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Service Delivery, Democracy and Governance

IMPACT OF THE 2010 WORLD CUP ON SOCIAL COHESION, NATION BUILDING AND RECONCILIATION

Final Report



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IMPACT OF THE 2010 WORLD CUP ON SOCIAL COHESION, NATION BUILDING AND RECONCILIATION

Final Report

BACKGROUND

When South Africa won the bid for the 2010 World Cup in May 2004, there was euphoria in the country. There was great pride that we had been given the honour to host the biggest sporting event in the world for the first time ever in Africa. Since then, virtually all state departments were drawn into the preparation process, and “2010” became the rallying point for plans and activities.

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 South African government has embarked on a programme of encouraging social cohesion in South Africa to foster positive national identity in a complex, heterogeneous, racialised and stratified nation. Government has explicitly stated that social polarisation in sports is unacceptable insofar as it would continue to create racially separate “publics”, with different benefits, rights and obligations, and fragmented experiences of citizenship.

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. The South African Football Association (SAFA) openly stated that the World Cup would be distinctly ‘African and South African’, and would have the potential to fuse the nation closer together both through the hosting process, and broad-based support of Bafana Bafana.

These government objectives therefore extend far beyond the 17 guarantees provided to Fifa to ensure the successful hosting of the 2010 World Cup. While many of the 17 guarantees led to a variety of legacies for the country such as the building of infrastructure, improved border controls, ICT and telecommunications, the guarantees were primarily directed at regulating the relationship between Fifa and the South African government. 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.

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

The primary objective of this research is to investigate the impact of the FIFA 2010 World Cup on nation building, social cohesion and reconciliation, i.e. the 'social' benefits of the World Cup and hence to understand what the social legacy of the World Cup may be and how this legacy can be optimized. Literature reviewed for this study has pointed to some of the potential social benefits of events such as the World Cup.

A number of studies have, for example indicated the potential importance of the more "intangible" benefits of mega-events such as the World Cup¹. Cornelissen and Swart² agree that hosting mega events, such as the World Cup, have political and social corollaries that usually extend far beyond the event itself. Sport has historically been employed as a means to enhance nation building and provide us with socio-cultural "touchstones"³ Du Plessis and Maennig⁴ found in this vein that the 2006 World Cup had considerable intangible benefits for Germany including improvements in image and nation-building.

The hosting of mega-events often plays two critical roles in developing countries such as South Africa. On the one hand they help to globally position the country in an international context characterized by unequal power relations between developed and developing nations, enabling developing countries to compensate for a relative lack of economic and other sources of power and influence in the international sphere. On the other hand, mega-events simultaneously play a significant role internally in terms of promoting the development of a common national identity based on common symbols and support for a common goal. In a relatively new democracy such as South Africa, whose history was characterized by racial, class, ethnic, social, gendered and other divisions that remain a problem in the current social context, the hosting of mega-events such as the World Cup is seen as a critical means to address some of these challenges of nation building.

This study seeks to systematically examine claims regarding the effect of the World Cup on social cohesion and nation building through the collection of empirical evidence that makes it

¹ Tomlinson, R., Bass, O. & Pillay, U. 2009. Introduction. In: Pillay, U., Tomlinson, R. & Bass, O. (eds). *Development and Dreams. The urban legacy of the 2010 Football World Cup*. Cape Town: HSRC Press; Brenke, K. & Wagner, G. 2006. The Soccer World Cup in Germany: a major sporting and cultural event – but without notable business cycle effects. In: *Weekly Report*, DIW Berlin.

² Cornelissen, S & Swart, K. 2006. The 2010 Football World Cup as a political construct: the challenge of making good on an African promise. *Sociological Review*, 54:2, pp 108-123.

³ Black and van der Westhuizen cited in Pillay 2009:296.

⁴ Du Plessis, S. & Maennig, W. 2009. South Africa: 2010: Initial dreams and sobering economic perspectives. In: Pillay, U., Tomlinson, R. & Bass, O. (eds). *Development and Dreams. The urban legacy of the 2010 Football World Cup*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

possible to dispute, expand or detail these impacts in order to assist in the process of translating these impacts into long term, sustainable, positive effects on social cohesion and national reconciliation.

In investigating the social benefits of the World Cup, this study takes a broad view of this social legacy as incorporating both civic and economic inclusion, as it is argued that these factors are critical to the long term sustainability of the more “intangible” benefits commonly associated with mega-events such as the 2010 World Cup. Studies on the impact of mega-events on employment and economic opportunities have been mixed. Economic projections tend to overestimate the benefits and underestimate the costs of such an event⁵. While this study does not attempt to provide a comprehensive assessment of the economic impact of the World Cup, what it does focus on is the question of economic *inclusion*. Popular perceptions of the economic benefits to the country and the distribution of those benefits: especially, the “who gets what” question touches closely on historical inequities and tensions about growing economic inequality in the country.

In addition, it is often argued that involvement in and association with the successful hosting of events such as the World Cup can create a sense of empowerment among ordinary citizens, which can ostensibly lead to the development of an informed and empowered citizenry, with a greater ability to assert itself and hold governments accountable⁶. If we are talking about the social legacy of the World Cup in the most holistic sense, it is also critical to ask to what extent did citizens not only feel empowered by the experience of hosting the World Cup, but to what extent did this or can this be translated in the type of civic engagement and assertiveness that will strengthen democratic life in South Africa?

In the light of this holistic approach to the question of the social and people legacy of the 2010 World Cup, the understanding of social cohesion that guides this study covers the three broad domains identified in comparative literature. 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 inter-marriage.

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In order to address the complex and multidimensional nature of social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation, the HSRC has adopted a multi-dimensional methodology, which includes analysis of quantitative data collected through the HSRC’s annual South African

⁵ Tomlinson, Bass & Pillay, 2009

⁶ Altringer cited in Pillay 2009.

Social Attitudes Survey, analysis of the transcripts of 30 focus groups conducted in nine South African provinces, approximately 63 interviews with stakeholders in all nine provinces of South Africa, an analysis of print media coverage of the World Cup and finally data on a variety of indicators relevant to social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation in the host cities of Durban and Cape Town.

In order to be able to triangulate and compare data from different sources, four major thematic areas were explored in the quantitative data, the focus groups and stakeholder interviews. These were:

- 1) Extent to which 2010 World Cup brought South African citizens together.
- 2) Economic benefits
- 3) Role of the media
- 4) Future international events

This report is divided into an overview of these key thematic areas. In addition, the report provides detailed mini-reports from each province covering in depth analysis of focus group transcripts and stakeholder interviews for each province.

The scope of the study

It is important to note that this study is primarily an analysis of systematically collected attitudes and opinions, rather than hard facts and figures that could prove scientifically, for example, the impact of the 2010 World Cup on the economy. Instead, the subject matter of this study e.g. social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation, are not “tangible” legacies that can be measured in the same way as, for example, infrastructure development. This creates both a difficult and exciting challenge. For example, we cannot say definitively whether racial integration has occurred simply by measuring the number of white and black people who attended matches. Integration and reconciliation as well as association with a common national identity concern something much more complex, deep-seated and often hard to grasp. Therefore this study relies very much on the direct accounts of South Africans in trying to make sense of the impact that the World Cup has had on social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation. We include the voices of a wide range of “ordinary” South Africans interviewed in focus groups around the country ranging from some of the wealthiest and most urbanised areas of the country to some of the poorest and most rural. In addition we have sought the opinion of a range of “stakeholders” both in the government departments responsible for various aspects of the organisation of the 2010 World Cup as well as non-governmental organisations representing a variety of constituencies from the church to business to labour, women and sports groups among others. The voices of all these South Africans do not always sit comfortably with each other, sometimes contesting and contradicting each other’s perspectives. A stakeholder in government may detail a range of community development programmes run by his or her Department but the community targeted by these programmes when canvassed may dispute, add detail or affirm the impact of government initiatives.

However, it is this diversity of opinion which makes it possible to grapple with the complexity of the legacy of the 2010 World Cup and learn the most from it. This will be critical to sustain the momentum created by the event. It is also important to note

particularly in relation to the section on economic impact in this study, that the view that emerges here is one from the ground; it is not based on hard statistical data, or lists of the many projects and programmes that were undoubtedly undertaken during the run up to the World Cup to facilitate the state's developmental objectives. Here people were simply asked their opinion of what the economic impact of the World Cup had been on the country as a whole and the extent to which they had personally been economically touched by the event.

The focus groups conducted do not constitute a representative sample as would be possible in a quantitative sample, nevertheless the number of focus groups (30 in all) which were undertaken in an extremely wide variety of demographic and language communities mean that they provide crucial detail regarding some of the impacts of the World Cup, which are systematically surveyed in the South African Social Attitude Survey run by the HSRC. This survey canvassed opinion on the World Cup from a statistically representative sample of South Africans. Data from the SASAS survey was supplemented by independent data collected from the host cities of Cape Town and Durban. Crucially, the qualitative and quantitative data from different sources largely concur with each other. There are few significant differences between the data from the social attitudes survey, the host cities and the qualitative data which was collected from focus groups prior to the release of the statistical data from SASAS. One can conclude from this that three sources of data significantly verify each other.

Detailed breakdown of the different methodologies employed in this study

1) Focus Groups (Section One)

A significant component of the research involved focus groups, for several reasons. Social cohesion and nation building are complex questions and include intangible dimensions such as the national "imagined community" and belonging. In order to understand these complexities and nuances and in particular the impact of the World Cup on perceptions around a range of issues related to citizenship, racial attitudes, xenophobia, national pride and national identity it was crucial to gather a substantial body of qualitative data around these themes.

Another significant motivation for focus groups was the fact that the quantitative data that was collected on the impact of the World Cup, with the exception of the South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS), is primarily directed at urban residents in host cities. It was essential, particularly in terms of the government's current focus on rural development and pro-poor policies and strategies, that the impact of the World Cup on residents of rural areas, non-host cities, informal settlements and townships was properly canvassed in order to ascertain whether the "feel-good" effects of the World Cup had impacted on South African society more broadly. This is essential information if the benefits of the World Cup are to be sustained in the long term.

A total of 30 focus groups were conducted in all nine provinces of South Africa. Focus groups were conducted in a wide variety of communities, ranging across most of South Africa's eleven official languages, most of its demographic groups, a variety of types of settlement,

both formal and informal, rural and urban, host and non-host cities. This data provides rich material to ascertain the impact of the World Cup on the entire South African population. This wide coverage of South Africa's population has not been captured by any other research.

The data from these focus groups was transcribed and is written up in detailed provincial reports from all nine provinces of South Africa. These reports can be found in Section One of this report. Data from the focus groups is also integrated into the Overview for the report.

2) Interviews with Key Stakeholders (Section Two)

The objective of the stakeholder interviews was to solicit the opinion of as wide a range of stakeholders as possible, representing a variety of groups within South African society, including civil society, the church, taxi associations, traditional authorities as well as government stakeholders, in order to ensure we had a varied and unbiased set of opinions about the impact of the World Cup on social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation that would complement the data being collected through focus groups. The perspective of stakeholders enabled us to critically compare and assess the opinions collected from focus groups in terms of the perspective of role players directly involved in the implementation of various programmes related to the World Cup as well as those sectors outside of government whose constituencies were directly or indirectly affected by various government initiatives.

3) South African Social Attitudes Survey (Section Three)

The South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) gathers information on the attitudes, beliefs, behaviour patterns and values of a nationally representative sample of approximately 3,500 adults aged 16 and older. It has been run annually by the HSRC since 2003 in order to collect quantitative data on a variety of social attitudes including themes related to social cohesion and national reconciliation has recently been completed and the data cleaned.

Critically important for this study is a SASAS module fielded between 2005 and 2008 on questions directly related to the World Cup. Section Three of this report analyses the key data and trends emerging from SASAS questions relating to the World Cup and social cohesion and nation building that were fielded at the end of 2010. Please see Appendix A for a tabular report with the SASAS data on social cohesion.

4) Data from the host cities of Cape Town and Durban (Section Four)

In order to strengthen the triangulation of HSRC data, the HSRC has received data on the impact of the World Cup on a variety of variables related to social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation, which was collected by a consortium of academics led by Professor Urmilla Bob at the University of KwaZulu Natal in the host cities of Durban and Cape Town. While the data collected by the consortium is limited by the fact that it was collected in only two host cities and respondents were residents in close proximity to the stadiums, the importance of this data is that it was collected both prior to and after the World Cup making it possible to do a longitudinal analysis of attitudes immediately before and after the World Cup.

5) Press Analysis (Section Five)

Given the significant role of the media in reflecting popular perceptions of the World Cup, an analysis of media coverage of the World Cup reflecting its impact on social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation was conducted. This media analysis focuses on newspaper articles written between January to July 2010 period. A combination of major national and provincial newspapers was selected. A total of 3180 articles on the FIFA World Cup were identified. In attempts to narrow the scope of the research materials two practical strategies were adopted. The first paid particular attention to articles that provided substantial information on the following key words; national identity, patriotism, nation building, and national pride. These words are consistent with the SASAS questionnaire, the quantitative tool utilized for this study. The second strategy included a random selection of newspapers covering the period preceding the World Cup (January to May), during the event (June-July) to the immediate period following the World Cup (remainder of July). It is important to note that this is not a comprehensive analysis of press coverage of 2010 World Cup, but simply draws out some of the key themes that emerged from a review of a relatively limited range of articles available on line from some of South Africa's major national and provincial newspapers. A systematic analysis of the way in which the media reflected and analysed the World Cup and the impact which this in turn had on South African and international support for the event, remains to be done.

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.

The increased sense of social cohesion during the period of the World Cup was significantly impacted on by the increased sense of safety during the World Cup, which facilitated socialising and mixing across racial and social boundaries.

The creation of common public space in fan parks, stadiums and elsewhere was a significant contributory factor in enhancing social cohesion during the period of the World Cup.

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.

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.

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 use 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.

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.

OVERVIEW

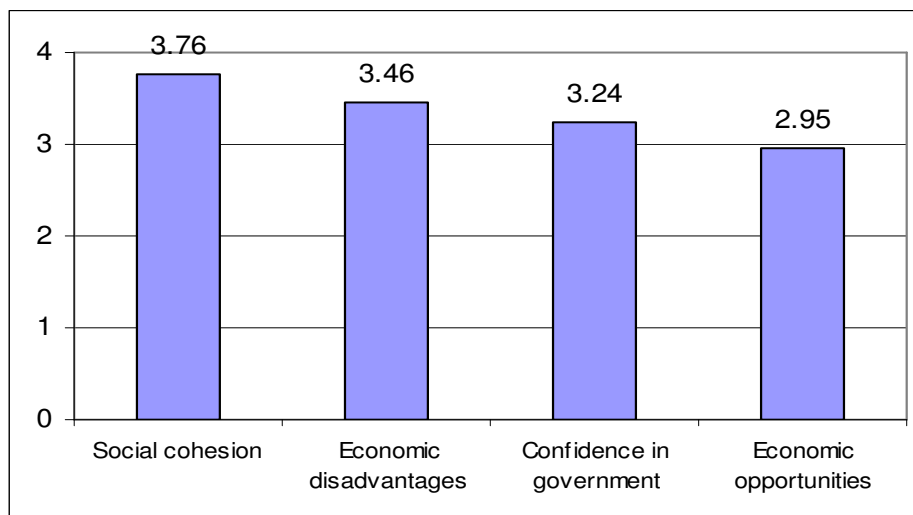
Extent to which the 2010 World Cup brought South African citizens together

Did the 2010 World Cup have a negative, positive or no impact on social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation?

Introduction

There appears to be an overwhelming concurrence among focus group participants, survey respondents and stakeholders across provincial, racial, demographic, urban, rural, age and economic divides that the 2010 World Cup had an enormously positive impact on social cohesion and nation building. Many noted in fact that this “intangible” impact was the primary contribution which the World Cup made to the country, rather than its economic impact. This conclusion was supported by data collected both through the South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) (see Section Three for a detailed report on this data) and data collected independently from the host cities of Cape Town and Durban (see Section Four for a detailed report on this data). The survey data collected from SASAS respondents makes this conclusion particularly explicit as demonstrated in the figure below which aggregates SASAS questions into the key thematic areas investigated in this study, namely 1) Social Cohesion, 2) Confidence in government 3) Economic opportunities and 4) Economic disadvantages. On this chart a score of 5 indicates “strongly agree” and “strongly disagree” is 1. The chart makes it clear that the highest proportion of respondents, 3.76, agreed that the 2010 World Cup had the most significant impact on social cohesion.

Figure 1: Impact of the 2010 World Cup



This data collected *after* the hosting of the 2010 World Cup contrasts markedly with longitudinal data collected from SASAS survey respondents between 2005 and 2008, which asked respondents what they thought the primary benefit of hosting the World Cup *would be*. The figure below illustrates that by far the majority of respondents felt that the primary benefit of hosting the World Cup would be on the one hand to, “put South Africa on the map”, which does appear to have been validated by the outcome of the World Cup. However, on the other hand, the large majority of respondents expected the benefits of hosting the World Cup to lead to job creation and economic growth, *a mere 2-4% of respondents felt that national unity would be one of the benefits of hosting the World Cup*. On the other hand as can be seen from the graph above, a significant proportion of SASAS respondents surveyed *after* the World Cup felt that there were economic *disadvantages* to hosting the event i.e. the hosting of the event led to too much money being spent on World Cup facilities and a perception that funds directed towards the World Cup delayed the provision of necessary basic services to poor areas in South Africa.

Figure 2. What do you think will be the main benefit for hosting the 2010 World Cup?

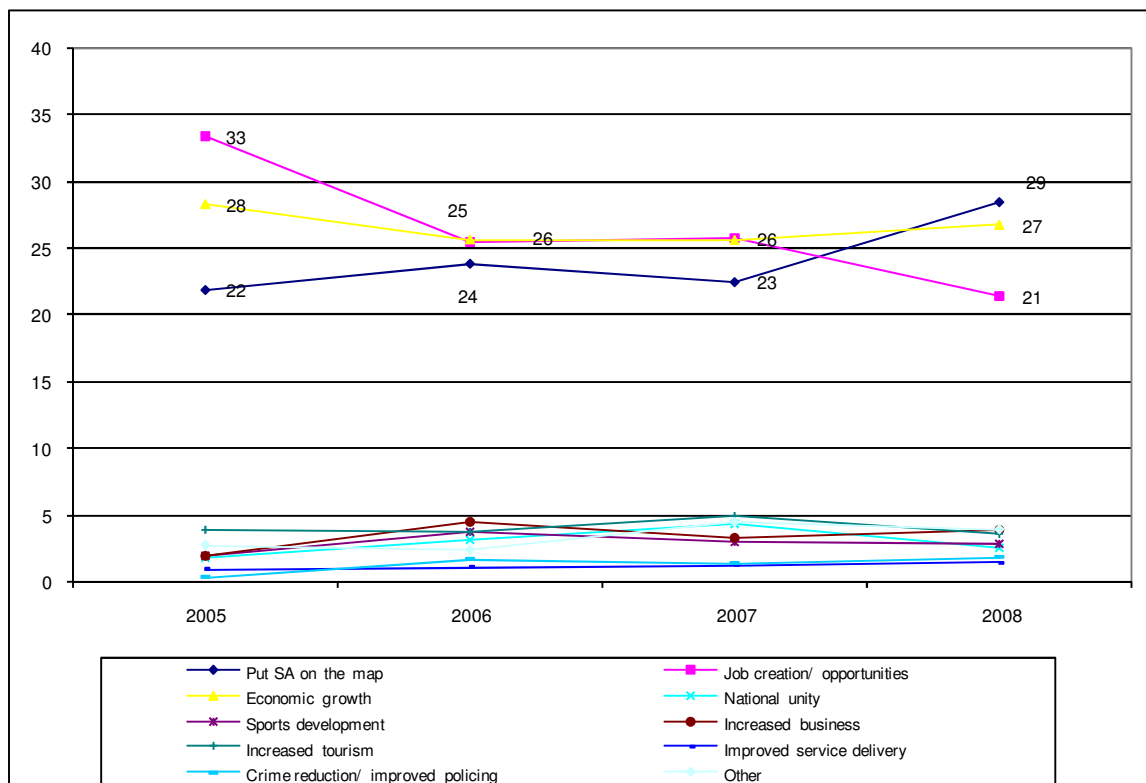


Table: Percentages

	2005	2006	2007	2008
Put SA on the map	22	24	23	29
Job creation/ opportunities	33	25	26	21
Economic growth	28	26	26	27
National unity	2	3	4	3
Sports development	2	4	3	3
Increased business	2	5	3	4
Increased tourism	4	4	5	4
Improved service delivery	1	1	1	1
Crime reduction/ improved policing	0	2	1	2
Other	3	2	4	4

It is evident that expectations regarding job creation opportunities associated with the 2010 World Cup declined significantly between 2005 and 2008, from 33% in 2005 to 21% in 2008. Expectations about economic growth remained relatively stable from 2005 to 2008, fluctuating approximately one percent between 28% in 2005 and 27% in 2008. On the other hand expectations that the 2010 World Cup would, “put South Africa on the map” increased over the same period from 22% in 2005 to 29% in 2008. People had extremely low expectations over the whole period regarding improved service delivery, reduced crime and even a relatively low expectation of the tourism potential of the event at a mere 4%.

What is remarkable is that despite the fact that most South Africans did not receive the economic benefits they anticipated acquiring as a result of South Africa’s hosting of the 2010 World Cup, a large proportion of South African citizens supported South Africa’s efforts during the hosting of the World Cup and almost half continue to feel that the country should host further large international events, although a significant proportion (a third) disagree.

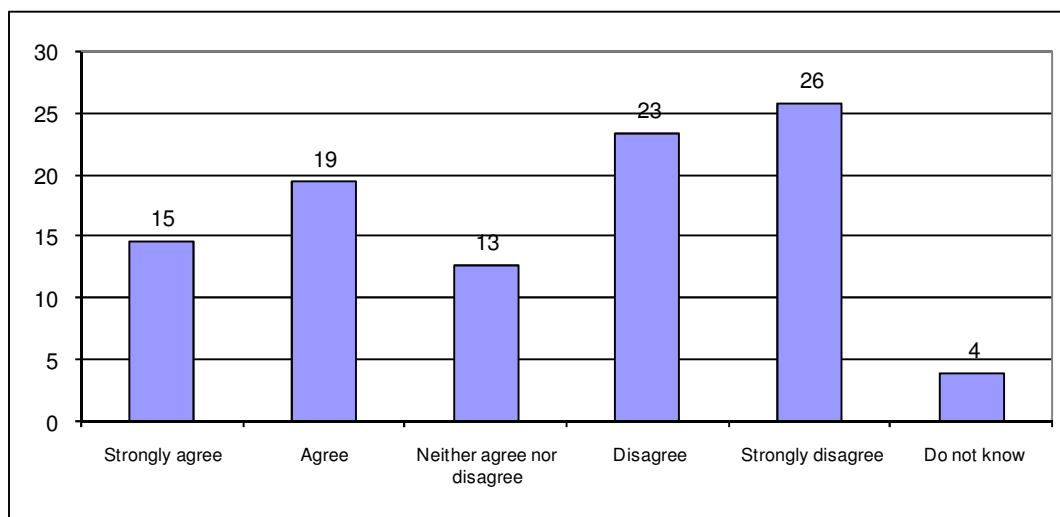
SASAS data reveals clearly that South Africans did not feel that ordinary citizens were the primary beneficiaries of the 2010 World Cup. As illustrated in the table below, by far the majority of respondents felt that Fifa had been the primary economic beneficiary of the 2010 World Cup.

Table 1: Beneficiaries of the Word Cup

	Benefitted most	Benefitted least
FIFA	38%	6%
Businesses	22%	9%
The wealthy or rich in society	17%	6%
Government officials	9%	4%
People living in towns and cities	7%	7%
South Africans in general	3%	6%
Poor and disadvantaged	3%	46%
People living in the rural areas	1%	15%

However, on the other hand a significant, if not unanimous, proportion of respondents agree that South Africa should host further large sports events.

Figure 3: Agreement with the statement that South Africa should not host other major sports events like the Olympics because it is too expensive.



When asked if South Africa should host other major sports events like the Olympics almost half (49%) felt that South Africa should host other major sports events. A sizeable third (34%) said that they did *not* want South Africa to host other major sporting events. The rest were undecided.

Bob and Swart note in their analysis of survey data collected from residents of Cape Town and Durban located near to the Moses Mabhida and Cape Town stadiums (see Section Four), that *prior* to the World Cup almost all studies on resident perceptions in South Africa (see for example, Bob and Swart, 2009; 2010; Pillay and Bass, 2008) indicated that South Africans generally supported the nation hosting the event despite their concerns regarding the distribution of social and economic benefits. The results from the host cities of Durban and Cape Town indicate that this perception remained strong after the World Cup with 84.5% of respondents living near the stadium in Cape Town and 76% of Durban residents near Moses Mabhida stadium answering yes to a question on whether South Africa should bid to host future mega-events such as the Olympic Games in the future. However, SASAS data covering the Western Cape as a whole indicates a more ambiguous response with 43.4% of people agreeing or strongly agreeing that South Africa should *not* host other major sporting events. In the broader KwaZulu Natal area, 37.6% of respondents agree or strongly agree that South Africa should not host future sport mega events (See Appendix B SASAS tabular report on the 2010 World Cup).

Ironically, however it is those who appeared to have benefited most economically from the World Cup i.e. high LSM respondents who were most opposed (40.2%) to South Africa hosting future sports mega-events. Low LSM respondents and people in rural areas despite being quite clear about the fact that they did not benefit economically from the World Cup appear to be more in favour of hosting similar events in the future. Approximately 30 percent (28.9%) of low LSM SASAS respondents stated that that South Africa should *not* host future sports mega-events. Residents in the Eastern Cape, who consistently report some of the lowest levels of satisfaction with the economic benefits of the World Cup, were the *least* likely (13.7%) to agree that we should *not* host similar mega-events. On other hand 42.9% of Gauteng residents, the province which undoubtedly benefited the most economically from the World Cup, felt that South Africa should *not* host future mega events. White South Africans were the most likely to agree that South Africa should not host future mega-events (47.8%), followed by Indian South Africans (46.2%). Black and coloured South African had a roughly equivalent response to this question with 33.2% of black respondents agreeing that South Africa should not host future mega-events and 33.9% of coloured respondents agreeing similarly. It is evident therefore that something far more intangible than direct economic benefits motivated South African's support for this World Cup and their perspective on whether such events should be held in the future.

A stakeholder interviewed in Cape Town argued in this vein,

Before the games there was a lot made of the economic impact for the normal people of South Africa. I think there was a lot of misconceptions. There was misinformation and misunderstandings about what people were going to get from the World Cup. In the work that we did we saw the more 'intangible' side; the way people saw themselves, and as part of an international community. (...)I don't think many of the people benefited financially, but many of the people felt very very proud of being South African as a result of the World Cup, and very proud that the world viewed

themselves in a different way to previously (Football for Hope⁷, Cape Town, December 2010)

A stakeholder from the Department of Education similarly argued that while the economic opportunities created by the World Cup may have been limited the, “one major impact” of the World Cup was on South Africa as a nation. He stated that, “since 27 April 1994, we have never seen South Africans stand together as a nation” in this way. This stakeholder contends that the manner in which South Africa “stood together” as a nation during the 2010 World Cup was more significant than the kind of unity that was displayed during the 1995 rugby World Cup as at that time the country was still in a “honeymoon phase” and we had “a good feeling about ourselves”. However, after this, we were “hit by the realities” of rebuilding post-apartheid South African society leading to a, “lot of negativity and polarization”. In this context, “For us to become one again [as a result of the World Cup] it must mean something”. We were able to rise “above all of that [negativity]” (Department of Education, January 2011).

Another stakeholder from the Department of Tourism also argued that even though some of the unity generated during the World Cup may have dissipated after the event, “we are further away than we were from our previous point of departure” and argued that the World Cup had “sped-up” the process of nation building and reconciliation. (Department of Tourism, January 2011)

The impact of the World Cup on nation building appeared to have reached some of the most apparently diverse realms of South African society. Representatives from the organization Agri SA, representing largely white commercial farmers, argued that that there had been a notable improvement in farm relations as a result of increased interaction between farm owners and farm workers during the World Cup. For example, some farmers hired TV sets so that farm workers could watch matches. In addition farmers transported farm workers to fan parks, creating new spaces for social interaction. They also argued that the organization of the World Cup shifted racial perceptions within their constituency. They acknowledged that at the beginning of the process leading up to the World Cup there was some scepticism about South Africa’s ability to host the World Cup within the agricultural sector. Football was seen as a “black sport”. They argued that white people expected that the World Cup would fail because, “it was being driven by black people”. However, they were “pleasantly surprised”. “It did say that black people can do the job” and that “black people in the private sector can do it”. (Agri SA⁸, January 2011)

A common national agenda

The critical factor which many respondents, both in focus groups and in stakeholder interviews noted in interpreting the positive impact that the World Cup had on nation building concerned a common national agenda which was developed during the run up to the World Cup and the ability of the country to rally around a common national goal as a result of the successful implementation of this national agenda, i.e. supporting Bafana Bafana and

⁷ Football for Hope is a movement initiated by Fifa and streetfootballworld in 2005 to provide support for hundreds of social development programmes run by non-governmental and community organisations around the world.

⁸ Agri SA, initially established in 1904, promotes the interests of commercial agriculture in South Africa through involvement and input into national and international policy.

making the 2010 World Cup a success. As a member of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Northern Cape argued, “For the first time ever people had a common goal and everybody was enthusiastic about the event. Different groups had met one another and socialized outside the ordinary which was a great opportunity for strengthening social cohesion among groups” (Dutch Reformed Church, Northern Cape, December 2010). A young English speaking respondent made a similar point, “With one unified ...goal it was easier to pull everything else, your pride to one focal point” (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban). A member of the Royal Bafokeng administration also argued that, “It gave us an opportunity as a nation to work towards one goal. I think that the World Cup did well in aiding that process and assisting us to work together” (Royal Bafokeng Administration (RBA), December 2010).

Critically, the stakeholder from the Department of Education argued that what was crucial in the mobilizing of society around a common goal was “political will” rather than economic resources. (Department of Education, January 2011) A stakeholder from the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce made a similar point, “In terms of logistics it [the World Cup] was highly successful and a major logistical achievement, the organizing committee needs to be congratulated. Infrastructure; 99% we met deadline which shows that if you have the political will things happen”. (Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, December 2010). The World Cup demonstrated our capacity to utilize resources in a remarkably efficient and effective manner. Several stakeholders and focus group participants consequently asked why the resources that South Africa has could not be as effectively utilised to meet the needs of ordinary citizens, “the government does have the capacity hence it succeeded in achieving the World Cup hosting...the issue is one of political will...I am not sure if it’s there...and that has to do with priorities...but capacity and resources are there...” (Community Development Worker, Eastern Cape, December 2010)

Sustaining social cohesion

A number of respondents and stakeholders in particular raised the question of the sustainability of the social cohesion that took place during the World Cup. As one stakeholder from the Royal Bafokeng administration noted, “Unity is still fragile, it will take ages to have a sustainable unity, and it takes a silly thing to reverse racism” (RBA, Communication Department, December 2010). One stakeholder argued, “Sustainability was never part of the plan” (Education Department, January 2011). Other stakeholders also noted the lack of specific plans to ensure that the legacy of social cohesion was nurtured and developed post the event of the World Cup. As one stakeholder explained,

A couple of months before the game they were still searching for this common theme. So they introduced football Fridays, and the funny dance, but it was done too late to capture on the surge of good will. But in terms of it hanging around in peoples psyches it is still there, but it’s untangible. It was not done so well; too last minute, not strategically. (Football for Hope, Cape Town, December 2010)

A stakeholder from a school in the Mopani district of Limpopo similarly emphasised the need to sustain the social cohesion created during the World Cup as it is will not happen, “magically on its own” (Community representative, December 2010). Interviewees in the Northern Cape also noted that the positive impact of the World Cup on social cohesion and nation building will only be sustainable, “if there is a conscious approach to keep it

going...the soccer World Cup brought different races and classes together, but the togetherness will take a long time to materialize” (Rugby Union, December 2010). This representative from the Rugby Union in the Northern Cape, however, argued that the positive impact of the World Cup will not be sustained for people in remote areas in the Northern Cape since, “there is nothing left of the event to remind people of it. For them the soccer World Cup and all its legacies is something of the past” (Griekwaland West Rugby Union, Northern Cape, December 2010).

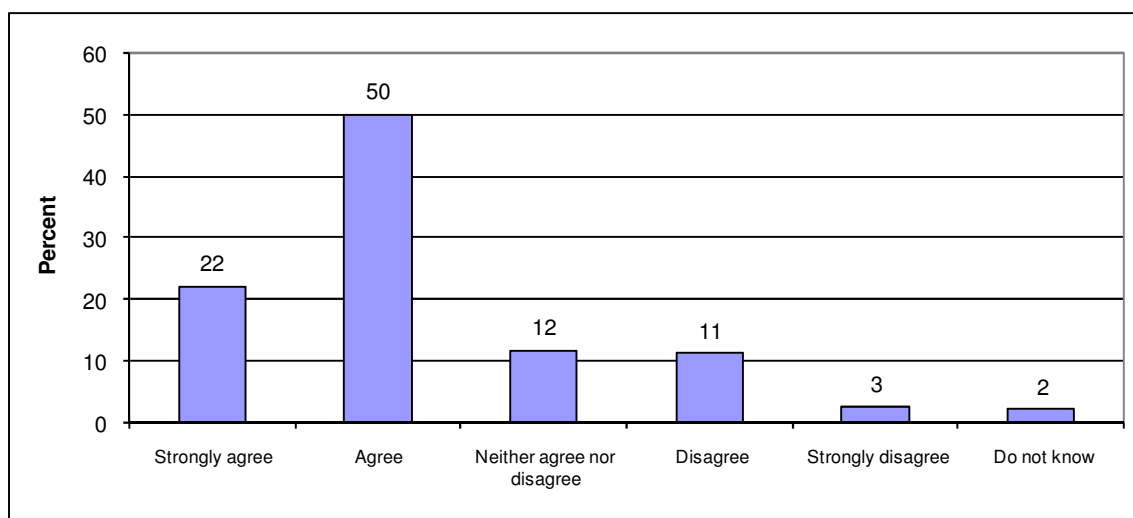
A number of useful suggestions were made on some of the things that could be done to ensure the sustainability of the positive effects of social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation by stakeholders in the Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga. These include (i) the need for the government to follow through without delay on promises made during the event (ii) recognise and reward people for their support of the event (iii) use all sports activities, not just major events, as vehicles for strengthening inter-group relations (iv) deal with social problems that continue to burden the country (v) focus on women’s sports (vi) have and support sports initiatives in schools, the church and the community and (vii) have an inclusive stakeholder approach. One stakeholder argued in terms of sustaining the momentum around nation building, the importance of using the World Cup as a reference point,

the issue of nation building is something that we continue talking about...and the World Cup should be a reference point...you can say to a person...what you did during the World Cup was so wonderful...notwithstanding the conditions under which you personally live...for that moment, you were able to show friendliness...as you talk to people about nation building, you must be seen to be saying ‘I acknowledge what you did for your country...you all worked well together....this is how I reward you’. (Community Development Worker, Eastern Cape)

Unifying the nation

There is no doubt that the World Cup was an extraordinarily unifying moment for the country as whole, which broke down social, racial and even gendered barriers as women were increasingly drawn into the fervor around the a game usually predominantly watched by men. A respondent explains, “The other thing is that even women contributed immensely by buying T-shirts and blowing ‘Vuvuzela.’ The gender perception that soccer is a men sport paused during the tournament” (Atteridgeville, Zulu/Xhosa, 20-45, low LSM, urban). Respondents in the SASAS survey were largely in agreement with the statement that the World Cup assisted the government to achieve its aims in terms of nation building. Data collected from survey respondents in the host cities of Durban and Johannesburg before and after the 2010 World Cup indicated that levels of agreement that the World Cup would be, “a major boost for nation building” increased after the event from 80.1% in Cape Town and 87% in Durban before the World Cup to 91% in Cape Town and 93.5% in Durban after the event.

Figure 4: Did the World Cup event assist the government to achieve its aims in terms of nation building? (SASAS)



When broken down by race it is evident that there was wide agreement among different race groups that the 2010 World Cup did help the country achieve its nation building objectives, with 74% of the Indian/Asian community agreeing or strongly agreeing with this statement, 73.7% of the coloured community agreeing similarly and 72.9% of black Africans in agreement with this statement. Notably a relatively low percentage- 59.4%- of white respondents agreed that the World Cup had helped to achieve the government's aims in terms of nation building.

Table2 : Do you agree: [the World Cup] assisted the government in terms of it nation building efforts?

		Q226 Race of respondent				
		Black African	Coloured	Indian or Asian	White	Total
		Col %	Col %	Col %	Col %	Col %
Q52 Do you agree: Assisted the government to achieve its aims in terms of nation building	Strongly agree	21.6	19.3	26.1	11.6	20.4
	Agree	51.3	54.4	47.9	47.8	51.1
	Neither agree nor disagree	11.2	12.1	9.1	20.4	12.2
	Disagree	11.5	9.5	13.8	12.2	11.5
	Strongly disagree	2.7	.8	2.3	7.1	3.0
	Do not know	1.7	3.9	.8	.9	1.8
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

When broken down by Living Standard Measure it is notable that it is the low LSM respondents who are *least* positive regarding whether the World Cup assisted the government to achieve its nation building efforts at a total of 62.1 agreeing or strongly agreeing to the statement, "Do you agreed that the 2010 World Cup assisted the government

to achieve its aims in terms of nation building”. This is perhaps indicative of the fact that the social and economic marginalization experienced by South Africa’s poorest citizens, was not overcome as a result of the hosting of the World Cup and their relative lack of agreement with the statement that the World Cup assisted with the country’s nation building efforts reflects the limitations to the types of inclusive forms of citizenship the World Cup was intended to foster. On the other hand, there was little difference in levels of agreement regarding the impact of the World Cup on the country’s nation building efforts between medium LSM respondents at 72.1% and high LSM respondents at 72.7%.

Table 2a

		Living Standard Measure			
		Low	Medium	High	Total
		Col %	Col %	Col %	Col %
Q52 Do you agree: Assisted the government to achieve its aims in terms of nation building	Strongly agree	11.4	21.0	19.9	19.6
	Agree	50.7	51.1	52.8	51.7
	Neither agree nor disagree	20.7	10.2	14.4	12.8
	Disagree	13.3	13.3	8.4	11.6
	Strongly disagree	1.3	2.7	2.8	2.5
	Do not know	2.6	1.6	1.7	1.8
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Common symbols

Associated with the common national agenda that so powerfully mobilized South African citizens, what was evident from the responses of focus group participants and stakeholders was the importance of the 2010 World Cup in generating a variety of symbolic points of commonality between South Africans of different races and classes. Much of this symbolism concerned the transgressing of spatial barriers, inherited from the apartheid past which continue to segregate South Africans today. Thus for white South Africans the match played by the provincial rugby team the Blue Bulls in the Orlando football stadium prior to the World Cup was a critical moment in the symbolic transgression of conventional spatial and social barriers that was to occur during the period of the World Cup as many Afrikaans South Africans went to and socialized in a township for the first time. The way in which all South Africans, regardless of race united in support of Bafana and the enthusiasm with which most South Africans embraced the game of football, including African football, created an unprecedented common reference point for black, white and other South Africans to associate themselves with and hence facilitate interaction between them.

“It was a moment when whites wanted to be part of a larger South Africa”

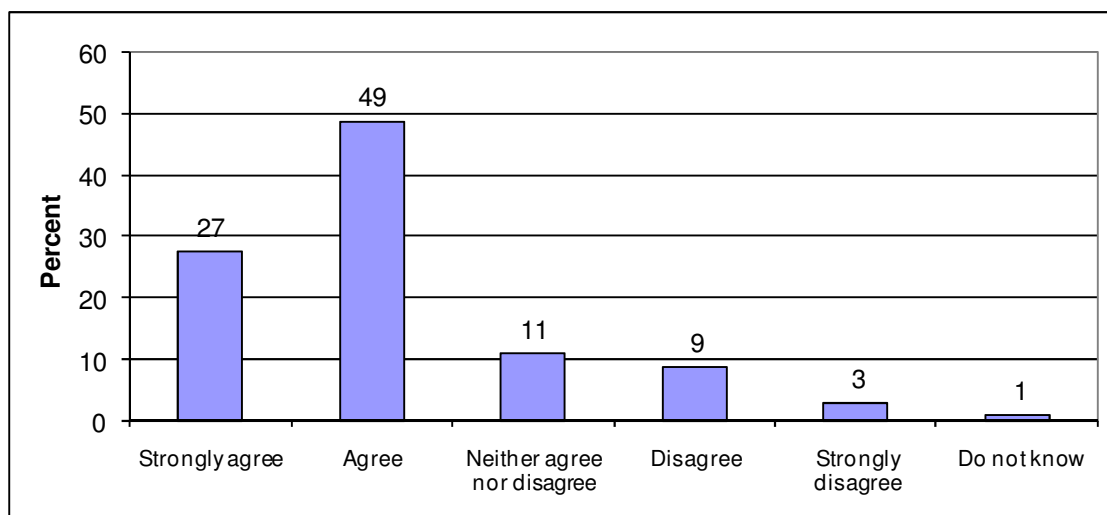
In many ways the World Cup generated a common “language” for South Africans usually deeply socially divided. This “language” related on the one hand to common symbolic displays of various paraphernalia indicating visible support for the national effort around the World Cup, whether it was clothing such as the Bafana T-shirt, flags, mirror socks, the vuvuzela etc. As one interviewee stated, “What I can tell about the nation building, something I have realized is that the World Cup brought people close to their national flag, of which people were not close to” (Department of Tourism, North West, December 2010). Singing the national anthem also became a significant point of connection between South Africans.

Critically, it also, as pointed out by one stakeholder, related to common “lingo”, the “Mzansi lingo” generated by the World Cup, phrases which were popularized at the time such as “gees, heita, sharp sharp”, which created a common language for people to communicate, tease and joke with each other across racial lines (Department of Education, January 2011). This was a language that broke down hierarchies that usually exist between South Africans of different races, classes, genders etc. As one interviewee from the North West put it, “It was a moment where whites wanted to be part of a larger South Africa. Contrary to incidents in the past, where they would not want to be seen wearing or associating with the Bafana Bafana jersey, during the World Cup they were enjoying, cheering and saluting with everybody”. (RBA, December 2010)

Common National Pride

SASAS data appears to indicate that the hosting of the 2010 World Cup had a significantly positive impact on South Africans feelings of national pride with a total of 76% of respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing that the hosting of the World Cup enhanced their national pride as indicated by the graph below. Data from the host cities of Cape Town and Durban found similarly that more than 80% of the respondents strongly agreed or agreed with the statement: “I feel proud that South Africa will be/ hosted the 2010 FIFA World Cup” before and after the event.

