

THE BUILD-UP

1 *Introduction*

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The FIFA World Cup is the world's largest sporting and media event.¹ FIFA (Fédération Internationale de Football Association) has more member nations than both the International Olympic Committee and the United Nations. The 2006 Football World Cup 'had a total cumulative television audience of 26.29 billion' viewers and the 2010 mega football event is assured of an even greater number of television viewers, not including the increasing use of other media such as the internet and mobile telephones (FIFA 2007). World Cups are extraordinarily profitable for FIFA through the sale of television rights and through its ongoing corporate partners and events-based sponsors. By 2008, these had already ensured that the 2010 World Cup will be 25 per cent more profitable than the 2006 Football World Cup.²

The same, however, cannot be said for host countries and cities. Economic projections are invariably erroneous, overestimating the benefits and underestimating the costs, and there is considerable debate regarding whether World Cups benefit or harm the host country's economy. In the light of the South African government's intention to leverage the World Cup to assist in promoting economic development and halving unemployment by 2014, and taking into account potential alternative uses for the projected R30 billion South African spend on the World Cup (as of March 2008) (*Engineering News* 18 March 2008),³ the debate and the uncertain benefits are issues of some consequence.

Notwithstanding this, the greater potential benefit to the host country and, equally, the greater risk, is less tangible. Germany benefited considerably from hosting the 2006 World Cup insofar as it helped to alter previously somewhat negative international perceptions of Germany to one of the country being perceived as hospitable and welcoming. The World Cup also assisted with nation building in relation to the divisions between East and West Germany, and legitimised patriotism in a manner hitherto viewed as too reminiscent of the Nazi era.

The significant opportunity for South Africa lies in contradicting commonly held representations of Africa by utilising the mega-event to project a contemporary, reinvigorated image of Africa, and through celebrating African culture and identity. Moreover, there is much potential to destabilise notions of Afro-pessimism through demonstrating that Africans can successfully manage the World Cup. One must, however, be circumspect in one's expectations. While FIFA and South Africa present the 2010 World Cup as an 'African' World Cup, it is South Africa and its host cities – rather than the continent of Africa – that will be on the global stage. This is an

important point to bear in mind as the reputations of the country and its cities can be considerably enhanced and considerably damaged.

This book explores all these issues, with particular emphasis on the urban aspects of the World Cup. The approach has been to write a text accessible to an informed readership, including academics and students but also officials, practitioners, 2010 World Cup stakeholders and others with an interest in the event. Furthermore, a feature of the book lies in its interdisciplinary nature and its ability to synthesise a wide range of theoretical perspectives. The book has three sections: 'The build-up', 'Development' and 'Dreams'. The three parts are united by an underlying concern for the legacy of the World Cup. Mega-events such as the World Cups and the Olympics are now viewed more in terms of the post-event legacy than in terms of the benefits, or otherwise, of the event itself (Evans 2007).

Certainly South Africa's hosting and winning of the 1995 Rugby World Cup is generally accepted to have had a cohesive effect on identity and a positive impact on the image of the country. Yet, in some ways this remains a transient moment and its legacy is mythical rather than practical. Many similar narratives emerged when South Africa again won the Rugby World Cup in 2007, but these were fairly quickly eclipsed by a worsening economic outlook, inflation, rising interest rates, fuel hikes and xenophobic riots. Notwithstanding these caveats, opportunity does exist to mobilise the World Cup in order to tell different, more meaningful and contemporary stories about African life and experience. If a legacy is to be left in this regard, the potential to destabilise common stereotypes about Africa and Afro-pessimism should not be underestimated.

There is, in addition, an expectation of a personal legacy, to which the South African government contributes when pronouncing on the anticipated economic benefits of the 2010 World Cup. The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) conducts a survey of public perceptions and attitudes to the 2010 World Cup as part of a broader annual longitudinal survey on South African social attitudes. In the 2007 survey round, 50 per cent of respondents perceived economic growth and job creation to be the two main benefits of hosting the 2010 World Cup. Approximately a third of the population indicated that they expected to *personally* benefit from job opportunities and about 50 per cent believed that the economic benefits would be 'lasting' (HSRC 2008).

