
- Power generation
- Water purification

It is, however, important to remember that 'running a country' is different from 'organising an international sporting event'. The 'time and effort' that it takes to organise and host the World Cup are completely different than the 'time and effort' required dealing with the developmental needs of a country. Matshiqi (2010) emphasised that '… delivering on the promise of a better life for all South Africans is not an event'.

The lead up to the World Cup was characterised by a 'time of hope': jobs were available in the construction phase of the stadiums and the country had a common goal. In the Post-World Cup era, these jobs dried up, there is no longer a common purpose and South Africans are unhappy with services and limited opportunities (Witherden 2010). Sinwell (2010:47f) wrote an interesting article, arguing that the 'left' failed in its efforts to confront and challenge the neo-liberalism of the government and FIFA during the World Cup regarding profiteering of the rich, lack of services, etc. '[N]eo-liberalism can never be critiqued to death, but can only be destroyed through the strategic mobilisation and action of the masses'. Sinwell basically delivers a plea for having a real strategy (with action plans) in place before the next mega-event, opposed to only banners and slogans, and to conscientise people.

Several outbreaks of xenophobia have indeed been reported since the end of the World Cup. According to the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) (Witherden 2010), there has been little change in the environment that gave rise to xenophobic violence in 2008 (in a wave of xenophobic attacks during 2008 sixty-two people died and 150 000 were displaced). Poverty, unemployment and income indicators have not shifted significantly since 2008, while high levels of crime and violence are an everyday reality in many poor communities in South Africa. According to Witherden (2010), referring to a report which cited three non-governmental organisations (NGOs) - the Social Justice Coalition, Equal Education and the Treatment Action Campaign – there were at least 15 incidents of

'xenophobic criminal activity' in Khayelitsha alone since the 11th of July 2010. These activities entailed looting of Somali-owned shops by gangs ranging from ten to thirty individuals. Foreign-owned shops were also looted and burned in the Western Cape. These renewed threats against foreigners coupled with the memory of the 2008 riots were enough to send thousands of people – Mozambicans, Somalis, Zimbabweans and other Africans – fleeing across the border. These reports of xenophobic violence had a damaging effect on the progress made towards 'unity' and the 'positive image' that South Africa experienced while hosting the World Cup.

On a practical and logistical note, the question can be asked what will happen to all the new stadiums. Indications are that few of them will be utilised in full and some of the others (e.g. in Mbombela, Polokwane and the Royal Bafokeng stadium) might become 'white elephants'. Cricket South Africa investigated the possibility to play a 'premier' league (similar than the IPL tournament in India) at some of the stadiums. It became clear that none of the ten new stadiums is suitable for cricket due to a too small playing surface (Steenkamp 2010b:1). The economic commentator, J.P. Landman, is of the opinion that the 'white elephants' must be demolished if necessary; according to him these stadiums have fulfilled their purpose (Tempelhoff 2010:3).

As seen in the above discussion, conflict and controversy will continue to be part of the South African condition since conflict and controversy is part of the human condition. Conflict must however be seen as an opportunity to learn constructive lessons about how to become a better and stronger nation. Matshiqi (2010) states in this regard:

> The challenge is to harness and channel the spirit of unity that blanketed the country during the World Cup into other areas of national life. This will, however, not work unless it becomes an *ever-present*, *conscious* and *continuous* effort on the part of a significant majority of South Africans.

10. Conclusion and Recommendations

The article addresses mainly the critical issues of service delivery, 'Afrophobia' and brand imposition during the FIFA 2010 World Cup in

South Africa. It is argued that the general expectations from this global event were to unify and further strengthen the rainbow nation. Hence, a brief contextualisation of nationalism in South Africa was sketched (Point 5). The thoughts of Frantz Fanon on nationalism and unity were used as conceptual framework for the paper (Point 4). However, it became clear that the World Cup 2010 didn't necessary unite the 'average' South African and that hopes of unity and nationalism will probably remain an empty promise, in the words of Fanon.

Regarding service delivery and 'Afrophobia' (Points 6 & 7), it is clear that most South Africans have seen little direct or sustained economic benefit coming from the event. Despite all the safety measures taken by South Africa as well as uniting promises, xenophobia, 'Afrophobia' and violence are still 'burning issues' that must be taken into account. Furthermore, the research revealed that the over-regulated brand imposition of FIFA has on the surface more negative than positive effects. On the one hand FIFA, the sponsors, merchandising partners and teams of IP lawyers aim to protect their 'brands' at all cost and on the other hand there are those who will seek to cash in illegally on the 19th FIFA World Cup.

The main line of recommendation will be to seriously question and oppose the monopoly of FIFA - and the associated government - in future, especially when the event will be hosted by a developing country (see the argument of Sinwell under Point 9). It will be very interesting to follow the developments of and the build-up to the two following tournaments in Russia and Qatar. It is however a tragedy that the event – first time on African soil – seemed to a great extent just a 'billion dollar business monopoly'. Such an event can also - despite all the football related issues - very effectively be utilised as developmental vehicle and an injection for corporate social responsibility (CSR) in the host country (researchers acknowledge some efforts by FIFA, for example the 20 Foot-ball for Hope sport centres being promised by FIFA to be build in Africa before 2012). FIFA can prescribe ethical and creative CSR programmes to the main sponsors in the organising of the event. In rolling out these programmes, meaningful and sustainable development can take place in critical areas regarding economical, environmental and social issues that go hand in hand with mega-events. In their research, Smith and Westerbeek (2007) underline the important role of sport as a vehicle for CSR. Amongst others, they highlight the following

areas towards which sport can contribute (in very few of these areas FIFA really will leave a lasting foot print):

- Rules of fair play: equality, access and diversity
- Safety of participants and spectators
- Independence of playing outcomes
- Transparency of governance
- Pathways for playing, e.g. junior and senior sport programmes
- Community relations policies
- Health and activity foundation
- Principles of environmental protection and sustainability
- Developmental focus of participants
- Qualified and/or accredited coaching
- Social interaction, cultural understanding and integration

However, global conferences and sporting events such as the FIFA World Cup will always be very important for the national middle class (see Fanon Point 4) in that:

- They hope to reignite patriotic fervour behind the ruling party and the middle class;
- They hope to demonstrate to the global community their capacity organising a descent carnival in the sense of post-modern politics;
- They hope to demonstrate their capacity to maintain law and order; and
- They hope to benefit from the 'crumbs' that drop from FIFA's table; how much the 'crumbs' and the effect thereof will be for South Africa, must still be seen.

To conclude, Fanon's remarkable prescience which reflects on the alliance between the South African government and FIFA, will serve as a striking concluding thought:

> The local party leaders are given administrative posts, the party becomes an administration, and the militants disappear into the

> crowd and take the empty title of citizen. Now that they have fulfilled their historical mission of leading the bourgeoisie to power, they are firmly invited to retire so that the bourgeoisie may carry out its mission in peace and quiet. But we have seen that the national bourgeoisie of under-developed countries is incapable of carrying out any mission whatever (Fanon 2001:137).

Leaders

> … now make it clear by their attitude that they gave their support with no other end in view than to secure their slices of the cake of independence [and wealth!]. The party is becoming a means of private advancement (Fanon 2001:138).

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‘Terror(ism)’ in the Context of Cosmopolitanism

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Abstract

This paper is an attempt to show that, as long as one approaches the question of ‘terror’ or ‘terrorism’ from the traditional (modern) perspective of ‘us’ and ‘them’, or, to put it differently, from that of the nation-state and its other, the question of whether terrorism could ever be ‘overcome’ or ‘defused’ – as opposed to ‘defeated’ by acts of war – is, regrettably, superfluous, because irrelevant. Irrelevant, because a novel logic is required to make sense of the possibility of defusing or overcoming terror(-ism). Derrida’s analysis of *9/11* as an ‘event’ that was both predictable as something anticipated within the horizon of familiar, hegemonic discourses, and utterly unpredictable, is noted, as well as his claim, that it displays the threefold structure of ‘autoimmunity’. According to the ‘autoimmunitary process’ the ‘very monstrosity’ that must be overcome, is produced. One encounters a similar logic on the part of the social thinker, Ulrich Beck, in his reflections on ‘cosmopolitanism’, which is suggestive of ways in which ‘terrorism’ could be defused. Crucial, here, is Beck’s notion of ‘sovereignty’ (as opposed to the putative ‘autonomy’ of the nation state), which allows one to think interdependency and collaboration as ways of ‘solving’ national and international problems. At the same time, it adumbrates a situation where ‘terror’ becomes redundant.

Keywords: *9/11*, cosmopolitanism, Derrida, globalization, hospitality, Kant, other, poststructuralism, terror(ism), Ulrich Beck

The question of 'terror' and 'terrorism' is of global importance today – not merely for politicians when they find themselves in public spaces, but for ordinary citizens too, as well as for sportsmen and women when they travel internationally. Whether it is at airports, parliamentary buildings, or at sports stadiums, the spectre of so-called 'terror attacks' always seems to hover in the background, especially since what has become known as '9/*11'*, or the 'terror' attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in the United States in 2001. In this paper this question is approached from a poststructuralist perspective, which, I believe, opens up novel possibilities of addressing it. In response to the objection, that 'transcendence through thought is not the answer', I should say in advance that poststructuralist thought has long since deconstructed the separation between thought and action or practice: thought, speech, and writing, are already forms of action, and it is often the case that subjects are 'spoken by discourse' (Derrida 1973: 145), where discourse denotes a convergence between language and action.
In 'Autoimmunity: Real and symbolic suicides…', Jacques Derrida (2003) argues that, paradoxically, *9/11* as an 'event' was both predictable as something anticipated within the horizon of familiar, hegemonic discourses, and – in its aspect of something, the 'advent' of an 'event' that recedes even as one tries to grasp it – wholly unpredictable and unpresentable, like a terrible sublime. More pertinent for the theme of this paper, is his notion of an '*autoimmunitary process'* (2003: 94):

> … an autoimunitary process is that strange behavior where a living being, in quasi-*suicidal* fashion, 'itself' works to destroy its own protection, to immunize itself *against* its 'own' immunity.

The metaphor of 'immunity' or 'autoimmunity' derives from medical-immunological discourse, in conjunction with those of zoology, biology and genetics. Derrida has written elsewhere on such 'autoimmunity' as the (paradoxical) process, on the part of a living organism, '… of protecting itself against its self-protection by destroying its own immune-system' (quoted in Derrida 2003: 187-188, note 7). An allergic reaction to certain toxins, venoms, natural or industrial materials would be an example of such a process, and in the case of nations' reaction to 'terrorism' one could also

perhaps speak metaphorically of an 'allergic reaction'[1].

As far as so-called 'terrorism' is concerned, specifically the *9/11* attacks in the United States[2]. one may perceive the logic of this autoimmunity unfolding in what Derrida describes as '*three moments*', namely of 'autoimmunity', of 'reflex and reflection'. The first is '*The Cold War in the head*' (2003: 94), or autoimmunity as the fear of terrorism that gives rise to terror and defence at the same time. The fear of terror(-ism) 'in the head' terrorizes most, and it engenders a 'double suicide' (of the 'terrorists' and of those hosts who trained them)[3]. Derrida is here talking of three kinds of fear: psychologically speaking, of the fear in the individual's head, politically speaking, of the figures of the Capitol and the White House, and economically speaking of the figure of the Twin Towers as the 'head' of capital. The second is '*Worse than the Cold War*' (2003: 96), or the 'event' (of *9/11*) as trauma displaying the paradoxical temporality of proceeding neither from the present, nor from the past, but from 'an im-presentable to come' (2003: 97); in other words, trauma – with no possibility of a 'work of mourning' that would alleviate the suffering – is produced by the future, by 'the threat of the worst *to come*' (2003: 97). The third is '*The vicious circle of repression*' (2003: 100), or the paradox, that even if this worst of all terrors 'touches the geopolitical collective unconscious (inscrutable as it may

[1] See also what Derrida says about this *aporia* as an example of the *pharmakon*, something that is remedy and poison at the same time (2003: 124).

[2] See Borradori (2003a), Habermas (2003), Sorkin & Zukin (2002). See also Olivier (2007) for a thoroughgoing discussion of these attacks in relation to the perspectives of Derrida and Habermas, respectively, on them.

[3] See Beck (2006: 149-151) for an analysis of terrorism (in the aftermath of *9/11*) which is largely compatible with Derrida's analysis, here. Take the following statement, for example (2006: 151): 'Is it not the attack on the global hegemon and the fact that the USA, the military superpower, is shaken to its core that have promoted the terrorists to a kind of irregular counter-hegemon?'

be) of every living being and leaves there indelible traces' (2003: 99)[4], it can 'simultaneously appear insubstantial, fleeting, light, and so seem to be denied, repressed, indeed forgotten, relegated to being just one event among others …' (2003: 99). Yet, the effect of these attempts to deny, disarm or repress the traumatic impact of the 'event' amounts to nothing less than the autoimmunitary process according to which 'the very monstrosity they claim to overcome' is generated or invented, produced, 'fed' (2003: 99). This is how repression in both its psychoanalytical and its political senses works – in short, it means that the repressed always, ineluctably, 'returns'.

Derrida's logic, here, should by now be familiar: it is the one that permeates the work of poststructuralist thinkers (such as himself, Lacan, Foucault, Lyotard, Kristeva and Deleuze), and it goes by various names, including complexity-thinking, quasi-transcendental and aporetic logic, and is characterized by the refusal of binary oppositional thinking, or the either/or logic that derives from the logical law of identity (a=a), in favour of a double logic of both/and – an insistence that these ostensibly mutually exclusive concepts should be thought together, or brought into an intertwinement that may just show the way towards a political practice where one is no longer paralyzed by the invidious, alienating choice between stark alternatives, but vivified by the 'impossible possibility' of engendering inventive decisions which may shift the familiar terrain to uncharted territory teeming with (emancipatory) potential.

How is this done? It will have been noticed that choosing between the simultaneously functioning alternatives outlined by Derrida, above, has precisely such a paralyzing effect – something of the magnitude of *9/11* could at one and the same time be experienced as traumatic, leaving psychic scars at a collective level worldwide, *and also* be brushed off as just one event among others (the Rwanda genocide, for example), with no distinctive

[4] It may seem somewhat strange to readers familiar with Borradori's book (2003) that I refer here to the page *before* the one on which the third moment of 'autoimmunity' is announced, which ostensibly still comprises part of the discussion devoted by Derrida to the second moment. Despite this incongruity I cannot ignore the fact that this part of his elaboration on page 99 (Derrida 2003) pertains thematically to the third moment, regardless of it only being articulated explicitly on page 100.

features. That this is possible, should alert one to the kind of decision and action to be avoided, namely, the 'normal' route of choosing between these alternatives. Such a choice engenders an auto-immunitary, allergic response, namely that whatever 'defences' – even pro-active ones – may have been available to one, they are vitiated from the outset.