Figure 5: The hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup has enhanced my national pride



When broken down by race 82.9% of Indian/Asian respondents agreed or strongly agreed that the hosting of the World Cup enhanced their national pride, followed by 81.7% of coloured respondents and 78.8% of black Africans. White respondents recorded a relatively low level of agreement at 60.6%.

Table 3: The hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup has enhanced my national pride

		Q226 Race of respondent				
		Black African	Coloured	Indian or Asian	White	Total
		Col %	Col %	Col %	Col %	Col %
Q44 Do you agree: The hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup has enhanced my national pride	Strongly agree	28.1	25.5	38.8	19.4	27.2
	Agree	50.7	56.2	44.1	41.2	50.0
	Neither agree nor disagree	9.9	9.9	7.3	17.9	10.7
	Disagree	8.0	6.8	3.6	13.0	8.3
	Strongly disagree	2.3	1.1	6.2	7.4	2.9
	Do not know	.9	.6	.0	1.2	.9
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

When broken down by LSM 69.5% of low LSM respondents agreed or strongly agreed that the hosting the 2010 World Cup had enhanced their national pride. Medium LSM respondents were the most positive in terms of the impact of the World Cup on their national pride with 80.6% agreeing or strongly agreeing that it had enhanced their national pride, followed by 76.2% of high LSM respondents.

Table 3a

		Living Standard Measure			
		Low	Medium	High	Total
		Col %	Col %	Col %	Col %
Q44 Do you agree: The hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup has enhanced my national pride	Strongly agree	19.6	28.8	27.3	27.3
	Agree	49.9	51.8	48.9	50.6
	Neither agree nor disagree	13.7	8.7	12.7	10.6
	Disagree	10.4	8.1	7.6	8.2
	Strongly disagree	5.3	2.1	2.5	2.6
	Do not know	1.1	.4	1.0	.7
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Despite the fact that statistically a relatively low proportion of white South African agreed that the hosting of the World Cup had enhanced their national pride, the focus group interviews indicated that the event had an important impact on the white community.

This was in some instances white South Africans' first positive association with a South African national identity at all. As one young respondent stated, "for the first time ever in my life I felt like yeah I'm proud to be a South African at that time" (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban). Part of this pride appeared to be generated by the fact that previously sceptical and usually privileged South Africans were "pleasantly surprised" by the successful hosting of the World Cup. A stakeholder from a labour research organization in Cape Town noted, on other hand that while poorer South Africans were also extremely proud of South Africa's achievements in hosting the World Cup they had not doubted the country's capacity to host the event in the first place,

Working class South Africans always feel pride in the country; it is the upper middle class who has a discourse and feel embarrassed of being in South Africa and being 'African'. So, with the success of the World Cup they felt pride but this was a disguise for embarrassment. The workers constituencies are not part of this discourse, they are always proud. South Africa is where they live and what they know...the notion of a positive image only speaks to business elite who fly overseas and care about the international image. This is a non question for our constituencies. (International Labour and Research and Information Group, ILRIG)

On the other hand the responses of focus group participants indicated strongly that part of the enhanced national pride they felt as a result of South Africa hosting the World Cup related to the fact that we had "shown the world" that South Africa is equivalent to "first world" countries that generally stereotype Africa as a "dark" continent, a place of incompetence and war, even a place where there are no human beings. As one focus group respondent in Mpumalanga stated the World Cup had led to the,

"It has been proven by the World Cup that in Africa there are human beings"

recognition of the African continent, because people overseas think that in Africa there are no human beings. It is difficult to change these mindsets but it has been proven by the World Cup that in Africa there are human beings. This changed as people saw the reality. (Likazi, Xitonga, 20-45, low LSM, rural).

Another respondent from Mpumalanga felt that South Africa attained status as a nation as a result of hosting the World Cup, "We were recognized as a country" (Mjindini, Seswati, 18-25, low LSM, rural). A young respondent from Limpopo argued as a result of his pride in the country's achievement in hosting the World Cup, "I didn't want anyone to mistake my identity" (Ga Thopa, Sepedi, 18-25, low LSM, urban). A young respondent from Atteridgeville expressed similar feelings, "The pride of the nation increased because we were able to host developed nations to their own standard and over" (Atteridgeville, Sotho/Tswana, 18-25, low LSM, urban). Residents from the Western Cape fishing village of Hangberg similarly argued, "people here felt very proud to have many foreigners in the country as South Africa demonstrated to the world they could deliver a 'world class' event". (Hangberg, Afrikaans, 30-65, low LSM, urban).

On the other hand, the successful hosting of the World Cup appeared to have been a source of pride to communities who are generally sceptical about the government's capacity to deliver. As one Afrikaans respondent stated, "We are not a third world country any more...we showed that we were capable of arranging an event of this magnitude for all the other countries this is my opinion... yes, the possibility is there" (Pretoria, Afrikaans, 30-55, low LSM, urban). A resident from Durban similarly stated,

I also think it was fabulous how they finished the stadium on time, I mean not many people thought it would be ready, I honestly thought we were going to embarrass ourselves, and I mean a good two weeks before it happened and I mean that was impressive, and very sufficient, the lights even stayed on, no power failures not one at all. (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban)

Another stakeholder argued that the "pride" generated by the hosting of the World Cup had a significantly empowering impact on South African citizens, whose confidence in their own abilities had been severely hampered by a history of poverty and oppression.

It's true if you think of the money that was spent but you know the problems of a country do not always lie just in infrastructure...it is in the mindsets of people. If you can succeed in getting people to feel proud about themselves, to have confidence and good self esteem, that is sometimes much more worthwhile than just building a house, building a road because if you change the mindsets of people, some of those other things will follow. I think that all it did was to prove to South Africans that they have the internal capacity to compete with the best in the world if they set their minds to it...what we need to do now is to use those same principles in challenging the other problems that we have in South Africa...you cannot just measure the spinoffs of the country by the number of tourists that came here or the money that was generated during the event...it is more the mental attitude that was impacted to say we can host a World Cup successfully...surely all the other problems that we have we must also tackle in the same spirit...that in my mind is worth a lot of effort and it is worthwhile to spend a lot of money on something like that. (Municipality Manager, Mpumalanga)

Another significant impact of the World Cup in terms of both creating a common national identity and linking South Africans to the broader international community, concerned work done in schools during the run up to the World Cup, particularly the "My 2010 School Adventure" campaign which drew in thousands of schools in the country from the run up to the Confederations Cup preceding the World Cup and impacted on thousands of learners. As part of this campaign schools in different provinces adopted the countries of particular teams, learnt their national anthems, their history, culture and geography. Other initiatives run as part of this campaign, brought South African children closer together for example by playing together in football teams under the name of the country a particular province had adopted. A range of educational and fun activities around common symbols such as the diskidance, the Vuvuzela and singing of the national anthem brought young South Africans together in new ways as well as linking them up to a broader global community. Thus "very young children" understood that they are, "part of the global" and also that, "we are one" (Department of Education). This is a critical legacy as it is arguably children's perceptions which are the easiest to change. Another significant aspect of the education campaign was

also the way in which it had a ripple effect on the society more broadly. “Through children the hearts of parents and adults were touched” as young children came home at the end of the school day excited about the World Cup; they also drew in their parents across racial lines into the excitement surrounding the event. (Department of Education, January 2011)

Sharing common space

The sharing of common public space whether in pubs, shebeens, fan parks, or even the stadiums themselves had a powerful effect on South African citizens, many of whom had never shared social space with people of other racial groups or interacted at such close quarters with South Africans of different class and racial backgrounds. As a political analyst noted in an interview,

What we learned is that public space and particularly public transport is very important. We didn't appreciate the social impact and with the World Cup we woke up to the multiplier effect that public transport could have; it brings people of different classes together, it gets people out of their cars and therefore their bubbles and is also good for the environment and the infrastructure for the country. We learned that public transport is as important, if not more important, than other development concerns. I now even think that we will be better investing in trains than for instance houses. (Calland, January 2011)

A number of focus group respondents similarly noted the significance of sharing social space with people of other race groups, “I personally went into pubs here and saw white people sitting comfortably with black people and having a beer. The spirit and the atmosphere was electrifying... so much so that they hugged each other; so that type of nation building was evident” (Cape Town, Hangberg, Afrikaans, 30-65, low LSM). High LSM English speakers from Cape Town also articulated the power of shared public space, “South African's did get to share social space, in a way that never happened before and on a mass scale. Seeing or feeling our shared humanity in a human space...I believe that is an important consequence of the World Cup” (Cape Town, English, high LSM, urban).

Bob and Swart (2010) illustrate that public viewing areas/ fan parks emerged as important spaces for social interaction, especially among locals and visitors, during the World Cup⁹. Respondents from Polokwane in Limpopo Province also noted the way in which white South Africans moved out of their conventional social enclaves,

It had a positive impact because in this country we are not used to seeing white people at stadiums, they usually attend cricket and rugby matches. During the World Cup they proved that they can come and be supportive even singing along to our songs. This shows that the World Cup reunited us and brought us together from our different backgrounds. (Polokwane, Sepedi, 18-25, low LSM, urban)

⁹ Bob, U. and Swart, K. 2010. The 2010 FIFA World Cup and Women's Experiences in Fan Parks, Agenda In press.

A young person in the township of Atteridgeville explained the significance of shared social space in the following way, “If you would notice in the stadiums for example, the laughter was the same, encouragement was the same like South Africa had power and the ‘Vuvuzela’ brought unity” (Atteridgeville, Sotho/Tswana, 18-25, low LSM, urban). Another young English speaker from Johannesburg expressed similar sentiments,

Just being at a football match, the actual experience of being in a crowd with people that you usually wouldn’t be so close to ja that was a euphoric experience...there was that...moment where somebody had that experience of being in proximity to the ‘others’. You can’t deny that its now embedded in your mind... (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM)

Another respondent from Mjindini township in Barberton, Mpumalanga stated simply, “it was just nice to be next to a white person without asking questions” (Mjindi, Seswati, 18-25, low LSM, rural)

Physical proximity with people of other race groups was also noted by a tavern owner whose business was frequented by visitors to the North West during the World Cup, “It was for the first time I was hugged by a white person. The World Cup really brought people together. I have seen whites gathering in my tavern, both local and other white people from UK and USA” (local tavern owner, North West, December 2010)

Respondents from Durban argued that the interaction between different racial groups that occurred during the World Cup was facilitated by the heightened sense of security as a result of extensive police deployment,

because people felt safe during that period, people were more inclined to mix so if you were sitting next to someone say in a restaurant or a take away place waiting for meal on the beach front, because you felt safe you’d start talking to whoever was next to you and it didn’t matter what colour they were. (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban)

In the Northern Cape a representative of the rugby union noted the legacy that the breaking down of spatial and social boundaries between racial groups during the World Cup left after the event. As a result of the fact that the Uruguayan football team practiced at the Griekwas Rugby Stadium, this representative argued that this created “more relaxed” social relationships between various “ethnic” groups, because it opened up the

rugby stadium as a place where all race groups could watch matches, “they realized that they can also watch games at the rugby stadium and that it is not only limited to white spectators... Spectators from various ethnic groups watched the Currie Cup matches that were played after the World Cup. This has never happened before as it was perceived as a ‘white man’s game’” (Griekwaland West Rugby Union, December 2010).

“If you would notice in the stadiums for example, the laughter was the same, encouragement was the same like South Africa had power”

Connecting to Africa

In South Africa's bid for the World Cup and during its subsequent hosting of the event, the World Cup was widely punted as an "African" event, a victory for the African continent as a whole. Data collected from the host cities of Cape Town and Durban seem to indicate an increased sense of connection to the African continent as a result of the hosting of the World Cup among survey respondents. Before the event 80.1% of respondents in Cape Town and 87% in Durban strongly agreed or agreed with the statement: "I feel very much part of the African continent as a result of this event", which increased to 91% in Cape Town and 93.5% in Durban after the World Cup. In addition, a number of focus group participants noted the unprecedented common connection with Africa as a continent, which was apparently shared by all South Africans even after Bafana Bafana had exited the World Cup. A member of the Cape Town Business Chamber noted this positive association with the African continent,

(...) we recognized that we are part of Africa. We were proud of being part of Africa, and not just blacks but also white people felt that it was an African achievement, not just a South African one. The support of all South Africans was in other African countries when Bafana was eliminated. In many ways it left a positive image; show that we could hold the rest of the world here. The World Cup had few problems. We contained the xenophobic attacks and opened the horizons as we have been sheltered, but with the World Cup South Africans embraced their African brothers and sisters and other countries. (Cape Town Business Chamber)

A number of focus group respondents also noted the way in which South Africans appeared to positively identify themselves with the World Cup during the event,

As one young Atteridgeville resident explained,

There was a time during the World Cup whereby the tournament was no longer the business or competition of countries but of continents. And with us [South Africa] we were no longer South Africa but saw ourselves as Africa. The team that represented Africa in the World Cup brought us together. You would see South Africans carrying the [Black Stars] or Ghana flags, so we were one thing. (Atteridgeville, Tswana/Sotho, 18-25, low LSM, urban)

Another young respondent from the English speaking community noted the way in which white South Africans supported the Ghana football team even though they had never followed or supported African football in the past,

when Ghana played their last game everyone was so patriotic about being African you know...that was quite interesting to kinda see thousands of South Africans' supporting an African team that they would never do in their lives. Like say for instance the Africa cup of nations, not one white South African, I mean not one but no one watches Africa cup of nations in basically our white society, its either UEFA league or whatever. And I think at that time when everyone was Ghana Ghana Ghana you know it was great everything came together. (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban)

However, for some, the “Africa” label of the World Cup was seen a cynical exercise on the part of South Africa and FIFA. Even if the performance of Ghana created a sense of “being African” across the different races this was temporary,

the World Cup was billed as an African event, and that was the most cynical exercise; it was purely a SA project. But presenting it as an African cup they will fill FIFA conditions, but it was not used at all to build African commonness or contain xenophobia. Attitudes didn’t change at all. [this] plays to the idea that SA is somehow different from the continent, that it is above and more powerful than the rest. (ILRIG)

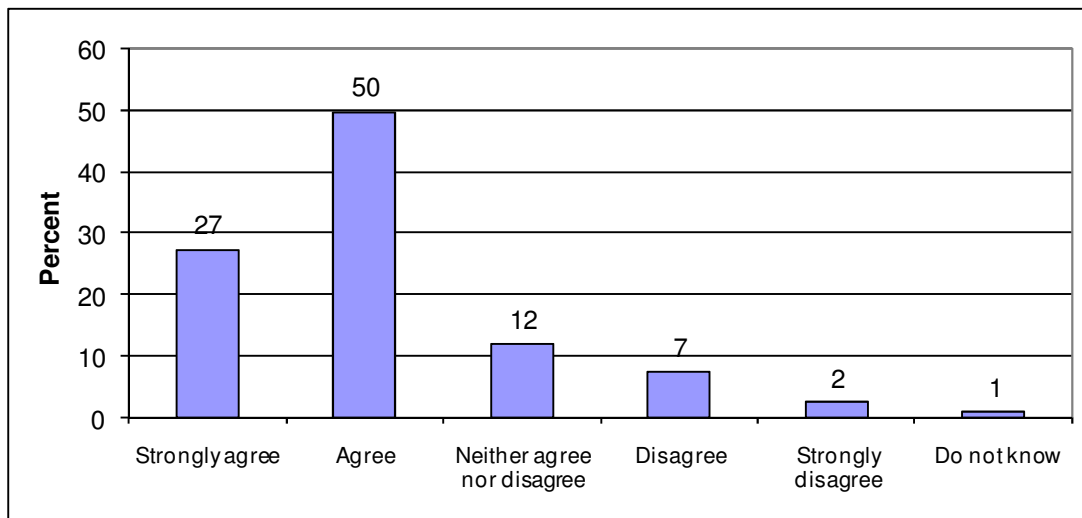
A political analyst similarly argued,

The event was a very South Africa event as the Africanness of it was really superficial. Towards the end there were strong rumors of potential xenophobia attacks and I saw the fear of hundreds of Africans who were on Park Station in Johannesburg desperately trying to leave the country as they feared for their lives (Calland, January 2011)

This analyst argued that in future South Africa should think more creatively of how to link the country with the region through events such as the World Cup, “Having for instance Shakira and that song was odd as a symbol of the Africaness of the tournament and an example of the superficiality of that assertion. Also Blatter’s rhetoric around it being an African cup was very shallow” (Calland, January 2011).

International image

While some stakeholders argue that South Africa did not utilise the World Cup as effectively as it could have to promote regional integration, on the other hand a number of stakeholders argued strongly that the World Cup did enable South Africa to re-position itself within the global community and contested common international stereotypes about the African continent. Respondents from the SASAS survey were also generally in strong agreement that the 2010 World Cup did build a positive image of South Africa as shown in Figure 6 below. Data collected from Durban and Cape Town similarly showed a high level of agreement with the statement that, “the event will showcase/ showcased South Africa in a positive light” with 80% of the respondents before (83.8% in Cape Town and 83% in Durban) and after (90.3% in Cape Town and 91% in Durban) the World Cup strongly agreeing or agreed with this statement.

Figure 6: The hosting of the World cup has helped build a positive view of South Africa

Stakeholders argued for example that South Africa's successful hosting of the World Cup impacted extremely positively on the country's "brand image" (Department of Sports and Recreation, December 2010), that it was "groundbreaking" in terms of shifting perceptions around the country (Department of Tourism, January 2011), it "put us on the map", "Africa is no longer seen as a dark continent" (Agri SA, January 2011). As one interviewee argued, the "veil has been lifted" in terms of perceptions of the country, as had occurred in other previously conflict afflicted countries such as Sarajevo when they hosted major sporting events (Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, January 2011). However, the question of sustainability will be critical, particularly in terms of messaging and patriotism as the "common denominator" that held us together during the World Cup is now gone. While it will be difficult to maintain the momentum established during the World Cup, it will be much easier to carry on the "brand" South Africa as the country is now far more well known and the brand is more familiar internationally (Department of Tourism, January 2011).

How deep-seated was nation building and reconciliation?

The analysis above indicates the important role that shared space played in terms of building a common sense of identity across colour lines. When SASAS respondents were asked whether the World Cup did indeed give them increased opportunities to socialize with people of other race groups, 58% agreed, however when broken down by racial groups it appears that Indian/Asian and coloured respondents had had the most significant opportunities for racial mixing. However, meaningful reconciliation is premised on more deep rooted and sustainable relationships between people of different racial groups. Such relationships are significantly premised on trust. A key question therefore was to what extent different racial groups trusted or liked each other more after the World Cup. A slightly lower percentage, 44% agreed or strongly agreed with this statement. Again it was the Indian community (64%) and the coloured community (60%) who felt most strongly that the World Cup had led to greater trust between racial groups. Black South Africans (54%) and white South Africans were less emphatic that new levels of trust had been created between different racial groups. It appears from the series of questions on nation building, trust and race relations that the 2010 World Cup had a significant positive effect on the Indian and coloured communities in particular. The reasons for this will require further investigation but it does appear that the

World Cup went some way to creating a sense of national inclusion among these groups that may, as evidenced by interviews with focus group respondents, felt a sense of exclusion from a common national identity and society.

Figure 7: The World Cup and race relations

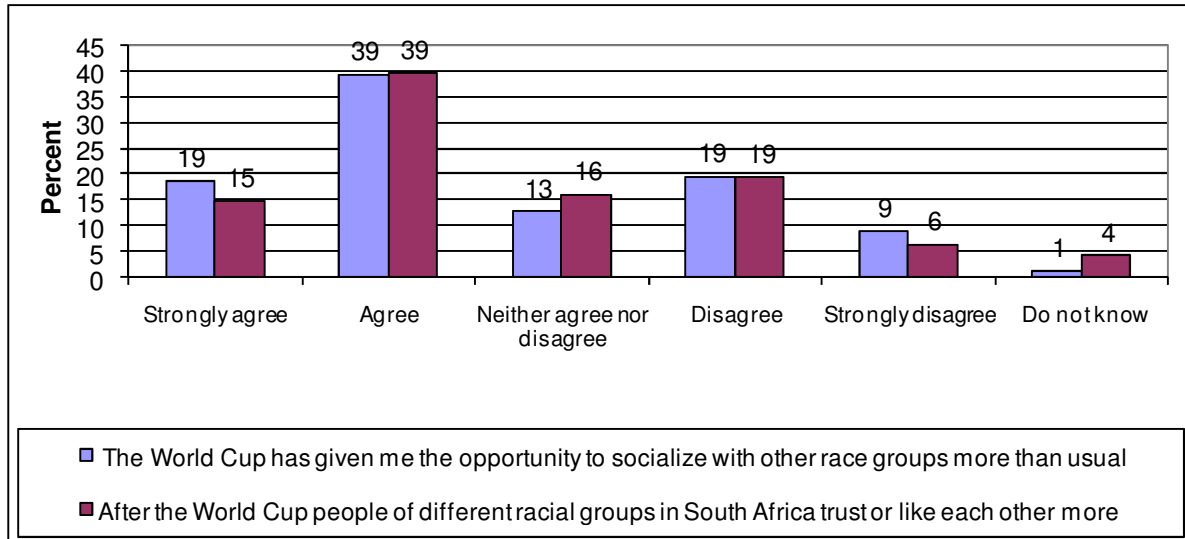


Figure 8: The World Cup has given me the opportunity to socialize with other race groups more than usual.

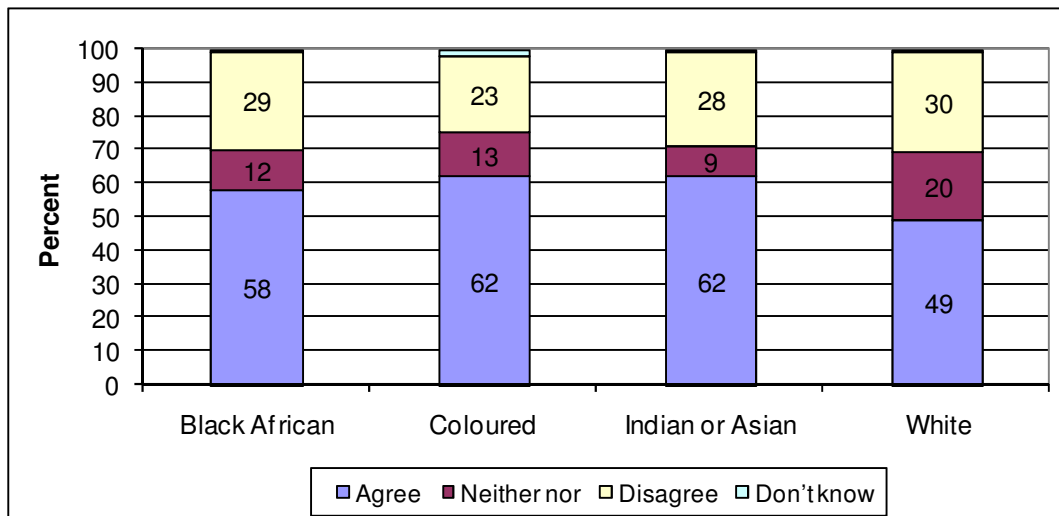
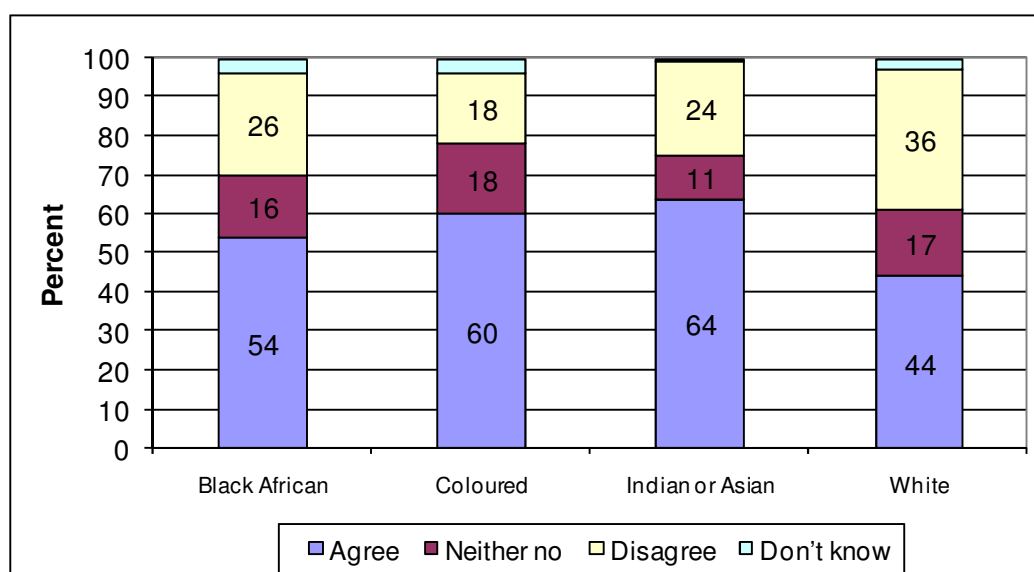


Figure 9: After the World Cup people of different racial groups in South Africa trust or like each other more



While there was an enormous amount of positive sentiment expressed around nation building and social cohesion, a number of respondents articulated considerable reservations about the depth of “reconciliation” that took place, its potential sustainability and even the authenticity of the reaching out that took place during the duration of the World Cup. Some argued that it was a “front” that the country put up while we were in the international spotlight. As one young Atteridgeville resident explained,

the bad thing is that some of the people were putting up a front, were doing it to please or impress visitors. But once it was over we decided to go back we were and became the divided people we are. For instance, on xenophobia, I think if the tournament has brought us together, xenophobia would not have came back, it came back immediately after the end of the World Cup, that showed we were putting a front, trying to impress the people who visited SA only. (Atteridgeville, Sotho/Tswana, 18-25, low LSM, urban)

A young English speaking respondent from Cape Town felt similarly that,

During World Cup everyone was looking at us, we were in the spotlight and we are very good at that; putting on a pony show. In terms of the xenophobic thing, things went back to how it was before. During the World cup you can be all ayoba Africa and afterwards it is just the flickering idea. Xenophobia is so ingrained and hasn't changed and won't change with Fifa coming in' (Cape Town, English, 20-45, high LSM)

Another young English speaker from Johannesburg argued of the World Cup

[It's] like trying to promote umm aaah a broken down house, because you can only make it look so good you know what I mean like 'welcome to the house everyone!' and I think, I think we made that broken down house look pretty cool you know what I mean. (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban)

Young Asian respondents from KwaZulu Natal however felt that gaze of the international community actually had a positive uniting effect, “because we were a country on the big screen showing ourselves to the world it didn’t matter who was sitting next to you he became your brother or friend. You backed your team no matter what” (Durban, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban).

Another respondent from Atteridgeville felt that the type of unity generated by the World Cup did not signify more deep-rooted reconciliation,

The unity that the tournament has brought I think was superficial and temporary. The event was nothing but just a mere means to exchange cultures, cook meals, festivals and jives. That means, the outside world come to South Africa to jive and play for us, exchange talent and skill. That does not mean ‘reconciliation’ or we reconcile, the tournament brought us together... although for a short time. In reality, true reconciliation has not been achieved; it was just a short time of exchanging cultures for the duration of the World Cup. (Atteridgeville, Zulu/Xhosa, 20-45, low LSM, urban)

Young English speakers in Johannesburg likened the unity generated by the World Cup to the temporary high of taking a drug,

it was sort of a unity that happened and then disappeared you know what I mean so it was kinda like a shot of like heroin and then everyone was like woohoo, you know what I mean, and there’s the come down afterwards. (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban)

Residents of the fishing village of Hangberg in the Western Cape were concerned that the unity generated by the World Cup had not addressed the underlying causes of racial and social division in the country,

social impact has changed only on the surface but the root causes of social and racial problems hasn’t been dealt with. While football has a way of breaking down barriers to an extent; kids play and forget about anything else, as soon as they finish they go back to the way they’ve been living and the way they’d been raised – so that hasn’t changed much. You will get kids who play soccer together but they will still make a racist comment every now and then (...) they can play together as a team but as soon as they step off the field it is a different story. (Hangberg, Afrikaans, 30-65, low LSM, urban)

**“There is a
difference between
mixing and
integrating”**

High LSM residents from Cape Town elaborated on the point made by residents in Hangberg that people went back to their separate social spaces after the World Cup. One respondent distinguished between mixing in public places and more sustained integration,

the big thing is, what is the difference between mixing and integrating? And there is a massive distinction between the two. So as South Africans with our differences and

backgrounds, we mix but don't integrate. We go to the same place but they go back to different places and worlds. And those different places are supported by a whole lot of historical injustice. No matter how many big parties you have. (Cape Town, English, 20-45, high LSM)

Another English speaking respondent in Cape Town similarly stated,

I don't think it had a real lasting impact. People were mixing but they weren't really getting to know each other. It brought people from different backgrounds together in space to watch the soccer or because they were all having a party in Longstreet, but it was on a superficial level. They weren't inviting each other for dinner afterwards. But I don't think they were engaging with each other in a deep and meaningful way. Everything was back very quickly in the way things always are. So when it was over, it was really over. (Cape Town, English, 20-45, high LSM)

Respondents in rural areas expressed similar sentiments, "The excitement created too much positive energy and we both liked and accommodated each other during the World Cup but afterwards, all went back to normal" (Mafikeng, Magogwe village, Tswana, 18-25, female, low LSM, rural). Another respondent from Tlhabane in North West province also commented on the fact that the unity generated by the World Cup appeared to be transitory, "the World Cup brought us all together. We all experienced togetherness but after the World Cup, things went back to normal. We no longer smile at each other, whites live their lives and we live ours" (North West, Tlhabane, Tswana, 20-45, low LSM, urban).

While some respondents expressed reservations about the depth of reconciliation created by the World Cup, there were certain communities who did not feel included in the general spirit of unity and cohesiveness that prevailed during the World Cup. These were primarily rural communities, communities such as the Xue & Khwe Khoisan community, and some coloured residents of the Western Cape. Focus group participants from Magogwe village in the North West expressed their sense of exclusion from World Cup activities and spirit,

I watched on TV. I did not feel the vibe of the World Cup. We felt like we were not treated like SA citizens in Mafikeng, we were left outside. Nothing was done here to raise our feelings about the World Cup. We saw children in the stadiums escorting the players. None of them come from the rural areas, why?

Another respondent from this focus group emphasized the point,

In Mafikeng the World Cup was not for us, it was at a distance. I watched on TV and I was aware that people are enjoying but we were very far from all the fun. Mafikeng did not even have public viewing areas. (Mafikeng, Magogwe village, Tswana, 18-25, female, low LSM, rural).

"We no longer smile at each other, whites live their lives and we live ours"

The Xue and Khwe Khoisan communities also expressed a sense of exclusion. Xue members of the Khoisan communities stated, "The thing that we saw was we were not made to feel

part of the experience, we felt left out and our local sports committees were not involved or addressed and we were not at the games themselves” (Platfontein, Afrikaans, low LSM, urban). “Our community was left out, only black, white and coloured, they were all present. We should have been there maybe it was a nice” (Platfontein, Afrikaans, low LSM, urban)

Khwe members of the Khoisan community similarly argued,

We sat to one side – our people. We were not directly involved. Our young people also have talent; they can also play the game, the game of FIFA. There are other people who can also play the game, the Khwe should have been taken to the games, to make us feel better, and we could not see Bafana, because we were not there (Platfontein, Afrikaans, low LSM, urban)

Young people from the coloured township of Tafelsig in Mitchell’s Plain also expressed a similar sense of exclusion partly linked to poverty and their broader sense of exclusion from South African society as a whole, “firstly, you don’t have the money to buy the tickets, plus then transport and food” (Tafelsig, Mitchells Plain, 18-20, low LSM, urban)

This was linked to a broader sense of being left out by the government in terms of service delivery,

us coloureds – we are marginalized by government so we are not going to benefit any time soon from the World Cup. We are not being racist, because if you think about it, government is being more racist than we are (...) look at World Cup advertising, it was black – ‘Kenako’, I don’t even know what that means’ (...) black people think they have more poverty but coloured people have it just as bad. (Tafelsig, Mitchells Plain, 18-20, low LSM, urban)

South African confidence in the ability of the government to deliver services after the 2010 World Cup

What the graph below indicates is that the 2010 World Cup did appear to improve confidence in the government’s ability to deliver services, however the qualitative analysis indicates that this increased confidence has created an unintended consequence, i.e. that citizens who have seen the capacity of the government to deliver in relation to the World Cup, now expect equally high standards of effectiveness and efficiency in relation to service for ordinary citizens. As a member of the Limpopo legislature pointed out residents of the province are now asking why if it was possible to deliver water for the purposes of the World Cup, and build a stadium in three years, do certain communities remain without basic services such as electricity and water. (Limpopo Legislature). A labour stakeholder from the Western Cape argued,

The workers constituency has a feeling that the government doesn’t want to deliver, is not that they can’t. Middle class perception is that government is incompetent. But workers think government is indifferent and that is why they protest. They feel government is indifferent to them and prioritize others. So the World Cup proved these suspicions, government could deliver to other people but not them. They made

the city clean, safer, run trains at night. But as soon as the World Cup ended they stopped the trains. (ILRIG)

Stakeholders both in government and civil society organizations emphasized the importance of “political will” and effective leadership in explaining the effective service delivery during the World Cup and by implication an important factor in continued improved service delivery. As one stakeholder argued, “the World Cup enhanced the belief that the South African government does have the capacity when it has political will” (Methodist Church, Eastern Cape).

There is some possibility the country’s proven capacity to host the event has left South Africans with a sense of empowerment, which may support demands for higher levels of service delivery. A stakeholder from the Department of Education argued in this vein that the World Cup created a belief among South Africans that, “regardless of who we are we can do something” (National Department of Basic Education, January 2011)

Government stakeholders themselves appear to indicate that the hosting of the World Cup created was an important learning curve where government learnt to operate effectively in response to tight deadlines. Meeting deadlines was identified as a central theme by more than one respondent. A representative from a disabled people’s association in the Free State argued in this light,

Our government has the potential to deliver services and the World Cup has proven that. Government was put in the spotlight to deliver and they did not disappoint us. If they continue to be put in the spotlight then more deadlines may be met. That is why people felt safer and attended games at night because they believed that they were protected.

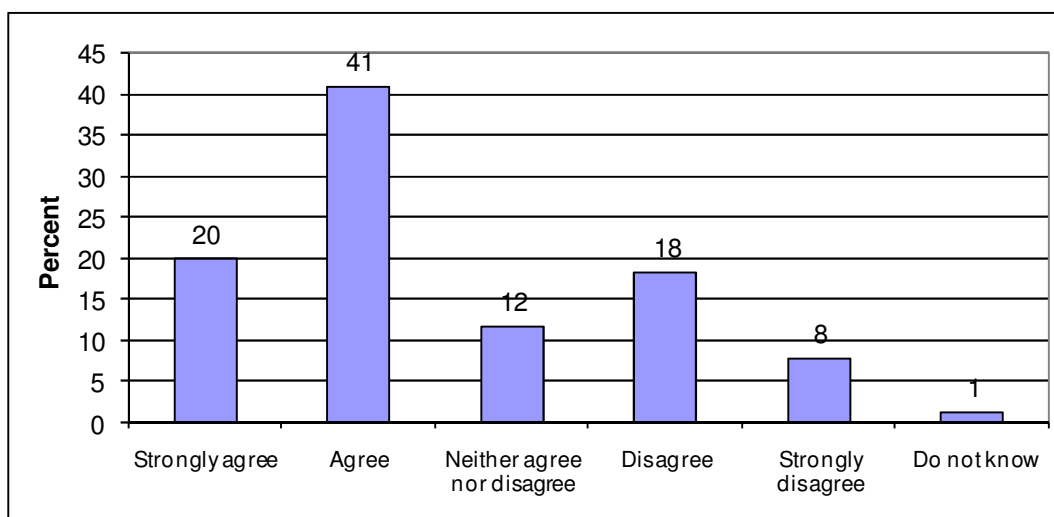
According to government stakeholders the effective execution of the World Cup created an important sense of confidence within government in its own capacity to deliver. As a stakeholder from the Department of Tourism argued, the hosting of the World Cup had created a sense of empowerment “across the board”. She argued that this sense of empowerment is an important catalyst in facilitating working co-operation across racial barriers (National Department of Tourism, January 2011). The effective governance practices which were implemented during the World Cup appear to have had some lasting impact in shifting the way in which government, in some instances, delivers services. For example, the Department of Health in Limpopo was motivated to improve procurement practices for medicines in order to ensure there were adequate medicines during the World Cup. No doubt similar initiatives were undertaken throughout the country during the run up to the World Cup.

Some non-governmental stakeholders, however, appear to be more sceptical about the ability of the government to maintain the service delivery momentum established during the World Cup,

People are not more confident in the government to deliver services since services were not delivered before and during the World Cup; things were done for visitors, e.g. stadiums were built etc. Everything that was done was quite cosmetic. After the

event people were still in poverty, in squatter camps, and without water, toilets, electricity, etc. Nothing has changed. People may think that South Africa has pulled the World Cup off, but why is it not done in other areas, e.g. service delivery. (Diamond Field Advertiser, Northern Cape, December 2010)

Figure 10: Do South Africa's have more confidence in the ability of the government to deliver services as a result of the organization of the 2010 World Cup



The graph indicates that South African were generally in agreement (61%) that the hosting of the 2010 World Cup had increased their confidence in the government's ability to deliver services. Interestingly while Asian/Indian respondents were generally the most positive about the nation building effects of the World Cup, this did not translate into a greater confidence in the government to deliver services. Black African and coloured respondents were more likely to make this link as shown in the table below.

Table 4: Confidence in government

Group ¹⁰			
Black African	3.30	1722	1.04145
Coloured	3.22	543	1.02013
Indian or Asian	2.82	357	1.04218
White	3.01	391	1.08177
Total	3.25	3013	1.05605

¹⁰ (F=26.156; df=3; Sig=0.000)

While two thirds of survey respondents argued that the hosting of the 2010 World Cup had improved their confidence in government to deliver services, qualitative data reveals some qualifications to this agreement. On the one hand white communities in both the Free State and Gauteng as well as elsewhere questioned whether the “success” of the World Cup was as a result of the efforts of government or of Fifa. As one respondent pointed out what the hosting of the World Cup demonstrated was our capacity as a host nation rather than our capacity to govern effectively,

all we are is a good host country, it didn't prove that we're a good stable political system, it didn't prove that we are economically sustainable, it didn't prove to me those things it proved to primarily that for six weeks [we] were able to put things aside in order to host a very good event. (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban)

A number of people admitted that they had not expected the government to “pull off” the event, but they had been “pleasantly surprised”. One participant stated, “I thought there was a lot of apprehension beforehand about how South Africans were going to react, and especially about crime or like people were going to strike, but strangely there wasn't anything like that” (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban).

On other hand respondents from a young English speaking group in Johannesburg implied that it was the *absence* of government, or more specifically an absence of traditional “politicking” during the period of the World Cup that actually facilitated service delivery,

I found like, I found like the government to be seriously absent from the public face, there were no Malema headlines. It was like I heard one speech he did on the radio. Like they kind of stepped back and then they didn't actually step forward again when it ended. (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban)

For several respondents the organization of the World Cup exposed the fact that government *does* indeed have the capacity to deliver but has not done so to date, “I have also realized that the government has the ability to deliver basic services the problem is just implementation. They plan good; they have nice plans but the implementation is the problem for them” (Atteridgeville, Xhosa/Zulu, 20-45, low LSM, urban). A participant from KwaZulu Natal argued in this vein,

they [government] have shown that they are capable of doing it if the ability is there and they can do it efficiently. They showed the country that if they do the job the right way rather than filling their pockets the job can be done very very well, if the right people are in the right place to do their job, rather than to fill a seat, the job can get done.” (Durban, English, Asian, 18-25, high LSM, urban).

Participants from the rural township of Mdinjini in Mpumalanga indicated that the World Cup was an “eye opener” because people were able to see what they lacked and what the government was capable of achieving. A respondent from Mjindini, some parts of which still lack access to water, similarly argued that the World Cup had demonstrated the capacity of the government but their failure to deliver to ordinary people, “if the government wants to do

something they can do it. So I don't think the government wants to do anything for us" (Mjindini, Seswati, 18-25, low LSM, rural).

Residents in the North West were positive about government service delivery in terms of the fact that water and electricity had reached villages in the area that were untouched prior to the World Cup. However, there was a strong sense that, "the South African government performs only if they serve people from outside South Africa, but when it comes to serving its own people, they relax and do not do their best". Another respondent from Atteridgeville also expressed concern that the government was able to deliver for the purposes of the World Cup but had not done so for ordinary citizens,

what I have seen happening before the tournament was existing, and exposed our weaknesses and strengths in some of the government departments, that they have the knowledge and skill is just that they do not want to work. They were only encouraged by the spirit of the World Cup; which stimulated some of the projects they were sitting on. (Atteridgeville, Xhosa/Zulu, 20-45, low LSM, urban).

A respondent from the Northern Cape also argued,

The government demonstrated that they are capable of service delivery when they are really committed, and are being pressurized for effective service delivery. They built the stadiums within a very short period of time and upgraded the roads as well. (Galeshewe, Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

Several respondents remarked on the significant feeling and experience of safety they experienced during the World Cup, "for the first time I felt safe in my own country during the World Cup. In every corner I turned I saw police watching or guarding, you would feel safe anytime, anywhere, whenever" (Atteridgeville, Zulu/Xhosa, 20-45, low LSM, urban). A number of respondents from KwaZulu Natal also indicated that they felt safe during the World Cup. One participant, for instance noted that there were "no serious and fatal crimes were reported and that investors and tourists were attracted to South Africa." (Umlazi Q, Zulu, 18-25, low LSM, urban). However, some focus group respondents noted the rapid decline of police visibility immediately after the World Cup.

"For the first time I felt safe in my own country during the World Cup"

On the other hand, some respondents appeared to have continued to experience an improved level security, "The police worked pretty hard during the World Cup even now the very same routine used during the tournament is being used... Police are doing their job" (Atteridgeville, Zulu/Xhosa, 20-45, low LSM, urban).

