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Literature Survey: Mega-Events and the Working Poor, with a Special Reference to the 2010 FIFA World Cup

James Duminy and updated by Thembi Lockett

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1. Introduction

Urban and national sports mega-events have become popular research topics in recent years. This trend is partly due to the “paradox”¹ of large-scale events and projects. That is, cities and regions are increasingly keen to bid for the “privilege” of hosting megaevents despite evidence that sports showpieces typically do not generate significant short- to medium-term economic benefit for the host(s). As competition between potential hosts increases, with more money spent on bidding procedures, bigger promises are made regarding the benefits of hosting. More expensive and “spectacular” stadiums are being developed in host cities. In South Africa, the 2010 Football World Cup was used to leverage unprecedented levels of public capital for the purposes of infrastructural development and upgrading.² Clearly, sports mega-events are associated with profound changes in contemporary modes of urban and regional development. Recent evidence shows that they will increasingly dominate the agenda of urban and national development policies worldwide.

Horne and Manzenreiter (2006) identify three main reasons for “the expansion and growing attraction of mega-events.” Firstly, rapid information and communications technological advancements, particularly the advent of satellite television, have made it possible for huge global audiences to view live sporting events such as the Olympic Games and Football World Cup. This has led to intense competition between television networks to purchase the broadcasting rights of such events. Presently the total revenue of large sports events is dominated by income generated by the sale of television rights. Secondly, the expansion of mega-events has been promoted by the emergence of an economically powerful ‘sports-media-business’ alliance in the late twentieth century: “Through the idea of packaging, via the tri-partite model of sponsorship rights, exclusive broadcasting rights and merchandizing, sponsors of both the Olympics and the football World Cup events have been attracted by the association with the sports and the vast global audience exposure that the events achieve” (Horne and Manzenreiter 2006:5). Thirdly, cities and regions are increasingly interested in the marketing and imaging benefits of hosting large sports events – an issue which receives greater attention in subsequent sections.

Yet as indicated above, despite the apparent expansion and increasing attractiveness of sports mega-events, their actual potential to benefit host cities and countries is highly debatable. Economic analysts of sports mega-events often interpret the recurrent problem of highly “optimistic” pre-event impact assessments as a technical or methodological problem. Hence the recent trend to utilize computable general equilibrium (CGE) models, rather than traditional input-output analyses, for the purposes of event impact assessment. Computable models also tend to give optimistic impact predictions, although to a lesser degree than input-output assessments. However, Bent Flyvbjerg finds

¹ This was the term used by Flyvbjerg, B., N. Bruzelius and W. Rothengatter. (2003). *Megaprojects and Risk*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Whilst the authors focus their analysis on the relationship between risk and large-scale infrastructure projects (especially transport megaprojects), many of their findings and critiques are relevant for sports mega-events. This is true for various reasons, including the fact that large sports events and infrastructure projects are often closely related: bidding for mega-events typically involves promising to construct or renovate premium infrastructural features (including architecturally-iconic stadiums, public transportation and information and communication technology facilities). Both mega-events and megaprojects are prone to systematic cost underestimation and benefit overestimation. Furthermore, both “come draped in a politics of mistrust” (2003:5).

² The total amount the South African government spent on infrastructure projects in preparation for the World Cup was UK£ 2.8 billion, according to Bloomfield and Hart of *The Independent* (11 July 2010, available at <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/winners-and-losers-the-legacy-of-the-2010-world-cup-2023722.html>).

technical explanations of inaccuracy in megaproject forecasting to be inadequate by themselves. In addition to issues such as econometric inaccuracy and poor data availability, he posits psychological and political-economic causes of systematic cost underestimation and demand overestimation in large infrastructure projects:

Psychological explanations account for inaccuracy in terms of optimism bias, that is, a cognitive predisposition found with most people to judge future events in a more positive light than is warranted by actual experience. Political-economic explanations, however, explain inaccuracy in terms of strategic misrepresentation. Here, when forecasting the outcomes of projects, forecasters and planners deliberately and strategically overestimate benefits and underestimate costs in order to increase the likelihood that it is their projects, and not the competition's, that gain approval and funding. (Flyvbjerg 2008)³

Whatever the cause, it is clear that very inaccurate cost and demand predictions are a recurrent feature of mega-event bidding and organization. Those less critical than Flyvbjerg of this fact tend to rationalise mega-events in terms of various "alternative benefits." Authors often focus on the strategic political and symbolic effect of large sports events, as well as their political "liberalizing" potential. Events are regarded as prime opportunities for national or urban identity-creation, and for their ability to confer advantages associated with the public "feel-good factor." Black and van der Westhuizen⁴ group beneficial mega-event spin-offs into three categories. First, mega-events are platforms for the promotion of national unity and the coherent articulation of national identity. Second, they offer opportunities for large-scale fixed capital investment including but extending beyond the purview of infrastructural development that is directly sports-related. Third, they can provide incentives for "democratically weak" governments to adhere to human rights accords and thus bring about some degree of "democratization." All these debates and perspectives are represented by the papers assembled here. Certainly not all scholars agree on the advantages associated with sports mega-events.

This annotated bibliography was compiled with two objectives in mind. The first is to provide the reader with a useful set of introductory texts to recent trends and debates concerning mega-events. With that in mind, section two presents some discussions of the roles assigned to mega-events in urban policy, as well as the "rationale" for hosting large events, particularly in "developing" or "semi-peripheral" countries. Section three focuses on the politico-institutional and socio-economic effects of mega-events on host cities, regions and nations. Section four presents the work done on the political economic context, planning arrangements, predicted outcomes and post-event analyses of the 2010 Football World Cup in South Africa. This review's second objective is interested in the effects of large sports events on members of the working poor. These issues attract greater attention in sections three and four.

³ Flyvbjerg, B. 2008. "Curbing Optimism Bias and Strategic Misrepresentation in Planning: Reference Class Forecasting in Practice." *European Planning Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1, p. 6.

⁴ Black, D.R. and J. van der Westhuizen. 2004. "The Allure of Global Games for 'Semi-Peripheral' Polities and Spaces: A Research Agenda." *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 7, pp. 1195-1214.

Several biases are evident in the literature assembled here. Most works are concerned with the urban effects of mega-events – so effects on the poor can essentially be interpreted as effects on the *urban poor*. The urban bias is somewhat inevitable, as cities are the spatial foci of event-related planning and development. Urban space is where the effects of large projects are felt the most, and are most observable. Some economic studies have looked at the legacy of mega-events through a regional or national scalar lens, but studies dedicated to specifically peri-urban or rural dynamics are scarce.

Unfortunately, few authors have specifically researched the impact of mega-events on the working poor, although international civil society “watchdogs” and advocacy institutions are increasingly interested in the issue. The Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions, for example, has initiated a research project dedicated to assessing the relationship between mega-events and housing rights infringements. Generally, event planning has a “dark side” involving evictions, the harassment of aesthetically undesirable urban inhabitants, and the unpopular regulation of informal economic activities. Negative aspects can also include the hidden realities of corrupt tendering processes, strategic lying by bid boosters and profiteering by sports-media-business alliances. The result for ordinary urban inhabitants is the denial, at least to some extent, of their right to participate freely in the use and production of urban space. Future studies of mega-events would do well to direct greater empirical attention towards the impacts of host preparations on the poor, through a critical theoretical lens. This annotated bibliography aims to assist those interested in the task.

2. Major Sports Events: Themes, Issues and Impacts

In the context of globalization and post-industrialism (along with all the other terms that signify recent shifts in international political-economic organization), cities are forced to compete directly with one another for the location of increasingly footloose forms of capital. Urban areas and regions that are more capable of attracting and fixing capital – in other words those that are “sticky” within the global space of flows – are often termed “global” or “world cities”. To achieve world city status, urban planners and managers are no longer able to rely on forms of state intervention that promote traditional (manufacturingbased).

industrial activity as the major engine of urban and regional economic growth. New interventions and planning approaches are necessary in the global “condition of postmodernity,” to accommodate businesses that are increasingly mobile, flexible and demanding of “high quality” urban environments. Consumption-oriented economic development and, in particular, tourism-related development is now the norm for both urban and national development policy. Mega-events, with their close association to tourism and premium urban infrastructure development, are an increasingly popular means for cities to reach for “world city” status.

Growing political interest in hosting mega-events has been mirrored by academic interest in the “role(s)” of showpiece events, particularly within economic development policy. Various pertinent issues raised within contemporary mega-event literature are as follows:

- Part of the reason mega-events are perceived as highly profitable is their close association with various “branding” procedures – involving the integration of the branding and marketing of the event itself with that of the host city/nation, the organizing body (such as the IOC or FIFA) and the

lead sponsors (usually large and powerfully-branded corporations) (Nauright 2004). The confluence of brands heightens the “marketing power” associated with mega-events. This fact, coupled with the massive international demand for media coverage of events such as the World Cup Football, ensures that sport event-related advertising costs are massively expensive.

- The economic and political interests of “sports-media-tourism complexes” (Nauright 2004) or “sports-media-business alliances” (Horne and Manzenreiter 2006) tend to dominate the organization of large sports events, although ironically the same events are generally motivated in terms of their public benefits. Event advocates tend to deploy certain discursive strategies as a means of cultivating favourable public opinion. This tendency towards “strategic misrepresentation” can take various forms from the subtle manipulation of event discourses to the publication of biased figures and statistics. In terms of the former, Horne and Manzenreiter (2004), for example, argue that political and corporate elites put discourses associated with Football World Cup 2002 to “specific usages” according to their immediate interests, and depending on whether local or global audiences were being addressed. The frequency with which event advocates present exaggerated expectations of social and economic benefit suggests that such activities are a deliberate means of securing public support for bidding and organizing procedures.
- According to Horne (2007), the legitimating effect of publicizing biased predictions is often enhanced by the tricks pro-event figures employ to undermine oppositional discourse: “in their enthusiasm to host and support sports ‘megas’, politicians, senior administrators of sport, corporate leaders and even some academics may often encourage the pretence that we do not know as much as we do about things that actually form the background to them” (Horne 2007).

These observations add urgency to the question of whether hugely expensive and semiprivatized events should be financed with public capital. Given that most event-related benefits accrue to large sports-media-business entities, as suggested above, the use of public capital would appear to be inappropriate. Yet the answer is not so simple. Authors have been quick to point out that mega-events may have many roles and benefits that extend beyond an intentional economic function in the context of a competitive global economy:

- They act as platforms for the projection of messages to the widest possible audience, through mass television. Mega-events of all sorts, including the World Fairs and Expositions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, have served as markers of modernity and distinction for their hosts. The huge scale of audience reached during events such as the FIFA World Cup final ensures that mega-events are not arbitrary recreational meetings, they are actually “a significant part of the experience of modernity” (Horne and Manzenreiter 2006).
- Large sports events are stages for the performance of stories of how hosts and sporting organizations (especially government and sports-media-tourism elites) view themselves in relation to the wider social world. These marketable stories always carry with them principles relating to globalization and citizenship – in particular the notions of “universal” and “corporate citizenship” (Roche 2002; 2006).
- Some authors have dwelled upon the relationship between spectacular mega-events and globalization (see Nauright [2004] for a discussion of how sport has assumed a significant role in the

globalization process, especially in terms of redefining elements of identity and culture). Roche (2006) refers to such events as “significant cases of globalization”, whilst Horne and Manzenreiter (2004) argue that megaevents are both driven by and promote globalization.

- The symbolic role of mega-events has also been recognized within recent sociological literature. The tendency to risk vast amounts of public capital in hosting such events has been compared to high-stakes “status gambling” or “deep play” (Schimmel 2006) – a game in which the benefits may be significant, as with an improved international image in the case of a successful hosting, yet the potential negative outcomes of a marred hosting may be disastrous. For authors such as Schimmel, the will to host large sports events is not easily reducible to economic interest. A successful hosting entails symbolic effects that go beyond simple material gain – it confers distinction or prestige, which is a characteristic especially desired by relatively marginalized developing or “semi-peripheral” nations (to be discussed in section 2.2.1).
- Large sports events are socially constructed and their political and ideological meanings are always contested. In this view, mega-events are symbolic constructions. The degree of international media interest in the Olympic Games and Football World Cup, for example, positions them as global stages for the performance of national and urban identity. Yet the projected image is always a narrow one, aligned with certain economic and political interests operating at various spatial scales. Analyzing the interplay between meanings and interests is therefore fundamental to understanding why cities and nations are eager to host events, and why they represent themselves in a particular manner for symbolic consumption.

2.1 Economic, Political and Ideological Issues/Roles of Mega-Events

- **Hall, C.M. 2006. “Urban Entrepreneurship, Corporate Interests and Sports Mega-events: The Thin Policies of Competitiveness within the Hard Outcomes of Neoliberalism.” *Sociological Review*, Vol. 54, No. 2, pp. 59-70.**
 - o Reflects not only on the role of mega-events in neoliberal urban development discourse, but also their historical role as signifiers of modernity and prestige in the international political economy. “Imaging a city through the organization of spectacular urban space by, for example, hosting a mega-event, is therefore a mechanism for attracting mobile capital and people (of the right sort) in a period of intense inter-urban competition and urban entrepreneurialism in which neoliberalism has become one of the major frameworks by which the experience of urban development is understood” (p. 63). Notes that corporate interests are often influential in the desire to host mega-events, and further that these private actors are the event’s main beneficiaries, to the disadvantage of the general public.
- **Horne, J. 2007. “The Four ‘Knowns’ of Sports Mega-Events.” *Leisure Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 1, pp. 81-96.**
 - o Abstract: “This article uses a piece of writing in The Guardian newspaper by the philosopher Slavoj Zizek (‘The empty wheelbarrow’, 19 February, p. 23, 2005) about the former US Defence Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, as a framework by which to reflect critically on major international sporting events, or sports mega-events. It suggests that it is an academic’s duty to look critically at the assumptions, beliefs and misrepresentations that are often suppressed, or, perhaps more

accurately, repressed, about sports mega-events. The article is based on an analysis of research and writing about sports mega-events, some of which offer more comprehensive reviews of the literature. It is argued that in their enthusiasm to host and support sports ‘megas’, politicians, senior administrators of sport, corporate leaders and even some academics may often encourage the pretence that we do not know as much as we do about things that actually form the background to them. Information is used from studies of sports mega-events that have taken place, or are planned, in Africa, Asia, Australia, Europe and North America to illustrate the four ‘knowns’, but the main focus is on the ‘unknown knowns’.

- **Horne, J., and W. Manzenreiter. 2004. “Accounting for Mega-Events: Forecast and Actual Impacts of the 2002 Football World Cup Finals on the Host Countries Japan/Korea.” *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, Vol. 39, No. 2, pp. 187-203.**
 - o Abstract: “The 2002 FIFA World Cup Korea/Japan was the first football World Cup Finals ever to take place in Asia and be co-hosted by two countries. Drawing on data provided by the national and local organizing committees, football’s world governing institution, local and international media accounts and first-hand observations made before, during and after the event, the article discusses the contrast between discourses that forecast and described the actual impacts of the 2002 World Cup on its host societies. In particular three aspects are discussed: the specific regional political economy of the 2002 World Cup; the role of sports mega-events in identity construction and promotion; and how such events are both constituted by and constitutive of globalization. While a largely skeptical view of the economic impact informs our article, our conclusion explains the gap between forecast and actual impacts as indicative of the power struggle for determining the meaning of mega-events between different agents.”
- **Horne, J., and W. Manzenreiter (eds.) 2006b. *Sports Mega-Events, Social Scientific Analyses of a Global Phenomenon*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.**
 - o An edited volume of chapters (including the papers by the same authors, and Hall [2006] mentioned above) providing a comprehensive view of mega-events as an object of study in social science.
- **Nauright, J. 2004. “Global Games: Culture, Political Economy and Sport in the Globalised World of the 21st Century.” *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 7, pp. 1325-1336.**
 - o Abstract: “During the past three decades sport has assumed an ever greater role within the globalisation process and in the regeneration of national, regional and local identities in the post-colonial and global age. With much of global culture displayed by the media, events, particularly significant sporting ones such as the Olympic Games or the soccer World Cup, have become highly sought after commodities as developed countries, and increasingly some leading developing countries, move towards event-driven economies. In the process, however, many countries are left behind without the necessary infrastructure or visibility to compete successfully. Furthermore, the process of displaying a culture in the lead-up to an event and during the event itself has had to focus on ready-made markets, thus reinforcing stereotypes about a place and its people. This paper discusses the paradoxes and inequalities brought on by the sport-media-tourism complex that drives the emphasis on global sporting events.”

- **Roche, M. 1992. "Mega-Events and Micro-Modernization: On the Sociology of the New Urban Tourism." *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 43, No. 4, pp. 563-600.**
 - o Abstract: "Tourism is currently a very significant sector and force in the economic regeneration or micromodernisation of old industrial cities in western society. This 'new urban tourism' has, along with tourism in general been little studied in sociology. This paper focuses on one aspect of this field, namely the staging of cultural or sporting mega-events. Social science interest in mega-events tends to be dominated by economic impact studies. This paper attempts to go beyond a narrow economic approach and explores the wider socio-economic impacts of mega-events. It also suggests that we need to take account of a range of contexts (from macro-level postindustrial/post-national shifts to micro level urban politics and tourism strategy formation), if we are to develop a sociologically adequate understanding of touristic mega-events and their contemporary social significance. The paper throughout takes the opportunity presented by mega-event analysis to discuss some of the main issues involved in developing a structural sociological and political economic account of tourism events and policies. The focus of the paper on income, employment and economic modernisation impacts means that the cultural impacts of urban tourism are not dealt with in any detail. However the paper concludes by briefly considering (a) tourism as a cultural phenomenon (indeed as one of the archetypal forms of the 'post-modern' culture of modernity) and thus (b) the need for the sociology of tourism to attempt to comprehend tourism's various different dimensions (i.e. economic, political and cultural). It is suggested that dialectical forms of conceptualisation will be needed in addition to empirical studies if the sociology of tourism is to respond adequately to the challenge of its subject matter."

- **Roche, M. 2002. "The Olympics and Global Citizenship." *Citizenship Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 165-181.**
 - o Roche discusses the Olympic movement from the perspective of globalization and citizenship. He sees the Olympics as representative of ideas of "universality" (i.e. in the form of "universal citizenship") and "corporate citizenship." However, despite the close association between the movement and certain ideals of universal human rights, Roche recognizes that the Games have quite often been awarded to regimes that were and are regarded as having systematically repressed the human rights of its citizens. In addition, many hosting regimes have taken "specific additional repressive measures in the host cities in order to stage the Games" (2002:171). The IOC has also been heavily criticized for the prevalence of corruption within its internal ranks, which raises serious issues with respect to the existence of the Olympic Movement (and indeed similar sports-related institutions) as responsible "global corporate citizens."

- **Roche, M. 2006. "Mega-events and Modernity Revisited: Globalization and the Case of the Olympics." *Sociological Review*, Vol. 54, No. 2, pp. 27-40.**
 - o Explores the Olympic Games and other mega-events as "significant cases of globalization." Pays attention to the televisation of the Games and the projection of principles related to globalization (universalistic values, cultural standardization, time-space compression, etc.). Sets an agenda for future research into the relationship between mega-events and globalization.

- **Schimmel, K.S. 2006. “Deep Play: Sports Mega-Events and Urban Social Conditions in the USA.” *Sociological Review*, Vol. 54, No. 2, pp. 160-174.**
 - o Discusses mega-events in terms of their supposed “economic irrationality,” and instead proposes that they may be understood as high-stakes “games” in which cities gamble their international image (understood as “symbolic capital,” or an accumulated sense of prestige) in the hope of securing economic and symbolic benefits. A successfully hosted event may represent a city as being safe, competent and exciting. Conversely, poorly regarded events can lead to long-lasting, negative perceptions of the host city.

- **Whitson, D., and J. Horne. 2006. “Underestimated Costs and Overestimated Benefits? Comparing the Outcomes of Sports Mega-Events in Canada and Japan.” *Sociological Review*, Vol. 54, No. 2, pp. 73-89.**
 - o Introduces the reader to “the politics and economics of sport in urban space.” Provides a comparative discussion of the legacy of Olympic events in Canada and Japan: “In both countries, Olympic hosting has been the project of political and corporate elites, and in both countries large claims were made for the economic and social benefits that would follow from hosting Olympics and other mega-events (in Japan, such as the football World Cup). The outcomes, however, have been that public and private investments in the ‘infrastructure of play’ have created expensive sporting infrastructure and other consumer spaces, but with few social benefits for those unable (or disinclined) to present themselves as consumers” (p. 86).

- **Xin Xu. 2006. “Modernizing China in the Olympic Spotlight: China’s National Identity and the 2008 Beijing Olympiad.” *Sociological Review*, Vol. 54, No. 2, pp. 90-107.**
 - o Reflects on China’s desire to host the 2008 Olympics in terms of its potentially beneficial political outcomes: “constructing national identity and pursuing international primacy.”

2.2 The Rationale for Hosting Mega-Events

Scholars have devoted considerable attention to the issue of why nations and cities “want” to host sports mega-events. Some emphasize the benefits of national/urban image creation and particularly the problem of overcoming negative image stereotypes (Dimeo and Kay 2004). Most commonly, authors rationalize mega-events as policy-based responses to globalization, and thus emphasize their purported role as promoters of urban development and local socio-economic regeneration (Burbank *et al.* 2002; Gratton and Henry 2001; Gratton *et al.* 2005).

- **Burbank, M.J., G. Andranovich and C.H. Heying. 2002. “Mega-Events, Urban Development, and Public Policy.” *Review of Policy Research*, Vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 179-202.**
 - o Abstract: “As cities compete for jobs and capital in the context of limited federal aid and increasing global economic competition, a new and potentially high-risk public policy strategy for stimulating local economic growth has emerged. This mega-event strategy entails the quest for a high-profile event to serve as a stimulus to, and justification for local development. How and why do American cities commit their resources to seeking a megaevent? And, if a city lands a mega-event, how does that event affect local development policy? To address these questions, we examine the experiences of three American cities which have bid for and organized the Olympics in the contemporary era: Los Angeles, Atlanta, and Salt Lake City.”

- **Dimeo, P., and J. Kay. 2005. "Major Sports Events, Image Projection and the Problems of 'SemiPeriphery': A Case Study of the 1996 South Asia Cricket World Cup." *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 7, pp. 1263-1276.**
 - o Abstract: "This paper explores the response of the international press to the co-hosting of the 1996 Cricket World Cup by India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The event had a troubled background: the shift of power within cricket towards the subcontinent and the consequential commercialisation of the sport were causing some dissension among traditionalists. At the same time there was some instability in South Asian politics, especially between India and Pakistan and because of the civil war in Sri Lanka. While these issues overshadowed the event, some aspects of its organisation were unsuccessful, leading to some negative press coverage. It is argued here, however, that the problems faced by South Asian countries in trying to use this sports event to promote a positive image were further exacerbated by underlying stereotypes and criticisms of South Asian cultures. As such, the paper addresses several important themes relating to major sports events and 'semi-peripheral' countries."

- **Gratton, C., and I. Henry. 2001. *Sport in the City: The Role of Sport in Economic and Social Regeneration*. London: Routledge.**
 - o Excerpt: "Cities now seek to attract major sporting events and activities to re-image themselves, and frequently invest in community sports development to fund economic growth and regeneration. Including a range of casestudies from global (the Sydney Olympics) to local (urban school sports), this book looks closely at how sport has been used in contemporary cities across the world, and evaluates policies, strategies and management. Five key areas are examined: Sport and urban economic regeneration Sports events: bidding planning and organization Urban Sports tourism Sport and urban community development Urban politics and sports policy."

- **Gratton, C., S. Shibli and R. Coleman. 2005. "Sport and Economic Regeneration in Cities." *Urban Studies*, Vol. 42, nos. 5/6, pp. 985-999.**
 - o Summary: "Investment in sporting infrastructure in cities over the past 20 years was not primarily aimed at getting the local community involved in sport, but was instead aimed at attracting tourists, encouraging inward investment and changing the image of the city. The first example of this new strategy was seen in Sheffield with the investment of £147 million in sporting facilities to host the World Student Games of 1991. More recently, Manchester spent over £200 million on sporting venues in order to host the 2002 Commonwealth Games, with a further £470 million expenditure on other non-sport infrastructure investment in Sportcity in east Manchester. In the British context, most of the cities following this strategy of using sport for economic regeneration have been industrial cities, not normally known as major tourist destinations. The drivers of such policies were the need for a new image and new employment opportunities caused by the loss of their conventional industrial base. This article analyses the justification for such investments in sport in cities and assesses the evidence for the success of such strategies."

2.2.1 In “Peripheral”/Developing Countries

The issue of mega-event hosting in “developing” or “peripheral” countries has been specifically addressed. Why do developing nations facing immense developmental challenges with respect to poverty alleviation actively and increasingly seek to undertake such costly investments? Surely limited fiscal resources would be better spent on basic service provision than on iconic sports stadiums? “As critics have pointed out, providing festivals when people need bread is a dubious use of public resources” (Andranovich *et al.* 2001:127).

Most academic literature regards the apparent appeal of mega-event hosting as stemming from the “irresistible” promise of economic gain for developing countries and cities (e.g. Alegi 2001; Matheson and Baade 2004; Humphreys and Prokopowicz 2007). Bidding authorities are lured by the prospect of large financial profits, particularly through increased tourism activity. However, these suppositions are problematic considering that the majority of post-event impact assessments find large financial loss as the event’s primary legacy. Humphreys and Prokopowicz (2007) therefore question Ukraine and Poland’s decision to bid for the 2012 European Football Championships, suggesting that “sports mega-events may not be effective regional economic development vehicles in transition economies.”

A recent sociological turn in mega-event studies has highlighted other positive benefits that accrue from event hosting in the developing world. For example, Black and van der Westhuizen (2004) explain the “allure of global games for semi-peripheral polities and spaces” in terms of the “perceived expansion of marketing power” as well as the legitimization of political regimes and certain “ideas of the state” (also see van der Westhuizen 2004; Black 2007). Similar insights concerning the strategic opportunities megaevents provide for symbolic articulation are provided by Cornelissen, who regards Beijing’s hosting of the 2008 Olympic Games as an attempt to “translate economic or political disadvantage in the world system to advantage” (2008:4). She continues, “winning the rights to host sport mega-events enable[s] developing states to put to use relatively limited available resources to compete against more powerful states, by displaying cultural distinctiveness, natural assets and beauty or, more strategically proclaiming status of international marginality and exclusion” (*Ibid.*).

- **Alegi, P. 2001. “Feel the Pull in Your Soul’: Local Agency and Global Trends in South Africa’s 2006 World Cup Bid.” *Soccer and Society*, Vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 1-21.**
 - o This article analyzes South Africa’s unsuccessful bid to host the 2006 FIFA World Cup. A discussion of the bid’s leading organizers, corporate sponsors, and marketing tactics provides the basis for a critical examination of the policy and philosophy behind the bid campaign. In doing so, the author critiques the World Cup’s projected costs and benefits and assesses the tournament’s impact on the distribution of wealth in post-apartheid South Africa. This local case study sheds light on football’s economic and political centrality in contemporary African societies and identifies South Africa’s unusual place in football’s world marketplace.
- **Black, D.R. 2007. “The Symbolic Politics of Sport Mega-Events: 2010 in Comparative Perspective.” *Politikon*, Vol. 34, No. 3, pp. 261-276.**
 - o Abstract: “For ambitious civic and national boosts sport mega-events provide unique opportunities for the pursuit of symbolic politics—a chance to signal important changes of direction, reframe dominant narratives about the host, and/or reinforce key messages of change. These

signals or narratives are critical vehicles of legitimation, with both narrowly instrumental objectives and more expansive purposes related to the mobilization of societal support for certain dominant 'ideas of the state'. This paper explores the realm of symbolic politics through a comparative analysis of three disparate mega-event hosts which will take the world stage in 2010: South Africa (the FIFA World Cup), Delhi/India (the Commonwealth Games), and Vancouver/Canada (the Winter Olympics). The paper argues that despite important differences in the circumstances of these hosts and the events they are to mount, there are some key commonalities in the narratives they seek to deploy and the subtexts they embody. These commonalities revolve around a paradoxical blending of inclusive, transcendent, or cosmopolitan narratives on the one hand, and competitive, differentiating narratives of 'world class' aspirations and achievements, on the other. Strikingly then, these widely dispersed events have become vehicles for similar messages with potentially contradictory implications."