This happens in so far as the mutually paralyzing alternatives solidify into what Lyotard (1988: xi) calls a *differend*. The latter is an impasse, where every attempt to resolve a moral or legal stand-off by means of judging the relative merits of the competing alternatives in terms of the idiom or 'phrase' (discursive rules) governing one of them, results in injustice because of the ostensibly unavoidable choice in favour of one, and at the cost of the other. Should the judgment occur in terms of an idiom extraneous to both of the competing ones, the injustice applies to both. A more fruitful approach to this would be to move beyond the binary-induced impasse of the *differend* to a situation where, regardless of irreducible differences, a way of negotiating opposites may be followed that obviates the necessity of choosing between alternatives. This is easier said than done, of course, given the complexity of discursive divergence[5]. As always, Lyotard's thinking is here consonant with his tireless promotion of 'experimental' thinking and artistic practice (see Lyotard 1992).

Returning to the theme of terror(ism), in concrete terms this would mean that, on the one hand, *9/11* tends to touch people worldwide with the imagined, yet unimaginable spectre of 'the worst still to come' (from an unspecifiable future). On the other hand, its binary opposite, alternatively entertained, at the same time, is that (considering it as a peculiarly American occurrence) it is relegated to just one happening among others, with no special characteristics to distinguish it from the Rwandan genocide, for example. One could perhaps see in these two alternatives a special case of the difference between the mutually exclusive universal and the particular, which have historically exercised their mesmerizing conceptual influence on

[5] The case of negotiating two kinds of hospitality – an unconditional as opposed to a conditional variety – without choosing between them, will be discussed later in this paper. See Olivier (2005) for a sustained investigation into the differences between relativism and 'relativity' in the case of complex linguistic or discursive relations.

the Enlightenment or modernity, and its counterpart, postmodernity, respectively. The upshot then is that opting for the former (that *9/11* as trauma affects everyone in the world) imparts a universally shared anxiety, while opting for the latter entails a divisive, particularistic competition for sympathy and 'justice'. So where does 'thinking' in a poststructuralist manner about this take one? Should one look for inventive ways to do simultaneous justice to the universal and the particular, or the global and the national?

One possible mode of proceeding[6] is suggested by Lyotard (1991) where he proposes 'rewriting modernity' as an alternative way of thinking about postmodernity. Among the various meanings that could be attributed to such 'rewriting' he favours what is known, in psychoanalysis, as 'working through'. This entails traversing the psychic territory where 'things went wrong', again, in anamnesis, but according to a certain art or technique of 'free association', or 'free-floating attention' characterized by a '…double gesture, forwards and backwards', without overly rational or 'instrumental' preconceptions or plans, 'listening' to each and every fragment of sound or meaning, so that 'something', some pattern (or lack of it), slowly emerges (1991: 26, 30-31). The reason for such a manner of proceeding in psychoanalysis has to do, as is well known, with the fact that repressed material cannot, by definition, be remembered, forced into the open at will, but has to be decoded by the psychoanalyst on the basis of the scraps of dialogue, slips of the tongue, and so on, that permeate the discourse of the analysand.

What Lyotard proposes concerning the postmodern is analogous to such a technique, and as will become apparent, Derrida's way of thinking about the notion of 'hospitality', for example. Again, it means 'working through' much that has been forgotten about it (as well as some of its unrealized future possibilities), but may still surface in the course of a kind of 'forwards and backwards' gesture that remains attentive to clues concerning the contours of a hidden picture. Derrida (2004: 7-8) also seems

[6] Needless to say, other approaches than the ones pursued here are indeed possible. One worth mentioning in passing is that of philosopher and psychoanalytic theorist, Julia Kristeva, especially regarding her concept of 'revolt'. See Olivier (2006) for an exploration of this.

to have something like 'working through' in mind where he responds to a question from Richard Kearney (about a month after *9/11*), namely, how he (Derrida) understands the 'dialectic' between the American nation and the 'other out there', as well as (more elusively) the 'other within' the nation. The 'longest' way to understand this dialectic, says Derrida (2004: 8):

> … will be the study of the history and embodiment of Islam. How can one explain that this religion – one that is now in terms of demography the most powerful – and those nations which embody its beliefs, have missed something in history, something that is not shared with Europe – namely, Enlightenment, science, economy, development? …it took some centuries, during which Christianity and Judaism succeeded in associating with the techno-scientific-capitalistic development while the Arabic-Islamic world did not. They remained poor, attached to old models, repressive, even more phallocentric than the Europeans (which is already something)[7].

It is significant that, in this interview with Kearney, Derrida implicates an 'other' that also features prominently in the earlier interview with Borradori during the same period immediately following *September 11* (Derrida 2003: 95, 98). This is related to the question of 'working through' the terrain within which certain historical choices and decisions were made, and of reconstituting such an 'other' differently. Later in the Kearney interview, he alludes to the importance of the political as a sphere that requires restructuring, for 'enlightenment' to be effective in a non-homogeneous Islam within which there are different, countervailing stances regarding violence (Derrida 2004: 9):

> These differences, however, within Islam, cannot be developed efficiently without a development of the institution of the political, of the transformation of the *structures* of the society.

[7] In the interview with Borradori, Derrida (2003: 122-123) also elaborates on related aspects of the history and present socio-economic conditions of Islamic cultures.

This is an indication of Derrida's thinking on questions of alternative possibilities, including 'enlightenment', which remain latent within Islam, despite not having been activated historically. The failure of Islam, historically, to adopt reason, as the West did, in its Enlightenment guise as fundamental principle for the transformation of a once autocratic, hierarchically authoritarian society, is visible in the contemporary persistence, in Islamic countries, of repressive, hierarchically theocratic rule. This does not preclude the belated, contemporary development of Islamic societal structures that would make dialogue between East and West a viable option.

It should be noted that such an openness to alternative developments within society – which would not be subject to the traditional binary logic of 'self' and 'other' – presupposes, in principle, a third possibility which eschews the trap of 'either a or b'. What is at stake here may be understood better when one turns to another instance of what Lyotard calls 'working through' in Derrida's work (2001). This concerns the question – in a world where refugees and asylum-seekers increasingly face difficulties of accommodation – of cosmopolitanism and the possibility of establishing 'cities of refuge', which he places in the context of a perhaps more fundamental question, that of *hospitality*. Ignoring, for the moment, all the historical and institutional details within which he frames the difficulty that one faces with the above questions, the gist of his 'elaboration' (working-through) seems to me to be the following[8].

From the perspective of a putative 'citizen of the world' Derrida (2001: 3) poses the question, whether a 'legitimate distinction' may still be drawn between 'the two forms of the metropolis – the City and the State'. Moreover, could one 'dream' of a 'novel status' of the city as a place of

[8] One should keep in mind that this essay first appeared in 1997 (in French), *before* the event of *9/11*. The later interview with Borradori, post *9/11* (Derrida 2003), is a clear indication that Derrida would have felt even less sanguine about the prospects of 'cities of refuge' at that time than here, where he seems to hold out the possibility of something concrete emerging from the efforts on the part of institutions such as the International Parliament of Writers (which he was here addressing on the topic in Strasbourg in 1996).

'refuge' through the '*renewal* of international law' (2001: 3)? He regards the call by the International Parliament of Writers, for cities of refuge everywhere, as nothing less than a 'new cosmo-*politics'* (2001: 4), in so far as such cities might '…reorient the politics of the state' which is still dominated by the idea of 'state sovereignty'. It is precisely the latter sovereignty that Derrida wishes to question (and as I hope to show, is also what Ulrich Beck enables one to do via his conception of 'cosmopolitanism'). As Derrida puts it (2001: 4-5): 'This should no longer be the ultimate horizon for cities of refuge. Is this possible?'

In the process of providing a tentative answer to this question, he traverses a complex terrain, touching upon several important issues, before arriving at what I believe is the culminating point of his argument. These include, firstly, the all-important allusion to the need to go beyond what the 'old word(s)', 'cities of refuge', signifies, by introducing '…an original concept of hospitality, of the duty (*devoir*) of hospitality, and of the right (*droit*) to hospitality' (2001: 5). Derrida's task here is to flesh out what such a concept of hospitality would be. One of his first tasks is to characterize the context of what he calls 'this new ethic or this new cosmo*politics* of the cities of refuge…', even if he seems to despair (2001: 5) of the possibility of listing all the threats to it, '…of menaces, of acts of censorship…or of terrorism, of persecutions and of enslavements in all their forms…'. In passing it is noteworthy, as he points out, that the victims of these menaces are almost always anonymous, and are *increasingly* '…what one refers to as intellectuals, scholars, journalists, and writers – men and women capable of speaking out...' (2001: 6).

Hannah Arendt's work on 'The decline of the nation-state and the end of the rights of man' is a major reference point to Derrida (2001: 6) for reconstructing and working through the historical context of what he is proposing here. In her analysis of 'the modern history of minorities (the stateless, the homeless and the displaced, *inter alia*), she speaks of '*two great upheavals*' in Europe. These are the 'progressive abolition…of a right to asylum' (in the face of the dispersal of masses of stateless people between the two wars), and the abandonment of the usual turn to 'repatriation or naturalisation' in the wake of an (evidently unmanageable) 'influx of refugees' at that time (Derrida 2001: 6-7). Against the backdrop of what Derrida calls the 'shadow' of 'these traumas' identified by Arendt, he insists

– 'working through' past historical 'traumas' in the manner suggested by Lyotard – on the necessity of posing new questions concerning the role cities could play under conditions that have been deteriorating for those in dire need of asylum of some kind (2001: 7-8):

> How can the right to asylum be redefined and developed without repatriation and without naturalization? Could the City, equipped with new rights and greater sovereignty, open up new horizons of possibility previously undreamt of by international state law?

He stresses that he is thinking of neither 'restoring' the classical concept of the city (as *polis*) by giving it new 'powers', nor of predicating new attributes of the city as 'old subject' (2001: 8), but that he is 'dreaming of another concept…set of rights…politics of the city'[9]. To the question, whether there is '…any hope for cities exercising hospitality', Derrida (2001: 8-9) reaffirms that the idea of human rights surpasses the realm of international law, but asks whether, in the required re-evaluation of the roles of states, federations and unions, the city could emancipate itself from nation-states in order to become a (truly) '*free city*' in a novel sense. He thus acknowledges, with Arendt, the limitations of international law by inter-state treaties, which not even a supposed world-government[10] could resolve. He cautions, however, that the theoretical and political task one faces is formidable, given the decline in the respect accorded the right to political asylum in Europe.

In the pages that follow, Derrida discusses the vicissitudes of 'hospitality' to political refugees and other asylum seekers in France and elsewhere (with reference to the Geneva Convention and its amendments) He

[9] Lest anyone should regard this as utopian, Derrida (2001: 8) reminds one that something – inseparable from the 'turbulence' which is affecting international law – has already been initiated, albeit modestly, in this direction by the group of writers to which he belongs.

[10] It is interesting to note that Hardt and Negri (2001: xii) believe that the current global situation is already characterized by a transition to a 'supra-national' state of affairs, where matters of global importance are increasingly being approached as something to be resolved by supranational bodies and agencies instead of 'international' ones.

remarks (2001: 12-13) on the absurdity, that under certain specifications of 'immigration control' someone would be granted asylum on condition that she or he would not expect any economic benefit upon immigration. This veritable 'Catch 22'-situation highlights the impossibility of separating the economic from the political.

Another pertinent issue raised by Derrida (2001: 14-15) in this context is the historical tendency in the modern nation state, noted by Benjamin and Arendt for instance, for the police to be granted extraordinarily increased powers. In his words (2001: 14), the 'police become omnipresent and spectral in the so-called civilized states once they undertake to *make the law*, instead of simply contenting themselves with applying it and seeing that it is observed'. This situation, he points out (p.15), has become ever more serious, and he reminds one that, as a countervailing development, a movement has come into being in France to protest 'violations of hospitality'. This is not surprising when one reads that proposals exist(ed) at national level (at the time of Derrida's writing), '…to treat as acts of terrorism, or as "participation in a criminal conspiracy", all hospitality accorded to "foreigners" whose "papers are not in order", or those simply "without papers"'. This movement from what was previously regarded as a 'criminal act' to labeling it a 'terrorist act' (2001: 16) is especially significant for the theme of the present paper. 'Hospitality' in a post *9/11*-world cannot be conceived of without considering the impact of this event – widely considered a paradigm instance of a 'terror attack' – on relations with the 'other' (something which Derrida was not in a position to consider at the time of this address on cosmopolitanism).

What does Derrida find that is affirmatively pertinent to his purpose regarding the revitalization of the spirit of cosmopolitanism and a certain hospitality? First (2001: 16), he links the phrase 'city of refuge' with the 'cultivation' of 'an ethic of hospitality' which, he immediately points out, is tautological, because hospitality 'is culture itself' (that is, there could be no cultural practice without a welcoming of what is new or other within the circle of familiarity). More than this: because it involves *ethos* in the sense of 'the familiar place of dwelling', which implies ways of entering into relations with self and others, Derrida claims that '*ethics is hospitality*' (2001: 16-17). In other words, hospitality and ethics both entail a mode of 'reception' of the *other* (in oneself as well as extrinsic to oneself), in order to

come to terms with it, to '…appropriate, control, and master according to different modalities of violence…' (p. 17). It is therefore understandable that there is a 'history of hospitality', including its 'perversion'. After all, 'receiving' or 'appropriating' the other is not synonymous with 'mastering' it in varying degrees and modes of violence.

The relevance of these insights for the question of terror(ism) in a global and cosmopolitan context should already be clear. The ethics of hospitality, which always implicates the other or otherness within oneself, and within a specific nation, as well as extrinsic to them, must unavoidably also apply to so-called 'terrorists', who would be similarly subject to variously violent modalities of mastery and control. The parallel between the terrorist as 'exterior other' and the otherness within oneself (one's alter ego, for example, or the different subject positions that each 'healthy' individual human subject necessarily occupies)[11]; or within the collective 'we', the 'nation', is important here. On pain of undermining one's psychic well-being, one learns not to delude oneself into believing that one can obliterate, at will, the different aspects of one's individual or collective being. Instead, one learns to negotiate social reality in terms of the different registers signalled by these. So too, one could or should learn that violent *destruction* of the 'terrorist other' is not the only option. Its otherness can be negotiated once it is recognized that, this otherness notwithstanding, it may be approached as representing a counterpart of the individual or collective 'self', and as such may also be thought of as having something in *common* with the latter. Recall that, in his comments on *9/11* (discussed earlier), Derrida talks about what he terms '*The Cold War in the head*' (2003: 94), or 'autoimmunity' in the guise of fear of terrorism that *engenders* terror and defence simultaneously. The paradox here is that fear of terror(-ism) 'in the head' terrorizes most, and it gives rise to a 'double suicide' (of the 'terrorists' and of those hosts who trained them). Clearly this, too, suggests that a productive approach to the persisting problem of terror would be to 'work through' the grounds for the fear of terror(ism), which are at least partly rooted in one's (or a nation's) own (imaginary or repressed) fears and anxieties.