However in other areas there was disappointment that the heightened security during the World Cup did not continue afterwards. One participant stated that during the World Cup,

we felt safe, police were enforcing their best, government was enforcing their best, now I don't think we have a safe perception only during that time did they do their best. Now I don't think the level of security in our police department is the same, now

I don't feel so safe as I did during the period of the World Cup (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban).

In the North West respondents felt that police performed well during the World Cup as a result of the fact that they were deployed in large numbers (including reservists), but also argued that their effectiveness during the World Cup was due to the fact that, "they wanted to impress visitors, and now are no longer working hard as they did before during the World Cup" (North West focus groups).

Respondents from Limpopo also questioned whether the effective service delivery capacity demonstrated during the World Cup was a result of the fact that we were, "trying to impress Fifa and foreign visitors" (Sepedi, 18-25, low LSM, urban).

**"That month we saw
this country, the
possibility of this
country"**

Other respondents from the high LSM English speaking group had a more positive interpretation of the state capacity that had been demonstrated during the World Cup, i.e. it exemplified the possibilities of efficient governance, "Our country ran you know what I mean and sometimes I feel like it doesn't run and feel like for that month we saw this country, the possibility of this country and I think if the ideal it can be like that" (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban).

Economic impact

To what extent did the 2010 World Cup benefit the whole country economically?

Measuring the economic benefits of the 2010 World Cup is a complex task and a full account of this impact is beyond the scope of this report. While evidence to date points to an important macro-economic impact as a result of hosting the 2010 World Cup, which mitigated some of the worst effects of the global economic recession, the degree of economic inclusion and distribution of benefits that resulted from these macro-benefits appears more ambiguous. One stakeholder argued in terms of the macro-benefits of the 2010 World Cup,

the whole country benefitted. We were fortunate because the World Cup came at a time when it was the worst recession internationally...as a result of the World Cup there were projects going on with the government spending money on these big projects that kept a lot of people going because it was not just the construction of the stadia that people benefitted from...there were other work opportunities created and I think that helped us as a country...in Nelspruit as well...there is a lot of money that the government spent on the project that would have never been spent on this part of the country. (Municipality Manager, Mpumalanga, December 2010)

Stakeholders and focus group participants also generally agreed that the World Cup led to significant benefits in terms of infrastructure development, either hastening the completion of existing projects such as Gautrain or Rea Vaya, or leading to the construction of new roads, and other infrastructure related to the World Cup. As one focus group respondent argued, "The tournament has done a great job regarding infrastructure development such as roads and stadiums. Internationally, business and otherwise South Africa has a name but

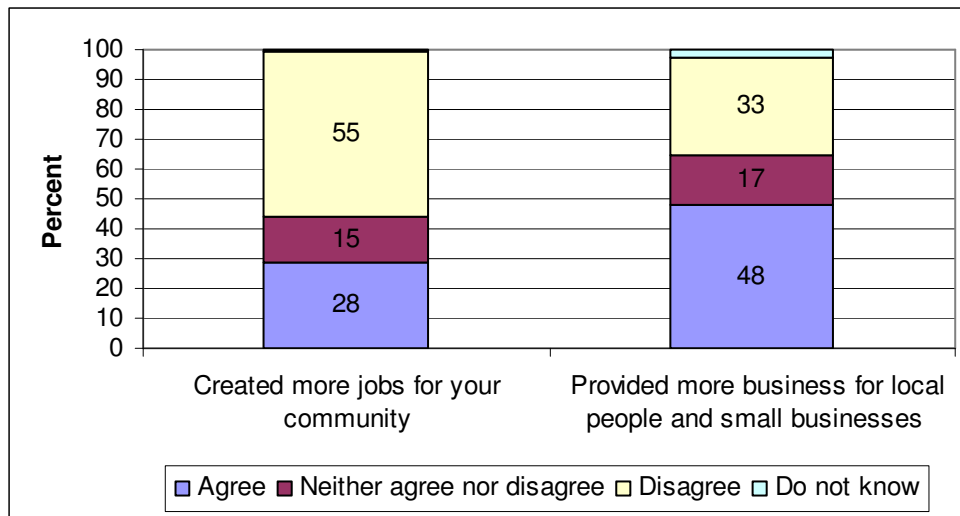
when it comes to benefits for the country's citizens, it is still hard, there is nothing that has expanded" (Atteridgeville, Zulu/Xhosa, 20-45, low LSM, urban).

What this section of the report explores therefore is the degree to which the World Cup precipitated a sense of economic *inclusion* among South Africans citizens, as well as some of the achievements and obstacles in this regard.

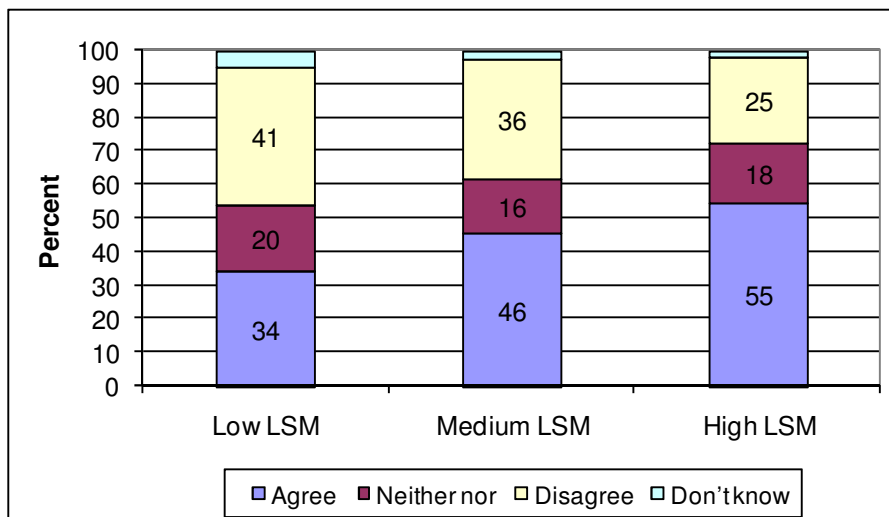
As one focus group participant explained, "Ok! South Africa has benefited a lot. The only the thing is that those who benefited is the well off, the poor who own small businesses...did not gain anything, they are the ones who have been affected from the World Cup and are more poorer" (Atteridgeville, Zulu/Xhosa, 20-45, low LSM, urban).

In this regard, the majority of SASAS survey respondents did not feel that the World Cup had an economically redistributive effect with only 3% of respondents agreeing that the poor and disadvantaged benefited economically from the World Cup. In the host cities of Cape Town and Durban respectively 1.3% and 2.5% of respondents believed that the World Cup would economically benefit the poor and disadvantaged. Data from Durban and Cape Town also indicated a high level of agreement with the statement that, "The FIFA World Cup will benefit/ only benefitted the rich and big businesses". Respondents in Cape Town agreed or strongly agreed (52.8%) with this statement before the World Cup with 54.8% agreeing after the World Cup. In Durban 67% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with this statement before the World Cup and 56% agreed after the World Cup.

As indicated above a comparative analysis of SASAS data on the relative impact of the World Cup on social cohesion, confidence in government, job creation and economic allocation of funds, indicates that the impact of the World Cup on social cohesion was rated significantly higher than its impact on job creation (including jobs in local communities and more business for local people and small businesses). This despite the fact that when South Africa won the right to host the 2010 World Cup, it came to an agreement with Fifa that 30% of the procurement budget for the World Cup would be spent on small, micro and medium enterprises (Sports and Recreation South Africa (SRSA). Nevertheless, when the different aspects of jobs creation are broken down into two categories, i.e. did the World Cup create more jobs for your community and did the World Cup provide more business for local people and small business, it is evident from the graph below that while only a small proportion (28%) of respondents felt that the World Cup had directly created more jobs, a larger proportion (48%) said that it had increased business opportunities for local people and small business.

Figure 11: Job creation and business opportunities as a result of the World Cup

Respondents living in close proximity to the stadiums in the urban centers of Durban and Cape Town surveyed by Bob and Swart were significantly more positive about the economic impact of the World Cup than most other social sectors surveyed. Seventy percent (70%) of respondents in both cities strongly agreed or agreed with the statement that “The hosting of this event will lead/ has led to increased spending in the local area thus ensuring economic benefits to the members of the local community”. SASAS data appears to indicate that the degree of economic benefit which communities experienced was in inverse proportion to their wealth i.e. higher LSM communities experienced the most perceived benefits and low LSM communities experienced the least perceived benefits as demonstrated in the graph below.

Figure 12: Provided more business for local people and small businesses

It appears that it was those who already had skills and resources who were more likely to be able to take advantage of the economic opportunities which were available. Respondents

explained that some of the barriers to entry included lack of skills among small entrepreneurs, bureaucratic requirements to be officially registered as a service provider and registration fees,

When we speak about business benefits, it is true that those who are skilled in business have benefited... But for local business people things were made difficult, they were told to go via South African Revenue Services (SARS), you must join this forum... you must join this what, what, what... you get me. But at the end of the day you find that this person only wanted to sell 'Sphatlo' meaning 'half bread'... (Atteridgeville, Zulu/Xhosa, 20-45, low LSM, urban).

So I think the government had a problem, it did not make things basic for local people and then if it did it should have trained the people three years before the World Cup and those programs should have been easy rather than complicated. (Atteridgeville, Zulu/Xhosa, 20-45, low LSM, urban)

Fifa's restrictions regarding economic activity around the stadium were also an economically inhibiting factor, "I want to say the people have not benefited and in towns or cities where games were held, the women who sell food 'PAP & VLEIS' and 'MOGODU' meaning tripe, were made to sell far from the stadiums" (Atteridgeville, Zulu/Xhosa, 20-45, low LSM, urban).

A representative of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Northern Cape commented in this regard,

Although FIFA has tight rules and regulations regarding business at the stadiums and fan parks, a special effort should have been made to ensure the inclusion of the informal sector. At a next big event the informal sector has to be accommodated to a much greater extent than was the case with the World Cup. (Dutch Reformed Church)

Focus group respondents in Gauteng and the North West also mentioned a problem of corruption particularly in relation to accommodation arrangements with even "serious business people" allegedly "defrauded" when they paid large amounts of money to be placed on databases as service providers by bogus "accommodation consultants" in the North West.

Nevertheless, the influx of tourists to the country, including the country's townships appeared to have created increased business opportunities for small entrepreneurs willing or able to take advantage of these opportunities. One focus group participant from the informal settlement of Imizamo Yetho explained, "as there were many visitors in townships" this "put some individuals in the community in a good place as they are now looking at township tourism in a more consistent way" (Imizamo Yetho, Xhosa, 20-45yrs, low LSM, urban). Respondents in a number of provinces noted the increased business at taverns in townships during the World Cup particularly in rural areas in the North West and KwaZulu Natal. A focus group participant from the informal township of Umlazi in KwaZulu Natal also recounted how he had earned extra money during the World Cup, "I am self employed selling candies, cool drinks, beer and liquor. People frequented my shebeen- cum- spaza shop in

order to view the World Cup matches, which brought me extra profit. (Umlazi Q, Zulu, 18-25, low LSM, urban).

Artists in crafts and music, both marketable to foreign tourists, seem to have reaped particular benefits during the hosting of the World Cup. As one musician from Likazi township in Mpumalanga explained,

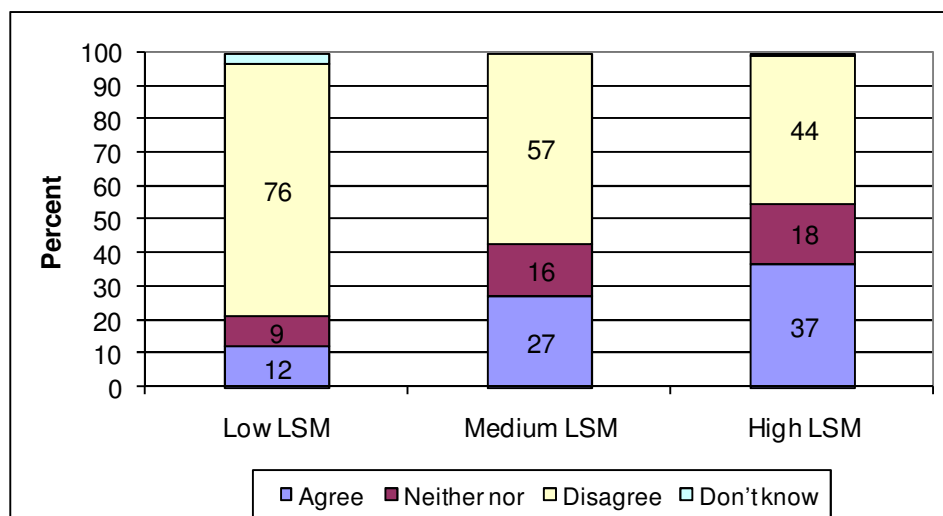
Local music was promoted and most of Mbombela groups participated well, and we were able to get some money out of it. I was able to make myself popular at that time. I met some foreigners from overseas, and I was also able to meet other celebrities(...) So I can fully admit that there has been a change" (Likazi, Xitonga, 20-45, low LSM, rural).

However, it is evident that the vast majority of these "business opportunities" were temporary and directly related to the influx of tourists and the general hype around the period of the World Cup specifically, which raises the critical question of sustainability. As one stakeholder in the Western Cape argued,

These economic benefits were only related to the World Cup so they are not sustainable; it is not possible unless there is another cup or the same number of visitors. We will not see another opportunity like that in our lifetime. We did our research in our community and everyone claims that they are no longer benefiting from the World Cup; hotels are complaining so it hasn't done anything for us over the long term. (Cape Town Partnership, December 2010)

When South Africans were asked about job creation and the hosting of the World Cup, the majority (55%) stated that they disagreed that the Word Cup created jobs in their communities. On the other hand just more than a quarter (28%) stated that some jobs *were* created in their communities. When broken down by LSM it was again low LSM respondents who were the least likely (only 12%) to agree that the World Cup created more jobs in their communities. On the other hand, high LSM respondents were the most likely to respond in the affirmative regarding job opportunities, emphasizing the fact that the economic benefits of the World Cup seemed to have perpetuated existing economic disparities.

Figure 13: Do you agree that the World Cup created more jobs for your community?



In terms of job creation, stakeholders and focus group participants pointed to the temporary nature of most job creation opportunities that resulted from the World Cup, although even this temporary employment did have positive spin offs for individuals and the economy. One focus group respondent from the North West when asked how he would describe the World Cup if it were a person stated the following: “It’s like a star, because it brings light to me. I did not like soccer but it had an impact on my life, people got jobs at hotels, restaurants, temporarily but maybe now they are permanent because of the World Cup” (Mkhulu, Seswati, 24-45, low LSM, rural). Young people in Tafelsig in Mitchell’s Plain in the Western Cape similarly stated, “there were lots of job opportunities even if it was just for that short period” (Tafelsig, 18-20yrs, low LSM, urban). A stakeholder from Cosatu in the Western Cape, however raised the question of the sustainability of the benefits that accrued from temporary job opportunities that were created,

Labor movement felt some positive effects as many people was employed, but once it was completed they were unemployed again. During preparation, because people were employed there was a spin off to unemployed poorer people building and upgrading infrastructure. Then it was a spin-off but not to the extent that we could celebrate massive job creation, but few thousands families were provided [for]. But it is not sustainable (...) You can’t now expect and count with more tourists to sustain as this depends on fluctuations. This is not sustainable.’ (Cosatu Western Cape, January 2010)

However, people living in “tribal” or rural areas were less likely to agree that the World Cup had created job opportunities in their communities (See Section Three, Table 6). This was strongly reflected in qualitative data from provinces such as Limpopo, North West, Mpumalanga and Northern Cape. There was a widespread perception that most of the economic benefits of the World Cup had been concentrated in Gauteng, “Gauteng benefited the most from the World Cup since more stadiums were built there than in other provinces, and they hosted more games than other provinces. Northern Cape did not benefit at all”. (Galeshewe, Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

Many of these provinces suffered from high level of expectations around potential economic returns that did not materialize. As one stakeholder argued,

In certain instances there were higher levels of expectation than what the World Cup would bring...that everybody would make money but that’s an unrealistic expectation...not everybody can make direct money out of it. There was a huge hype around the whole event which did not translate into direct economic benefits for everybody...the projected tourist numbers did not eventuate. (Municipality Manager, Mpumalanga, December 2010)

A stakeholder from the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Johannesburg (NafcocJCCI) argued that expectations around economic benefits had been raised too high and that we needed, “to be honest with SSMEs”. This stakeholder had attended a conference in Ekurhuleni with 2000 SSMEs who were told by senior SAFA and Fifa representatives about

economic opportunities related to the World Cup. However, he argued the barriers to entry were very high. Another business stakeholder argued similarly,

The expectation of the potential benefits, there was a misrepresentation in the part of government and FIFA as to what could it do for the country. It assisted some macro-economic indicators but not the entire country. The sustainability question was not in the priority list. It boosts confidence and placed the country in the world economy. From sustainability even the infrastructure is problematic; stadiums are not sustainable to manage, it was not productive infrastructure and did not help to unlock capacities. (Cape Town Business Chamber, December 2010)

As a result investment in accommodation such as bed and breakfast, guesthouses and hotel accommodation by residents of provinces outside the main centers were often not met by adequate returns and a number of stakeholders, for example the Department of Economic Development, Environment and Tourism in Limpopo, as well as focus group participants gave accounts of people who had incurred significant debt in the expectation that large numbers of tourists would travel throughout the country. As a group of older women in Limpopo argued, “We only heard and realized that many of the visitors were in Gauteng province in Johannesburg. We even make some beds thinking they will come and benefit financially. So we are very much disappointed about that” (Ngove, Sepedi, 45+, low LSM, rural). Residents of the town of Phokeng, capital of the Royal Bafokeng Nation in the North West also appear to have felt a significant sense of economic exclusion as the fact that the Royal Bafokeng stadium is located in the area raised expectations that there would be significant economic advantages to residents in the area. Another focus group participant in the Northern Cape argued,

The financial injection that people thought was going to happen did not materialize. MATCH created very high expectations. People were motivated to open guesthouses and start tourism related businesses. Even people in townships opened guesthouses since the perception existed that there was not enough accommodation for all the tourists. People from places like Bloemfontein opened guesthouses, but were only fully booked for two or three days. People in Soweto converted schools into guesthouses resulting in a lot of money wasted on empty premises. (Kimberley, Afrikaans, white, 20-45, medium LSM, urban)

According to stakeholders from the national Departments of Sport and Recreation and Tourism, high levels of specification by Fifa for accommodation, requirements for predictability in rates and quality etc. meant that it was often difficult for rural and township residents to meet these requirements. According to the stakeholder from the Department of Tourism, allowance was made for the fact that South Africa is a developing nation in the sense that for the first time non-hotel accommodation was included in the Fifa’s database of accommodation, however, in the end less than 1% of bookings actually went to SSMEs (National Department of Tourism, January 2011). Other factors, such as the fact that many tourists came to the country on group packages, which required group bookings at large hotels, were also an inhibiting factor as well as the fact that not many visitors to the World Cup travelled in the country beyond the venues where they viewed matches.

While some residents did not experience returns on investment in accommodation facilities, other respondents, such as the Bafokeng Taxi Owners Association (BTOA) in the North West felt that they had been specifically excluded from potential economic benefits because they were allegedly not allowed to operate on their usual daily routes and were not contracted to transport tourists during the World Cup either,

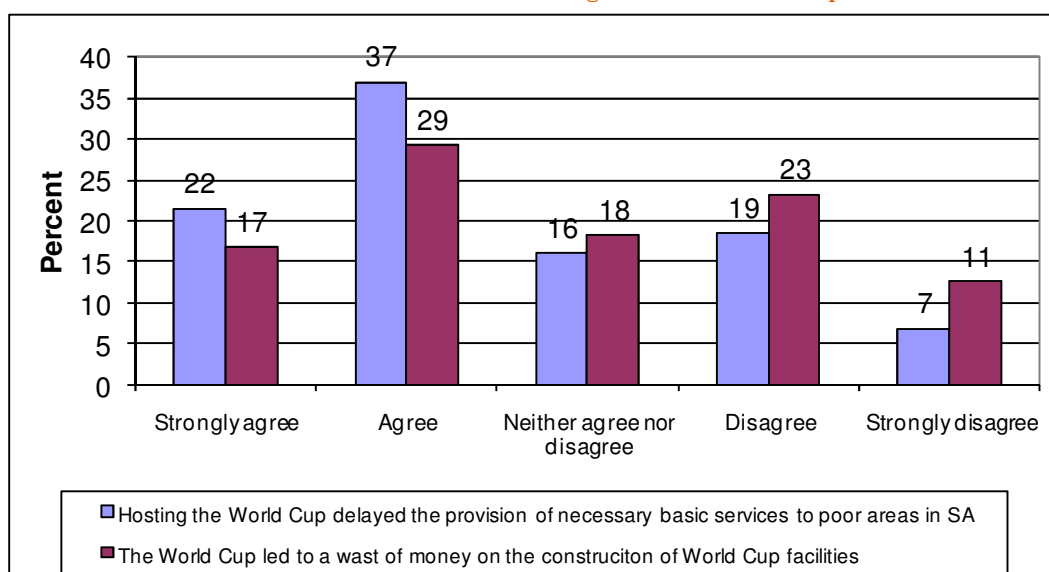
In short, we as BTOA we did not benefitted from the World Cup, instead the World Cup brought us misery, a great loss because we make money through operations. However, in that period we did not make money as usual from our operations because the road was closed and we were prevented from using it. (BTOA, December 2010)

Taxi drivers and owners in the Western Cape were also disappointed that they were not included in the transport benefits of the World Cup,

When the World Cup was coming “people in transport industry bought new taxis, some paid for them to be fixed, so that they would be ready, thinking they would be transporting visitors but their taxis were not used. They would have benefited if their taxis were also used” (Imizamo Yetho, Xhosa, 20-45yrs, low LSM, urban).

Were the funds for the 2010 World cup misdirected or prevent spending on addressing poverty and other needs?

Figure 14: The World cup and economic disadvantages



Part of a calculation of the economic benefits of hosting the World Cup is an assessment of the extent to which hosting the event economically disadvantaged South Africans. Stakeholders interviewed argued strongly that the idea that spending on the World Cup has directed funds away from spending on other priorities is in many ways a false dichotomy,

there shouldn't be perceptions that it was a tradeoff between either the World Cup or better service delivery. This is something that we needed to build a nation and put us together. It has shown that nothing is too big for us to do together. Events such as the World Cup was never meant to address issues of poverty. (Small Enterprise Development Agency (SEDA), Free State, December 2010)

Another stakeholder argued,

as long as you balance things...the idea that one cannot talk to hungry people about lofty ideas like social cohesion is problematic...some of these views are borne out of frustration with delays in service delivery, on the part of the government...while acknowledging people's needs for basic services, this does not mean we cannot talk about soft issues and positive values...the two are not mutually exclusive. (Community Development Worker, Eastern Cape, December 2010)

Several stakeholders pointed to the long term economic benefits of the World Cup as offsetting the disadvantages to spending on the event,

the counter-argument to that is that there are spin-offs from the World Cup...I think we were correct to build the infrastructure for the World Cup...challenges notwithstanding...ours is really to say...now that we have given you that chance as a population/citizens, we do want to reap the rewards as well... I can understand why someone might say this but I would not agree that it was wrong to invest in the World Cup infrastructure... (Community Development Worker, Eastern Cape, December 2010)

On the other hand there is no doubt that ordinary citizens were more ambiguous regarding the allocation of funds to the World Cup. The SASAS survey asked South Africans if the hosting of the World Cup delayed the provision of necessary basic services to poor areas in South Africa. Almost a quarter (22%) of people agreed strongly with this statement with a further 37% agreed with the statement. The majority of South Africans (59%) were therefore of the opinion that this event delayed the provision of basic services. However, more than a quarter (26%) had an opposite view, stating that this event did not delay the provision of basic services.

Fewer, but almost half of South Africans polled (46%) stated that the World Cup led to a waste of money on the construction of World cup facilities with the rest (18%) undecided or disagreeing (36%). Qualitative data also indicates a mixed response from focus group respondents regarding expenditure on World Cup facilities, in particular stadiums. Residents in the rural town of Umbumbulu, 40kms outside of Durban expressed varied feelings about the Moses Mabhida stadium. Some argued that the stadium was as an asset for the whole country, "the world class stadiums that were built will be utilized for other events, which could in turn boost the economy of our land" (Umbumbulu, Zulu, 20-45, low LSM, rural). However a number of other respondents argued that they felt that the funds for the event were misdirected and the needs of the "poorest of the poor" had not been met (Umbumbulu, Zulu, 20-45, low LSM, rural). Residents in Limpopo also had ambiguous feelings about the Peter Mokaba stadium, some arguing that the stadium had been badly built, there had been

corruption in the process of building the stadium and the stadium was now perceived to be a “white elephant”.

Data collected in the host cities of Durban and Cape Town before and after the event indicated that the perception that funds had been well spent *declined* after the World Cup. While the majority of respondents in both cities strongly agreed or agreed with the statement ‘I feel that the use of public funds in support of this event was acceptable’. Sixty seven (67.8%) agreeing or strongly agreed to this statement in Cape Town before the event and 62.5% agreed or strongly agreeing to this statement after the event. In Durban 61.5% agreed or strongly agreed to this statement before the World Cup as compared to 53% after the World Cup. While levels of agreement with the statement that public funds were well spent declined post the event, significantly more respondents also gave neutral responses post-event (26.3% in Cape Town and 34.5% in Durban) compared to pre-event responses (14% in Cape Town and 17.5% in Durban).

While SASAS data indicates that a majority of South African did feel funds were misdirected and data from the host cities indicates that there was a decline in support for the statement that public funds were well spent, a breakdown of SASAS data indicates that this perception differed between different sectors of society. Coloured and white respondents were most likely to agree that the hosting of the World Cup lead to a waste of money, delayed the provision of necessary basic services to poor areas and increased the prices of goods and services. Indian or Asian respondents and African respondents were least likely to state that there was economic spillage. This is reflected in qualitative data.

As residents in Atteridgeville township in Gauteng argued,

On the statement that World Cup money would have been better spent elsewhere, I do not agree. I do not agree because the tournament was not about money, I love soccer and know a million people who also do. We wanted to see those superstars, we wanted to own stadiums like those in Europe, we wanted everything that we got from the World Cup so that in the future that those who are intelligent, educated better than us can be able to utilize those facilities. For me it is an investment I cannot say is a loss. Lastly the country was safe and the image of the country improved internationally everything that could be possibly done was done I cannot add nor subtract. (Atteridgeville, Zulu/Xhosa, 20-45, low LSM, urban)

Another respondent argued that funds had already been spent on addressing a variety of social needs since 1994 so it was appropriate that money should now be spent on the World Cup, “regarding [the] statement that money would have been better spent, I want to differ by saying since we have more than one or two decades in power the government has built about 1.5 million houses for the people...Many things have been done in these decades” (Atteridgeville, Sotho/Tswana, 18-25, low LSM, urban).

Other respondents argued that not spending money on the World Cup would have in fact not resolved problems around service delivery and that hosting the World Cup was an unprecedented opportunity. A focus group participant in the Northern Cape commented, for example that “issues of service delivery are a common thing all over the world, whether we hosted the World Cup or not there is still going to be poverty in some parts of the country”

(Galeshewe, Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban). The same participants in the group pointed out that if money was not spent to host the World Cup South Africans would not have had the opportunity to experience a world class event in their own country. “As South Africans we are happy and proud to have hosted such a big event. Furthermore, the country would have missed the opportunity to be marketed overseas” (Galeshewe, Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

On the other hand there were focus group respondents who argued that funds had in fact been misdirected. Focus group participants from the Free State argued,

We do think that the funds for the World Cup were misdirected or prevented spending on addressing poverty and other needs. People who suffered before the World Cup are still suffering today. There is no change in their lives. We know that government did receive monies from FIFA. We don't know how this was used.
(Bloemfontein, Sotho/Tswana 20-45, low LSM, rural)

Focus group participants from the Northern Cape also argued that “service delivery is more important than soccer” (Galeshewe, Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban). “The money could have been used for poverty alleviation. There is a high rate of unemployment; our government could have fulfilled their promises with that money” (Galeshewe, Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

Afrikaans speaking respondents were in general the most critical of the allocation of funds to the World Cup. A number expressed concern about the amount of money that had been spent on stadiums, “South Africa has too much poverty to invest so much in the stadiums. How many millions were spent on the stadiums?” (Pretoria, Afrikaans, 30-55, low LSM, urban). Afrikaans respondents in the Free State argued that The Afrikaans that the country as a whole and poor people in particular did not derive any substantial benefits from the World Cup and that the Local Organising Committee (LOC) of Fifa and Fifa were the real beneficiaries. Respondents in the Northern Cape argued that “Some of the money should have been used to build power stations, water purifying plants, hospitals and schools since this is a necessity for our country at the moment” (Kimberley, white, Afrikaans, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

While some respondents argued that funds had been misdirected, there were a number of respondents who believed that citizens would still benefit from the profits made from the hosting of the World Cup. Focus group respondents from the Limpopo argued that the income accrued during the World Cup should be used to build more hospitals, schools and roads. “We are expecting the government to build houses for the poor, increase social grants for poor children and for old people - it is then we will be satisfied” (Ngove, Xitonga, female, 45+, low LSM, rural).

Role of the media

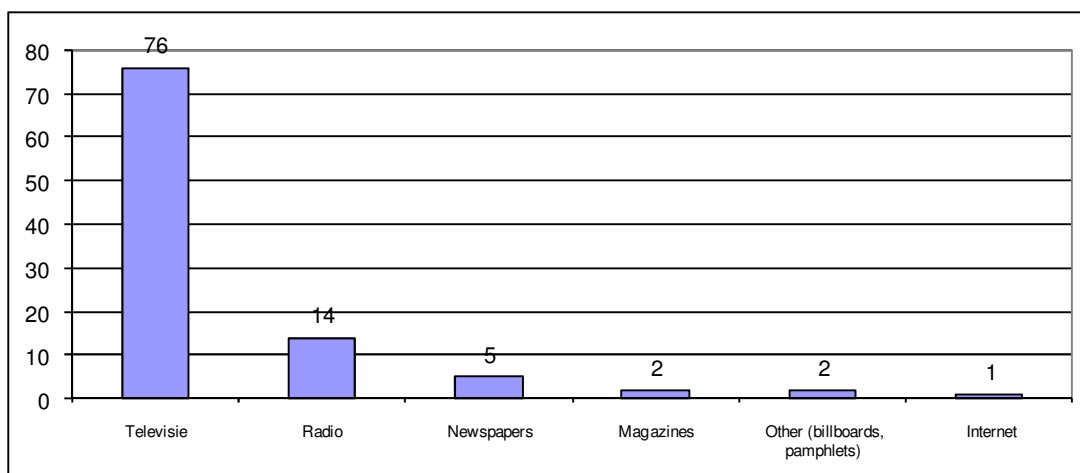
The media played a significant role in the World Cup both in terms of keeping people across the country informed about the event as well as in creating a sense of national unity and collective national enthusiasm. As one focus group respondent from the Northern Cape put it,

The media has actually made the World Cup a great success. I think if it wasn't for the media, a lot would have been lost for a big part of our population. Think about the guy sitting in the middle of the Kalahari listening to his radio, his only source of information on the soccer World Cup. Media and technology made the World Cup accessible for everyone... The opening ceremony, which was broadcast on TV, made the hype even greater. Anybody who didn't feel the hype of that ceremony missed it all. Everybody was on a high after that opening ceremony" (Kimberley, Afrikaans, white, 20-45, medium LSM, urban)

More than 80% of survey respondents in the host cities of Durban and Cape Town responded positively to the statement "The event will increase/ increased positive media coverage of the area" both before and after the World Cup. When SASAS respondents were asked what the main source of information for the 2010 World Cup was, it was clear the television played the biggest role as a source of information with more than three quarters (75%) stating television as their main source of information. Stations mentioned by focus group participants include SABC 1 and 2. A respondent from the Royal Bafokeng Administration was particularly positive about television coverage of the World Cup,

I think the SABC did a fantastic job, Children of all ages, knew about the World Cup. My son is four years; he knew exactly what was going on, media did this country very proud. We had positive reporting, we were able to attract the eyes of the world, and we could not achieve that without the media" (Royal Bafokeng Administration).

Figure 15: Main source of information during the World Cup



Radio was the second most popular source of information at 14% and more so for the older respondents. A third source of information was newspapers.

Interviews with focus group respondents indicate that a variety of radio stations including number of community radio stations and radio stations representing a wide range of language groups played an important role in various parts of the country. Stations mentioned included Good Hope FM in the Western Cape, Radio Sonde Grense (RSG), Bosveld Stereo, 702, Five FM, YFM, Highveld, Ikwekwezi FM which broadcast in isiNdebele, Ukhozi FM which broadcast in isiZulu and UMhlobo weNene which broadcast in isiXhosa,

Motsweding FM which broadcast in seTswana and Thobela FM which broadcast in sePedi, Bushbuckridge Radio Station and Bombela Community Radio (BCR) were mentioned in Mpumalanga. In the North West the community radio station Mafisa (Rustenburg), which broadcasts in Setswana was cited as a source of information. In the Northern Cape the community radio station -!K and K FM and Radio Teemaneng were identified by focus group participants.

Newspapers focus group participants mentioned reading included the Daily Sun, Beeld, Star, Sowetan and Mail and Guardian. In KwaZulu Natal vernacular newspapers, *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe* were popular in the rural areas of Umbumbulu and the informal settlement of Umlazi.

In general stakeholders and focus group respondents felt that the media had played a very positive role in creating a general atmosphere of excitement during the World Cup and in promoting nation building and social cohesion. However, a number of respondents mentioned the negative media coverage during the run up to the World Cup as well as the fact that after the World Cup, the media's role in promoting nation building and social cohesion appeared to decline rapidly. One stakeholder from the national Department of Sports and Recreation argued that the media had kept the department "on its toes" during the run up to the World Cup as the spotlight was continually on the preparations for the World Cup. As the country moved towards the World Cup there was increased positive reporting and the media, "came to the party" (Sports and Recreation South Africa).

A municipal stakeholder from Mpumalanga mentioned the shift in attitude within the media as the World Cup got underway,

Initially the media was very sceptical...even with the stadium there was always bad publicity...allegations of corruption etc, even the local media was always complaining and on the municipality's back all the time. During the World Cup the whole thing turned around ...before when they came here they were always trying to find fault. When they came for the first match (Municipality Manager, Mpumalanga)

A stakeholder from the Western Cape similarly stated,

During the World Cup they (the media) were amazing but leading up to it they were disgusting. But once the event started they reflected the nation's pride. I wish the media could have kept the positive take on things and build the spirits for a bit longer because once the event was finished they fed again the negativity. (Cape Town Partnership)

Stakeholders from the Northern Cape noted the way in which the positive role the media played during the period of the World Cup declined after the event,

For the duration of the World Cup the media played a positive role in promoting social cohesion and nation building by publishing, for example, stories about people eating and enjoying themselves in Soweto. They were also broadcasting from various parts of the country introducing South Africans to various cultures. The media also concentrated on positive stories, but after the event the main emphases are once more on crime in the country. (Dutch Reformed Church)

A representative of the Northern Cape municipality agreed, “The media covered many stories on the event, including interaction between different groups. Thereby they played a positive role in promoting social cohesion during the World Cup. However, after the event their role stopped”.

For young people in Mitchell’s Plain the media played a positive role, “when you watched TV and it was about the World Cup, they always showed things about unity, they never showed anything that would make people feel negative” (Tafelsig, Afrikaans, 18-20yrs, low LSM, urban). Young English speakers from Johannesburg agreed, “All walks of media were fantastic during the World Cup...all types of media whether it was...radio, newspaper, whether it be TV” (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban).

Afrikaans focus group respondents were also positive about the role that the media played during the World Cup. According to respondents from Pretoria, the media played a “significant” role in promoting nation building and reconciliation, “People began to speak to each other; it brought people together who would previously not have communicated” (Pretoria, Afrikaans, 30-55, low LSM, urban). A number of Afrikaans focus group respondents and stakeholders mentioned the positive role played by the Afrikaans language station, Radio Sonde Grense (RSG) during the period prior to the World Cup and during the event itself. “I think the media played a very big role in promoting social cohesion. For example, RSG, an Afrikaans radio station whose traditional listeners are not soccer fans, embraced the soccer tournament” (Kimberley, Afrikaans, white, 20-45, medium LSM, urban)

Stakeholders from Agri SA also argued that (RSG), “embraced the World Cup with everything they had”. They had programmes that taught listeners about the game of soccer, its history etc. Other media such as the newspaper Beeld were more ‘subdued’ than the English media because of the nature of their reading public which is conservative and remained sceptical of the possibility of South Africa hosting a successful World Cup. However, as the event took off their coverage improved and they were leading with front page stories and photos of the World Cup.

People living in rural communities were also positive about the role of the media in promoting national unity. A respondent from Likazi township in Mpumalanga stated, “the media did wonderful work, by slowly ensuring that all South Africans understand ‘ubuntu’, the general spirit of being neighbourly, loving the stranger, protecting SA visitors” (Likazi, Xitonga, 20-45, low LSM, rural). Even the Khoisan community in the Northern Cape felt that the media had helped bring South Africans together during the period of the World Cup, “We realized through the media’s coverage of the World Cup that we are all one nation, even if we differ from time to time. We all want to know each other better, and learn each others languages and cultures” (Platfontein, Afrikaans Khoisan, 18-25, low LSM, rural).

Future large international events and recommendations

Focus group participants and some stakeholders across the country, despite acknowledging the limitations of the economic benefits which they had received as a result of the World Cup, appeared to be generally supportive of South Africa’s hosting further large international events. This sentiment seemed to have been strongly associated with the belief that now that we have “proven” that we could host the 2010 World Cup, we need to continue to “prove” our standing and capacity in the international community by hosting further “world class”

events. As a community representative from Limpopo argued, “South Africa was exploited many times in the past by the colonial masters, but the freedom and acceptance in the international space demonstrated the capacity of South Africa to host the World Cup first on the African soil” (Limpopo, community representative).

A representative of a municipality in the Northern Cape expressed similar sentiments,

South Africa is ready to host almost any global event in future. Apart from the World Cup, we hosted the Rugby World Cup, Cricket T20, and have gained a lot of experience from that. We are ready to host the Olympics. Through hosting these events we have seen what the real world is about...By hosting big events the world takes us seriously. (Municipality, Northern Cape).

In the informal township of Imizamo Yetho in the Western Cape people felt that it was a good thing the World Cup came to South Africa. “It was 120% successful and nothing can hold us back in hosting it again because we are in the front (...) whenever Fifa has a problem of a venue now, they will consider South Africa. We made ourselves a name and fame” (Imizamo Yetho, Xhosa, 20-45yrs, low LSM, urban).

Similarly, young people in Tafelsig in Mitchell’s Plain in the Western Cape felt excited about hosting new events “just to get that vibe again because everywhere you went people were friendly and talkative” (Tafelsig, Afrikaans, 18-20yrs, low LSM, urban). In the Western Cape fishing village of Hangberg, people felt that it would be good to host the World Cup as long as “government learns from the previous mistakes (...) structures have been built and we have proven to ourselves that we can do it” (Hangberg, Afrikaans, 30-65, low LSM, urban). They were particularly inclined to host the Olympics, “If we can have a big event soon then our relations with each other, interactions with other races will improve” (Hangberg, Afrikaans, 30-65, low LSM, urban).

Young high LSM English speaking respondents from Johannesburg were similarly positive about hosting future international events as were residents from Atteridgeville township in Pretoria in Gauteng,

ja why not, we threw a...fantastic World Cup and I don’t see why we shouldn’t hold any other sort of event. If anything came out of the World Cup it was positive, I mean, you know, I think the pro’s way weigh out the cons of the World Cup so yes. Oh yeah bring on the Olympics. It won’t be as fantastic as the World Cup but bring it on and we’ll host a great Olympics. (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban)

“You can’t sleep at the stadium and people are still in need of a better life”

Even some respondents from the Northern Cape, who were explicit about their sense of exclusion from the benefits of the World Cup, were supportive of South Africa continuing to host further international events in order to demonstrate our capabilities as a nation, “Hosting more major international events will provide more international exposure for South

Africa...We have the capability and infrastructure, e.g. hotels, roads, stadiums, and international airports to host such events. The police proved that they can maintain law and order during such an event” (Galeshewe Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

However, other participants indicated their opposition to the country hosting more major international events: “I have nothing against soccer but too much money was spent. We have to ask if it was really worth it? Hosting the Olympic Games won’t help to relieve the poor’s suffering” (Kimberley, white, Afrikaans, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

A representative from the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce argued that the infrastructure built as a result of the World Cup and potentially in order to host future major events does not in fact promote economic growth,

I will caution against the Olympics because it is even more costly and creates even more white elephants. World Cup infrastructure does not facilitate trade, transport and economic growth. Anything else after the World Cup will be too costly and the country can’t afford it. We applied our minds and don’t think it is a good idea. Smaller events, yes. (Cape Town Business Chamber)

Another respondent from the Khoisan community also argued that hosting the World Cup had diverted resources away from infrastructure development for the poor, “No, South Africa should not host more events in future. The country spent a lot of money on soccer, but we still do not have enough houses and toilets, our roads are inaccessible, and we do not have any sport facilities” (Platfontein, Khoisan, Afrikaans, 18-25, low LSM, rural).

A respondent from the Free State echoed similar sentiments, “Yes, it did help with improving infrastructure but we can’t sleep at the stadium and people are still in need of a better life that was promised.” (Bloemfontein, Sotho/Tswana 20-45, low LSM, rural)

A representative of the newspaper the Big Issue expressed similar sentiments, “I can’t speak for everyone, but I can speak for our beneficiaries. I think although everyone enjoyed it I think the vast majority would rather say can we first please have running water, electricity and a home before we host any more events”(The Big Issue).