- **Black, D.R., and J. van der Westhuizen. 2004. "The Allure of Global Games for 'Semi-Peripheral' Polities and Spaces: A Research Agenda." *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 7, pp. 1195-1214.**
 - o Abstract: "Exploring the increasing propensity of 'semi-peripheral' polities and spaces to host major games as a pivotal strategic response to the exigencies of globalisation, it is contended that pursuing such events is intimately connected to the perceived expansion of 'marketing power' on the one hand, and to the legitimisation and celebration of conceptions of national identity and political orders, on the other. Given that various contingencies bear upon these sought after outcomes, this analytical framework underscores the significance of questions about global inequality, power and identity to explain the apparent allure of global games. Hence, to determine whether major games deliver the kind of benefits proclaimed by proponents, requires asking questions about (1) identity building and signaling; (2) development and (3) political liberalisation and human rights."
- **Cornelissen, S. 2008. "China and the 2008 Beijing Olympics: The Dynamics and Implications of Sport Mega-Events in the Semi-Periphery." *The China Monitor*, 18, pp. 4-6.**
 - o Describes the contemporary international context for sports mega-events and concludes that, for "semi-peripheral" countries such as China, the hosting of mega-events is intimately linked with symbolic politics: the projection of a powerful, competitive national image. Also notes that the Olympics provide China with an opportunity to articulate a particular vision of modernization and Chinese unity.
- **Greene, S.J. 2003. "Staged Cities: Mega-Events, Slum Clearance, and Global Capital." *Yale Human Rights and Development Law Journal*, 6, pp. 161-187.**
 - o Provides a general reflection on the role of mega-events in the global political economy. Uses a case study of the 1988 Seoul Olympics to illustrate how mega-events are often implicated in the redevelopment of housing stock, to the disadvantage of original residents. Also undertakes a comparative analysis of Seoul with Santo Domingo and the 500th Anniversary of the Columbus Voyage. Notes that evictions associated with both events resulted in the disruption of social networks and informal economies (including street vending).

- **Humphreys, B.R. and S. Prokopowicz. 2007. “Assessing the Impact of Sports Mega-Events in Transition Economies: EURO 2012 in Poland and Ukraine.” *International Journal of Sport Management and Marketing*, Vol. 2, Nos. 5/6, pp. 496-509.**
 - o Abstract: “Developing economies have increasing interest in hosting sports mega-events. Poland and Ukraine are the finalists to host the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) 2012 Football Championship. Although the event will attract a large number of spectators and television viewers, a simple cost benefit analysis indicates that the costs of hosting the event will exceed the direct economic impact related to increased tourist spending by a wide margin and the presence of positive benefits depends on benefits from factors like improvements in the transportation infrastructure. Sports mega-events may not be effective regional economic development vehicles in transition economies.”

- **Matheson, V.A. and R.A. Baade. 2004. “Mega-Sporting Events in Developing Nations: Playing the Way to Prosperity.” *South African Journal of Economics*, Vol. 72, No. 5, pp. 1085-1096.**
 - o Introduction: “With attendances in the millions and television viewing audiences in the billions, the World Cup and Olympic Games without question qualify as mega-events. Nation states compete as vigorously to host these events as the athletes who participate in them. Why? A variety of reasons explain the quest to host these events. Many argue that these events ‘put the country (or city) on the map’ and provide significant international exposure to the host. These events can also be seen as political events that serve to showcase the economic, political, and cultural power of the host country or as a signal that a country has arrived as a major figure on the international scene. No reason appears more compelling, however, than the promise of an economic windfall. Event promoters envision hordes of rich visitors with fat wallets descending upon the venues lucky enough to host these competitions. Increasingly developing nations have begun insisting on their right to host these events, and thereby reap the perceived monetary rewards. The question, however, remains: do mega-sporting events provide a boost to the host nation’s economy that justifies the substantial costs and risks? The purpose of this paper is to shed some light on this subject by reviewing the existing academic literature on the economic impact of sporting events and providing discussion regarding the benefits of these competitions on developing nations.”

- **Swart, K., and U. Bob. 2004. “The Seductive Discourse of Development: The Cape Town 2004 Olympic Bid.” *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 7, pp. 1311-1324.**
 - o Abstract: “Research on how the decision to bid for the Olympics is made, the resources and processes involved in the bidding process and how a country responds to a failed bid is important. These aspects are embedded in a range of political and economic processes from the local to the global level. The Olympic Games is the ultimate mega-event. This article uses the case study of the Cape Town 2004 Olympic Bid (CTOB) to examine the above aspects, highlighting the global dimensions of bidding for major events. The CTOB illustrates that contemporary sport associations and structures are strongly influenced by emergent global forces such as global capital and dominance by certain regions. This often results in countries being disadvantaged from one of two sides. Either they cannot afford to participate in the bidding process or they cannot lobby sufficiently to influence the international sport associations.”

- **Van der Westhuizen, J. 2004. “Marketing Malaysia as a Model Modern Muslim State: The Significance of the 16th Commonwealth Games.” *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 7, pp. 1277-1291.**
 - o Abstract: “Apart from illustrating the way in which the Malaysian government appropriated the Commonwealth Games as a global media spectacle, both to gain international publicity and as an opportunity to celebrate its multicultural national identity and thus ‘market’ Malaysia as a model modern Muslim society, this article highlights two issues in particular. First, through strategic organisation, Malaysia succeeded in making the Commonwealth Games a much more attractive event, infusing the Games with the kind of prestige usually reserved for major, first order events. Second, Malaysia’s underlying political crisis, triggered by the Asian crisis, became more salient precisely because of the media interest generated by the Games. That these events prompted a return to authoritarianism brings into question the expectation that major games create spaces for political liberalisation and reform.”

3. The Impact of Major Sports Events

A large proportion of ex post event impact analyses focus on the local, regional or national economic effects of event-related tourism and infrastructural investment. Many report that actual effects have failed to match the scale of pre-event projections of economic benefit (see section 3.2). Likewise, studies adopting a more general view of event impacts (i.e. those considering economic and social results) suggest that cost-benefit predictions are generally optimistic – opportunities to create truly positive socio-economic legacies are rarely seized (see Jones 2001; Horne 2002; Cashman 2006; Whitson and Horne 2006).

- **Cashman, R. 2006. *The Bitter-Sweet Awakening: The Legacy of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games*. Sydney: Walla Walla Press.**
 - o Reviewed by Robert K. Barney, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, Canada. In *Olympika: The International Journal of Sports Studies*, Vol. XV, 2006, pp. 129-131. Available at http://www.la84foundation.org/SportsLibrary/Olympika/Olympika_2006/olympika1501i.pdf.
 - o Excerpt from review: “One of the most problematic arguments that Olympic Games bid committees advance in their efforts to win the ‘cherished prize’ of hosting the grand spectacular is that the project will inevitably leave in its wake a great legacy for the public benefit. In fact, IOC members who make the final decision as to which city wins the bid pay close attention to the messages of prospective legacy. Sadly, the record of positive legacy outcomes resulting from hosting Olympic Games does not generally match the picture of the glorious claims made beforehand. In fact, the ‘beauty of legacy’ often lies in the eyes of the beholder. With this realization in mind, Richard Cashman has attempted to investigate the subject of Olympic Games’ legacy from the perspective of a general or broad-tapestry point of view. In his book, he examines ‘legacy’ through the lens of one edition of the Olympic Games (including the Paralympic Games following), those his own country celebrated in Sydney in the early Australian spring of 2000... If there are central themes apparent in Cashman’s book, themes that should send messages to both Olympic Games bid and organizing committees in the future, they are the arguments that too little attention is given to applied resources, in-depth planning, and ‘follow through’ for ensuring positive Olympic legacies. Further, he argues, the subject of legacy, a phenomenon that ‘might’ occur in the future, is often lost among the necessities of the present.”

- **Horne, J. 2002. “The Global Game of Football: The 2002 World Cup and Regional Development in Japan.” *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 7, pp. 1233-1244.**
 - o Abstract: “Analysis of major sports or ‘mega’-events, including the Soccer World Cup, enables consideration of several overlapping and intersecting issues. These include: centre–periphery relationships related to governance in world sport; power relations between nation states, supra-national sport associations and the sports business; the media–sport–business connection; the cultural production of ideologies needed to cover emergent fissures— such as over who actually controls ‘global games’; and what the costs and benefits of hosting these events actually are. By focusing on the relationship between the 2002 World Cup and the development of the social and football infrastructure in contemporary Japan, this paper offers insight into the relationship between the global and the local, and especially the last of these issues. It concludes that attempts to utilise football and the (co-)hosting of the 2002 World Cup for sports purposes has benefited the development of the sport as a commercial spectacle rather than as an everyday practice. Related goals, such as the relocation of population from the centre to the periphery, economic income generation and a general improvement in the quality of life of the Japanese population as a whole, are still far from being accomplished.”

- **Jones, C. 2001. “Mega-events and Host-region Impacts: Determining the True Worth of the 1999 World Cup.” *International Journal of Tourism Research*, No. 3, pp. 241-251.**
 - o Abstract: “An increasing interest in the impact of sporting mega-events on host regions has sparked discussion on the most appropriate approaches in determining both benefits and costs. The paper defines the nature of the impact on Wales of the 1999 Rugby World Cup (RWC99), both economic and social, and qualitatively assesses the extent and nature of the impact of RWC99 in a number of areas. It concludes that there were several benefits for the region, although many areas of potential benefit were not maximized. This was due in large part to the structure of the bidding process and organizational inadequacies, which in turn led to relatively low spectator spend and mixed press coverage.”

- **Whitson, D. and J. Horne. 2006. “Underestimated Costs and Overestimated Benefits? Comparing the Outcomes of Sports Mega-Events in Canada and Japan.” *Sociological Review*, Vol. 54, No. 2, pp. 73-89.**
 - o Provides a comparative discussion of the legacy of Olympic events in Canada and Japan: “In both countries, Olympic hosting has been the project of political and corporate elites, and in both countries large claims were made for the economic and social benefits that would follow from hosting Olympics and other mega-events (in Japan, such as the football World Cup). The outcomes, however, have been that public and private investments in the ‘infrastructure of play’ have created expensive sporting infrastructure and other consumer spaces, but with few social benefits for those unable (or dis-inclined) to present themselves as consumers” (p. 86).

3.1 Urban Policy, Governance and Development

Cities are increasingly keen to compete for the right to stage large international sports events. Mega-events therefore occupy a privileged position within urban development strategies globally. The attractiveness of such events is often expressed during bidding procedures in terms of their potential to effect socio-economic regeneration within relatively deprived urban areas. The means of achieving

regeneration is most often largescale infrastructural capital investment, stemming from both public and private sources (although the actual arrangement of funding sources can vary greatly). Usually host cities guarantee to undertake a range of expensive fixed-capital investments, including sports, transport, housing and ICT-related developments. Such investments are expected to generate a “multiplier effect” (i.e. the stimulation of local economic activity resulting in significant medium- to long-term local economic growth). In addition, mega-events are often motivated for their capacity to effect “softer” socio-economic benefits through poverty alleviation initiatives, public transportation improvements, employment creation and moral regeneration. Put simply, mega-events are “sold” to national and urban publics as panaceas to issues associated with urban social, economic and physical degeneration. Unfortunately for many host cities, particularly those of the last two decades, event legacies are generally characterized by sizeable fiscal debt.

Mega-events often evoke a degree of innovation in terms of the host’s urban planning practices. The growth coalitions or sports-media-business alliances that inevitably converge around event preparations are often well-placed to implement ambitious growth schemes without facing ordinary constraints from public policy or opinion. This relative freedom, coupled with the pressure for cities to market themselves as “iconic” and above all *competitive*, often leads to the implementation of large visionary planning schemes in response to event hosting. For Munoz (2006), Barcelona (host of the 1992 Olympic Games) epitomizes this tendency as the city experienced a major boost in its “urban profile” following extensive Games-related urban redevelopment. These schemes often involve highly innovative public-private partnership agreements for, amongst other things, stadium construction and maintenance. However, the constitution of local bid and organizing bodies as private entities has several disadvantages for the general public. Organizing committees are not necessarily accountable to public policy and the public interest, which may enhance the domination of such concerns by narrow economic or political interests (i.e. decisions may be taken that benefit a few powerful interests as opposed to those of the greater public). The marginalization of public concerns is therefore a problematic yet recurring theme of mega-event planning.

- **Andranovich, G., M.J. Burbank, and C.H. Heying. 2001. “Olympic Cities: Lessons Learned from MegaEvent Politics.” *Journal of Urban Affairs*, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 113-131.**
 - o Abstract: “As cities compete for jobs and capital in the context of limited federal aid and increasing global economic competition, a new and potentially high-risk strategy for stimulating local economic growth has emerged. This strategy, called the mega-event strategy, entails the quest for a high-profile event to serve as a stimulus to, and justification for, local development. We examine how the mega-event strategy has played out in the three US cities with contemporary Olympic experience: Los Angeles (1984), Atlanta (1996) and Salt Lake City (2002). We analyse the approaches taken by these three cities to bidding for and staging an Olympic mega-event. Our comparison focuses on the decade long period that cities use to prepare to host the games. We conclude with a discussion of lessons learned and the policy implications of the mega-event strategy on urban politics.”
 - o The authors identify two main sets of incentives for the adoption of the mega-event strategy. Firstly, the bidding and hosting procedures offer city leaders “opportunities to gain regional, national and international media exposure at low cost.” Secondly, the mega-event strategy “provides a clear timeline for development projects.” The imminence of an event can “force quick decisions” – supposedly the effect is greater for more prestigious events such as the Olympic

Games – thus to an extent bypassing the “increasingly complicated politics of development” characteristic of the contemporary era (2001:127).

- o Several additional points about the impact of mega-events on urban politics can be made. Most organizing committees are created as private institutional entities and, as a partial result, mega-events often lead to a greater degree of “entrepreneurial” behaviour within urban regimes – including the leveraging of private financing to reduce public capital risk, the maintenance of “contractual” relations between local organizing committees and governments, and the pre-dominance of consumption-based (especially tourism-related) economic strategy.
 - o “The manner in which Olympic bids are conducted and the games organized raises serious public policy concerns, particularly with respect to the role of access, accountability, and responsiveness in the public policy process” (2001:127). This is partially the result of the “privatized” institutional setup of organizing committees, which “permits the powerful interests in cities to attach their agendas to the Olympic process, creating the perfect policy mechanism for ensuring a growth agenda” (2001:127). Despite the fact that political figures may attempt to use mega-events to promote local policy concerns (such as poverty reduction), event-related planning can be heavily dominated by corporate and political agendas rather than by the public interest. Relevant roles and responsibilities of public-private organizing partnerships are often not clearly articulated, leading to limited accountability amongst organizers as well as conflicts between those representing public and private interests. As a corollary, citizen participation in the political and developmental process is generally marginalized.
- **Burbank, M.J. G. Andranovich, G. and C.H. Heying. 2002. “Mega-Events, Urban Development, and Public Policy.” *Review of Policy Research*, Vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 179-202.**
 - o Abstract: “As cities compete for jobs and capital in the context of limited federal aid and increasing global economic competition, a new and potentially high-risk public policy strategy for stimulating local economic growth has emerged. This mega-event strategy entails the quest for a high-profile event to serve as a stimulus to, and justification for local development. How and why do American cities commit their resources to seeking a megaevent? And, if a city lands a mega-event, how does that event affect local development policy? To address these questions, we examine the experiences of three American cities which have bid for and organized the Olympics in the contemporary era: Los Angeles, Atlanta, and Salt Lake City.”
 - **Buttner, N., W. Maennig, and M. Messner. 2007. “Relationships between Investment Costs for Infrastructure and for Sports Stadia: The Case of the World Cup 2006 in Germany.” *Working Paper Series*, Paper No. 07-04. Hamburg: University of Hamburg. Available at <http://ideas.repec.org/p/spe/wpaper/0704.html>.**
 - o Abstract: “This study uses the example of the 2006 soccer World Cup in Germany to examine whether any systematic relationships exist between infrastructure investments on the one hand and investments in the respective stadium on the other. Particular attention is paid to an examination of whether the relative infrastructure costs in the case of newly-built stadia differ from those relating to stadia that have been reconstructed or extended. Such systematic relationships, or ‘rules of thumb’, could be used in the future to simplify the prediction of the expected volume of necessary infrastructure measures for major sporting events (other soccer World Cups, the Olympic Games, etc.) on the basis of the investment required for the sports venues.

Our study makes use of a cluster and discriminance analysis and concludes that such general rules cannot be derived from the 2006 World Cup in Germany.”

- **Chalkley, B. and S. Essex. 1999. “Urban Development through Hosting International Events: A History of the Olympic Games.” *Planning Perspectives*, 14, pp. 369-394.**

- o Abstract: “In recent years, there has been increased interest in the idea of promoting urban development and change through the hosting of major events. This approach offers host cities the possibility of ‘fast track’ urban regeneration, a stimulus to economic growth, improved transport and cultural facilities, and enhanced global recognition and prestige. Many authors attribute the increased importance of event-led development to wider transformations in the global economy, such as post-Fordism and globalization. However, event-led development has a long history and can be recognized, for example, in the World Fairs of the nineteenth century. The Olympic Games, the world’s most prestigious sporting event, has been held for over one hundred years with significant consequences for the host cities. This paper reviews the effects of the Olympics on the urban environment of the various cities which have acted as hosts in the modern Olympic period (1896–1996). The material outlines the varied motivations for staging the Games and examines their outcomes in terms of urban development.” The main conclusions are as follows.
 - The Olympic Games “has played an increasingly important role as a stimulus to change within the host cities” over the past century (1999:389). In the local policy context the Games are viewed as part of a highly strategic economic development approach, whereby cities aim to capitalize on the removal of obstacles to large-scale development and innovative planning practices: “[t]he most ambitious Olympic hosts have seen the Games as an opportunity to bring forward long-term plans, to accelerate the pace of change and, particularly in the case of Sydney, to pioneer the implementation of new planning concepts” (1999:391). However, the authors are critical of the tendency for corporate/political elite interests to dominate the event planning agenda; ‘...one of the dangers of hosting a major international event is that it might overshadow or marginalize the needs of local people” (1999:391).
 - “As the new century beckons, urban spectacles and hallmark events are likely to play an increasingly important role in urban planning. One of the challenges facing town planning (particularly in the major world cities) will therefore be to find ways of using major events and transient exhibitions as vehicles for the achievement of more lasting benefits” (1999:391-2).

- **Essex, S. and B. Chalkley. 1998. “Olympic Games: Catalyst of Urban Change.” *Leisure Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 3, pp. 187-206.**

- o Abstract: “The Olympic Games have emerged as a significant catalyst of urban change and can act as a key instrument of urban policy for their host cities. This paper reviews the effect of the Games on the built environment of the various cities which have acted as hosts in the modern Olympic period (1896-1996) and assesses the preparations now being made for the Games in Sydney in the year 2000. The review indicates that the Games have been increasingly used as a trigger for a wide range of urban improvements, although there have been considerable variations in the scale of infrastructural investment and in the public-private sector mix.”

- **Essex, S. and B. Chalkley. 2004. “Mega-Sporting Events in Urban and Regional Policy: A History of the Winter Olympics.” *Planning Perspectives*, 19, pp. 201-232.**
 - o Abstract: “Mega-events, such as the Olympic Games, have emerged as an important tool of urban and regional renewal through their ability to justify redevelopment and enhancement, attract inward investment, promote tourism and create new images for host cities. This paper complements previous research into the urban effects of the Summer Games by focusing on the infrastructural legacy of hosting the Winter Games, 1924–2002. The discussion concentrates upon the growing intensity of the intra-urban competition to host the event and identifies four phases in the changing infrastructural implications of staging the Games. As a component of urban and regional policy, the Winter Olympics present both major risks and clear opportunities for the effective transformation of host centres.”

- **Jones, C. 2001. “A Level Playing Field? Sports Stadium Infrastructure and Urban Development in the United Kingdom.” *Environment and Planning A*, 33, pp. 845-861.**
 - o Abstract: “A number of cities in the United Kingdom have recently placed a policy focus on the ability of sports events and stadia to stimulate economic and physical regeneration. Such development is most often justified from a development and regeneration perspective. Under this paradigm, the urban redevelopment which occurs consequent on stadium construction creates benefits which ‘trickle down’ from property developers, sports teams, and stadium operators to the wider community largely in the form of employment growth. However, the attraction of the hallmark events which are (in the United Kingdom) the major revenue stream of the stadium can be reread in the context of the constant competition evidenced between cities and between regions to draw in mobile capital resources via a programme of public subsidy for private business. Under such a paradigm, the potential for the stadium to contribute to uneven development, both within and between cities, is problematic. The author examines the arguments for and against stadium development in terms of the likely effects on the economic and social fabric of the city, and identifies likely winners and losers. The role of mobile capital, political elites, and growth coalitions in driving changes in the structure and use of common space in the urban core is examined with the aid of a case study of Cardiff and the Millennium Stadium.”

- **McKay, M. and C. Plumb. 2001. “Reaching Beyond the Gold: The Impact of the Olympic Games on Real Estate Markets.” *Research report for Jones Lang LaSalle, Inc.* Available at http://www.jll.co.uk/united-kingdom/en-gb/documents/jll_uk_reaching_beyond_the_gold_2001.pdf.**
 - o Extract from the Introduction: “...Although jobs and revenue are created in the short term, the greatest effects of the Olympics are seen in longer-term changes in the host city’s urban form and governance: urban regeneration, the creation of Olympic villages; improvements to city infrastructure; growth in tourism and convention business; and heightened awareness of environmental and sustainable development issues. This paper examines these legacies for four recent Olympics hosts - Seoul (1988), Barcelona (1992), Atlanta (1996) and Sydney (2000) - and anticipates potential impacts for Athens (2004)...”
 - o Main conclusions have been extracted as follows:
 - “The hosting of the Olympics (and other major world events) has a significant and varied impact on the real estate market, but these impacts are largely indirect and are experienced over a long timeframe. More direct, short-term impacts are largely focused on the hotel and

tourism sector. Real estate impacts tend to be a consequence of decisions driven by other motivations, such as image and self-promotion, which provide indirect benefits to the sector” (2001:2).

- “The motivation for hosting the Olympics clearly varies between cities. More established cities (eg Atlanta, Sydney or Paris) are less concerned with geo-political considerations than less developed cities (Seoul, Barcelona or Beijing). Despite these differences, one common goal can be identified; the desire to attract global capital flows” (2001:2).
 - “The direct real estate implications of hosting major events depend upon the size and relative maturity of the local property market. These impacts appear greater on smaller and less mature markets” (2001:2).
- **Munoz, F. 2006. “Olympic Urbanism and Olympic Villages: Planning Strategies in Olympic Host Cities, London 1908 to London 2012.” *Sociological Review*, Vol. 54, No. 2, pp. 175-187.**
 - o Extract from the Introduction: “The central argument of this chapter is that the urbanization of the Western world during the 20th century cannot be understood fully without consideration of the contribution of major urban events. The Great Exhibitions and the Olympic Games are two clear examples of this type of urban mega-event. In Olympic urbanism, the villages – designed as a shelter for the athletes and occupied by residents after the Games – stand out as urban artefacts that enable us to explore the relations between architecture and urban planning to communicate a specific urban image... As some Olympic experiences show, the urban transformation that results from the organization of the Games can be used as a guideline for the future development of the city. Cities like Barcelona have succeeded in changing its urban profile dramatically when hosting the Games but have also taken advantage of this experience of urban regeneration to design strategic and future planning views for the future.”
 - **Newman, P. 2007. “Back the Bid’: The 2012 Summer Olympics and the Governance of London.” *Journal of Urban Affairs*, Vol. 29, No. 3, pp. 255-267.**
 - o The Olympic Park being developed in east London for the 2012 Games is one large urban renewal project among many in the city. The impact of the Games on urban development may be of less significance than the impact on city politics. Bidding for and delivering the Games has contributed to a reassessment of the recent experiment with mayoral government. The article examines these changing representations of the structures of London government that are now seen as a success. Much of the literature on Olympic cities is highly critical of the impact of the games, but the (current) substantial support for London 2012 also needs to be explained. We examine how London has created opportunities for support, and moments and spaces for celebration when political leaders and Londoners can come together around particular representations of themselves and the city.
 - **Schimmel, K.S. 2006. “Deep Play: Sports Mega-Events and Urban Social Conditions in the USA.” *Sociological Review*, Vol. 54, No. 2, pp. 160-174.**
 - o Points out the relationship between sports infrastructure development and urban growth discourses in the contemporary context of globalizing, post-industrial economies (closely associated with the formulation of neoliberal-type competitive “place marketing” strategies amongst cities).

- **Smith, A. and T. Fox. 2007. "From 'Event-led' to 'Event-themed' Regeneration: The 2002 Commonwealth Games Legacy Programme." *Urban Studies*, Vol. 44, Nos. 5/6, pp. 1125-1143.**
 - o Summary: "Hosting large events has long been associated with the physical regeneration of cities. To supplement these 'hard' impacts, cities are now attempting to use events to stimulate 'softer' social and economic regeneration. This paper evaluates the impacts of the Legacy Programme adopted in conjunction with the 2002 Commonwealth Games held in Manchester, UK. Alongside its emphasis on social and economic regeneration, this programme was unusual in that the projects were games-themed, rather than being directly linked to the event. Despite some concerns about the organisational structures employed and the sustainability of impacts, target beneficiaries have received valuable assistance from the programme. Thus it appears that there are valuable lessons that other cities can learn from this example of event-themed regeneration."

3.2 Economic Impact

Several trends are noticeable in literature dealing with the national or regional economic impacts of sports mega-events. It is clear that such events generally fail to deliver the massive economic windfalls predicted by *ex ante* impact assessments, although positive effects are possible in certain economic sectors, especially tourism. (Lee and Taylor [2005] conclude that the 2002 World Cup in South Korea resulted in a national tourism revenue increase of approximately \$700 million.) However, Baade and Matheson (2004) argue that the lower-than-expected economic impact of the 1994 Football World Cup, held in the USA, did not justify the huge event-related investment. Giesecke and Madden (2007) employ a computable general equilibrium model for an *ex post* analysis of the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games, concluding that it "generated a net consumption loss of approximately \$2.1 billion." Wolfgang Maennig (2007) shows that few short-term economic benefits accrued from the 2006 Football World Cup in Germany, despite widespread claims that the event drove an increase in retail business, tourism and employment. Some of the effects in these areas were "partly positive" yet "were not sufficient to have had any overall economic significance" (2007:17; also see Hagn and Maennig [2009] for a discussion of the negligible impact of the 2006 World Cup on employment). In fact, German retail trade suffered a negative impact from the World Cup. Nevertheless Maennig concludes that the 2006 World Cup was "one of the greatest and economically most important events in Germany," primarily due to the "non-use effects" incurred by the public "feel-good factor," as well as improved international perception of the host nation.