As a brief aside, here it is instructive to take note of what Hardt and Negri (2005: xv) say about 'the common' as something that is produced

[11] See Olivier (2004) for an elaboration on these in psychoanalytical terms.

between or among all the diverse members of what they call 'multitude' – those people worldwide, across a wide spectrum of nationalities, cultures and races, who are (again paradoxically) similar *and* different at the same time: similar in their opposition to the hegemonic forces of 'Empire' (the 'capitalist states' and multinationals), and different in their specificity. The 'common' is produced every time such people, in their various acts of communication, generate a common humanity that surpasses all their differences (without neutralizing them), and points to the future possibility of a truly global society where the 'us' and 'them' of different nations, different races, and different classes no longer have any decisive alienating validity. It is this kind of paradoxical situation which has the capacity to defuse the explosive standoff between 'terrorist other' and individual or collective 'self', a defusion that Derrida and other poststructuralists, as well as these two Marxist thinkers, adumbrate in their thought.

The fact that Derrida alludes to the 'history of hospitality' to find some significant 'reference points' (2001: 17), signals the quasi-psychoanalytical process of 'working through' in which he is engaged here. The first of these concerns the 'city of refuge', which, in his view, 'bridges several traditions', of which he names the *Hebraic tradition* (p. 17) with its 'cities of refuge' for those seeking protection from vengeance, and its juridical tradition of the 'right to immunity and to hospitality'; the *medieval tradition* of the 'sovereignty of the city' and its self-determined laws of hospitality (p. 18); and the *cosmopolitan tradition* shared by the Stoic and Pauline currents of thought, inherited by Enlightenment figures such as Kant (pp. 18-20). It is relevant for present purposes that he talks of the attempts to determine 'laws of hospitality' as being aimed at 'conditioning' what he calls the 'Great Law of Hospitality – an unconditional Law, both singular and universal' (2001: 18). Here one witnesses once again Derrida's poststructuralist logic operating, through the setting-up of an opposition which he then proceeds to 'deconstruct' by negotiating both extremes in such a way that the one may be seen as setting limits to the other reciprocally. Significantly, he has already turned towards Kant's important text on 'perpetual peace' and 'universal hospitality' (2001: 11), which he returns to at this juncture (2001: 19-22). He points out that Kant imposes two limits on the 'conditions of universal hospitality', one concerning 'reflection' and the other 'transformation or…progress'. At first, however, the *unconditional*

aspect of this 'cosmopolitan law' is conceived by Kant as an 'imprescriptible and inalienable' '*natural law*'. This is predicated on the principle of the 'common possession of the surface of the earth' by all finite, rational human beings, which precludes the exclusion of some by others from any 'surface area' of this 'common place' in principle (2001: 20). Importantly, however, for Kant this is synonymous with the state of 'perpetual peace' among human beings, and hence it functions as a kind of impossible possibility that enables intermittent acts of hospitality, just as an 'impossible justice' works to enable a deconstruction of laws, and inversely, deconstruction of laws makes justice momentarily possible (Caputo 1997: 132-133).

Here already one witnesses, in Kant's work, an aspect of 'globalization', namely that which emphasizes the finitude of the globe as a commonly shared space, from (and, presumably, on) which an 'infinite dispersion' by human beings is 'impossible' (2001: 20-21), and hence requires a certain kind of unconditional, limitless, excessive hospitality. This 'aneconomic' species of hospitality is counterbalanced, however, by what Derrida hastens to add, namely that Kant distinguishes it fundamentally from its 'economic' counterpart – a hospitality which is anything but unconditional. Instead, it operates in cultural, institutional or political place(s), and no longer in a naturally and commonly shared space. Access to such culturally constructed spaces of 'habitat' is not subject to unconditional access, for Kant, but to limitation in the guise of borders, of national, political or public space (Derrida 2001: 21). Moreover, as Derrida proceeds to show, Kant infers from this two 'consequences', adding two 'paradigms': the exclusion of hospitality as 'a right of residence', limiting it to the 'right of visitation', and the dependence of hospitality on 'state sovereignty', especially where 'right of residence' is concerned (2001: 21-22). In fact, while Kant appears to link the right of *visiting* a foreign country 'without hostility' (a qualification that introduces a conditional moment) to the 'natural law' of unconditional, universal hospitality in the context of a shared global space, he connects the right to *residence* (being a 'guest') in a foreign country conditionally to an enabling 'compact' or 'treaty between states' (see the quotation from Kant's essay on pp. 21-22).

One can only echo Derrida's remark (2001: 22), apropos of Kant's thoughts on hospitality, that: 'This is of great consequence, particularly for … "violations of hospitality" … but just as much for the sovereignty of cities

…'. Indeed – it seems to me as if these questions are no less problematical today than in Kant's own day. In fact, they are even more difficult, and understandably so: *9/11* was a watershed event which catapulted the world into a new era of suspicion and uncertainty. This has cast a pall on prospects of achieving even the kind of inter-national 'hospitality' that would exemplify the first of the two 'conditional' kinds distinguished by Kant, namely the right to be treated as a 'visitor' in a foreign country (on condition of peaceful behaviour). Accordingly, the task facing the world regarding practices of hospitality is a difficult one, aptly formulated by Derrida (2001: 22-23):

> It is a question of knowing how to transform and improve the law, and of knowing if this improvement is possible within an historical space which takes place *between* the Law of an unconditional hospitality, offered *a priori* to every other, to all newcomers, *whoever they may be*, and *the* conditional laws of a right to hospitality, without which *The* unconditional Law of hospitality would be in danger of remaining a pious and irresponsible desire, without form and without potency, and of even being perverted at any moment.

This is as much as saying that, just as justice would remain impotent without the law to mediate it, and the law would be tyrannical without justice sensitizing it to difference (Caputo 1997: 136), so too, unconditional hospitality requires the mediating force of law-conditioned hospitality to get anywhere near conditioned actualization. In a world pervaded by actual and potential acts of 'terror' – including 'state terror' – one would do well to heed Derrida here. Unless this approach of acting in the interval 'between' these two forms of hospitality were adopted, one would risk losing the actual as well as potential *non-terrorist other* by reducing him or her to the category of the terrorist without, hospitably, even giving them a chance to be the peaceful 'visitor' or 'guest'. But this means, of course, especially after *9/11*, that one has to negotiate or 'interweave' the unconditional and the conditional. That is, unconditional hospitality – which constitutes the other as a fellow human being in a shared global space – has to be mediated by its conditional varieties – which constitute the other as a visitor or guest in

terms of specific laws of immigration.

Is this all there is to it, though? Doesn't Derrida's deconstruction of the opposition between these two types of hospitality in the context of cosmopolitanism point to a similar approach to the *other* in the context of terror, in its turn framed by the context of cosmopolitanism? Ulrich Beck's work on cosmopolitanism – itself a species of 'working through' – is a valuable source of reflection in this regard. In 'A new cosmopolitanism is in the air' (2007), Beck (who first gained notoriety with his book, *Risk society*; 1992) puts forward seven 'theses' as an answer to the question (2007: 2): 'How does our understanding of power and control become altered from a cosmopolitan perspective?' Here he understands 'cosmopolitan(ism)' verbally, as the process of 'cosmopolitanization', or '… the erosion of distinct boundaries dividing markets, states, civilizations, cultures, and not least of all the lifeworlds of different peoples' (2007: 1). The consonance between Beck's position and Derrida's analysis of hospitality is immediately apparent from Beck's observation that, considering the blurring of boundaries globally, together with their increasing permeability to information- and capital-flows, this is (2007: 1-2):

> Less so … to flows of people: tourists yes, migrants no. Taking place in national and local lifeworlds and institutions is a process of internal globalization. This alters the conditions for the construction of social identity, which need no longer be impressed by the negative juxtaposition of 'us' and 'them'.

In other words, for Beck (2007: 2), globalization (or cosmopolitanization) does not occur in abstraction, but in the daily lives of people, in politics at all levels: even 'domestic' politics have become inescapably global because of 'interdependencies, [reciprocal] flows, networks, threats, and so on ("global domestic politics")'. Beck's reference to 'threats' clearly implicates terror of all shades – terror has become global, even where it seems to be limited to domestic, national concerns, in so far as the globe has become a space of communicational and informational interconnectedness. This not only applies to so-called 'acts of terror', but to what Derrida thinks of as the 'fear of terror(ism) in the head', with its tendency of construing the terrorist other as *wholly* other. In so doing it establishes metonymic connections and

putative identities among such 'others' in various countries globally – something that simply ignores the indissoluble link between 'self' and 'other', as pointed out before.

The seven 'theses' that comprise Beck's answer to the question concerning power in a cosmopolitan context are as follows:

1. First thesis: 'Globalisation is anonymous control'.
2. Second thesis: 'A new perspective for a different approach to action'.
3. Third thesis: 'Only capital is permitted to break the rules'.
4. Fourth thesis: 'We, the consumers, constitute the counter-power'.
5. Fifth thesis: 'Sacrifice autonomy, gain sovereignty'.
6. Sixth thesis: 'A state towards which the nation is indifferent'.
7. Seventh thesis: 'Convert walls into bridges!'

The *first* of these (Beck 2007: 2-6) dwells on what Beck calls 'meta power play' in the relation between states and the global economy – something of utmost importance for the question of terror globally, given Beck's insight, that the economy '…has developed a kind of meta power' that enables it to surpass power relations as articulated in terms of the nation state and territories. Just think of the impact of anonymous, territory-independent economic power on states where particular or collective political, cultural and/or religious sentiments seem powerless to resist the transformational hegemonic power of capital at all these levels. Small wonder that those who harbour these sentiments look upon forms of 'terrorist' activity as the only available kind of resistance[12]. This insight is not novel *per se* – Lyotard (1984) already noted, as far back as in 1979, that power could no longer be understood in terms of geographical territorial demarcation, but had instead spread its lines of influence across the postmodern world economically and epistemically through information networks. But what Beck foregrounds against this backdrop is significant, namely that the new 'meta power play … alters the rules of world politics with their orientation to the nation state' (p. 3). The reason for this capacity

[12] See Hardt and Negri (2001: 146-150), as well as Joel Kovel (2002: xii-xiii) for insightful elaborations on the rise of religious fundamentalism in the face of hegemonic economic (and one may add: military) power on the part of the so-called capitalist states.

becomes clearer when he points to the 'source' of such 'meta power' on the part of the 'strategies' of capital. This is expressed as a paradox: today, coercive economic power is not wielded primarily through the threat of (military) invasion (something that the Bush administration did not seem to understand), but through '… the threat of the non-invasion of the investors, or of their departure' (p. 3)[13].

We find here the form of postmodern, global power, which is seldom directly based on the use of military violence, given the facility and flexibility of anonymous, decentred power that functions 'independently of location'. Hence, it is no understatement for Beck to claim (p. 4): 'Not imperialism, but non-imperialism; not invasion, but the withdrawal of investments constitutes the core of global economic power'. Moreover, for Beck this power requires neither political implementation[14] nor political legitimacy; it even sidesteps democratic institutions like legal systems – it is 'translegal' (p. 4) – but it nevertheless changes the rules of power nationally and internationally. Beck remarks on the astonishing analogy between this logic of economic power and military logistics (pp. 4-5): 'The volume of investment capital corresponds to the fire-power of military weaponry, with the decisive distinction, however, that in this case, power is augmented by threatening not to shoot'. These observations explain his contention, that globalization 'is not an option; it is an anonymous [and pervasive] power', and represents '… the organized absence of responsibility'[15]. This is

[13] Beck elaborates rather humorously on this as follows (2007: 3): 'That is to say, there is only one thing more terrible than being overrun by the multinationals, and that is not to be overrun by them'.

[14] I would tend to say: unless 'necessitated', in military (dis-)guise (as in the case of the US's Iraq invasion), by resistance to such economic power.

[15] Beck points out that, ironically, this process goes hand in hand with the imperative, that states invest optimally in 'research and development' for the sake of maximizing this global 'offensive power of capital' (2007: 5). Knowledge (of a certain kind, of course) should reinforce and expand the current paradigm of power. This implies that a different kind of knowledge, such as that disseminated by Beck, Derrida and others, functions as a counter-discourse in relation to the anonymous, but strategic (discursive and non-discursive) operations of global capital.

Foucault with a vengeance – no longer is it merely politics which is 'war by other means', but economics, too, which exhibits clear traits of bellicosity.

Under the *second* thesis (Beck 2007: 6-7) the implications of the first are elaborated regarding the 'opportunities for action among the co-players' in the sphere of 'meta-power', which depend upon the various successive definitions of the political by the 'actors' themselves. Beck asserts that, under these circumstances, new opportunities for power-acquisition are conditional upon novel categories promoting a *cosmopolitan* perspective, and decisively on a 'critique of nation state orthodoxy' (p. 6). In fact, he reminds one, a blind adherence to 'the old, national dogmatism', instead of switching to a cosmopolitan mindset, is likely to lead to irrelevance, as well as to very high costs: '… nationalism – a rigid adherence to the position that world political meta-power games are and must remain national ones – is revealed to be extremely expensive. A fact learned by the USA, a world power, recently in Iraq' (pp. 6-7). He adds that the lose/lose and win/lose situations of the meta-power game could be transformed into a win/win situation for capital, the state, as well as global civil society, on condition that the new characteristics of power relations were grasped, and a cosmopolitan world-view were to be adopted: 'consciousness maximizes new possibilities for action (cosmopolitan perspective)' (p. 7). What this means for the theme of this paper, is that the emergence of a truly cosmopolitan way of thinking, in the place of an outdated nationalist mindset, could eventually defuse the need for terror.

The *third* thesis entails the proposition that neoliberalism enjoys power which rests on radical inequality: the 'breaking or changing of rules remains the revolutionary prerogative of capital' (p. 9)[16]. This is because capital is presented as being 'absolute and autonomous', and as entailing the assurance that what is 'good for capital' is also '… the best option for everyone' – something that allows one to view capital, ironically, as the

[16] This, despite the fact (in Beck's view) that neoliberalism ironically copied Marx's underestimation of religious and nationalist movements, as well as his one-dimensional history-model, while ignoring his insight into the unleashing of destructive forces by capitalism,

'preferred path to socialism' (p. 8)[17]. Several implications here converge on the insight, that neoliberalism actually engenders terror(ism) through the unfolding of its own logic of unquestionable, exclusive economic validity.

Against the background of the third thesis, above, the *fourth* one advances the claim that (2007: 9-10):

> … the counter-power [to capital] of global civil society rests on the figure of the political consumer. Not unlike the power of capital, this counterpower [sic] is a consequence of the power to say – always and everywhere – 'no', to refuse to make a purchase. This weapon of non-purchasing cannot be delimited, whether spatially, temporally, or in terms of an object. It is, however, contingent upon the consumer's access to money, and upon the existence of an [sic] superfluity of available commodities and services among which consumers may choose.

For Beck, therefore, the consumers of the world could organize themselves transnationally into a 'lethal weapon' against capital – after all, they cannot be fired (p. 10)! This 'growing counter-power of the consumer' points to a lesson concerning 'terror'. Just as the consumer can say 'no' to the exhortation to buy, people could also say 'no' to the option of opposing the hegemonic capitalist countries or powers by means of terror, and instead join the increasing numbers of people who are becoming aware of their power to combat capital (the mainstay of the hegemonic nations) where necessary. After all, what consumers and would-be anti-western 'terrorists' have in common, is the fact that their actions are predicated on the realization that the state no longer constitutes the counter-power to capital. Once this course of action is adopted on a large enough scale, it would further obviate so-called 'state terror' – it is inconceivable for the state to intervene in 'free economic activity' by forcing it to be un-free in the context of the 'free market'.