A community development worker from the Eastern Cape argued that we need to realise the anticipated benefits from the World Cup before hosting another similar event,

We are still waiting for the spin offs. To be honest and fair to the needs of South Africans we should perhaps focus on utilizing benefits yet to come. South Africa can host other mega events but not before the government has delivered on the promised spin offs of the World Cup. The government took a risk in that in the midst of all the many challenges the country faces, it took money and invested it in sports. For that reason alone, it would be irresponsible for them to host another event of the same magnitude whilst it has yet to address the expectations that were raised. (Community Development Worker, Eastern Cape)

Recommendations

Recommendations for the future from focus group participants’ primarily concerned ways to address their sense that “ordinary” citizens had been excluded from the planning and

preparation for the hosting of the World Cup, and therefore that their needs and priorities had not been taken into account. As a resident from Hangberg in the Western Cape argued, “They [the government] did not include our expectations in their programmes” (Imizamo Yethu, Xhosa, 20-45yrs, low LSM, urban) Young respondents from the Tafelsig community in Mitchells Plain also expressed this sense of exclusion, “we people who are marginalized should have been more involved” (Tafelsig, Afrikaans, 18-20yrs, low LSM, urban).

when government had meetings, the City Council should have found about the needs in Tafelsig and come back to us, they didn’t do that and that is why we are sitting with nothing (...) we don’t have those type of community meetings, perhaps just a few that are held at somebody’s house but we are not invited so we can deliver our opinions. (Tafelsig, Afrikaans, 18-20yrs, low LSM, urban)

A suggestion was made by respondents in the Northern Cape that in future there needs to be more interaction with the public in the planning stages of large events such as the World Cup. It was also noted that grassroots concerns and issues were not included in South Africa’s bid to host the World Cup, particularly the bid books. It was also argued that the Local Organising Committee should have been more “representative” to ensure that the interests of all South Africans were considered in the planning and implementation of the World Cup.

In rural areas and non-host cities, the sense of exclusion reflected by focus group participants primarily concerned a belief that the social and economic benefits of the World Cup should have been spread more widely beyond the main urban centres and host cities, expectations that there would be more stadiums in a wider variety of provinces and that the potential of provinces beyond the main centres should have been better recognised. For example in the Free State both the urban and rural Tswana/Sotho groups commented that “benefits should reach beyond host cities” (Bloemfontein, Sotho/Tswana 20-45, low LSM, rural). Areas such as the Northern Cape did not feel that they had benefited from the transport infrastructure that had been developed in order to host the World Cup. Fan parks and public viewing screens were not ready in the province in time for the opening game and as a result public enthusiasm was lost.

Focus group participants were also critical of what they perceived to be a failure to plan for the sustainability of the benefits of the World Cup and to ensure it created a lasting legacy for the country as a whole.

The negative part is that there aren’t any benefits from the World Cup now in our communities. The bosses, the big football bosses, our own President himself said that it would be a great advantage to our communities, there will be games, there will be activities for young people and yet it isn’t seen here, so that is a negative thing. (Tafelsig, Afrikaans, 18-20yrs, low LSM, urban).

Similar sentiments were expressed by focus group participants in the Free State in regard to the failure to sustain the “sense of togetherness” that prevailed during the period of the World Cup.

There was also a sense of disappointment that the hosting of the World Cup had not impacted on soccer development in many townships and rural areas.

there are many soccer clubs in Mitchell's Plain so why could they not use the build-up to the World Cup and the World Cup itself to invest more in soccer by having better training grounds for the youngsters? (...) If you look at all the better soccer pitches such as the one in Lansdowne, most of it is only in the white areas, there is nothing good here where children can practice. I felt pride then but I don't feel pride now...there are no activities happening now (Tafelsig, 18-20yrs, low LSM, urban).

when major events are held, there should be a focus on poor communities. In the rural areas, promote the game on that level and funds can be ploughed back into those communities. So when huge events do take place there should be greater emphasis on the upliftment of youth and poverty-stricken areas and filling the gap between poor and rich (...) money could have been used to alleviate social needs. (Hangberg, Afrikaans, 30-65, low LSM, urban)

A critical issue for focus group participants and stakeholders was the lack of economic inclusivity of the event and ways in which this could be addressed in the future. The result of this was that the country did not experience the "economic multipliers" that it could have, had a wider range of small and larger businesses been included from the planning stages of the World Cup. Stakeholders also pointed to the unrealistically high expectations around the potential economic benefits that South African citizens could accrue from the event and the debt that certain small entrepreneurs had acquired, particularly in non-host cities and rural areas, in anticipation of economic spin-offs that did not materialise. On the other hand focus group participants argued that government, particularly local government, failed to prepare communities for the potential business opportunities that could arise from the World Cup, this included both providing better information and actively skilling and empowering residents to take advantage of the opportunities that would arise during the World Cup. A resident of Hangberg in the Western Cape argued,

They should have brought or still now bring workshops to the communities (...) our people also need to be educated about what is expected of them and how they can benefit (...) give them some ideas and show them how they can benefit. (Hangberg, Afrikaans, 30-65, low LSM, urban)

A respondent from Atteridgeville stated,

I think the government should have prepared us [nation] more that is the problem about government, they do not prepare us. The only strong feeling I have is about small business people that are struggling. I feel like the government should have made things easy and prepare its people. Next time when they host such events they should make sure that they focus more on people with nothing rather than the well off and established. We are not saying that they fire international brands such as the KFCs and McDonalds but the forefront should be given to small business. Small business people must not be made to pay huge sums of money five thousand rands or eighty thousand rands. As long as they are registered and their business is known, just give them the stage and let them prove themselves. I think on the benefit side

we need to relook how can we make things right. (Atteridgeville, Zulu/Xhosa, 20-45, low LSM, urban)

On the other hand, both stakeholders and focus group participants emphasized the need to promote and enhance creativity and initiative among citizens so that they “break the dependency syndrome” (Limpopo stakeholder).

As a focus group participant from Tafelsig in Mitchell’s Plain explained, “change starts with ourselves, if we change our thinking then we will be able to accomplish anything. We still have an attitude where we wait on the government to do it. We must work together for a better South Africa. There will always be complaints but we need to start with ourselves.” (Tafelsig, Afrikaans, 18-20yrs, low LSM, urban).

While many small business people were ill equipped to take advantage of the potential economic benefits of the World Cup, other stakeholders pointed out the need in future to ensure that economic benefits are spread wider than sectors that did experience the most economic benefits e.g. the taxi/transport industry, taverns and “top hotels”. (Limpopo)

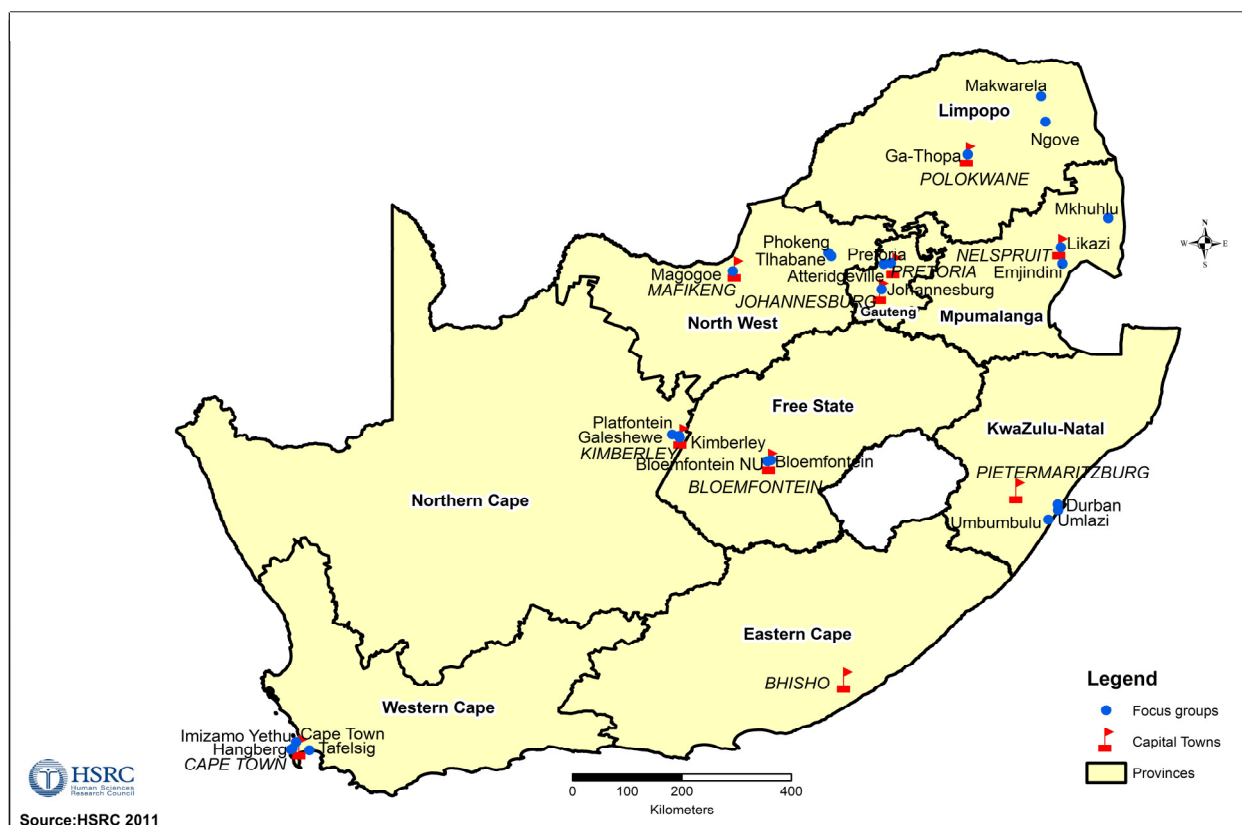
The pricing of goods related to the World Cup such as T-shirts, transport to fan parks and in particular tickets was raised as a concern by both focus group participants, many of whom could not afford the Bafana Bafana T-shirt sold at the time or the cost of transport to fan parks. Stakeholders also noted the difficulties associated with the monopoly by the company, Match, appointed by Fifa to organise and control both ticketing and accommodation for the World Cup. Focus group participants and stakeholders both mentioned the way in which Match held onto tickets and accommodation booking until the last minute, anticipating a rush on the both, but then finally released them “too late” for local hoteliers to benefit or for organizations such as the Chamber of Business to buy tickets for potential economic investors.

In general both stakeholders and focus group participants emphasised the need to be more assertive in relation to large organisations such as Fifa in the future and not simply accept its conditions without negotiation on behalf of the broader South African public. Fifa exclusion zones around stadiums were mentioned as a particular obstacle to the empowerment of small business entrepreneurs as was the fact that Fifa was exempted from South African tax regulations, limiting the economic benefits the country could have accrued from the tax revenue generated by the event.

Section One

Focus Group interviews

Location of Focus groups held across the provinces of South Africa



Western Cape

Focus groups were held in Hangberg, a fishing community in Hout Bay (Afrikaans, 30-65, low LSM, urban), Imizamo Yetho, an informal black township (Xhosa, 20-45yrs, low LSM, urban), Tafelsig, a coloured community in Mitchell's Plain, (18-20yrs, Afrikaans low. LSM, urban) and Cape Town (English, 20-40yrs, high LSM, urban)

1) Extent to which the 2010 World Cup brought South African citizens together
Did the 2010 World Cup have a negative or positive impact on social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation?

For people of this coloured fishing community of **Hangberg** on the slopes of Hout Bay, mixed feelings emerged around the impact of the World Cup in bringing South Africans together. However, people overall felt very positive, feeling they were working towards something "great" expressing pride and describing a "spirit of unity". For one male participant relations did improve between people. "I personally went into pubs here and saw white people sitting comfortably with black people and having a beer. The spirit and the atmosphere was

electrifying... so much so that they hugged each other; so that type of nation building was evident” (Hangberg, Afrikaans, 30-65, low LSM, urban).

In their view “the World Cup was a good thing for our country and for our community because people united and we had fun and it was a great experience seeing other people engaging with others. This was for instance exteriorized in a powerful way by people wearing the Bafana T-shirt in big numbers and feeling proud of it. People, especially mothers in the community expressed overwhelming feelings of unity as “the spirit was wonderful” in the community. Another important place of interaction was public transport, which was used during this time by more people, including those who usually never use it; “people were talking on the trains and that was so exciting” (Hangberg, Afrikaans, 30-65, low LSM,urban).

Also, for some of the younger members of this community the World Cup provided an opportunity to network with people from all over, and it helped some gain work experience.

Similarly, while xenophobia is not perceived as a problem by the community, some members noted that during the World Cup there was also a positive effect on the interaction between other Africans and locals. One example was the local pubs at the harbor; fishermen from Angola joined in for a drink, watched the game on the big screen before returning to their boats. As one participant observed, they felt more at home during this time because it was an African Cup and “it was other African people who entertained them” (Hangberg, Afrikaans, 30-65, low LSM,urban).

On the social cohesion front, as a participant explained,

social impact has changed only on the surface but the root causes of social and racial problems have not been dealt with. Football has a way of breaking down barriers to a limited extent; kids play together and forget about anything else, but as soon as they finish they go back to the way they’ve been living and the way they have been raised – so that hasn’t changed much. You will get kids who play soccer together but they will still make a racist comment every now and then (...) they can play together as a team but as soon as they step off the field it is a different story. (Hangberg, Afrikaans, 30-65, low LSM, urban).

In the informal settlement of **Imizamo Yetho** in terms of social cohesion, one male participant observed that,

there was a good relationship between blacks and whites, there was co-operation - we worked together. White people normally do not support soccer that much but during the World Cup they came out in big numbers to support soccer. Since then, we have noticed that our stadiums become packed when there are matches, even whites attend(Imizamo Yetho, Xhosa, 20-45yrs, low LSM, urban).

He had a particular experience when, on the last Friday of the World Cup, he was approached by a white to go and watch a match and afterwards was asked to sign up with them to coach their children at the local white school (Kronendal). While this was a good initiative and he had 22 kids to train, logistics made it difficult to unify practices between white and black kids. In his words “whites had a problem to play in a more centrally located field in Hout Bay because the field had no grass but soil (...) and our kids (black) had a

problem of travelling far to go to the gym at Kronendal” (Imizamo Yetho, Xhosa, 20-45yrs, low LSM, urban).

Another female participant noted that it has united different races, “we noticed how white attitudes have changed for the better towards blacks and more especially as far as soccer is concerned which used to be taken as a sport for blacks” (Imizamo Yetho, Xhosa, 20-45yrs, low LSM, urban).

Another added to this, saying

we opened our hands and welcomed them. We discovered that the World Cup healed sores we had in the sense that we noticed that whites are not that bad, it is only a few of them who are still hanging onto issues of yesterday, because in our townships in the Western Cape whites paid visits and they had an input into many things, like going to the B&Bs and local braai places (...) and blacks also opened their hands to welcome white visitors. (Imizamo Yetho, Xhosa, 20-45yrs, low LSM, urban)

Participants did not see xenophobia as a big issue related to the World Cup. However, they said that in their view xenophobia is confusing.

There was no xenophobia. People expressed hostility to foreigners because of frustrations with the lack basic services from government in their daily lives, but this was contained during the World Cup (...) our government did not have plans for integrating migrants into our communities (...) these people found their way into our communities and the government abandoned them. (Imizamo Yetho, Xhosa, 20-45yrs, low LSM, urban)

The young people of the Tafelsig community in Mitchell’s Plain also experienced positive feelings but were on the whole more sceptical of any impact in terms of social cohesion and nation building. While they enjoyed the event and saw many positive aspects they felt on the whole disappointed. On the positive side, teenagers expressed satisfaction and felt that it was a great experience. It was good for the tourists to come and see that South Africa is not that bad,

The police were there and this was the one time people looked out for each other so there was that community safety (...) people united and we had fun (...) it was a great experience seeing people engaging with other people from different countries as well as my own people – South Africans (...) we were all supporting one team, we were Bafana Bafana crazy, then all that ubuntu stuff came into play (Tafelsig,, Afrikaans 18-20 yrs, low LSM, urban).

Similarly this positive feeling of togetherness was also expressed towards Africa when there was much support for Ghana as respondents described them as being part of the African continent.

However, youngsters also pointed that this was a temporary and superficial effect. “During the World Cup there was no xenophobia but after the World Cup it came back again. I think it is an ideology that people have, a way of thinking that other African countries are not on our level” (Tafelsig, 18-20yrs, Afrikaans. low LSM, urban).

In regards to South Africa, one of the participants explained “now I wouldn’t use the term ‘our people’ because there is still a division into black, white, coloured – it’s like that in our country, so I would be careful saying ‘our people’ because of that racism stigma” (Tafelsig, Afrikaans, 18-20yrs, low LSM, urban).

The period of the World Cup brought unusual experiences: “You did things during the World Cup that you would not normally do” (...) also the interaction was different; we spoke to people from Spain, Netherlands, which was strange for me” (Tafelsig, Afrikaans, 18-20yrs, low LSM, urban).

Some of the participants experienced a feeling of being left out because they were unable to afford tickets, transport and food for the games. This was linked to a broader sense of being left out by the government in terms of service delivery:

Us coloureds – we are marginalized by government so we are not going to benefit any time soon from the World Cup. We are not being racist, because if you think about it, government is being more racist than we are (...) look at World Cup advertising, it was black – ‘Ke nako’, I don’t even know what that means (...) black people think they have more poverty but coloured people have it just as bad. (Tafelsig, Afrikaans, 18-20yrs, low LSM, urban)

Participants from the high LSM focus group in Cape Town expressed overwhelming and unexpected feelings of euphoria as the event started and as it unfolded

The opening day was the best day of my life. I remember seeing a transition, for instance on Facebook where people like me who were opposed and spoke critically about Fifa - what f***ers they are, thieves and all that - but as the event started we all changed and you could see it on Facebook. (Cape Town, English, 20-40yrs, high LSM, urban)

The feelings of happiness were perceived by some as an opportunity for the country to celebrate together, in a way that was not even done in 1994:

With the World Cup South Africans had a chance to have a party. After apartheid we didn’t get a chance to share a big party. Then we were saying, right, how are we going to fix this problem? Parties aren’t about fixing problems but about having a damn good time. And that is what happened during the World Cup. (Cape Town, English, 20-40yrs, high LSM, urban).

This was further accompanied by a big sense of pride in the country for the achievement and linked to unexpected feelings of ‘being one’,

My sense of pride in what we achieved made me emotional. What was very was how we pushed our boundaries in all ways and we also pushed boundaries in terms of social interactions. Even in Cape Town there was a sense of friendliness, cheesy, you know, but there was this common understanding and we felt like we were one. And for a moment I thought it was an opportunity to say, you know, we finally got it right! (Cape Town, English, 20-40yrs, high LSM, urban)

South Africans did get to share social space, in a way that never happened before and on a mass scale I believe that is an important consequence of the World Cup. People got to be just humans with each other (...) Songs and vuvuzelas are hollow symbols, it doesn't mean you are more South African through them or listening to the theme song, but if 95% of South Africans get in to that and share that experience it allows us to be similar to each other. (Cape Town, English, 20-40yrs, high LSM, urban)

These feelings of 'togetherness' were further shaped by the places of interaction created by the event,

The event was quite emotional. I got tears in my eyes walking down Long Street. The city was together in the momentum leading up to the opening and there was euphoria at the way people seemed to be getting together in a way which I haven't experienced ever. Cape Town is notorious for being tribal, people sticking to their social spheres, but during the World Cup I really felt that people came together. It wasn't awkward like sometimes it can be here. The geography of the city seemed to also have changed dramatically. People, thousands of Capetonians, rediscovered the inner city and parts of the city that I don't think many of them had ever set foot in. The World Cup broke down geographical and social barriers. (Cape Town, English, 20-40yrs, high LSM, urban)

Even those who were negative and against hosting the event, got caught up in the euphoria and the feeling of togetherness, experienced through public spaces like transport hubs and through unifying symbols like the flag, as one participant explained

Prior to the World Cup I was never very pleased that we were playing host. I thought it was a huge waste of money and I still believe that. However, I was completely carried away in the excitement. I have very little interest in soccer so I didn't really watch any of the soccer matches. But I would go to places with my friends where people were watching soccer (...) I walked to the stadium. It was great, it was fun and I really enjoyed that spirit, people were enjoying, people were smiling everywhere you went. The city can often be, especially at night, a little threatening and at this time it wasn't. It was really safe and comfortable. It was really just an incredibly enjoyable place to be and I really got carried away in the euphoria and celebration and I really agree with the sense of achievement, that we'd done it. (Cape Town, English, 20-40yrs, high LSM, urban)

There was a shared sense of release and heightened emotion.

I wasn't into soccer but when it started I really got into the actual sport. Not so much now but the World Cup was exciting. I went to Knysna for a few days and it wasn't as hyped up as here. But it was so cool driving, amazing seeing all the flags on the N2, it was very exciting (Cape Town, English, 20-40yrs, high LSM, urban).

The experiences of one participant illustrates this sense of togetherness developed not just in the public spaces where people gathered but also through Bafana's performance which led to

a subsequent feeling of being part of Africa for most South Africans even though the team failed to go to the next rounds,

Bafana did better than I thought they would and watching that journey it became more and more emotional. It was very emotional; it was like a sense of pride and a sense of achievement. (...) Then after Bafana it became about the continent, about the other African teams (Imizamo Yetho, Xhosa, 20-45yrs, low LSM, urban).

However, while this was shared by other participants, it was modified by the view that there was an element of racial consciousness in the behaviour of supporters,

Being in the stadium and seeing who people were supporting, I realized that for me it was South Africa and other African teams, but for a lot of white South Africans it was South Africa and Italy, Holland - so it pointed at a divide. (Cape Town, English, 20-40yrs, high LSM, urban)

While similar feelings of euphoria were felt in other venues away from the stadiums and city centre, the sense of 'togetherness' in these spaces was experienced mainly within racial groups,

I was a venue manager for the Belleville Village Dome. In its full capacity it can take about 5000 people and their excitement was huge with the vuvuzelas going. It was good to see people committing to the World Cup - like taking off work or coming all the time during the day (...) The people I was seeing were very much middle class white people driving their cars to the venue and there were very few varieties of people. (Cape Town, English, 20-40yrs, high LSM, urban)

But while all participants shared a sense of pride, euphoria and perceived unexpected and meaningful feelings of togetherness, they all strongly believed that it was only superficial and that while temporary 'mixing' happened, there was no real 'integration' and these feelings were the result of South Africans being in the spotlight, therefore behaving well. On reflection, a less elated view was taken,

I don't think it had a real lasting impact. People were mixing but they weren't really getting to know each other. It brought people from different backgrounds together in space to watch the soccer or because they were all having a party in Long Street, but it was on a superficial level. They weren't inviting each other for dinner afterwards. I don't think they were engaging with each other in a deep and meaningful way. Everything went back very quickly to the way they always are. So when it was over, it was really over. Now, when you go to the Parade, there are the same people. You go to the station - there are hardly any white people. During the World Cup there were white people who never normally catch a train. During the World Cup there were groups of white middle-aged woman on the trains. As soon as the World Cup stopped, they would never take the train again. (Cape Town, English, 20-40yrs, high LSM, urban)

More generalized reservations were expressed, with more thought given to deeper social changes.

The idea of social cohesion, reconciliation, nation building has great meaning so I don't take it lightly, but the big thing is, what is the difference between mixing and integrating? There is a massive distinction between the two. So as South Africans with our differences and backgrounds, we mix but don't integrate. We go to the same place but they go back to different places and worlds. And those different places are supported by a whole lot of historical injustices. No matter how many big parties you have. I never had a moment where I felt we are one. I had a great time with the people we went out with who are very integrated yet we were in a little bubble of integration in the sea of mixing. (Cape Town, English, 20-40yrs, high LSM, urban)

Pessimism about the depth of change was a recurring theme.

During the World Cup we were in the spotlight and we are very good at putting on a pony show. In terms of the xenophobic thing, things went back to how it was before. During the World Cup you can be all ayoba! Africa! and afterwards it is just a flickering idea (Cape Town, English, 20-40yrs, high LSM, urban).

For a few, the World Cup even had a negative impact on social cohesion terms as it created a fake sense of togetherness,

I think it has a negative impact in the sense that it gives a false idea of mixing and integrating. You can have all the airy-fairy conversations about the rainbow nation but the real thing is that we need to change stuff. I don't believe in the rainbow nation, I think it is a myth". (Cape Town, English, 20-40yrs, high LSM, urban)

However, participants also pointed out that the World Cup was not supposed to build a sense of togetherness overnight. Others observed that while it was superficial, it helped to get people thinking again about those things which were all swept under the carpet after apartheid, and particularly the big racial and economic divisions in the Western Cape,

I think it was positive that this mixing/integrating brought people's attention to issues like these divisions (...) because we are used to putting on facades in this country, we don't realize that it is a problem. (...) I think it's self-preservation, otherwise I don't understand how you can live with yourself in a province where there is such a clear social divide (Cape Town, English, 20-40yrs, high LSM, urban).

I had to get out of Cape Town in the opening days, it was all so confusing. The Western Cape has a lot of work to do. I felt I wanted to see people from Gauteng because I felt they could do it properly, it felt more real and here it felt more forced divide (Cape Town, English, 20-40yrs, high LSM, urban).

This was put more strongly by another participant, "People see the World Cup as indicative of real change as supposed to a superficial moment. It irritates me, because it's stupid. What we talk about in Jo'burg is substantive real change. In Cape Town the divide remains" (Hangberg, Afrikaans, 30-65, low LSM, urban).

While recognizing the superficiality of the 'togetherness' another participant saw the benefits of having this as a reminder and that it offered a major opportunity to appreciate the power

of sport and music for the “healing” process, even if in her view (as will be explained later) this opportunity was not seized,

It was a reminder but not a permanent reminder. It didn’t have a long-term impact in social terms, but I think it was a much needed reminder of the positives when you have one common thing. That’s why people stick to sports and music as it can instantly unify people. (Cape Town, English, 20-40yrs, high LSM, urban)

Did South African citizens feel pride in the country as a result of the hosting of the 2010 World Cup?

Several participants from Hangberg expressed their pride in being South Africans and pride in the government. “After the World Cup there was no more Football Friday but Fly Your Flag Friday, so there is a lot more pride even though not a lot of things have changed, things are happening slowly” (Hangberg, Afrikaans, 30-65, low LSM, urban).

During the build-up of the World Cup, many young people were more positive about their country. While many did not know the national anthem you would hear them practising it. Similarly, people here felt very proud to have many foreigners in the country as South Africa demonstrated to the world they could deliver a ‘world class’ event. (Hangberg, Afrikaans, 30-65, low LSM, urban).

Participants said that they believed that Hout Bay could see a greater influx of foreign tourists after the World Cup.

Although all fan parks were far from this community, and people expressed disappointment that there wasn’t a fan park closer to Hout Bay, many went to Cape Town to attend as families or as groups. Reflecting on their experiences at these parks people expressed pride and excitement as they saw local talent performing and discovered the existence of great local singers and artists. Interestingly, given the difficulty of attending fan parks and being inspired by them, the community organized its own “mini-fan park”. This was done through one of the churches [Anglican] although all churches were very involved. Everyone, from all the faiths, came to see games and local kids were given an opportunity to perform like Jikaleza. This was described as a highlight for this small community as they had a space to unite and to discover there is a lot of local talent.

Did the 2010 World Cup build a positive image of South Africa?

According to respondents from Hangberg, “We sent out a positive image – that South Africa’s security system was up to scratch and that they could protect foreigners”.

Further affirmation of how well things went was expressed: “We stood out and delivered successfully.”

“The opening ceremony was beautiful, I never saw something like that before.”

“The manner in which the South African police handled the World Cup was great and also the preparation of the roads which was very encouraging.”

(Hangberg, Afrikaans, 30-65, low LSM, urban).

Most participants in this discussion agreed that while the World Cup was very successful and people thought things would change for the better after the event, nothing really changed. The days after the World Cup, people felt less enthusiastic and the excitement turned into a concern about what the way forward would be. Therefore the negative reaction is that “there aren’t any benefits from the World Cup now in our communities”. Frustration was expressed through phrases like “the big football bosses and our own President himself said that there would be great benefits to our communities, there would be games, there would be activities for young people, but yet that has not happened”. (Hangberg, Afrikaans, 30-65, low LSM, urban).

In the informal settlement **Imizamo Yetho**, people similarly expressed mixed feelings but they were overall less critical of the event. Participants expressed a sense of pride and felt happy that South Africans behaved well, “we now can stand with the world”... “the World Cup made a big difference in our lives and had a huge input. It has left an everlasting legacy for generations to come” (Imizamo Yetho, Xhosa, 20-45yrs, low LSM, urban).

2) Economic benefits

To what extent did the 2010 World Cup benefit the whole country economically?

All communities identified some positive economic outcomes but were also critical of the impact, distribution and sustainability of these benefits. In all three communities, participants identified infrastructure, temporary jobs and increased household income as the main tangible benefits. Some also identified potential income as a future benefit when more tourists return and new investment comes into the country. However, most participants were critical of government for not consulting and including communities, particularly small businesses, those with a lower income and for not planning how to sustain any economic gains.

In Hangberg, some participants felt that some economic benefits linked to infrastructure are visible: “there was no social impact, but in terms of infrastructure it has happened, like the roads, stadiums and transport and we are benefiting from that”. However, others felt that these were not in their area.

There has been no change here. Other areas like Mitchell’s Plain seemed to have benefited more and it seems as if Hangberg is the last to receive any type of recognition. Hangberg deserves the same as the Western Cape but it is not happening (...) money was left here by Fifa but we don’t see the benefits (...) we have no sports fields, our school does not have sports grounds, the kids have to play in the quad and we cannot afford to transport our kids to other schools to play matches (...) it is only at the top clubs - there is nothing at grassroots level, but now I think the World Cup has brought that to their attention. (Hangberg, Afrikaans, 30-65, low LSM, urban).

On the positive side, a participant mentioned that “the City of Cape Town and *Stars in the Eyes*, an organisation from Holland, is busy upgrading our sports field – it’s thanks to the whole build-up to the World Cup - so we have benefited from the World Cup” (Hangberg, Afrikaans, 30-65, low LSM, urban).

Overall, people felt that there was a temporary, limited increase in household income, “Stalls selling World Cup paraphernalia did well. The hype was soccer so people were not necessarily interested in buying other things”. Also, “the harbor was able to provide employment despite it being winter, the harbor was busy”. Another participant noted how there was a perception of more economic benefits as people spent more on social gatherings.

Some individuals had the perception that “because of the World Cup there was a lot of investment into our country so as a country we benefited”. However this was not the case for those trying to move forward individual business ideas,

No space for individual projects: I was very disappointed because I conceived of a product using Coca-Cola bottles and the World Cup. I approached the Coca-Cola company but they told me that I was too late with my submission. It was my intention to use the proceeds of that initiative to uplift our community. I do plan to take the project further but I do not know where to start (Hangberg, Afrikaans, 30-65, low LSM, urban).

One of the participants linked the lack of more economic benefits to the culture in the area:

Our people still expect that things should be done for them. If we see things happening elsewhere, for example, in Imizamo Yetho we want to say that ‘they’ are getting everything right (...) Imizamo Yetho has township tours, so why can’t we do that as well? It depends on the people. The World Cup benefited us but it is up to us what we take as a legacy from the World Cup, so we can’t just sit back and wait for things to happen. The stadiums were full, hotels were more busy than usual, so there was work for people, even if there was no positive change in service delivery” (Hangberg, Afrikaans, 30-65, low LSM, urban).

For some participants of Imizamo Yetho the economy was “boosted” from all spheres. “The infrastructure (roads) was improved and a lot happened, even though most of us at ground level cannot feel it. Academics say there will be after effects of the World Cup maybe after five years.”(Imizamo Yetho, Xhosa, 20-45yrs, low LSM, urban).

Others in contrast felt disappointed, saying “in the transport industry we foresaw wealth when we thought of 2010, we thought we would make big money, but for somebody who owned a small taxi (cockroach) there was no redistribution (...)he also lost business to buses (...)”(Imizamo Yetho, Xhosa, 20-45yrs, low LSM, urban).

When the World Cup was coming “people in transport industry bought new taxis, some paid for them to be fixed, so that they would be ready, thinking they would be transporting visitors but their taxis were not used. They would have benefited if their taxis were also used” (Imizamo Yetho, Xhosa, 20-45yrs, low LSM, urban).

Even those who benefited in this community said it was short term, “most people that worked in B & B’s were retrenched after the World Cup and I am still looking for a job” (Imizamo Yetho, Xhosa, 20-45yrs, low LSM, urban).

However, according to another person “as there were many visitors in townships” this “put some individuals in the community in a good place as they are now looking at township tourism in a more consistent way” (Imizamo Yetho, Xhosa, 20-45yrs, low LSM, urban).

A couple of participants expressed surprise and disappointment,

as my brother was saying, some issues of the World Cup were surprising – it was the most profitable ever after Atlanta, but somehow I do blame our government in the sense that they did not have proper plans of integrating people like Mr Mngceza [taxi man] into the mainstream and we didn’t benefit... those who benefited something a bit are those who formed a consortium or partnership to try and build whatever to reach the standard which was a bit high to be reached because it was global standard (...) people who are already well off were the ones who benefited. (Imizamo Yetho, Xhosa, 20-45yrs, low LSM, urban)

This community had mixed perceptions in terms of the benefits provided by the World Cup and particularly Fifa. “It is alright that the stadiums were built because we needed them as we couldn’t afford to have the World Cup cancelled.” A participant said they were thankful as “the stadiums are a legacy to us and to the generations to come from FIFA to us”. However, they also acknowledge that “kids are still playing soccer in the street and there is only one field in their community” (Imizamo Yetho, Xhosa, 20-45yrs, low LSM, urban).

On the whole, the youngsters in Tafelsig felt disappointed and left out of the economic benefits but identified a couple of positive economic aspects, “there were lots of job opportunities even if it was just for that short period” and “after the World Cup you can see the City Council at least once a week, sweeping the streets, emptying the drains”. Also, a positive outcome is that “South Africa was put on the map (...) people know what South Africa is and what we can offer” (Tafelsig, 18-20yrs, low LSM, urban).

This was agreed by most participants even if they can’t point to clear economic benefits from this.

Nevertheless, several participants questioned the real economic outputs. They noted that a couple of new parks were built during/after the World Cup, but worried that now taxpayers will have to pay for it, “which is not our problem, it is government’s problem”. They also questioned the distribution of benefits,

according to the media, we made billions, but where are the billions now? I don’t see recreation in our community (...) in town you see quite a lot of those new Golden Arrow busses but not here (...) benefits are only for those posh areas and you don’t see them here in Tafelsig. Where are our busses? We are also human, we pay vat”

Many people, especially those who are well-off benefited from the World Cup but here we can speak mostly of the negative (...) things were not happening in our community (...) I think we are so used to being left out that we don’t worry anymore (Tafelsig, Afrikaans, 18-20yrs, low LSM, urban).

3) Role of the media

Which forms of media did you rely on to get information about the World Cup? Did they keep you well informed?

Television was the most broadly used form of media across the province, followed by radio. Participants of Imizamo Yetho got their World Cup information from SABC 1 and 2.

In general did the media play a positive or negative role in promoting nation building, social cohesion and reconciliation during the World Cup?

According to a male participant of Hangberg,

Good Hope FM was quite impressive, particularly the role of the radio host Nigel Pearce. He was constantly talking positively about the World Cup and had a whole Facebook group endorsing the 2010 World Cup. He got people hyped up and supporting the World Cup, telling people to join the group if they supported the World Cup and many people joined the group. So he did quite a good job bringing everyone together (Hangberg, Afrikaans, 30-65, low LSM, urban).

By contrast, people in this community felt that print media (Cape Times and Argus) did not do much in terms of positive social messages, plus as they are expensive it was difficult to use them to get information. Participants in this area agreed that community newspapers and local libraries and shops could have been better used for this role and to provide job opportunities available during the event.

Respondents from Imzamo Yetho stated that in their view media played a big role in nation building by contributing to the feeling of happiness and pride through playing World Cup songs and artists like Shakira. These gave communities a “jolly time”, especially when the kids did their dance and then adults from all colors and groups would join in. They felt that for once media was not biased and were being positive. However, some participants believed that media played a negative role by publishing wrong information about expected xenophobic attacks.

For the youngsters in Mitchell’s Plain the media played a positive role, “when you watched TV and it was about the World Cup, they always showed things about unity, they never showed anything that would make people feel negative”. “When the World Cup songs were played, everybody was jumping around and everybody was just happy with each other. So it did play a good or positive role” (Tafelsig, Afrikaans, 18-20yrs, low LSM, urban). For one of the youngsters the newspapers were better able to capture the unity amongst people, giving more information as they also created a positive vibe, creating togetherness and encouraging socialization. Finally, for all of them Facebook provided a good forum to exchange information and be engaged with World Cup events.

4) Future large international events and recommendations

Should South Africa host more major sports or international events in the future?

Participants in all these three communities felt that they would like to have more international events hosted in South Africa. In Imizamo Yetho people felt that it was a good thing the World Cup came to South Africa. “It was 120% successful and nothing can hold us back in hosting it again because we are in the front (...) whenever Fifa has a problem of a

venue now, they will consider South Africa. We made ourselves a name and fame” (Imizamo Yetho, Xhosa, 20-45yrs, low LSM, urban).

Similarly, youngsters in Tafelsig felt excited about hosting new events “just to get that vibe again because everywhere you went people were friendly and talkative” (Tafelsig, Afrikaans, 18-20yrs, low LSM, urban). Finally, in Hangberg, people felt that it would be good and feasible as long as “government learns from the previous mistakes (...) structures have been built and we have proven to ourselves that we can do it” (Hangberg, Afrikaans, 30-65, low LSM, urban). They were particularly inclined to host the Olympics, “If we can have a big event soon then our relations with each other, interactions with other races will improve”.

Recommendations: Is there anything that could have been done differently in terms of the hosting the 2010 World Cup?

Communities were strongly critical of the government’s mismanagement and uneven allocation of funds, deficiencies in consulting, planning, insuring a legacy, involvement of local business, and creation of sustainable job opportunities. There were differing views on the capacity and willingness of government to deliver in terms of development after the World Cup with some feeling strongly more positive and others disappointed. The Department of Sports and Recreation was particularly criticized for not making use of this opportunity to build better sport facilities and programmes in the communities.

In Hangberg, a marginalized community on the fringes of a touristy and wealthy place like Hout Bay and surroundings, people felt strongly that local places, especially those close to disadvantaged communities (the local restaurant Fish on the Rocks) should have been upgraded to attract tourists over the long term. For people in Imizamo Yetho

the government should have helped organise spaces for small businessmen so that they also benefited (...) the government should have taken taxi men of local areas so that they formed a consortium and shared the route (...) they should have come to our townships too. They did not include our expectations in their programmes. In terms of tourism the community felt that there were missed opportunities. Imizamo Yetho, Xhosa, 20-45yrs, low LSM, urban).

Participants in Hangberg explained that

when major events are held, there should be a focus on poor communities. In the rural areas, promote the game on that level and funds can be ploughed back into those communities. So when huge events do take place there should be greater emphasis on the upliftment of youth and poverty-stricken areas and filling the gap between poor and rich (...) money could have been used to alleviate social needs. (Hangberg, Afrikaans, 30-65, low LSM, urban)

Members of this community felt that social development should have happened during the World Cup and as a consequence of the event. In this regard, one of the women who have been involved in sports programs for children for many years criticized the provincial Department of Sports and Recreation for their lack of impact on communities.

They should have brought or still now bring workshops to the communities (...) our people also need to be educated about what is expected of them and how they can

benefit (...) give them some ideas and show them how they can benefit (...) the Department did nothing really to materialize projects in 2010 because everything was on hold for the World Cup – important components like the Club development programme were put on hold. (Hangberg, Afrikaans, 30-65, low LSM, urban)

Members of this community felt that people within government mismanaged money as “they were at all the games” and did not make an effort to include ordinary people to attend games. Also, they strongly felt that the ticket sales were “pathetic”. As a young member of the group noted “you had to apply via internet which is very difficult, so the whole system sucked” (Hangberg, Afrikaans, 30-65, low LSM, urban).

The feeling was similar in Imizamo Yetho, where one participant explained “our sons start competitions at a later stage at 18 in whatever sport. They should start at a tender age. There are under 9’s, under 11’s and they compete provincially, locally, nationally. The government must re-introduce sport in schools”. In their view, as the whole model has been copied from the countries that hosted before, now there is a need to go back to the drawing board to “check how we can improve (...) they should have combined the information they had and do workshops like this one we have now” (Imizamo Yetho, Xhosa, 20-45yrs, low LSM, urban).

Within the same criticism to lack of consultation and planning, youngsters at Tafelsig felt governments could have done much better,

The negative part is that there aren’t any benefits from the World Cup now in our communities. The bosses, the big football bosses, our own President himself said that it would be a great advantage to our communities, there will be games, there will be activities for young people and yet it isn’t seen here, so that is a negative thing. (Tafelsig, Afrikaans, 18-20yrs, low LSM, urban).

A respondent elaborated on the lack of consultation,

when government had meetings, the City Council should have found about the needs in Tafelsig and come back to us, they didn’t do that and that is why we are sitting with nothing (...) we don’t have those type of community meetings, perhaps just a few that are held at somebody’s house but we are not invited so we can deliver our opinions. (Tafelsig, Afrikaans, 18-20yrs, low LSM, urban)

Participants in this community felt that “we people who are marginalized should have been more involved” and that government could have “made it affordable, they could have given rebates to poorer people and held it in other areas, not just at Cape Town stadium”. Also, they felt that other communities benefited more and that this needed to be corrected. They felt there was a geographical division and uneven distribution of benefits.

Many things happened in Khayelitsha but not in our community and yet we are supposed to be living in a democracy, which means all should have a say and we didn’t have that. David Beckham went to Khayelitsha but he didn’t come here (...) there are many soccer clubs in Mitchell’s Plain so why could they not use the build-up to the World Cup and the World Cup itself to invest more in soccer by having better training grounds for the youngsters? (...) If you look at all the better soccer

pitches such as the one in Lansdowne, most of it is only in the white areas, there is nothing good here where children can practice. I felt pride then but I don't feel pride now...there are no activities happening now (Tafelsig, 18-20yrs, low LSM, urban).

They called for better attention to recreational facilities, "I think that is a good idea because then there would be more recreational activities that would keep children off the streets" (Tafelsig, Afrikaans, 18-20yrs, low LSM, urban).

The youngster also analysed government's capacity and will to deliver,

It's as if we are living in two different countries: if government can do it to for other people, they can do the same for us. I don't have any confidence that our government they will give us the service delivery that we need. During the World Cup they could deliver services so why not now? (...) I still don't trust government because they make promises and they don't keep it (Tafelsig, Afrikaans, 18-20yrs, low LSM, urban).