Matheson writes of the tendency to use overly-optimistic benefit predictions to motivate local governments to host mega-events:

The most important piece of advice that a local government can take regarding mega-events, however, is simply to view with caution any economic impact estimates provided by entities with an incentive to provide inflated benefit figures. While most sports boosters claim that mega-events provide host cities with large economic returns, these same boosters present these figures as justification for receiving substantial public subsidies for hosting the games. The vast majority of independent academic studies of mega-events show the benefits to be a fraction of those claimed by event organizers. (Matheson 2006:21)

3.2.1 National/Regional

- **Baade, R.A. and V.A. Matheson. 2004. “The Quest for the Cup: Assessing the Economic Impact of the World Cup.” *Regional Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 4, pp. 343-354.**
 - o Abstract: “Hosting the World Cup, the world’s second largest sporting event, is a potentially expensive affair. The cohosts of the 2002 games, Japan and South Korea, spent a combined US\$4 billion building new facilities or refurbishing old facilities in preparation for the event. An *ex post* analysis of the 1994 World Cup held in the US suggests that the economic impact of the event cannot justify this magnitude of expenditures and that host cities experienced cumulative losses of \$5.5 to \$9.3 billion as opposed to *ex ante* estimates of a \$4 billion gain touted by event boosters. Potential hosts should consider with care whether the award of the World Cup is an honour or a burden.”

- **Giesecke, J., and J. Madden. 2007. “The Sydney Olympics, Seven Years On: An Ex-Post Dynamic CGE Assessment.” *General Paper No. G-168*. Melbourne: Centre of Policy Studies, Monash University.**
 - o From the abstract: “In this paper, we undertake an *ex-post* analysis of the Olympics [using a computable general equilibrium (CGE) model]... we find the Sydney Olympics generated a net consumption loss of approximately \$2.1 billion.”

- **Lee, C., and Taylor, T. 2005. “Critical reflections on the economic impact assessment of a mega-event: the case of 2002 FIFA World Cup.” *Tourism Management*, Vol. 26, No. 4, pp. 595-603.**
 - o Abstract: “Sport tourism has received growing attention as a source of generating significant revenue and contributing major economic benefits to host cities, regions, and countries. However, current methods for assessing economic impact have had variable success in estimating tourist numbers and expenditure directly attributable to a sport tourism mega event. This paper reports on the assessment of one such event, the 2002 FIFA World Cup in South Korea, using an estimation method that excluded tourists whose travel was non-event related. The survey research conducted during the event established that 57.7% of total tourist arrivals during the period of the event could be classified as either directly and indirectly attracted by the World Cup. Using this data it was calculated that the World Cup generated an economic impact of US\$1.35 billion of output (sales), US\$307 million of income, and US\$713 million of value added for South Korea. The results also showed that foreign World Cup tourists provided a much higher yield compared with foreign leisure tourists, spending an estimated 1.8 times as much. Inclusion of the expenditure by non-World Cup tourists (42.3%) in the calculations of impact would have resulted in a significant overestimation due to the further multiplication of the expanded figures by an input–output model, misleading the net economic impact of the event. The use of survey data to distinguish event from non-event tourists, and their respective expenditure, clearly illustrates some of the methodological pitfalls associated with forecasting that is simply based on generic tourist data. Furthermore, the data generated by this assessment of net direct expenditure and economic impact using the input–output analysis can be used as a comparison point for other mega sport events. In terms of further research, it is evident that existing models of impact assessment have not adequately conceptualized aversion and diversion effects and this begs the future inclusion of these concepts in economic impact forecasting for mega-events.”

- **Maennig, W. 2007. “One Year Later: A Re-Appraisal of the Economics of the 2006 Soccer World Cup.” IASE/NAASE Working Paper Series, Paper No. 07-25. Hamburg: University of Hamburg. Available at <http://ideas.repec.org/p/spe/wpaper/0723.html>.**
 - o Abstract: “No two ways about it: the soccer World Cup competition in June 2006 in Germany was a great experience, not only for the soccer fans, and it still resonates far and wide. The various commentaries have all concluded that the economic effects were positive. Emphasis has often been placed on increased turnover in the retail trade, overnight accommodation, receipts from tourism and effects on employment. The present study shows that this reasoning is mostly of little value and may even be incorrect. Of more significance, however, are other (measurable) effects such as the novelty effect of the stadiums, the improved image for Germany and the feelgood effect for the population.”
- **Sterken, E. 2006. “Growth Impact of Major Sporting Events.” *European Sport Management Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 4, pp. 375-389.**
 - o Abstract: “In this paper we analyse the impact of organizing major sporting events on economic growth. We present ex-post -cross-country event results for the Summer Olympic Games and the FIFA World Cup. Both descriptive statistics of the relation between the timing of events and economic growth and estimation results of a panel growth model that incorporates both regular growth determinants and the timing of major sports events are presented. We observe that the Summer Olympic Games stimulate per capita GDP (gross domestic product)-growth, while the FIFA World Cup does not.”
- **Szymanski, S. 2002. “The Economic Impact of the World Cup.” *World Economics Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 169-177.**
 - o Abstract: “The World Cup will be the biggest sporting event of 2002, but the Japanese and Korean governments are also hoping that it will be one of the biggest economic events of the year. Impact studies by respected economic research institutes predict a dramatic boost to GDP in both countries. This paper explains how these forecasts are generated and explains the tendency for such forecasts to be over-optimistic. The paper concludes with some policy recommendations for governments and sporting bodies considering hosting such events.”

3.2.2. Urban/Local

Local effects of hosting large sports events and undertaking related urban development vary significantly according to the type of event, its geopolitical context and the approach of the analyst. Several points of agreement are, however, identifiable across the literature. One is that event-related infrastructural investments (transport, stadium, ICT facilities and so on) can have a considerable impact on local property values. Ahlfeldt and Maennig (2007) showed that construction of three sports stadiums in Berlin produced significant elevations of land value. However, effects at the more general urban level, particularly in terms of employment and income levels, are less pronounced. Rosentraub *et al.* (1994) suggest that even well-articulated and institutionalized sports-based policies are “likely to have an inconsequential impact on development and economic growth,” based on their analysis of strategic sports-based urban development in the United States. For the British context Gratton *et al.* argue that “there is a wide variation across sports events in their ability to generate economic impact in the host city” (2000:27). They also suggest that major tournaments such as the Football World

Cup and the Olympic Games have the greatest potential to generate urban economic benefits. In a subsequent article, the same authors write:

In North America, there is increasing questioning over the investment of public money into professional team sports that generate huge profits to their owners and athletes. In Europe, however, economic impact studies over the recent past have shown there to be a small number of major sports events (including the Olympics, the World and European Championships in football) that generate an unequivocal economic benefit to host cities' (2005:997). (Gratton *et al.* 2005)

Such benefits accrue from the effective use of sports mega-events as a “city marketing factor”: clearly exemplified by Barcelona’s hosting of the 1992 Olympic Games (the city moved from 11th to 6th position in the European Cities Monitor from 1990 to 2002). In most cases, however, analysts have found that pre-event expectations of benefit are significantly over-estimated when compared to actual socio-economic outcomes (e.g. Baade and Matheson 2002).

- **Ahlfeldt, G., and Maennig, W. 2007. “Impact of Sports Arenas on Land Values: Evidence from Berlin,” Working Paper Series, Paper No. 07-03. Hamburg: University of Hamburg. Available at <http://ideas.repec.org/p/spe/wpaper/0703.html>.**
 - o Abstract: “This paper develops a hedonic price model explaining standard land values in Berlin. The model assesses the impact of three multifunctional sports arenas situated in Berlin-Prenzlauer Berg which were designed to improve the attractiveness of their formerly deprived neighbourhoods. Empirical results confirm expectations about the impact of various attributes on land values. Sports arenas have significant positive impacts within a radius of about 3000 meters. The patterns of impact vary, indicating that the effective impact depends on how planning authorities address potential countervailing negative externalities.’
- **Baade, R.A., and V. Matheson. 2002. “Bidding for the Olympics: Fools Gold?.” in Barros, C., Ibrahim, M., and Szymanski, S. (eds.) *Transatlantic Sport: The Comparative Economics of North American and European Sports*. London: Edward Elgar.**
 - o Extract: “Governments have spent billions to accommodate the Olympic Games in recent times. While the motivations for hosting the Games are complex, those who seek public funding for them use the promise of substantial economic return to justify public subsidies. Do the Olympic Games represent an extraordinary economic opportunity for nations and cities worthy of significant taxpayer support? The purpose of this chapter is to assess the economic impact of the Olympics and the wisdom of the use of public funds to support them. Particular attention is focused on the Summer Olympic Games in Los Angeles in 1984 and Atlanta in 1996. The evidence gleaned from the experience of these two cities indicates that the economic impact was more modest than that projected by those promoting the event in those cities.”
- **Gratton, C., Dobson, N., and Shibli, S. 2000. “The economic importance of major sports events: a case study of six events,” *Managing Leisure*, 5, pp. 17-28.**
 - o Abstract: “This paper reports the results of an economic impact assessment of six major sports events held in the UK in 1997. Major sports events are now regarded by many cities as a

significant part of their tourism strategy. However, staging a major sports event normally involves the host city making a contribution to the costs. Whether such a contribution is justified depends on the economic benefits generated in the local economy. The results reported in this paper indicate the wide variability in such benefits as well as the difficulty sometimes encountered in predicting what these benefits will be prior to the staging of the event. An attempt is made to develop a typology of major sports events in terms of their potential to generate significant economic impact.⁷

- **Gratton, C., S. Shibli, and R. Coleman. 2005. "Sport and Economic Regeneration in Cities." *Urban Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 5/6, pp. 985-999.**
 - o Summary: "Investment in sporting infrastructure in cities over the past 20 years was not primarily aimed at getting the local community involved in sport, but was instead aimed at attracting tourists, encouraging inward investment and changing the image of the city. The first example of this new strategy was seen in Sheffield with the investment of £147 million in sporting facilities to host the World Student Games of 1991. More recently, Manchester spent over £200 million on sporting venues in order to host the 2002 Commonwealth Games, with a further £470 million expenditure on other non-sport infrastructure investment in Sportcity in east Manchester. In the British context, most of the cities following this strategy of using sport for economic regeneration have been industrial cities, not normally known as major tourist destinations. The drivers of such policies were the need for a new image and new employment opportunities caused by the loss of their conventional industrial base. This article analyses the justification for such investments in sport in cities and assesses the evidence for the success of such strategies."

- **Gratton, C., S. Shibli and R. Coleman. 2006. "The economic impact of major sports events: a review of ten events in the UK." *Sociological Review*, Vol. 54, No. 2, pp. 41-58.**
 - o From the Introduction: "This chapter looks at ten major sports events, all World or European Championships hosted by UK cities over recent years, all of which have been studied by the current authors. The difference from the North American situation is that these events move around from city to city in response to bids from potential host cities and in all ten cases did not require specific capital infrastructure investment to be staged but rather were staged in existing facilities. Before we look at these events, however, we briefly review the literature on the economic importance of major sports events."

- **Rosentraub, R.S., D. Swindell, M. Pryzybylski and D.R. Mullins. 1994. "Sport And Downtown Development Strategy: If You Build It, Will Jobs Come?" *Journal of Urban Affairs*, Vol. 16 No. 3, pp. 221-239.**
 - o Abstract: "Many policy analysts have cautioned against public spending for professional and amateur sports. Within the last year, numerous cities have received demands from major and minor league teams for investments. These investments by the public sector can involve hundreds of millions of dollars and are usually defended by the economic impact of the facilities or teams and the economic development and revitalization which will follow. Indianapolis formulated an economic development strategy which relied substantially on sports. In addition, its development policies did not involve one team or facility, but a series of investments. As a result, the policies followed in Indianapolis afford an opportunity to measure the ability of sport facilities to encourage other investments and enhance economic development. The results reported here

indicate that a sports strategy, even one as pronounced and as articulated as that of Indianapolis, is likely to have an inconsequential impact on development and economic growth.”

3.2.3 Multi-Level Analyses

- **Kirkup, N. and B. Major. 2006. “Doctoral Foundation Paper: The Reliability of Economic Impact Studies of the Olympic Games: A Post-Games Study of Sydney 2000 and Considerations for London 2012.” *Journal of Sport and Tourism*, Vol. 11, Nos. 3/4, pp. 275-296.**
 - o Abstract: “This paper examines evidence derived from a case study of Sydney 2000 – which could be usefully considered in the planning of London 2012 – in estimating the economic impacts of the Olympic Games. Previous studies have utilised Input–Output models to estimate the impacts of the Games, although recent criticism of this approach has, however, led to the use of Computable General Equilibrium Models. Both models have been applied in estimating the impacts of Sydney 2000. Examining pre-Games impacts and contrasting them with post-Games results, this study reveals significant differences. This suggests the need for more rigorous and standardised industry methods to reduce discrepancies. Moreover, inadequate attention and an underestimation of importance is paid to what could be the most important period of all, the post-Games period and there is an overall lack of understanding of the behaviour patterns of Olympic tourists. The findings of this study highlight some important considerations for those involved in making London 2012 a tourism success.”
- **Matheson, V.A. 2006. “Mega-Events: The Effect of the World’s Biggest Sporting Events on Local, Regional, and National Economies.” *Faculty Research Series Paper No. 06-10. Worcester (MA): College of the Holy Cross, Department of Economics. Available at <http://ideas.repec.org/p/hcx/wpaper/0610.html>.***
 - o Abstract: “This paper provides an overview of the economics of sports mega-events as well as review of the existing literature in the field. The paper describes why boosters’ ex ante estimates of the economic impact of large sporting events tend to exaggerate the net economic benefits of these events and surveys the results of a large number of ex post studies of exploring the true impact of mega-events.”
 - o Extracts from the conclusion: “While sports boosters routinely claim large benefits from hosting mega-events, the overwhelming majority of independent academic studies of these events have shown that their economic impact appears to be limited. While the gross impact of these huge games and tournaments is undoubted large, attracting tens or hundreds of thousands of live spectators as well as television audiences that can reach the billions, the net impact of mega-events on real economic variables such as taxable sales, employment, personal income, and per capita personal income in host cities is negligible... [W]hile academic economists are nearly universal in their criticism that specialized sports infrastructure does little to promote economic growth, mega-events often spur spending on non-sports related infrastructure that may provide for future economic development. Only a fraction of Beijing’s \$22 billion in infrastructure improvements planned for the 2008 Summer Olympics will be spent on sports facilities, for example. A mega-event may prompt otherwise reluctant public officials into making needed improvements in general infrastructure...” (2006:19).

- **Teigland, J. 1999. “Mega-events and Impacts on Tourism; The Predictions and Realities of the Lillehammer Olympics.” *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, Vol. 17, No. 4, pp. 305-317.**
 - o Abstract: “After hosting the 1994 Winter Olympics, the Norwegian national and local authorities expected a “big boom’ in tourism; the actual effects have been less than, and different from, the predictions, and 40% of the fullservice hotels in Lillehammer have gone bankrupt. This paper compares ex ante theories and predictions with the ex post reality. Reference areas and time series analysis are used to clarify the counterfactual and internal validity. International comparisons among Olympic hosts identify general patterns. The aim is to help planners of megaevents and other rare projects to improve their forecasting and decisions. Ex post studies can improve the quality of future ex ante impact assessment of unique projects, but it is important to clarify partial, interaction and cumulative effects. Also, much more careful market and cost–benefit studies are needed.”

3.2.4 Employment/Income Effects

The articles presented below collectively argue that the hosting of mega-events has failed to produce a clear effect on either employment or wage levels. This is true historically, as in the cases of the 1974 World Cup (Hagn and Maennig 2008) and the 1972 Munich Olympics (Jasmand and Maennig 2008), as well as recently with the 2006 World Cup (Feddersen *et al.*, 2009; Hagn and Maennig 2009) and the 1996 Atlanta Olympic Games (Hotchkiss *et al.* 2003).

- **Feddersen, A., A.L. Grotzinger and W. Maennig. 2009. “Investment in Stadia and Regional Economic Development – Evidence from FIFA World Cup 2006.” *International Journal of Sport Finance*, 4, pp. 221-239.**
 - o Abstract: “Using the case of the new stadiums for the FIFA World Cup 2006 in Germany, this paper is the first multivariate work of new stadiums outside of the USA. This study is also the first work on this topic that conducts tests on the basis of a (serial correlation consistent) Difference-in-Difference model with level and trends. As a robustness check, we use the ‘ignoring time series information’ model in a form that is modified for nonsynchronous interventions. We were not able to identify income or employment effects of the construction of new stadiums for the FIFA World Cup 2006, which are significantly different from zero.”
- **Hagn, F. and W. Maennig. 2008. “Employment effects of the Football World Cup 1974 in Germany.” *Labour Economics*, Vol. 15, No. 5, pp. 1062-1075.**
 - o Abstract: “This study demonstrates that the Football World Cup 1974 in Germany was not able to generate any medium to long-term employment effects that were significantly different from zero. It is the first work to examine the employment effects of Football World Cup tournaments. It is also the first work to undertake a multivariate analysis of the employment effects of a major sporting event outside of the USA. In addition, this study does not arbitrarily determine the time period for the potential positive effects of a major sporting event but instead examines several alternative periods. Furthermore, the study tests for method sensitivity by analysing the data set in parallel with the approaches used in the studies of sporting events in the USA as well as in a fourth modifying estimation approach. In contrast to the conclusions reached in comparable studies, the results are not regarded as a clear refutation of the positive effects of major sporting events.”

- **Hagn, F. and W. Maennig. 2009. “Large sport events and unemployment: the case of the 2006 soccer World Cup in Germany.” *Applied Economics*, Vol. 41, No. 25, pp. 3295-3302.**
 - o Abstract: “This study analyses on the basis of a multivariate analysis ex post the effects on the jobs market of a soccer World Cup, in this case the 2006 World Cup held in Germany. In addition to three methods already used for other analyses in studies of sporting events, an extended ‘Difference-in-Difference’ estimate is used in order to compare the development of the numbers of unemployed in the 12 World Cup venues with the development of the numbers of unemployed in 63 other German cities. The results demonstrate that in none of the respective match venues did the effect of the sporting event on unemployment differ significantly from zero.”

- **Hotchkiss, J.K., R.E. Moore, and S.M. Zobay. 2003. “Impact of the 1996 Summer Olympic Games on Employment and Wages in Georgia.” *Southern Economic Journal*, Vol. 69, No. 3, pp. 691-704.**
 - o Abstract: “Using a standard differences-in-differences (DD) technique and a modified DD technique in the slopes, this paper determines that hosting the 1996 Summer Olympic Games boosted employment by 17% in the counties of Georgia affiliated with and close to Olympic activity, relative to employment increases in other counties in Georgia (the rate of growth increased 0.002 percentage points per quarter). Estimation of a random-growth model confirms a positive impact of the Olympics on employment. In addition, the employment impact is shown not to be merely a ‘metropolitan statistical area (MSA) effect’; employment in the northern Olympic venue areas was found to increase 11% more post- versus pre-Olympics than it did in other, similar southern MSAs. The evidence of an Olympic impact on wages is weak.”

- **Jasmand, S., and W. Maennig. 2008. “Regional Income and Employment Effects of the 1972 Munich Summer Olympic Games.” *Regional Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 7, pp. 991-1002.**
 - o Abstract: “Regional income and employment effects of the 1972 Munich Summer Olympic Games, *Regional Studies*. Olympic Games may have impacts on income and employment in the host city, but no ex-post study has been carried out for European Olympic host cities to date. The present study closes this gap by using the 1972 Munich Summer Olympic Games. The data period examined in this study allows for analysis of long-term effects. In addition, the methodology avoids overestimating the significance of the effects. Finally, results are reported for all possible combinations of pre- and post-Olympic periods. The results were that income in Olympic regions grew significantly faster than in other German regions but, in contrast, no employment effects were identified.”

3.2.5 Overestimation of Benefits and Approaches to Economic Impact Assessment

The tendency for pre-event impact assessments to produce considerably over-estimated figures has been mentioned previously. Occasionally authors have interpreted this trend as being a primarily methodological error. Matheson (2004) for example, argues that inappropriate multipliers are a major cause of exaggerated predictions – a multiplier is an indicator of the direct and indirect economic benefits expected to accrue to a region from a particular event. Such issues fall within the larger academic debate relating to the accuracy of various approaches to impact assessment, to which the following articles contribute:

- **Crompton, J.L. 1995. “Economic Impact Analysis of Sports Facilities and Events: Eleven Sources of Misapplication,” *Journal of Sport Management*, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 14-35.**
 - o Abstract: “Many sports events, facilities, and franchises are subsidized either directly or indirectly by investments from public sector funds. The scarcity of tax dollars has led to growing public scrutiny of their allocation; in this environment there is likely to be an increased use of economic impact analysis to support public subsidy of these events. Many of these analyses report inaccurate results. In this paper, 11 major contributors to the inaccuracy are presented and discussed. They include the following: using sales instead of household income multipliers; misrepresenting employment multipliers; using incremental instead of normal multiplier coefficients [sic]; failing to accurately define the impacted area; including local spectators; failing to exclude ‘time-switchers’ and ‘casuals’, using ‘fudged’ multiplier coefficients [sic]; claiming total instead of marginal economic benefits; confusing turnover and multiplier; omitting opportunity costs; and measuring only benefits while omitting costs.”

- **Hiller, H.H. 1998. “Assessing the Impact of Mega-Events: A Linkage Model,” *Current Issues in Tourism*, 1(1), pp. 47-57.**
 - o Abstract: “Mega-events are usually assessed in terms of the economic impact of the event itself with little attention given to the event as part of a broader process that can be investigated longitudinally. An adapted political economy model is proposed (because the mega-event is seen as essentially an economic initiative) that distinguishes three kinds of linkages. Forward linkages refer to the effects caused by the event itself. Backward linkages refer to the powerful background objectives which justify or rationalise the event. Parallel linkages are side-effects which are residual to the event itself and not directly under the control of event organisers. This longitudinal approach also distinguishes between pre-event, event and post-event impacts so that unintended and unanticipated consequences can be identified. The model is applied to the issue of displacement as a parallel linkage and to other issues of housing and impacts on neighboring communities to the mega-event site. It is concluded that impact assessment ought to be part of every mega-event plan and that impact equity and a mitigation plan to control adverse affects ought to be in place.”

- **Kasimati, E. 2003. “Economic aspects and the Summer Olympics: A Review of Related Research.” *International Journal of Tourism Research*, Vol. 5, No. 6, pp. 433-444.**
 - o Abstract: “As the Summer Olympics are growing with larger media coverage and sponsorship, host cities have started to attach great importance to the tourism and other likely economic effects that occur by staging such a special event. As a result, a number of studies have been conducted to consider the various economic implications on the hosts. This paper examines and evaluates methods and assumptions used by the economic studies. It also compares ex-ante models and forecasts with the ex-post approach. The aim is to improve the information available to policy makers and potential future hosts of Summer Olympics and other megaevents.”

- **Matheson, V.A. 2002. “Upon Further Review: An Examination of Sporting Event Economic Impact Studies.” *The Sport Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 1-4.**
 - o Extract from Conclusion: “There are theoretical reasons to believe that economic impact studies of large sporting events may overstate those events’ true impact. In addition, evidence suggests that in practice the ex ante estimates of economic benefits far exceed the ex post observed

economic development of communities that host mega-sporting events or stadium construction. The best recommendation is simply for cities to view with extreme caution any economic impact estimates provided by sports franchises, sponsoring leagues, or event-organizing committees.”

- **Matheson, V.A. 2004. “Economic Multipliers and Mega-Event Analysis.” Working Paper No. 04-02. Worcester, MA: Department of Economics, College of the Holy Cross. Available at <http://ideas.repec.org/p/hcx/wpaper/0402.html>.**
 - o Abstract: “Critics of economic impact studies that purport to show that mega-events such as the Olympics bring large benefits to the communities “lucky” enough to host them frequently cite the use of inappropriate multipliers as a primary reason why these impact studies overstate the true economic gains to the hosts of these events. This brief paper shows in a numerical example how mega-events may lead to inflated multipliers and exaggerated claims of economic benefits.”
- **Owen, J.G. 2005. “Estimating the Cost and Benefit of Hosting Olympic Games: What Can Beijing Expect from Its 2008 Games?.” *The Industrial Geographer*, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 1-18.**
 - o Abstract: “Cities who host the Olympic Games must commit to significant investments in sports venues and other infrastructure. It is commonly assumed that the scale of such an event and the scale of the preparation for it will create large and lasting economic benefits to the host city. Economic impact studies confirm these expectations by forecasting economic benefits in the billions of dollars. Unfortunately these studies are filled with misapplications of economic theory that virtually guarantee their projections will be large. Ex-post studies have consistently found no evidence of positive economic impacts from mega-sporting events even remotely approaching the estimates in economic impact studies. For the 2008 Summer Olympic Games in Beijing, it appears China will take these massive investments in venues and infrastructure to a new level. If organizers of the Beijing Games base their expectations on economic impact studies from previous Olympics, they are sure to be disappointed. The potential for long term economic benefits from the Beijing Games will depend critically on how well Olympics related investments in venues and infrastructure can be incorporated into the overall economy in the years following the Games.”

3.3 Social Impact

3.3.1 Image, Perception, Identity

Mega-events are commonly touted as important drivers of tourism activity, not only within host cities but also in their surroundings regions. As succinctly noted by Lee *et al.*, “[t]here is intense competition to host sports mega-events as cities and countries perceive that doing so will enhance their global image and make the destination more attractive to future tourists” (2005:233). Survey-based studies have shown that international tourist perceptions may change favourably towards tournament hosts, as in the case of post-World Cup South Korea (Kim and Morrison 2005).

Manzenreiter (2006) adopts a different approach – seeking to understand how sport-spectacle is tied up with particular efforts (e.g. the wearing of uniforms) to project and reinforce certain ideas of identity and belonging (in the case of Japan during the 2002 Football World Cup). Manzenreiter’s

approach is closer to that of Marviolet's (2006) study of the hosting of the European Football Championships in Portugal. Both authors provide insight into how the global attention afforded to mega-events creates a symbolic stage upon which marketable, and socially contested, signs of national culture and identity are performed.

- **Kim, S.S. and A.M. Morrison. 2005. "Change of Images of South Korea among Foreign Tourists after the 2002 FIFA World Cup." *Tourism Management*, Vol. 26, No. 2, pp. 233-247.**
 - o Abstract: "This research empirically examined changes in the images of Korea over two points in time among Japanese, Mainland Chinese and US visitors to South Korea. Between October 4 and November 10, 2002, about 3–4 months after the 2002 World Cup ended, 223 tourists from Japan, 143 from Mainland China and 173 from the US completed the survey instrument. According to the results of paired t-tests, the visitors from all three countries had more positive images after than before the World Cup. The findings from the ANCOVA tests indicated that the image changes due to the World Cup were different among the three nationalities. The correspondence analyses results also showed that the image changes after the World Cup varied according to nationality, educational level, age and occupation. Collectively, the study suggests that an internationally significant event can change the image of a tourism destination in a short time period."