[17] This insight on Beck's part resonates with Slavoj Žižek's (2009: 13-20) notion of a 'liberal communist', namely a capitalist (for example Bill Gates or George Soros) who claims to be doing the economic upliftment of society better than communism or socialism could.

The *fifth* thesis put forward by Beck is, to my mind, extremely pertinent to the question of terror(ism) in the context of cosmopolitanism. Here, he urges one to 'Sacrifice autonomy [and] gain sovereignty', which is nothing short of 'redefining state politics' (2007: 10). With this, Beck is at pains to demonstrate that, to transcend 'the framework of nationalism', the equation of sovereignty with autonomy – on which nationalism rests – must be seen to be cancelled, obliterated, in the context of cosmopolitanization. What this means is that the latter process, which entails the interdependence, many-levelled cooperation, networking and cultural diversification of states, actually implies a *loss of (formal) autonomy*, but a corresponding *growth in sovereignty*. The latter refers to the sense of states' increasing capacity to resolve their own problems, largely because of growing collaboration and interdependence. As Beck puts it (2007: 12): '…proceeding now in the wake of political globalization is the transformation of autonomy on the basis of national exclusion to sovereignty on the basis of transnational inclusion'. What this means for terror(ism) is the potential defusion or neutralization of grounds for both 'state terror' as well as 'anti-state terror': should globalization actualize the cosmopolitan condition of mutual interdependence of all countries, all societies, communities and individuals, there would no longer be any need or motivation for acts of terror. Although the present state of 'globalization' already entails its possible actualization, I realize that the possibility of reaching such a position of 'saturated' cosmopolitanism (which would include a pervasive acknowledgement that this is the case) is almost inconceivable. However, it presupposes a mindset worth striving for – one which also underlies what Hardt and Negri call the 'common' produced by exchanges among individuals comprising the 'multitude' (referred to earlier).

The *sixth* thesis (2007: 12-15) claims that the 'cosmopolitan state' is not reached via the 'dissolution' of the nation state, but 'through its inner transformation', that is, through what was earlier referred to as 'internal globalization', which 'reconfigures' the political, legal, economic and cultural processes at national and local levels. For Beck, this does not mean that the national state ceases to exist; rather, it assumes a 'hermaphroditic' character: 'simultaneously a cosmopolitan and a national state'. The latter, therefore, instead of positioning itself *against* other nations, would enter into collaborative relations of mutual cooperation and interdependence with other

states for the resolution of shared (that is, both national and international) problems and the promotion of shared interests[18]. Such interests would include the value of an acknowledgement of a common, shared humanity, regardless of cultural differences (2001: 12-13). This explains why Beck believes that the cosmopolitan state presupposes 'national indifference towards the state', which enables the coexistence of 'various national identities' (through the principle of 'constitutional tolerance within and cosmopolitan rights without'; p. 13). In this way (analogous to the way the religious wars of the 16th and 17th century in Europe were ended by separating the state from religion), '…the national world (civil) wars of the 20th century could be concluded by the separation of state from nation' (p. 13). Crucially, he points out, the 'theologians of nationalism' would find this inconceivable, because it entails '…a break with the ostensibly constitutive fundamental concept of the political as such: the friend-foe schema' (p. 14). He cites the European Union as an historical example of how this schema was subverted, and how 'enemies have been successfully converted into neighbours', via the 'political art of creating interdependencies'. Needless to say, this example may be regarded, for purposes of the theme of this paper, as a model for the process by which the need for 'terror(ism)' could be subverted. In this respect, I believe that Beck is correct where he says (2007: 14-15):

> The theory and concept of the cosmopolitan state must be distinguished from three positions [all of which would maintain the *status quo* as conducive to terror; B.O.]: from the illusion of the autonomous national state; from the neoliberal notion of a minimal deregulated economic state; and finally, from the irreal seductions of a unified global government, one whose concentrated power render it

[18] In *Cosmopolitan vision* (2006: 2) Beck puts the relationship between the cosmopolitan and the national as follows: '… in the cosmopolitan outlook, methodologically understood, there resides the latent potential to break out of the self-centred narcissism of the national outlook and the dull incomprehension with which it infects thought and action, and thereby enlighten human beings concerning the real, internal cosmopolitanization of their lifeworlds and institutions'.

invincible[19].

Beck's *seventh* thesis (2007: 15-17), which exhorts us to 'convert walls into bridges', claims that his version of 'cosmopolitanism' is not simply a new name for familiar phenomena such as multiculturalism and globalization. Here it is worth quoting him at length, because what he says captures exactly what I would argue regarding the conditions that would render 'terror(ism)' redundant (2007: 15-16):

> To this, I would reply: my theory of the 'cosmopolitan perspective' describes different realities, and it is constructed differently. All of the above ideas are based on the premise of difference, of alienation, of the strangeness of the Other. Multiculturalism, for example, means that various ethnic groups live side by side within a single state. [While] tolerance means acceptance, even when it goes against the grain, putting up with difference as an unavoidable burden. Cosmopolitan tolerance, on the other hand, is more than that. It is neither defensive nor passive, but instead active: it means opening oneself up to the world of the Other, perceiving difference as an enrichment, regarding and treating the Other as fundamentally equal. Expressed theoretically: either-or logic is replaced by both-and logic.

Here Beck reveals himself as being at one with poststructuralists, who have been in the process of implementing the 'logic of both-and' for a long time (at least since the 1960s)[20]. Another way of putting this is to say that he is engaged in what was referred to earlier as 'complexity-thinking', which is an attempt to get beyond binaries in an effort to think what has traditionally been construed as 'antagonistic opposites' *together*, to negotiate them in a paradoxical manner, which tends to open up unheard-of possibilities. And this is precisely what Beck and Derrida, whose work I have scrutinized here, enable one to do regarding terror(ism). In fact, in the essay under discussion

[19] The third position, above, corresponds to what Hardt and Negri (2001) conceive of as Empire, which they see as already being actualized at various levels.

[20] See in this regard Olivier (1993 and 1998a) for an elaboration of poststructuralist logic in the work of Derrida.

Beck mentions the 'battle against terrorism' explicitly (2007: 16) as one of the problem-areas that would benefit from 'converting walls into bridges', while in an earlier text (Beck 2006: 146-153) he devotes an entire section of a chapter to the topic.

Not surprisingly, his analysis in the earlier text – *The cosmopolitan vision* (2006) – lays bare paradoxes similar to those uncovered in his more recent essay (as well as to those alluded to by Derrida). These include the collapse of the distinction between war and peace, between enemies, terrorists and criminals, between localized wars (in Iraq, among others) and global risk (pp. 146-147), and between the perception and the reality of danger (p. 149). Add to this Beck's elaboration on the following points, then one can hardly ignore the persuasiveness of his (Beck's) claim that '…the threat of terrorism is rewriting the global geography of power' (2006: 153):

- The absurdity of combating the 'horror of terror' with the 'horror of war' (p. 148);
- The fact that terrorism functions according to the (paralyzing) interaction between actual, localized catastrophe (e.g. *9/11*) and omnipresent, fantasy-fed danger (from which its political power derives; pp. 149-150 – compare Derrida's '*The Cold War in the head*');
- The subversion or neutralization, by suicidal terrorists, of the state's deterrent power through the threat of violence;
- The paradoxical state-terrorism dialectic of 'mutual *empowerment through disempowerment*' (their mutual refusal of recognition, which presupposes the distinction between *terror attacks* and [their promotion to] *terrorism* as a global phenomenon; p. 151);
- The dialectic of impotence and omnipotence, or powerlessness (of the terrorists) and hegemonic power (of the military superpowers; p. 152).

The only viable way of addressing this state of affairs is to adopt a 'cosmopolitan' perspective in Beck's and Derrida's sense(s) of the word. If one compares Derrida's and Beck's approaches to hospitality and cosmopolitanism, and to terror(ism) with that of Noam Chomsky to similar issues, one is struck by interesting and far-reaching differences. The latter,

for all his steadfast courage as public intellectual in the face of the intimidating might of the Bush Administration in the US, has not made – and I must admit, seems incapable of making – the switch to the 'complexity thinking' so characteristic of the two Continental thinkers. In contrast to poststructuralist thinkers such as Derrida and Beck (whose nuanced, critically responsible thought should not be confused with an anything-goes 'postmodernism'), Chomsky's position and approach are those of the 'mainstream' Western intellectual[21]. Accordingly, he is determined to use all the available resources in an effort to point out discrepancies between overt claims and covert actions on the part of one's political adversary, as well as to uncover hidden motives and strategies (such as 'manufacturing consensus') in order to discredit the latter. But crucially, all of this occurs without seriously questioning or modifying what seems to me to be a very traditional, social-scientific mindset on his part. In *Interventions* (2007: 2), for example, Chomsky states:

> We should also be aware that much of the world regards Washington as a terrorist regime. In recent years, the United States has taken or backed actions in Colombia, Central America, Panama, Sudan and Turkey, to name only a few, that meet official U.S. definitions of 'terrorism' – or worse – that is, when Americans apply the term to enemies.

Again, he points out (2007: 77):

> Even if we put aside the crucial matter of the criminal invasion, it should be clear that prolonged violent conflict, including the hideous manifestations in Fallujah and elsewhere, might not have occurred had the U.S.-led occupation been less arrogant, ignorant, and

[21] Just how different the poststructuralists' approach is – in this case that of Michel Foucault – from Chomsky's very conventional, 'scientific' approach, comes across forcibly in Paul Rabinow's reconstruction and discussion of their simultaneous appearance on Dutch television to debate the topic 'Human nature: Justice versus power'. See Rabinow 1984: Introduction, pp. 3-7.

> incompetent. Conquerors willing to transfer authentic sovereignty, as Iraqis demand, would have chosen a different route.

In each of these excerpts one witnesses an informed and courageous stance against the unjustified imposition of military power on a foreign state or on specific 'hostile' groups in such states. But in neither of them does one encounter an attempt to alter the way in which one thinks *fundamentally* – the fact that he relativizes the concept of 'terrorist' in the first excerpt gives one the ideal opportunity to translate this into an insight regarding the paradoxical relation between 'self' and 'other' (individual or collective), but Chomsky fails to make this move. Similarly, in the second one his use of the term 'sovereignty' is quite conventionally compatible with the concept of the autonomous 'nation state', which he fails to question the way Beck and Derrida do in order to break out of the impasse of binary thinking. Chomsky therefore seems to me to offer far less by way of a novel, if not revolutionary, way of thinking about 'terror(ism)' than Derrida and Beck. The latter thinkers have made the switch to the crucial logic of 'both/and' – a logic that is characteristic of poststructuralist (*not* postmodernist) thinking across a broad range of themes and thinkers. In the world of the early 21st century, one has to learn to think and act differently. Beck puts it succinctly, and in a manner that is a fitting conclusion to this paper (2006: 2):

> Thus the cosmopolitan outlook is both the presupposition and the result of a conceptual reconfiguration of our modes of perception.

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The First Ethiopians: A Critical Perspective

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Book Review Article

The First Ethiopians: The Image of Africa and Africans in the Early Mediterranean World.
By Malvern Van Wyk Smith
Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 2009, pp. xiv + 528, with 50 colour and black-and-white illustrations
ISBN 978-1-86814-499-0

This is an ambitious book by a retired Professor of English at Rhodes University that makes very large claims about the origins of Western racism towards Black Africans. The author has spent many years and a great deal of effort on this project (p. ix) as is evident from the substantial length of the work and the very extensive bibliography[1] (pp. 447-501), from which many scholars will undoubtedly benefit, as I most definitely have. Wits University

[1] The author sometimes employs a 'scatter-gun' approach to the references, rather than specifying these more precisely. For example, the reference to Watts (1976) on race prejudice in Juvenal, does not contain much of relevance at all to 'Roman attitudes to black Africans' (p. 334) – there is a passing allusion to Blacks on p. 86 of this article, but for the rest it mostly concerns Greeks, Jews and Orientals. The same could be said of the majority of the references given on this page. One of the most serious drawbacks to the bibliography is that it is virtually entirely in English, whereas much important work on Africa in ancient history has been done in French, Italian and German. Thus, there is no mention at all of Gsell (1913-1930), or the 18-volume publication *L'Africa romana* by the Department of History at the University of Sassari.

Press are to be commended for undertaking to publish such a lengthy discussion of what is, when the Introduction (pp. 1-95) is laid aside, actually a work of ancient history, and one hopes that this will set a trend that will continue in the future. This book shows that Ancient History matters and that it matters above all for Africa and Africans.

The author at first describes his project as follows: 'This book is a history of the idea of "Africa" in the consciousness of the early Mediterranean and European world' (p. 1), but it soon becomes apparent that he has a more specific purpose, namely to trace the origin of Western racism to Pharaonic Egypt. He writes:

> This distinction [between non-negroid Egyptians and sub-Saharan Blacks] encouraged the rulers of pharaonic Egypt to distance themselves from other Africans, and the consequent racial typology that they developed prompted later Greek and Roman commentators in turn to perpetuate and celebrate the notion of an elite culture of 'worthy Egyptians' based on the lands and legends of Meroitic Nubia and, later, Aksumite Ethiopia, and to dismiss the rest of sub-Saharan Africa as 'savage Ethiopia' (p. 4).

If this is the case, it is a very gloomy view of Western relations with Black Africa, but there is every reason to think that Van Wyk Smith's argument is unsustainable when broken down into the specific details. Moreover, it is abundantly clear that the author is an Egyptologist/Ancient Historian/ Classicist *manqué*, as he finds it impossible to concentrate only on the thesis he proposes at the outset of the book, but is frequently drawn into discussion of intriguing side-shows in the ancient world. To a Classicist, this is gratifying proof of the continuing fascination of the history of the ancient Mediterranean, but it must be said that much of this material has already been more authoritatively treated elsewhere, and a more rigorous concentration on what is relevant to the argument would have produced a much slimmer and more persuasive work. Thus on p. 373 the author has cause to mention the Chinese, which leads to a learned excursus on the derivation of the name 'Seres' from the Greek and Latin languages. All this can be found in the relevant dictionaries. Why rehearse it all yet again?

It is at first sight difficult to work out what readership Van Wyk Smith has in mind for his book. At 528 pages, this is no coffee-table publication, and it is unlikely that 'the general reader' will take up an extended study of racism in Africa, Egypt, and the West in the period ranging from 3800 BCE to the early Christian period (Van Wyk Smith's 'timeline' covers the periods from 3800 BCE to the Ptolemaic period beginning in 323 BCE, but his discussion actually extends as far as Cosmas Indicopleustes in the 6th century of our era). Since the author is not himself an Egyptologist nor a Classicist, students and researchers in these fields will not take his account as authoritative pronouncements. Disciplinary boundaries do matter – above all where languages and historical methodology are involved. The inability of the author to read Egyptian, Greek and Latin texts in the original languages and his relative unfamiliarity with the source material (especially numismatic, epigraphic, and papyrological) inevitably makes his account derivative. He has clearly read very widely in the fields of Egyptology, Classics, Ancient History, and others, but his argument depends on his summaries (sometimes very cursory and selective too) of the work of 'authorities' in these fields and it is sometimes not easy to see why he prefers one account over another (more on this below). Without the freshness of original interpretations of the ancient evidence by the author to keep him going, this reader soon tired of dealing with the barrage of rehashed information presented in this book. The vast scope of the present work is only possible because the author has skated over the issues, debates and controversies within these disciplines.