Interestingly however, the young participants of this area felt that "change starts with ourselves, if we change our thinking then we will be able to accomplish anything. We still have an attitude where we wait on the government to do it. We must work together for a better South Africa. There will always be complaints but we need to start with ourselves." One of the females explained how after the World Cup she realized that there are opportunities that need to be exploited by the community "if you think of Khayelitsha, they had tours and we can also have tours of Tafelsig, we could get money like that and not only have it in our Xhosa areas, but also in our coloured areas" (Tafelsig, Afrikaans, 18-20yrs, low LSM, urban).

Gauteng

Focus groups in Gauteng were held in Johannesburg (English, 18-25, high LSM, urban), Atteridgeville (Sotho/Tswana, 18-5, low LSM, urban, Atteridgeville (Xhosa/Zulu, 20-45, low LSM, urban) and Pretoria (Afrikaans, 30-55, low LSM, urban).

1) Extent to which the 2010 World Cup brought South African citizens together
Did the 2010 World Cup have a negative, positive or no impact on social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation?

There was largely unanimous agreement among respondents from Gauteng that the 2010 World Cup had a significant, if relatively transitory, positive impact on nation building and social cohesion, "The World Cup was positive and it has brought us together what I can say is that *at that moment* the tournament had an amazing power" (Atteridgeville, Sotho/Tswana, 18-25, low LSM, urban).

Another respondent from the same focus group expressed similar sentiments, "The impact of the World Cup was, I think the World Cup did its job for the moment, *on that particular time* good for the people, for the nation" (Atteridgeville, Sotho/Tswana, 18-25, low LSM, urban).

Respondents noted the apparent change of attitude among South Africans during the time of the World Cup,

The reason I say it has brought unity is that within the period the tournament was on, happiness and love of each other were visible. When we were in places, there was no fighting there was no looking down on or undermining each other and racial classifying of one another. (Atteridgeville, Sotho/Tswana, 18-25, low LSM, urban)

Another young English speaking respondent expressed similar sentiments,

when the World Cup was in the country there was a spirit of unity and I'm not just saying that cause ya know, there flipping well was, there was serious unity and everyone was kinda peaceful. Everyone was laid back and not so hectic. It was everywhere, every where you went... Where as previously before the World Cup was on I'd often pick up on negativity in different social areas like a bar or a club or whatever you know umm the vibe felt better, things felt better while the World Cup was on, not a joke for real. But ja so there was definitely a feeling of unity amongst everyone... (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban)

Afrikaans speakers also noted a new openness during the period of the World Cup, "when driving my bakkie next to a taxi blowing vuvuzelas, I was singing De la Rey, and they joined in and sang together with me. Previously they would have got annoyed and this would have lead to fist fights" (Pretoria, Afrikaans, 30-55, low LSM, urban).

Afrikaans speaking South Africans connected with their employees in new ways around the event of the World Cup,

My friend works for a security company, and the blacks who work in security with her always came to her house to watch the game. They always discussed the game, and blew the goodies [vuvuzelas]. The boss would then come along and tell them that this is not their place, and they just continued saying this is their time for soccer. The blacks who worked for the security company could not believe that there are white people interested in soccer. (Pretoria, Afrikaans, 30-55, low LSM, urban)

Respondents also noted the sense of a common connection with the African continent that prevailed during the World Cup,

It [World Cup] was able to unite people and countries engaged in conflicts. There was a time during the World Cup whereby the tournament was no longer the business or competition of countries but of continents. And with us [South Africa] we were no longer South Africa but saw ourselves as Africa. The team that represented Africa in the World Cup brought us together. You would see South Africans carrying the [Black Stars] or Ghana flags, so we were one thing. (Atteridgeville, Sotho/Tswana, 18-25, low LSM, urban)

While respondents were positive about the impact of the World Cup on nation building and social cohesion at the time of the World Cup, there was a strong sense that this unity was relatively transitory and even superficial. One respondent argued that it was the presence of visitors in the country who enabled South Africans to connect with each other in ways they

are normally unable to do, “The World Cup has united us a lot especially all races white, black, Indians and so forth. That has shown that if we have visitors in the country we can go along together and understand each other, we do not have separate discriminating views, which prevail when we are alone” (Atteridgeville, Zulu/Xhosa, 20-45, low LSM, urban).

Other respondents had a more cynical interpretation of the unity that prevailed during the World Cup, namely that it was a ‘front’ put up for international visitors,

the bad thing is that some of the people were putting up a front, were doing it to please or impress visitors. But once it was over we decided to go back [where] we were and became the divided people we are. For instance, on xenophobia, I think if the tournament has brought us together, xenophobia would not have come back, it came back immediately after the end of the World Cup, that showed we were putting a front, trying to impress the people who visited SA only. (Atteridgeville, Sotho/Tswana, 18-25, low LSM, urban)

Another respondent argued that the end of the World Cup had been marked by the return of ‘tribalism’, “now that the tournament is over tribalism can be seen in how parliament is made up and the way people get money, we say it is only Xhosas who get money, the tournament has benefited them” (Atteridgeville, Sotho/Tswana, 18-25, low LSM, urban).

As a result of the return of old divisions post the World Cup some respondents argued that the reconciliation achieved during the period of the World Cup was superficial,

The unity that the tournament has brought I think was superficial and temporary. The event was nothing but just a mere means to exchange cultures, cook meals, festivals and jives. That means, the outside world come to South Africa to jive and play for us, exchange talent and skill. That does not mean ‘reconciliation’ or we reconcile, the tournament brought us together... although for a short time. In reality, true reconciliation has not been achieved; it was just a short time of exchanging cultures for the duration of the World Cup. (Atteridgeville, Zulu/Xhosa, 20-45, low LSM, urban)

A young English speaker likened the experience of unity during the World Cup to the transitory high of a drug, “it was sort of a unity that happened and then disappeared you know what I mean so it was kinda like a shot of like heroin and then everyone was like woo hoo, you know what I mean, and there’s the come down afterwards” (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban).

Did South African citizens feel pride in the country as a result of the hosting of the 2010 World Cup?

Despite the reservations that respondents expressed about the depth and endurance of the unity generated by the World Cup, there seemed to be a general concurrence around pride in South Africa’s successful hosting of the World Cup. For young English speakers, for example, it created for the first time in their lives a conscious positive identification with their South African identity,

You know I can’t mention an actual point that made me feel completely patriotic but for the first time ever in my life I felt like yeah I’m proud to be a South African at

that time, and I still do but not as much as I did, and I think ja I'm not sure why I felt that but even leading up to World Cup I felt like yeah man you know I'm South African and I should be proud. Why should we not be proud you know so ja.
(Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban)

Another young English speaker when talking about the unity generated by the World Cup expressed almost identical sentiments, "everyone felt proud you know I felt proud to be a South African for the first time ever. I was like yeah South Africa; f* yeah, any ways (laugh)" (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban).

An Afrikaans South African respondent identified himself as part of a rainbow nation as a result of the pride generated by the World Cup, "Many blacks are proud of South Africa, they are as proud of South Africa as we are, it is really a rainbow nation, and there is something that united us all" (Pretoria, Afrikaans, 30-55, low LSM, urban).

The pride South Africans felt appeared to be strongly linked to a sense of having 'shown the world' that South Africa is equivalent to 'first world' countries that generally stereotype Africa as a 'dark' continent, a place of incompetence and war. "We are not a third world country any more... we showed that we were capable of arranging an event of this magnitude for all the other countries this is my opinion... yes, the possibility is there" (Pretoria, Afrikaans, 30-55, low LSM, urban). A young respondent from Atteridgeville expressed similar feelings, "The pride of the nation increased because we were able to host developed nations to their own standard and over" (Atteridgeville, Sotho/Tswana, 18-25, low LSM, urban).

Did the 2010 World Cup build a positive image of South Africa?

There appeared to be general consensus among these respondents that the World Cup did build a positive image of South Africa, however, as one respondent cautioned, significant change need to occur in the country, for this positive image to have a sustainable basis,

At the moment we have a good image but then we should realize that if we do bad things they will come out and that will destroy the good image we have. So it is just the same as not having done anything or nothing good. To maintain the image is up to an individual is up to all the people [everyone]. So if people are not willing to change, I mean the country is made up of people, if people are not willing to change the image is going to be destroyed anyway...For me I think it is going to be very difficult for us to maintain the standard or image because what happened was not original or natural but we were trying to make an impression. (Atteridgeville, Sotho/Tswana, 18-25, low LSM, urban)

A young English speaker expressed similar concerns that the positive image South Africa was not sustainable unless accompanied by substantive change,

It's like trying to promote umm aaah a broken down house, because you can only make it look so good you know what I mean like "welcome to the house everyone!" and I think , I think we made that broken down house look pretty cool you know what I mean. (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban)

Another respondent however felt that successful building of infrastructure, in particular stadiums in time for the World Cup had improved South's Africa's image as a country that is able to deliver,

I think the image of the country has been improved and South Africa has made a name for itself, because we maintained pressure in the way World Cup rolls. Like before the tournament, by the time the bid was won stadium were destroyed and reconstructed or built from scratch. That is what I see as important and it is what made South Africa image build up because there many talks that South Africa would not manage to host. But before the start World Cup stadiums were perfect, so that is one of the things that improved the image, it showed seriousness on the World Cup. (Atteridgeville, Sotho/Tswana, 18-25, low LSM, urban)

A respondent from Johannesburg also argued that the World Cup had 'updated' our image internationally,

I think it updated our image quite drastically. I think the coverage we got. All our world wide exposure, the stadiums, the aaah people ran TV series here about South Africa. It updated our image since the last time that we got this much publicity which was 1994. (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban)

However, young English speakers noted the difficulty of shifting perceptions of South Africa and the African continent in general as evidenced by what they saw as a 'patronising' attitude among foreign nationals visiting the country for the World Cup, whom one respondent argued, treated South Africans like, "natives"

They didn't know like that were were as civilized as we are and kind of first world you know. I found a lot of tourists finding it very surprising... I mean a friend of mine, black friend of mine umm made some friends with some pomies , guys from England and they were just so stunned at how he spoke, how he presented himself, you know the way the black youth are of today . They were just like wow okay, we didn't expect that you know. I mean they didn't actually say that but I could pick that up so ... (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban)

Do South African citizens have more confidence in the ability of the government to deliver services as a result of the organisation of the 2010 World Cup?

While respondents were proud of the way in which South Africa hosted the World Cup, this did not seem to have significantly impacted on their confidence in the government to deliver services. As one respondent pointed out what the hosting of the World Cup demonstrated was our capacity as a host nation rather than our capacity to govern effectively,

all we are is a good host country, it didn't prove that we're a good stable political system, it didn't prove that we are economically sustainable, it didn't prove to me those things it proved to primarily that for six weeks were able to put things aside in order to host a very good event. (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban)

Moreover respondents from this group implied that it was the *absence* of government during the period of the World Cup that actually facilitated its success,

I found like, I found like the government to be seriously absent from the public face, there were no Malema headlines. It was like I heard one speech he did on the radio. Like they kind of stepped back and then they didn't actually step forward again when it ended. (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban)

For several respondents the organization of the World Cup exposed the fact that government *does* indeed have the capacity to deliver but has not done so to date, "I have also realized that the government has the ability to deliver basic services the problem is just implementation. They plan good; they have nice plans but the implementation is the problem for them" (Atteridgeville, Xhosa/Zulu, 20-45, low LSM, urban).

Another respondent from Atteridgeville also expressed concern that that the government was able to deliver for the purposes of the World Cup but had not done so for ordinary citizens,

what I have seen happening before the tournament was existing, and exposed our weaknesses and strengths in some of the government departments, that they have the knowledge and skill is just that they do not want to work. They were only encouraged by the spirit of the World Cup; which stimulated some of the projects they were sitting on. (Atteridgeville, Xhosa/Zulu, 20-45, low LSM, urban).

Several respondents remarked on the significant feeling and experience of safety they experienced during the World Cup, "for the first time I felt safe in my own country during the World Cup. In every corner I turned I saw police watching or guarding, you would feel safe anytime, anywhere, whenever" (Atteridgeville, Zulu/Xhosa, 20-45, low LSM, urban).

This increased sense of safety or belief that policing had improved seemed to have continued immediately post the World Cup according to one respondent, "The police worked pretty hard during the World Cup even now the very same routine used during the tournament is being used... Police are doing their job" (Atteridgeville, Zulu/Xhosa, 20-45, low LSM, urban).

Other respondents from the high LSM English speaking group also had a more positive interpretation of the state capacity that had been demonstrated during the World Cup, i.e. it exemplified the possibilities of efficient governance, "Our country ran you know what I mean and sometimes I feel like it doesn't run and feel like for that month we saw this country, the possibility of this country and I think if the ideal it can be like that" (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban).

Another young respondent importantly argued that the reason for the successful hosting of the World Cup was a result of, "a very specific national agenda" that was created during the World Cup, "With one unified time...goal it was easier to pull everything else, your pride to one focal point" (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban).

2) Economic Benefits

To what extent did the 2010 World Cup benefit the whole country economically?

There appeared to be general agreement among respondents that the World Cup had benefited the country as a whole, but less agreement that this had translated into direct benefits for ordinary citizens. As one Atteridgeville resident explained, "The tournament has done a great job regarding infrastructure development such as roads and stadiums. Internationally, business and otherwise South Africa has a name but when it comes to

benefits for the country's citizens, it is still hard, there is nothing that has expanded" (Atteridgeville, Zulu/Xhosa, 20-45, low LSM, urban).

There was general consensus that it was those had resources that benefited the most from the business opportunities created by the World Cup, "Ok! South Africa has benefited a lot. The only the thing is that those who benefited is the well off, the poor who own small businesses...did not gain anything they are the ones who have been affected from the World Cup and are more poorer" (Atteridgeville, Zulu/Xhosa, 20-45, low LSM, urban).

Respondents explained that some of the barriers to entry included lack of skills among small entrepreneurs, bureaucratic requirements to be officially registered as a service provider and registration fees,

When we speak about business benefits, it is true that those who are skilled in business have benefited... But for local business people things were made difficult, they were told to go via South African Revenue Services (SARS), you must join this forum... you must join this what, what, what... you get me. But at the end of the day you find that this person only wanted to sell 'Sphatlo' meaning 'half bread'... (Atteridgeville, Zulu/Xhosa, 20-45, low LSM, urban).

They were told to fork out fees, how would one pay out registration fees whereby the person is looking for the very same money. So I think the government had a problem, it did not make things basic for local people and then if it did it should have trained the people three years before the World Cup and those programs should have been easy rather than complicated. (Atteridgeville, Zulu/Xhosa, 20-45, low LSM, urban)

Fifa's restrictions regarding economic activity around the stadium were also an economically inhibiting factor, "I want to say the people have not benefited and in towns or cities where games were held, the women who sell food 'PAP & VLEIS' and 'MOGODU' meaning tripe, were made to sell far from the stadiums" (Atteridgeville, Zulu/Xhosa, 20-45, low LSM, urban).

Several respondents argued that the government should have equipped small entrepreneurs with the skills to take advantage of the business opportunities that were available during the World Cup in order to prevent only the already wealthy from benefitting economically,

The government should have first trained these small business owners so that when the World Cup arrive they would have been in better position but the government failed in that regard and considered only the well off and marginalized the poor. I can say this World Cup was for the well off whose businesses were enriched not the poor. You see, money came in but there is nothing that shows what it is used for. (Atteridgeville, Zulu/Xhosa, 20-45, low LSM, urban)

On other hand another respondent argued that South African citizens could have taken better advantage of the business opportunities offered by the World Cup,

Regarding benefits, I think we at home have made a mistake somewhere, somehow. We did not take the tournament serious, we forgot that the World Cup is a game of billions and should have organized the women who cook in the stadiums during local

games to form a corporation and find operation place in cities close stadiums.
(Atteridgeville, Zulu/Xhosa, 20-45, low LSM, urban)

Another respondent argued that the processes of procurement for the World Cup had been characterized by corruption and even “serious business people” had been “defrauded” when they allegedly paid large amounts of money to be placed on databases as service providers,

Many organizations sprang up from nowhere in the township of Atteridgeville and defrauded many people in the name of tourists. People paid huge moneys between twelve to fifteen thousand rands and were told that tourists are coming so they should pay fees in order to be put in the data register... I mean they paid, they have been defrauded, as we speak now they are crying and those organizations are still existing. (Atteridgeville, Zulu/Xhosa, 20-45, low LSM, urban)

On the other hand, a young artist from Atteridgeville argued that he had benefited economically from the World Cup,

I was involved in many activities in fan parks where big screens were placed in Sammy Marks and Church Square, Pretoria. We had art works displayed, selling ‘Vuvuzela’ and beads. And a lot of money was made our personal for enrichment and my other colleagues were able to buy cars. (Atteridgeville, Sotho/Tswana, 18-25, low LSM, urban)

A further respondent argued that the degree to which any economic benefits accrued from the World Cup are sustained is up to South African citizens themselves, their capacity to learn from experience and their capacity for self-reflection,

To sustain the benefits is up to us to continue with what we have since we have the stadiums. It is up to us to take the game forward and put it up to the standard, not lower the standard because the tournament is over. It has given us the experience, as we say we did not benefit we should ask ourselves questions: “*Why we did not benefit?*” Let us now take the experience and make it our daily business and make it serious including us musicians. (Atteridgeville, Zulu/Xhosa, 20-45, low LSM, urban)

Were the funds for the 2010 World cup misdirected or prevent spending on addressing poverty and other needs?

Despite the reservations many respondents expressed regarding the lack of economic benefits experienced by ordinary South Africans as a result of the World Cup, most respondents remained adamant that hosting the World Cup was not a misdirection of funds and had left an important legacy for future generations,

On the statement that World Cup money would have been better spent elsewhere, I do not agree. I do not agree because the tournament was not about money, I love soccer and know a million people who also do. We wanted to see those superstars, we wanted to own stadiums like those in Europe, we wanted everything that we got from the World Cup so that in the future that those who are intelligent, educated better than us can be able to utilize those facilities. For me it is an investment I cannot say is a loss. Lastly the country was safe and the image of the country improved

internationally everything that could be possibly done was done I cannot add nor subtract. (Atteridgeville, Zulu/Xhosa, 20-45, low LSM, urban)

Several respondents also argued that the spending on the World Cup was not misdirected because of the benefits to South Africa and indeed the African continent's image,

So a certain amount of money was used the way it was supposed to. Now, that spending has helped us, because some people from outside countries had a wrong mentality as a result of negative images created by Western countries that we are walking with lions in the streets, Africa is where everyone is starving, it is a jungle and we have disease. People were afraid to even touch our country or the whole continent, but the World Cup has shown that we have cities, we have intelligent people, so it has given that whole exposure. (Atteridgeville, Sotho/Tswana, 18-25, low LSM, urban)

Another respondent argued that funds had already been spent on addressing a variety of social needs since 1994 so it was appropriate that money should now be spent on the World Cup, "regarding [the] statement that money would have been better spent, I want to differ by saying since we have more than one or two decades in power the government has built about 1.5 million houses for the people...Many things have been done in these decades" (Atteridgeville, Sotho/Tswana, 18-25, low LSM, urban).

A further respondent argued that significant economic benefits had indeed been generated by the World Cup, despite the large expenditure involved and that, "it was never expected that this much would be gained. But if it happens that the World Cup will happen again we are going to benefit more" (Atteridgeville, Zulu/Xhosa, 20-45, low LSM, urban).

Young English speakers argued that the problem in South Africa is not that we do not have enough money but that we do not spend it effectively, the World Cup, however gave us an opportunity to demonstrate that we could do this, "there's already a problem with spending, not necessarily that there isn't enough money, just that the money isn't being spent so at least with the World Cup there is again [a] national agenda. The money was being spent well and efficiently I think" (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban).

Afrikaans speakers had a mixed response to the question of whether funds had been misdirected. A number expressed concern about the amount of money that had been spent on stadiums, "South Africa has too much poverty to invest so much in the stadiums. How many millions were spent on the stadiums?" (Pretoria, Afrikaans, 30-55, low LSM, urban). "Think of the future, what will happen to these huge stadiums a year from now?" (Pretoria, Afrikaans, 30-55, low LSM, urban). Respondents raised the problem that on the one hand poor South Africans may be unable to access the stadiums as a result of high costs of entry. However, they were also concerned that white South Africans may not use the stadiums because some are in "poor areas" and "crime could be a problem" (Pretoria, Afrikaans, 30-55, low LSM, urban).

Nevertheless the precedent set by the provincial rugby team the Blue Bulls having played in Soweto during the run up to the World Cup created more confidence that white South Africans would be able to use these stadia. As one respondent explained, "The Blue Bulls

game in Soweto was a great success” (Pretoria, Afrikaans, 30-55, low LSM, urban). Another respondent stated that they would go to the newly built stadiums, “If there is a national game for a cup, and if the security is there, and if the blue bulls play there” (Pretoria, Afrikaans, 30-55, low LSM, urban). On the other hand there were respondents who saw the money spent on the World Cup as an investment in the future, “It was an investment, it depends how we handle it from now on. In some ways it was very good for South Africa to host the World Cup, the opening and closing ceremonies were of the best ever offered” (Pretoria, Afrikaans, 30-55, low LSM, urban). Others stated, “I look at the broader improvements, we have better roads, you can get around easier, and improved traffic flow” (Pretoria, Afrikaans, 30-55, low LSM, urban). Another respondent concluded of the World Cup, “There is a great improvement that will auger well for the future” (Pretoria, Afrikaans, 30-55, low LSM, urban).

3) Role of the media

Which forms of media did you rely on to get information about the World Cup? Did they keep you well informed?

Respondents from the Afrikaans focus group primarily received information about the World Cup from television coverage on all the various SABC channels. They also listened to the radio. The particular stations they mentioned included Radio Sonde Grense (RSG), Bosveld Sterio and 702. Newspapers, in particular Beeld and the Daily Sun were also a source of information as well as billboards posted around South African streets at the time.

Respondents from the English speaking focus group mentioned Facebook as an additional source of media information and stated that, “All walks of media were fantastic during the World Cup...all types of media whether it was...radio, newspaper, whether it be TV” (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban). Radio stations that they mentioned listening to included Radio 702, Five FM, YFM and Highveld radio. One respondent kept up with developments by reading headlines on newspaper billboards as he drove past. Another respondent noted how much they enjoyed a regular supplement produced by the Sunday Times with specific details on events in each province.

Respondents from the Xhosa/Zulu speaking focus group stated that most of the time they watched games on television, particularly on SABC1 ‘Soccerzone,’ except one respondent who watched on DSTV [Channel 200] and Soccer 411. Most respondents read the Daily Sun newspaper, except one respondent who stated they read Pretoria News, City Press, and the Sowetan.

Because the focus group consisted of five men and three women, most men read KickOff [Laduma] soccer magazine. Respondents listened to different SABC radio stations according to language preference such as Ikwekwezi FM which broadcast in isiNdebele, Ukhozi FM which broadcast in isiZulu and UMhlobo weNene which broadcast in isiXhosa.

Sotho/Tswana focus groups participants also watched games on the same TV channel [SABC 1] and read the same newspaper, the Daily Sun, popular among township readers. However, because this group is Sotho or Tswana speaking they listen to different SABC radio stations such as Motsweding FM which broadcast in seTswana and Thobela FM which broadcast in sePedi. One respondent listened to radio 702 for updates.

In general did the media play a positive or negative role in promoting nation building, social cohesion and reconciliation during the World Cup?

According to respondents from the Afrikaans speaking focus group, the media played a “significant” role in promoting nation building and reconciliation, “People began to speak to each other; it brought people together who would previously not have communicated” (Pretoria, Afrikaans, 30-55, low LSM, urban). Another respondent commented, “The adverts that they made were multiracial and encouraged unity, home brew, black or white, this was really nice” (Pretoria, Afrikaans, 30-55, low LSM, urban). A further respondent noted how television coverage portrayed and inspired a sense of national unity, “Now and then when we watched the soccer on television, we noticed teambuilding, and a sense of unity between the nations. I did not watch with others, I just had that feeling” (Pretoria, Afrikaans, 30-55, low LSM, urban).

Young English speakers argued that the media were responsible for a significant amount of the ‘hype’ around the World Cup,

I think a lot of the hype was because of the media and exactly how they were portraying it if you know what I mean. There’s a match happening now, and there’s a what happening later, and who’s going to win in the next one against that one?” WHAT?! Amazing! You know what I mean even if you didn’t know... Costa Rica, you know, I don’t know the Ivory Coast! (All Laugh). (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban)

They noted the way in which the media portrayed South Africa as a racially united South Africa,

I think that maybe the South African image all the images that were up was the multi racial , so from that perspective it was pushing the social cohesion agenda but it was never primary it was always like “things are great, why they great? Because all the races love each other”. (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban)

Another respondent emphasized the market value that the media derived from covering the event, rather than altruistic motives connected to nation building, “The media is a business to so in order for advertising to pay for their things it’s obvious you’re not going to have no World Cup in your newspaper or on you radio or on TV ... That’s what the media does it give you information that they presume is relevant to their customers” (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban).

4) Future large international events and recommendations

Should South Africa host more major sports or international events in the future?

Despite reservations expressed around the World Cup in terms of its economic benefits, participants from all focus groups in Gauteng were almost unanimously in favour of South Africa continuing to host large international events. Focus group participants from Atteridgeville pointed out that South Africa has already successfully hosted other international events such as the Africa Cup of Nations as well as other major events. Focus group respondents from the Afrikaans speaking focus group affirmed their support for South Africa’s continued hosting of international events,

Respondent: It will be good for people to come to South Africa

Respondent: We have so much variety of sports in so many cities, Johannesburg, Durban. We have much to offer the 2020 Olympics in South African cities

Respondent: I feel proud about this

(Pretoria, Afrikaans, 30-55, low LSM, urban)

Young English speaking respondents were similarly positive about hosting future international events,

ja why not, we threw a...fantastic World Cup and I don't see why we shouldn't hold any other sort of event. If anything came out of the World Cup it was positive, I mean, you know, I think the pro's way weigh out the cons of the World Cup so yes. Oh yeah bring on the Olympics. It won't be as fantastic as the World Cup but bring it on and we'll host a great Olympics. (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban)

Recommendations: Is there anything that could have been done differently in terms of the hosting the 2010 World Cup?

The primary recommendations from respondents concerned making economic opportunities and information about economic opportunities more accessible in the future. A respondent from Atteridgeville stated,

I think the government should have prepared us [nation] more that is the problem about government, they do not prepare us. The only strong feeling I have is about small business people that are struggling. I feel like the government should have made things easy and prepare its people. Next time when they host such events they should make sure that they focus more on people with nothing rather than the well off and established. We are not saying that they fire international brands such as the KFCs and McDonalds but the forefront should be given to small business. Small business people must not be made to pay huge sums of money five thousand rands or eighty thousand rands. As long as they are registered and their business is known, just give them the stage and let them prove themselves. I think on the benefit side we need to relook how can we make things right. That the World Cup has come and gone attention should be on the poor, who were promised houses, those houses must now be built for them. (Atteridgeville, Zulu/Xhosa, 20-45, low LSM, urban)

Young English speakers argued that more thought should have been given to the future of the investments made. They stated that while investments in infrastructure such as the Gautrain and even Rea Vaya were important they should have been costed more rigorously to ensure that they did not only benefit the middle class, for example the high cost of tickets on the Gautrain,

one thing I think is that we could research more before we have an event like this again. I think we did a lot of research but I don't think that we did enough and I don't think we saw into the future as much as we should of. I think we should of thought about the Gautrain and I think the government could of done a lot more research. (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban)

Another respondent emphasized the need to make information for businesses more accessible the next time in order to translate rhetoric around economic benefits into actual empowerment of small business,

Maybe all the business owners needed a little hand book that was like the Fifa World Cup handbook for Cd stores, for ... the information was there but we weren't necessarily like privy to it. There were generalizations made and then the gap between the generalizations is where people lost money. What they actually know about how the World Cup goes. (Johannesburg, English, 18-25, high LSM, urban)

KwaZulu Natal

Focus groups in KwaZulu Natal took place in Durban with Asian respondents, (English, 18-25, high LSM, urban), residents of Umlazi Q informal settlement (Zulu, 18-25, low LSM, urban), one group of white respondents in Durban (English, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban), and residents from Umbumbulu an under-resourced rural area 40kms from Durban (Zulu, 20-45, low LSM, rural).

1) Extent to which the 2010 World Cup brought South African citizens together *Did the 2010 World Cup have a negative, positive or no impact on social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation?*

The platform created by the event allowed South African's to unite regardless of race, religion or social economic backgrounds by bringing diverse groups together. According to a participant in Umbumbulu this was manifested when "South Africans, irrespective of colour, race, creed, age, wore Bafana Bafana apparel on Fridays wanting the home team to win. Even when their team lost they never deserted it but they encouraged it until the end, boosting the players' morale" (Umbumbulu, Zulu, 20-45, low LSM, rural).

This view was reinforced by a participant in Umlazi, who noted that "every South Africa, rich, poor, famous and unknown was behind Bafana". Furthermore, the matches allowed for different races to sit together, which would not occur under ordinary circumstances. One participant explained this phenomenon as follows "but because we were a country on the big screen showing ourselves to the world it didn't matter who was sitting next to you, he became your brother or friend. You backed your team no matter what" (Durban, English, Asian, 18-25, high LSM, urban).

Another participant also noted that that South Africans showed a "multi racial front as we all sat together in one stadium among different nations, stood together as one nation - this showed a positive image of South Africa as well as when Bafana got knocked out, we continued to support foreign countries" (Durban, English, Asian, 18-25, high LSM, urban). Similarly, a participant who had watched the game at a fan park noted that "at the fan parks, there wasn't any race discrimination at all, everyone got on and yes, there were no incidences, yeah everyone actually behaved themselves strangely enough (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban).

The event also brought together groups that were traditionally not drawn to soccer, for example, one white participant noted the following, "most whites don't watch soccer anymore

and don't know any of the players names but I mean you watch that first game and you see Tshabalala score the first goal and I was jumping up and down and screaming and I thought it was fantastic" (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban).

The event had a similar effect on some black Africans. A lady who worked at a nail salon indicated that her African customers were keen to support rugby as a result of the white support for football. She stated the following "I've got quite a few African customers that come to me and they've said because we've all been involved in their soccer next time a rugby World Cup comes along they're all going to back it and start watching rugby, whereas before they weren't that interested in it" (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban).

The World Cup was also seen as an avenue that united different countries. Participants noted that they were able to interact with international and local tourists during matches and in fan parks (Durban, English, Asian, 18-25, high LSM, urban) (Umbumbulu, Zulu, 20-45, low LSM, rural) (Umlazi Q, Zulu, 18-25, low LSM, urban).

In these events "everyone interacted as we were all united in the spirit of the game." (Durban, English, Asian, 18-25, high LSM, urban). Another participant noted that the African people were united and happy and respected each other as brothers and sisters, regardless of their nationalities and boundaries, thus overcoming xenophobia (Umbumbulu, Zulu, 20-45, low LSM, rural).

A different participant in this group remarked that non South Africans "were warmly received by South Africans. They were treated with respect and dignity, of course, ubuntu". Consequently, he held the opinion that foreigners saw and even regarded South Africa as a friendly nation. Other participants alluded to the fact that "no foreigners were killed and no incidents of xenophobia were reported during the World Cup. South Africans and foreigners alike were protected through beefed up security". (Umbumbulu, Zulu, 20-45, low LSM, rural).

A number of participants also indicated that they identified with a patriotic spirit. One, for instance, stated the following "I thought that for South Africa it was the most special thing that happened to the country, I think so, it's, excuse me, it's actually the best thing that's ever happened. (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban). Others indicated that they went mobilising support for Bafana Bafana within their communities (Umbumbulu, Zulu, 20-45, low LSM, rural).

A different participant described the general mood during the event by stating that "I found driving to work every day down Fields Hill every single car had flags and socks on the side mirrors and yeah actually it got more and more exciting as the games started and Bafana scored their first goal (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban). In addition to the feeling of associating themselves with South Africa, participants noted that Bafana's loss did not dampen their spirits. Many continued to show support for Ghana. Others supported other teams, for instance, one participant indicated that "there was no more South Africa so I supported Holland, and it was awesome dressing up in orange, so it didn't matter who you supported, or if you chose another country, it didn't matter if South Africa was out" (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban).

The patriotic spirit often sprang up outside the official venues. Some people, for instance, watched the game at work. One individual described his experience as follows “I was watching TV at work, and after Bafana scored the first goal I informed everyone, and people stopped what they were doing to watch the game so I felt that I was like the game, which actually brought the people together, and actually made them start to relax. Maybe that was a little bit of negativity for the economy, that the people were relaxed”. (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban).

Did South African citizens feel pride in the country as a result of the hosting of the 2010 World Cup?

The KZN groups expressed satisfaction with the organisation of the event. Some participants referred to the opening ceremony as one that made them proud to be South African. Others pointed out the selection of the country to host the event as a moment of pride. Collectively, the four groups indicated that they were impressed with Bafana’s performance and that the team had played beyond expectation.

National pride was reflected through collective action. This emerged through multiple avenues. Some volunteered for the event, while others dressed in Bafana attire and displayed flags as ways of identifying with the country. During the matches a number of participants indicated that they actively participated in their communities, urging community members “to support Bafana Bafana, irrespective of match outcome.” (Umbumbulu, Zulu, 20-45, low LSM, rural).

The government’s effectiveness in completing the stadium, construction of a new highway, revamping the beach front, provision of security, and efficient delivery of other amenities was highlighted in all groups.

Did the 2010 World Cup build a positive image of South Africa?

The event, according to one participant, proved the prophets of doom wrong, by enhancing a positive image of the country through the World Cup. (Umlazi Q, Zulu, 18-25, low LSM, urban).

A number of participants also indicated that the event had made them proud of their country because of the positive image of the country that was created, “it put SA on a par with the world. It showed the world that we are an able country and also the most developed in Africa”(Durban, English, Asian, 18-25, high LSM, urban). Another participant indicated that hosting the World Cup had shown that South Africa was not just a “third world” (Durban, English, Asian, 18-25, high LSM, urban), country as it had revealed the ability of the country to the world. As a whole, the event’s transformation of perceptions went beyond the country’s image to that of the government. This aspect was highlighted by one of the participants who stated that “most importantly, we showed ourselves what we can achieve and we are capable of doing if we put the right people in the right places.” (Durban, English, Asian, 18-25, high LSM, urban). The completion of the stadiums and other infrastructure were also associated with national pride as evinced by the following statement,

I also think it was fabulous how they finished the stadium on time, I mean not many people thought it would be ready, I honestly thought we were going to embarrass ourselves, and I mean a good two weeks before it happened and I mean that was

impressive, and very sufficient, the lights even stayed on, no power failures not one at all (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban).

In addition the event was seen as an opportunity that allowed South Africa to “showcase” itself to the rest of the world. (Umlazi Q, Zulu, 18-25, low LSM, urban)

In other ways, the World Cup formed a platform that opened up South Africa to the world. In so doing, the success of the event cleared up a lot of misconceptions of South Africa by providing opportunities to show that “the country can live up to expectations” (Durban, English, Asian, 18-25, high LSM, urban). One participant linked this to media by stating that “I think we showed that we are a country of much more than what the media thought, and there is a lot more to this country and a lot more flavour [and] diversity. (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban). One of the ways that the event helped in changing perceptions was that in an event that was potentially marred by concerns of crime, “we showed the people that we can put on a world class experience and reduce crime”.(Durban, English, Asian, 18-25, high LSM, urban).

Do South African citizens have more confidence in the ability of the government to deliver services as a result of the organisation of the 2010 World Cup?

A number of people admitted that they had not expected the government to “pull off” the event, but they had been pleasantly surprised. One of the participants, for instance, was relieved that everything had gone well. He stated the following: “I thought there was a lot of apprehension beforehand about how South Africans were going to react, and especially about crime or like people were going to strike, but strangely there wasn’t anything like that” (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban).

Another participant in this group made the following comments on government “But they did it very well because for 32 days we loved it, for 32 days we actually didn’t mind and loved every second of it” (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban).

In all the groups, participants felt that the government had displayed unprecedented effectiveness. One participant stated that “they [government] have shown that they are capable of doing it if the ability is there and they can do it efficiently. They showed the country that if they do the job the right way rather than filling their pockets the job can be done very very well, if the right people are in the right place to do their job, rather than to fill a seat, the job can get done.” (Durban, English, Asian, 18-25, high LSM, urban). Three areas were highlighted, transport, safety and security and a much cleaner city. These areas are discussed in the next section.

“I was very impressed with the transport that was provided especially from the park and ride to various destinations in Durban, it was safe and it was clean and it was on time all the time.” However, participants indicated that the effectiveness of transport must be examined against existing public transport challenges. One participant, for instance, made the following statement “Going back to the transport side of it Durban lacks or I think South Africa lacks a bus system. They (black people?) don’t want a proper system. They will burn whatever you do build” (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban). Another participant in the same group indicated that with a stronger police presence, “you will not have a problem getting into what we call a black taxi” (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-

high LSM, urban). Other participants pointed out that white people did not have public transportation options and their only alternative was to have a car. This conversation did not delve into the transport issues and the root causes of taxis and government conflict or tensions. Nonetheless, participants appreciated what they called a “false sense of security” that was present during the World Cup. The ability to leave their cars at the pavilion for the day instead of taking their personal vehicles down to the beach was a welcome change during the World Cup. They indicated that this kind of arrangement as well as a police presence could be utilised by both white and black people.

A number of participants indicated that they felt safe during the event. One participant, for instance noted that there were “no serious and fatal crimes were reported and that investors and tourists were attracted but the police had slackened off to South Africa.” (Umlazi Q, Zulu, 18-25, low LSM, urban).

The ability to walk without feeling threatened especially at night and the safe transport were highlighted. Many participants in the city talked about police presence. Security was discussed repeatedly in the white and Asian focus groups. Participants noted that crime rates had decreased during the event but the situation had gone back to the pre-World Cup levels. Some participants indicated that the police had slackened off (Durban, English, Asian, 18-25, high LSM, urban) (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban). A number noted that “the peace presence that was there disappeared almost a day after the World Cup stopped” (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban). This was attributed to the fact that extra cops had been hired during the event (Durban, English, Asian, 18-25, high LSM, urban), (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban).

The feelings of safety often translated to more interactions in public spaces. One participant reflected on this aspect by noting that “because people felt safe during that period, people were more inclined to mix so if you were sitting next to someone say in a restaurant or a take away place waiting for meal on the beach front, because you felt safe you’d start talking to whoever was next to you and it didn’t matter what colour they were.” (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban). This situation was made possible by the awareness that the police were just around the corner. Normally, as one participant indicated, people are usually too scared to engage in events that could lead to integration but during the event people were “a lot friendlier enjoying the World Cup with all the security, people sort of let down their guard and their little defences and just mixed and enjoyed themselves and it built the country for a brief period” (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban).

Another participant noted that security and the general atmosphere on the beach was good even in the absence of matches. “If you took a walk on the beach it was amazing, everyone was dressed in their country’s gear and there was a great vibe going on down there, yeah it was great hey, if they could have kept it up it would be fantastic.” (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban)

Respondents from Umlazi and Umbumbulu were also positive about the level of security during the World Cup. Many mentioned the security provided to make the tournament a success had created a mood that was conducive to feeling very positive about the ability of government to deliver to its citizens. The intake of additional police in the lead up to the

World Cup also worked well to create order and safety and many felt these new police recruits should be retained.

Police effectiveness and the justice system's efficiency during the World Cup were also highlighted. Some participants noted that the media contributed to effectiveness in dealing with crime by featuring such stories. Collectively, these aspects were useful in deterring crime. Participants expressed concern that security measures had not continued after the event. As a result, participants were still wary about corruption in law enforcement circles and they talked about "paying for dockets to disappear" (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban).

As a solution, two participants suggested privatisation of the police force to minimise corruption. (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban)

Many participants were disappointed that the sense of security did not last. One participant stated the during the World Cup,

we felt safe, police were enforcing their best, government was enforcing their best, now I don't think we have a safe perception only during that time did they do their best. Now I don't think the level of security in our police Department is the same, now I don't feel so safe as I did during the period of the World Cup (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban).

Another noted that the changes lasted for a short time,

back to Durban and its the same old same old, still rubbish on the street and all the street people, and all that, back to square one so, but for the course of the game all of the games, it was quite nice to have the facilities that were available even for that short time (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban).

A number of participants indicated the city was cleaner and neater. One participant indicated that she had never "seen Durban as tidy as it was, that was super. I mean it's been proven that we can do it so why not, keep the flag up don't bring the flag down, just because the World Cup's passed" (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban).

Others indicated that the number of children in the streets had declined during the event. However, as will be discussed in a subsequent section that highlights alternative ways in which the funds could have been spent, the children went back to the streets soon after the World Cup.

1) Economic benefits

To what extent did the 2010 World Cup benefit the whole country economically?

Many participants saw the Moses Mabida stadium as an asset for the whole country. One participant, for instance, remarked that "the world class stadiums that were built will be utilized for other events, which could in turn boost the economy of our land" (Umbumbulu, Zulu, 20-45, low LSM, rural). In his view, in future, instead of building more stadiums, the money should be earmarked for other developmental uses that could benefit all, especially poor and destitute families.

Most of the respondents from Umlazi expressed positive feelings about the huge expenditure on World Cup infrastructure, especially the stadia that were built, which many see as sustainable, irreversible and an opportunity for hosting other national as well as international events in future. Many did not have reservations about the expenditure on infrastructure as they saw the hosting of the tournament as likely to lead to even greater confidence in the country which would also have a beneficial effect on the economy going forward. But some of the respondents at Ubumbulu were very critical about the amount of money spent in preparation for the World Cup. One group of the respondents expressed the feeling that the tournament itself would not be able to assist in confronting the more deep-seated social problems faced by the country's poorer citizens, while another group felt the expenditure on the World Cup was a worthwhile investment in portraying a positive image about the country both internally and externally.

Some participants noted that the stadiums were constructed with noble intent. The reason for building some stadiums in underprivileged, and overpopulated areas was to promote such areas (Durban, English, Asian, 18-25, high LSM, urban). However, participants pointed out that the developmental intentions of the stadium had not materialised; this was attributed to poor planning around maintenance (Durban, English, Asian, 18-25, high LSM, urban). (Asian focus group, KZN) (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban). Others were concerned that the new stadiums were being under utilised, while at the same time millions of tax payer's money were being channelled into maintenance (Durban, English, Asian, 18-25, high LSM, urban). It was argued that it was likely that South Africans would continue paying for the other stadiums for the next 20 years. Some participants acknowledged that the government was trying to use the stadiums for local games and concerts. The difficulty in paying for the structures was seen as the ultimate challenge.