One trusts that enthusiasm for the World Cup and hospitality will persist even if the South African team, Bafana Bafana, is not competitive and personal expectations are dashed. It is important to eschew complacency and pay attention to managing expectations in the lead-up to the 2010 World Cup. There is a fine line between realism and disillusionment and, at present, the information presented to the public is often misleading. Despite the urgent need for, and indeed importance of, transparency and sharing of information, the organisation of mega-events has been dominated by the opaque interests of a 'sports-media-business alliance' (Horne & Manzenreiter 2006: 3) and government.

Mega-events, the sports–media–business alliance and the lack of transparency

The FIFA World Cup, the Summer Olympics and World Fairs or Expos are mega-events at the top of a hierarchy of events. There are various formulations of the hierarchy, as indicated in Table 1.1 (adapted from Roche 2000). Roche bases his differentiation on the scale of media interest. In the case of FIFA and the International Olympic Committee, a defining feature is the emergence of a sports–media–business alliance – made possible by new technologies of mass communication – centred on television rights and sponsorships (Horne & Manzenreiter 2006). For example, the sale of television broadcasting rights generates more than half their revenue, with partnerships and sponsor contracts contributing most of the balance. In this and many other respects they are very different from Expos.⁴ With few exceptions, the biggest events are sporting in nature and they are carefully staged in order to ensure there is a sporting mega-event every two years – the 2008 Beijing Olympics, the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa, the 2012 London Olympics, the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil, and so on – with special events such as the Euro 2008 football championships falling between the World Cups.

The significance of the alliance is evident in payments by US broadcasters increasing from US\$25 million for the 1976 Montreal Olympics, to US\$72 million for the 1980 Moscow Olympics, to US\$225 million for the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics and, jumping ahead, US\$1.18 billion for the upcoming 2012 London Olympics (Horne & Manzenreiter 2006: 4). In the context of FIFA earning US\$2.77 billion from television and marketing rights from the 2006 World Cup (see Chapter 4, this volume), FIFA is clear that:

FIFA offers sponsors solutions that go beyond the traditional media opportunities offered by other sports competitions. An official association with FIFA represents a two-pronged approach – sponsors can promote their brand on a global basis and, at the same time, target

Table 1.1 Hierarchy of mega-events

Type of event	Example	Media interest
Mega	Summer Olympics Football World Cup World Fair/Expo	Global
Special	Euro 2008 F1 Grand Prix Commonwealth Games Trade fairs, e.g. cars	International and national Specialist media
Hallmark	NFL Super Bowl Big city festival, e.g. Edinburgh Festival	National Regional and local
Community	Sponsored events, e.g. 'charity big walk'	Local

local markets. Together with the official broadcasters who deliver worldwide TV and radio coverage of the events, the sponsors and licensees are the pillars that support the staging and promotion of a FIFA event. (FIFA n.d.)

To this one has to add the intense competition between countries and cities to host FIFA World Cups and the Olympics. In the case of cities, the objectives primarily constitute opportunities for urban imaging and urban regeneration. In the case of developing countries, the events provide the opportunity for what is often irreverently referred to as a 'coming out party' that enables a country to project itself on the international stage.

The outcome of winning the right to host a mega-event is considerable pressure to deliver the stadiums, infrastructure and other facilities needed to host the event. This pressure provides a rationale for overriding traditional participatory planning processes and, while the corporate sports–media–business alliance has never been open, countries and cities themselves often operate in a covert manner. Horne and Manzenreiter (2006: 13) write that 'considerable secrecy and lack of transparency continue to pervade the undemocratic organizations that run mega-events' and that individuals who challenge the secrecy 'may become *persona non grata* to the mega-event organizers', losing access to information and, in some cases, consulting opportunities.

The lack of clarity is so pronounced that five years prior to the 2012 London Olympics questions were being asked about a possible deliberate misrepresentation of costs and benefits (Evans 2007). One hesitates to say the same thing about South Africa, but costs have escalated remarkably and the Bid Book that contains the initial estimates is difficult to obtain.