Who then did the author envisage as the reader of his work? The answer is to be found in the substantial Introduction (pp. 1-95) in which the author outlines 'the polemics of postcolonial and postmodernist debate' (p. ix). This is understandably where the author is most at home and it is all the more strange that he can suggest that the reader should skip the introduction 'to enter the argument with Homer and the ancient "Ethiopians" in Chapter 1' (ibid.). The book under consideration is above all a political work in the sense that it ventures into the 'minefields of cultural history' to propose an unorthodox thesis – that Western racism towards Blacks has its origin in Africa, and more specifically, in Egypt (see especially Chapter 8, 'The First Ethiopians', pp. 235-280, on the creation of a dual view of Ethiopian identity by the rulers 'Kushite' or Nubian 25th Dynasty). It is in this already

superheated debate that the present book will make its greatest impact. However, when the argument turns to matters of detail, it becomes impossible to sustain such an immense claim as the author puts forward. To combat the untenable views of the Afrocentrists cogent historical reasoning is needed. It is unfortunate that Van Wyk Smith's extremely wide scope and unhistorical methodology draws him away from this goal.

In this review, I take up the author's invitation to bypass the Introduction (pp. 1-95), which presents an excellent overview of the present intellectual debate regarding contemporary cultural politics. It is not possible, even in this extended review article, to deal with all the issues raised by this thought-provoking book. Instead, I shall be concentrating on the area of my own expertise – the Graeco-Roman period.

A key issue in the book is racism (once fondly thought not to exist). Van Wyk Smith points out that recent DNA research indicates that race may not be merely a social construct after all, since scientists now propose that genetic lineages are real. This means that there must have been a variety of human groups in Africa prior to the migrations from the continent between 80,000 and 60,000 years ago (pp. 59-60) and that Africa is racially far more complex than has previously been allowed[2]. However this may be, it is clear that the arguments of both Afrocentrist cultural theorists and Eurocentrists depend on the question of race, which is a very difficult term to keep a grip on, since it constantly needs to be distinguished from xenophobia, cultural stereotyping, and so on[3]. Van Wyk Smith prefers to use Dawkins' 1976 term 'meme' to describe the

> tenacity, prolixity and replicatory powers of single or groups of ideas, beliefs, prejudices and other cultural practices … that seem to have an almost biological and genetic propensity to survive and replicate in given societies (p. 285).

Racism is a prime manifestation of such 'memes'. Significantly, however, Van Wyk Smith does not give sufficient consideration to the impact that Darwin's theory of evolution had on theories of race in the nineteenth

[2] See also Seligman (1966).

[3] See the useful discussion of these terms in Isaac (2004: 17-23, 38-41).

century. When compounded with Western imperialism at this time, which Van Wyk Smith does recognise, in passing, as a contributory factor (p. 228), Darwinism brought race to the forefront of European thought as never before. Clearly it is in Van Wyk Smith's interest to bypass this important issue, since he argues that Western racism originated in Egypt and was passed on to the Greeks and Romans, who in turn handed it on to the Medieval and Modern Europeans. However, racism towards Blacks in Greek and Roman times was negligible for the simple reason that Blacks never constituted a significant proportion of the ancient population of the Mediterranean and they certainly never presented so much of a threat to the security of the region as Van Wyk Smith often claims (cf., e.g., p. 345). Hence Van Wyk Smith has to dismiss the views of an entire cohort of ancient historians such Beardsley (1929), Thompson and Ferguson (1969), Snowden (1970, 1976), Bugner et al. (1976), Watts (1976), Raven (1984), Thompson (1989) and Isaac (2004), where they fail to support his case that the Greeks and Romans were consistently and demonstrably racist towards Blacks (cf., e.g., p. 334). He writes, for example:

> The sad truth is that by and large, the Romans adopted the substantially racialised dialectics of Hellenistic Lower Egypt as distilled from centuries of discriminatory cultural dynamics practised by dynastic Egyptians and Meroitic Nubians alike (p. 334 Van Wyk Smith's punctuation).

Another essential point in Van Wyk Smith's argument is that the Homeric identification of two Ethiopias led to the later dichotomy between 'worthy' and 'savage' Ethiopians. Homer describes the Ethiopians as 'the most distant of men' some of whom lived 'at the setting of Hyperion' and others 'at his rising' (*Od.* 1.22-25). It is important to note that there is no differentiation between 'worthy' and 'savage' Ethiopians here, although the author takes this passage to have defined the racist 'meme' in Western thinking. On the one occasion that Homer does characterize the Ethiopians he merely says that they are, in general and without distinction, 'blameless' (*Il.* 1.423). The Greek word here is frequently used by Homer as a traditional epithet in his oral poetry and is applied to the prophet Calchas, Peleus, Glaucus and other warriors at Troy with very little distinguishing force.

Moreover, there is no evidence to suppose that Homer had any specific Ethiopians in mind, such as the 'pious Twenty-fifth dynasty rulers of Egypt' (p. 250). Van Wyk Smith can summon no reputable Homeric authority for such a suggestion, and does not cite specialist studies of Homer's knowledge of Egypt[4] to support his view. It is far more likely that Homer was referring in *Od.* 1.22-23 to people so distant that they were burnt by the sun at its rising and at its setting and so not to the more familiar Egyptians. The myth of the Ethiopians is, after all, inseparably linked to the journey of Helios from the eastern to the western Ocean[5]. The later reference in Herodotus to 'straight-haired Ethiopians' and 'woolly-haired Ethiopians' (7.69-70) – also without any negative characterization of either group incidentally – confirms this view. Yet, after adducing both theories concerning the Ethiopians (that they were connected in some way with the 25th dynasty in Egypt and that they represented Indians in the east and Africans in the west), Van Wyk Smith concludes: 'Yet it must be possible that a notion of two kinds of African "Ethiopians" … made its way into Homeric lore' (p. 250). He then enters into a discussion of the intractable problem of the date of Homer (pp. 250-251) with a view to showing that distinction between two groups of Ethiopians must go back further than Homer since the poet supposedly lived after the 25th dynasty in Egypt. This discussion is beside the point, however, as it ignores the nature of oral formulaic poetry, which has been shown to preserve detailed knowledge of Mycenean society even before 1000 BCE.

All this would not matter so much if it did not occur at the most crucial point in the construction of Van Wyk Smith's argument in Chapter 8, 'The First Ethiopians' (pp. 235-280). If his case breaks down here, it will also do so subsequently, since the links between the supposed 'two Ethiopias' grow increasingly tenuous in later chapters. While there are some grounds for accepting that in the Hellenistic period Greeks and Romans differentiated between eastern and western Ethiopians (Indians and Africans), especially after Alexander's conquest of the Persian Empire, there is little basis for supposing that they somehow transposed this distinction into a north-south dichotomy, which is more characteristic of modern thinking in the field of Development Studies. Even in the Hellenistic period

[4] See Gilbert (1939: 47-61); Sinko (1906: 12-20).

[5] See the extensive evidence discussed by Lesky (1959: 27-38).

and Roman Empire the Sahara and the *sudh* imposed impenetrable barriers to explorers from the Mediterranean and sub-Saharan Blacks were for this reason not well known or understood in the Classical period[6]. Homer's 'inversely ethnocentric' view of Ethiopians[7], in which they lived lives of blessed ease in the company of the gods, was gradually replaced by more rational scientific accounts of them in the Hellenistic period, as Albin Lesky has shown in his article 'Aithiopika' (1959). Van Wyk Smith repeatedly returns to the supposed divide between 'worthy' and 'savage' Ethiopians without citing any real evidence at all for the distinction (cf., e.g., pp. 288, 293), whereas in fact there is often no pejorative differentiation. For example, Van Wyk Smith arbitrarily links Aristotle's discussion of the five zones of the earth in the *Meteorologica* (to which no chapter and section reference is given here, but cf. p. 310 where the reference 2.5.179 is given), with the same philosopher's *Politics* (1.3.4-5, on the evolution of human society) and then states: 'Aristotelian cosmography created a template of racialised assumptions and expectations from which the world has still not recovered' (pp. 310-311). But there is no necessary connection at all between the two Aristotelian texts and neither makes any pejorative statements about the inhabitants of the southern hemisphere. Similarly, Herodotus' story of the Nasamonian youths crossing the Sahara to discover pygmies (Hdt. 2.32), contains no racist assessment of the indigenous peoples they encountered. Elsewhere too Herodotus talks of straight-haired and curly-haired Ethiopians (7.69-70) and he assigns these to East and West respectively, but he makes no judgement on the savagery or level of civilization of either group (cf. Van Wyk Smith, p. 308). Thus the supposed binary opposition between 'worthy' and 'savage' Ethiopians frequently breaks down.

Did the Romans hand on to the medieval period a racist view of sub-Saharan Blacks as Van Wyk Smith argues? He writes, for example: 'Africa presented to the Roman gaze a largely pejorative view of humanity' – a rather obscure way of putting the matter (p. 344) –; 'Roman discourse' depicts 'the majority of Aethiopians as primitive, barbarous, and wretched'

[6] Cary and Warmington (1929: 110-111). At the time of Nero a scientific expedition to find the sources of the Nile failed to get further than the *sudh* (cf. Pliny *HN* 6.181).

[7] This term was coined by Romm (1994: 47).

(p. 345); and 'Africa is Hell' (p. 358). The argument is often greatly exaggerated and the evidence cited is deficient or taken out of context. For example, Van Wyk Smith suggests (p. 339) that the 'isolation' of Africa from medieval Europe 'was latent in Roman attitudes' (ibid.), but the fact is that the Romans (and even their Greek geographers such as Strabo and Ptolemy) knew very little at all about sub-Saharan Africa. We need to put aside our modern knowledge of the world in order to enter into the mind of people who had never seen a globe and whose maps (judging by the Peutinger map) were often severely skewed. On the 12th-13th century Peutinger Map, which is based on a stemma of earlier maps of the main official travel routes of Roman Empire (*cursus publicus*) going back ultimately to the map of Agrippa in the first century BCE via the *Itinerarium Antonini* in the third or fourth century, Africa is reduced to a thin horizontal band, the Nile runs laterally from East to West (as in Herodotus), and Ethiopia is not given nearly as much detail as India[8] is. On this map the Ethiopians are located near the Gaetulians (under the variant names Bagigetuli, Gnadegetuli, or Higibegetuli) and Nasamonians (Weber 1976, segment VII) but with no indication of the distances between them (although otherwise distances are regularly given). Even the location of the Garamantes is marked more precisely (Weber 1976, segment VI). However, the fact that the Romans were almost entirely ignorant about Africa does not make them racist, and they cannot be faulted because they lacked a 'conception of African as a vast continuous whole' (p. 367).

I now analyze Van Wyk Smith's argument with regard to the Palestrina Mosaic. This famous first-century CE artwork, which was discovered at Praeneste in Italy just south of Rome, depicts Upper and Lower Egypt at the time of the annual Nile flood. The upper section shows the fauna, flora, and mineralogy of Upper Egypt. Some features are labelled; the bear (not obviously an African animal), for example, has ARKOS written beneath it[9]. There is also a mythical, ungulate 'ass-centaur' (ONOKENTAU-ROS) with a human head. At the top of the mosaic seven Black hunters are seen in aiming their bows and arrows at some birds. The artist is unknown but would probably have been Greek or Egyptian rather than Roman. This

[8] Cf. Weber (1976).

[9] The most extensive recent discussion is by Meyboom (1994).

piece should be seen as part of the Roman fascination with Egypt (there was a major tourist industry to this destination during the Roman Empire), which had come into their possession after the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra by the first Roman emperor Augustus. Hence the exotic and even mythical animals depicted alongside actual African animals such as hippos and crocodiles. Here too, Van Wyk Smith provides no evidence for his reading of this mosaic as showing 'the gaze of authority, a confident suggestion that the (Roman) viewer is fully in possession of the African terrain' and he states without substantiation that 'the African human subjects on display are shown as grotesques' (p. 346). Moreover, it is simply wrong for him to say that Walker (2003) 'sees in the Palestrina Mosaic a pervasive conception of inner Egypt as exotic, sexually priapic and demographically abnormal[10]. Walker's article adopts one of many possible interpretations of the Palestrina Mosaic – that it formed part of the propaganda of Augustus directed at Antony and Cleopatra during the civil wars in the last years of the Roman Republic in which the famous royal lovers are shown as sexually debauched (and, by implication, Antony is a dwarf or midget). This theory depends on some very tenuous associations with other Nilotic scenes in Roman art such as a terracotta relief in the Princeton University Art Museum and a fragment of a marble frieze in the British Museum, which depict licentious sex involving pygmies or dwarves (there is no indication of skin colour, although the African somatic type is evident in many cases)[11]. The significance of the dwarves or pygmies in such representations is debatable. Pygmies were often looked on with ambivalence in Black culture because of their supposed magical powers, yet in Egypt pygmies and dwarves were not regularly differentiated (the term *dng* is often used of both). Moreover, the Egyptian fertility god Bes (whose origin in Nubia or Egypt is disputed) was regularly depicted as an ithyphallic dwarf and, if Antony is the target of the fun, he is as likely to be represented as Bes to Cleopatra's Isis, rather than as a pygmy.

[10] Van Wyk Smith here refers (without citing page numbers) to Walker (2003: 191-202). His phrase 'inner Egypt' is an obfuscation suggesting that the sex scenes refer to Upper Egypt or Ethiopia, whereas in fact Walker only refers to Lower Egypt in her analysis.

[11] On the identification of dwarves or pygmies in Egyptian art, see Dasen (1993: 26-33).

Other 'dwarf gods' such as Re or Horus occur in Egyptian religion[12]. In Greece, dwarves were assimilated with satyrs and the cult of Hephaistos and had an ambivalent status in society[13]. It is therefore an oversimplification to identify the short male figures engaging in sexual intercourse on the relief sculptures as a derogatory representation pygmies and thus of Black Africans in general. Walker herself frequently qualifies her argument, since none of the human characters in the mosaic can actually be identified and most seem to be generically Egyptian or Ptolemaic (the identification with Cleopatra is based on the mere presence of a parasol in the Dal Pozzo drawings of the mosaic in Windsor Castle before it was damaged.) There are no pygmies or sex scenes at all in the Palestrina Mosaic. Moreover, even if one accepts Walker's speculative theory, the target of the caricature is not African Blacks but the deviant Roman and his decadent Ptolemaic queen. Finally, there is no connection whatsoever between the Ship Fresco from the West House of Thera which is dated to half way through the second millennium BCE and the first-century Palestrina Mosaic, nor is there any reason to think that the Thera fresco is at all related to Saharan rock art (p. 225). Van Wyk Smith himself acknowledges the futility of such speculative free-association of ideas (p. 227). Why then discuss them at all?