All groups indicated that the World Cup's benefits were uneven. Although some industries including the hospitality, manufacturing and advertising sectors were able to attract business, many communities felt left out. Big businesses were seen as the major beneficiaries. Individuals such as the sports minister and Danny Jordaan were also perceived as having derived significant earnings from the event (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban). In some groups, top black earners were seen to have benefited from tenders associated with the events. One participant summarised the views of many as follows

as a whole we plain South Africans we never got anything out of it, besides entertainment, watching some football now and then and socialising. Other than that we did not benefit economically. It actually still costs because now we are paying for it (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban).

Some contrasting views, however, emerged from a number of small business people who were able to generate some profits. At the Umlazi informal settlement, those who specialised in African craft work were able to make some money. Another individual in the same neighbourhood was able to derive some financial gains. He stated the following "I am self employed selling candies, cool drinks, beer and liquor. People frequented my shebeen- cum-spaza shop in order to view the World Cup matches, which brought me extra profit. (Umlazi Q, Zulu, 18-25, low LSM, urban).

The respondents from the informal settlement of Umlazi outside Durban all mentioned that the popular “Max’s” tavern in the township and other smaller drinking holes as having managed to draw large numbers of revellers who frequented these places and spent substantial sums of money while watching the games in the company of friends. The respondents from rural Umbumbulu also shared similar experiences about people spending a lot of time in large numbers in the few existing drinking places in the area to watch the games live on television.

Although the above illustration is a positive account, many small business people were not as fortunate. Many local people were not given licences. One participant suggested that street vendors should have been supported financially in order to make them more presentable so that they could sell their goods. The Fifa rule against trade within a 6 Km radius of the stadium was also cited as a limitation that led to the discrimination against local business individuals and groups (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban).

In addition, procurement of internationally manufactured goods such as flags from China was seen as a setback to local industry.

The short duration of the jobs that eventually led to layoffs was raised in all groups. Even for those who had jobs, the narrative of job creation was referred to as a “false pretence” by linking job creation with striking workers at the stadiums before the event began (Durban, English, Asian, 18-25, high LSM, urban). The other illustration provided in support of this notion was that of the failed security deal which was framed as a disagreement between workers and the contracting security company which resulted in the cancelling of contracts and SAPs being brought in to provide security.

Ineffective strategies were also cited as issues of concern. According to one participant, for instance, prices in the hotel industry were inflated, resulting in a lack of customers. The Holiday Inn was cited as an example (Durban, English, Asian, 18-25, high LSM, urban). Others spoke of overpriced foodstuffs and beverages in the stadiums.

Participants also felt that many people had overextended themselves hoping that they would be able to make some money. Some argued that it had taken some businesses some time to recuperate. This was indeed confirmed by participants in Umlazi who indicated that “for township residents who had built B and Bs or converted their homes to Bed and Breakfast lodges it was doomsday for, no tourists visited them and therefore no profits.” (Umlazi Q, Zulu, 18-25, low LSM, urban). Furthermore, as one participant indicated, others, especially those in construction industries, were still awaiting payment by contractors (Durban, English, Asian, 18-25, high LSM, urban).

Other problems cited were that the event coincided with the global economic recession and Fifa’s regulations. This combination was seen explaining low ticket sales to international travellers. Moreover, in comparison to previous events, where teams would stay in a specific city for the duration of the group stages, Fifa changed the rules so that teams had to travel throughout the World Cup (Durban, English, Asian, 18-25, high LSM, urban). Hence, it was much more expensive for fans to follow their teams around.

Were the funds for the 2010 World Cup misdirected or prevent spending on addressing poverty and other needs?

A number of participants felt that the some of the funds channelled towards the event could have targeted other developmental priorities. Most of the groups indicated that they felt that the funds for the event were misdirected from other needs such as poverty and in many ways the needs of the “poorest of the poor” had not been met (Umbumbulu, Zulu, 20-45, low LSM, rural). This section provides a number of alternative avenues which participants felt could have alleviated poverty and/or addressed some social issues.

First, some participants alluded to the fact the street children literally disappeared during the event (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban). However, after the World Cup the children were allowed to go back to what they considered their home whether it was the beachfront or to the streets of Durban. Some participants in the white focus group felt that the government just “managed” the problem, or hid the problem rather than solving it. The creation of shelters or spaces of safety for the street children was deemed as a more long term solution.

In addressing job creation, one participant suggested that the government could build on the national pride that was associated with dressing in football related attire. According to this participant, the government could put in place an incentive or even tax encouraging staff members to wear a proudly South African T-shirt once a week on a certain day. He felt that if this was done throughout the country via giving a 1 percent tax rebate for companies, this was likely to sustain the national pride witnessed during the World Cup. In addition to national pride, this strategy would also generate work, for example, through the manufacturing of T-shirts (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban).

One participant also suggested that the event could have been used to highlight social issues such as the abuse of females in South Africa (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban).

Others felt that the money should be used for education and more specifically for university drop-outs who could not afford to pay their fees and other challenges facing the education system in the country (Umbumbulu, Zulu, 20-45, low LSM, rural). One participant felt that the money should have been used to pay previous and current government debts. (Umbumbulu, Zulu, 20-45, low LSM, rural).

Another recommendation is to promote tourism at a larger scale. This could be done by more advertising geared towards making SA a global holiday destination as well as improving South Africa’s image (Durban, English, Asian, 18-25, high LSM, urban). Second, the need to educate people was highlighted, especially on economic issues. One participant noted that although people have a right to know how funding and taxes are utilised, many were uneducated about that, as they were not familiar with their rights (Durban, English, Asian, 18-25, high LSM, urban). These comments were made in connection with the spending of the World Cup funds and the role of South Africans in sustaining the infrastructure.

Third, participants indicated that it was important to change mindsets that people could only work in particular professions. One participant emphasised this by noting that “it is a great perception in our age group (18-24), that if you are not a professional, you are not going

anywhere, that a tertiary education is minimum to lead a good life, basically people don't realise at a young age that there is other things to go into at a young age, if you can't make it in tertiary, like go into travel and tourism and stuff like that (Asian focus group, KZN). This participant indicated that there was need to promote other professions.

Human capital flight or brain drain which was especially related to lack of security was seen as a setback. (Durban, English, Asian, 18-25, high LSM, urban). (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban). One participant argued that as a result of other countries offering "better salaries, with better benefits people are leaving south Africa and going abroad to Dubai, Australia, because they think they will live a better life, all our doctors and engineers are leaving so in that regard they are going to kill the country". (Durban, English, Asian, 18-25, high LSM, urban). Participants suggested that strategies should be put in place to limit emigration.

2) Role of the media

Which forms of media did you rely on to get information about the World Cup? Did they keep you well informed?

TV and radio were the most popular in all groups. SABC 1 and Supersport were the most watched. Community radio specifically *Radio Ukhozi* and television, vernacular newspapers, *Ilanga* and *Isolezwe* were popular in Umbumbulu and Umlazi. The *Daily News* newspaper was also cited as a source of news.

In general did the media play a positive or negative role in promoting nation building, social cohesion and reconciliation during the World Cup?

All the groups with the exception of two participants indicated that the media contributed to positive messages. The first exception was by a participant who indicated that it was

ironic after the World Cup there was very little said about crime so even if there were any incidents the media was silenced and nothing was allowed to be said about any crime that may have happened even in outside areas and immediately after came that court case that wanted to silence the media totally and didn't want them to actually report certain things". (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban).

One other participant also felt that the newspapers concentrated on "bad mouthing" South Africa (Umbumbulu, Zulu, 20-45, low LSM, rural).

3) Future large international events and recommendations

Should South Africa host more major sports or international events in the future?

The World Cup was seen as a learning platform, setbacks in infrastructure, ticket sales were seen by many participants as stepping stones. Others felt that the World Cup success confirmed the country's ability to host world events because it was consistent with the high standards set by the cricket and rugby World Cup events that had preceded it. (Umbumbulu, Zulu, 20-45, low LSM, rural)

One recommendation that emerged was to increase diversity, for example, by focussing on entertainment, like having more bands that South Africans support, artists, and more international people coming, maybe comedians and various types of entertainment. (Durban, English, Asian, 18-25, high LSM, urban).

Others were sarcastic, about future events, for example, one participant said the following about hosting a follow up world event. “So we can live in harmony hahahaha yeah all the time all over again, one after the next we’ll take the rugby the cricket, host the Olympics one after the next and we’ll take all the good that comes with it and we’ll just print more notes.” (Durban, English, white, 20-45, med-high LSM, urban).

Mpumalanga

Focus groups in Mpumalanga were held in Likazi township in (Mbombela, Xitonga, 20-45, low LSM, rural), in Mjindini township in (Barberton, Seswati, 18-25, low LSM, rural), in Mkhulu township in (Bushbuckridge, Seswati, 24-45, low LSM, rural)

1) Extent to which the 2010 World Cup brought South African citizens together *Did the World Cup have a negative, positive or no impact on nation building, social cohesion and reconciliation?*

According to the focus group discussions in Mpumalanga, the World Cup brought different groups of people together. Beyond the official venues, the stadiums and theme parks, people gathered in homes, shebeens, workplaces, hospitals, initiation schools and even prisons. One participant who was not a sports fan said: “I have been thrilled because the *World Cup just united everybody*, even the ones that didn’t like soccer, they all came together to cheer the game and crime was greatly minimized” (Likazi, Xitonga, 20-45, low LSM, rural).

Did South African citizens feel pride in the country as a result of the hosting of the 2010 World Cup?

Soccer T-shirts and vuvuzelas were highlighted as a symbolic representation of pride, togetherness and unity in South Africa. One participant at the Mkhulu focus group noted that “before the World Cup people did not buy soccer T-shirts, but this year, each and everyone wanted to have Bafana Bafana T-shirts and vuvuzelas” (Mkhulu, Seswati, 24-45, low LSM, rural).

Wearing the soccer T-Shirt transcended generations as young and old people wore them in support of the team and the country as a whole. All but one respondent continued to wear the T-shirts even after Bafana Bafana lost the game. A number of people felt that the T-shirts should be worn after the World Cup during local matches. Some participants suggested that schools should encourage students to wear the T-shirts on Fridays as this culture could continue to unite people. The diskidance was also cited as a uniting factor.

Bafana Bafana was characterized as a powerful uniting factor. One participant captured the views of many by indicating that, “I saw them in a new perspective, they represented us and played in defense of our country. What a great feeling” (Likazi, Xitonga, 20-45, low LSM, rural).

Another issue that generated pride was the successful hosting of the event. One participant from the Mbombela focus group said,

I was very proud that SA has hosted it, and I will continue to be a proud citizen. To tell the truth the World Cup brought many changes, people got employment. My complaint is just that our government is able to create funds, but we are unable to sustain the economy. People were employed and now they are back to the same situation of unemployment as it is over. (Likazi, Xitonga, 20-45, low LSM, rural)

One recommendation that emerged is that the country should continue to support local matches and that “when we meet at the stadiums we must still have fun, friendship and enjoy soccer” (Likazi, Xitonga, 20-45, low LSM, rural).

The success of the event was also based on the volume of the spectators. The numbers were seen as being similar to those of other international games which raised South Africa’s status. South Africans were united in creating positive relations with visitors. South Africans exchanged contacts with people from Portugal and Spain and considered them as “brothers and sisters” (Likazi, Xitonga, 20-45, low LSM, rural).

Participants also expressed pride in South Africans general attitudes towards each other during the event. One participant in Mbombela stated that:

I have never imagined that people can be so loving and without hatred—that is the love and unity that I experienced during the World Cup. We had to take TVs outside so that everybody could watch. It was just a great feeling of loving one another, with happiness, such that even if people could not go to the fan parks there was still great unity, love and sharing. (Likazi, Xitonga, 20-45, low LSM, rural)

South Africans self-perceptions also revealed various characteristics: Some pointed out that South Africans were typically: “hospitable, friendly and respectable people” (Mjindini, Seswati, 18-25, low LSM, rural).

In all the three focus groups, participants expressed disbelief and pride that the country had been able to host the event successfully. One participant in Mjindini noted that “our country made history because we were hosting the World Cup for the first time, which benefited our economy by creating employment. Even those who volunteered felt that they were part of history. We were recognized as a country” (Mjindini, Seswati, 18-25, low LSM, rural).

Did the 2010 World Cup build a positive image of South Africa?

Many participants felt that the event contributed to a positive image of South Africa. In addition to creating employment, the infrastructure development and accommodation facilities were cited as illustrating success. South African players were also described as showing that they could achieve “world class standards.” (Mjindini, Seswati, 18-25, low LSM, rural).

In all three focus groups in Mpumalanga, participants felt that everyone was represented in the event. Describing experiences at the fan parks one participant said that: “we were all together, there was no one who was discriminated against, and there was a spirit of togetherness” (Mjindini, Seswati, 18-25, low LSM, rural).

The three groups felt that the racial mixing was representative. One participant stated the following: “We went to Mbombela to watch Chile and it was very great, it was just nice to be

next to a white person without asking any questions” (Likazi, Xitonga, 20-45, low LSM, rural).

Another individual indicated that at the fun parks “there was no difference, we all had fun together, and it felt as if we are from the same mother” (Mjindini, Seswati, 18-25, low LSM, rural).

Finally, in Likazi, one participant pointed out that the inclusiveness of a number of musical genres on many occasions was an indication that no group had been left behind.

Many people in the focus groups agreed that South Africans were good hosts and that differences were non-existent during the event. Some participants indicated that friendship (*ubudlelwano*) with other countries emerged during the event. The event also provided visitors with opportunities to see and understand South Africa’s climate and ways of living.

Overall, participants felt that the event had changed people’s perceptions of the continent as a whole. One participant stated the World Cup had led to the “recognition of the African continent, because people overseas think that in Africa there are no human beings. It is difficult to change these mindsets but it has been proven by the World Cup that in Africa there are human beings. This changed as people saw the reality” (Likazi, Xitonga, 20-45, low LSM, rural).

A number of participants also alluded to the fact that they supported Ghana, the winning African team as if it was their own country. Experiences were that there were “no barriers of who is from where, it was just great, we hugged with enjoyment and the color barrier or being a foreigner did not exist amongst the people, we were all united and being one” (Likazi, Xitonga, 20-45, low LSM, rural).

There was optimism that other countries would welcome South Africans because they were welcome in this country regardless of their jerseys and nationality.

Some participants felt that the event would be instrumental in South Africa’s reconciliation with other countries. One participant’s response was that “xenophobia did not exist for me in those days” (Mjindini, Seswati, 18-25, low LSM, rural).

It is not clear if this view went beyond the World Cup event. Another said, “I would call it [South Africa] a rainbow nation, because everyone came here and we were united. People from other countries came and stayed here” (Mkhulu, Seswati, 24-45, low LSM, rural).

In Mkhulu, some participants indicated that discrimination of foreigners had never been an issue. They pointed out that they had lived with people from Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Italy and India. They also indicated that many Zimbabweans worked as teachers and Nigerians, Italians and Indians were business people who were good for the community. One participant, however, stated that xenophobia had decreased in Bushbuckridge, which contradicted the assertions that xenophobia was non-existent in the community.

Do South African citizens have more confidence in the ability of the government to deliver services as a result of the organisation of the 2010 World Cup?

In all the three focus groups in Mpumalanga, participants expressed pride in the government's ability to provide security, medical care and to fix roads, stadiums and hotels. Others referred to specific services for instance the provision of electricity to Maparasing farmers which enabled them to watch matches.

In Mbombela, participants saw a number of changes in service delivery. They pointed out that some roads had improved, electricity had been installed, and there was an increase in the number of RDP houses.

In Mjindini, many participants felt that no change had occurred. Some areas still lacked electricity. A number of participants were of the opinion that government was not concerned. One participant observed "if the government wants to do something they can do it. So I don't think the government wants to do anything for us" (Mjindini, Seswati, 18-25, low LSM, rural).

Participants also felt that the government had been able to perform well because of the pressure to succeed and to impress visitors. Some participants were of the opinion that after the event the government had relaxed. Seven out of eight Mjindini focus group participants thought that the government was now relaxed and was not performing its duties. One participant in this area noted that "I don't think the government is serious about us, maybe they need a push" (Mjindini, Seswati, 18-25, low LSM, rural).

Participants in Mdinjini indicated that the World Cup was an eye opener because people were able to see what they lacked and what the government was capable of achieving. In the event that government was able to get some money, participants felt that the following areas should be prioritized: shelter, water, job creation and electricity. Participants also noted that in order to sustain the optimism that emerged as a result of the event, government should begin working in their community by addressing social and economic issues.

2) Economic benefits

To what extent did the 2010 World Cup benefit the whole country economically?

Participants in the three focus groups indicated that they had expectations that the economy would grow as a result of hosting the World Cup. Some felt that the event had met this expectation. In response to how he would describe the World Cup if it were a person, for example, one participant in Bushbuckridge stated the following: "It's like a star, because it brings light to me. I did not like soccer but it had an impact on my life, people got jobs at hotels, restaurants, temporarily but maybe now they are permanent because of the World Cup" (Mkhulu, Seswati, 24-45, low LSM, rural).

Illustrations of the economic benefits emerged from participants. Job creation, infrastructure, electricity were some of the highlighted economic benefits. The new stadium at Nelspruit and the accompanying roads, hotels, improvements in security and low crime rates were commended. Participants felt that the stadiums were not only useful for South Africa's image but they had the potential to generate income that could eventually lead to economic growth.

At the individual level, questions on economic impact drew mixed reactions. Some had experienced benefits while the economic situation had not changed for others. Optimistic stories included participants who had become employed or had derived some form of income from the event. One such case was that of a participant from Likazi who described his experience as follows:

Local music was promoted and most of Mbombela groups participated well, and we were able to get some money out of it. I was able to make myself popular at that time. I met some foreigners from overseas, and I was also able to meet other celebrities(...) So I can fully admit that there has been a change” (Likazi, Xitonga, 20-45, low LSM, rural).

Similarly, some participants were able to sell their artworks .

However, a number of participants in the Likazi group expressed disappointment. One for instance stated the following: “My experience with the World Cup was divided. I was *excited that I was going to make money*, and that I would support my children happily, but it didn’t turn out like that” (Likazi, Xitonga, 20-45, low LSM, rural).

Another participant in Bushbuckridge indicated that poverty was still prevalent by providing the example of orphan’s deprivation, food security and youth unemployment in his area. Others felt that the event had benefited a few individuals at the top - those in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town.

Were the funds for the 2010 World Cup misdirected or prevent spending on addressing poverty and other needs?

Some felt that the funds for the World Cup were misdirected because they reduced funds that should have been targeted towards tackling poverty and other needs. There was the belief by some participants that their grant money had been allocated to the World Cup, and this was an issue of concern.

Some participants felt that the fund had not been not used effectively. One example was the Peter Mokaba stadium in Polokwane, where players and fans complained that the stadium was not built correctly, people felt that it was built at the last minute and with cheap materials. Corruption was also cited as an issue in funds usage. Poor planning was an additional challenge. It was argued that there was lack of proper planning for maintenance of the infrastructure after the event and the stadiums were referred to as white elephants.

On the other hand, some participants were hopeful that the government was still planning on how they can use the secured funds. Another participant in the same location pointed out that “some township roads are still in a bad state, some still have bad schools, lack electricity - though the money was spent on Fifa, one expected that the situation will improve from the funds accumulated from the event” (Likazi, Xitonga, 20-45, low LSM, rural).

Two participants attributed the loss of grants to the event. One individual at Bushbuckridge indicated that grants had been reduced. He provided the example of elderly people and those with HIV/AIDS who did not receive their grants for six months. This ineffectiveness also affected grants provided for HIV/AIDs patients. These sick people “don’t know what to do, so

they stress double because they can't take their treatment without eating" (Mkhulu, Seswati, 24-45, low LSM, rural)

A student in Mbombela also provided a similar illustration, he stated that he had a personal issue with the Fifa World Cup by describing his predicament:

I am sponsored by Social Development for my studies. Last year they did not have a problem and they paid fully for us, as they had promised. This year they told us that we have to take the loans as the money has been taken by the World Cup and they will not be able to assist us financially as Social Development has been doing in the past. We were never told how this happened (Likazi, Xitonga, 20-45, low LSM, rural).

The challenge of sustaining employment and maintaining the roads created during the World Cup was raised in all the focus group discussions.

3) Role of the media

Which forms of media did you rely on to get information about the World Cup? Did they keep you well informed?

Local media was rated positively. All three focus groups had community radios including the Bushbuckridge Radio Station and Bombela Community Radio (BCR). Super Sport was also popular with some participants. Participants indicated that local coverage was well done. In Bombela, the Likazi participants liked the participatory nature of the coverage. The radio had competitions that allowed participants to contest for jerseys and tickets. Participants from all three groups indicated that they had used newspapers in addition to TV and radio as sources of information. Coverage was said to be exceptional in urban areas and deep rural areas - they had full coverage of the World Cup.

In general did the media play a positive or negative role in promoting nation building, social cohesion and reconciliation during the World Cup?

Participants in the Mjindini group felt the media played a positive role in social cohesion by referring to the adverts that consisted of different races. The media also played an informative role by highlighting various developmental projects, for instance, roads and stadiums. Before, during and after the World Cup the media continued to provide current information on the event. Another view that emerged was that "the media did wonderful work, by slowly ensuring that all South Africans understand 'ubuntu', the general spirit of being neighbourly, loving the stranger, protecting SA visitors" (Likazi, Xitonga, 20-45, low LSM, rural).

Referring to the role of media after the event, some participants felt that media could be used to sustain the unity generated by the World Cup through continued sports coverage. Super Sport was the favourite and some participants indicated that SABC should have a channel that is dedicated to sports. However, some participants were of the opinion that it was important to watch the games live at the stadium as these would support the teams financially rather than watching TV.

4) Future large international events and recommendations

Should South Africa host more major sports or international events in the future?

A number of views were expressed by the participants in the three groups. Positive responses were opposed by respondents who thought the money would be better spent on community development.

North West

Focus groups in the North West were held in Phokeng, Rustenburg (18-25, low LSM, rural), in Magogwe village, Mafikeng (18-25, low LSM, rural), and in Rustenburg (Tlhabane, 20-45, high LSM, urban).

1) Extent to which the 2010 World Cup brought South African citizens together

Did the 2010 World Cup have a negative, positive or no impact on social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation?

Respondents in this province felt that the World Cup built a “temporary” positive image in getting people in the country together. For instance, during the World Cup, there was a sense of togetherness. Everyone was wearing Bafana-Bafana T-shirts, blowing vuvuzelas, greeting people from different backgrounds. In addition, whites could access black areas (townships) and there was a reduction of crime in the townships and other parts of South Africa. Respondents felt that everything was in the spirit of “togetherness”.

All respondents felt that the World Cup brought people from racial backgrounds together in South Africa. They indicated that in the past you could not see whites, Indians, blacks and coloureds cheering, joking, laughing, walking and sitting together with people treating each other as equals. People treated each other as South Africans and to them that “togetherness” was a true reflection of a rainbow nation.

In addition, respondents felt that the World Cup engendered social cohesion; because of this harmony, there were no racial insults, and no xenophobic attacks. There was no discrimination or unruly behavior; instead there was peace and laughter. There were fewer reports of crime even in taverns (public places for drinking in the townships). Bafana Bafana T-shirts, vuvuzelas and *diski jive* also added to the atmosphere and brought further strong feelings of togetherness. In townships, people could be seen chatting, teasing and laughing. Taverns were treated as fan parks where mostly men gathered to enjoy football.

Some respondents said the World Cup was a new experience for them. For instance, some of them have never been in one place with other races. However, during the World Cup they were all drinking in shebeens or chatting in shops, laughing and all using the same public transport. Some respondents watched football on TV, and in fan parks, and they indicated that during that period, everyone was positive, and people treated each other very well.

An 18 year old from Phokeng indicated that “it was the very first time he saw people of different cultures sitting and laughing together” (Phokeng, 18-25, low LSM, rural). Seeing whites wandering around in the village was an amazing experience for him. Others said that everyone in the country was friendly including the whites from outside South Africa and whites from abroad. Places like shebeens that you think they will never be visited by whites,

were full and whites were drinking with blacks and buying alcohol for blacks (especially the English and Uruguayans). During that period, there was so much trust that a white person could use taxis without fear of being attacked.

Respondents were unsure if this new behaviour on the part of whites was pretence, just a mood caused by the World Cup. Respondents indicated that the World Cup brought unity, and togetherness between South Africans and other Africans in the country. Africans treated each other as brothers and sisters during the World Cup. For example, when Bafana Bafana was relegated in the first round, everyone supported Ghana. People went on to give their support and praise to this team until the last round. Everyone was supporting Ghana and blowing vuvuzelas for them.

Did South African citizens feel pride in the country as a result of the hosting of the 2010 World Cup?

All respondents said that they felt pride in South Africa hosting the World Cup, and they wished that it could come again or stay forever. Most respondents said that they are happy South Africa has proved to the world that Africa can host major events such as the World Cup. Respondents said that South Africa has demonstrated to the world that Africa has potential, and is not the jungle it is imagined to be.

Did the 2010 World Cup build a positive image of South Africa?

Respondents felt that the World Cup built a positive image of South Africa because people could see that South Africa is a well-developed country with good infrastructure (roads, airport, stadiums, hotels and transport), and people were friendly to tourists. Respondents maintain that the world saw the beauty of South Africa, through television, the internet and other forms of media. Visitors were impressed and promised to visit South Africa again

Respondents said the image of the country could be strengthened by correcting mistakes by ensuring that the country's transport system is enhanced and well maintained to avoid traffic congestion as reported on the news. They indicated that airports should be well regulated to avoid air traffic problems as happened in Durban. Many wanted to discourage the practice of private pilots or VIP planes securing landing slots and taking over space from other flights wanting to land. This situation had led to crisis when Spanish and German fans missed their teams World Cup semi-final because there was nowhere for their planes to land. Some respondents said a positive image is not only about displaying the country to the world, but also about benefits to the people. For instance, the country could have done more to empower people, and had less intervention by Fifa in planning and organizing. Respondents felt that Fifa rules and policies were in the best interests of Fifa, rather than in the best interest of South Africans. Fifa rules ignored the fact that empowerment is crucial in the lives of South Africans; Fifa was only interested in its own economic benefit.

These respondents felt that a positive image was not a tangible benefit like infrastructure, such as roads, stadiums, accommodation. But even these have no positive impact on the development of youth because there are no sporting activities or academies for the poor and disadvantaged, especially in host cities.

Do South African citizens have more confidence in the ability of the government to deliver services as a result of the organisation of the 2010 World Cup?

The respondents have mixed feelings on whether they have confidence in government's ability to deliver services as a result of organizing the World Cup. Some respondents felt that there is an improvement in the delivery of services, for instance, local government is now able to collect rubbish more regularly than before, and their areas are very clean now. They also feel that service delivery has improved a lot, because water and electricity is available in most villages, since the announcement of the World Cup. Some felt that municipalities could not deliver services well (because there is an absence of hard work) hence there are lots and lots of strikes. These respondents state that many things are still left unfinished and they do not have hopes that municipalities will complete such tasks.

To them, the South African government performs only if they serve people from outside South Africa, but when it comes to serving its own people, they relax and do not do their best. Respondents from rural areas felt that service delivery was only carried out in certain areas, such as Rustenburg and Pretoria, while Mafikeng was left dilapidated. Villages in Mafikeng are still in the same condition and they do not have hopes that they will be improved.

With regard to police's ability to control crime, respondents said much needs to be done again on crime. They all agree that police were visible during the World Cup and worked hard and they appeared in high numbers, to ensure that crime was well controlled. They agreed that after the World Cup everything just went back to normal. Police are no longer doing their best in crime control. Respondents felt that police performed during the World Cup, and it was because they were deployed in large numbers (including reservists) and because they wanted to impress visitors, and now are no longer working hard as they did before during the World Cup.

Though respondents do say there was social cohesion and reconciliation in the country during the World Cup, most felt that "togetherness" was just a passing phenomenon. Respondents agreed that the World Cup brought them all together, and there was peace during the World Cup, however, after the World Cup, things went back to normal. For instance, people no longer smile at each other, whites live their lives and blacks live their lives as well. Respondents felt that the World Cup created much energy for that period only, it didn't last.

2) Economic benefits

To what extent did the 2010 World Cup benefit the whole country economically?

There is a mixed feeling from respondents. Respondents felt that the World Cup benefited the whole country in terms of infrastructure, especially airports and national roads. Respondents from host city also said they benefited. For instance, the Royal Bafokeng stadium, in Phokeng, was renovated, and there was construction of roads and other facilities in the villages. However, in rural Mafikeng, respondents felt that they did not benefit from the World Cup and living conditions are still the same, regardless of the fact that Mafikeng is the capital of the North West. They indicated that potholes are still everywhere, and there

was no infrastructure developed in Mafikeng. For instance, the stadium is old and dilapidated.

Most respondents said the World Cup benefited those already advantage while the less privileged were left in debt. For instance, only businesses in towns did benefit but the rural areas did not benefit at all. In Rustenburg, respondents feel that businesses benefited

All respondents indicated that many people had hoped that they would make a lot of money from the World Cup. Instead, they got into debt, and now banks are repossessing their assets. Also, there were fraudsters cheating people who lost a lot of money. Guesthouse owners took out loans to renovate their houses, hoping that they will get visitors to rent rooms to, but no one came. Fake accommodation consultants operated scams, and there were people sending text messages telling people that they have won prizes. To claim such prizes people were told to deposit an amount of money or purchase airtime worth hundreds of rands in the fraudster's bank accounts. Most respondents believe that the businesses that profited were taverns. This was the trend in both rural and urban areas. Most of the respondents in Tlhabane indicated that they were volunteers, but they did not benefit financially as promised. Instead, there were people in task teams who made a lot of money during the World Cup. They "robbed volunteers. Volunteers were rewarded with sporting kit instead of the money promised. Though they are grateful for the kit, they are still unhappy about how they were treated" (Phokeng, 18-25, low LSM, rural).

All respondents felt that Fifa rules were not good for the local people; they made it impossible for them to benefit economically. For instance, small businesses, like taxi operators, were denied opportunities to partner and transport people to the stadiums. They were told that they could not transport people to stadiums because there were FIFA operators, and only a few taxi operators were given the opportunity to transport people to the fan parks, with little profit. They also indicated that Fifa replaced local food stalls, which normally sell food in stadiums, with own their franchise like (McDonalds, Coke etc), and local people were prohibited from selling food in stadiums or nearby. Respondents feel that FIFA was not supposed to be given the power to control business. They blame the losses sustained by guesthouse owners (mainly) on Fifa.

Respondents also pointed out that jobs created during the World Cup were for that period only. For instance, people employed in construction and shops during the World Cup are no longer employed there, and they cannot find any jobs. Most businesses expected more customers therefore they hired a lot of workers, now there are no longer customers, so instead of hiring five workers in a shop, they can do with one or two because there is not much work. Also, there is no longer construction of stadiums, airports, so it is not possible to keep a large number of workers. All respondents believe that there are sustainable benefits in terms of infrastructure in the country; the rest was a terrible experience for South Africans left in debt. Respondents believe that there should have been dissemination of information to local business with facts about how to run a Bed and Breakfast in the rural areas. Also, local people could have been told about advantages and disadvantages of doing business during World Cup.

Were the funds for the 2010 World Cup misdirected or prevent spending on addressing poverty and other needs?

Lastly, respondents have different views as to whether funds for the World Cup were misdirected or not spent on addressing poverty and other needs. Some respondents believe that money spent on the World Cup could have been directed to service delivery. They said that money could have been used to address the backlog in housing.

Others say their problem is that there was no transparency about money spent by the government. They felt that it would have been better if they knew how much was spent, and how the country benefited. Some respondents say it does not make a difference because that money was for hosting the World Cup and not for service delivery. Though there were different sentiments about how the money should have been spent, respondents speak with one voice, and they felt that the hosting the World Cup was the opportunity of a lifetime for South Africans and they felt pride in hosting. Most said if it was not for the World Cup, they would not have had the opportunity to meet international stars and their children would not even have touched very important players in the world. Respondents from Tlhabane and Phokeng said it was amazing to hear people praise their village.

3) Role of the media

Which forms of media did you rely on to get information about the World Cup? Did they keep you well informed?

According to respondents, media played a positive role in promoting the World Cup. All respondents mainly relied on TV (SABC 1) to get information about the World Cup. SABC channel 1 was commended for efforts it made during the World Cup. Respondents felt that they were kept informed with advertisements, fixtures, profiles of players nationally.

Some of the respondents in Tlhabane, said they also relied on SABC 2 (Morning Live). "Morning Live created a vibe during the opening of the World Cup when they broadcast live from Soweto"(Tlhabane,20-45, high LSM, [CHECK],urban). They also relied on these channels for interviews since they wanted to hear what players and coaches are saying about South Africa. For these respondents, TV played the most vital part, and SABC 1 was the most watched channel because most of the matches were broadcast on it.

Radio was the second form of media used to get information about the World Cup. All respondents relied on Radio Motsweding (SABC) and on community radio stations such as Mafisa (Rustenburg). This radio station broadcasts only in Setswana. Respondents said they listen to the radio, a bit, when there was something interesting. From the interview conducted, findings showed that there was 100 % reliance on SABC 1 and Supersport Channels (3 & 4) for people with access to the DSTV.

Newspaper was the least used form of media. Respondents said they bought newspapers because they wanted to learn more about teams and get information about fixtures. They relied on the Daily Sun and Sowetan because they are cheap. The local community newspaper (in Rustenburg) was the least relied on. Reasons given were that the newspaper is not delivered daily because it is a weekly newspaper. Nonetheless, respondents said newspapers were useful because they could be read over and over if there was something interesting.

In general did the media play a positive or negative role in promoting nation building, social cohesion and reconciliation during the World Cup?

From the discussion, media was commended for its role in helping to contribute in nation building, reconciliation and social cohesion. Respondents felt that media brought people together in various ways:

- a. Gave information about fan parks and other activities in areas
- b. Enhanced the spirit of togetherness by encouraging people to watch football matches together
- c. There were talk-shows about football and regular updates and adverts
- d. There was outreach to all people regardless of the country of origin.
Respondents felt that the media enhanced the image of the rainbow nation
- e. The World Cup played a big role in bringing people together and this was made possible by the media

Respondents felt that media helped a lot in promoting nation building. It played a very positive role. Through the help of media, South Africans focus was entirely on nation building, and strengthening inter-racial relations. Respondents felt that media they had one clear goal: of getting the people together, and putting South Africa on the map.

4) Future large international events and recommendations

Should South Africa host more major sports or international events in the future?

All respondents think that South Africa would be able to host more major events in the future. They said that South Africans have what it takes, and they are not afraid of challenges. There is a strong feeling that the country can host another World Cup tomorrow, or any other event. They feel that South Africa has the advantage because there is a lot of infrastructure in place because of the World Cup.

Respondents felt that South Africans also proved that they were ready to host the World Cup, for instance, the attended matches in high numbers, and welcomed visitors with open arms. One respondent compared the South African World Cup with the one in Germany in 2006 and found we compared well. The respondent also noted South Africa has the entire infrastructure, resorts and other holiday destinations and people can always come back even when there is no World Cup.

Some respondents said visitors were impressed by the kinds of houses South Africa have, like rondavels.

Recommendations: Is there anything that could have been done differently in terms of the hosting the 2010 World Cup?

Lastly, respondents (all) feel strongly that some things could have been done differently or better in preparation of the World Cup. Some stressed that planning, time management and recognition of other provinces' potential as important. For instance, they felt that if the preparations were done on time, mistakes could have been avoided. For instance, the construction of roads was not complete at the time of the World Cup in some provinces, and the Gautrain was not functioning properly. To respondents those challenges show that there was no foresight in planning. They argue full research could have been conducted prior to the World Cup.

Respondents also say there could have been a different distribution of stadiums so that all provinces benefited from the World Cup. They felt that the distribution of stadiums was unfair. Gauteng had it all and benefited economically more than other provinces as most matches were played in Gauteng. Fifa rules were also seen as a major obstacle, which prevented people from benefiting. Respondents said that in future such mistakes should be avoided. If South Africa wants to plan major international events, they should do things the South African way.

Free State

Focus group interviews in the Free State took place with one group of farm owners who owned farms just outside Bloemfontein (male, Afrikaans, +55, high LSM, urban); residents of Bloemfontein city, (Sotho/Tswana, 18-25, low LSM, urban); and with farm workers on farms just outside Bloemfontein (Sotho/Tswana, 20-45, low LSM, rural).

1) Extent to which the 2010 World Cup brought South African citizens together *Did the 2010 World Cup have a negative, positive or no impact on social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation?*

All three of the focus groups believed that the World Cup had a very positive influence on nation building. The Afrikaans speaking group went as far as to compare the impact of the World Cup event on nation building to the Rugby World Cup of 1995. One group member even mentioned that he watched a football game for the first time in 62 years! However, some of the Afrikaans respondents were of the opinion that “the whole feeling of nation building and reconciliation only lasted for the time of the tournament”. (Bloemfontein, male, Afrikaans, +55, high LSM, urban).

The rural Tswana/Sotho group on the other hand felt that the World Cup had brought many communities together but that “it had done less for the people in rural areas” (Bloemfontein, Sotho/Tswana, 20-45, low LSM, rural).

The urban group Sotho/Tswana group also believed that communities have been brought together with one member saying that “my employer’s attitude towards us as black workers really changed because of the World Cup. He is now very concerned about what is happening with the national team which was not the case before”. (Bloemfontein, Sotho/Tswana, 18-25 low LSM, urban)

This group was also of the opinion that there is scope for nation building and reconciliation to last longer if similar events took place in the future.

Did South African citizens feel pride in the country as a result of the hosting of the 2010 World Cup?

All three of the groups reported that they felt very proud of South Africa for hosting the World Cup and they also felt that the hosting of the tournament was a big success. Some questions nevertheless arise with the Afrikaans group, who questioned who had played the greater role: the South African Government or FIFA?

Did the 2010 World Cup build a positive image of South Africa?

All three of the groups also strongly expressed the opinion that a positive image of South Africa was built. The Afrikaans group believed that this would support the flow of tourists to South Africa. The rural Tswana/Sotho group felt that the World Cup has proved many people wrong and that “we had one of the most successful World Cup events ever and that this has earned new respect for the country to the extent that other countries are now prepared to learn from us”. (Bloemfontein, Sotho/Tswana, 20-45, low LSM, rural)

Do South African citizens have more confidence in the ability of the government to deliver services as a result of the organisation of the 2010 World Cup?

Both the rural and urban Sotho/Tswana groups agreed that they have more confidence in the ability of government to deliver services as a result of the organisation of the World Cup. The Afrikaans group differed with this view and questioned to what extent government should receive credit when it is not clear how large their role was compared to FIFA.

All three of the groups believed that crime was well managed during the World Cup event but questioned whether this can be sustained. The groups were also reserved in their judgment of government when it comes to delivering basic services which include housing, water and electricity. The rural Sotho/Tswana group for example said that “we are still not satisfied with the ability of government to deliver basic services”. (Bloemfontein, Sotho/Tswana, 20-45, low LSM, rural).

The Afrikaans group believed that service delivery will not improve until highly skilled and well trained people are employed to assist government with delivering services. This group also felt very strongly that the good that the World Cup has brought to South Africa was being destroyed by crime and government’s inability to manage crime after the event. This will, in their opinion, slow down economic progress and hurt the positive image of the country.

2) Economic benefits

To what extent did the 2010 World Cup benefit the whole country economically?

All three of the groups agreed that the country, the nation and its people did not benefit substantially. However, the three groups had different perceptions on who did benefit from the World Cup.

The Afrikaans group believed that the country as a whole and poor people in particular did not derive any substantial benefits from the World Cup and that the Local Organising Committee (LOC) of Fifa and Fifa were the real beneficiaries.

It was also this group’s perception that ordinary citizens did not get substantial economic benefits. They believe that benefits derived from the event were only temporary and are not sustainable in the long run and that the tourism sector was the only sector that derived some benefits. Appropriate anti-crime measures are nevertheless required to entrench sustainable benefits for this sector.

The rural Sotho/Tswana group believed that government officials benefited while “the poor remain poor” (Bloemfontein, Sotho/Tswana, 20-45, low LSM, rural). It was also their perception

that those who were awarded tenders to supply services were “richer”. They also highlighted the need for a fair sharing scheme which will facilitate RDP housing development and assist poor people with obtaining employment.

The urban Sotho/Tswana group said that it was government officials and FIFA who benefited the most from the World Cup.

Were the funds for the 2010 World Cup misdirected or prevent spending on addressing poverty and other needs?

All three of the groups interviewed believed that there were some misdirection and mismanagement of taxpayer’s money. This is mainly due to the belief that poor people should have benefited more from the World Cup.

The Afrikaans group felt that funds spent on the World Cup could have been better utilized for welfare and housing and believed that Government’s first priority should have been South African citizens.

The rural Sotho/Tswana group said the following:

We do think that the funds for the World Cup were misdirected or prevented spending on addressing poverty and other needs. People who suffered before the World Cup are still suffering today. There is no change in their lives. We know that government did receive monies from FIFA. We don’t know how this was used.
(Bloemfontein, Sotho/Tswana 20-45, low LSM, rural)

The urban Sotho/Tswana group shared this view.

3) Role of the media

Which forms of media did you rely on to get information about the World Cup? Did they keep you well informed?

The Afrikaans group mostly relied on local newspapers for information on the World Cup. In contrast, the Sotho/Tswana groups obtained information chiefly from community radio stations and to a lesser extent newspapers and television (SABC 1, 2, 3 and e-tv). The rural Sotho/Tswana group felt that the media was biased towards urban areas regarding World Cup information and discriminated against rural populations with different needs. It was this group’s view that rural residents were not being considered during media releases.

In general did the media play a positive or negative role in promoting nation building, social cohesion and reconciliation during the World Cup?

The Afrikaans group reported that the quality of information that they received on fixtures of games was good but that the media did not play a major role in promoting nation building due to an emphasis on negative and sensational news stories. The Sotho/Tswana groups have directly opposing views and believe that the media did indeed play an important role in promoting nation building, social cohesion and reconciliation during the World Cup.

4) Future large international events and recommendations

Should South Africa host more major sports or international events in the future?