- **Lee, C., T. Taylor, Y. Lee, and B. Lee. 2005. "The Impact of a Sport Mega-Event on Destination Image: The Case of the 2002 FIFA World Cup Korea/Japan." *International Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Administration*, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 27-45.**
 - o Abstract: "There is intense competition to host sports mega-events as cities and countries perceive that doing so will enhance their global image and make the destination more attractive to future tourists. Is there empirical evidence to prove that hosting a mega sport event really does stimulate international visitation and enhance the destination's image? In this paper we investigate this question in relation to the 2002 FIFA World Cup, co-hosted by South Korea and Japan. To this end, 412 foreign tourists were surveyed during the World Cup about their image of South Korea. Differences in demographics, motive and perceptions between tourists travelling specifically for the World Cup, and those coming to South Korea for non-World Cup-related reasons, are noted. The study provides a baseline dataset from which future research on megasports events can build."

- **Manzenreiter, W. 2006. "Sport Spectacles, Uniformities and the Search for Identity in Late Modern Japan." *Sociological Review*, Vol. 54, No. 2, pp. 144-159.**
 - o Extract from the Introduction: "I argue that the spectacular within sports mega-events changes in line with its historic constellations and its participants. Rendering the World Cup as sports spectacle thus demands paying attention equally to the political economy and the performative nature of the sports mega-event. Uniforms and uniformity are well suited to illustrate this duality because the specific cultural phenomenon revealing the unitary appearance attaches special meaning to the body, which, being both a signifier of things beyond imagination and a consciously employed medium of communication, is located at the interface of social structures and the individual's desire for identity. These reflections about the body in uniform will be further elaborated in the next section. Later parts will explore the heuristic potential of the spectacle for social analysis while looking at the body in uniform and emergent uniformities at

the 2002 Football World Cup. My final remarks will reflect on the relationship between uniforms, the spectacle and everyday life in late modernity.”

- **Marivoet, S. 2006. “UEFA Euro 2004™ Portugal: The Social Construction of a Sports Mega-Event and Spectacle,” *Sociological Review*, Vol. 54, No. 2, pp. 127-143.**
 - o Extract from Conclusion: “The research carried out into the social construction of the 2004 European Championship has led us to conclude that large-scale football events are today complex phenomena that reveal the potential of sport in late modernity for the reassessment and re-dimensioning of national identities, through the introduction of space-times in which these can be played out and the revalidation of the importance of the symbolic in the existential expression of societies on the global scene” (p. 140).

3.3.2 Studies of Local Perceptions

Growing awareness of the social construction of large sports projects has resulted in various studies of how local inhabitants perceive the event and its expected outcomes (Kim *et al.* 2005; Kim *et al.* 2006; Waitt 2003). Findings suggest that particular demographic groups tend to have differing perceptions, and that generally, the way residents feel towards the event may change over time.

- **Kim, S.S., and J.F. Petrick. 2005. “Residents’ Perceptions on Impacts of the FIFA 2002 World Cup: The Case of Seoul as a Host City.” *Tourism Management*, Vol. 26, No. 1, pp. 25-38.**
 - o Abstract: “This study empirically investigated residents’ perceptions on impacts of the 2002 World Cup that was held in Korea and Japan. Factor analysis of 22 positive impact items produced five dimensions and factor analysis of nine negative impact items produced three dimensions. Results revealed that housewives tended to perceive the impacts of the soccer event more positively than other occupation groups. In a comparison of residents’ opinions and perceptions on impacts over two points in time, respondents showed a decrease of mean values on two residents’ opinion items and one positive impact item, and an increase in one negative impact item. Thus, the results indicated that attitudes towards the event are likely to be modifiable with passage of time.”
- **Kim, H.J., D. Gursoy, and S. Lee. 2006. “The impact of the 2002 World Cup on South Korea: comparisons of pre- and post-games.” *Tourism Management*, 27, pp. 86-96.**
 - o Abstract: “The purposes of this study were (1) to examine the South Korean residents’ perceptions of the impacts of the 2002 World Cup Games on their communities before and after the games and (2) to compare any perceptual differences between the two time periods. Using the data collected prior to the 2002 World Cup Games, an exploratory factor analysis was performed to identify perceived impact dimensions. These identified dimensions were validated with the data collected after the games. MANOVA and a series of ANOVA tests were performed to analyze the differences in perceptions before and after the games. Significant differences were found in every dimension: benefits of cultural exchange, social problems, economic benefits, natural resources and cultural development, traffic congestions and pollution, price increase, and construction costs. The findings of this study can be used as valuable information for future sports mega-events organizing/governing bodies.”

- **Waitt, G. 2003. “The Social Impacts of the Sydney Olympics.” *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 30, No. 1, pp. 194-215.**
 - o Abstract: “This paper, drawing on social exchange theory, examines the changes in enthusiasm between 1998 and 2000 towards Sydney’s Olympics among a socially diverse sample of host city residents. In particular, it studies variables that differentiate respondents’ altering attitude. Results suggest that for the majority the reaction to Sydney’s Olympics intensified from 1998, reaching euphoria in September 2000. Elation was particularly evident among those living in the city’s western suburbs, those with dependent children, those from non-English backgrounds, or who perceived the event’s wider economic benefits as outweighing personal costs. Implications arising from this project are considered for future researchers and organizers of hallmark events.”

3.3.3 Human Rights and Civil Liberties

Extensive work on the infringement of housing rights in host cities has been carried out by the international NGO Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (see the COHRE reports 2007a, 2007b and 2008b). COHRE has dedicated a research project to the topic, resulting in the production of a number of Olympic Cities background papers (COHRE 2007b-g) which focus on housing dynamics associated with a number of Olympic Games, as far back as Seoul 1988. All these report similar results: evicted families; displacement of low-income communities; slum clearances; the elevation of property values beyond local residential means; and so on (also see Cox 1999; and Greene 2003). These individual reports were used to create the *Fair Play for Housing Rights* report (COHRE, 2007a), an informative report that makes a strong case for placing housing issues at the centre of debates over the potential impact of mega-events. Other useful resources are the presentations from a COHRE Expert workshop on Protecting and Promoting Housing Rights in the Context of Mega Events, held in Geneva (14-15 June 2007, available at http://www.cohre.org/view_page.php?page_id=269).

Other authors have pointed out that sports mega-events often affect human rights more generally. Broudehoux (2007) suggests that planning for the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games undermined principles of spatial justice: “(b)y concentrating capital in certain sectors of the city, while depriving others of investments, Olympic redevelopment exacerbated preexisting socio-spatial polarization, further disenfranchising Beijing’s new poor while allowing its new rich to expand their control over the urban core” (2007:393). Such observations point to an important dynamic of mega-events: they effectively enable a range of urban interventions to be easily justified in the name of an imagined (economic, infrastructural and sociopsychological) “legacy,” which often seriously affect the livelihood of the urban poor. Megaevents allow the “corporate rights” of sports-media-business alliances to trump the rights of urban inhabitants, including their right to use and produce urban space in an egalitarian manner. As such, mega-events consistently undermine those human rights which they are purported to promote.

Black and Bezanson (2004) assess a common assumption that such events are a platform for liberalization, largely due to their accompanying international media scrutiny and political pressure. They conclude that the Beijing Olympics provided the “possibility of stimulating a fruitful, dialogic, and progressive exchange on rights issues” between China and other members of the United Nations (2004:1245). Van der Merwe and van der Westhuizen (2007) directly critique the oft-assumed

liberalising potential of mega-events, concluding that Zimbabwe's co-hosting of the 2003 Cricket World Cup did more to entrench the ZanuPF regime (and its particular brand of racially-charged firebrand discursive politics) than to encourage human rights observance.

Several references listed here adopt an advocacy approach and are resolutely critical of mega-events; the work of Lenskyj (2004, 2008) being an example.

- **Black, D.R. and S. Bezanson. 2004. "The Olympic Games, Human Rights and Democratisation: Lessons from Seoul and Implications for Beijing." *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 7, pp. 1245-1261.**
 - o Abstract: "The experience of the Seoul Olympics in 1988 has led major games boosters to boldly assert their liberalising potential, especially in the context of the Beijing Games of 2008. This paper examines whether in the post-Cold War and post-9/11 eras, there is a sound basis for such arguments. It begins by re-examining the lessons of the Seoul Olympics to clarify the Games' contribution to the democratisation of Korea, as catalyst though not cause. It then assesses the applicability of the lessons of Seoul to Beijing given the different contexts of their 'Olympic journeys'. Finally, based on this comparison it considers the ways in which the 2008 Games may affect prospects for human rights improvements and political liberalisation in the People's Republic of China. While the outcomes of this process are likely to be quite different from the western-style liberal democratisation that occurred in South Korea, the process of engagement between 21st Century China and 21st Century Olympism holds the possibility of stimulating a fruitful, dialogic, and progressive exchange on rights issues."
- **Broudehoux, A. 2007. "Spectacular Beijing: The Conspicuous Construction of an Olympic Metropolis." *Journal of Urban Affairs*, Vol. 29, No. 4, pp. 383-399.**
 - o Abstract: "This article presents a critical review of Beijing's Olympic redevelopment, and of the social, economic, and political impacts of hosting mega events as a means of urban image construction. Through an analysis of Olympic projects, city marketing initiatives, and their impact on the city's material and cultural landscape, this article postulates that Beijing's spatial restructuring and image construction program played an important role in exacerbating the profound inequalities that have come to epitomize China's transition to capitalism within an autocratic political system. Acting as a developmental engine legitimating large-scale urban transformations, the Olympics have helped concentrate economic and political power in the hands of a coalition of government leaders and private investors and allowed their interests to dominate the planning agenda. Beijing's spectacular Olympic preparations have in many ways acted as a propaganda tool and an instrument of pacification to divert popular attention from the shortcomings of China's rapid economic transformation, accompanied by rampant land speculation, corruption, and uneven development."
 - o Broudehoux mentions several ways in which the lives of Beijing's poor have been seriously affected by the Olympic Games. Firstly, "China's paradoxical status as a market economy led by an authoritarian state thus facilitated the demolition of entire city neighborhoods and mass eviction of residents for the Olympics" (2007:389). In cases where residents were not easily coerced into moving, they were forcibly removed by "eviction squads" adopting tactics ranging from physical violence to the disconnection of utilities and the intentional damage of marked houses. The increased property values as a result of Olympic redevelopment have effectively excluded the poor from living within the urban centre. Migrant construction workers have

also suffered ruthless exploitation via the withholding of (miserly) wages and the denial of full citizenship rights. Members of the working poor were also the target of disciplinary technologies (“civilization campaigns”) designed to produce tourist-friendly, “modern” Chinese subjects – interventions which effectively denied their ability to use and produce urban space in an unconstrained fashion.

- **COHRE. 2007a. *Fair Play for Housing Rights*. Geneva: Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions. Available at <http://www.ruig-gian.org/ressources/Report%20Fair%20Play%20FINAL%20FINAL%20070531.pdf>.**
 - o Extract from Executive Summary: “News reports and anecdotal evidence have long indicated that, in addition to the positive effects that the Olympic Games and other mega-events can have on an urban space, they can also diminish the enjoyment of housing rights. Poor and homeless people, marginalised ethnic minorities, or simply those in the way of development related to the mega-event, have been forced from their homes or living spaces – or even forced from the city. Often the net impact of hosting the Olympic Games or similar mega-events is to permanently place housing beyond the financial means of a significant segment of society. To date, however, this aspect of Olympic development has not been systematically documented. This report – the result of three years of intensive research by the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) and partners – is an effort to fill this gap... COHRE’s report demonstrates that the link between mega-events and adverse housing impacts is so clear and so consistent that housing concerns can no longer be ignored when these events are planned and staged. Housing concerns must be fully integrated into all aspects of the deliberations and preparations associated with staging mega-events.”
- **COHRE. 2007b. “Atlanta’s Olympic Legacy.” Geneva: Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions. Available at http://www.ruig-gian.org/ressources/Atlanta_background_paper.pdf.**
- **COHRE. 2007c. “Barcelona 1992: International Events and Housing Rights: A Focus on the Olympic Games.” Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions. Available at http://www.cohre.org/view_page.php?page_id=263.**
- **COHRE. 2007d. “Housing, Evictions and the Seoul 1988 Summer Olympic Games.” Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions. Available at http://www.ruig-gian.org/ressources/Barcelona_background_paper.pdf.**
- **COHRE. 2007e. “The Impacts of the Sydney Olympic Games on Housing Rights.” Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions. Available at http://www.ruig-gian.org/ressources/Sydney_background_paper.pdf.**
- **COHRE. 2007f. “The Housing Impact of the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens.” Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions. Available at http://www.ruig-gian.org/ressources/Athens_background_paper.pdf.**
- **COHRE. 2007g. “Hosting the 2012 Olympic Games: London’s Olympic Preparations and Housing Rights Concerns.” Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions. Available at http://www.cohre.org/view_page.php?page_id=263.**

- **COHRE. 2008b. “One World, Whose Dream? Housing Rights Violations and the Beijing Olympic Games.” Geneva: Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions. Available at https://www.crin.org/en/docs/One_World_Whose_Dream_July08%5B1%5D.pdf.**

From the Introduction: “With the 2008 Summer Olympics quickly approaching, Beijing has shifted into overdrive for the preparations as a steady flow of media and civil society reports have emerged on the ongoing evictions and harassment of housing rights activists. COHRE has undertaken its own fact-finding mission to provide an updated report following on Fair Play for Housing Rights. This report serves as a specific resource on housing rights and the Beijing Olympic Games and goes into more depth on the systemic, long-term concerns for housing rights in China that the Olympic Games preparations have highlighted as problems, in addition to providing recommendations to the International Olympic Movement based on COHRE’s ongoing advocacy with the International Olympic Committee.”

- **Cox, G. 1999. *Ready, Set, Go: Housing, Homelessness and the 2000 Olympics*. Sydney: Shelter New South Wales.**
 - o Abstract not available.
- **Cox, G., M. Darcy and M. Bounds. 1994. *The Olympics and Housing: A Study of Six International Events and Analysis of the Potential Impacts of the Sydney 2000 Olympics*. Campbelltown, New South Wales: University of Western Sydney and Shelter New South Wales.**
 - o Abstract not available.
- **Giulianotti, R. and D. McArdle. 2007. *Sport, Civil Liberties and Human Rights*. Routledge.**
 - o Blurb: “What is the relationship between sport and human rights? Can sport protect and enhance the human rights of competitors and sport workers? Can it also undermine those rights? These topical issues are among the many that are explored in this groundbreaking volume which analyzes how sports both contribute to, and undermine the human rights of participants, spectators and workers. The papers are written by esteemed academics whose work is at the cutting-edge of this burgeoning area of study. Experts from around the world have contributed to this important work, and examine controversial issues such as:
 - sexual harassment
 - racism
 - freedom of movement
 - sport as popular protest.
- **Greene, S.J. 2003. “Staged Cities: Mega-Events, Slum Clearance, and Global Capital.” *Yale Human Rights and Development Law Journal*, 6, pp. 161-187.**
 - o Provides a general reflection on the role of mega-events in the global political economy. Uses a case study of the 1988 Seoul Olympics to illustrate how mega-events are often implicated in the redevelopment of housing stock, to the disadvantage of original residents. Also undertakes a comparative analysis of Seoul with Santo Domingo and the 500th Anniversary of the Columbus Voyage. Notes that evictions associated with both events resulted in the disruption of social networks and informal economies (including street vending).

- **Lenskyj, H.J. 2004. "The Olympic Industry and Civil Liberties: The Threat to Free Speech and Freedom of Assembly." *Sport in Society*, Vol. 7, No. 3, pp. 370-384.**
 - o Abstract not available.

- **Lenskyj, H.J. 2008. *Olympic Industry Resistance: Challenging Olympic Power and Propaganda*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.**
 - o Review by John Harris (available at <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/13/6/reviews/harris.html>):
 - o "This book is a critique of the Olympic industry and the threats posed by it to the civil rights and freedoms of residents of cities bidding to host the games... Part I of the text is entitled 'Olympic Impacts and Community Resistance'. Over the course of the ensuing three chapters the author highlights some of the most pressing issues to consider in relation to the impact that this global mega-event can have in a range of different places. Chapter 2 looks at rights and freedoms. The pressure upon the media to (re)present certain images of the Olympics is discussed as is the ways in which parts of the media actively collude in promoting selected images of the event. Chapter 3 looks at the recent bids of five different cities and powerfully conveys the impacts that bidding for, and/or hosting, the games can have on low-income and homeless people in particular... Part II of the text, 'Olympic Education', provides insights into a range of issues including the perceived obesity epidemic, sport as a mode of social inclusion, and the gendered dynamics of the contemporary world of sport. Chapter 5 on education through Olympic sport is perhaps the most interesting chapter of this section in that it highlights the many ways that athletes are involved in promoting the Olympic ideal. Lenskyj's main critique is that in endorsing various Olympics related products and schemes the athlete's may 'risk entrenching the sexism, racism, and other discriminatory systems that they may be hoping to challenge' (p. 77). Chapter 6 looks at how corporate sponsors of the Olympics use education initiatives as a means of establishing brand loyalty amongst children. Chapter 7 seems to move a little away from the earlier focus with a discussion of the nude calendar phenomenon and the sexualisation of the female athlete... The final chapter of the text (Chapter 8) considers social responsibility as a fourth pillar of the Olympic movement... Overall this is an informative book and one that offers some interesting critiques of the Olympic movement and what it is supposed to stand for. Given the author's own personal biography, highlighted at the beginning of the text, there is a greater focus on Olympic protest in Canada than other parts of the world, although Lenskyj does draw upon a number of examples from across the globe. Drawing upon a range of scholarly works and numerous media sources the text is a most welcome addition to the literature on the place of the Olympics in contemporary society. At the very least it should make every reader consider just what the Olympics are meant to represent."

- **van der Merwe, J. and J. van der Westhuizen. 2007. "The 2003 Cricket World Cup and its Implications for Identity Formation and Democracy in Zimbabwe." *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Vol. 45, No. 3, pp. 345-366.**
 - o Abstract: "Sports mega-events have the potential to provide a focal point for strengthening national unity and reinforcing national identity. They are also said to be able to provide a catalyst for democratisation and an incentive for human rights observance if hosted by authoritarian or democratically weak regimes. However, the outcomes for host nations are not always pre-determinable. An analysis of South Africa and Zimbabwe's co-hosting of the 2003 Cricket World Cup illustrates this point. A racially charged discourse informed much of the exchanges

about Zimbabwe's co-host status, both transnationally within the racial and ethnic contours of the cricket-playing Commonwealth and domestically within the host nations. Instead of the event having a generally liberalising effect on Zimbabwean politics it ultimately aided in further entrenching the regime."

3.3.4 Effects on Street Traders

Very few studies have taken a detailed interest in the various ways in which informal traders have been affected by the staging of sports events, although it is commonly suggested that such traders face displacement and more stringent regulation, as organizing officials seek to "beautify" their urban environments prior to the influx of tourists.

- **Bhowmik, S.K. 2005. "Street Vendors in Asia: A Review." *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 28-June 4, pp. 2256-2264.**
 - o Abstract: "This paper attempts to examine recent research done on street vendors in Asia with the aim of assessing the magnitude of street vending in different countries and the composition of the vendors. Further, it collates information on the extent of unionisation of the vendors and other organisations, such as non-government organisations (NGOs), self-help organisations (SHOs), advocacy groups, etc, that work for their welfare."
 - o Bhowmik writes of South Korea, "[t]he street vendors face problems especially during international events taking place at Seoul. These are the times when the street vendors are forcibly evicted by the authorities, aided by gangsters. In 1986 the first crackdown took place as the Asian Games were hosted in Seoul. This was followed by crackdowns in 1988 as the Olympics were being held then. Street vendors faced a similar situation in 2002 when the FIFA World Cup (football) tournament was held there. Street vendors' organizations have reacted strongly to such evictions. The clashes between them and the authorities have been violent... The street vendors have, on occasions, managed to negotiate with the government on specific problems. For example, after the eviction drive for the Olympics, the street vendors' union negotiated with the local government for alternative space. This was given to them in a street close to the Olympic stadium. Today this area has become an important centre for hawkers' trade and has become an attraction for tourists. Similarly, Streetnet and NFKSV were able to avert some of the major eviction drives that were to take place before the World Cup football tournament. The Bodh Gaya regional conference of Streetnet passed a resolution urging the Korean government to take into account the problems of street vendors. Later representatives of Streetnet and NFKSV met the government representatives and convinced them that eviction of street vendors was not a solution" (2005:2262).
- **COHRE. 2007a. *Fair Play for Housing Rights*. Geneva: Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions.**
 - o The report makes reference to cases where the planning of mega-events has led to the disruption of street vendors.
- **Essex, S. and B. Chalkley. 1998. "Olympic Games: catalyst of urban change." *Leisure Studies*, 17(3), pp. 187-206.**
 - o Abstract: "The Olympic Games have emerged as a significant catalyst of urban change and can act as a key instrument of urban policy for their host cities. This paper reviews the effect of the

Games on the built environment of the various cities which have acted as hosts in the modern Olympic period (1896-1996) and assesses the preparations now being made for the Games in Sydney in the year 2000. The review indicates that the Games have been increasingly used as a trigger for a wide range of urban improvements, although there have been considerable variations in the scale of infrastructural investment and in the public-private sector mix.”

4. The 2010 Football World Cup in South Africa

Useful starting points for academic literature on the 2010 World Cup are two special journal editions: *Politikon* volume 34, number 3; and *Urban Forum* volume 20, number 1. Another valuable resource is the book *Development and Dreams* (Pillay *et al.* 2009), which is the product of a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) project dedicated to the ex ante analysis of World Cup 2010, its potential urban development legacy and its perception by local residents of South African cities.

4.1 Politics, Economics and Symbolism of 2010

The articles listed in section 2.2.1 collectively argue that “developing” or “peripheral” countries are increasingly interested in hosting sports mega-events, for various reasons. On one hand, event-related, city-as-spectacle development constitutes a predominant strategic response to the economic challenges posed by the global economy. Cities and nations see such events as developmental means; as tools to become more “sticky” in the global space of flows. On the other hand, consider the symbolic effect that a successfully (or, conversely, unsuccessfully) hosted World Cup or Olympic Games can have on the general perception of the host internationally. The argument goes that if a young democracy such as South Africa, replete with socio-economic challenges, can mobilize the resources to create the infrastructure necessary to host the World Cup, it can certainly be regarded as having a competent and responsible government, and a sound developmental regulatory framework. If hundreds of thousands of visitors can watch the World Cup in South Africa without any experience of crime or violence, it is surely a safe and attractive tourist destination. In this view, the mega-event is a source of prestige, making South Africa and her cities more attractive to potential investors and tourists (see Alegi 2008).

The World Cup is also an opportunity to actively articulate certain ideas or discourses relating to the host. Such symbolic politics may be undertaken by the state, but always in conjunction with other political and economic interests. Black (2007) finds that the narratives involved in pro-event booster discourses are often centred upon “key commonalities,” which generally distinguish the host as both “cosmopolitan” and “competitive.” Cornelissen (2004a) recognizes other aspects of mega-event discursive politics, particularly amongst African nations, including the strategic formulation of an “ideological and emotive posturing of Africa,” the use of “neocolonial ties” as well as postcolonial rhetoric. Desai and Vahed (2010) critically discuss pro-World Cup discourses (including the assertion that 2010 is an African World Cup that will benefit the continent as a whole) in relation to Africa’s politico-economic realities, and find glaring contradictions.

The symbolic politics of mega-events ensures they are high-stakes games of risk. South Africa and her host cities have placed so much “on the line” to host the World Cup (not only financially but also

in terms of global reputation), that failure is simply not an option (see Cornelissen and Swart 2006). Even if hosted successfully however, the accrued symbolic and political value does not translate into benefits for all. Alegi (2007) suggests that the overriding strategic approach to the event's organization, which included the construction of expensive "iconic" stadiums, has actually undermined "grassroots" football in South Africa.

In a more traditional organizational analysis, Glynn Davies (2009) provides an overview of the complex bureaucratic structures involved in hosting the event. Amongst other issues Davies discusses the roles, finances and relationships of institutions such as FIFA, the South African government and the Local Organizing Committee (LOC). Swart and Bob's (2009) description of the construction of the new Green Point stadium in Cape Town is an apt illustration of the "balancing act" required to satisfy the (often conflicting) interests of FIFA, national and local government, and local publics. The report produced by the Pretoria-based Institute for Security Studies (Herzenberg 2010) examines cases where such organizational complexity has enabled conflicts of interest, as well as corruption in government tendering procedures. The report shows that South Africa's experiences reinforce the notion that mega-events are characterized by a "democracy deficit."

- **Alegi, P. 2007. "The Political Economy of Mega-Stadiums and the Underdevelopment of Grassroots Football in South Africa," *Politikon*, Vol. 34, No. 3, pp. 315-331.**
 - o Abstract: "As South Africa prepares to host the 2010 World Cup finals, public and scholarly discourses have largely overlooked the consequences of interactions between global sport, professional leagues, and grassroots football. Yet analysing this dynamic is important because it challenges bold claims made by the Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) and South African boosters about the 2010 World Cup's capacity to deliver economic, political, and social benefits to the nation-state. Drawing on South African government and media sources, FIFA documents, as well as interviews and secondary literature, this article examines the policy decisions that inspired the construction of a lavish new stadium on Green Point Common in Cape Town and then considers the potential effects of this strategy on sports in poor communities. Preparations for 2010 reveal how South Africa's engagement with global capitalism is not mitigating apartheid's cruel legacies of racism, widespread material poverty, and extreme inequality. Instead, as Ebrahim argues, preliminary evidence suggests that current World Cup strategies are actually undermining the grassroots game."
- **Alegi, P. 2008. "A Nation To Be Reckoned With': The Politics of World Cup Stadium Construction in Cape Town and Durban, South Africa." *African Studies*, Vol. 67, No. 3, pp. 397-422.**
 - o Abstract: "This article explores the interconnections between local, national, and global factors that influenced South African policy makers' decision to fund the construction of monumental new World Cup stadiums in Cape Town and Durban. Drawing on government and media sources, documents from South Africa's 2010 World Cup Local Organising Committee (LOC), as well as available FIFA data, this article argues that the stadium building shows how the 2010 World Cup can be understood primarily as a national project aimed at enhancing the prestige and credibility of the South African nation-state and its leadership. This work also posits that external pressures exerted by a political economy of world football dominated by monopolistic institutions (FIFA), global media, and transnational corporations accountable mainly to themselves (Maguire 1999; LaFeber 2002; Giulianotti 2005; Desai 2007) strongly influences lo-

cal policy-making and the decision-making processes. In doing so, this article begins to raise questions about the real and potential impact of the 2010 World Cup on South African sport and society in a global context.”