Van Wyk Smith also anachronistically interprets pre-Christian, pagan Roman literary texts as depicting Africa as 'Hell'. Lucan's description of venomous serpents and arid deserts in Libya does not necessarily make Africa a Christian Inferno, for all Dante's much later use of the theme. Far less is the idea of 'Africa as "Hell"' the 'central trope' of the *Pharsalia* (p. 354). References to 'Hell' and 'devilish' (p. 360) impose on Lucan and Pliny the kind of Christian discourse that they would simply not have understood. Pliny's description of the Astapus river 'issuing from the shades below' (p. 357) is his attempt to translate the indigenous name for the river, rather than his own characterization ('The Astapus, which, in the language of those peoples, signifies water flowing from the darkness' *Astapus, quod illarum gentium lingua significat aquam e tenebris profluentem, HN* 5.53), and does not therefore make it 'the Styx or Lethe of the classical underworld' (ibid.) for which Pliny 'must bear much responsibility' (p. 358), far less can it be

[12] Dasen (1993: 27, 28, 29, 43, 46-54, 55-64).
[13] Dasen (1993: 243-245).

said to anachronistically 'conjure up the iconography and theme of Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*' (ibid.). Van Wyk Smith also considers the fifth-century Greek translation of the voyage of the Phoenician *suffetes*, Hanno, to be a 'startling anticipation of and a seminal text in the recidivist discourse of West Africa now associated with the literature of slavery, 'the white man's grave', and the worst popular fictions of Victorian colonialism' (p. 303). Yet this Phoenician text makes no mention of slavery at all and makes no 'implication that in West Africa primates and human beings were hard to tell apart' (ibid.) – the Phoenicians had never seen gorillas before and merely recorded that these animals resembled human beings. Likewise, Van Wyk Smith's account of the *Periplus of the Erithraean [sic for Erythraean i.e. Red] Sea* omits the positive relations between Arabic traders and the local inhabitants of East Africa. In Chapter 16 of this work the anonymous author, writing in Greek, notes that the Arabs had governed the region 'under some ancient right', although local chiefs exercised control in specific regions of the land. During this time the Arabic traders had intermarried with the indigenous people and had developed an interlanguage, Swahili, to communicate with them[14]. A similar example of intermarriage between Egyptians and Ethiopians is given in Herodotus (2.30), who also records the development of an interlanguage between the two nations (2.42). Texts such as these provide information about racial integration between Ethiopians and Egyptians or Arabs, which does not fit easily into Van Wyk Smith's argument.

The fact that Meroë occurs as a slave name does not mean that 'the old Meroitic capital may finally have been remembered as no more than a slave emporium' (p. 359), which does no justice at all to the extensive descriptions of the place in the extant Graeco-Roman sources (Hdt. 2.29; Hld. 9.22; Strabo 17.817c) in which there is no evidence for slave trading as the purpose of the settlement. Van Wyk Smith repeatedly uses the fact that Greece and Rome were slave societies (along with others in the Mediterranean, of course, such as Carthage) to imply that they therefore exploited Africa. For example, he argues that, because Aristotle appears to have condoned slavery, 'Aristotle's legacy in the discourse, as in the

[14] The term 'Ethiopia' occurs only once in the *Periplus* (18.5), otherwise specific local names are given for the towns along the route.

exploitation, of Africa would be a lasting one' (p. 311), without further discussion. However, Greek and Roman slavery made no distinction between the various races from which slaves came. The exact number of Black slaves in the Roman Empire is virtually impossible to ascertain, but it is likely to have been extremely small[15]. It is not even possible to determine the race of famous slaves in antiquity. Van Wyk Smith writes (p. 318): 'Thousands of African slaves must have passed through …. Alexandria …. One of them may have been Aesop.' However, the notion that Aesop was Black depends on a very fanciful etymology which relates his name to the Greek word *Aithiops.* The tradition that he was Thracian is much stronger (it is recorded in a fragment of Aristotle, 573 [Rose]; cf. also Eugeiton in Suidas s.v. 'Aisōpos'). The first-century fable-writer Phaedrus (3.52 *Prologue*), Herodas (5.14), the second-century *Life of Aesop*, and many other writers in antiquity considered him to be Phrygian.

Much of the evidence discussed by Van Wyk Smith, such as the proverb *ex Africa semper aliquid novi* or the *leukaethiopes* provide neutral or even positive aspects of the continent. This is certainly the case in Heliodorus' *Ethiopian Story*. Far from 'rendering the Ethiopians beholden to a white princess' (p. 373), Heliodorus bizarrely makes his hero and heroine turn into black Ethiopians at the end of the novel – the reward for their virtue is 'a crown of white on brows turning black' (Hld. 10.41). They remain in Ethiopia as priest and priestess of the Sun and Moon and there is no suggestion that they return to Greece. There is no doubt that the Ethiopian king Hydaspes and his Ethiopian queen Persinna are portrayed with considerable empathy as a good and just rulers and the Ethiopian gymnosophists are considered the pinnacle of enlightenment. Moreover, the author was a Phoenician from Emesa in Syria, who displays a very sophisticated attitude to the cultural politics in his work; he would not have resorted to such crudely imperialistic sentiments[16]. Van Wyk Smith's argument is strongest when dealing with Juvenal's attitude to Blacks but it should also be remembered that Juvenal was writing highly rhetorical,

[15] George (2003: 163), which should be in Van Wyk Smith's list of references; see also Desanges (1976: 257).

[16] On this, see, for example, Whitmarsh (1998: 93-124). For the broader context see Whitmarsh (2001); Swain (1996).

hyperbolic satire and that he was just as ready to make outrageously xenophobic and denigatory remarks about Greeks, Jews, women and homosexuals as he was about Egyptians or Africans.

The author makes use of out-of-date translations that often leads him into obscurity. For example he makes use of Golding's 1590 translation of Pomponius Mela on the possibility of an unknown southern hemisphere (p. 17):

> But if there be another world, and that the Antichthones go feet to feet against us in the South, it were not much unlike to be true that the river [the Nile] rising in those lands, after it hath pierced under the sea in a private channel, should vent again in our world.

There seems little to be gained in quoting this translation when the author knows of Romer's far more easily intelligible 1998 version. As a result of using such barbarous translations, Van Wyk Smith is sometimes led into a serious misrepresentation, as when, using Underdowne's Elizabethan translation 'black coloured, and evil favoured' (p. 373) for Heliodorus' μέλανας ... τὴν χροιὰν καὶ τὴν ὄψιν αὐχμηρούς (*Aethiopica* 1.3.1). The Greek word αὐχμηρούς in this phrase here means little more than 'squalid' and is an entirely natural term to use of Egyptian bandits (the famous *boukoloi*[17], whom Van Wyk Smith here uncritically conflates with Ethiopians). Not only does Van Wyk Smith use obscure, old-fashioned, and misleading translations, but, by doing so, he fails to cite the texts he is referring to in a way that would enable his reader to trace the passage under discussion. The usual practice among ancient historians is to cite book, chapter, and section of the original text (1.3.1 in Heliodorus, for example). By referring to Golding (p. 17) or Underdowne (folio 1, *recto*) he makes it difficult for readers to trace the texts concerned. This line of criticism could be extended into questions of detail and precision. For example, Van Wyk Smith uses the incorrect term 'troglodytes' for 'trogodytes' (pp. 324, 350, 360). The English term 'troglodytes' is a long-standing but false etymology based on the Greek words '*troglē*' ('cave') and '*dytēs*' ('one who enters'), as if these people lived only in caves. However, many of the people referred to

[17] On these, see Alston (1998); Rutherford (2000).

with this term evidently did not live in caves. Similarly, Van Wyk Smith makes some very strange, and rather loose associations. For example, on p. 375 the author refers to Ammianus Marcellinus' account of the savagery of the Saracens, Lucan's rhetorical *tour-de-force* on the serpents of Libya, an article in the *Spectator* in 1993 by Paul Johnson on misrule in Africa, and Winston Churchill (1956-1958) on Dio Cassius' description of the Caledonians, as part of a 'dialectic of African primitivism' that 'would remain absolutely central to the unfolding European discourse of Africa over the centuries to come' (p. 375). The free association of ideas may be acceptable in post-modernist discourse but this has little to do with the historical reasoning, the avoidance of anachronism, and logical coherence necessary to persuade a critical reader.

Technically, this was always going to be a difficult book for Wits University Press, which has little experience of Egyptology and Classics, to produce. The problem of typesetting Egyptian hieroglyphic or Classical and Hellenistic Greek texts has largely been avoided by making use of a simplified transliteration into the Roman alphabet but no attempt is made in this transliteration scheme to distinguish long vowels from short in Greek consistently (thus *Periodos Ges*, p. 306, as opposed to *oikumēne*, p. 314, which in any case should be *oikoumenē* – a mistake repeated throughout the book). The author does not consistently avoid using Classical Greek, however. On p. 67 he ventures to write 'Ethiopian' in the Classical Greek alphabet. The result is: 'Myceneans must have had a word for "Negro", which was likely to have been the original of the Greek ἀἰθίοψ', in which the Greek is atrociously mangled (it should be Αἰθίοψ)[18]. Here Van Wyk Smith (or, more likely, Wits University Press) has not copied the word correctly from the source of this statement (Heubeck *et al.* [1988, 1: 75-6]), who of course do get it right. This was completely unnecessary, since Van Wyk Smith could easily have written the sentence in such a way as to avoid using Classical Greek at all. Elsewhere Van Wyk Smith uses transliteration for this word (*aithiopoi*, p. 322, which could at least have the first letter in upper case), but something is wrong with *aethiopiae* (p. 344). Van Wyk Smith also occasionally uses Latin titles of books pointlessly where he could have consistently given these in English (thus *The Wanderings of Hanno* –

[18] Cf. also p. 330, where ἀ μαζος appears for Ἀμαζών.

actually a non-existent book – is given in English, whereas Sallust's study of the Jugurthine War is given its Latin title *Bellum Jugurthinum* [p. 341] for no obvious reason.) Similarly, reference is made to the *De providentia* of Theodoret (p. 400), which could quite as easily have been referred to using the English title *On Providence*. As could have been anticipated, problems also arise when Greek words in transliteration need to be used in the plural. Thus, for example, Van Wyk Smith produces *peripluses* (p. 302). This monstrosity too could easily have been avoided by rephrasing the sentence in more elegant English. Italics are also not correctly used in terms such as *ideologeme*, *narreme*, *mytheme* (p. 54), which are English terms that should not be italicised. The most egregious production fault, however, occurs in the illustrations which are reproduced, unnumbered, in an insert between pp. 242 and 243. The result of this is that the illustrations cannot be referred to accurately by the author in the course of his discussion and the sumptuous colour plates become a mere decorative appendage. The reader is compelled to have recourse to the original source of the information, which is usually difficult or impossible to obtain, in order to work out what Van Wyk Smith is actually talking about. There is a useful index (pp. 503-528) a map of Egypt (p. xii), a Timeline (pp. xiii-xiv), but, oddly, no list of illustrations[19].

Van Wyk Smith is to be commended on a very bold book that ranges over many vast fields of research and makes a provocative case for locating the origin of Western racism in Africa. This review has been written from the critical perspective of a Classicist who cannot accept the thesis proposed but no doubt scholars in many other fields will be drawn into engagement with the ideas put forward in this work. Perhaps the greatest achievement of the book is to demonstrate the importance of strengthening the study of Egyptology in institutions of higher learning in Africa. Africanists, in particular, will be intrigued by what Van Wyk Smith makes of the connection between the Khoisan and Ethiopia (see for example, p. 94)[20]. There is much more to be said about the cultural politics and ancient history of Africa.

[19] I have not taken notice of minor errors in the book such as the reference to Kendall, 1993 (p. 250), which is not given under that date in the bibliography.

[20] See now Wessels (2010).

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‘A persistent letter writer – an addict at that’

Catherine Woeber

Book Review Article

Bury Me at the Marketplace: Es’kia Mphahlele and Company, Letters 1943-2006
Editors: N. Chabani Manganyi and David Attwell
Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2010, 520 pp
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All Mphahlele scholars will have consulted the original edition of Mphahlele’s letters with the same title, edited by Chabani Manganyi and published by the alternative Braamfontein publishers, Skotaville, in 1984. Apart from its significance for Mphahlele scholarship, it had the additional distinction of being probably the first edition of a black South African writer’s letters. It was intended as the companion volume to Manganyi’s experimental first-person biography of Mphahlele, *Exiles and Homecomings*, published by the feisty Ravan Press a year earlier, and both were beautifully presented, with covers by Gamakhulu Diniso, and testimony to Manganyi’s impeccable scholarship.

The new edition, with a similarly attractive cover, George Pemba’s portrait of Mphahlele, is desirable for the additional correspondence it contains: many more letters by Mphahlele, and letters from a wide range of correspondents absent from the original edition. It is also timeous, appearing some eighteen months after the giant of South African letters and scholarship was finally ‘buried at the marketplace’. However, I suspect that Mphahlele’s death in October 2008 was an inconvenience for the publication of this book, as it bears all the marks of having been rushed through the press – before the great man’s shadow receded from a fickle public? Manganyi’s budget-conscious Skotaville edition attractively reflected the Mphahlele we came to

know: a serious man, concerned with substance, not show, for whom accuracy and integrity were paramount. It did not pretend to be what it wasn't. Like a true scholar, Manganyi even hoped that the first edition of the letters would be superseded in time by a fuller one, which would include letters from Mphahlele's correspondents. On the face of it, the expanded edition seems to do just that. And with Manganyi himself as one of the editors, and the respected David Attwell as the other, things look set for a fulfilment of the earlier invitation. But the book flatters to deceive.

Yes, it is packed with interesting correspondence from the wide range of people, here and abroad, with whom Mphahlele engaged on his travels across three continents. Yes, gaps in Mphahlele's own correspondence have been filled in. It retails at a decent price (around R230), and is thus available to current scholars in a way the first edition is no longer. Because of the peripatetic nature of his life, Mphahlele did a lot of letter writing and, as Attwell points out in his fine introduction, it was 'to reach someone whose presence to him was made especially difficult by circumstance: segregation, apartheid, cultural distance, political risk, family fragmentation, exile – these are the typical conditions which [he] seeks to overcome in his correspondence' (16). And the fuller correspondence contained in the new edition surely demonstrates Mphahlele's generosity of response, for, as Attwell notes, 'the *person* mattered deeply to him' (16). There is no doubt that its appearance is to be welcomed. But is it the edition that Manganyi envisaged twenty-five years ago?

On a number of counts it cannot be. The editing is nothing less than an embarrassment for a university press and, if the rights are bought by an overseas publisher, some serious corrections will have to be done. To start with, after the correspondence, the book reprints two important interviews Manganyi did with Mphahlele, one shortly after his return from exile and the other a few years before his death. What follows them is a list of references, erroneously titled 'Interview references' (504), when, in fact, they seem to refer to the book's introduction, almost 500 pages earlier! However, there are errors in this list as well, which do not accord with the citations in the introduction. One can only conclude that the editors did not have oversight of the proofs, perhaps giving too much responsibility to the Wits Press editor, who failed them and Mphahlele, who had entrusted this project to them.