All three groups were positive that South Africa should host similar events in the future and believed that it would assist the building of “togetherness”. The Afrikaans group also felt that it could provide a platform to attract more skilled people to South Africa, which could potentially assist government with improving service delivery.

Recommendations: Is there anything that could have been done differently in terms of the hosting the 2010 World Cup?

Both the urban and rural Tswana/Sotho groups felt that more people in South Africa should profit from major events such as the World Cup as illustrated by the comment that “benefits should reach beyond host cities” (Bloemfontein, Sotho/Tswana 20-45, low LSM, rural).

The rural Sotho/Tswana group was of the opinion that there should be a balance between the needs of the poor people and spending on events such as the World Cup. This message is captured by the following comment: “Yes, it did help with improving infrastructure but we can’t sleep at the stadium and people are still in need of a better life that was promised.” Bloemfontein, Sotho/Tswana 20-45, low LSM, rural)

The urban Tswana/Sotho focus group felt that there is a general lack of activities to sustain the feeling of “togetherness” created by the World Cup. Local football teams such as the Bloemfontein Celtics could be at the forefront and be used to sustain this togetherness feeling in the Free State. It was suggested that lesser known sports events such as hockey could assist with raising interest in other types of sport. This could contribute to building the “togetherness” feeling.

Limpopo

Focus groups in Limpopo were held in Ga Thopa, Polokwane (Sepedi, 18-25, low LSM, urban) Giyani, Ngove village, (female, Xitonga, 45+, low LSM, rural), Thohoyandou Makwarela (male, Tsivenda, 45+, low LSM, rural)

1) Extent to which the event brought South African citizens together

Did the 2010 World Cup have a positive or negative impact on nation building, social cohesion and reconciliation?

The focus group discussions of the youth, older women, and men all agreed that the World Cup brought unforgettable memories. Many said it was the first time they had experienced seeing many people from other countries visiting South Africa. It was the first time that South Africa welcomed and accommodated such visitors. One of the youth respondents said,

When the World Cup was about to start, I could feel the vibe of the slogan ‘Feel it, it’s here’. There were buses taking people to the stadiums. In those buses I expected to see lots of black people but to my surprise, there were white people as well and they were singing along with the songs that everyone was singing (Ga Thopa, Sepedi, youth, 18-25, low LSM, urban).

The participants in the older woman focus group experienced excitement when they saw the entertainment and songs that praised the South African national team on television. “We have seen international artists and different cultural dances ... We have seen the ‘ubuntu’ of the South African people...we are proud to be South Africans.” One female respondent expressed herself by saying “I really experienced unity amongst the countries of the world that were here” (Ngove, Xitonga, female, 45+, low LSM, rural).

Furthermore, one respondent in the youth focus group said that the event brought all the different races and families together because football is a sport that all people can relate to and it is easy to understand unlike other sports. The respondent continued, saying that some people didn’t like football but during the World Cup people would sit together to watch it and explain to those who didn’t understand. Even those who were not talking to each other came and watched football and were united. People enjoyed blowing the vuvuzela together, it was a great time for the whole country when people were able to talk more and freely. Football was the topic that everybody talked about because they could relate to it.

I agree that it created unity amongst us because at the matches we were all on the same side supporting our country’s team and after they did not make it, we went on to support another African country, so we remained united throughout (Ga Thopa, Sepedi, 18-25, low LSM, urban).

All Africans were very happy because an African country was hosting the World Cup. Another female respondent also added that she experienced international togetherness because most of all countries of the world were happy to be in South Africa. South Africans satisfactorily welcomed the visitors from outside the country.

The Limpopo focus groups strongly believe that the World Cup had a positive impact on nation building, social cohesion and reconciliation. The Limpopo youth pointed out that South Africa is not used to seeing white South Africans at the stadiums as they usually attend cricket and rugby. But during the World Cup whites were supportive and even sang along with the World Cup football songs and this indeed shows that the World Cup united and brought together South Africans from different backgrounds. “It’s obvious (as the Lunch bar slogan says), it had a positive impact and even to this day everyone is still connected” (Ga Thopa, Sepedi, 18-25, low LSM, urban).

Furthermore, “we realized this when we read the newspapers, we found that some of our visitors did not return to their countries. They bought houses here in South Africa. Some promised to stay or to bring companies for economic benefit and the creation of job opportunities” (Ngove, Xitonga, 45+, low LSM, rural).

Although some people concurred that the World Cup brought South Africans together, some noticed that as soon as the World Cup was over people went back to their old routine. This was affirmed by some of the youth focus group discussions which noted that crime had started to increase. The reputation that was built during the World Cup was tarnished by crime and negative incidents that are continuing to happen throughout the country” (Ga Thopa, Sepedi, 18-25, low LSM, urban).

The youth also pointed out that as much as the World Cup was enjoyable, they were faced with the mammoth task of being students at the same. Being at home for a period of a month without schooling had a huge impact on their studies. The COSATU strike made matters worse. Despite the long period that students spent at home, some youth felt that the World Cup did not affect their studies negatively as they stayed focused and determined in studying.

Similarly, the focus groups noticed that South Africans have a lot of self confidence - when the World Cup came they never doubted their ability to host it. The focus groups pointed out that World Cup brought developments and job creation even though some were not sustainable. For example there were a lot of road construction projects in Limpopo. The major project was the construction of the stadium which was built from scratch. It is because of the World Cup that new roads and bridges were constructed.

Although many people came to South Africa for the World Cup and were properly welcomed by South Africans, the older women in Limpopo were worried that the visitors did not reach their homes. "We only heard and realized that many of the visitors were in Gauteng province in Johannesburg. We even make some beds thinking they will come and benefit financially. So we are very much disappointed about that" (Ngove, Sepedi, 45+, low LSM, rural).

Also, people noticed how the crime level went down because people were busy and enjoying the World Cup. The focus groups in Limpopo pointed out that they experienced a very low crime level and this seemed to apply to the whole country. South Africa has a high rate of crime but ever since the World Cup started there is a perception that the level of crime went down. As people noticed that the World Cup reunited us, the focus groups in Limpopo argued that there was once a time when there were xenophobic attacks on people of other nationalities but the World Cup has taught people to accept and welcome people from foreign countries.

The focus group of Ngove village affirmed that the South African police have made them proud. The police were alert in all the matters of concern.

Pastors of this country contributed a lot through their prayers to prevent this xenophobia and to maintain peace during the World Cup and at all the times. Through prayers, there was no war and crime in the country. We were afraid that in Johannesburg there will be crime and war but instead there was peace all over. (Ngove, Xitonga, 45+, low LSM, rural).

The Limpopo focus groups also added that there is hope that the acceptance and better treatment of foreign nationals in South Africa will last as it could end xenophobia. The focus groups also pointed out that since South Africans were able to show the world that South Africa is a safe country this made them proud, even more so as Fifa also confirmed that South Africa hosted one of the best events in the history of Fifa World Cup.

Most people watched games at home but when the South African National team was playing they went either to the nearest big screens or to other houses to be with others. One youth respondent pointed out that they sometimes watched in church where people gathered. (Ga Thopa, Sepedi, youth, 18-25, low LSM, urban)

Did South African citizens feel pride in the country as a result of the hosting of the 2010 World Cup?

The Limpopo focus group discussions affirmed that people felt pride in South Africa and its team. As one of the respondents in the youth focus group said

...we felt very proud of our nation, and we were proud to say that we are South Africans. I didn't want anyone to mistake my identity. I was proud to also explain to others of what was happening. I enjoyed telling people facts about the stadiums and everything. It made us very proud and we still are proud of it (Ga Thopa, Sepedi, 18-25, low LSM, urban).

South Africa is a diverse country with different cultures, ethnic group and languages. The discussion with the groups from Ga Thopa and Ngove focus groups agreed that people from countries all over the world were coming to South Africa to witness the diversity of the country. There was a feeling of national pride and they were able to show their world their different cultures which they did not know of before.

Both the youth and the older female focus groups were aware that because of South Africa's apartheid past the country was not able to participate in sport at a national level. After the dawn of democracy in 1994, South Africa was accepted as part of the international community and was able to compete with international teams in mega events like the World Cup. As a result, South Africans are proud to be part of the international community.

Although the South African team played well in the beginning, and could not make it at the end, people understand that the national team does not have much experience. Another reason is that we understand that if there are two teams competing one team must win and the other team lose. So we accept being the losers and congratulate the winners. Our national team, Bafana Bafana, made us proud (Ga Thopa, Sepedi, 18-25, low LSM, urban).

Did the 2010 World Cup build a positive image of South Africa?

In order to maintain the positive image that was built during the World Cup, the Limpopo female focus group believed that people's standard of living should be upgraded and maintained. They also added that roads in the villages need to be tarred to look like the ones in towns and big cities and the country be kept clean to attract visitors as this will attract investors. They also emphasised that children should be encouraged to play sport at a young age in order to groom them for the future.

Despite having had the World Cup impacting positively on building the nation, the Limpopo youth focus group discussion also maintained that South Africans need to understand that there will always be disappointments but they should always stay positive,

for example, even if the level of theft in this country is exasperating, people need to persist and make this country succeed. People are still living in revolting conditions. An appeal to government is to speedily address conditions like that because it these situations that make investors ask questions about our government's integrity (Ga Thopa, Sepedi, 18-25, low LSM, urban).

Another plea was also directed to executive members who earn better incomes in our government to better the world and be genuine leaders. Maintaining good standards should start with people in high positions. The target should also be for children to grow up under good conditions and with a decent standard of life, as crime and early pregnancy can devastate their future and growth.

Do South African citizens have more confidence in the ability of the government to deliver services as a result of the organisation of the 2010 World Cup?

People have a lot of confidence in government to deliver services especially after the great work that it has done for the World Cup. But there are concerns that the government was put in the spotlight and hence had no choice but to deliver. One respondent from the youth group also wondered if the work was done to impress Fifa and foreign visitors.

The Limpopo focus groups discussions reflect hopes that the government will improve standards when delivering its services to South African citizens. There are still some strong beliefs that the South African government could still do more for its people if the issue of corruption is dealt with properly. Often South Africans are exposed to reports in the newspapers of irregularities in awarding tenders to incompetent service providers, which slows the development of the country.

2) Economic benefits

To what extent did the 2010 World Cup benefit the whole country economically?

Limpopo focus groups generally believe South African has benefited economically from the World Cup. All the nine provinces have renovated stadiums for entertainment. Roads have been built and improved. Both the youth and older women focus groups discussion in Limpopo share the same sentiment that the tourism industry mostly benefited from the World Cup and will continue to benefit. "Business people who own hotels, motels, restaurants, and street vendors were the ones who benefited as visitors were buying food and accommodation" (Ga Thopa, Sepedi, youth, 18-25, low LSM, urban) (Ngove, Xitonga, female, 45+, low LSM, rural).

There was a tense discussion about how government benefited some people economically more, while some, especially in Limpopo, have been 'ripped off'.

One respondent explained that "whilst the government benefited from the World Cup, business people in Gauteng benefited more as lot of people arrived there first" (Ngove, Xitonga, female, 45+, low LSM, rural). This was supported by other members of the group which had the view that big towns like Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town benefited more than the other small towns like Giyani, which did not benefit.

There seemed to be agreement that tourism made a huge economic impact during and after the World Cup and this will continue to have an effect for a while. They believe that it should be used as one of the major tools to grow our economy. Standards of living are improving because people no longer rely on government but have started their own businesses.

People sell African art pieces, which embody our culture to tourists and that in turn affects the economy. Tourists come to this country looking for something unique that

they can buy, and as a result South Africans are compelled to be creative about selling their goods. (Ga Thopa, Sepedi, 18-25, low LSM, urban).

There were a lot of expectations that the World Cup would somehow change living conditions including that of the poor. This came through clearly when both the older women and young people in Limpopo stated that ordinary South Africans did not benefit. People who did not have electricity before the World Cup still do not have any.

Were the funds for the 2010 World Cup misdirected or did the World Cup expenditure prevent spending on addressing poverty and other needs?

Whilst there was some belief that the funds were misdirected, the older females group said that the income accrued during the World Cup should be used to build more hospitals, schools and roads. "We are expecting the government to build houses for the poor, increase social grants for poor children and for old people - it is then we will be satisfied" (Ngove, Xitonga, female, 45+, low LSM, rural).

The youth are of the view that certain funds have been misdirected and there will always be some discrepancies with funds in government. One volunteer worker from the youth focus group experienced a situation where identification tracksuits for some volunteers did not reach them as the distributor packed them for family members. There are also allegations that some tenders were awarded to people because of who they are but not what they can do.

3) Role of the media

Which forms of media did you rely on to get information about the World Cup? Did they keep you well informed?

Though the print media played a positive role in rural communities all the focus groups in Limpopo preferred television and community radio. The Limpopo focus group also highlighted that South Africa was well prepared as all the media were available, you could even watch matches on DSTV. "It was exceptional broadcasting. The fan parks were good for having fun although some of us could not afford the transport money to get to them" (Ga Thopa, Sepedi, 18-25, low LSM, urban).

4) Future large international events and recommendations

Should South Africa host more major sports or international events in the future?

Limpopo focus groups agreed that South Africa should host more events such as the World Cup.

Recommendations: Is there anything that could have been done differently in terms of the hosting the 2010 World Cup?

- Avoid allowing construction work to build up so there is intense pressure.
- Games should have been played in Giyani and Venda.
- The park and ride system that was used should continue to be used to control traffic.
- There should be transparency about how the people who performed were chosen and what the lines of communication are.

Northern Cape

Three focus groups were conducted in the Northern Cape in Kimberley (Afrikaans, white, 20-45, medium LSM, urban), Galeshewe (Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban), and Platfontein, (Khoisan, Afrikaans, 18-25, low LSM, rural).

1) Extent to which the 2010 World Cup brought South African citizens together *Did the 2010 World Cup have a negative, positive or no impact on social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation?*

The respondents of the focus groups had a mixed reaction when discussing the impact of the soccer World Cup on nation building, social cohesion and reconciliation. For some of the respondents it had a positive impact on social cohesion and nation building. They mentioned that wearing jerseys on Fridays, supporting Bafana Bafana, and watching games at fan parks and at stadiums with people from different cultures, races and nationalities brought South African people together into one nation. "We went to the theme park to experience the atmosphere of one nation. It was stunning with the whole nation standing together...The day everyone went into the streets, and blew their vuvuzelas was wonderful. All races were doing this" (Kimberley, Afrikaans, white, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

"We stood together as a nation and supported our team. The relationship between all races improved during the soccer...In Kimberley we never watch games together, but with the World Cup we were watching soccer as a collective." (Galeshewe, Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban)

However, for the participants from the !Khu and Khwe focus group the World Cup did not have an impact on nation building. Although they supported Bafana Bafana, they indicated that they did not feel part of the event since their sports committee was not involved in the World Cup and nobody was invited to the matches.

We shouted for Bafana Bafana ... it is our team and we were proud of them. We did not feel part of the experience, we felt left out, our local sport committee was not involved, and we did not attend the games. Our community was left out... only black, white and coloured, were present. We should have been there - maybe it was a nice event ...The government does not see us as part of the big South African group (Platfontein, Afrikaans, Khoisan, 18-25, low LSM, rural).

Some of the participants from the Tswana focus group also indicated that the event did not enhance social cohesion. They were also unhappy that the Uruguayan team did not train in Galeshewe. "We did not get much to enjoy. Kimberley hosted Uruguay, but the players were in town and did not interact with the local people, especially the people in Galeshewe" (Platfontein, Afrikaans, Khoisan 18-25, low LSM, rural).

The impact on nation building of the Blue Bulls playing at the Orlando Stadium in Soweto before the World Cup was highlighted during a discussion. A respondent commented in this regard: "If you are talking about people really coming together, it started before the Soccer World Cup, when the Blue Bulls played at Orlando Stadium. A lot of people were sceptical, but it worked out well. And it made a lot of black people aware of the Blue Bulls" (Kimberley, Afrikaans, white, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

Our perception of each other has improved if you look at the different race groups. Orlando Stadium was the beginning of this feeling and it built up the momentum for the World Cup. Guys who never came close to Soweto, attended the match and even visited taverns and socialized with the residents. We are busy with nation building since 1994 and we don't worry about colour and who's who anymore. We are busy building a country and getting it back on its feet (Kimberley, Afrikaans, white, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

Respondents from the Afrikaans urban group referred to the impact that the World Cup had on children even though no matches were played in Kimberley.

The enthusiasm and participation of the children was not lessened by the fact that we did not have games in Kimberley. Our children really immersed themselves in the World Cup and it had a large impact on their lives...the exposure they got was very intense, because it was happening only once in their lifetime. (Kimberley, Afrikaans, white, 20-45, medium LSM, urban)

Some of the focus group participants were, however, sceptical about whether the feeling of social cohesion would last: "I think this was just a situation where people were more hyped, and the more time passes, the more people will go back to interaction with people of their own racial group (Kimberley, , Afrikaans, white 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

"The unity will not last...I think it was a fake created by the World Cup... since the World Cup ended the togetherness is gone and everybody has gone back to their comfort zones...We no longer wear Bafana Bafana T-shirts" (Galeshewe, Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban)

Did South African citizens feel pride in the country as a result of the hosting of the 2010 World Cup?

Respondents from the focus groups indicated that they felt pride in the country for successfully hosting the World Cup, for building world class stadiums, for South Africa's soccer team, Bafana Bafana and the matches that they played, and for receiving world class soccer players and international tourists. "I'm proud, because we showed the world that we can host an international competition" (Platfontein, Afrikaans, Khoisan, 18-25, low LSM, rural). Another respondent reiterated these points, "We were proud of Bafana Bafana, especially when we won. Bafana Bafana is part of South Africa, part of the nation" (Platfontein Afrikaans, Khoisan, 18-25, low LSM, rural).

Pride in the new view of South Africa that came with international exposure recurs as respondents express satisfaction at the rebuttal of unfair perceptions of South Africa, "We are only a developing country, but we managed to silence critics who thought that we will not make it, by successfully hosting the World Cup. Qatar is taking chances, they thought that they should bid. But South Africa did it. We are the trend-setters" (Galeshewe, Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban)

An Afrikaans respondent recognizes previous difficulties and contrasts the success of the management of the World Cup, "In South Africa we always have problems with our projects. But with the World Cup we actually got everything right and that made us proud" There was

acknowledgement of the change from established tastes and of the power of sports to unite South Africans,

The opening game made you proud to be a South African, especially when they played the national anthem. You could see people were united, and even the people who did not want to be part of it were forced into being part of it...We are a big rugby nation, but sport is sport, so it does give you national pride; any sport that South Africans are part of is still something that represents our country. (Kimberley, Afrikaans, white, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

Did the 2010 World Cup build a positive image of South Africa?

The respondents from the focus groups agreed that the World Cup built a positive image of South Africa in the rest of the world. "A lot of overseas people thought that Africa is not going to make a success of the World Cup, it's going to be a flop, but they went back to their own countries and said 'Wow'. I think this is just the beginning for something bigger like the Olympic Games. We showed the rest of the world that we can produce if we have to" (Kimberley, Afrikaans, white, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

Respondents showed an awareness of the factors that had generated a poor image of South Africans in the international arena, "Crime was not as high as foreigners thought, it was manageable and that created a good image of the country" (Galeshewe, Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban)

Others cited specific instances of the welcome actions on the part of the World Cup organizers as contributing to a positive image of South Africa. "People were all happy, the poor were given T-shirts, and the construction workers got complimentary tickets because they could not afford. The experience was amazing. I can say the World Cup improved the image of South Africa" (Galeshewe, Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban)

Future beneficial effects of the World Cup were also observed, even in those groups that did not feel themselves to have benefited directly, "Overseas people enjoyed themselves and experienced interesting things in our country. They will tell people in their home countries what they have experienced, how wonderful it is in South Africa, and also show them the traditional artifacts that they bought" (Platfontein, Afrikaans, Khoisan 18-25, low LSM, rural).

When discussing things that could have been done to strengthen South Africa's image a respondent commented that "the official song of the 2010 World Cup did not say anything about Africa or South Africa. Why was the song sung by Shakira? It should have been sung by a South African" (Galeshewe, Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

On the question of what needs to be done to ensure that a positive image of the country is maintained, a focus group participant noted that local people should be encouraged to be more involved in sport, and interact more with other groups, because "sport has a positive effect on people... The stadiums built for the World Cup have to be used regularly so that the memories of the World Cup should last forever" (Galeshewe, Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

With regard to the impact of the World Cup on xenophobia, some of the respondents indicated that the event had a positive impact on xenophobic attitudes. A respondent commented as follows:

In my view the World Cup brought all Africans together since, even now, there are no incidents of xenophobic attacks in the entire country. It reduced xenophobia and racism. We were united as Africans, and we all supported the last African country, Ghana, when South Africa could not make it to the second round. (Galeshewe, Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

Reduction of hostility to people from other countries in Africa is given as an example of one of the positive aspects of the World Cup, "The World Cup reduced xenophobia since we, as Africans, showed that the World Cup is for all of Africa, and we can all celebrate and enjoy soccer together" (Galeshewe, Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

Do South African citizens have more confidence in the ability of the government to deliver services as a result of the organisation of the 2010 World Cup?

Many of the interviewees agreed that the government has demonstrated that they can host a successful World Cup including the upgrading and building of new infrastructure, and providing safety to both South Africans and international visitors. "I think South Africa did a good job with regard to safety...it was police everywhere you looked... the police were on standby with a readiness we have not seen before. So the police demonstrated that they can effectively combat crime" (Kimberley, white, Afrikaans, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

"The police did a good job during the World Cup. The Minister had a plan and ability to reduce crime during the World Cup" (Galeshewe, Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

With regard to the upgrading of infrastructure, respondents expressed enthusiasm, "Many roads were upgraded in the country, but the most wonderful thing was the Gautrain; it was magic". (Kimberley, Afrikaans, white, 20-45, medium LSM, urban)

This enthusiasm was modified by the realities of the respondents' immediate surroundings, "We saw on TV that many things were improved in Johannesburg, for example, new stadiums, new busses, new roads, a new train, and new buildings. There were also a lot of jobs created. However, services did not improve at Platfontein" (Platfontein, Afrikaans, Khoisan, 18-25, low LSM, rural).

The focus group participants differed on the sustainability of the government's ability to deliver services. Some of the focus group participants indicated that they are confident in the government's ability to deliver services. "Good service delivery can be done in future, we saw it during the World Cup" (Platfontein, Afrikaans, Khoisan, 18-25, low LSM, rural).

"The government demonstrated that they are capable of service delivery when they are really committed, and are being pressurized for effective service delivery. They built the stadiums within a very short period of time and upgraded the roads as well". (Galeshewe, Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

Some of the respondents from the Afrikaans speaking Kimberley group questioned the government's ability to deliver services. "During the World Cup the police were excellent, but

now crime has taken over again". It was concluded that. "South Africa will not be able to maintain the stadiums. It takes millions of rands per year to maintain them and our country does not have that kind of money. "Nothing is sustainable without good planning, and good logistics. That is the problem with our infrastructure. Politics is also involved. We have experts, for example with regard to water, but the government does not want to consider their advice" (Kimberley, Afrikaans, white, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

Deficiencies about crime and basic services were foregrounded, "our government cannot deliver. They have made false promises about free electricity for the poor, but to date that has not happened". Disillusionment was expressed with regard to the present, "The police did a good job during the World Cup, but now everything has gone back to normal. The police were only good during the period of the World Cup" (Galeshewe, Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

2) Economic benefits

To what extent did the 2010 World Cup benefit the whole country economically?

The focus group participants agreed that although many people have benefited from the World Cup, certain sectors, for example the building industry, the hospitality sector, big businesses and franchises in specific areas benefited the most from the World Cup.

According to the respondents local people in Kimberley did not benefit economically much from the event. Observations about the business side of the World Cup were made, "FIFA bought a lot of the stuff like T-shirts from overseas, instead of having them manufactured in South Africa. People from cement factories, however, had financially their best time ever. There was a shortage of cement, because all the cement was used for the stadiums" (Kimberley, Afrikaans, white, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

There was a noticeable gap between poor and rich in the view of a Tswana respondent, "The rich became richer whilst the poor became poorer, e.g., hotels and guesthouses benefited, while us, the poor, had to buy expensive T-shirts to support our team and country" (Galeshewe, Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

There were differences between the provinces, "Gauteng benefited the most from the World Cup since more stadiums were built there than in other provinces, and they hosted more games than other provinces. Northern Cape did not benefit at all". The divide between the experience of business people in urban areas and others was also commented on by the Tswana speaking focus group in Galeshewe, "Business people benefited the most from the World Cup. Uruguay came to practice in Kimberley and the hotel where they stayed and the gymnasium and the rugby stadium benefited to greatly. However, local people were not allowed to sell their art works to the visitors" (Galeshewe, Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

According to a focus group participant South Africa did not only benefit financially from the World Cup, but also with regard to development, "Our country has grown, as a whole. Not only financially, but also through the development of roads and communication infrastructure" (Kimberley, Afrikaans, white 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

Some of the focus group participants noted that high expectations were created about the economic benefits for all South Africans, but they were not fulfilled.

The financial injection that people thought was going to happen did not materialize. MATCH created very high expectations. People were motivated to open guesthouses and start tourism related businesses. Even people in townships opened guesthouses since the perception existed that there was not enough accommodation for all the tourists. People from places like Bloemfontein opened guesthouses, but were only fully booked for two or three days. People in Soweto converted schools into guesthouses resulting in a lot of money wasted on empty premises. (Kimberley, Afrikaans, white, 20-45, medium LSM, urban)

A sense of exclusion and disillusionment is once again conveyed by the Afrikaans speaking Khoisan focus group,

Before the World Cup the government visited us here in Platfontein, and made promises that they would give us jobs. They were going to do many things in Platfontein, but nothing happened – we did not get jobs and no money is available. The Premier and Mr Zuma were personally here and promised that they would make sure that everything that was promised would happen...Other communities got jobs and money. All we got was the clinic. Before the World Cup the government also promised to build toilets, and tar the roads, but it was not done. Other population groups benefited financially more from the World Cup than we did in Platfontein. We saw it on TV and heard how the people spoke about it (Platfontein, Afrikaans, Khoisan, 18-25, low LSM, rural).

The participants from the Khoisan focus group indicated that for them to benefit economically from the World Cup the government should have built new roads and houses in Platfontein.

Were the funds for the 2010 World Cup misdirected or prevented spending on addressing poverty and other needs?

When discussing whether funds for the World Cup were misdirected or prevented spending on addressing poverty a focus group participant commented that “issues of service delivery are a common thing all over the world, whether we hosted the World Cup or not there is still going to be poverty in some parts of the country” (Galeshewe, Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban). The same participants in the group pointed out that if money was not spent to host the World Cup South Africans would not have had the opportunity to experience a world class event in their own country. “As South Africans we are happy and proud to have hosted such a big event. Furthermore, the country would have missed the opportunity to be marketed overseas” (Galeshewe, Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

However, some focus group participants indicated that the money should rather have been spent on service delivery for the poor since “service delivery is more important than soccer” (Galeshewe, Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban). “The money could have been used for poverty alleviation. There is a high rate of unemployment; our government could have fulfilled their promises with that money” (Galeshewe, Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

This view was similar to that expressed by another focus group, “Some of the money should have been used to build power stations, water purifying plants, hospitals and schools since this is a necessity for our country at the moment” (Kimberley, white, Afrikaans, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

Some of the focus group participants in the rural areas were of the opinion that the funds for the World Cup did not reach the poorer communities in South Africa. “The money did not get to the poorer communities in South Africa. We are the ones that need the money. We did not get any money, so the other communities probably also did not get it” (Platfontein, Afrikaans, Khoisan, 18-25, low LSM, rural).

A participant noted that since the poor did not benefit economically from the World Cup, profits from the event have to be used for development in poor communities.

If the profit from the World Cup will be used for the development of soccer then that will be fine, but I don't think that's the case. Some money will be pushed into the game for a little while, but will soon be finished and will disappear in the cracks. (Kimberley, Afrikaans, white, 20-45, medium LSM, urban)

3) Role of the media

Which forms of media did South African citizens use to get information about the 2010 World Cup? Did they keep you well informed?

All focus group participants were well-informed about the World Cup. They were informed about the event by SABC television, the internet, national (RSG), local radio such as (Motsweding FM) and community radio stations -!K and K FM, Radio Teemaneng and national newspapers, City Press, Sowetan, Rapport and local newspapers such as Die Volksblad and Diamond Field Advertiser. A focus group participant commented in this regard: “From the day we got the bid, the newspapers were full of stories about the World Cup and websites were put up and we knew what was going on. All the available information was overwhelming” (Kimberley, white, Afrikaans, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

The media has actually made the World Cup a great success. I think if it wasn't for the media, a lot would have been lost for a big part of our population. Think about the guy sitting in the middle of the Kalahari listening to his radio, his only source of information on the soccer World Cup. Media and technology made the World Cup accessible for everyone... The opening ceremony, which was broadcast on TV, made the hype even greater. Anybody who didn't feel the hype of that ceremony missed it all. Everybody was on a high after that opening ceremony” (Kimberley, Afrikaans, white, 20-45, medium LSM, urban)

In general did the media play a positive or negative role in promoting nation building, social cohesion and reconciliation during the World Cup?

Many of the focus group participants believed that the media played a positive role in promoting social cohesion and nation building. “I think the media played a very big role in promoting social cohesion. For example, RSG, an Afrikaans radio station whose traditional listeners are not soccer fans, embraced the soccer tournament” (Kimberley, Afrikaans, white, 20-45, medium LSM, urban)

“We were all united because of the media. Look how they encouraged all South Africans to support Bafana Bafana and wear T-shirts on Football Fridays. If you did not have a T-shirt, you felt like an outcast” (Galeshewe, Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

“We realized through the media’s coverage of the World Cup that we are all one nation, even if we differ from time to time. We all want to know each other better, and learn each others languages and cultures” (Platfontein, Afrikaans Khoisan, 18-25, low LSM, rural).

Some of the Khoisan focus group participants mentioned that the languages in which the games were broadcast on television and over the radio were a problem, since many people in Platfontein are not fluent in any of the official South African languages.

4) Future large international events and recommendations

Should South Africa host more major sports or international events in the future?

The focus group participants differed on the question whether South Africa should host more major international events in future or not. Some participants were quite positive about South Africa hosting more international events in future, “Hosting more major international events will provide more international exposure for South Africa...We have the capability and infrastructure, e.g. hotels, roads, stadiums, and international airports to host such events. The police proved that they can maintain law and order during such an event” (Galeshewe Tswana, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

“We have spent a lot of money. It will be very sad, after all these costs if these things are never used again” (Kimberley, white, Afrikaans, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

“Yes, definitely. It kept the people busy and they really enjoyed it. After the World Cup women also became more interested in soccer” (Platfontein, Afrikaans, Khoisan, 18-25, low LSM, rural).

However, other participants indicated that the country should not host more major international events in future: “I have nothing against soccer but too much money was spent. We have to ask if it was really worth it? Hosting the Olympic Games won’t help to relieve the poor’s suffering” (Kimberley, white, Afrikaans, 20-45, medium LSM, urban).

This view was echoed, “No, South Africa should not host more events in future. The country spent a lot of money on soccer, but we still do not have enough houses and toilets, our roads are inaccessible, and we do not have any sport facilities” (Platfontein, Khoisan, Afrikaans, 18-25, low LSM, rural).

Recommendations: Is there anything that could have been done differently in terms of the hosting the 2010 World Cup?

Focus group participants recommended the following with regard to the planning and hosting of large future international events.

- The school holidays during June/July were too long, resulting in high school children struggling to catch up with their schoolwork. One of the other vacations during the year should have been cancelled to make up for the loss of school days.

- Overseas soccer teams and tourists have to provide both positive and negative feedback about their South African experience during the World Cup. This has to be put into the public domain in order for government and the business sector to make South Africa a preferred holiday destination for international tourists.
- Tickets were too expensive resulting in the game not being accessible to ordinary South Africans.
- Transport to the fan parks was too expensive, especially for the unemployed.
- The prices of T-shirts were too expensive. The poor should have received free T-shirts.
- In Kimberley, additional fan parks should have been built in different areas, like Galeshewe and Platfontein.
- Matches should be hosted in all provinces with world class stadiums erected in all provinces.
- Existing stadiums should be upgraded instead of building new stadiums.
- Potential future users of new stadiums should have been consulted when designing a stadium to accommodate their needs. Neither the cricket nor rugby union was consulted with regard to the Durban stadium resulting in them not being able to use the stadium for their games.
- More research on the economic impact is needed to maximize the economic impact for all South Africans.
- Games should not be hosted in cities where people are not soccer fans, like Pretoria.
- The official song of the World Cup, Waka Waka, should have been sung by South African musicians.
- After a mega sport event more funds should be available for the development of local sport.

Section Two

Stakeholder interviews

Western Cape

Interviews were conducted in the Western Cape between December 2010 and January 2011 with Cosatu, Western Cape, International Labour Research and Information Group (ILRIG)¹¹, The Big Issue newspaper¹², Football for Hope (Fifa)¹³, Cape Town Partnership¹⁴, Cape Town Business Chamber.

1) Extent to which the 2010 World Cup brought South African citizens together

Did the 2010 World Cup have a negative, positive or no impact on social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation?

Overall, perceptions of the effects on nation building and enhanced pride in the country were divided along class lines. For most organisations 'togetherness' was just experienced within communities and superficially amongst the different groups. Nevertheless, the impact on social cohesion was identified as an important impact of the event, even if it is an intangible legacy and difficult to quantify. Unfortunately, and in contrast to Germany 2006, this important element was not exploited in time in South Africa as organisers were slow to grasp the social potential of the World Cup and seem to have failed to build strategies to sustain the momentum.

As social and material conditions didn't change, the perception was that things went back to normality very soon. While some benefits and unity were achieved through successful initiatives like the fan parks, stakeholders who mobilised citizens for the event in Cape Town have struggled to keep this spirit alive. This seems to be largely linked to a negative attitude and scepticism among most middle-class Capetonians, which has made any social impact of the World Cup difficult to sustain.

In terms of the impact on xenophobia, perceptions were also shaped by class and exposure to different communities which varied between the different organizations. Stakeholders working with township communities infamous for xenophobic attacks in the past perceived a welcoming atmosphere for other Africans, which suggested a positive impact on xenophobic sentiments. In contrast, for working class sectors, any integration with other Africans was very superficial and the labeling of the Cup as an African Cup was seen as purely utilitarian.

¹¹ ILRIG is an NGO providing education, publications and research for the labour and social movements in South and Southern Africa.

¹² The Big Issue is a non-governmental organisation that publishes a magazine, which is sold by the unemployed and socially excluded.

¹³ Football for Hope is a Fifa initiative that uses football to achieve sustainable social development by supporting various non-governmental and community organisations using football as part of their social development programmes.

¹⁴ The Cape Town Partnership is a collaboration between the public and private sectors to develop, promote and manage Cape Town Central City.

For the Football for Hope organization the impact on social cohesion was the most important one,

Before the games there was a lot made of the economic impact for the ordinary people of South Africa. I think there were many misconceptions. There was misinformation and misunderstandings about what people were going to get from the World Cup. In the work that we did we saw the more 'intangible' side; the way people saw themselves, and as part of an international community (...) I don't think many of the people benefited financially, but many of the people felt very very proud of being South African as a result of the World Cup, and very proud that the world viewed us in a different way to previously. (Football for Hope)

However, in their experience and reflecting on Germany 2006, the feeling is that South Africa realised the importance of this potential too late,

Each of these big events has documents showing what kind of legacy contributions will be made. But one thing that it does not go into is that feeling. It's very hard to quantify, it's not tangible. It's just something that happens naturally. In Germany 2006, I was there, and their main legacy campaign was called, 'it's time to make friends'. The aim of the campaign was to change the perception of the German people. So this is where the fan fests came from, and it became hugely successful.

So most English people, who would normally have a disparaging view of Germans, felt very positive about Germany afterwards and the country felt much more positive about itself. The thing about that campaign is that it put in a lot of effort beforehand, so once the World Cup came around it was already ongoing. In South Africa they did not put in so much effort before the event. A couple of months before the game they were still searching for this common theme. So they introduced football Fridays, and the funny dance, but it was done too late to capitalise on the surge of good will. But in terms of it hanging around in people's psyches, it is still there, It was not done so well, too last minute, not strategically. (Football for Hope)

The Cape Town Partnership¹⁵ also noted this positive feeling and the impact of shared spaces like the Fan Walk in the collective memory of Capetonians,

The 400,000 Capetonians that come into city every day to be here...is very reflective of a broader Cape Town metropolitan base. What was heartening in 2010 was to see this community bringing their families after hours. For many it was an eye-opening experience, so we hope that it will open the central city for all Capetonians. The Fan Walk was a factor that united us and that is still remembered (...) Average Capetonians are not aware of the great success Cape Town was, in comparison to other cities. There was a sense that as a nation we pulled it off. (Cape Town Partnership)

Similarly, the Big Issue perceived a positive environment in the city and a sense of inclusiveness for vendors of the magazine who were used by the city as ambassadors. For

this stakeholder social cohesion was evident and a positive outcome, although sustainability was questioned,

I certainly think it was positive. In terms of nation building but also in terms of social cohesion and in terms of our beneficiaries, our vendors, it was a very inclusive process (...) Vendors felt they were part of that positive image that was projected. They were ambassadors as they were brought on board by the City of Cape Town tourist board, having been trained and briefed on how to be helpful. We produced a special edition of the magazine for the World Cup, we created a guide, and our vendors were part of the ambassador's programme. (...) South Africans from all socio-economic levels felt drawn together as a group (...) all the local racial groups were all integrated, and that was very positive, to see everyone integrated. But I'm not sure about it lasting. (The Big Issue)

Within the Cape Town business sector there was also a feeling that a special sense of 'togetherness' emerged. While there was scepticism about the sustainability of any sense of togetherness, it was positive to celebrate being South Africans together,

It was one of rare occasions when people from different backgrounds got together. It was a positive event, not only a once-off event but an experience for SA. For the first time you see people together to celebrate this achievement for the country and awaken in all of us that feeling that we are together in the same country. Whether it will have an impact in the long run remains to be seen. But for that moment you saw people together celebrating being South African. (Cape Town Business Chamber)

However, the Cape Town Partnership also highlighted a distinctive negative characteristic of a large section of middle-class Capetonians,

We [Cape Town] got criticized by the rest of the country as a community since we took some time to jump on board. However later on we were very enthusiastic (...) We as Capetonians followed the same pattern that we followed in the past in big events - we display fear and negativity, but then fall into enthusiasm and social cohesion but then we tend to fall out of that sense of euphoria quickly. It is interesting to see how things come back to normal so quick...it is sad but we have done it before. (Cape Town Partnership)

In their experience, while the event illustrated the positive effects of embracing the city and its public space, people forgot soon after about this potential and negative perceptions soon characterised the mindsets of citizens,

It has given us tremendous belief in what we can do when we mobilize, but then we quickly return to business as usual; the week after the World Cup people were complaining to us about how unsafe they were suddenly feeling in the city centre. And again that is a perception, we were just back to the normal situation. People don't realize that the city centre has a phenomenally low crime rate with only petty crime and a great district patrol. It's a surprise to hear they now feel unsafe. (Cape Town Partnership)

For a representative of labour and social movements, the World Cup mainly brought South Africans together within their own communities and broader experiences of togetherness were superficial and greatly shaped by the financial means of the population,

During the World Cup relations happened at two levels: South Africa and the continent and amongst South Africans. Within South Africa, the World Cup generated within our constituencies (working class) a sense of schizophrenia; anger on one side but also happiness for the experience. People felt anger for being kept out through the online booking system and expensive tickets. This meant that people who attended were relatively wealthy, so the upper middle class blacks or whites. Even the Fan Park in the city centre was attended by people able to come into the city centre. And then the other fan parks catered for their own communities, so the Mitchell's Plain community gathered there and there was no sense of togetherness. Maybe to some small extent the city centre did this, as people experienced the city for the first time. (ILRIG)

Working class representatives also felt that nation building was not the intention and any feeling of togetherness was only temporary and did not address the real causes of the separateness amongst South Africans, "The temporary togetherness was not sustainable and the intention was not ever to bring people together. Even if that was the intention, a month-long event cannot transform social relations and attitudes that are rooted in material and social conditions. These conditions are still there" (ILRIG).

The impression was that it brought togetherness, but unfortunately one could see that it was only for the people that could afford matches, fan parks or other activities and meet with other races and nationals. But it was not evidently extended to poor people in townships. It was a success as an event and attraction, it was well staged and there was no real negativity, the picture painted was that we live in a wonderful country. But the next day we were back to the reality of poverty and inequality. It showed that we are very diverse people and that it is still going to take some time to understand each other. (Cosatu Western Cape)

In terms of improving relations with other Africans this was also shaped by class and varied according to the experiences of the different organizations. For representatives of the business class there was a positive effect,

(...) we recognized that we are part of Africa. We were proud of being part of Africa, and not just blacks but also white people felt that it was an African achievement, not just a South African one. The support of all South Africans was for other African countries when Bafana was eliminated. In many ways it left a positive image; showed that we could host the rest of the world here. The World Cup had few problems. We contained the xenophobic attacks and opened our horizons, as we have been sheltered, but with the World Cup, South Africans embraced their African brothers and sisters and other countries (Cape Town Business Chamber).

These positive observations were also felt by Football for Hope when they were hosting events that involved many African foreigners in local townships in Khayelitsha and Alexandra,

Our largest single event was in Alexandra where the xenophobic riots took place in 2008 and there was a lot of concern about the potential for flashpoints in that area. It was still very economically deprived and we were bringing in a lot of foreigners and there were question marks over whether we can hold a World Cup event in a place like that but the response was overwhelmingly positive, it really was a joyous occasion. The people of Alexandra were very proud to have the World Cup in their community. You only had to see the way people were lining the streets to greet our teams. There was not a single bad incident in the whole two weeks, which was really remarkable.(Football for Hope)

However, this same organisation felt that in terms of the organization and strategising of the event as a real African one, little was really done by the South African organizers, “I feel like they didn’t really consider Africanising the World Cup, and that left people feeling excluded. They should have put more effort into this” (Football for Hope).