- **Black, D. 2007. “The Symbolic Politics of Sport Mega-Events: 2010 in Comparative Perspective.”** *Politikon*, Vol. 34, No. 3, pp. 261-276.
 - o Abstract: “For ambitious civic and national boosters sport mega-events provide unique opportunities for the pursuit of symbolic politics—a chance to signal important changes of direction, reframe dominant narratives about the host, and/or reinforce key messages of change. These signals or narratives are critical vehicles of legitimation, with both narrowly instrumental objectives and more expansive purposes related to the mobilisation of societal support for certain dominant ‘ideas of the state’. This paper explores the realm of symbolic politics through a comparative analysis of three disparate mega-event hosts which will take the world stage in 2010: South Africa (the FIFA World Cup), Delhi/India (the Commonwealth Games), and Vancouver/Canada (the Winter Olympics). The paper argues that despite important differences in the circumstances of these hosts and the events they are to mount, there are some key commonalities in the narratives they seek to deploy and the subtexts they embody. These commonalities revolve around a paradoxical blending of inclusive, transcendent, or cosmopolitan narratives on the one hand, and competitive, differentiating narratives of ‘world class’ aspirations and achievements, on the other. Strikingly then, these widely dispersed events have become vehicles for similar messages with potentially contradictory implications.”
- **Cornelissen, S. 2004a. “‘It’s Africa’s Turn!’ The Narratives and Legitimisations Surrounding the Moroccan and South African Bids for the 2006 and 2010 FIFA Finals.”** *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 7, pp. 1293-1309.
 - o Abstract: “African countries are increasingly engaging in bidding wars to host sport mega-events. To date, however, not much analysis has been done of African countries’ involvement in the growing global mega-events enterprise. Little is also known of the broader political character and consequences of events and bid campaigns in the international system. This article investigates these aspects through a comparative analysis of the bid processes of South Africa and Morocco for the 2006 and 2010 Soccer World Cup. It explores the internal (domestic) and external (international) elements of their legitimating narratives and promotional rhetoric and how these played out in their international relations. Both countries made extensive use of an ideological and emotive posturing of ‘Africa’. Against the background of the generally tenuous position the continent occupies in the wider international system, and of its overwhelmingly negative representation, the two countries’ replication of neocolonial ties and use of postcolonial rhetoric both aided and hampered their bid campaigns. Overall, competitions to host mega-events occur on an unequal basis which, for African countries, is worsened by very unfavourable positioning in the international arena.”
- **Cornelissen, S. 2007. “Crafting Legacies: The Changing Political Economy of Global Sport and the 2010 FIFA World Cup™.”** *Politikon*, Vol. 34, No. 3, pp. 241-259.
 - o Abstract: “This special issue focuses on the political contours of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ and explores some of the possible legacies that are likely to be left in the wake of the tournament. As crucial processes of planning and policymaking gain momentum, a number of promi-

nent features start to appear and provide some indication of likely longer-term outflows from the event. These include the manner in which infrastructural preparations toward the event are based around the development of key mega-projects which, while aimed at providing an underpinning to the hosting of the event, are also leaving significant imprints on urban spatial planning and budgeting; the extent to which central economic sectors are targeted in the assignment of resources, but also how specific economic actors (construction firms, etc.) are absorbing much of the invested public capital; and finally, the ways in which broader state-building processes tend to be tied to the perceived agenda and requirements of the upcoming event. The special issue therefore addresses some of the major political questions that arise from the emergent patterns of capital expenditure, sectoral developments, and social-cultural processes prompted by the event.”

- **Cornelissen, S., and K. Swart. 2006. “The 2010 Football World Cup as a political construct: the challenge of making good on an African promise.” *Sociological Review*, Vol. 54, No. 2, pp. 108-123.**
 - o Extract from the Introduction: “This chapter assesses the prospects for the 2010 Finals as it is shaped by currently emerging political, economic and social processes. The thrust of this investigation is to explore the extent to which the ambitions and premises of the 2010 Finals – particularly claims towards using the event to support social and economic development, and the revival of the wider African continent – could be realized. This is done against the backdrop of assessments both of South Africa’s encounter with major events over the past twelve years and of the lessons to be learned from the hosting of mega-events by other countries. The first part of the chapter explores the main themes that characterize developed and developing countries’ experience with mega-events. The second part reviews the primary features of post-apartheid South Africa’s engagement with megaevents, highlighting some of the challenges and inconsistencies to the country’s approach. The concluding part discusses the implications of these features, and prospects for the 2010 World Cup. Progress with respect to planning and preparation has thus far been mixed. Important tasks remain in order for the country to deliver fully on the projections for the FIFA Finals” (p. 109).
- **Davies, G. 2009. “Managing the Alchemy of the 2010 Football World Cup,” chapter 3 in *Development and Dreams: The Urban Legacy of the 2010 Football World Cup*. Cape Town: HSRC Press. Available at <http://www.hsrcpress.ac.za/product.php?productid=2259>.**
 - o Describes the major institutional actors and arrangements involved in the organization of the event. Discusses the measures that South African national and urban governments have had to take in order to comply with FIFA standards and regulations.
- **Desai, A. and G. Vahed. 2010. “World Cup 2010: Africa’s Turn or the Turn on Africa.” *Soccer & Society*, Vol. 11, No. 1/2, pp. 154-167.**
 - o Abstract: “The awarding of World Cup 2010 to South Africa was hailed as a great ‘victory’ for the African continent and the cause of much celebration. It heightened expectations not only about the spectacle itself but about the benefits that would accrue to South Africa and the rest of Africa. This essay examines the notion of the successful bid as an ‘African victory’ in the context of global power relations in football, South Africa’s alleged function as a sub-imperialist power on the continent, and xenophobic attacks on African immigrants in South Africa. After tracing the politics around South Africa’s involvement in FIFA, this essay critically interrogates

the benefits touted for South Africa and Africa: development for the SADC region, economic opportunities for ordinary South Africans, increased tourism in South Africa, and football development and peace and nation-building across the continent. Will the World Cup, as Thabo Mbeki would like, be the moment ‘when Africa stood tall and resolutely turned the tide on centuries of poverty and conflict?’”

- **Herzenberg, C.S. (ed.) 2010. “Player and Referee: Conflicting Interests and the 2010 FIFA World Cup.” *Institute for Security Studies, Monograph No. 169. Pretoria: ISS. Available at <https://search-works.stanford.edu/view/8607881>.***
 - o Editor Collete Schulz Herzenberg, in the introduction to the report, recognizes that the scale of infrastructure spending and tendering processes associated with the World Cup is such that “there is ample opportunity for corrupt individuals to influence outcomes through bribes, fraud and extortion, thereby increasing the risk of conflicts of interest and, ultimately, corruption” (p. 3). This series of articles, with contributions by various authors (most from an investigative journalism background), examines tender irregularities associated with infrastructural preparations for the 2010 World Cup, as well as other examples of the misuse of corporate or political power within FIFA, the Local Organising Committee and various branches of South African government. The main objective, according to Herzenberg, is to “provide readers with an accessible, stimulating and exploratory documentation of some of the more controversial aspects of the 2010 World Cup” (p. 12). The following is a breakdown of the chapters and their contents:
 - Chapter 2: Rob Rose examines the contracting processes involved in the construction of Soccer City (Johannesburg’s main World Cup venue, built to a reported cost of around R3.4 billion).
 - Chapter 3: Eddie Botha and Gcina Ntsaluba explore issues associated with the awarding of advertising and marketing contracts by the Eastern Cape Tourism Board; the upgrading of an existing stadium in East London; and the construction of a new stadium in Umtata.
 - Chapter 4: Andrew Jennings deals with power and corruption underlying both the organization of FIFA and its dealings with national host governments.
 - Chapter 5: Robe Rose analyses the conflicts of interest associated with FIFA’s awarding of immensely profitable World Cup contracts to its “official” accommodation and hospitality providers – Match Event Services and Match Hospitality – without any form of transparent tendering procedure.
 - Chapter 6: Karen Schoonbe and Stefaans Brummer narrate the process by which Cape Town’s new World Cup stadium was developed at a cost of over R4 billion.
 - Chapter 7: Sam Sole examines the process by which Durban’s new Moses Mabhida stadium was developed.
 - Chapter 8: Herzenberg concludes with a retrospective summary of South Africa’s World Cup preparations, whilst “concentrating on several important governance themes that run throughout the monograph. The first theme reflects on the lack of transparency and accountability in mega-event decision-making. Another theme interrogates the link between mega-events and the public interest, while the third questions the role and responsibilities of host governments in mega-events. The final chapter also reflects on the South African context, particularly with attention to tendering practices and the effectiveness of the existing regula-

tory environment. It also provides broad recommendations to a range of actors interested in strengthening the governance of mega-events” (p. 14).

- **Labuschagne, P. 2008. “The Impact of Sport on Nation Building: A Critical Analysis of South Africa and the 2010.” *Africa Insight*, Vol. 38, No. 3, pp. 3-14.**
 - o Abstract: The impact of sport on nation building is a popular theme in political science and sociology. It is therefore hardly surprising that many scholars have studied the potential of sport as a nation builder in a fragmented society. Those who study the dynamics of sport have accepted that sport is inseparable from nationalism and that it can form a powerful tool in the hands of politicians. Yet there is also a perception that sport has an inflated status as social unifier – that it is nothing more than ‘ninety minute patriotism’. This article therefore investigates sport as a nation builder, with specific reference to South Africa as a divided, developing country.”
 - o Extract from the Conclusion: “The thrust of the article has been to argue that government’s initiative to stage megasport events has been underpinned by deeper socio-political motives. The decision to stage these events must be seen in the context of South Africa as a developing nation, and it should be clear that staging these events should have positive benefits – politically, socially and economically. The most important of these objectives is to promote nation building. It is obvious that the dream of a rainbow nation and nation building have largely evaporated in the harsh realities of South Africa’s political dynamics. On the surface it therefore seems that the impact of sport on nation building is not permanent and that Jarvie’s perception of sport as ‘ninety minute patriotism’ is, in fact, true. However, the fact that the general over-estimation of the value of sport as a unifier is mistaken and that sport has lost its nation building potential, it does not necessarily mean that sport should be completely disregarded as a useful tool in nation building in new fragile and divided societies ... It should rather be accepted that sport has the potential to unify people (albeit temporarily), but that the effect of sport could be made more enduring by careful planning and deliberate efforts to ensure that its benefits are felt as widely as possible. Sport is not a magic cure, but it does have the potential to inculcate in people a feeling of unity, and to motivate them, as long as it is part of a comprehensive, structured plan.”
- **Swart, K., and U. Bob. 2009. “Venue Selection and the 2010 World Cup: A Case Study of Cape Town,” chapter 7 in *Development and Dreams: The Urban Legacy of the 2010 Football World Cup*. Cape Town: HSRC Press. Available at <http://www.hsrcpress.ac.za/product.php?productid=2259>.**
 - o Extract from the Introduction: “This chapter critically reviews the debates and discussions pertaining to venue selection and use... in the context of city legacies, including who the key stakeholders are and what the emerging interests and concerns are... The highly contested stadium debate in Cape Town is indicative of the balancing act required to meet the needs of government, the international sporting federation and local residents.”
- **Van der Merwe, J. 2007. “Political Analysis of South Africa’s Hosting of the Rugby and Cricket World Cups: Lessons for the 2010 Football World Cup and Beyond?” *Politikon*, Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 67-81.**
 - o Abstract: “This paper compares South Africa’s hosting of two of the world’s largest sporting events to date, the 1995 Rugby World Cup and the 2003 Cricket World Cup by doing a political analysis of these two mega-events and relating that analysis to South Africa’s hosting of the 2010 Football World Cup. Although nations habitually put forward the tangible benefits that such events are likely to bring as justification for hosting them, not many analyses have sought

to explore the processes through which the more elusive benefits are said to accrue, namely, identity formation and signaling aspects, on the one hand, and democracy and human rights enhancing aspects on the other. Through this analysis it is demonstrated how South Africa has traditionally drawn from the realm of politics using its perceived moral authority for hosting such events, yet the folding of the overtly political into the sporting arena has sometimes led to unintended consequences. South Africa has also become much more businesslike in its approach to sports events. Whereas the Rugby and Cricket World Cups were steeped in the symbolic importance of an 'imagined community', these sentiments are likely to become diluted in the face of a more consumerist global football milieu and the powerful role of FIFA in deciding who gets what, when and where."

- **van der Westhuizen, J. 2007. "Glitz, Glamour and the Gautrain: Mega-Projects as Political Symbols," *Politikon*, Vol. 34, No. 3, pp. 333-351.**
 - o Abstract: "Gautrain, South Africa's first high-speed metropolitan transport network, is being developed at a cost of nearly R25 billion. It is being primarily justified on the basis of its close association with South Africa's hosting of the 2010 World Cup. However, the sheer scale of the costs involved, set against the larger and more pressing national transport shortages, invariably prompts questions about the rationale behind the construction of the Gautrain. Focusing on rational, cost-benefit considerations, and special interest groups on the one hand, and political symbolism on the other, the article concludes that political symbolism appears to be a major explanation for the construction of the Gautrain. As in many other aspiring developing economies, this mega-project serves to underscore the extent to which it projects South Africa as the pre-eminent modern African state."

4.2 Possibilities: Image, Policy and Development

Several articles listed below discuss the possibilities offered by the 2010 World Cup for urban and regional development (Maennig and Schwarthoff 2008; Maennig and du Plessis 2009), as well as addressing negative stereotypes of South Africa and her cities as dangerous destinations (Donaldson and Ferreira 2007, 2009). Several studies analyse and provide recommendations for, *inter alia*, South African economic policy (Maennig and du Plessis 2007), crime strategies (Horn and Breetzke 2009); regional tourism (Atkinson 2009) and national sports tourism strategy (Cornelissen 2009; Swart and Bob 2007).

- **Atkinson, D. 2009. "The 2010 World Cup and the Rural Hinterland: Maximising Advantage from MegaEvents," chapter 9 in *Development and Dreams: The Urban Legacy of the 2010 Football World Cup*. Cape Town: HSRC Press. Available at <http://www.hsrcpress.ac.za/product.php?productid=2259>.**
 - o Highlights the problems relating to regional inequality in tourism development within South Africa and considers the World Cup's potential spill-over effects for the arid hinterland, as well as how these effects might be maximized.

- **Bass, O. 2009. “Aiming for Africa: Durban, 2010 and Notions of African Urban Identity,” chapter 13 in *Development and Dreams: The Urban Legacy of the 2010 Football World Cup*. Cape Town: HSRC Press. Available at <http://www.hsrcpress.ac.za/product.php?productid=2259>.**
 - o Focuses on the specific notions of African urbanity that underpin the city of Durban’s economic development and tourist policy, specifically concentrating on elite and official government discourse.

- **Cornelissen, S. 2009. “Sport, Mega-Events and Urban Tourism: Exploring the Patterns, Constraints and Prospects of the 2010 World Cup,” chapter 8 in *Development and Dreams: The Urban Legacy of the 2010 Football World Cup*. Cape Town: HSRC Press. Available at <http://www.hsrcpress.ac.za/product.php?productid=2259>.**
 - o Extract from the Introduction: “...this chapter takes stock of the principal elements underpinning sport mega-events and tourism development; reviews the experiences of other recent hosts of the FIFA finals; and appraises the policies and strategies for the 2010 tournament. The focus is on the emerging plans toward tourism development arising in national and urban contexts in South Africa, and the prospects and implications of such developments for urban tourism legacies beyond the 2010 finals.”

- **Donaldson, R. and S. Ferreira. 2007. “Crime, Perceptions and Touristic Decisionmaking: Some Empirical Evidence and Prospects for the 2010 World Cup.” *Politikon*, Vol. 34, No. 3, pp. 353-371.**
 - o Abstract: “One of the key challenges for the 2010 World Cup Local Organising Committee and the national government is to provide adequate safety, security and policing to the expected 350,000 international football tourists who are likely to attend the event. Numerous policy frameworks have been put in place. These are briefly discussed as background to empirical findings from a survey among 171 foreign visitors to the country in July 2007. The survey investigated visitors’ opinions and perceptions about the safety of South Africa as a tourist destination, prior to and after a visit to South Africa. This was set against the global perception of the country as crime-ridden. The prospects for hosting the World Cup within a climate of fear of crime and in the context of a high-risk perception of safety and security present significant challenges. This paper argues that the 2010 World Cup is an ideal opportunity to address the situation regarding crime in the country and that it may have positive (or negative) spinoffs beyond 2010. The survey found that foreign visitors to South Africa did have a negative perception about safety and security prior to their visit. However, at the end of their visit this perception changed somewhat for the better. Visitors are also keen to recommend the country to other people. Perceptions and opinions on crime in South Africa and fear of crime tend to be fuelled in an environment of highly ambiguous and politicised crime reporting and the compilation of crime statistics.”

- **Donaldson, R. and S. Ferreira. 2009. “(Re-)creating Urban Destination Image: Opinions of Foreign Visitors to South Africa on Safety and Security?” *Urban Forum*, Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 1-18.**
 - o Abstract: “The intention of tourists to visit urban destinations is influenced by their perceptions or their knowledge of that destination. Risk perceptions, although situation specific, have an impact on travel behaviour. Mega events are once-off occasions in which a negative perception of destination, in this case related to crime, can be turned into a positive image. Can the 2010 Fédération Internationale de Football Association World Cup (WC) help South Africa undo the cur-

rent perceptions and opinions, especially among foreign visitors, that our cities are dangerous places to visit? Can South Africa manage the 2010 WC in such a way that the destination image can be changed to a more positive one? It is within the context of speculating about the potential impacts the event may have in 2010 on reshaping internationally (and nationally) the safety and security image that visitors have of South African cities as crime ridden that this paper aims mainly to investigate international visitors' perceptions and opinions on safety and security. Nine hundred and seven international visitors were interviewed when exiting the country at the OR Tambo and Cape Town International airports. The findings revealed that more than a third of the respondents indicated that they were worried about their safety before travelling to South Africa, that the central business districts of Cape Town and Johannesburg are the most feared places they visited and 6% of the respondents were victims of crime. Perceptions, however, changed for the better after their visit to the country, and it is against this background that the 2010 WC can potentially show the world that the country is a safe destination to visit and in the process recreate the destination's image as a safe tourist experience."

- **du Plessis, S. and W. Maennig. 2009. "South Africa 2010: Initial dreams and sobering economic perspectives," chapter 4 in *Development and Dreams: The Urban Legacy of the 2010 Football World Cup*. Cape Town: HSRC Press. Available at <http://www.hsrcpress.ac.za/product.php?productid=2259>.**
 - o Extract from the Introduction: "This chapter examines the 2006 World Cup experience in Germany and offers comparisons and contrasts with the plans for the South African World Cup. In addition to the analysis of effects on usual macroeconomic indicators, we also attempt to open a discussion on 'intangible' effects, like the 'feel-good' effect and a better international perception of the host country (the 'image' effect), as well as long-term effects in general. The chapter also touches on the issue of potential urban development effects of sport infrastructure investments."
- **Horn, A., and Breetzke, G. 2009. "Informing a Crime Strategy for the FIFA 2010 World Cup: a Case Study for the Loftus Versfeld Stadium in Tshwane, South Africa." *Urban Forum*, 20, pp. 19-32.**
 - o Abstract: "Of primary concern to the Local Organising Committee (LOC), and other associated 2010 FIFA World Cup partners, is the safety and security of local and international tourists attending 2010 FIFA World Cup football games in South Africa. For this purpose, place-specific stadium precinct plans are proposed per identified concentric 'zone' around each stadium. But what is the theoretical and informational base of this strategy? Moreover, can this strategy be sustained after the tournament or utilised in future sporting events at these stadiums? In this paper the authors argue that such a safety and security strategy should be informed by a comprehensive localised theory on crime and crime management in the country. Three important crime-related issues are investigated in this paper that we believe should form the backbone of such a strategy and associated theory: the location and propensity of crime, the location of offenders in the city, and the perceptions of local residents and users. The authors demonstrate the compilation of such an information triad with reference to the Loftus Versfeld stadium in Tshwane."
- **Kersting, N. 2007. "Sport and National Identity: A Comparison of the 2006 and 2010 FIFA World CupsTM." *Politikon*, Vol. 34, No. 3, pp. 277-293.**
 - o Abstract: "Big sport events may strengthen negative nationalism or alternatively fuel positive patriotism. The 2006 FIFA WorldTM Cup held in Germany enabled Germans to express certain types of identities. Given Germany's history, there is the question whether this was accompa-

nied with xenophobia. In South Africa, the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ is in part held to transcend deeply entrenched social cleavages and to help foster national cohesion. This article explores the way in which large-scale sport events such as the FIFA world tournament can influence processes related to national identity construction. Through an analysis of the social effects of the 2006 finals held in Germany some prospects are raised for the 2010 World Cup. Empirical data show that the 2006 tournament did not contribute to sustainable patriotism but it did have small effects in reducing xenophobia. Hereby it enhances a longer-established trend. Although there are cases of violence against foreigners in East Germany, xenophobia has been diminishing since the 1980s. National pride, too, has been growing since then. In South Africa national pride is much stronger, although it is diminishing within the white population. However, national identity is crosscut by stronger racial identities. In spite of the implementation of certain policies by the national government, xenophobia against African foreigners is becoming a latent phenomenon. Major sport events can be used to promote values such as team spirit and discipline, but also at a wider level, tolerance, multiculturalism and solidarity.”

- **Maennig, W. and S. du Plessis. 2007. “World Cup 2010: South African Economic Perspectives and Policy Challenges Informed by the Experience of Germany 2006.” *Contemporary Economic Policy*, Vol. 25, No. 4, pp. 578-590.**
 - o Abstract: “The paper provides an *ex post* analysis of the financial burden and economic benefits of the World Cup in Germany in 2006. Based on the usual cost-benefit measures, the experience of WC 2006 appears to be in line with existing empirical research on large sporting events and sports stadiums, which have rarely identified significant net economic benefits. The lessons from Germany 2006 provide a context for analyzing the potential risks and benefits for South Africa, the WC hosts in 2010. For SA, a careful analysis might be even more urgent to ensure the sustainability of investment in stadiums. The paper also argues that the “feel good” and public image effects of sports events should no longer be neglected in cost-benefit studies of large sporting events, even though these effects have the character of experience goods, and their value are thus likely to be underestimated *ex ante*.”
- **Maennig, W., and S. du Plessis. 2009. “Sport Stadia, Sporting Events and Urban Development: International Experience and the Ambitions of Durban.” *Urban Forum*, 20, pp. 61-76.**
 - o Abstract: “The paper considers the stadium construction and infrastructure projects underway for World Cup 2010. We ask whether and under which conditions hosting such an event (along with the new facilities and infrastructural development required) will have positive effects on urban development. By analysing the stadium project in Durban, the paper also presents evidence on whether such positive effects may be enhanced by the attempt to create an image effect by seeking outstanding architectural quality of the new stadia.”
- **Maennig, W., and F. Schwarthoff. 2008. “Stadium Architecture and Regional Economic Development: International Experience and the Plans of Durban.” *IASE/NAASE Working Paper Series*, No. 08-16. Hamburg: University of Hamburg. Available at <http://ideas.repec.org/p/spe/wpaper/0816.html>.**
 - o Abstract: “For the FIFA World Cup 2010, South Africa plans to invest heavily. The positive economic effects that the country is hoping for stand in contrast to almost all statistical *ex-post* studies. This contribution emphasises that these results, usually from research under-taken in the USA, can only be generalised to a limited degree. The density of sports venues in developed

countries is so high, that the marginal effects of new stadia are necessarily limited. We also emphasise that stadium design around the world was not hitherto adequately targeted towards positive economic effects. The example of Durban and its plans for a new “iconic” stadium is used to illustrate fundamental principles of stadium design and their embedding in a re-urbanisation process that have to be undertaken in order to consciously achieve positive regional economic effects.”

- **Pillay, U., and O. Bass. 2009. “Mega-events as a response to poverty reduction: The 2010 World Cup and urban development.” chapter 5 in *Development and Dreams: The Urban Legacy of the 2010 Football World Cup*. Cape Town: HSRC Press. Available at <http://www.hsrbpress.ac.za/product.php?productid=2259>.**
 - o Extract from the Introduction: “The developmental impacts of mega-events in the periphery are frequently touted, although there is little guarantee that the actual effects contribute to poverty reduction specifically. In situating mega-events as a response to poverty alleviation... careful consideration is required not to over-inflate their legacies as a panacea to the country’s developmental challenges. In outlining this notion, the chapter contextualises this issue within the broader literature concerning, mega-events in the developing world. Paying close attention to the relationship between growth and equity, the overall aim of the chapter is to provide insight into the 2010 World Cup in relation to development prospects for South Africa and, in particular, its major urban areas.”
- **Swart, K., and Bob, U. 2007. “The Eluding Link: Toward Developing a National Sport Tourism Strategy in South Africa Beyond 2010.” *Politikon*, Vol. 34, No. 3, pp. 373-391.**
 - o Abstract: “This article provides an overview of sport tourism generally and investigates the sport tourism policy in the South African context. The discussion draws upon South Africa’s unique context and international experiences to provide guidelines for the development of a national sport tourism strategy. In particular, the opportunities presented by the hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup are underscored. The need to consider the full extent of sport tourism products is emphasised and it is argued that the current focus on events as one sub-segment of sport tourism, and especially mega-events, limits the capacity for South Africa to capitalise on the potential benefits of sport tourism. The article concludes by summarising the critical issues that need to be considered when developing a national sport tourism strategy framework. The development of such a framework should be an integral part and key legacy outcome of planning for 2010.”
- **Tomlinson, R. 2009. “Anticipating 2011,” chapter 6 in *Development and Dreams: The Urban Legacy of the 2010 Football World Cup*. Cape Town: HSRC Press. Available at <http://www.hsrbpress.ac.za/product.php?productid=2259>.**
 - o Extract from the Introduction: “This chapter supposes that... host cities, or at least some of them, may experience long-term benefits from hosting 2010 that justify the costs of doing so. The chapter sets out to identify the legacies that host cities anticipate and, if there is planning to achieve these legacies, what it involves.”

4.3 Predicted Impacts

Pre-event academic impact assessments produced mixed results with respect to the expected social and economic outcomes of the 2010 World Cup. Bohlmann and van Heerden's (2005) paper concluded, "with relative certainty that the impact of hosting a mega-event on the South African economy is beneficial towards achieving higher economic growth and development." In a subsequent article, the same authors suggest, "...in the short term, there would only be a favourable outcome in the economy [from the hosting of the World Cup] should financing be shared between higher present taxes and revenue generated from future economic growth and private investment' (Bohlmann and van Heerden 2006). Allmers and Maennig (2008) were less optimistic, and considered that primary benefits would accrue to South Africa from various "intangible effects" including the novelty effects of new iconic stadiums, enhancement of the national image, and the population feel-good effect.

4.3.1 Economic Effects

- **Allmers, S, and W. Maennig. 2008. "South Africa 2010: Economic Scope and Limits." Hamburg Contemporary Economic Discussions No. 21. Hamburg: University of Hamburg.**
 - o Abstract: "This contribution provides an ex post analysis of the economic impacts of the two most recent singlecountry World Cups (WCs), Germany 2006 and France 1998. Based on macroeconomic indicators, the experiences of these WCs appear to be in line with existing empirical research on large sporting events and sports stadiums, which have rarely identified significant net economic benefits. Of more significance are the novelty effects of the stadiums, and 'intangible effects' such as the image effect for the host nations and the feel-good effect for the population. The experiences of former WCs provide a context for analysing the scope and limits for South Africa 2010. Like previous host countries, South Africa might have to cope with difficulties such as the underuse of most WC-stadiums in the aftermath of the tournament. On the other hand, this paper examines a handful of arguments why South Africa might realise larger economic benefits than former hosts of WCs, such as the absence of the northern-style 'couch potato effect' and the absence of negative crowding-out effects on regular tourism. Furthermore, the relative scarcity of sport arenas in South Africa might induce a larger positive effect than in countries with ample provision of sports facilities. In addition, against the backdrop of continuous declines in South African poverty since 2001, the novelty effect of new stadiums might be of special importance. Finally, the innovative South African ambitions to use stadiums with 'signature architecture' as a tool for urban development or to generate external effects for the regional economy are different from former WCs."
- **Bohlmann, H.R., and J.H. van Heerden, J.H. 2005. "The Impact of Hosting a Major Sport Event on the South African Economy." Working Paper 2005-09. Pretoria: University of Pretoria, Department of Economics. Available at <http://ideas.repec.org/p/pre/wpaper/200509.html>.**
 - o Abstract: "The impact of the sporting industry on economic decision making has increased dramatically since the global media explosion in the 1980s. Tourism and advertising revenues generated by these mega-events have become a major boost to the economies of hosting nations. In addition, globalisation has placed great emphasis on the importance of foreign direct investment (FDI), especially to developing countries. This paper seeks to examine the impact of the pre-event phase expenditure attributed to the hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup on the

South African economy. In this phase, expenditure is mainly geared towards the construction and improvement of infrastructure required to successfully host the event. Using a Computable General Equilibrium (CGE) model developed specifically for the South African economy, the impact of the pre-event phase on the local economy is measured. It is found that there is a positive impact on most macroeconomic variables, including GDP and employment. With the potential economic benefits of the event and post-event phases of the World Cup also taken into account, it can be concluded with relative certainty that the impact of hosting a mega-event on the South African economy is beneficial towards achieving higher economic growth and development. In addition to analysing the impact of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, the outcomes are also used to briefly examine the feasibility of South Africa's bid to host the 2011 IRB World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games."