This pervasive attitude of secrecy affected some of the research underlying this book and the selection of its chapters. The impact was evident in one city's 2010 World Cup manager requesting that an editor obtain the permission of the Local Organising Committee (LOC) prior to granting an interview, which the LOC freely provided. In another case the intended interviewer was required to write a letter to the city's council requesting permission to obtain an interview. In that case the Department of Sports and Recreation intervened to enable an interview. There were further such difficulties, one of which led to the chapter focusing on transport not being included in the book. The LOC itself found it difficult to find time to be interviewed. In one sense one can understand these misgivings. The media foster an 'atmosphere of crisis' (Gold & Gold 2007: 6) – Athens not making construction deadlines in 2004, xenophobia and 'no-go' areas in Germany during the 2006 FIFA World Cup, cost overruns for the London 2012 Olympics – which fades when the games begin. Of course, the same is true in South Africa with constant alarm bells sounded regarding the state of readiness, crime and the competitiveness of Bafana Bafana. The media sells the negative. However, the contributors to this book had no such preconception or intent.

Host cities and stadiums

The contributors nevertheless paid particular attention to providing as full a narrative as possible about various aspects of the preparations of host cities for the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Mega-events require close management of expenditure in order to avoid losses after the event (Metropolis 2002; Rahmann & Kurscheidt 2002). This includes minimising expenditure on stadiums and undertaking large-scale infrastructure investment only if it is part of a broader citywide urban regeneration programme.⁵

In embarking on hosting a FIFA World Cup, there are two competing pressures. The first concerns the selection of host cities. Governments competing for the football mega-event are under intense political pressure from provinces and cities to be included in the bid submitted to FIFA. South Africa proposed 13 cities to FIFA, less than sought to be included. FIFA wanted nine host cities and 10 stadiums and agreement was reached on this. The map on page ix shows the host cities, the stadiums in the cities, other large and secondary cities that were not included and the national roads joining the host cities.

The second pressure concerns the stadiums. Governments are under simultaneous and sometimes competing pressure from FIFA and the cities regarding the stadiums. For example, the FIFA inspection committee found that both Durban and Cape Town had 'suitable' stadiums (FIFA 2004), yet both cities are constructing new ones. In the case of Cape Town, the city wanted to construct a new stadium in the suburb of Athlone, believing that it would contribute to the development of that part of Cape Town. Ignoring Newlands Stadium, which it had considered suitable, FIFA strong-armed Cape Town and central government to construct a stadium for which there is no demonstrable need other than that its location shows the city to its best advantage, situated as it is between the sea and the mountains and alongside the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront development. Durban had different motives. With an economic development strategy that includes sports tourism, the city wanted to construct a stadium to Olympic standards in anticipation of a potential future Olympic bid.

The upshot of the politics and FIFA's insistence is that the Port Elizabeth, Peter Mokaba, Mbombela, Green Point and Durban stadiums are all being newly constructed and the others are being refurbished. Of course, the stadiums will not actually have these names during the World Cup as FIFA has the right to name them according to the interests of its sponsors.

The host cities, cities that sought to be and were not included as host cities, and many other centres are now competing to serve as base camps and to provide training venues. In addition, FIFA has ruled that countries within 90 minutes flying time of Johannesburg can compete to serve as base camps. Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland and Zimbabwe meet this criterion, with the decision described in Malawi – which is just too far away – as a 'body blow' (*People's Daily Online* [China] 17 May 2007).⁶ In the light of there being 32 teams and it being the

prerogative of the team manager to select a base camp, southern Africa is providing, at some cost, a generous number of options.

In this context, it is apposite to delve into the development prospects, expectations and legacies associated with the FIFA Football World Cup.

Building development and dreams

The first section of this book, 'The build-up', provides the backdrop for the narrative; it describes Football World Cups in the context of mega-events. It outlines the evolution of football in South Africa, past racial divisions in the organisation of the sport, the unification of football and South Africa winning the bid for the 2010 World Cup. This section also explains the institutional arrangements for managing preparations for the event and provides a framework in which to situate the key themes of the book: the material and intangible implications of the 2010 mega-event on South Africa's cities.

The second section of the book, 'Development', explains and questions the more tangible development impacts of the World Cup. The first chapter compares Germany and South Africa. Thereafter, the contributors repeatedly express various concerns about the uncertain economic benefits and the potential for poverty reduction. The final chapter in this section considers how to protect residents from being displaced by development in the neighbourhood of Gauteng's Ellis Park Stadium.