But the editors are not blameless, either. Manganyi's introduction to the Skotaville edition of the letters was a model one, in which he set out his parameters for inclusion: he made it clear that, of the letters available to him, only three were rejected on grounds of propriety, others where they proved to be repetitive, and no letters were included after 1980 (1984: 2). He also said that where material was excised for reasons of propriety, standard ellipses were used to indicate an omission (and they were). Neither Manganyi's preface nor Attwell's otherwise helpful introduction in the new edition spells out the single most important job of an editor: the grounds for selection or rejection.

Moreover, significant excisions have been made to Mphahlele's letters to his daughter, Teresa, who remained in the United States along with her brothers after his return in mid-1977. Comparison with the original edition demonstrates that the material omitted dealt with her parents' concern for her brothers, treated openly in the 1983 companion volume, *Exiles and Homecomings*. Other cuts were made in letters to Mphahlele's friends, Makhudu Rammopo, Khabi Mngoma and Peter Thuynsma. The excisions begin in letters from 1971 onwards, and a discreet footnote indicating the first instance could even have done the trick. Excisions are perfectly acceptable – if the reasons are given and the occurrences indicated. Behind this practice is scrupulous attention to the sanctity of the letter as an 'utterance' (a word used by both Manganyi and Attwell). Both editors claim that a letter is crafted, like a short story, and inflected by its addressee. If this is so, then it is simply wrong to tamper with that crafting without indicating as much. An editor who exercises the right to edit has an obligation to both letter-writer and reader to indicate that editing has occurred to maintain confidentiality. One assumes that omission of sentences and paragraphs was done to protect Mphahlele's sons, and this is quite acceptable. What is not, is the deafening silence from the editors around this, and the shoddy manner in which ellipses are sometimes given, sometimes not.

The silence might have been pardonable if the excisions were done in careful, standard fashion, as they are in some letters, an ellipsis (three dots) placed between paragraphs (see e.g. 14 October 1977, 8 September 1978 and 20 October 1979). However, elsewhere it's four dots (see 14 October 1977 and 22 March 1979), or three dots following on from the sentence (17 October 1978), which can be confused with Mphahlele's own

ellipses – see e.g. his letter to Khabi and Grace Mngoma (396), or his letters to Teresa (339 and 436). The resulting confusion is especially noticeable in the first paragraph of his letter to Teresa on 30 July 1978. In his long letter to Peter Thuynsma (10 March 1980), there are two substantial excisions, which are not indicated by any ellipses at all. The cuts completely alter the tone of the letter, and the footnote about Thuynsma's oral defence of his PhD at Denver, at which Mphahlele was present, serves to present the context of this letter as little more than an encouragement of him to return to where 'learning is still appreciated – in Africa, where nothing is ever stale' (419). The letter in the Skotaville edition (1984: 184-6) carries another dimension, which simple ellipses (placed between paragraphs, as elsewhere) would have honoured. In fact, every letter from now on, from which material was omitted, fails to use ellipses (e.g. in his letters to Teresa on 18 June 1980 and in July 1980). The new edition has furthermore excluded a handful of letters to Teresa, and a remark to this effect is the least a reader could expect.

Because Attwell himself refers to subsequent collections of letters by a black South African writer – Bessie Head's correspondence with Randolph Vigne (1965-1979) and Patrick and Wendy Cullinan (1963-1977) – brief comparison with both texts is instructive and casts the new edition of Mphahlele's letters in a less favourable light. An extensive comparison *would* be odious, however, as the new edition is very different in scope and intention from both Head editions. Furthermore, Mphahlele's disparate letters are not linked together within a personal memoir (Cullinan), or before a retrospective commentary (Vigne). I only wish to point out the editorial practices followed by both Vigne and Cullinan, which escape Mphahlele's editors entirely. During the 1970s, when she was fighting for her rights with various publishing houses, Head launched stinging (and often untrue) attacks in letters to Vigne, which he chose to omit from the letters for publication. But this did not go without comment: 'The cutting I have subjected these letters to and the suppression of some names may spare feelings' (1991: 191). Further on he notes:

> The first half of 1976 brought a rush of letters, almost solely about Bessie's running battles with her publishers and agents. More than half the contents have been omitted because they are wounding and probably libellous, and because, to all but a tiny

> few interested in the minutiae of author-publisher arrangements, they are tedious to read (1991: 210).

The excisions are clearly and systematically indicated with three-dot ellipses where necessary, often between existing paragraphs. There is no ambiguity. Vigne's editorial approach, stated in the preface (1991: vi), combines prudence and scholarly rigour.

One of Head's potential publishers at the time was, in fact, Patrick Cullinan, who ran Bateleur Press with Lionel Abrahams. The shock upon realising that he was one of her targets led him to work through the Cullinans' own correspondence with Head during the same period in order to deal with it. For publication in the resultant memoir, he himself recognised the need to excise material from the letters. Like Vigne before him, however, he gives the grounds for his editorial approach in a note in the prefatory material:

> I have chosen to let her text stand as it was written, including the few minor solecisms. . . . I have omitted only what is libellous or a breach of confidentiality. Anything wantonly hurtful to people still alive has also been removed (2005: xi).

All that was required of Mphahlele's editors was to adhere to scholarly practice if confidentiality was to be maintained.

Attwell mentioned that Mphahlele's correspondence shows the many sides of the man, including that of father (16); in fact, we get a completer picture of this side from the Skotaville edition. It is unfortunate that, despite the advertising of this edition as being 'expanded' and 'augmented', which it undoubtedly is, it also reduces significantly (for those who know the original edition) Mphahlele's utterances as a father, therefore diminishing one aspect of his voice. In *Exiles and Homecomings*, he made it clear to Manganyi that his only real failure in life was as a father: 'I failed to make my children realise that they owed it to themselves to create viable lives for themselves. This has been my greatest failure. It is not as if they owed us anything in terms of specific expectations. It is to themselves that they owed everything they could aspire to' (1983: 224). (The same sentiments are expressed in a letter to Teresa on 14 October 1977.) Attempts to see his children through

school and college education in the United States characterise many of the letters to Teresa (e.g. 13 September 1974 and 22 July 1975, on furthering her BA studies in her mid-20s, or on 16 July 1979, urging her to proceed to the MA). In the biography he had written: 'Looking back now, I often wonder whether I did not lay too heavy a stress on the necessity and value of education. Perhaps as the children grew older they thought I was a crank. Education had made me an independent spirit and it seemed natural to believe in its near omnipotence' (1983: 172). He of course had a nervous breakdown at the age of sixteen when he feared he would fail the mid-year JC exams at St Peter's, Rosettenville, and so disappoint his mother, like his father before him: 'Mother was so self-sacrificing that it was difficult for me at that age even to contemplate some kind of rebellious act' (1983: 53). He famously pulled through, to achieve a first-class pass (1983: 59). But circumstances were different for his teenage sons in the United States, and he didn't seem to have the means to deal with their rebellion. The biography openly acknowledged defeat: 'The story of my life with our children is one without an ending, a saga that cannot be pigeon-holed into time slots and locations. It has become a subterranean emotional puzzle with many points of entry and no discernable exits' (1983: 266). Somehow this labyrinth ought to have been conveyed in the new edition, as much as the Skotaville edition did – even if new imperatives that had come into play since then had to be respected.

Then there is the list of correspondents. In the original edition, every one was listed, even if only a line's information was accorded them. This was highly satisfactory, especially since the information was pertinent to the time of writing. The new edition created a dilemma, for decades have since intervened. What to do? – or, in one of Mphahlele's catchphrases 'Mais, que faire?' Well, the decision was badly made. It would seem that, in the interest of keeping big names prominent in order to heighten the profile of Mphahlele's correspondence, major writers and scholars like Chinua Achebe, EK Braithwaite, Syl Cheney-Coker, Isidore Okpewho, James Olney, Philip Tobias and Charles van Onselen – who are actually represented by *one letter only*, even if their names appear elsewhere – have full details to their name, including what they did way after Mphahlele was in contact! The editorial note clearly states that correspondents who exchanged very few letters would simply have salient details given in a footnote, a more honest

and satisfactory practice – but one not adhered to. Sometimes a footnote is given as well for good measure (in the case of Okpewho). However, less well-known correspondents represented by a single letter are not accorded the same honour. Peter Clarke, the Cape Town artist and writer, also has only one letter – but probably the longest in the book, and he was also Mphahlele's illustrator. Why does a footnote (and in another correspondent's letter to boot) suffice? Conversely, why should four academics, Andrew Gurr, Edward Lindell, Ian Glenn and Nick Visser merit being listed among the correspondents, when they also only have one letter to their name? In other cases, footnotes are missing, as for Barend van Niekerk, writing on 24 July 1978 about a possible position for Mphahlele at the University of Natal. One would have had to have read Nadine Gordimer's letter of 23 March 1978 to know he was Professor of Law.

My point is that the decision was not thought through and applied consistently. It would seem that the original list was simply updated, and in some cases augmented, instead of a new list being compiled on the strength of the new edition. And not completely updated, either: that Teresa predeceased her father is simply not mentioned in the new edition. Furthermore, one of the most important interlocutors throughout his exile (from 1958 to 1977), his childhood friend, Makhudu Rammopo, is given less information in the list of correspondents than Glenn or Visser (no more, in fact, than in the original edition). Just a glance at *Exiles and Homecomings* (151-161), to which the reader's attention is directed, shows what should have been culled for his entry in the new edition: Makhudu encountered Mphahlele in Standard Six at the Methodist School in Marabastad; later, as teachers, they met often at TATA meetings; he was the one who suggested that Mphahlele make use of Rev Tema to get his passport; he left for Nigeria two weeks before Sharpeville in 1960 and stayed with Mphahlele, his family remaining behind in the turmoil. Was this culling too much trouble for the editors to do?

Similar inconsistency also applies to many of the footnotes which are taken from the original edition's endnotes, and occasionally reworked or updated. Again, this has led to random application: certain names are footnoted and circumstances contextualised, but not systematically. Again, I would have thought that a fresh look at each letter in the context of the new edition would have been *de rigueur*. New footnotes, too, betray unacceptable

carelessness. For example, the first reference to Adam Small in a letter from Jack Cope on 11 March 1970, although substantial, is not footnoted, whereas an extensive footnote about the writer is appended to a passing reference to Small in a letter from Ursula Barnett (19 November 1973), some forty pages on. And the footnote for GM Nkondo in a letter dated 30 July 1976 calls him 'Dr', unlike the more accurate footnote for him in an earlier letter (29 February 1972) – yet he only received his degree from Yale in 1980. Silly typos, too, bedevil things: a footnote for PAC firebrand Zeph Mothopeng (305), gives their joint attendance at 'Adam's College'! But this is not an egregious slip. At least two letters fall victim to shoddy proofreading: one to Makhudu (postmarked 3 November 1970), in which the first sentence of the third paragraph is garbled (cf. the original letter (1984: 99), and one to Teresa on 17 October 1978, in which the first English sentence after an opening paragraph in French makes no sense (again, *vide* the original (1984: 166).

This carelessness is carried through to the lame 'writer unidentified' appended to certain letters, when a bit of sleuth work might have yielded the necessary clues. For example, the letter of 11 November 1979 from an unidentified writer is clearly from Bob Pawlowski, one of Mphahlele's circle at the University of Denver, who had written to Mphahlele earlier that year on 20 March (although he is not identified there by surname). In that letter he refers to each of his three children by name, and to being condemned to work, after his years at Denver, in the depths of Mississippi. The same names are mentioned in the later letter, which remonstrates with Mphahlele for not commiserating with his teaching conditions. But the editors did not pick up that both letters were from Bob Pawlowski. It would seem that Mphahlele never replied to either letter, as a letter on 6 February 1980 from Gunnar Boklund, Professor of English at Denver, takes Mphahlele to task for not communicating with the Denver crowd, and Bob especially. Bob is called 'the big Pole' in the letter (416), and we know from *Exiles and Homecomings* (1983: 242) that he was one of the favourites in that bunch. Despite the fact that the years at Denver were the longest Mphahlele spent anywhere in exile, it is quite obvious that he was drawing in his resources two years after homecoming, to focus on South Africans. This is seen in his writing to Norman Hodge on 25 February 1980, just after receiving Boklund's reproachful letter, that 'unanswered letters bother me, nag my

conscience to exasperation' (417). Incidentally, the letter to two others in the Denver bunch (21 November 1969), is not to Jerry and Karen 'Powlowski' as supplied, but Karen *Chapman*, a Francophone African specialist, whose two very warm 1980 letters are included, which render her worthy of being listed as a correspondent, rather than some others, and who is mentioned in letters from Dennis Brutus in mid-1970. Both Jerry and Karen are wrongly listed in the index under 'Powlowski' – and 'Pawlowski, Bob' is nowhere to be found! I would have thought that the editors would have followed up on the Denver circle, given its significance in Mphahlele's life.

A related cavil is that some of the 'writer unidentified' letters, or letters to an unknown addressee, have little context and, given their anonymity, might have been omitted. A Mr Aldworth, presumably from *The Star* in Johannesburg, to whom Mphahlele wrote from Denver on 18 May 1981, is not given a footnote, and Mphahlele's palpable indignation at offensive letters to the paper is thus left uncontextualised. It does show his determination to speak his mind – but on what subject? I would have thought that a bit of detective work in the paper's archives, tracking down the letters published around August 1980, should have been mandatory if the letter was to be included. Similarly, the letter from one 'Lloyd' dated 11 February 1974 at the University of Southern California, which weighs in on the 'Addison Gayle' debate, could only be by the scholar Lloyd W Brown, if clues in the letter are followed up. More importantly, a letter dated 13 December 1975 whose writer's identity is unknown, turns out to be probably by the eminent African-American writer and educator, John A Williams, if a search is made for the Regents' Lectureship he held in 1972. (In this electronic age, there is no excuse for not googling to ascertain information.) His Fall 1975 lecture, 'The Crisis in American Letters', which argued that most white American writers refused to recognise the right and ability of black writers to speak for themselves, was later published in *Black Scholar* (June 1975), presumably what Mphahlele had just read, and a chronology of Williams's life available on the University of Rochester library website indicates that he was indeed the Regents' Lecturer in 1972. The unknown writer of a letter dated 8 July 1981 might have been identified by a phone call to Peter Thuynsma, for there are enough clues in it to jog his memory of a visit to the writer in New York a month before. Real application might just have tracked down the unknown writer of the letter from London dated 6 June 1970, or that of 2 January 1976

(whose statement 'I posted off your book just before Christmas' requires a footnote – this was the typescript of *Chirundu*, still looking for a publisher, and only to find one after Mphahlele's return).