- **Bohlmann, H.R., and J.H. van Heerden. 2006. "Predicting the Economic Impact of the 2010 FIFA World Cup on South Africa." University of Pretoria, Department of Economics Working Paper Series: 2006-11. Available at https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/9099/Bohlmann_Predicting%282008%29.pdf%3Bjsessionid%3D08BDE5BBAE527951937F769B6CA72188?sequence%3D1.**
 - o Abstract: "The impact of the sporting industry on economic decision making has increased dramatically since the global media explosion in the 1980s. Tourism and advertising revenues generated by mega-events such as World Cups or Olympic Games have become a major boost to the economies of hosting nations. In addition, globalisation has placed great emphasis on the importance of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), especially to developing countries. This paper seeks to examine the impact of the 2010 FIFA World Cup on the South African economy. Using a 32- sector Computable General Equilibrium (CGE) model, the various shocks on the economy, such as infrastructure developments, increased tourism and financing implications, are modelled. Results are shown and carefully explained within the context of the model. It is found that in the short term, there would only be a favourable outcome in the economy should financing be shared between higher present taxes and revenue generated from future economic growth and private investment."
- **Campbell, M. and Phago, K. 2008. "The Impact of Major Sporting Events on the Economy and the People of a Developing Region: The Case of the 2010 FIFA World Cup Tournament." *Africa Insight*, Vol. 38, No. 3, pp. 26-34.**
 - o Abstract: "This paper explores the expected economic and social impact of the 2010 FIFA World Cup on South Africa. It investigates the justification for spending of public funds towards the upgrading and building of sports stadia in South Africa as a developing country, and offers an empirical survey regarding probable match attendance and ticket prices."
- **Giampiccoli, A. and Nauright, J. 2010. "Problems and prospects for community-based tourism in the New South Africa: the 2010 FIFA World Cup and beyond." *African Historical Review*, Vol. 42, No. 1, pp. 42-62.**
 - o Abstract: "Mega-events such as the FIFA World Cup or the Olympic Games are promoted widely for the economic, tourism and social benefits they bring to host nations. The relative 'benefit' of such events has been widely debated. However, even when positive benefits are achieved they are vastly uneven within host nations. The Olympic Games are held in one city with occasional events located elsewhere, while the World Cup is usually held in several cities within one na-

tion. The common denominator is that these events are focused on large urban centres, and this leaves rural areas behind and can heighten the development divide between haves and have nots, particularly in the areas of tourism and economic development. This is a particularly relevant issue for developing societies such as South Africa. Critically examines the ‘development dreams’ promoted through the 2010 FIFA World Cup and similar events and contends that these dreams are illusory for millions of South Africans while economic and political elites embrace a global neo-liberal economic philosophy. Argues that community-based tourism strategies that are important to a better distribution of wealth and democratic decision making in local communities across the country are put at greater risk by a mega-events strategy that is firmly centred within the global neo-liberal economic framework shaped largely outside of South Africa”.

- o Extract from Conclusion: “In 1997, Nauright finished his first edition of his book on sport, cultures and identities in South Africa with a quote from the Afrikaner writer Breyten Breytenbach in which he states ‘I am looking to the future and it chills me to the bone’. It remains doubtful whether the 2010 World Cup will create such widespread opportunities as its advocates want us to believe. Indeed, our research suggests that events such as the World Cup actually hurt the majority in host societies who are not located at or near event venues. Without comprehensive strategies developed by local leaders, regional and national governments, and international sports organisations, it is unlikely that a mega-events development strategy will have widespread success. In this case, it is far more likely that it will further enmesh the South African economy in the global neo-liberal framework, with uneven benefits for South Africans as a whole, both urban and rural. We know that FIFA and its associated multi-national capital interests will benefit, but the harsh reality of events-driven economic strategies is that they further divide haves and have nots. Such divisions have been a central element of uneven development and structural inequalities in South African society. Community-based initiatives in which local people have input and control over policies and practices should be fostered; however, it is unlikely that mega-sports events can deliver such outcomes despite the lofty rhetoric that surrounds them.”
- **Mabugu, R., and A. Mohamed. 2008. “The Economic Impacts of Government Financing of the 2010 FIFA World Cup.” *Stellenbosch Economic Working Papers*, 08/08. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch, Department of Economics. Available at <http://ideas.repec.org/p/sza/wpaper/wpapers56.html>.**
 - o Abstract: “This paper presents estimates of the economic impacts of financing the hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup by the government of South Africa. *Ex ante* analysis using a fiscal social accounting matrix model indicates that hosting of the event impacts positively on gross domestic product and imports. The positive impact on imports will, *inter alia*, lead to deterioration in the current account deficit for a given amount of exports. Owners of capital benefit more than owners of labour as a result of 2010 FIFA World Cup expenditures by the government. Middleincome Black households are the largest winners, followed by high-income Whites. Asians experience the least gain. These outcomes are explained by the initial factor endowments and their sectoral allocation in the social accounting matrix. Government revenue goes up in response to the demand injection, and a large proportion of it accrues to central government and local government respectively.”

- **Saayman, M., and Rossouw, R. 2008. “The Economic Value of the 2010 Soccer World Cup”. *Acta Commercii*, pp. 1-14.**
 - o Extracts from the Introduction: “Sport events are big business and have grown enormously during the last two decades. From small participatory events to the mega and hallmark events seen by millions, this industry mirrored the explosive growth of media, entertainment and tourism (Graham, Neirotti & Goldblatt, 2001). The term sport event refers to the organisation, marketing, implementation and evaluation of any type of event related to sport.”
 - o “Purpose: The purpose of this article is to estimate the potential economic value of the 2010 Soccer World Cup for South Africa.”
 - o “Problem investigated: The Soccer World Cup (SWC) is regarded as the largest sporting event to be hosted and South Africa is investing billions of Rand in the hosting thereof. Based on this the question that comes to mind is, what is the potential economic value of such an event? Previous research attempts to determine the economic value were limited in their focus on what should be included when economic modelling of events is conducted.
 - o Most of these studies were done by consultants on behalf of various government departments and consequently, the results of these attempts are criticised for their over-inflating and overestimations by various other researchers.”
 - o “Methodology: The literature review identified many aspects that need to be taken into account when modelling the economic impact of such an event together with aspects identified in the literature review. Lessons from the 2002 Korea/Japan and 2006 Germany Soccer World Cups were used as premise for our estimations. In this article, Computable General Equilibrium (CGE) modelling is used to estimate the potential economic value.”
 - o “Findings: The results showed that the 2010 Soccer World Cup would in all probability have positive impacts on the economy of the country in terms of GDP growth and employment, with possible negative effects that include higher inflation and net export losses.”
 - o “Value of research: The value of this research lies in the approach that was followed firstly, by introducing lessons learned from previous World Cups as well as aspects not taken into consideration previously in economic modelling and secondly, by using CGE modelling in determining the economic value.”
 - o “Conclusion: The hosting of the 2010 Soccer World Cup is a major achievement not only for South Africa, but also for the rest of Africa, especially from a marketing point of view. From an economic point of view, this study shows positive results. However, compared to other studies conducted on the 2010 SWC, the findings are more conservative. The latter is supported by the results of a similar study conducted one year after the 2006 Soccer World Cup in Germany supporting the notion that various variables have to be taken into account when economic modelling for hallmark events is done.”

4.3.2 Social Effects

Studies dealing with social effects are diverse, with authors devoting attention to, amongst other issues, the World Cup’s implications for urban housing and land strategy (BenitGbaffou 2009); sport mobility and football migration in Africa (Cornelissen and Solberg 2007) and local sex industries (Bird and Donaldson 2009). Benit-Gbaffou argued that the Johannesburg inner-city poor were being

systematically marginalized during pre-World Cup planning procedures: “[t]he so-called ‘imperatives’ of the 2010 World Cup provide the city with an opportunity to fast-track democracy and inner-city renewal. This fast-tracking approach avoids necessary public debate on the disruptive effects of regeneration strategies, especially on local residents living in the vicinity of the stadium” (2009:201).

- **Benit-Gbaffou, C. 2009. “In the shadow of 2010: Democracy and Displacement in the Greater Ellis Park Development Project,” chapter 11 in *Development and Dreams: The Urban Legacy of the 2010 Football World Cup*. Cape Town: HSRC Press. Available at <http://www.hsrcpress.ac.za/product.php?productid=2259>.**
 - o Extract from the Introduction: “The chapter first gives an overview of the housing and land strategy within the regeneration project around Ellis Park (in the context of the broader inner-city strategy), showing that there is only very limited (and recent) attention paid to lower-income residents... the poor are not only forgotten but also unwanted in the Greater Ellis Park area. They are considered a hindrance with respect to the 2010 World Cup and the global city Johannesburg dreams of becoming. Finally, the chapter looks at the ways local residents attempt to have their voices heard in a context where the principles of local democracy and community participation are sidelined in the name of 2010 urgency.”
- **Bird, R., and R. Donaldson. 2009. “Sex, Sun, Soccer’: Stakeholder-Opinions on the Sex Industry in Cape Town in Anticipation of the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup,” *Urban Forum*, 20, pp. 33-46.**
 - o Abstract: “Sex workers, sex tourism, and their management during the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup is a controversial topic under much discussion in the media and there is a need for an academic debate on the issue. How city managers, tourism marketing organizations, the general public, and law enforcers will manage and deal with such an influx poses numerous practical and moral dilemmas, especially in the face of the growing tourism industry. In the paper, the opinions of various role players in the tourism sector on the planning and management of sex work space in the City of Cape Town are investigated. Key aspects debated are decriminalization/legalization, prospects for a healthy city, spatial planning for sex spaces, and policing them.”
- **Cornelissen, S., and E. Solberg. 2007. “Sport Mobility and Circuits of Power: The Dynamics of Football Migration in Africa and the 2010 World Cup,” *Politikon*, Vol. 34, No. 3, pp. 295-314.**
 - o Abstract: “As a result of factors of globalisation and enhanced commercialisation, the migration of football professionals has become a very important facet of world football. West European leagues, where processes of commercialisation have been most robust in recent years, constitute the epicentre of international football migration, with these leagues attracting most of the world’s athletic talent. Africa is a primary source for football flows to Western Europe, an aspect which is mostly viewed as exploitative and an extension of neo-imperialist relations between the continent and its former colonial powers. Over the past decade, however, South Africa has emerged as an important alternative destination for many of Africa’s departing footballers. This article focuses on the nature and implications of this phenomenon. It explores the ways in which emergent tendencies of Africa to South Africa football movement correspond with or refract from Africa to Europe migration in terms of its underlying dynamics, and considers what possible effects South Africa’s hosting of the 2010 football cup could have on an incipient form of sport mobility on the continent.”

4.3.2.1 Evictions and Slum Eradication

South African city preparations for the 2010 World Cup were criticized for generally marginalizing, and in particular displacing, the urban poor in order to carry out event-related infrastructure development or urban “beautification.” A Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions report (2008a) specifically links World Cup preparations with the publishing of the KwaZulu-Natal Elimination and Prevention of Re-Emergence of Slums Bill in late November 2006. Newton (2009) further interprets the fast-tracking of the N2 Gateway housing project in Cape Town as a beautification measure (also see COHRE 2009).

- **COHRE. 2008a. “Business as Usual? Housing Rights and ‘Slum Eradication’ in Durban, South Africa.” Geneva: Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions. Available at https://issuu.com/cohre/docs/cohre_businessasusual_hrs_lumeradica.**
 - o Provides a history of housing policy and slum clearance in Durban from the colonial to the contemporary era. Provides an overview of post-apartheid housing rights and development policy. Reports on recent examples of forced eviction and housing rights violation in Durban, and suggests that the 2010 World Cup has played a major role in driving the provincial and local state’s rhetoric regarding slum eradication.
- **COHRE. 2009. “Global Survey on Forced Evictions: Violations of Human Rights 2007-8.” Geneva: Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions. Available at https://issuu.com/cohre/docs/cohre_forcedevictions_globalsurvey2_17a2f1db41a915.**
 - o Reports briefly on the negative impact of World Cup preparations on housing rights in South Africa (pages 11-12): “In South Africa, preparations to host the 2010 World Cup have had a serious negative impact on the housing rights of the country’s urban poor. Undoubtedly driven by the upcoming World Cup Johannesburg and Durban with their plans to eradicate slums by 2010 have stepped up efforts to clear informal settlements in their areas. The Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALS) in Johannesburg which represents urban poor families and their organizations in evictions cases reported in 2008 that more than 30 per cent of its cases involved evictions in Ellis Park Precinct, an area within a 5 kilometre radius of the Ellis Park Stadium, one of the World Cup venues.”
 - o “As early as 2006 the KwaZulu-Natal provincial government declared that all shack settlements would be eradicated by 2010, four years prior to the originally planned deadline of 2014. With a housing backlog of approximately 250,000 units in the eThekweni municipality alone, achieving eradication of shack settlements by 2010 can only mean resorting to forced evictions. It is very likely that under pressure from the fast approaching World Cup deadline cities will increasingly opt for what they see as the easier route and move shack dwellers to the notoriously inadequate ‘temporary relocation areas’ on the margins of the city.”
 - o “In Cape Town, the N2 Gateway Project (a middle class housing project) which will result in the eviction of close to 20,000 people, many believe is a part of the city’s attempts at beautification leading up to 2010. Given its location on the main highway connecting Cape Town’s international airport to the city, it is hardly surprising that there is a high level of political will to clear the Joe Slovo settlement currently on the site, despite the large number of people who will be affected.”
 - o “FIFA has strict requirements regarding the appearance of host cities. With World Cup matches being telecast globally, FIFA has instructed that host cities ensure that venues for matches are in picturesque surroundings. This has provided city authorities with the necessary excuse to

clear slum settlements in the vicinity of match venues. Prioritising these and other FIFA requirements therefore raises concerns regarding the diversion of municipal resources towards ‘clean-up’ and city beautification projects and away from fulfilling the right to adequate housing of the urban poor.”

- **Huff, A. 2007. “Itemba Iiyaphilisa: Redefining Development Through the Joe Slovo Anti-Eviction Struggle.” Unpublished monograph. Available at <http://www.abahlali.org/node/3149>.**
 - o Abstract: “In the post-Apartheid Era and in the interest of reconciliation, South Africa is faced with addressing massive inequality. Ranked only below Brazil as the most unequal country in the world, suitable housing and employment continue to be detriments to the ANC’s quest for ‘development status’. With a substantial constituency within informal housing, the delivery of effective and sustainable housing for the residents of informal settlements is pressing to say the least. The government, however, has not followed through on its campaign promises, and thousands of residents all over South Africa are currently refusing evictions... This project explores the factors which have led to the mobilization of the anti-eviction movements in informal settlements. More specifically, it uses interviews and observation of members of the Joe Slovo informal settlement anti-eviction mobilization, as well as interviews of Delft residents who have been relocated to TRA’s, or Temporary Relocation Areas. In analysis of my observations and interviews, I have sought to parallel the struggle against evictions and for inclusion with the negritude movement expressed by Aime Cesaire and Leopold Senghor. More importantly through the words of residents of Joe Slovo themselves, I have sought to contribute to the literature on informal settlements that often lacks this voice.”
- **Newton, C. 2009. “The Reverse Side of the Medal: About the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the Beautification of the N2 in Cape Town.” *Urban Forum*, 20, pp. 93-108.**
 - o Abstract: “This paper aims to show the reverse side of the (football) medal. The N2 gateway project in Cape Town is presented, by government and media, as a ‘flagship’ project of the new Breaking New Ground strategy, to fight the housing backlog of 400,000 houses in the city. But I want to argue that the fast-tracking of the project has to be understood as a beautification strategy to prepare the city for 2010. Massive slum eradication and the construction of ‘beautiful formal housing opportunities’ between the airport and the mother city are becoming a painful reminder of the forced removals under the apartheid regime.”

4.3.2.2 Local Perceptions, Expectations and Voices “From Below”

Prior to the staging of the World Cup, South Africans were certainly not united in approval of the commitment to host the event. Generally public opinion was favourable towards the tournament, although dissenting opinions were raised along similar lines: that South Africa had many other, highly pressing developmental priorities; that expectations of economic benefit were not being met; that benefits would accrue only to a limited number of elites, and that specific infrastructural developments would negatively affect the lives of local residents.

- **Bob, U., and K. Swart. 2009. “Resident Perceptions of the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup Stadia Development in Cape Town.” *Urban Forum*, 20, pp. 47-59.**
 - o Abstract: “The 2010 Federation Internationale de Football (FIFA) World Cup to be hosted in South Africa is expected to provide an opportunity to further the country’s objectives of using sporting events to signal international recognition and promote socio-economic development. Studies on sport tourism events tend to focus on economic impacts and neglect social issues (Ritchie and Adair 2004). In particular, residents’ perceptions are overlooked although they are often directly impacted by sport events, especially when they reside in close proximity to the event location. The 2010 FIFA World Cup is heralded as a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity with significant legacy benefits for South Africans. However, generally, the actual voices of local residents are absent in relation to debates pertaining to this event and concomitant anticipated benefits (Swart and Bob 2007). One hundred residents in each location were interviewed. The focus of the study was to examine the perceptions of the residents towards the proposed stadia development and potential impacts of the 2010 World Cup. The findings reveal that there is considerable support and positive perceptions relating to South Africa’s hosting of the 2010 World Cup. However, there were several concerns raised in relation to the distribution of anticipated benefits and the impacts of the stadia on their lives.”

- **Czegledy, A.P. 2009. “Urban dreams: The 2010 Football World Cup and expectations of benefit in Johannesburg,” chapter 12 in *Development and Dreams: The Urban Legacy of the 2010 Football World Cup*. Cape Town: HSRC Press. Available at <http://www.hsrcpress.ac.za/product.php?productid=2259>.**
 - o Concentrates on “individual expectations of benefit deriving from the 2010 World Cup.” Specifically deals with street traders’ expectations of the World Cup as a financial opportunity. Also devotes some discussion to “the hidden history of mega-events,” including “sanitary evictions” and forced removal of street traders.

- **Darkey, D. and A. Horn. 2009. “Homing in(n) on the Economic Benefits of 2010 FIFA World Cup: Opportunities for and Misgivings of Bed-and-Breakfast Operators in Gauteng, South Africa.” *Urban Forum*, 20, pp. 77-91.**
 - o Abstract: “This study examines the perceived potential benefits of the 2010 Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup Football Tournament for bed-and-breakfast (B&B) establishments—an integral part of the tourism accommodation sector in South Africa. From responses to a questionnaire sent to a sample of B&B proprietors in Gauteng, the major centre for the tournament, it is clear that they have serious reservations. The basis for their misgivings appears to be the manner in which FIFA has managed accommodation–provision agreements and the role played by South African government agencies, the Local Organising Committee and the tourism sector.”

- **Ngonyama, P. 2010. “The 2010 FIFA World Cup: Critical Voices from Below,” *Soccer and Society*, Vol. 11, No. 1/2, pp. 168-180.**
 - o Abstract: “This essay presents a different perspective of the 2010 World Cup: that of critical voices which include social movements, labour formations, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and ‘left’-leaning individuals. Drawing on interviews with activists, written documents, conventional and alternative media, the essay argues that criticism of the event falls within two categories. First, the tournament will not benefit the poor and the disadvantaged. On the

contrary, given developments on the ground, the opposite is more likely to happen. Second, the expenditure of billions of rands on the 'elitist' World Cup constitutes a misdirection of resources needed to meet a wide range of pressing social needs. These 'voices from below' also raise important questions pertaining to the projected economic spin-offs and the alleged 'development' and 'anti poverty' component of 2010. A number of community-based activities addressing the impact of World Cup preparations on the urban working class are given attention."

- **Swart, K., and U. Bob. 2009. "Venue Selection and the 2010 World Cup: A Case Study of Cape Town," chapter 7 in *Development and Dreams: The Urban Legacy of the 2010 Football World Cup*. Cape Town: HSRC Press. Available at <http://www.hsrcpress.ac.za/product.php?productid=2259>.**
 - o Extract from the Introduction: "... the chapter presents findings from primary research that was undertaken in Athlone and Green Point to examine the perceptions of the residents towards the proposed stadiums."

4.4 Reported Outcomes

Post-event academic impact assessments produced mixed results with respect to the social and economic outcomes of the 2010 World Cup for South Africa. However literature that focuses on the working poor, highlight either lower than expected benefits or negative outcomes. Cottle (2011) argues that the World Cup is a means for the massive accumulation and extraction of wealth from South Africa by FIFA and transnational corporations at the expense of the working class in the country. Some of the literature also provides recommendations for future mega-events in order to attain greater developmental benefits for countries in the global South.

- **Calland, R., Naidoo, L. and Whale, A. 2010. "The Vuvuzela Revolution: Anatomy of South Africa's World Cup". Auckland Park: Jacana Media.**
 - o This book asks big questions about South Africa's handling of the 210 FIFA World Cup offering insights about the legacy of this mega-event.
- **Cottle, E. (ed.) 2011. "South Africa's World Cup: A Legacy for Whom?" Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.**
 - o Extract from the Foreword: "The key question that we sought to answer was, would the 2010 World Cup produce anything different from what was being purported by its organisers, the South African government, host city managers and the media? In other words, would the promised benefits of the event reach ordinary South Africans and workers in particular? There was very little information available about what actually happens to workers beyond the promises and widespread claims of the event's lasting 'legacy', with most studies (even more critical contributions) merely focusing on the economic and urban infrastructure legacies. Further, noting that FIFA was tied to transnational capital and that the World Cup was its *raison d'être*, FIFA's claim of it being a benevolent organisation had to be questioned since it was always very reluctant to involve itself in the issues confronting workers, arguing that FIFA was not the employer. Yet the organisation demands the earth in concessions and guarantees from governments and captures and controls the market through intellectual property rights and various other provisions. This book provides a holistic analysis and critique of the impact of mega sporting events such as the FIFA World Cup and the developmental paradigm associated with it. This book

challenges all mainstream studies and FIFA praise singers by providing rigorous analysis and concrete evidence of what was actually a sporting spectacular aimed at massive accumulation and extraction of wealth from South Africa and contradicts the developmental promises and supposed future prospects for shared economic growth. In many ways this book relaunches much-needed debate about the paradigms of development which have come to be dominated and engulfed by the hegemony of neoliberal ideology. It is a timely intervention in the development and resurgence of a leftist discourse around the impact of mega sporting events, which have become part of a 'natural' four-year cycle within this period of capitalist globalisation and which have brought about more unequal exchanges for the world economy, its citizens and the environment. We hope that the lessons learnt in South Africa can be shared with workers involved in preparations for the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) European Football Championship in the Ukraine and Poland in 2012 and the World Cup in Brazil in 2014, among other mega events planned for the near future."

- **Pillay, U., Mnguni, P., Wentzel, M., Sanchez, D., Viljoen, J., Kanyane, H., Rakate, F., Barolsky, V., Wamucii, P., Mogami, L. and Vivier, E. 2011. "FIFA 2010 World Cup Legacy Audit: Final Report." Cape Town: HSRC Press and Department of Sport and Recreation South Africa. Available at <http://www.hsrc.ac.za/en/research-data/view/5432>.**

o Abstract: "Overall, given that a legacy is by definition something that lasts over time, the actual success of the 2010 World Cup legacy projects in addressing the country's development objectives is difficult to measure as these effects will mature over time and it may simply be too soon to answer this question conclusively. Nevertheless the literature and interviews conducted for this study provide an overview and analysis of the legacy and developmental plans and intentions of various national, provincial and local stakeholders and therefore provides a baseline of information against which the developmental achievements of various legacy projects can be evaluated in future."

4.4.1 Economic Outcomes

Whilst some studies affirm the direct and indirect economic benefits of the World Cup, many papers highlight either the lower than expected economic benefits or the economic disadvantages given the continuation of high levels of poverty, unemployment and inequality. These studies warn against overly optimistic impact studies for mega-events.

- **Du Plessis, S., and Maennig, W. 2011. "The 2010 FIFA World Cup high- frequency data economics: Effects on international tourism and awareness for South Africa." *Development Southern Africa*, Vol. 28, No. 3, pp. 349-365.**

o Abstract: "The 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa was undoubtedly a great experience for both soccer fans and their South African hosts, and focused unprecedented and favourable media attention on South Africa. Despite the tournament's manifest success, however, its short-term impact on international tourism to South Africa, in the form of immediate positive effects on the economy, has turned out to be much smaller than expected or even as reported during the tournament – as this paper shows, using high-frequency daily data on tourism. This sobering outcome may be attributable to self-defeating expectation effects and this paper is a warning against overly optimistic economic impact studies which could undermine the short-term benefits of

major sporting events. The paper also investigates the awareness effects of sport mega-events, and potential long-term development effects, by using data from electronic social networks”.

- **Jory, S., and Boojihawon, D. 2011. “The Economic Implications of the FIFA 2010 World Cup in South Africa.” *African Journal of Business and Economic Research, Special Issue*, pp. 7-21.**
 - o Abstract: “The FIFA 2010 World Cup was held in South Africa; the first time the tournament had been played on the continent of Africa. Given the country’s economic and social limitations, this study examines the economic impact of the World Cup on South Africa. We argue that although the World Cup was not the salvation of the economy that might have been hoped, it did favor some remarkable economic positive outcomes. Specifically, we argue that the World Cup provided South Africa with accelerated direct and indirect economic benefits such as expanding the country’s international profile, adding to the country’s GDP, upgrading its infrastructures, and increasing international exposure for its business community, the scale and scope of which would have been inconceivable without the World Cup.”

- **Kolo, J. 2011. “A Priori and A Positivist View of FIFA 2010 World Cup in South Africa.” *African Journal of Business and Economic Research, Special Issue*, pp. 22-43.**
 - o Abstract: “Between a one-month period (11 June and 10 July 2010), the Republic of South Africa (RSA) successfully hosted the 2010 Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA2010) World Cup. This paper contributes to the post-World Cup discourse of the impacts of the mega sporting event on business development in South Africa in particular, and in Africa in general. Using empirical data from secondary sources, along with theoretical reasoning, the paper contends that FIFA 2010 World Cup met the interests of all stakeholders in South Africa, more so from a political-economic than a macro-economic standpoint. Thus, the World Cup was a public expenditure by the South Africa government and people, and not a stimulus or impetus for business development either nationally or continentally. The paper posits that the World Cup is, in intent and purpose, a one-time, short-lived entertaining sporting event, hosted by a country for the global community to enjoy. In this sense, the event is, in general, a public good or service, and, in 2010, it achieved its purpose for South Africans. Quite heuristic from the success of FIFA 2010 World Cup are lessons that can be learned for governance and entrepreneurship in Africa. The paper deciphered some of these lessons for policy and project planning, project financing and execution in Africa. The paper concluded that extrapolating the impacts of FIFA 2010 World Cup on business development in Africa is at best a research gold-mine for business, management and economics scholars.”