The third section of the book, 'Dreams', explores the less tangible hopes and aspirations associated with the 2010 World Cup. Approaching the subject from social and cultural perspectives, the chapters in this section consider expectations of benefit, African identity and gender. The dreams, hopes and expectations associated with the Football World Cup are myriad. The section offers a pertinent slice of these in order to give voice to often neglected – but certainly no less important – intangible aspects related to the World Cup.

One cannot divorce the development aspects of the World Cup from their corresponding impact on individuals and society. While all four chapters in the third section speak to this theme, the first two privilege the role of the urban in these deliberations. The first chapter examines street traders' expectations of economic benefit. Identity and the urban are integrated in the second chapter, which explores the projection of identity in one host city in the approach to the 2010 World Cup. Thereafter, the last two chapters broaden out questions of identity both in spatial and gendered terms. The penultimate chapter of the third section considers the relationship between gendered identities and football while the concluding chapter points out the possibilities that the 2010 event holds for actively creating new understandings of African images, history and time.

Turning to the contributions of each author, Chapter 2 documents the racial history of football in the country. Van der Merwe documents the formation of the all-white

Football Association of South Africa (FASA) in 1896. This was followed by the South African Indian Football Association in 1903, the South African Bantu Football Association in 1933 and the South African Coloured Football Association in 1936. These associations mirrored South Africa's apartheid racial divide. FASA, however, was a member of FIFA and it was only in 1964 that FASA membership of FIFA was suspended. The integrated South Africa Football Association (SAFA) was created in 1991 and readmitted to FIFA in 1992. Initially, Bafana Bafana did rather well, making it into, but not out of, the 1998 and 2002 World Cups. The high point for the team was winning the 1996 African Cup of Nations, but since then, and only a few years prior to hosting the 2010 World Cup, Bafana Bafana has had a dismal record.

SAFA and the South African government were expected to host the 2006 World Cup but, under dubious circumstances described by Van der Merwe, South Africa lost the bid by one vote. It was after that vote that FIFA (temporarily) decided that a rotational system should be introduced and that the country selected to host FIFA World Cups would be located on a different continent every year. Despite determined competition from Morocco, South Africa was all but assured of winning the 2010 World Cup. It is in this light that the 2010 World Cup has come to be called the African World Cup, although perhaps Morocco and the other countries that put in bids feel differently.

Immediately after winning the bid, Germany offered technical assistance and many German companies, as well as companies from other countries, sought business opportunities. A steady flow of South Africans involved in the organisation of the 2010 World Cup visited Germany and many Germans also visited South Africa proffering advice. While valuable, the advice tended to highlight the differences between Germany and South Africa. For example, Germany has an excellent public transport system and information and communication technology. Required by FIFA to meet the standards of a developed country as best it can, South Africa has embarked on a nationwide capital investment programme that, in the midst of other major civil projects, has led to a scarcity of skills and materials. Costs have risen phenomenally.

Du Plessis and Maennig (Chapter 4) describe many of these differences, alert the reader to the uncertain economic projections and provide surprising statistics – like a decline in hotel occupancy in Berlin and Munich, where most matches were played, but also an increase in profits due to the high cost of accommodation. They provide a good example of the 'crowding-out' effect, where World Cup tourism displaces other tourism. They then consider the economic impacts and, after documenting how benefits are overstated, nonetheless find that there were particular local benefits, for example an increase in beer sales. They attribute this in part to the hot weather, which draws us to climatic differences between Germany and South Africa. The 2010 World Cup is to be played in the middle of the South African winter and temperatures, while balmy in Durban, can fall below freezing in Johannesburg and Mangaung. Winter in Cape Town is the rainy season. The prospects for attendance at fan parks and the sale of beer...one wonders.

Davies describes the organisational and funding arrangements to prepare for the World Cup (Chapter 3). In fact, here lies another difference between Germany and most former host countries. FIFA ordinarily contracts directly with the cities and, while this is again the case, South Africa's national government is playing a far greater role in preparations for the 2010 World Cup than other national authorities hitherto, not least because it is bearing so large a proportion of the costs of stadiums, infrastructure and so on. The management arrangements are daunting and point to the complexity and expense of hosting a FIFA World Cup in a developing country.