Footnotes are probably even more important for letters than for published material, but this edition is noticeably short on them. Brian Willan makes this point in his edition of Sol Plaatje's *Selected Writings*, which includes a varied, and to date the only, selection of Plaatje's letters. 'Annotation tends to be more extensive in relation to correspondence rather than newspaper articles, pamphlets or extracts from books', he remarks, 'since the latter were written for a wider public consumption in the first place and are largely self-explanatory' (1996: 3). The endnotes in his edition are a model of editorial scholarship: in them, he makes extensive reference to other publications, indicating where further information on individuals and events can be found. It may be, however, that the conception of Mphahlele's editors was different from Plaatje's, in that they did not intend the book to be a scholarly edition. They are better on footnoting people than issues and circumstances; this might have been a considered decision, but it is not one that I found helpful. To give one case in point: correspondence with Jack Cope and Langston Hughes in late 1962 indicates that both had been asked by Mphahlele to adjudicate a literary contest – presumably under the auspices of the Congress for Cultural Freedom – in two categories: short stories and poetry. It seems from Cope's letter (15 October 1962) that he was a preliminary judge, creating a shortlist of eight out of hundreds of entrants, and Hughes afterwards saw the shortlist, among whom were the poets Brutus and Nortje, although *not* the short fiction writers Maimane and Modisane – and it was Maimane's short story to which Hughes gave first place (see his letter of 27 November 1962). It is obvious from Mphahlele's response to Hughes's judgement (28 December 1962) that Ulli Beier was another judge – but of what contest?

The correspondence with Langston Hughes, and with Patrick Duncan at the same time, demonstrates the widening circle of Mphahlele's contacts even before he went into exile. The Liberal Party leader was also the first (included) addressee to whom Mphahlele wrote from exile in Lagos on 28 September 1957, and his reply was immediate. However, the first letter that Mphahlele addressed him as 'Pat' (3 July 1954), warrants a surname in brackets, as is the practice elsewhere in the book. This omission of the

surname has led to the important early correspondence (46-50, 61, 66-70) not being represented in the index. Another repercussion is that, in the first letter indexed under 'Duncan, Patrick' (a letter from CJ Driver on 16 July 1976, in which he thanks Mphahlele for his memoir of the politician), Duncan's name is given an unnecessary footnote, and the information there is replicated from his entry in the list of correspondents. Did no one pick this up? A related omission is failure to supply the surname for the addressee of Mphahlele's first letter to Jack Cope (22 November 1961), in which he moots Congress for Cultural Freedom sponsorship for *Contrast* – which, of course, means it is not in the index. A misspelling of the writer Bob Leshoai's name (131) likewise means that the reference with the correct spelling, in a letter to Teresa (29 July 1976), is never reflected in the index. The index is the shabbiest aspect of the new edition, the main casualty of the poor proofreading overall: inaccuracies regarding page numbers abound, and certain letters are simply not included. The omissions are legion, but a few examples will suffice: Lionel Abrahams's follow-up letter (370-1), Peter Clarke's only letter (290-7), Solveig Ryd's only letter (388-390), and Mphahlele's only letter to Charles van Onselen (397). The most unforgiveable error, however, is the failure to list fourteen references to Chabi (Mphahlele's fourth child) under 'Mphahlele, Robert Dichaba (son)', which has only one reference!

All the above criticism notwithstanding, the additional correspondence makes the new edition well worthwhile for any scholar of South African literature. As Manganyi himself put it in his preface, 'the book is enormously enhanced by the addition of the voices of the famous and not so famous, of colleagues, fellow writers and lifelong friends' (4). Particularly harrowing is the first letter from Sipho Sepamla (28 February 1977), in which he tells Mphahlele that he tried to write a number of times, but the upheaval of the time prevented him: 'I can't seem to separate the various feelings impinging on my body' (319); he ends by describing himself as an open sore. And the wound is not his only: he carries the emotion of detainees' wives, who were literally hanging on to their sanity – which puts Mphahlele's own struggles in exile into perspective. Another moving letter comes from the poet Keorapetse Kgositsile, in exile in New York (30 June 1970). He tells Mphahlele he has not written in order to spare him his own anguish: he is a broken man, and ends with the bald admission, 'Bra Zeke, I

am very lonely' (197). Kofi Awoonor, the Ghanaian poet, is an appealing interlocutor: his first letter (11 December 1977) after Mphahlele's return, endorses Mphahlele's decision 'a thousand percent', because, despite persecution, he had made a similar decision to stay on in Ghana: 'we have work to do here, and if we must die, let us at least die on the native soil' (342). Unlike Dennis Brutus, who actually used the children of Soweto to try to persuade Mphahlele *not* to return in a letter of 26 June 1976 – 'the graves of the school-children dying gallantly in opposition seems to me a strong reason for refusing the favours of the racists' (290) – and who does not seem to have corresponded with him afterwards, Awoonor encourages him: 'The kids of Soweto, like the little child of the New Testament have led. You must not hesitate' (342).

A letter from a 'not so famous' correspondent, Solveig Ryd, a graduate student in Växjö, Sweden (12 March 1979), is one of the classics in the book (and it is not even indexed!). It must have given the near 60-year-old educator much joy. She ends her long, delightful letter on a conspiratorial note: 'I have got a nice letter from Mrs. Mphahlele. She thinks I am a man. Shall we tell her the truth I am a woman? You can find my curious name in Ibsen's play *Peer Gynt* or Grieg's sonat, 'Solveig's song'. Sorry to say that I have no similarity with the wonderful Solveig in *Peer Gynt*' (390). A famous voice, of course, is that of Nadine Gordimer, a new letter to whom (19 March 1953) is included in this edition (but needless to say, not indexed), and shows the early start of their correspondence, which would continue into exile and beyond. Gordimer writes memorably on 6 August 1976 after Mphahlele's first visit home about her joy on seeing him again: 'And with all the quiet surety and strength you have gained. Exile destroys many, tempers the rare few. You are one of steel. And shining brightly' (308). The new correspondence included in this edition shows that she was very much involved with the legalities of his return in 1977 (he was still a listed person, and therefore could not teach until this had been lifted). Curiously, just as he wrote to his mentor Norah Taylor on 6 September 1957, the day of his departure, his first (included) letter on his return is to Gordimer, also on 6 September 1977, a fact not lost on him – see 330. Given the hostility of many regarding his return, her supportive contact must have helped. On 11 October 1977 he thanks her for her 'heart-warming letter' and treasures her phrase 'the obstinate affirmation of life, *in spite of everything*' (333). He is replying

to her sombre letter of 17 September, written a few days after Steve Biko's death in detention (peculiarly, Mphahlele had returned from exile a day before Biko's arrest): 'Brecht wrote about a time when it seemed a sin to talk of trees; it's that sort of time here, now. But I don't think men like Biko die for people to deny what is live and positive in themselves, but to refuse what is deadening and negative' (333).

All these voices indeed contribute to what Attwell hoped the new edition would achieve, 'a more complete record of the growth and development of Mphahlele's life and career' and an illustration of 'the networks that shaped Mphahlele's personal and intellectual life' (7). It should perhaps be noted, however, that the additional quarter century of letters reflected in the augmented edition's title (1943-2006) comprises no more than 20-odd pages. There is some telling correspondence, alluded to in the introduction (14), but the title is not really an accurate reflection of the additional material, and any review needs to point this out. More to the point, all correspondence from 2000 onwards is with Stephen Gray, mainly regarding fresh editions of Mphahlele's work for the Penguin Modern Classics series. Footnotes are desperately needed for the material in some of them, which a phone call to Gray should have clarified (the cryptic '5 copies', for example, mentioned by Mphahlele in a letter of 12 March 2005, or the 'idea of a schools edition' in his next letter of 22 March). Interestingly, the Wits University Press website catalogue shows that the book originally had a more modest, and more honest, scope: 'The letters cover the period from November 1943 to April 1987, forty-four of Mphahlele's mature years and most of his active professional life' – quite different from the introduction's claim that the letters span sixty-three years (7) – true on paper, but disingenuous when two decades are represented by 11 letters. Far more valuable are the letters from the period of the original scope (1943-1980) which were not available in that edition, particularly the correspondence with Langston Hughes, starting in the early 1950s and continuing for a decade.

This letter writing is particularly interesting, because we know that Peter Abrahams was corresponding with Richard Wright a few years before, until 1948 – see Michel Fabre's work on Wright, although the letters still await publication – and with Langston Hughes regularly from the start of 1954 for the rest of the decade. Hughes's correspondence with Abrahams and Mphahlele, and with others loosely connected with *Drum* magazine, was

generated by a request from *Drum* in 1953 to help judge a fiction-writing contest, and maintained through Hughes's subsequent collecting of African writing for his 1960 anthology, *An African Treasury*, unsurprisingly banned in South Africa upon publication. Mphahlele congratulates Hughes on 27 July 1960 for an anthology 'which bristles with life & newness' (87), and 'which resounds through and through like the footsteps of a giant rubbing his eyes as he walks, just from a deep sleep' (88). Hughes's correspondence with the various contributors has just appeared in *Langston Hughes and the South African* Drum *Generation: The Correspondence*. Interestingly, the book has as its front cover an airletter from Mphahlele at University College, Ibadan, to Hughes in New York, postmarked 26 June 1961, and sent from Oshogbo, outside Offa, where Mphahlele was living at the time. This letter is not in Manganyi and Attwell's edition, however, and it could well have been a notification by Mphahlele about his new job for the Congress of Cultural Freedom in Paris. The nearest we get is Hughes's own letter, dated 3 July 1961, in which he congratulates Mphahlele for his new post, especially since they will now be only a five-hour flight apart, and asks him to drop him a postcard once he reaches Europe.

That Manganyi and Attwell do not give the current location of any of the correspondence is problematic. This was not an issue for the homogeneous Skotaville edition, but whether the letters have since been published elsewhere, or are available for consultation in archives or university libraries does require mention. Take for example the letters of another giant of our literary history, Sol Plaatje. In *Selected Writings*, the various locations were given (those written to the Principal of Tuskegee, Robert Moton, in the 1920s, for instance, are housed in the Moton Papers at Tuskegee University, or the single letter to Walter Fenyang – a letter strangely like so many of Mphahlele's, a mixture of the public and personal, and written in 1919 from outside the country – can be consulted in the Molema/Plaatje Papers at the University of the Witwatersrand.) Willan conceptualised his selection of Plaatje's writings as an adjunct to his earlier biography, *Sol Plaatje*, in the same way as Manganyi envisaged the original edition of Mphahlele's letters vis-à-vis *Exiles and Homecomings*, 'as a logical extension of the biographical enterprise' (1984: 1). And Cullinan made frequent reference to Gillian Stead Eilersen's meticulous and empathetic biography of Head, especially when she covered circumstances

with which he had no acquaintance, crediting her for this in the acknowledgements (2005: x-xi). Because letters belong to what Manganyi aptly called 'the realm of the intimate' (1984: 1), in that their voice is different from that intended for publication, such as autobiography, they can be particularly helpful when made available in conjunction with a biography, even if the 'I' of the utterance is, as Attwell cautions (15), not to be equated with 'the real Mphahlele'.

Importantly, Mphahlele's letters to Khabi Mngoma reveal something not evident in his published writing: that it was probably the Ngoyi Music Professor's visit to Pennsylvania in mid-1975 which actually planted the seed of his decision to return. Mphahlele's letter of 23 June 1975 where he rhapsodises, 'in all the 18 years of exile, we hadn't experienced an occasion like our reunion and I mean it' (254), is suffused with a warmth not often felt in the book. And because Khabi's record of achievement in the musical sphere had been 'enviable', and he had 'also found self-fulfilment' – at *home* – Mphahlele began to feel it was possible for him, too. He said as much in his letter: 'Tell those fellows – Phatudi etc that I want to come and teach my own people' (255). (Correspondence on his return shows that 'Phatudi etc' failed him dismally.) In a letter after his first visit home (8 July 1976), Mphahlele acknowledges the timing of Khabi's trip: 'your coming here was a mystical sign that it is time we surfaced from the underground realism of exile. There *must* be a design to it' (298). Despite the notorious travails of the first year after his return, as he struggled to land an academic post in the face of Cabinet interference, Mphahlele's humour still leavened a letter written from Chuenespoort to Tim Couzens (5 September 1978), who was working on getting him a research position at Wits: 'The enclosed cheque: from the sublime to the narcotic and celestial. Would you kindly buy me tobacco? Johannesburg is the only place where I can buy it. It's *Capstan* (Medium) tobacco, and they sell it at Mickey Bass, Market St., off Harrison. Buy as many tins as is possible'.

The abundance and engagement characterising the correspondence in this book bears out Mphahlele's comment on 23 May 1966 to Gerald Chapman, Chair of English at Denver: 'I am a persistent letter writer – an addict at that – so please do not be impatient when you receive a continuous wave of words, words, words' (142). His attitude to letter writing is clear from *Exiles and Homecomings*: 'To offset the element of risk I have often

had to strive for the greatest degree of transparency in my letters, that is, I leave as little as possible for the imagination and whim of the person I happen to be writing to' (1983: 256). This need to cross the 'i's and dot the 't's is most evident in his next letter to Chapman, written on the same day, where he laid out exactly what he had been taught in university studies of English in South Africa to obviate any confusion in Denver when he took up his PhD studies there. Incidentally, I feel Manganyi's footnote to this letter in the Skotaville edition is more useful than the footnote about Leavis in the new edition: 'This letter reveals most clearly the fiber of Mphahlele the class-room maestro who has the patience for details, logical connections and above all, one who takes nothing for granted in the sphere of communication' (1984: 140). This comment could be applied to so many of the letters, which reflect Mphahlele's meticulous approach across the continental divides, and imaginative empathy with his varied addressees. What is missing from the abundance, however, is the *depth* of communication that is generated over time by a particular friendship, and written from an isolated environment, which characterises Head's letters to Randolph Vigne. She writes to Vigne, her 'imaginary father', out of a profundity that is not characteristic of Mphahlele's correspondence, not even his letters to Makhudu and Khabi (hence the startling intensity of Kgositsile and Sepamla's *cris de coeur* noted above). Going on the letters included in this collection, we discern that Mphahlele's strength lies in the versatility of his letter writing, its wide-ranging interlocution, not deep thinking or feeling, or laying the soul bare. In this respect, Head knew her own worth: 'Forgive the vanity', she told Vigne, 'but few people equal my letter-writing ability!!' (1991: 118).

The verdict, then? And to answer this, we must bear in mind the dearth of published correspondence by our black writers. Any volume, therefore, contributes to our literary history, even if it only contains letters as part of its scope, like Plaatje's selected writings. Any Mphahlele scholar, moreover, would rather have a flawed volume of his correspondence than none at all. (It also corrects the dates, and thus reverses the order, of Mphahlele's first two letters to William Plomer in 1958 – probably the only scholarly lapse of the Skotaville edition!) But I would not agree with Manganyi in his preface that the decades-long hope of an augmented edition has, in fact, been realised. There are prominent academic friends of Mphahlele who had obviously no part to play in this book, judging from their

absence in the acknowledgements. Once Mphahlele himself passed on, they might have shed light on unknown correspondents and obscure circumstances – or at least the editors could have indicated that they tried and were rebuffed (academia being the notoriously contested terrain it is). When editions of black writers' letters are not two a penny, the few available have a lot riding on their shoulders. More honesty and deference to the task would have given this book the distinction it deserves as the first substantial collection of a black South African writer's correspondence, and a titan's at that.

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