- **Madichie, N. 2011. “Whither the Legacy of FIFA 2010 World Cup for Entrepreneurship in South Africa?” *African Journal of Business and Economic Research, Special Issue*, pp. 44-61.**
 - o Abstract: “The FIFA 2010 World Cup (FWC2010 henceforth) remains the coveted trophy for players, managers, and competing nations. It is not only a symbol of national pride but also an opportunity for business start-ups, growth and development. Prior to the recently concluded FWC2010 in South Africa, the 2009 GEM South Africa Report entitled “With a Difference” was launched to a packed audience at the Graduate School of Business, University of Cape Town (on Thursday 13th May 2010). The launch attracted academics, businessmen, government representatives, NGOs and numerous other stakeholders - whose interest was shown particularly because the country was hosting the FWC2010 a month later in June. However, there were

speculations as to what effect this event has and/ or would have on entrepreneurial activity in the country. Such speculation is what this paper primarily seeks to address in the aftermath of the global event.”

- o Extract from the Conclusion: “Currently, the challenge facing the South African government is that despite its commitment to boost and support the small business sector, through favourable legislation and financial assistance, the sector has not created as many jobs as was anticipated. This translates to the unfortunate fact that existing government policies have not been successful in meeting the sector’s unemployment and poverty reduction targets.”

There is a paucity of research looking at the impacts of mega-events on the informal sector. Some articles attempt to analyse who the benefactors of mega-events are, looking at the marginalization of informal traders, the barriers preventing their participation in megaevents as well as recommendations for a more inclusionary perspective that allows for all participants in the economy to benefit.

- **Erciiment, C. 2011. “The Exclusion of Street Traders from the Benefits of the FIFA 2010 World Cup South Africa.” *African Journal of Business and Economic Research, Special Issue*, pp. 62-86.**
 - o Abstract: “This article espouses the key question of distribution of benefits from hosting a ‘mega-event’ such as the Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup. Through focusing on the case of street traders, the author aims to demonstrate how marginalized sectors were excluded from the benefits of the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa. This is achieved by an analysis of two major processes that took place in due course of the preparations for the World Cup and during the tournament: the “World Class Cities” creation projects involving the World Cup host cities, and the adaptation of FIFA by-laws by these host cities. The author also reviews some previous experiences of ‘mega-events’ in other countries and the current policies on the informal economy, particularly street trading in South Africa. He suggests that an inclusionary perspective begins with the recognition of informal economy and street trading as an integral part of the urban economy in the global South. The author underlines the importance of including the right to livelihoods in the vision of African cities and recognition of the organisations of street traders as partners in the processes of social dialogue.”
- **Venter, B., Rogerson, C., Semens, A., and Myres, K. 2012. “FIFA 2010 World Cup: Implications for and Effects on the Entrepreneurial performance of South Africa’s Informal Sector.” *African Journal of Business Management, Vol. 6, No. 1*, pp. 449-458.**
 - o Abstract: “It is well established that so called ‘mega events’ have a marked impact on the socio-economic trajectory of a host nation. Research on the merits of mega events is fairly substantial, and indeed, derived implications for entrepreneurship in a host country are a recurring theme. Yet, little has been done to investigate the potential impact of these events on the entrepreneurial performance of the informal sector. The informal sector is a significant contributor to employment and to the South African economy and shown to exhibit strong entrepreneurial potential. As such, it provides fertile grounds for research. This paper reflects on the FIFA 2010 world cup as catalyst for entrepreneurial activity in Johannesburg’s informal sector. Associated issues of ambush marketing and perceptions of legalities, formalities, and barriers related to the organisation of the world cup are investigated.”
 - o Extracts from the Conclusion: “From a policy perspective, this research demonstrates the importance of understanding the informal sector as an entrepreneurial space, capable of

producing entrepreneurial outcomes. It is particularly important, therefore, for policy makers to be sensitive to the various antecedents that shape entrepreneurial performance in the sector, for instance, focusing on requisite availability of resources and skills development. At the same time, due regard needs to be paid to harnessing benefits of future events for all participants in the economy.”

The following articles take a more developmental approach to the analysis of the outcomes of the 2010 World Cup, focusing to a greater extent on the effects on the working poor of the event. It is argued that FIFA’s power over the process had a negative impact on development as FIFA pushed to maximize profit with little concern for the challenges of unemployment, poverty and inequality in South Africa. Urban developments perpetuated socio-structural problems and the upgrade of stadiums and surrounds did little to improve the everyday lives of the urban poor and working class. Furthermore, it is argued that the billions of rands spent in preparation for the World Cup could have been directed towards meeting the infrastructural, health and education needs of the people. Laubuschagne (2011) contends that the advantage of the event was that it helped to create a ‘developmental vision’ for South Africa.

- **Cornelissen, S. 2011. “Mega Event Securitisation in a Third World Setting: Global Processes and Ramifications during the 2010 FIFA World Cup.” *Urban Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 15, pp. 3221-3240.**
 - o Abstract: “During South Africa’s hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, it was both the security successes and failures of the tournament, as well as the capacities of the state, that drew scrutiny. The country faced some significant challenges in its attempts to make the event ‘safe’. This article provides an overview of the major processes of securitisation in the 2010 finals, reviewing the role played by domestic and external actors, and the way in which the supranational and global character of mega event securitisation in the contemporary era shaped developments in the country. It offers an assessment of the physical, social and symbolic legacies of World Cup securitisation, both for the national state and urban environments.”
- **Gunter, A. 2011. “Stadium upgrades as Local Economic Development: The Fallacy of the Ellis Park Sports Precinct Upgrade as LED.” *South African Geographical Journal*, Vol. 93, No. 1, pp. 75-88.**
 - o Abstract: “Local economic development (LED) has been heralded as a key mechanism for local area development, with LED strategy being lauded as a tool for urban renewal and regeneration with billions of rands being used to improve the Johannesburg inner city under the auspices of LED. The LED process in Johannesburg seeks to combine local governments and community-based groups committed to finding sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs, and thus improve the quality of their lives. In the South African context, this process has been linked to alleviating the spatial planning of apartheid and the post-apartheid dereliction of the Johannesburg inner city. With the awarding of the Federation Internationale de Football Association soccer World Cup in 2010, there was a pressing need to address stadium upgrade, both within the stadia and in the surrounding area. The Ellis Park Sports Precinct, already designated as a LED project, received a boost of R 2081 billion to upgrade the area for the world cup. This upgrade was conducted under the guise of LED. The reason for this assertion is that LED very often does not deliver the admirable claim of economic development. In the case of the Ellis Park Sports Precinct, the upgrade has not enhanced the area for the local residents or office workers. The precinct has become a simple transient space for sports events,

whereas between games and events the space reverts back to its marginalised urban existence. This paper aims to explore the role of LED as a tool for urban renewal and how the diversion of funds to the Ellis Park Sports Precinct neither enhanced the space for the everyday users nor fulfilled the objectives of an LED project in the inner city of Johannesburg.”

- **Haferberg, C. 2011. “South Africa under FIFA’s Reign: The World Cup’s Contribution to Urban Development.” *Development Southern Africa*, Vol. 28, No. 3, pp. 333-348.**
 - o Abstract: “When South Africa hosted the 2010 FIFA World Cup, the move to stage this mega-event at the southern tip of the African continent was lauded as a timely acknowledgement of the growing importance of the ‘global south’. Most of the fears that had been raised before the kick-off proved immaterial once the event was under way. Nine host cities enjoyed the international spotlight; the new and revamped stadiums were the focus of the media. Behind the scenes, however, more infrastructure had to be created, locational decisions taken and structures of governance honed. That this process was thoroughly influenced by FIFA’s wishes can be demonstrated by focusing on a few strategic elements, such as the site selection for stadiums and fan parks. The findings in this article sustain the dominant argument in mega-event research: urban development and governance in the host cities are severely affected by these events.”
 - o Extract from the Conclusion: “The first FIFA World Cup in Africa took place under very different conditions from those of the World Cups of past decades. Although there have been prior World Cups in the global south, for example in Mexico in 1986 and in 1970, since then the marketing of the event has been professionalised to such an extent that hosting the event in South Africa seemed to be risky from a northern point of view. It would be interesting to debate whether this scepticism was at least partly fuelled by the fact that it would be a post-apartheid South Africa hosting the event. In any case, and as a matter of fact, the economic, infrastructural and societal realities in this country are certainly very different from the conditions of other host countries in the past 20 years. The allocation of the comparatively higher share of investment was very much influenced by FIFA’s wishes, much more than in Germany in 2006. The examples of the interventions in locating stadiums and fan parks, plus the impact of preparations on local government, demonstrate that the sphere of influence of urban governance is increasingly restricted due to the role of being a host city. Within the remaining scope of action, there is a tendency to ‘play it safe’ and to prefer the conservative option in any kind of decision making. This caution can be attributed to both the national and local spheres of government. But this tactical approach to the game might prove counterproductive for South African metropolises’ ambitions to become world class cities; indeed, it might only help perpetuate socio-structural problems. If this were to be the result, it would again enforce the dominant arguments in mega-event research (Haferberg, 2010).”
- **Labuschagne, P. 2011. “Fifa and the 2010 Soccer World Cup in South Africa: A Developmental Perspective.” *Africanus*, Vol. 41, No. 2, pp. 32-45.**
 - o Abstract: “The 2010 Soccer World Cup (SWC) signalled the arrival of South Africa as a successful organiser of a megasport event on the world stage. There was international acclaim for the way the 2010 SWC was organised and the tournament was internationally hailed as a major success. However, in the post-SWC phase, the legacy and impact of the event on South Africa as a developing country will have to be assessed. In this regard, the relationship between the International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) as the controlling body and South Africa

as the host is of particular importance. The main question is whether the host country has been ‘forced’ by the controlling body to exceed its original budget and, in the process, has neglected its developmental targets. The focus of this article is to critically analyse FIFA’s relationship with the local organising committee (LOC) and its strategy to maximise its own profits with little regard for the developmental challenges of the host country.”

- o Extracts from the Conclusion: “The aim of the article was to lift the veil masking FIFA as an ‘innocent’ international sports organisation and to expose its policies towards host nations. The finding was that, although FIFA masquerades as a sports organisation, its policies and actions align more closely with those of a quasi-multinational corporation – which amounts to a variant of neo-colonialism ... FIFA clearly demonstrated its disregard for South Africa’s developmental and socio-economic problems in its single-minded quest to maximise its own profits. In turn South Africa’s political leaders and local organisers, in their fervour to dispel the preconceived notions of Afroinability, were equally guilty: they ended up spending more money than budgeted for – money which could have been channelled towards alleviating socio-economic problems in the country ... However, it will be the cost of maintaining the brand new stadiums which, in future, will place the biggest burden on the local authorities’ ability to meet the country’s developmental goals. The challenge will be to utilise the stadiums to ensure that they do not end up as white elephants, greedily absorbing maintenance fees ... One of the major problems relating to international sports organisations is the absence of control over their actions and the lack of accountability. It is unacceptable that these pseudo-multinational corporations can masquerade as NGOs and, without external check and balances, exploit host nations for their own financial benefit. FIFA should not be allowed to simply parachute into a country and depart after a SWC, having taken a hefty profit, with little or no regard for the internal dynamics of that country, especially if the host country is a developing country plagued with socio-economic problems ... However, the 2010 SWC has, importantly, left one positive legacy: a broad development vision ... In the case of South Africa, there was an extremely positive outcome and it left a legacy beyond the tangible benefits of the infrastructural improvements. The general consensus amongst visitors was that the tournament was a huge success and this perception left a positive spin-off for South Africa as a whole. This translates into the way many people in South Africa will, from now on, look at, think of and perceive themselves as ‘winners’ rather than ‘losers’, thus dispelling the dependency and neo-colonialism mindset that portrays them as ‘victims’ of the West, unable to do anything positive for themselves ... China and India have similarly shaken off the victim status they held for many decades (Bekker [Beeld] 2010: 9). Therefore, to echo the words of Neil Armstrong, the 2010 SWC tournament could be a small step for South Africa as a country but – more importantly (and psychologically) – it could be a giant developmental leap for South Africa and the African continent.”

- **Maharaj, B. 2011. “2010 FIFA World Cup: (South) ‘Africa’s Time has Come’?” *South African Geographical Journal*, Vol. 93, No. 1, pp. 49-62.**

- o Abstract: “The 2010 FIFA World Cup (FWC) extravaganza was widely touted as a great African mega event that, while located in South Africa, would bring economic and social benefits across the continent. The aim of this paper is to critically assess these claims. The key arguments of the paper are that (1) the African connection was mythical, (2) the benefits for poor and disadvantaged South Africans were exaggerated and at best ephemeral, (3) the bid process for 2010 was not transparent and the ruthless profit motive and political machinations of Federation

Internationale de Football Association were ignored as it was subliminally presented as a philanthropic organisation and (4) the billions spent on preparing for the 2010 FWC would have made a huge impact in addressing South Africa's social, welfare, health and education challenges.”

- **Manzo, K. 2012. “Visualizing modernity: development hopes and the 2010 FIFA World Cup.” *Soccer & Society*, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 173-187.**
 - o Abstract: “Inspired by writings in critical geopolitics and development studies, this paper explores the visual dimensions of the relationship between football and development through analysis of the 2010 FIFA World Cup (FWC) in South Africa. The aim is to show how futuristic notions of ‘football now, development later’ rely on two visible icons of hope, namely spectacle (football tournaments and festivals) and infrastructure (mainly football stadiums but also public transport to a lesser extent). These are the visual aspects of an outward-oriented development model aiming to boost foreign investment and tourism by attracting media attention, showcasing modernity, and circulating positive images of Africa to the world. The achievement of these objectives is demonstrably limited by two principal factors. One is the nature of media coverage of South Africa. The second is the nature of the underlying modernist development model, which does not offer a recipe for the eventual human development promised by the South African state.”
 - o Extract from the Conclusion: “The press articles in the notes show that attention to the first African World Cup has been extensive, varied and polyvalent. Coverage of the 2010 FWC has appeared under different subject headings (notably Sport but also International News and Arts and Architecture) and has been produced by various correspondents as well as sports journalists. The South African state therefore succeeded in its objective of attracting considerable media coverage. It also answered the so-called Afro-pessimists who doubted that an African state had the capacity to host a successful FWC. And yet, the limits of statecraft in attempting to control the international media gaze and ‘pre-empt the ‘wrong’ images’ have been equally clear. Probing questions about the national consequences of the 2010 FWC have continued to circulate in the UK media, alongside exposure of political struggles and uneven patterns of benefit. In an ‘ocularcentric’ world, the capacity to make visible is a form of political power and ‘bad press’ relating to uneven development can thus serve positive political ends. Finally, the paper demonstrated that the underlying outward-oriented development model of sports mega-events is a paradoxical mix of state-led ‘big development’ and neo-liberal governance – a model that, by its very nature, defers national development while delivering immediate benefits to corporate interests and local political elites. The tenacity of modernist thought, at a time when poverty alleviation and human development are of pressing concern, guarantees that the term ‘development’ will remain contested for some time to come.”
- **Steinbrink, M., Haferburg, C., and Ley, A. 2011. “Festivalisation and Urban Renewal in the Global South: Socio-spatial Consequences of the 2010 FIFA World Cup.” *South African Geographical Journal*, Vol. 93, No. 1, pp. 15-28.**
 - o Abstract: “Sports mega events increasingly take place in the metropolises of emerging economies. As a citymarketing tool, these events are said to make the host cities more visible in the international competition for foreign and domestic investments. Infrastructural upgrades and fast tracking of urban development projects, as well as giving focus and legitimation to urban policy makers, are supposedly the further benefits of hosting mega events. This recalls the ‘Festivalisation of Urban Policy’ hypothesis by Haußermann and Siebel, which describes the

instrumentalisation of large-scale cultural and sports events to support image building and to catalyse urban development in European and US cities. Given that socio-economically very heterogeneous nations increasingly host these events, it is necessary to extend the debate and to investigate whether the political, economic and social effects in these countries of the Global South – conventionally labelled as the developing world – can be explained with the festivalisation hypothesis: Are the urban development effects qualitatively comparable and, if so, are they more strongly or weakly pronounced than in the Global North? The 2010 International Federation of Football Association World Cup in South Africa is a fitting example to explore the characteristics and dynamics of mega events in the host cities of the Global South.”

- o Extracts from the Conclusion: “The 2010 World Cup was great!’ is probably what most of the world’s football fans are saying. The doubts about (South) Africa’s capabilities that were raised in the media (see Hammett in this issue) have since proven unfounded ... The World Cup’s preparation and execution were effective and targeted. In this respect, and in terms of its own logic, the 2010 FIFA World Cup was a ‘great success’. The interests of (inter)national sports associations, the host nation and the host cities lie behind the organisation of such a mega event. These dimensions are key to understand the ‘context of justification’ as well as the systematisation of important outcomes and side effects of the first football World Cup in Africa. This paper has shown that the host nation followed the farreaching foreign and domestic political interests while FIFA, as content provider, principally targeted profits. As a result, the aim to stage a successful, outwardly oriented tournament was shared. This constellation of interests is critical to the understanding of the urban policy effects of mega events. The powerful alliance of global economic and national political interests limits the scope of the host cities’ urban policies and the potential to capitalise on an event in terms of their own development aims: the immense exertion of external influence reduces planning’s steering capacities ... With regard to the greatest post-apartheid urban planning challenge – the breakdown of inner city disparities – the 2010 FIFA World Cup has not made a positive contribution. On the contrary, the event further intensified the fragmentation and marginalisation of already disadvantaged groups. The infrastructural improvements were not aimed at the integration of marginalised areas either, and the developments in the housing sector confirm once again that mega events contribute to displacement, segregation and housing shortages. With this in mind, there are considerable doubts that the event was a real success for the majority of the host cities’ populations. Many of the hopes stirred up by FIFA and the government regarding the economic and social consequences of ‘Twenty Ten’ remain unfulfilled. Whether the ‘social agenda’ was just political lip service (Pillay and Bass 2008) or the cities’ capacity to act was too weak vis-a-vis national political interests or the profit targets of external players remains unanswered. It is certain, however, that inhabitants of marginal settlements will suffer most from state austerity measures induced by the previous mega spending. As recent protests against the Zuma government have shown, the cuts are not being taken quietly. It is becoming apparent that the ‘feel-good effect’ of the tournament will not counterbalance social tensions in the long term. The 2010 FIFA World Cup is only one example of the current trend in event hosting, and further empirical studies – especially from an ex-post perspective – are needed to comprehend aspects of the transnational streaming of urban policy and urban development through mega events. This requires a comparative approach – a comparison between South Africa and the next World Cup in Brazil would be appropriate. The arguments made in this paper could form the starting point for a conceptual expansion of social science-based urban research with regard to a more comprehensive understanding of mega events in the Global South.”

- **Van der Westhuizen, J. and Swart, K. 2011. “Bread or Circuses? The 2010 World Cup and South Africa’s Quest for Marketing Power.” *International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 28, No. 1, pp. 168-180.**
 - o Abstract: “Marketing power relates to the kind of two-level games in which state elites are engaged. Internally marketing power refers to attempts by state elites to shore up political legitimacy, reinforce a sense of national identity and placate those constituencies adversely affected by the growing internationalisation of domestic issue areas. Initiatives such as hosting or sometimes even just bidding for a major sporting event help create a symbolic focus of commonality, enforcing the sense of identity and loyalty to which the state as civil association could more readily lay claim. The process of state transformation towards a competition state and the complex confluence of marketing power in one of the new ‘emerging powers’ of the developing world is clearly revealed in South Africa’s bid and preparations to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The event provided a rare glimpse into the complex tradeoffs, contradictions and dilemmas facing state and other elites. We contend that three issues prove decisive as a means of probing the societal reach and impact of the event. First, the prioritisation of state expenditure towards the event over more ‘mundane’ but essential domestic budgetary items; second, matters of identity and the pervasive quest for marketing power; and third, concerns about the extent and quality of public participation and questions about the degree to which certain aspects of state sovereignty become modified or re-adapted particularly in response to FIFA demands. We conclude by noting the significance of the World Cup as a means of offering a circus rather than the more challenging task of providing bread.”

4.4.2 Social Outcomes

4.4.2.1 Image, Perception, Identity

The following authors discuss media representations of the FIFA 2010 World Cup and the media’s impact on the image and perceptions of South Africa and Africa at large. The media does not simply report on an event but contributes to the interpretation and representation of such. Literature highlights the reproduction of problematic imagery through the media such as African essentialism, ‘noble savagery’, colonial imagery and Afro-pessimism and alarmism, which may have contributed to the lower than expected number of tourists. On the other hand, one study (see Lepp and Gibson, 2011) reported positive changes in perceptions of South Africa amongst North Americans indicating that the hosting of megaevents may be a useful strategy for constructing positive images of host countries.

- **Berger, G. 2010. “Image Revisions: South Africa, Africa, and the 2010 World Cup.” *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 2, pp. 174-190.**
 - o Abstract: “The 2010 World Cup in South Africa entailed a substantive volume and variety of media representations. However, many of these reinforced essentialist stereotypes. This article examines a selection of the reported discourse around this issue. To the extent that the content was evidently deemed fit for publication, the discourse is “mediated,” even though much is often verbatim from sources rather than subjected to specifically journalistic significations. However, by being made manifest within the media, the discourse’s assumptions are promoted uncritically in the public arena. As such, there is currency to simplistic notions of identity and

race, and elisions between “South Africa” and “Africa.” Assumptions of a uniform continent informed by “noble savage” imagery inform much of the discourse, with emphases on one or another aspect—while nevertheless remaining within a narrow paradigm. This creates a challenge for journalism to produce more complex representations that are less bounded by narrow ideological parameters.”

- o Extract from the Introduction: “For all soccer World Cup events, much discourse is nationality colored and accordingly partisan (see Kuper, 1994). Likewise, ideology that links soccer and masculinity is inevitably reinforced by male-centered sports events such as the FIFA World Cup (see Creedon, 1994; Meân, 2010). The World Cup is also an occasion for renewed constructions of fandom and for the caricaturing of youthful exuberance/hooliganism. Another theme in discourse around football events is racism by (European) football supporters (Back, Crabbe, & Solomos, 1999; McDonald, 2010).”
- **Bolsmann, C. 2012. “Representations in the first African World Cup: ‘World-Class’, Pan-Africanism, and Exclusion.” *Soccer & Society*, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 156-172.**
 - o Abstract: “This paper explores the representation of the first African World Cup in the British and South African press. Drawing on the output of a variety of media outlets between 2004, when South Africa was awarded the right to host the 2010 event, and the culmination of the tournament in July 2010, this paper contends that a range of representations of Africa have been put forward by the British and South African media. These can be interpreted as alarmist, sensationalist and even racist in certain extreme instances, and hypernationalist and overly defensive in other cases.”
- **Hammett, D. 2011. “British Media Representations of South Africa and the 2010 FIFA World Cup.” *South African Geographical Journal*, Vol. 93, No. 1, pp. 63-74.**
 - o Abstract: “According to government estimates 500,000 foreign tourists were expected to visit South Africa to participate in the 2010 FIFA World Cup. During the course of 2010 these estimates were systematically and significantly downgraded. The global economic downturn, overpricing of tickets and hospitality packages and increased costs within South Africa’s tourist industry have all been identified as contributors to the lower than anticipated international take-up of tickets. Obscured within these developments are dynamic processes by which South Africa is represented as a tourist destination. This paper presents a discourse analysis of representations of South Africa within four British print media outlets - The Guardian, The Times, The Daily Mail and The Daily Star - between January and July 2010. Themes of Afro-pessimism, African essentialism and (neo-) colonialism are identified as contributing to problematic and colonial representations of South Africa in the build-up to the tournament.”
- **Lepp, A. and Gibson, H. 2011. “Reimagining a nation: South Africa and the 2010 FIFA World Cup.” *Journal of Sport & Tourism*, Vol. 16, No. 3, pp. 211–230.**
 - o Abstract: “A nation’s image is an important component of a successful tourism policy and since 1994 South Africa (SA) has embarked on a strategy of hosting major sport events to achieve various national goals, including projecting images of the ‘new SA’. This study investigated the role media coverage of the 2010 FIFA World Cup played in changing images associated with SA among a sample of US college students. Seventy-nine students participated in a one group pre-test post-test experiment. Two months before the World Cup, images of SA were found to

be associated with sport, racial issues, parks and wildlife, Third World, and Nelson Mandela. Perceived risk (crime, disease, instability, etc.) as part of these images was moderately low. Six weeks after the World Cup, the significance of sport to SA's image had increased, images of Nelson Mandela, parks and wildlife, and Third World were stable, and racial images had decreased. Perceptions of SA as modern also increased. The number of matches watched had no effect on these images. Sport-related media (television and Internet coverage of the World Cup) was the most common sources of SA's post FIFA image. The results suggest that SA's strategy to reimage through sport appears to be working for these participants. The findings show that media coverage of major sport events may be quite influential and should be managed to achieve desired outcomes."

- **Maguire, J. 2011. "Invictus or evict-us? Media Images of South Africa through the Lens of the FIFA World Cup." *Social Identities*, Vol. 17, pp. 681-694.**
 - o Abstract: "When looking at the bidding for and staging of mega-events in general, and for the 2010 FIFA World Cup in particular, a polarized debate concerning the possibilities and limitations involved therein ensues. Those who see positive benefits speak in either evangelical language, or marketing terms, regarding the power of sport to rebrand the country, regenerate economies, engender positive social capital, unite a nation or continent, and present a positive image to the world. The allure of hosting mega-events is so great that politicians attend bidding events and proclaim the virtues of their nation/city to unelected executive board members of major sport organizations in the hope that they will be chosen. Being part of the established groups of the sports industrial complex outweighs a more considered appraisal of the benefits of sport and the transparency/accountability of global sport decision making. The case study outlined here examines the claims and counter-claims made and highlights how the media do not simply report a mega-event, such as the FIFA World Cup, but also frame and interpret how the tournament, and the country that stages it, in this case, South Africa, is viewed internally, and on a global stage. In order to consider the hosting of future mega-events, stakeholders in bidding countries need to consider this along with the other aspects involved. On this basis, a more reflective state policy towards sport and mega-events might be developed."

4.4.2.2 Nationalism, Nation-Building and Social Cohesion

A purported key motivation behind the hosting of mega-events is the opportunity for host nations to build national unity and social cohesion. The articles below raise a number of contradictions. Whilst studies indicate that national unity and social cohesion was temporarily fostered, the World Cup brought to the fore deep class divisions as well as xenophobic attitudes and actions. The limited and short-term social cohesion that was built during the event may actually lead to long term social divisions as the financial legacy of the World Cup becomes an obstacle to socio-economic development and the alleviation of poverty and inequality.