FIFA and the financial success of World Cups are not similarly constrained. The reason is that the location of a FIFA World Cup is to some degree independent of all but a few essential requirements. There has to be adequate information and communication technology. FIFA requires the protection of the interests of its partners and sponsors; legislation specifically for the event has to ensure this. Especially important are world-class stadiums, transportation infrastructure and public transport systems. Accordingly, if tourism falls short of expectations, perhaps due to a fear of crime, ticket sales are a small source of FIFA's income. There are only a few developing countries – such as South Africa, China and Brazil – that are in a position to afford FIFA's requirements.

Despite this, many countries on the periphery are clamouring to host mega-events. However, as Pillay and Bass (Chapter 5) point out via an overview of the international literature, there is little to suggest that poverty amelioration is a significant outcome of hosting mega-events. In this light, they consider whether the 2010 World Cup can be mobilised to reduce poverty, especially in urban areas. Their view is that the benefits stemming from the mega-event in South African cities are likely to be tightly bound in time and space. Implicit in their discussion is that a pro-poor approach cannot be independent of pro-growth considerations, and that the legacy of the event must be realistically defined.

Tomlinson (Chapter 6) provides a harsh assessment of the probable economic impacts of the 2010 World Cup. He is concerned that the event might harm the national economy and promote inequality. This is because there are many possibilities for displacement of investment from more productive uses to less productive uses, for example, upgrading Cape Town's harbour versus the construction of a stadium in Mbombela. Moreover, in a context of scarce resources and the lack of skills, might it be the case that investment is steered to the host cities and to those parts of the host cities where officials, the teams and tourists are likely to stay and play? The question is whether the consequences promote regional inequality, disparities within host cities and a diversion of resources from the needs of the poor. Despite these misgivings, Tomlinson suggests that the tangible economic issues are less important than intangible legacy opportunities. In particular, he focuses on Afro-pessimism and images of dismay in Africa. A successful World Cup will do much to reduce the pessimism and enhance South Africa's pride and identity with, he argues, far less significance for the rest of Africa. This parallels Du Plessis and Maennig's

assessment that the 2006 World Cup had considerable intangible benefits for Germany, including a change in image and nation building. Yet, at the same time, the failure to host a successful World Cup holds tremendous risks.

Tomlinson also conducted interviews with representatives of all the host cities and with a few provincial governments. When he asked the host cities why they wanted to host the World Cup, he obtained an unexpected answer: 'free money to do what we wanted to do anyway'. Most often the reference was to transportation improvements, although occasionally there was a plaintive 'we need a stadium' from some of the smaller host cities. He found that the host cities were surprisingly pragmatic. The literature on mega-events refers to place marketing, urban imaging, urban renaissance, urban spectacles, entertainment destinations and so on; really a list of intangible attributes. Instead, the host cities were aligned with Jeremy Cronin, who heads the transportation portfolio committee in Parliament, who suggested that transport infrastructure will be the foremost legacy of the 2010 World Cup (*Daily News* 21 November 2007).⁷ If this is the case, it should be kept in mind that most of the investment was already planned and the 2010 World Cup has caused it to be expedited.

Cornelissen (Chapter 8) focuses specifically on tourism and draws attention to the fact that most tourism occurs in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban. It is these cities that are developing sports precincts that can serve long-term sports tourism ends. She notes that the other host cities are mostly focused on the construction of the stadiums and meeting their FIFA requirements. Cornelissen also expresses the need for caution regarding tourism projections, as the 2010 World Cup may not increase tourism to any marked degree. Instead, what often happens is the displacement of other forms of tourism, especially business-related tourism. Of course, this will not be a great concern to Cape Town and Nelson Mandela Bay, whose tourism is geared to summer – rather than winter – vacations and visitors. Nonetheless, after assessing the tourism benefits in Germany, instead of pointing to numbers of tourists, jobs created and so on, the greatest tourism benefit she identifies for Germany is the improvement in the country's international image.

Cornelissen further draws attention to the fact that tourism reinforces the segregated structure of South Africa's cities. This links to the two chapters on Cape Town, where the focus is on the spatial impacts of the World Cup. Swart and Bob (Chapter 7) describe the manner in which the city's government viewed the construction of a stadium in Athlone as a major opportunity to promote development in a low-income part of the city and to improve transport connections from low-income areas to employment centres. They describe FIFA's reaction to this proposal and the process that led away from Newlands Stadium, which FIFA had earlier deemed suitable, to Green Point, where no stadium was needed. Indeed, the limited spectator popularity of professional football relative to professional rugby and cricket in Cape Town suggests that the only means through which the stadium can become viable is if the Western Province and Stormers rugby teams relocate to Green Point.

Swart and Bob present complications, like a change from an African National Congress government to a Democratic Alliance government, all of which played up the location debates and slowed the start of construction on the stadium. Anxiety regarding the completion of the stadium on time is overplayed, especially by FIFA. The location of the stadium in Cape Town is certainly one of the most striking stories of the 2010 World Cup.

In the second Cape Town chapter, Haferburg, Golka and Selter (Chapter 10) address public viewing areas. They distinguish between FIFA fan parks, official municipal public viewing areas, local formal public viewing areas such as in shopping malls, and informal places of public viewing such as when people congregate around a television set on the street. The fan park phenomenon in Germany drew considerable attention and it is expected that, in Cape Town for example, there will – for the more significant matches – be as large a crowd on the Grand Parade in front of the City Hall as in the stadium itself. However, it is exactly this that worries the three authors, in that it reinforces pre-existing differences and fails to draw crowds to the urban, low-income periphery. They acknowledge that the Cape Town government recognises this issue and seeks to address it. Thus, the contribution of the three authors is to explain the phenomenon and to suggest how public viewing areas whose location is controlled by local government can be used as a network of interventions within the urban fabric. Their view is that the benefits will be as much social as spatial in bringing together people from very different backgrounds and creating ‘a space for mutual knowing and recognition’.

Returning to the fact that metropolitan areas have more advanced tourism promotion strategies than the smaller host cities, Atkinson (Chapter 9) takes this a step further and considers tourism impacts in rural areas. She notes that tourism has always been biased to the cities, the game parks and the beaches. Might the 2010 World Cup provide spillover benefits to towns and rural areas? One obvious potential is that more attractive towns and cities can compete to provide a training venue and be the base for a national team – an example is Sol Plaatje Municipality,⁸ which is close to Mangaung. Of course, there are only 32 participating teams and many towns competing to host them and provide training venues, so Atkinson wonders about the potential for rural tourism, especially in the arid hinterland. The difficulty she finds is that there has been little research and also that government agencies have done little to promote rural tourism, let alone seek to maximise potential benefits from the 2010 World Cup. She suggests a number of opportunities, including regional centres providing fan parks and area tourism. However, local government jurisdictions inhibit coordinated planning and action, and she therefore proposes what might be done to promote rural tourism and to obtain benefits from the 2010 World Cup.

In contrast to these chapters that consider how best to promote development, Bénit-Gbaffou (Chapter 11) addresses the consequences of development on the neighbourhoods adjacent to the Ellis Park Stadium in Johannesburg. Ellis

Park will be the venue for major matches but is located in a run-down part of the city characterised by low-income residences, many migrants, overcrowding and numerous derelict buildings. Bénit-Gbaffou documents the desire of the Johannesburg local government to displace the 'unwanted' residents, to promote regeneration and to use private investment to achieve this end.

Displacement has become a common theme in critical reviews of the effects of mega-events on low-income households (COHRE 2007), although more for the Olympics than for FIFA World Cups. Bénit-Gbaffou's work is located within this theme, but in a sense is more interesting due to her questioning of the place of local residents in the regeneration strategy and the governance of the strategy, especially in a context where development is being expedited for the 2010 World Cup. Sadly, she is not optimistic that local residents and civil society organisations will be allowed a voice.

Czeglédy (Chapter 12) continues the conversation on Johannesburg, focusing on personal expectations of benefits associated with the World Cup. He eloquently points out that these 'lie between the sleepy realm of dreams and...waking hopes' and thus introduces the themes of the latter part of the book. Intangible legacies and their importance are acknowledged by FIFA and the International Olympic Committee, and the 'Dreams' section of this book foregrounds the nature of such legacies, pointing to expectations, identity and gender.