- **Human Sciences Research Council, Democracy And Governance And Service Delivery Programme. 2011. "Impact Of The 2010 World Cup On Social Cohesion, Nation Building And Reconciliation." Pretoria: HSRC Press. Available at <http://www.hsrc.ac.za/en/research-data/view/5432>.**
 - o Extracts from the Background: "The South African government has consistently argued that sport can be used as a tool to support and help realise social and economic development,

including the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs); and it can encourage constructive social behaviour in individuals and promote social cohesion, tolerance, peace and security, as well as nation- building ... The message from government, therefore, is that sport must be a catalyst for the building of a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic, prosperous and free South Africa. It must build social cohesion and build a proud South African nation. As such, the FIFA World Cup in 2010 presented a set of interesting opportunities for the further integration of a South African identity ... and would have the potential to fuse the nation closer together both through the hosting process, and broad-based support of Bafana Bafana ... This report focuses on the far more long term objectives of the government to build social cohesion in the country and the role played by the 2010 World Cup in fostering this cohesion.”

- o Extracts from The Brief: “The Socio-Economic Partnership Branch of the DST, in consultation with the Department of Sport and Recreation, proposed a study to investigate the impact of the 2010 World Cup on social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation. The study seeks to investigate two key research questions: What are the direct and sustained social benefits for hosting a mega-event such as the 2010 World Cup in South Africa? What is the social and people ‘legacy’ of the 2010 World Cup? ... It is suggested here that conditions in South Africa indicate that the concept of “social cohesion” is usefully conceptualised as an interplay among all three: Civic — expressed through expressions of the national identity and loyalty to the nation, as well as behaviour such as voting participation, community activism and other public civic engagement; Economic — indicated through shared concerns about diverse social sectors as well as demonstrated willingness to distribute the country’s resources to all social sectors (such as housing, electricity, education and other public services and public goods); Social — indicated through social mixing and attitudes about mixing, such as in clubs, sport teams, schools, businesses, shopping and intermarriage.”
- o Extracts from the Executive Summary: “Most respondents, including focus group participants, stakeholders and South African Social Attitude Survey (SASAS) canvassed after the World Cup felt that the primary benefit of the World Cup was its impact on social cohesion. This contrasted with survey respondents views canvassed before the World Cup, which indicated that only between 2-4% believed that the World Cup would impact on national unity ... While the impact of the World Cup on social cohesion and nation building was significant during the period of the event, a range of sectors canvassed expressed concern about the sustainability of this cohesion and the failure to put in place concrete mechanisms and programmes to ensure that the momentum around social cohesion was sustained and is translated into more entrenched forms of reconciliation.”
- o “Survey respondents, focus group participants and stakeholders generally agreed that South Africa’s hosting of the World Cup had “put South Africa on the global map” and achieved the objective of positioning South Africa favourably in the international community. The World Cup was widely posited as an “African” as well as a South African event with the slogan, Ke Nako Africa’s time has come. During the period of the World Cup a number of respondents noted an increased sense of connection with the African continent as a whole, however, fears of xenophobic attacks that followed immediately after the World Cup raised concerns about the sustainability and depth of the connection created with the African continent. On the other hand the positive positioning of South Africa during the World Cup did appear to have gone some way to dispelling negative stereotypes about the African continent within the global community.”

- o “South African citizens’ expectations that the hosting of the World Cup would lead to economic growth, increased job opportunities and small business opportunities appear to have been significantly disappointed. This, it could be argued, was the result of excessively high expectations that were created during the run up to the World Cup regarding potential economic benefits that ordinary citizens could expect to experience. In addition there was a lack of knowledge, skills and empowerment among citizens which would have made it possible for them to take advantage of the economic opportunities that did arise as a result of the 2010 World Cup. This despite the fact that government negotiated that 30% of the budget of the Local Organising Committee should be allocated to black economic empowerment and SMEs in terms of procurement policy. Fifa regulations and controls of economic and other rights such as ticketing and accommodation were perceived to be significant obstacles to South African citizens fully enjoying the potential economic benefits of the World Cup. While the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism reported that it had provided R200 million to assist with the grading of small, medium and micro-enterprise accommodation, it appears that many service providers struggled to make use of these resources. After the World Cup a significant proportion of survey respondents, stakeholders and focus group participants argued that there had been economic disadvantages to hosting the World Cup, namely the diversion of resources away from poverty alleviation and a waste of money on the construction of stadia ... Prior to the World Cup, government argued that it would also use the opportunity of preparing for the World Cup to speed up the delivery of services and infrastructure. Survey data appears to indicate that the hosting of the World Cup did positively impact on South African citizen’s confidence in the government to deliver services. This has had an unintended consequence of raising South African citizen’s expectations in terms of service delivery in general. South Africans who saw the successful delivery of infrastructure and development for the purposes of the World Cup, subsequently questioned why similar urgency has not been applied to meeting their service delivery needs.”
- o “Despite South African citizens’ concerns that about sustainability of the social cohesion created during the period of the World Cup and the distribution of economic benefits as a result of the event, there is significant, if not unanimous support for the hosting of future large international events. However, given the experience of the World Cup, if this support is to be maintained more effort will need to be made to ensure that clear plans are put in place to ensure that economic expectations are not raised unrealistically high, that economic benefits are distributed more evenly and don’t entrench existing patterns of inequality. More systematic plans will also have to be put in place to ensure that any benefits, either social or economic, are part of a long term plan for sustainable forms of nation building, social cohesion and economic development.”
- **Labuschagne, P. 2011. “The 2010 Fifa World Cup And Nation Building In South Africa: Missing the Goal Post?”. *Commonwealth Youth and Development*, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 53-68.**
 - o Abstract: “This article investigates the impact that the 2010 Soccer World Cup had on nation building in South Africa. The initial expectations were similar to that of the 1995 Rugby World Cup in that the success of the national team, Bafana, Bafana, would provide a stimulus to bridge the divisions in society in a process of nation building. The potential of sport to enhance nation building is explained with specific reference to the problem of ethnic-based support for sport in South Africa. It is also pointed out that sport has a rather limited capacity to achieve nation building and that it should be supported with more tangible support, such as socio-economic benefits to society. The article also emphasises that the financial legacy of the Soccer

World Cup will be an obstacle in the way of locating more funds for socio-economic development, such as housing. However, the Soccer World Cup left a valuable legacy, because the success of the tournament reinforced the general belief and sense of achievement of all South Africans as a nation.”

- **Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. 2011. “The World Cup, Vuvuzelas, Flag-Waving Patriots and the Burden of Building South Africa.” *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 32, pp 279–293.**
 - o Abstract: “The recent hosting of the World Cup by South Africa invoked what Michael Billig has termed ‘banal nationalism’, manifesting itself through blowing of ‘Vuvuzelas’, waving and displaying of the national flag on vehicles, as well as the wearing of sports regalia (Football Friday) by the people across racial, ethnic and class divisions. The support for the national team— ‘Bafana Bafana’ occupied the national centre stage and became the main symbol around which national pride and unity crystallised. How long will this national unity survive the event? Is South Africa experiencing one month of fake nationhood? Is this national unity a sign of triumphalism over divisive nationalisms of the past? This article deploys a combination of Billig’s concept of banal nationalism, Foucauldian discourse analysis and a historical approach to examine how South African nationalists used the World Cup to enhance the project of nation building. The article analyses the various debates about the nation provoked by the hosting of the World Cup, particularly how the mega-event spawned a strong spirit of national unity on the one hand, while simultaneously bringing into sharp focus glaring class divisions and threats of xenophobia, on the other. It brings together the views of left-leaning dissenters, Afro-pessimists and nationalist optimists on the impact and meaning of the World Cup for South Africa. Its key hypothesis is that these competing perspectives cannot be understood without acknowledging the local context of a society emerging from apartheid oppression and racism, existing within a global terrain that is provoking contradictory notions of belonging and being an aspirant nation with a weak sense of nationhood.”
- **Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. 2011. “Pan-Africansim and the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa.” *Development Southern Africa*, Vol. 28, No. 3, pp. 401-413.**
 - o Abstract: “This article explores how South Africa’s 2010 hosting of the FIFA World Cup became an occasion to try to deepen nationalism and pan-Africanism in the midst of contending discourses that emphasised the economic and developmental meaning of the mega-event. The article uses Michael Billig’s concept of ‘banal nationalism’ in combination with the Essex discourse approach to make sense of competing perspectives on the meanings of the World Cup. Its central thesis is that this meaning cannot be understood outside a history of a society emerging from apartheid oppression and racism and aspiring to be a nation and a developed state. The discourse approach makes it possible to read the World Cup as a social and political construction and assists in understanding different subject positions that human agents take up in order to make sense of the event within a society whose national cohesiveness is fragile.”
- **Tomlinson, R., Bass, O. and Bassett, T. 2011. “Before and after the vuvuzela: identity, image and mega-events in South Africa, China and Brazil.” *South African Geographical Journal*, Vol. 93, No. 1, pp. 38-48.**
 - o Abstract: “Focusing on recent and upcoming mega-events in South Africa, China and Brazil, this paper contrasts and critiques the associated image and identity opportunities and risks,

as well as comparative motivations for hosting such events. Accordingly, the paper considers the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, the 2008 Beijing Olympics and the scheduled 2014 World Cup and 2016 Rio de Janeiro Olympics in Brazil. In the context of an increasing number of mega-events being hosted in the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India and China; South Africa is to join), the paper provides broader continuity and introduces a broader research agenda.”

- o Extracts from the Introduction: “This paper contrasts and critiques the different image and identity opportunities and related risks among three countries, focusing on the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, reflecting on the 2008 Beijing Olympics, and anticipating in Brazil, the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Rio de Janeiro Olympics. These megaevents offer middle-income countries the opportunity to seek to shape how they are perceived throughout the world in a manner quite unlike high-income countries ... The three authors began debating why middle-income countries bid to host mega-events and contrasting the experiences of South Africa to China, with an eye towards Brazil. Rather than a didactic focus (for Brazil in the immediate term), the paper arises out of these reflections. As an initial step, the paper therefore seeks to place these three countries in relation to one another, with an emphasis on exploring comparative motivations for hosting sports mega-events ... In many respects, the larger intent of the paper is to introduce a broader research agenda arising from the global interest in the BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China; South Africa is to join) and their emerging role as the spur to global economic growth. This paper could be expanded were it to consider the 2010 Commonwealth Games in India, the 2014 Winter Olympics in Sochi (Russia) and the 2018 FIFA Football World Cup to be hosted by Russia. The trend with regard to the BRICS countries hosting sports mega and lesser (Winter Olympics and Commonwealth Games) events suggests a rewarding research undertaking; one that may well come to include an Olympics Games in Cape Town or Durban, both of which intend to bid for the Olympics.”

4.4.2.3 Human Rights, Civil Liberties and Voices “From Below”

This section highlights the encroachment of human rights and democratic freedoms preceding and during the World Cup as well as the oppression of the working poor. Such activities by state forces included the suspension of democratic freedoms, police repression and violence against striking workers, the eviction of street children and informal traders as well as the harassment of sex workers.

- **Bond, P. 2010. “World Cup in South Africa: Six red cards for FIFA.” *Links International Journal of Socialist Renewal*. Available from <http://links.org.au/node/174>.**
 - o Extracts: “A barrage of flag-waving, *vuvuzela*-blowing hypernationalist publicity cannot drown out at least six critiques of the World Cup: 1) dubious priorities and overspending; 2) FIFA super profits and political corruption; 3) heightened foreign debt and imports amidst generalised economic hardships; 4) the breaking of numerous trickledown promises; 5) the suspension of democratic freedoms; and 6) repression of rising protest.”
 - o “A fourth red card is the lack of trickle-down to the masses, witnessed in wasted opportunities – such as the trashy Zakumi doll mascot made in Chinese sweatshops, not here – and municipalities’ brutal displacement tactics. Informal street traders are furious at being barred from selling in the vicinity of games, as are Durban fisherfolk evicted from the main piers in early June. Crafts, tourism and township soccer facilities were all meant to benefit. But as SA Football

Association Western Cape provincial president, Norman Arendse, confessed, FIFA's "fatal" top-down approach left grassroots soccer with merely "crumbs". Most sickening is the betrayal of helpless street kids. On April 1, 2009, at the Fourth South Africa Aids Conference, Durban city manager Mike Sutcliffe promised that "street children would not be whisked off the streets in the backs of police vans before the 2010 World Cup kicked off in the city, only to miraculously reappear on the streets when visitors had returned home". Turns out he was April-fooling with us. Whisking is underway, and as Durban NGO Umthombo director Tom Hewitt remarked in February, "Removing children for the World Cup is not about child protection but about cleaning up the streets."

- o "The sixth red card goes to the South African police for their repression, starting with security minister in KwaZuluNatal Bheki Cele's 2008 "shoot to kill" order, quickened with clampdowns on striking workers and then last week's murder of service delivery protesters in a township (Etwatwa) east of Johannesburg and in Soweto, and also of two young men in Phoenix, Durban, which catalysed a demonstration against police brutality."
- **Bonthuys, E. 2012. "The 2010 Football World Cup and the Regulation of Sex Work in South Africa." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 38, pp. 11-29.**
 - o Abstract: "While the South African government expected the 2010 Football World Cup to stimulate economic growth and infrastructure development, and to foster a sense of national unity amongst its citizens, members of the public and the media anticipated an increased demand for commercial sex. The call, in 2007, by the National Commissioner of Police to legalise sex work for the duration of the tournament stimulated debates on the legal status of sex work. Media reports show how advocates for sex workers' rights used the publicity around the event to argue for the legalisation of sex work and the protection of sex workers' human rights. However, these calls were persistently overshadowed by claims that up to 40,000 foreign women would be trafficked into the country for sex work, and claims that many children would be abducted or trafficked for the same purposes. Similar claims have been made in the past in relation to other large sporting events, especially the 2006 Football World Cup held in Germany. However, these fears have not materialised elsewhere, nor did they do so in 2010. Fears of sex trafficking represent a form of moral panic which, while purporting to focus on the well-being of trafficked sex workers, often instead provide justification for the harassment and punishment of sex workers. This happened at the German World Cup and such fears were used to similar effect in the Cape Town Metro. The preoccupation with trafficking and child sexual abuse distract attention from more important issues in debates about sex work, such as the ways in which the state, global and local commercial interests, and beliefs about sexuality in the wider society, construct and uphold women's economic dependence on men and the routine exploitation of women's sexuality. These factors create and sustain the conditions which force women to resort to sex work, both in the formal sex work industry, and in 'informal' sex work transactions."
- **De Bruijn, R. 2010. "Claiming the Right to the City Contesting Forced Evictions of Squatters in Cape Town during the run-up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup." Unpublished Masters Thesis. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam.**
 - o Abstract: "South Africa is after Brazil the most unequal society of the world. Despite the fact that many South Africans still live in shacks below poverty line, the South African government has spent billions of rand on hosting a world class event, namely the FIFA World Cup, which is

only accessible to a small and rich segment of society. Although the 2010 FIFA World Cup was a great success according to the South African government and FIFA, it had no benefits for the majority of the country, the poor. In this thesis, attention is given to the negative socio- and spatial impacts 2010 had on the lives of squatters in the City of Cape Town, one of South Africa's cities that hosted the World Cup. More specifically, this thesis focuses on one of the contested spaces in Cape Town, namely the Athlone practice stadium, from where squatters have faced evictions and relocations to the Symphony Way Temporary Relocation Area, known to many as — Blikkiesdorp (Afrikaans for — Tin Can Town), located in the outskirts of the city.”

- o “Via the use of diverse social science research methods and techniques, such as participant observation, semistructured interviews, informal interviews, focus group and qualitative document analysis, a holistic perspective is given on the anti-eviction struggles of squatters and their claims to the Right to the City.”
- o “This thesis explores how this notion of the Right to the City is represented through the strategies, forms and outcomes of the collective actions of these squatters from Athlone and shows how these local struggles are intertwined with city-wide struggles for houses and even with international anti-eviction struggles via transnational advocacy networks. Furthermore, this thesis not only contributes to the political and scientific debates concerning struggles for the Right to the City, but also contributes to the existing knowledge on the forms, opportunities and challenges of anti-eviction struggles of squatters that are based on principles of non-hierarchy, self-organisation, direct democracy and mutual aid. It further made clear that in South Africa, as well as in other developing countries, institutional and environmental opportunities and constraints surrounding urban social movements and squatter communities in society, such as the limited space for negotiation in the political structures for (poor) residents, oppressive governments and limited resources, are important factors that influence and determine the scope for social resistance.”
- **Huchzermeyer, M. 2011. “The Field of Tension of Informal Settlements in the New Millennium.” Available from <http://www.womeninandbeyond.org/?p=1124>.**
 - o Extract: ”City authorities, in their attempts to attract and hold on to investors, encourage and protect stakes in the urban land market. The adoption of this approach is not to be questioned. It is not submitted to public and political debate. In South Africa, preparation for the 2010 Fifa World Cup brought this into stark relief. The urgent expenditure of massive public funds remained unchallenged. They resulted in soccer precincts and the acceleration of world class transport improvements, all enhancing economic stakes in the urban land market. Spin-offs were promised to all, unconvincingly also to informal settlement dwellers. The provision of water, sanitation and housing to a fraction of informal settlements in turn received much public political attention. The N2 Gateway pilot project in Cape Town, South Africa’s flagship ‘slum’ redevelopment exercise from 2004 to 2010, symbolised a tendency to override policy and legislation, as did numerous cases in South Africa’s six largest cities to evict informal settlement residents from strategic locations without court order and without provision of alternative accommodation. All these interventions amounted to attempts at exclusion of the poor from South African cities.

- **Urmilla, B. and Majola, M. 2011. “Rural community perceptions of the 2010 FIFA World Cup: The Makhowe Community in KwaZulu-Natal.” *Development South Africa*, Vol. 28, pp. 387-399.**
 - o Abstract: “More developing countries are now bidding for and hosting mega-events. However, it is unclear whether the legacies of a sport mega-event will benefit the host country’s rural citizens. This is a particularly neglected area of research on mega-events. Rural communities in South Africa remain marginalised and often impoverished. This study assesses rural community members’ perceptions of the costs and benefits of South Africa’s hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. It looks at the impacts they anticipated and how they would like to have participated in and benefited from the event. The responses of 100 households in Makhowe in rural KwaZulu-Natal show that this community generally supported South Africa’s hosting of the event and expected direct benefits. Both negative and positive experiences and legacies were anticipated. It is recommended that partnerships be leveraged with game parks to enhance opportunities for rural communities and that further research should be conducted.”

- **South African Transport and Allied Workers’ Union (SATAWU) 2012. “SATAWU statement on the security industry and the World Cup.” Available from: <http://www.cosatu.org.za/show.php?ID=3505>.**
 - o Extracts: “FIFA and the Local Organising Committee are fully responsible for the fiasco that is unfolding with regard to the employment of security workers for the World Cup ... FIFA and the LOC ignored organised labour during the tender process, and have appointed service providers who are non compliant with the law. FIFA and the LOC are dodging their responsibility by referring to the dispute in Stallion Security as an ‘internal labour relations matter’ ... Satawu as the biggest trade union representing security workers, has received reports that most of the security workers employed for World Cup related activities do not have written contracts, and that the sums they are substantially lower than the amounts they were verbally promised. Most have been employed on a temporary basis under conditions which do not comply with the minimum conditions stipulated by the Sectoral Determination for the Security Industry ... We further strongly condemn the continuous trigger happy behaviour of the South African Police Services in their attempt to silence workers from demonstrating their constitutional right to protest and to take strike action.”

- **Van Blerk, L. 2011. “‘Managing’ Cape Town’s street children/youth: the impact of the 2010 World Cup bid on street life in the city of Cape Town.” *South African Geographical Journal*, Vol. 93, No. 1, pp. 29-37.**
 - o Abstract: “Soccer has often been hailed as a key motivator in rehabilitation and restoration work with young people in difficult circumstances and for overcoming street life. Across much of Africa, the literature identifies many urban public places as play spaces for poor children who have limited alternative access to parks and playgrounds. ‘The street’ has regularly been transformed into a soccer pitch, as a space where children have easy access. Against this backdrop, South Africa’s success at securing the 2010 World Cup bid, may be viewed as an opportunity to demonstrate the uplifting achievements of team sports for impoverished youth, yet at the same time, is juxtaposed against the removal of young people from the city streets, with little consideration of the impact on their lives. This paper draws on qualitative research with over 50 street children and 30 street youth aged between 10 and 28 from Cape Town’s city centre. Using key narratives, it demonstrates how vagrant young people are being excluded from the city in an effort to clean up the streets. The paper ends with a consideration of these measures for young people’s lives.”

- **Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign. 2010. “The First Poor People’s World Cup on African Soil.” Available at <http://antieviction.org.za/2010/06/14/the-first-poor-peoples-world-cup-on-african-soil/>.**
 - o Extract: “At the meeting where the programme of the day was discussed, the coordinators explained that this tournament is not only for the soccer teams, but also for the whole community and for the people who struggle everyday against water and electricity cut-offs and against evictions from their homes and working places. The message during the meeting was clear: while the poor people in Cape Town and in South Africa as a whole are suffering, the rich are enjoying themselves in the expensive stadiums at the expenses of the poor.”

5. Conclusion

Cities and regions are increasingly interested in hosting mega-events, leading to competition between countries for this ‘honour’. The political, symbolic and economic benefits of being a host nation are touted, such as positive national identity, increased capital investment, infrastructure development and opportunities for democratization. However, the benefits of mega-events are highly debatable, particularly when one focuses on mega-events in the developing world and its effects on members of the working poor. After an extensive survey of literature, it is evident that there is a gap between the expectations of what mega-events will bring for the socio-economic development of countries and the outcomes. Most economic analyses of mega-events presented highlight the debt accrued by host countries as a result as well as inconsequential economic benefits in terms of employment levels, wage levels and personal incomes for the majority of citizens. Furthermore the dominance of a corporate and political elite agenda is noted which oft-times stands in opposition to socio-economic development and the rights of citizens, evident in processes such as the the exacerbation of socio-spatial disparities, the lack of participatory process over the development of public urban spaces, and the evictions of ‘unwanted’ in order to ‘beautify’ cities. Focusing on the South African FIFA 2010 World Cup, studies have reiterated the trends described above, however given the context of a developing country much of the contradictions are further sharpened.

Key to the analysis of the effects of the FIFA 2010 World Cup is an understanding of the ‘democracy deficit’ in the process of preparation and in the distribution of economic capital as a result. The sports-media-business entities influenced and had disproportionate power over the planning and development process but were not accountable to the public nor acted in the public interest. Furthermore FIFA’s claims to be a benevolent organisation need to be interrogated. In the preparation processes there was a lack of transparency and accountability from both FIFA and the Local Organising Committee – evident in corruption and tender irregularities. The fast-tracking of development circumvented public debate and participation. FIFA’s power over urban development perpetuated socio-structural problems through fragmentation, displacement and marginalisation of the urban poor. During the preparation process there were housing evictions, evictions of street children, harassment of sex workers, increased police brutality and repression, pressure to eradicate informal settlements and an extensive ‘clean-up’ process. FIFA set up requirements regulating the appearance of host cities; thus cities often play host but lack control over the the standards and processes imposed upon them. Without opposing such, cities often become complicit in the deficit of democracy.

The infrastructure development for the World Cup included the development of middleclass housing in place of informal settlements, the development of stadiums, the gautrain and walk ways and fan parks. Billions of rands were spent on these projects. When one looks at who gained from such infrastructure development it is evident that the urban poor did not. As one article describes the upgrade of Ellis Park and surrounds under the guise of Local Economic Development was a farce given the lack of improvement of the quality of lives of the urban poor in the surrounds. The development projects were mostly aimed for the use of tourists and middle and upper class citizens and the jobs created were temporary with low wages.

The above processes are tied in with a development model compatible with neoliberal ideology. In other words, the tenet is that development of areas of a city as 'world class' and serving the needs of capital and the elite will lead to a 'trickle down' to the poor. This model focuses on ensuring immediate benefits for corporate and political elites and therefore the postponement of meeting the needs of the working poor. It is argued that billions of rands could have been spent on immediately and directly addressing human needs such as education, health and housing development rather than superfluous development. Cities and regions now have the burden of austerity measures post-world cup and the burden of maintaining stadiums which will further divert funds. It is evident that there are opposing bases for development, which any developing country will need to interrogate. On the one hand, capital is used to meet human needs which in turn is believed to generate further capital and on the other hand capital is used to create more capital which in turn is believed to trickle down to meet human needs.

The immediate social outcomes of the 2010 World Cup include both unity and division. There was a sense of unity and collectivity around the idea of 'the nation' and 'proudly South African'. However the duration and depth of such was limited. Can genuine long-term collectivity be established through a sports-event? Whilst many may have watched the games, questions such as who could afford to buy tickets; why were stadiums built and not houses; why was public transport for tourists developed and not for the poor could not be wiped away. This raises the problem of trying to build momentary collectivity on top of gross inequality. Furthermore building collectivity on the basis of exclusion – nationalism – raises its own problems such as the inadvertent perpetuation of xenophobia. Whilst moments of collectivity were experienced, so too were moments of division and conflict exemplified through actions such as security and construction workers' strikes, anti-eviction protests and subsequent service delivery protests. Some questions which should be addressed in this debate and in future research include:

- How does one measure benefits? And particularly benefits for the working poor?
- Given that economic growth and capital investment are inadequate measures, how does one measure an improved quality of life for the working poor?
- Why do developing countries spend vast sums of money (public capital) on building sport stadiums when citizens lack basic infrastructure and services?
- What kind of infrastructure is developed in preparation for mega-events? Can it be publicly accessed and usefully utilised by the majority of citizens post the events?

- Who profits economically from mega-events?
- Who benefits from increased national identity and a heightened 'feel good' factor amongst citizens?
- Is democracy expanded or contracted through the preparation processes?

Finally, in looking to the future and the hosting of mega-events as a strategy for development for countries in the global South, the following can be taken into consideration:

- Hosting mega-events does not automatically or necessarily contribute to socioeconomic development. The dominant development paradigm needs to be interrogated in order to adopt a more livelihood or needs-based approach.
- The constitution of the organising committee is important to ensure that it is not dominated by political and corporate elites. Civil society and community organisations should be included and recognised in the planning and development process.
- The informal economy plays a significant role in developing countries and thus street traders should be recognised and involved in planning processes.
- There should be a collective pressure from below to force FIFA to adopt a code of conduct to prevent the exploitation of developing countries and the working poor for their own benefits. It is not enough that FIFA claims to be benevolent; there must be conditions to enforce such.
- Long-term research into the impacts of mega-events on developing countries and the poor should be undertaken and monitored.

About WIEGO: Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing is a global research-policy-action network that seeks to improve the status of the working poor, especially women, in the informal economy. WIEGO builds alliances with, and draws its membership from, three constituencies: membership-based organizations of informal workers, researchers and statisticians working on the informal economy, and professionals from development agencies interested in the informal economy. WIEGO pursues its objectives by helping to build and strengthen networks of informal worker organizations; undertaking policy analysis, statistical research and data analysis on the informal economy; providing policy advice and convening policy dialogues on the informal economy; and documenting and disseminating good practice in support of the informal workforce. For more information visit: www.wiego.org.

About Inclusive Cities: The Inclusive Cities project aims to strengthen membership-based organizations (MBOs) of the working poor in the areas of organizing, policy analysis and advocacy, in order to ensure that urban informal workers have the tools necessary to make themselves heard within urban planning processes. Inclusive Cities is a collaboration of MBOs of the working poor, international alliances of MBOs and those supporting the work of MBOs. For more information visit www.inclusivecities.org.



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