Czeglédy, for his part, examines the manner in which the property market promotes anticipation of economic accumulation. He explores the manner in which language invoking the World Cup has entered into the promotion and advertising of property and accordingly creates the impression that the event will result in profit gains in this sector. He mirrors these expectations against the aspirations of inner-city informal traders. Czeglédy draws attention to the precarious nature of trading on the streets of Johannesburg, gives voice to traders' hopes that the 2010 World Cup will improve their situation, and highlights the continuing tenacity of their dreams.

From another perspective, Bass (Chapter 13) considers aspirations of urban identity coupled with the 2010 World Cup. She explores divergent nuances in the figuring of Durban's identity in the 2010 discourses and strategies of the local and provincial governments. The versions of Durban's African urbanity and identity mobilised in relation to the event are not necessarily new; nevertheless, the 2010 World Cup potentially means exposure at a far greater scale. While local government conceptions of African identity and urban life are more attentive to the realities of contemporary life in the African city, the provincial interpretation tends to emphasise rural notions of African and Zulu identity. These tensions and indeed positions are not fixed; however, they do have material impact on the urban landscape – particularly in the new Moses Mabhida Stadium – and implications for 2010 strategies which seek to promote inclusion among residents.

Bass makes the argument for representations of identity and urbanity to be grounded in urban African life. There is indeed much benefit which could potentially accrue to host cities if, rather than privileging representations and versions of identity which are focused on stereotypical conceptions of Africa, attention is drawn to the contemporary nature of African identity.

Chapter 14 considers another angle of identity by focusing on the relationship between the 2010 World Cup and gender. Rubin tackles this subject by considering the relationship between gender, sport and football. She gives particular emphasis to the manner in which the FIFA mega-event is constructed as a space of masculinity. In this context, she interrogates the 2002 World Cup in Korea and Japan and the 2006 World Cup in Germany in order to reveal how women are perceived as either acceptable or transgressive. Rubin questions whether the 2010 World Cup will give rise to similar attitudes. Certainly despite South Africa's constitutional respect for gendered rights, there have been some worrying moments en route to the World Cup, including ill-conceived statements by government officials about prostitution and the abuse of a woman over her clothing choice. Rubin observes that this is not solely a story of oppression and some positive aspects are discernible; nevertheless, she is clear that these do not disturb the firmly entrenched gender roles associated with the FIFA World Cup.

Czeglédý, who opened the 'Dreams' section, returns to close it (Chapter 15). He explores the meaning and symbolic capital of the 2010 World Cup for Africans and Africa. Czeglédý approaches his material from a continental, postcolonial perspective in order to explore the potential of the mega-event to reposition Africa in the social imagination. He begins by exploring the social construction of Africa via an understanding of the manner in which colonialism was complicit in creating images of an Africa divorced from time and space and associated with underdevelopment, wild nature, disease, famine and warfare, among others. Czeglédý suggests that hosting the event offers the opportunity to reject such imagery and destabilise the hegemonic project of colonialism. He proposes that the 2010 event is a material and active demonstration 'of competence and achievement meant to act as a contra-experience to those provided by the international media factory'.

Linking the 2010 World Cup to former president Thabo Mbeki's notion of the African Renaissance and to the agendas of the African Union and the New Partnership for Africa's Development, Czeglédý asserts that hosting the event indicates the 'arrival of Africa'. If any legacy is to accrue from the 2010 event, perhaps it will be the intangible one that Czeglédý suggests we should hope for. In this framework, '2010 for South Africans, and for Africans in general, is about relegating pervasive images of the past conjured from outside *to the past*'. And, relating to Bass's argument, Czeglédý suggests that such a relegation can only occur through lived experience.

In the midst of a differentiated discussion, four main viewpoints emerge from the chapters. The first is that the contribution of the 2010 World Cup to economic development, including tourism and reducing unemployment and poverty, has almost certainly been overstated. There is even the possibility that it may retard

economic development and exacerbate inequality between and within cities and regions. This is worrisome for the additional reason that so many people expect personally to benefit from the 2010 World Cup.

The second is that – taking into account the distinction between capital investment in the stadiums and associated infrastructure, and capital investment that was already planned for and was expedited for 2010 – the host cities and the economy generally may benefit considerably from expedited investment in transport and information and communication technology. Statements regarding the benefits and costs of the 2010 World Cup should therefore always be alert to the different types of expenditure undertaken. In particular, in the midst of a large countrywide capital infrastructure programme including a new harbour at Coega close to Nelson Mandela Bay, a rapid rail system in Gauteng, and electricity generation capacity and other projects, the economic and social costs of expedited investment may lie mostly in the increase in the price of materials and labour throughout the construction sector.

The third viewpoint expresses some doubt regarding the value of the investment in the stadiums and their subsequent financial sustainability. This is a common problem for mega-events throughout the world and it will certainly be present in a number of cities.

The latter three viewpoints refer to the build-up to the event, the event itself and the legacy of the event, and they all have to do with the material consequences of South Africa's hosting of the 2010 World Cup. It may be that these features of the 2010 World Cup are less significant than the intangible legacy – the fourth viewpoint to emerge. If the 2010 World Cup is viewed as a success, then the impact on reducing Afro-pessimism may be significant. The other side to this potential is that if the 2010 World Cup is not viewed as a success or, worse still, if FIFA embarks on 'Plan B' and for some reason relocates the 2010 World Cup, the damage will be immense. Also, there is the possibility that the 2010 World Cup will be broadcast alongside what may be an ongoing crisis in Zimbabwe and this may cast a shadow over the World Cup in a manner similar to that of Tibet and the 2008 Olympics.

It is, however, important to keep sight of the notion that the 2010 World Cup presents an opportunity to rethink the manner in which African culture, gender and identity are experienced and represented. For Africa, the measure of success will lie not only in being seen to manage the 2010 World Cup to world-class standards, but also in the ability to assert and embrace a contemporary African culture and identity both at home and on a global stage.

Notes

- 1 We would like to acknowledge and thank Fazeela Hoosen for the research assistance and support provided during the writing of this chapter and in the final stages of preparing the book for publication.

- 2 'FIFA World Cup 2010', available at <http://www.oleole.com/fifa/competitions/fifaworldcup/2010/facts/cfa7.html>, accessed in June 2008.
- 3 'SA to spend more than R30 billion on 2010 World Cup', available at http://www.engineeringnews.co.za/article.php?a_id=129452, accessed in March 2008.
- 4 In the case of the Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), there is no equivalent revenue from the sale of television rights. The BIE also benefits from sponsorship contracts, but then crucially depends on '2% of the gate money of an exhibition and the amount is calculated at the end of the exhibition' (email from Marlène Hocke, personal assistant to the Secretary General of the BIE, to Fazeela Hoosen, 19 June 2008). The FIFA World Cups and the Olympics last, respectively, for a month and 16 days. Expos last for six months and occur every five years. There are no defining moments, such as World Cup matches or the Olympics marathon, and there is no equivalent of a winner of the World Cup or a gold medallist. Instead, Expos are intended to 'promote the exchange of ideas and development of the world economy, culture, science and technology, to allow exhibitors to publicize and display their achievements and improve international relationships' (<http://zhidao.baidu.com/question/13823188.html?si=2>). Expos are defined more by the number of participating countries and visitors than by the television audience. The number of visitors has been quite extraordinary. The most recent Expo was in 2005 in Aichi, Japan; it had 121 participating countries and attracted 21 million visitors (<http://www.bie-paris.org/main/index.php?p=-132&m2=292>). Seventy million visitors are projected for the 2010 Shanghai Expo (http://www.dfat.gov.au/tenders/DFAT08-SWE-017/RFT_DFAT08-SWE-017.doc).
- 5 The Barcelona Olympics is often used as a model of 'linking city-wide and strategically oriented urban regeneration with the hosting of the Olympics' (Coaffee 2007: 157).
- 6 'Malawi not to host 2010 World Cup teams', available at http://english.people.com.cn/200705/17/eng20070517_375337.html, accessed in June 2008.
- 7 Jasson da Costa, '2010 holidays may ease traffic jams', available at http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=13&art_id=vn20071121103007945C189996, accessed in June 2008.
- 8 Sol Plaatje is the municipal area in the Northern Cape of which Kimberley is the main centre.

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