For working class communities the integration with Africa was very superficial and even utilitarian. For some, the ‘Africa’ label of this World Cup was seen as a cynical exercise on the part of South Africa and Fifa. Even if the performance of Ghana created a sense of ‘being African’ across the different races this was temporary;

The World Cup was billed as an African event, and that was the most cynical exercise; it was purely a SA project. But by presenting it as an African Cup they will fulfill Fifa conditions, but it was not used at all to build African commonness or contain xenophobia. Attitudes didn’t change at all. Amount of resources plays to the idea that SA is somehow different from the continent, that it is above and more powerful than the rest. (ILRIG)

However, as the representative pointed out,

But at the level of football support in the tournament, the success of Ghana played into white middle class people to pay attention to soccer. So it gave them an opportunity to identify with Africa... a sense of pride in being African, ‘our team’ is Africa. But this was only temporary. (ILRIG)

Did South African citizens feel pride in the country as a result of the hosting of the 2010 World Cup?

Further speaking to a sense of pride created or enhanced by the World Cup it was highlighted that this is mainly the case for the middle and upper classes. The business sector felt there were many positive things to feel proud and positive about,

There was a great deal of pride because even a few months before the event there were sceptical voices here, worse than foreigners. But they were proven wrong; it shows that as citizens we could be proud and have the capability to host this event and that if we stand together as we did then we can overcome many challenges. (Cape Town Business Chamber)

In terms of logistics it was highly successful and a major logistical achievement, the organizing committee need to be congratulated. Infrastructure: 99% we met deadline which shows that if you have the political will, things happen. We dispelled the

myths about crime, security was great during the event, so we need a continuation of that, but we should still feel proud. (Cape Town Business Chamber)

In the view of the labour sector however the pride discourse is a middle-class one which does not apply to the working classes who have always felt pride in their country,

Working class South Africans always feel pride in the country, it is the upper middle class which feels embarrassed at being in South Africa and being 'African'. So, with the success of the World Cup they felt pride but this was a disguise for embarrassment. The worker's constituencies are not part of that discourse, they are always proud. South Africa is where they live and what they know (...) the notion of a positive image only speaks to business elite who fly overseas and care about the international image. This is a non question for our constituencies. (ILRIG)

People felt proud because we are a proud nation; there is little we cannot do, even if we come from a past where black people were told that they were useless. Negativity came from people that do not see themselves fitting into this country. For many of us the fact that it was an exemplary event was never questioned. The poorest person here feels proud. (Cosatu Western Cape)

2) Economic benefits

People amongst working class communities felt disappointed since conditions didn't improve as was expected, "Working class people were wondering why the quality of their lives did not improve. So there was a difference between the 'hype' and the reality and people's expectations; it was presented to the public as if it would uplift everyone. They had expectations that things will be better" (ILRIG).

The expectation of improvements was high when the country won the bid to host the event but then faded away with time. The weeks before the event, people realized that only a few were to benefit,

They expected better housing and infrastructure when the country got the World Cup, but then it all faded away – nothing was happening to really changed their lives. Our constituencies are very aware of the differences in the country so they do not believe that 'the whole' country could benefit. Upper class benefited but not them. They've seen big stadiums being built, new hotels and saw benefits to certain people. So there was a sense that things could have been different – they are not the people at the airports that could see the improvements there, they couldn't even see the stadiums. They didn't feel the benefits were for everyone. They shared the perception that Fifa is a mafia. (ILRIG)

The frustrations at not perceiving tangible economic benefits as promised was also linked to the challenges of service delivery and government capacity and willingness to deliver. These perceptions also follow class divisions, The worker's constituency has a feeling that the government doesn't want to deliver, it is not that they can't. Middle class perception is that government is incompetent. But workers think government is indifferent and that is why they protest. They feel government could deliver to other people but not them, "They made

the city clean, safer, ran trains at night. But as soon as the World Cup ended they stopped the trains” (ILRIG).

While some economic benefits were perceived by workers through temporary employment, these was not sustainable and those most in need felt sidelined,

During that period there was a positive image, but we have to be critical of all the money that has been spent. The only ones benefiting were the ones that could afford it. Labor movement felt some positive effects as many people were employed, but once it was completed they were unemployed again. During preparation, because people were employed there was a spin off to unemployed and poorer people with the building and upgrading of infrastructure. Then it was a spin off but not to the extent that we could celebrate massive job creation. But it is not sustainable (...) You can't now expect and count on more tourists to sustain this. (Cosatu Western Cape)

For the working class stakeholders, even if workers benefited in the build-up to the event and participated in the construction of infrastructure, these projects were also geared towards the better off sections of the population, “Infrastructure was just temporary, it helped only motorists. The public transport is still a shambles – it was used during the World Cup and many people used it for the first time but as the World Cup ended we went back to the mess of before” (Cosatu Western Cape).

This feeling of disappointment and failed promises was also felt by middle class Capetonians,

We can mobilize to deliver a major event but service delivery has not improved. There were many promises about the legacy and benefits but as the event came closer these promises were watered down, and in the case of Cape Town, that was particularly the case with the promise of public transport; is still has not been delivered so people do not believe that it could happen. It is very worrying because through those issues people now concentrate on the negatives, your average Capetonian feels that it was all dressing up for the World Cup. People have not experienced the benefits and could not feel things improved. (Cape Town Partnership)

Even the better-off sectors of the population in Cape Town represented in the business class were critical of the unreal expectations created and the uneven distribution of benefits,

The expectation of the potential benefits, there was a misrepresentation on the part of government and Fifa as to what could it do for the country. It assisted some macro-economic indicators but not the entire country. The sustainability question was not on the priority list. It boosted confidence and placed the country in the world economy. From sustainability even the infrastructure is problematic; stadiums are not sustainable to manage, it was not productive infrastructure and did not help to unlock capacities. (Cape Town Business Chamber)

People are waiting for service delivery and we are close to a crisis. You see it in townships and rural areas – the frustration that nothing has been done, so we should apply that same energy and focus to deal with these challenges and improve service delivery. (...) after the World Cup we went back to the old levels of destitution

because the World Cup didn't put food on the table. We went back into the previous stage when people felt abandoned. And unemployment got worse as a result of the recession. (Cape Town Business Chamber)

Interestingly, while the business community is in a powerful position to lobby for their interests, they felt sidelined and disappointed in many aspects, even if they were aware of the limitations, "The World Cup only selected a very few businesses, especially sponsors and those who own infrastructure and the financial system, so a portion benefited while the large the majority of businesses were excluded"(Cape Town Business Chamber).

Many businesses expected an influx of potential business partners and that didn't materialize. We planned meetings and workshops for networking during this period but there wasn't a good turnout. Many businesses were also disappointed that they couldn't benefit but that is because of the control by Fifa; especially small businesses were excluded. We were expecting some relaxation from Fifa so that people could benefit more economically. It is understandable but sad (Cape Town Business Chamber).

The World Cup was not meant to solve unemployment and poverty so funds were not misdirected. Most funds will naturally flow into private business, but the expectations created were wrong. Fifa is a conglomerate that drives an event that is driven by people that is driven to make a profit. We were not so naïve as to think that the World Cup was going to fix problems. (Cape Town Business Chamber)

"The business community realized that government can deliver when they want to. Before the World Cup, there were high levels of mistrust that have not been addressed. The feeling is that government didn't set priorities to help small business" (Cape Town Business Chamber).

Some sections of business and of the working middle class in Cape Town greatly benefited as they prepared themselves, while others failed to do so and had unrealistic expectations. This outcome was seemingly linked to the negative mentality and scepticism of many Capetonians,

The World Cup is a once off and you cannot sustain any of those economic benefits created through this specific event. Some specific sectors benefited but it didn't filter as to other areas. Had people believed and prepared they could have done better. But since we come from negativity in the central city this is the result. We told people of the success it will be and they didn't believe people will be coming and now many business have said that they didn't gear up as well as they could have done. Those who prepared did very well. Backpackers did great, five star hotels so not much and food and beverage businesses did incredibly well. Some businesses thought that they will do great even if their business was not related at all to the event and have later on complained and been a source of negativity; for instance a bridal shop that expected lots of weddings. Some people had unrealistic expectations (Cape Town Partnership).

While critical of and disappointed by the economic benefits achieved through the event, the business sector also highlighted some of the positive and longterm economic impacts,

The event enhanced South Africa as a good investment destination, the rand strengthened significantly as investors saw the strength of and confidence in the SA economy. A lot of very good communications technology was put in place for the benefit of country. It put us on the map not just as another African outpost in African conflicts, but that we are distinct from the rest of Africa and indeed the powerhouse of the continent. (Cape Town Business Chamber)

I'm very pro what happened. It was great within a specific context and with the understanding that it was not intended to fix economic problems. But it raises your PR as a country even if those are benefits that can only be quantified much later. We are still in that window of opportunity to promote the country, investment and create opportunities, but we don't know how to do that. (Cape Town Partnership)

However, even those who greatly benefited during the event do not perceive any benefits now and it is clear for some stakeholders that any economic impact was just temporary,

These economic benefits were only related to the World Cup, so they are not sustainable, that is not possible unless there is another similar event or the same number of visitors. We will not see another opportunity like that in our lifetime. We did our research in our community and everyone claims that they are no longer benefiting from the World Cup. Hotels have voiced complaints. It hasn't done anything for us over the long term. (Cape Town Partnership)

Of more significance to a stakeholder is that entrepreneurs and citizens in general are not reflecting on this process and learning any lessons,

Most of the camaraderie of the World Cup is already been forgotten, things have not been the same (...) We still have not learned the lessons from global tourism; we still have too many five star hotels, we take a long time to learn lessons. (Cape Town Partnership)

The economic impact among the poorest was very problematic and representatives of these communities felt very disappointed. The set up and modus operandi of the event and Fifa affected them very negatively;

We work with very poor people and job creation. We made a special edition, and this was supposed to be their opportunity, but it did not sell more. It did not make money. It sold a few thousand extra but it was sold for an extra week so it was the same. The reason why it did not make a difference is that even though these were ambassadors for our city, they were harassed and moved away. They were not moved by the police but by the organisers. Small vendors were not allowed anywhere close to the event venues. There was no opportunity for gain. In fact people that used to have clients and places to sell magazines, they were moved away so they were actually disadvantaged. I think this is the way Fifa works, not only does it NOT benefit poor people or small vendors, it actually prejudices them. It works against them. I know

that our community thinks that despite the opportunity of benefiting from this once in a lifetime event they were totally sidelined. Because of Fifa's rules. (The Big Issue)

The vast majority of vendors have strong reservations about how the government spends all that money on the World Cup when they don't even have water, electricity or food. This feeling was not there during the games it was swept away, but after that feeling was strong. (...) even the least informed groups of the community thought it benefited the elites, but not the masses. (The Big Issue)

This feeling of exclusion was broadly shared in township communities,

In Khayelitsha there was a sense that the World Cup was not for them. They did not know enough. They knew next to nothing. The communication campaigns did not have them in mind. The general population did not benefit. Economically there may have been some benefits, in terms of roads, airports, but over all the whole country did not benefit.(...) There was a problem of communication. People assumed there would be huge economic opportunities. People thought it could be good, but they did not know what would happen with this huge World Cup. People needed to be better informed. There were misconceptions about the opportunities that were available. (Football for Hope)

A further negative aspect in the eyes of labour movements is that the event took away funds needed for the most vulnerable and that people were not allowed to express this discontent during the month of the event. Two instances of occurrences during the event elicited this comment,

Emotionally people love to have a good time but they feel enormous anger at inequalities and felt that the World Cup was used as a vehicle for removals. Constituencies in Temporary Resettlements Camps (TRC) (...) the city was being prettified so people were being removed. (...) People in Cape Town believed there was a cut in the hospital budget to make money for the stadium, whether this was true or not. (ILRIG)

There was a negative effect on freedom of speech and protest action, said one participant, "Many people wanted to do protests during the World Cup but government regulated against this. There was no ways to do any protests during this time and this bottled up anger which came out after the World Cup – for example, Hangberg protests few days after" (ILRIG).

3) Role of the media

Which forms of media did you rely on to get information about the World Cup? Did they keep you well informed?

In terms of access to information this varied according class and age and it was agreed that word of mouth was powerful across communities during the event. Communities with a lower LSM relied more on community newspapers and national TV, while business people and middle class Capetonians used internet and social media.

For the working class communities the main media was radio and TV using national channels. Not a lot of reading or use of the full spectrum of print media so it was predominantly The Sun and The Voice. People relied on word of mouth. (ILRIG).

A high degree of media immersion was noted, “Television for soccer, and radio and community papers to hear about stories. There was general knowledge with everyone being involved” (Cosatu Western Cape).

Firstly newspapers, then television, then radio, in that order. We used community papers to reach people, but in general organisations did not. But we were working with specific communities. So we had a different audience [townships]. General organisations were more worried about national and international audiences (...) In general, people were not well informed in these communities. We had people tell us some odd stuff, so there was a lack of information. (Football for Hope)

“Business naturally had privileged access to information. People used internet, TV, print media as they have access to all of them” (Cape Town Business Chamber).

Most people in the city got information from radio like KFM, Good Hope. Radio is for us the most effective way of communication. The media was very good in getting information out all the time. During the event social media was the most important one. Word of mouth was unbelievable and social media like Twitter with the new generation was amazing. Within the city, amongst our stakeholders, we tried web based but it didn't work so we literally had to do hand-outs [leaflets]. (Cape Town Partnership)

In general did the media play a positive or negative role in promoting nation building, social cohesion and reconciliation during the World Cup?

In terms of the impact on social cohesion the perceptions also varied and media was criticized for not playing a more active role, for remaining within the racial patterns of reporting and not covering the broader social and economic impacts of the event. Some opinions were analytical, others simply expressed disenchantment, “They would put in stories that will sell, any other effect would have been a spin off” (Cosatu Western Cape).

The general media replicates apartheid style divisions; they are racists and play to middle class prejudices. The English print media is divided - in English the Argus newspaper criticizing ANC, Cape Times was even more critical. In Afrikaans there is Die Burger. The media didn't give a single story about other parts of Africa other than the support for Ghana. [They] didn't produce any quality reports on other countries. (ILRIG)

From other stakeholders came a different perspective but also in a critical vein,

It was overall positive. They played a positive role in that they kept the spirit going. They kept people engaged and part of the process. And that was very good. (...) however, we were focused on the main event, but not on the stories. The media was not focused on the broader impact. So there could have been more done within the media on the knock on effect for the average South African. It's all very well focusing

on the event, but how does it impact on peoples' lives? That was not covered. It was not covered at all. (The Big Issue)

Bodies with some affiliation or project with Fifa viewed the media in a different light, "In most cases the media played a positive role, carrying positive stories and anecdotes; it was different before the World Cup because they raised many questions, but when it started they were very positive (Cape Town Business Chamber).

During the World Cup they [the media] were amazing but leading up to it they were disgusting. But once the event started they reflected the nation's pride. I wish the media could have kept the positive take on things and built the spirits for a bit longer because once the event was finished they fed again the negativity. (Cape Town Partnership)

The SA media played a positive role. There was a huge amount of damage done by international media. But that provoked an opposite response in South Africa where the coverage was positive" (Football for Hope).

4) Future large international events and recommendations

Should South Africa host more major sports or international events in the future?

In Cape Town, stakeholders across the different classes seemed to agree that future large international events are not ideal or will have to be hosted in a better way to benefit people. However, people also acknowledge that even if the World Cup came at a cost, people would like to host this event again;

There are some contradictions; people in Khayelitsha and poor areas will say yes, let's have it again, that is not because they are not critical, but when life is terrible a spectacle relieves you of pain for a moment (...) it's almost like schizophrenia: It was not that people were anti World Cup. Poor people want fun as that is the only escape. They like and feel proud of the city looking pretty. (ILRIG)

Similarly, "I can't speak for everyone, but I can speak for our beneficiaries. I think although everyone enjoyed it I think the vast majority would rather say can we first please have running water, electricity and a home before we host any more events"(The Big Issue).

Personal opinion is that it will be more welcome at a stage where more of our problems have been solved. People could not be fooled a second time with the idea that the event will benefit them. People will not now believe the Olympics will benefit them. (Cosatu Western Cape)

I will caution against the Olympics because it is even more costly and creates even more white elephants. World Cup infrastructure does not facilitate trade, transport and economic growth. Anything else after the World Cup will be too costly and the country can't afford it. We applied our minds and don't think it is a good idea. Smaller events, yes. (Cape Town Business Chamber)

Capetonians don't want the Olympics. We are very confident as a city so we know that if Durban hosts it, 90% of tourists will anyway end up here. But they want to see more large events but not necessarily sporting events. There was a big city movement

and support to get Cup17 and a lot of disappointment when we didn't get it. Now we are bidding to be the World Design Capital 2014 which is a worldwide competition and we are getting overwhelming support; people want to get something big again. (Cape Town Partnership)

Recommendations: Is there anything that could have been done differently in terms of the hosting the 2010 World Cup?

- How to book tickets must be clearly explained to the public very early on.
- Booking tickets should not have to be done online.
- Tickets should be cheaper.
- Local sports fields and school sports should be improved.
- Fan fests should only be held in summer.
- Better planning and more involvement of communities.
- Funding should have been directed at health, education, transport, infrastructure, housing, sanitation.
- Beneficiaries should be those who are most in need.
- The control of crime should continue to be a priority especially to keep the townships safe.
- Involve big and small business in the planning of hosting and spread benefits as far as you can so that you can get the economic multipliers.
- South Africa should not have been in such a rush and should have set conditions for Fifa which would have insured a wider spread of benefits.
- Events should be arranged so as to ensure rural communities are able to receive some of the benefits.
- Business should be on the organizing committees to help with long term planning and legacy.
- Maintain and develop infrastructure.
- Steps should be taken to sustain gains in tourism.
- Develop legacies to benefit South Africans instead of focusing on attracting the rest of the world.

Gauteng

Interviews were conducted in Gauteng between December 2010 and February 2011.

Interviews were conducted with a representative from Sport and Recreation South Africa (SRSA) from the 2010 FIFA World Cup Government Unit; two stakeholders from the national Department of Basic Education, two representatives from Agri SA, which represents commercial farmers, a representative from the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Johannesburg (NafcocJCCI), a representative from the Department of Tourism that was part of the 2010 FIFA World Cup Government Unit, a representative of the South African National Editors Forum (SANEF), a representative from the South African Independent Schools Association (ISASA), a national representative of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

1) Extent to which the 2010 World Cup brought South African citizens together

Did the 2010 World Cup have a negative, positive or no impact on social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation?

The stakeholder from the Department of Sport and Recreation South Africa felt that the 2010 World Cup had had a significantly positive impact on nation building. He particularly emphasised the important role of symbols and culture in building up a sense of national cohesion for example, the campaign by the SABC to play South African music. He noted the way the Department of Arts and Culture had helped the country to mobilise around national symbols, which he felt are critical symbolic reference points for people to rally around. He also noted that the “Fly the flag” campaign went well both at schools and in the community at large. He joked that he hadn’t seen any old South African flags, implying a new level of allegiance and commitment to a democratic South Africa among all South Africans. He also noted the way in which the “Fly the flag” campaign meant that children learnt to identify which flags belonged to which countries, often becoming more educated around this than their parents. This stakeholder also noted how South African rallied around the national anthem and that people took it seriously when it was sung. Finally he noted the way in which citizens across the board rallied around our national teams as evidenced, for example, by the mixture of spectators at the stadiums. In addition, he asserted, people in rural areas were aware of the 2010 World Cup. He noted the “phenomenal” support for African teams across all races and stated that our “white brothers and sisters” didn’t go with European teams. Finally he noted the spirit of volunteerism that was generated during the World Cup. Overall, this stakeholder emphasised the importance of maintaining the momentum that was generated during the World Cup in relation to nation building and national reconciliation.

In terms of whether the World Cup helped address such issues as xenophobia, the stakeholder from Sports and Reconciliation argued that xenophobia takes place mainly in poorer areas where it’s an issue of survival and employment. He argued that even if one hosted social events such as the World Cup, “people are still hungry” and this is what we need to address directly.

The stakeholder from Cosatu stated that the trade union’s membership did generally feel that the World Cup had a unifying effect. He emphasised the importance of class as well as racial divisions, which, he argued are becoming more acute. In general the World Cup gave the country a sense of what it can achieve. After the World Cup Cosatu issued a statement

arguing that the event had shown South African what we can do and urging that we apply the same lessons to the rest of the country's governance. This was particularly evident in relation to crime, which was not a serious problem during the World Cup and had led to ongoing benefits in terms of continued visible policing. In general he argued that had the World Cup not taken place we "would have been in even a worse place".

The stakeholder from the Department of Tourism argued that even though some of the unity generated during the World Cup may have dissipated, "we are further away than we were from our previous point of departure" in terms of nation building. She noted the importance of Afrikaans South Africans going to watch the Blue Bulls in Soweto as a significant event in breaking down barriers. This stakeholder felt that the World Cup had "sped-up" the process of nation building and reconciliation.

The representative from the Independent Schools Association of South Africa noted the extensive involvement of a number of independent schools in the run up to the World Cup and during the World Cup itself. During the World Cup, some larger schools actually hosted fan parks which would attract tens of thousands of people. This was both a positive experience for these schools and financially rewarding. The extra money generated can now be directed towards other school projects.

He noted that prior to the World Cup there had been a considerable amount of "trepidation" among both teachers at the schools themselves and among parents, partly because of the concern about the long school break but also because of a general social insularity and anxiety about potential disruptions related to the game of soccer itself and the organisation of the World Cup. However, these groups were, "pleasantly surprised" not only by how well the World Cup as a whole was organised but also by their experience in attending matches at stadiums. Pupil's end of the year results did not suffer as a result of the break during the World Cup and in fact their experience of education was considerably enriched. He argued that the World Cup had "broken down prejudices" around the game of football, which had largely been ignored by many schools. In particular a new level of awareness and involvement in soccer was generated at Afrikaans schools. In general all schools were encouraged to support Bafana and even schools that were not usually football schools "got behind" the World Cup.

The extended school holiday during the World Cup actually opened up many of these schools much more to the wider community. Whereas previously they had not been seen as a community resource, this perception was changed by the experience of the World Cup. This was a result of the fact that a number of schools actually ran a number of education and sporting activities during the period that the schools were officially closed. For example some schools ran "winter schools" which involved both academic and sporting activities, related to the World Cup. These "winter schools" were open not only to pupils of private schools but to young pupils more broadly, thus helping to establish the school as a broader community resource. There were programmes to incorporate children from schools in surrounding townships. One school, Prestige College in Tshwane, for example ran a leadership programme open to all young learners. Pupils from outside the schools were attracted through advertising in general. The schools that usually ran Saturday schools and therefore had transport at their disposal would assist in transporting children from more disadvantaged areas.

The stakeholder from the Department of Education emphasised the critical contribution of education programmes run through the department from the period of the Confederation Cup onwards in schools across the country in promoting social cohesion and nation building. This stakeholder explained that while certain departments had been as identified as ‘essential’ departments in terms of the logistics of the World Cup such as the Justice, Transport and Home Affairs in fact the Department of Education played an “essential” role both logistically by organising for five weeks of school holiday, which took 12-13 million people off the roads during the World Cup and freed many buses and minibuses for transport; but also as importantly the education programmes run by the department also were “essential” in terms of nation building and social cohesion.

The Department of Education and the Department of Sports and Recreation initiated a programme called, “My 2010 school adventure” prior to the Confederation Cup. The campaign had three pillars, education, development and participation. The overall objective of the campaign was to use the World Cup as a fun and stimulating event. According to this stakeholder the two pillars of education and participation were very effective. The pillar on development which concerned the training of teachers in football coaching and co-ordinating coaching clinics did not work and was dropped after the Confederation Cup. The campaign had two key aspects, one was competition geared towards rallying students and teachers for mass participation and the other involved co-operation with the Department of Arts and Culture. This co-operation was specified in a 2008 cabinet mandate which specified that the cabinet wanted “schools to be at the centre of the World Cup”. The local organising committee (LOC) of Fifa “came on board” with this idea. The education pillar involved “poetry work, essay writing, visual arts” etc. Themes focused on issues such as xenophobia and pupils were tasked with researching the background of countries participating in the World Cup.

The education pillar was “remarkably successful” and provided enormous opportunities for learning and teaching through a fun event. It, “helped overcome isolation” and gave, “twelve million learners the opportunity to open up their horizons”. According to an internal Fifa study the education campaign reached eight million learners. Both public and private schools were drawn in. As part of the campaign each province adopted three of four countries, first for the Confederation Cup and then for the 2010 World Cup. All the schools in the province would learn the national anthem of the country they adopted and through a provincial competition, the best school was chosen to sing the national anthem to teams as they arrived in the country. This initiative was well supported by the embassies of the various countries involved. The stakeholder gave the example of the way in which the Egyptian team were given a “heart wrenching” welcome with their national anthem sung to them in Arabic. Members of the team apparently “shed tears”. Learners would also learn about the culture, history and geography of the countries they adopted.

While the experience of learning the national anthems of other countries, linked learners up to a broader global community, other initiatives run as part of this campaign, brought South African children closer together. Thus “very young children” understood that they are, “part of the global and also that, “we are one”. This is a critical legacy as it is children’s perceptions which are the easiest to change. The objective of the campaign was to “replace prejudice with fascination”.

For example children who would usually play and socialise separately playing together in football teams under the name of the country each province adopted. Fun buses would also visit schools, teach children the national anthem, the diskidance and how to blow the Vuvuzela. An important part of the education campaign which fostered social cohesion, was a deliberate drive to “zoom in” on suburban and Afrikaans schools in the run up to the 2010 World Cup. Four thousand schools were apparently reached as a result. This stakeholder describes the impact of seeing 1200 white school children from Menlo Park in Pretoria singing the national anthem with, “such gusto” and argues that this drawing in of white school children had an impact on millions of other white South Africans who had previously never watched football, in particular South African football. Other ways in which South Africans who had not previously been interested in South African soccer were drawn in was through making available thousands of tickets to teachers and pupils, through various competitions. The key criteria for winning these tickets were various types of participation, participation was the key objective of making tickets available at schools.

Another aspect of the campaign which impacted on social cohesion was a programme of “street football for tolerance” which was run in the urban areas of Johannesburg to combat xenophobia as there are a lot of African migrants living in the city centre. The programme brought different nationalities and different generations together. At the end of games, young people, “would want to party together”.

The first drive of the campaign prior to the Confederation Cup drew in 5 400 schools. The renewed drive prior to the World Cup drew in 8 933 schools to participate in various educational activities leading up to the World Cup.

The process of nation building and social cohesion that would mark the 2010 World Cup, was initiated already at the time of the Confederation Cup when some of the soccer matches were held at Loftus Versfeld, traditional home of South African rugby. However, in this instance 80% of the spectators who were white came to Loftus to watch soccer. He argued that after watching Italy vs the USA at Loftus, he knew that the, “World Cup had come to South Africa” and that our “self-image” had shifted.

During the World Cup several World Cup players also visited schools. Diego Mardona went to the schools that adopted in Argentina in Garankuwa in the Northern Cape. He stood on the dusty field that the school has and told learners that, “this is how I started”.

Another significant aspect of the education campaign was also the way in which it had a ripple effect on the society more broadly, as “through children the hearts of parents and adults were touched” as young children came home at the end of the school day excited about the World Cup, they also drew in their parents across racial lines into the excitement surrounding the event. This stakeholder argues, therefore that the, “My School Adventure campaign” was the, “main driver” to mobilise the masses of South Africans. This stakeholder cites a survey conducted soon after South Africa won the bid to host the World Cup which indicated that 91% of white South Africans believed that the country could not host the World Cup. By the period immediately prior to the World Cup, the statistic had reversed to 92% believing that we were capable of hosting the World Cup.

He argues that therefore the 2010 World Cup had “done a lot” in terms of race relations. It broke down barriers as previously some race groups would not want to go to soccer matches because they believed it was “dangerous”. However, through first the Confederation Cup and then the World Cup groups that had never shared a public space before, now did as well as sharing in a common support for Bafana Bafana. According to this stakeholder the “Mzansi lingo” such as “gees, heita, sharp sharp” created a common language for people to communicate and tease together across racial lines. He described the significance also of other symbolic demonstrations of unity, such as a, “60-70 year old tannie wearing a Bafana jersey”. He argues that while the economic opportunities, growth and tourism, may have been limited the, “one major impact” of the World Cup was on South Africans as a nation. He stated that, “since 27 April 1994, we have never seen South African stand together as a nation”. He argues that this spirit continued even after South Africa was eliminated from the World Cup as South Africans united to support Ghana.

This stakeholder contends that the way in which South Africa “stood together” as a nation during the 2010 World Cup was more significant than the kind of unity that was displayed during the 1995 rugby World Cup where Nelson Mandela wore the Springbok jersey, as at that time we were still in a “honeymoon” phase, we had “a good feeling about ourselves”. However after this we were “hit by the realities”. There was a lot of negativity and polarisation. “For us to become one again it must mean something”. We, “rose above all of that”.

The stakeholder from the Department of Education argued that while monetary resources were important in the impact that the education campaign had on social cohesion and nation building, the critical resource was, “political will” to give children the opportunity to tell their grandchildren that they were part of the 2010 World Cup. This is a crucial legacy of the 2010 World Cup.

This stakeholder argues that an effort was made to maintain the momentum after the World Cup in terms of education with a drive to “support the class of 2010 matriculants” which urged people to support matriculants the same way in which they had supported Bafana Bafana. Apparently there was a positive response with companies for example making their computers available to students to download material. In townships “study hours” were declared in certain streets to create a peaceful environment for students to learn. The results of these efforts are self-evident in the good matric results that were achieved despite the disruption of the World Cup.

According to this stakeholder we need to keep up the momentum, particularly in terms of the confidence that was created by the successful hosting of the World Cup, which has, he argues, created a belief among South Africans that, “regardless of who we are we can do something”. We “proved that we can be world class”. We need to maintain symbolic shows of unity such as wearing Bafana Bafana tee shirts as well as keeping up social giving.

However, on the other hand, he acknowledges that “sustainability was never part of the plan”. While the Local Organising Committee and Fifa had built 20 turfs they had not considered how these would be maintained. He argued that we had not done well in terms of soccer development. He stated that we are the only country in the world to have hosted the World Cup but which does not have a national soccer academy. This is critical in not only

developing national soccer players but also “productive citizens”. He argues that the lack of a clear plans to develop soccer in the run up to the World Cup and since then were, “unforgiveable”.

Another stakeholder from the Education Department argued that impediment to the development of soccer at school level was primarily “structural”. Different departments have different mandates in terms of their structural organisation. There is a different relation between the national and provincial levels in the Department of Education and the Department of Sports and Recreation. In the Department of Education there is a significant amount of provincial autonomy and different provincial departments of education will “do things differently”. Money is also allocated at a provincial level. Provinces budget according to national priorities each year. On the other hand in the sport and recreation is much more nationally focused. Funds are kept at a national level and there is less provincial autonomy. When sports and recreation want to organise, for example, a function at a provincial level, the province signs an MOU with the national department for funds to be transferred to the province.

As a result of these differing mandates sports and recreation do not have “unfettered” access to schools, “at best they can negotiate space through the provincial Department of Education”. While there is an MOU between the two departments at national level, this has to “find expression” at the provincial level. Sometimes there is a conflict at provincial level as sports and recreation are seen as intruding on provincial departments of education, if they haven’t heard something directly from the national level and budgeted for it previously. He argues that part of the problem is that in the Education Department sport is not seen as a critical hard core curriculum issue and that there is, “not much convincing research” that extra-curricular activity such as sport supports educational achievement. Many provincial departments are battling to find the money to pay staff, so sports may seem like an unsupportable burden at a provincial level. The attitude of educators is that, “this is not my job, it’s not my problem”. Often sport at schools depends on one individual and if that person leaves then school sports collapses.

This stakeholder argues that, given this resistance, a critical aspect of the problem in getting school sports to function effectively is that there is no working school sport policy that defines role and obligations of both the Department of Education and sports and recreation at provincial and national level. This rather than resources is the critical issue in getting a school sports programme off the ground. He argues that money meant to promote school participation in sport was allocated to sports and recreation in 2005, however this is a department which does not have, “free access” to schools, hence these funds have not necessarily been used optimally. However, a school sports policy is currently being developed and has been widely consulted with teacher unions and other stakeholders. It will be open for public comment shortly.

However, a critical legacy of the 2010 World Cup has been the establishment of school sport leagues. They have currently started with four codes e.g. soccer, netball and cricket but want to expand to sixteen. The 2010 World Cup gave the Department of Education the shape, structure and impetus to keep going. It empowered the Federations. In addition other non-governmental stakeholders, “came to the party” such as Dream Fields. It will be necessary to keep up this momentum. The critical question will be whether provinces will be able to

provide money for the leagues to function, for costs such as transport to venues etc. This was the reason leagues previously floundered and impoverished schools, teachers and parents were asked to provide money to keep the leagues going. Will this money be allocated nationally from sports and recreation?

On the other hand the working relationship between the Department of Education and the Department of Arts and Culture around the World Cup has been much more productive, as this stakeholder argued, the two departments are structured similarly in terms of their national and provincial mandates. Social cohesion is a key deliverable of the Department of Arts and Culture and therefore this probably accounts for the significant impact of the activities around the World Cup on social cohesion and nation building at a school level and the Education Department readily made learners available for such activities.

The stakeholders from Agri SA felt that one of the major impacts of the World Cup was in terms was at a “psychological” or “cultural” level, which spread through their sector as well. This was partly dissipated by subsequent farm murders, crime etc. but not entirely. These stakeholders argued that there had been a notable improvement in farm relations as a result of the World Cup. Farmers hired TV sets so that farm workers could watch matches. In addition farmers transported farm workers to fan parks. These stakeholders argued that the improved relations between farmers and workers generated by the World Cup had had an impact on recent discussions on a minimum wage for farm workers. While in the past farm owners were in general very resistant to the idea of a minimum wage, in this instance they actually disputed the minimum wage proposed by the labour minister and argued that it should be higher than the rate suggested. While this is related to a growing realisation in the farming sector that it is necessary to nurture a core of productive, skilled workers who are “better catered for” as farm labour is not actually that easily available, the World Cup did help to cement positive relations.

Agri SA stakeholders also noted the symbolic significance of the rugby team the Blue Bulls playing in Soweto and argued that other rugby teams should also play in provincial townships.

They acknowledged that at the beginning of the process leading up to the World Cup there was some scepticism about South Africa’s ability to host the World Cup within the agricultural sector. Soccer was seen as a “black sport”. They argued that white people expected that the World Cup would fail because, “it was being driven by black people”. However, they were “pleasantly surprised”. “It did say that black people can do the job” and also that “black people in the private sector can do it”. This may have had an impact on resistance within the agricultural sector towards black economic empowerment.

Did the World Cup build a positive image of South Africa?

The stakeholder from Sports and Recreation South Africa stated that the “brand image” of South Africa as a result of the World Cup was very positive and that the country had received very good feedback from visitors about South Africa as a tourist destination. This had been confirmed by a survey conducted by the Department of tourism.

The stakeholder from Cosatu also argued that the World Cup had had a positive impact on South Africa’s international image and that a number of international visitors were

continuing to come to the country. The strikes and demonstrations which took place immediately after the World Cup had not detracted from this positive image. He pointed out that other countries have strikes that are more anarchic and violent. In the South Africa however, the strong union movement maintains discipline during such events.

The stakeholder from the Department of Tourism argued that the World Cup had been “groundbreaking” in terms of shifting perceptions around the country, especially in terms of crime and in promoting patriotism. It had created significant confidence in the country and built investor confidence.

However, the question of sustainability will be critical, particularly in terms of messaging and patriotism as the “common denominator” that held us together during the World Cup is now gone. While it will be difficult to maintain the momentum established during the World Cup, it will be much easier to carry on the “brand” South Africa as the country is now far more well known and the “brand” is more familiar internationally. She stated that going forward the department would be working closely with the Department of International Relations to maintain the branding of the country established during the World Cup. In the past South Africa has primarily been known for the “Big Five” and its beaches but very little in terms of its heritage. This is a key area that the Department will be focusing on.

The stakeholder from the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce argued that the “veil has been lifted” in terms of perceptions of the country, as had occurred in other previously conflict afflicted countries such as Sarajevo when they hosted major sporting events. He argued that “we don’t need to prove anything anymore” and while the hosting of the World Cup may not have made us money directly, we have not an established reputation and credibility which we can leverage to our advantage.

Stakeholders from Agri SA argued that the World Cup had, “put us on the map”. Africa is no longer seen as a “dark country”. It can “present great events”.

Do South African citizens have more confidence in the ability of the government to deliver services as a result of the organisation of the 2010 World Cup?

The stakeholder from Cosatu argued that although the organisation of the World Cup showed what can be done, he didn’t think this had changed perceptions of this particular government. He argued that while we had the best policies on paper, this hadn’t been translated into implementation, especially with regard to unemployment.

The stakeholder from the department of tourism argued that the experience of organising the World Cup had been an important learning curve, which had given different sectors such as government and business confidence that “we can do this”. The intangible benefit of this increased confidence is important. She felt the hosting of the event had created a sense of empowerment “across the board”. She argued that this sense of empowerment is an important catalyst in facilitating working co-operation across racial barriers. This stakeholder also felt that the successful hosting of the event had built national confidence in the government, she pointed to the opening and closing ceremonies of the World Cup and the efficiency of the technical organising committee.

2) Economic Benefits

To what extent did the 2010 World Cup benefit the whole country economically?

The stakeholder from Sport and Recreation South Africa noted the investment in infrastructure and improved border control systems as significant economic benefits for the medium to long-term. For example, improved transports systems will obviously facilitate and promote business. He also noted the “turn around” in services at the department of home affairs and the security enhancements at ports of entry that were introduced as a result of the 2010 World Cup. Although it is difficult to quantify, he argued that billions were previously lost through inadequate controls at ports of entry previously. He argued that there had been a general change in attitude regarding service delivery as a result of the World Cup and asserted that, “We can only do better”.

This stakeholder also argued that the World Cup meant that South African companies were exposed to a global market and created a platform that would not have been there if not for the World Cup, creating more opportunities for companies to tap into global markets.

Another important factor that this stakeholder emphasised in terms of economic impact was the agreement between the South African government and Fifa when the country was given the right to host the event, that 30% of the budget would be spent on small, micro and medium enterprises.

He also noted the economic benefits that accrued from the creation of public viewing areas in different districts and municipalities. Private individuals got the rights to run these viewing areas and as a result reaped economic benefits. This was a specific initiative on the part of government to spread the economic benefits of the World Cup more broadly as Fifa had initially only wanted fan parks.

Another area where economic benefits were experienced by South African citizens was in the realm of arts and culture exhibitions and craft stores, which tourists went to townships to buy. In addition Bed and Breakfast accommodation in townships as well as transport services for visitors also led to economic benefits.

However, the stakeholder from Sport and Recreation acknowledged the programmes undertaken in the run up to the World Cup did not include the economically marginalised as much as the government had hoped. However the Department of Rural Development did initiate some projects and there were also initiatives to incorporate the disabled. On the other hand, the question of resources at a district and municipal level was a problem in terms of ensuring economic benefits were distributed more widely. Other obstacles related to the high level of specifications by Fifa, for example the extent to which township residents were able to benefit from providing accommodation was hampered by Fifa specifications around standards of accommodation, which not all residents in townships and rural areas were able to meet. Another reality was that the games were concentrated in host cities and it was difficult to attract tourists to other parts of the country. This stakeholder argued that in future we need a “model” to specify how if we are to host another major event such as the Olympics, we would make sure we use the event optimally in terms of economic benefits.

The stakeholder from Cosatu agreed that one of the significant contributions of the 2010 World Cup was such public transport projects as Rea Veya which would not have happened

without the impetus of the World Cup. He stated that the efficiency demonstrated before and after the World Cup was admirable. On the other hand he argued that nobody should have had the expectation that the event would solve all the country's underlying social and economic problems. He also pointed out that it took place in the midst of a global economic recession. A large number of people were retrenched before the World Cup. In terms of employment there were some positive impacts in the tourism sector but employment benefits were largely concentrated in this sector. The stakeholder from Cosatu however pointed out it was unrealistic to think that the World Cup would generate jobs in other sectors. He explained that Cosatu's general secretary was part of the local organising committee and tried to make strong representations around issues such as workers rights, the casualisation of labour and Fifa's control over economic rights relating to the event. He argued that there would have to be careful management of the funds allocated to the trust being set up by Fifa for sports development to prevent corruption.

The stakeholder from the independent schools association (ISASA) noted that a number of independent schools had profited considerably from the World Cup by for example running fanparks at schools such as St Stithians in Johannesburg for which an entrance fee would be charged. A lot of schools also made money by renting out their dormitory accommodation during the period of the World Cup.

The stakeholder from the Department of Tourism argued that it is important to define the concept of "benefits" clearly and acknowledge that no event will be able to benefit absolutely everyone in the country. Nevertheless she stated, that there is no doubt that the economy as a whole benefited from the World Cup and that the injection into the economy by the World Cup had been huge, however, she argued, "some would say" SSMEs did not benefit. While the intention of the government was that SSMEs would benefit economically, the extent to which they actually did is debatable. SSME's were given opportunities for example to be on the accommodation database but not that many were able to take advantage of these opportunities. Fifa regulations regarding trading around the stadiums also hampered SSMEs inclusion in economic benefits. Unrealistic expectations were also created by the government and the media about the economic benefits that people would reap as a result of the World Cup.

However this stakeholder argued that Fifa learnt that "doing business in a developing country is different to doing business in a developed country". However, she argued that the reality is that Fifa operates by strict rules, it is a profit making business and if we want to host events such as the World Cup there is little choice but to abide by Fifa's regulations. Despite this, some attempt was made to accommodate South Africa as a developing nation, for example this World Cup was the first time that non-hotel accommodation was included in the Match database of accommodation. However, in the end less than 1% of bookings actually went to SSMEs. According to this stakeholder from this was simply because it didn't make good business sense to use such accommodation. Fifa requires a lot of predictability in rates, quality etc which are difficult to accommodate in more informal establishments. The majority of complaints about accommodation related to SSME's, frequently because they were simply unable to deliver the type of service provided by big hotel chains such as a concierge desk. Also many visitors wanted accommodation in more formal, established brand names, particularly as they were coming to the country to watch the football rather than as tourists

who may have come to South Africa for “adventure”. Only a small percentage went on to travel independently in the country after the World Cup. Another factor inhibiting the involvement of SSMEs was the fact that many visitors came to the country on package tours. It was much easier logistically for travel agents organising these package tours to book for and manage large groups of people staying at one big hotel.

The stakeholder from the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce explained how the chamber attempted to get involved in the run up to the World Cup in order to ensure that maximum benefit for the business community could be derived from the event. However, he felt that it was only when Fifa itself arrived in the country that the process of mobilising societal partners really got underway. However, the chamber was eager to get involved and hence wrote to 10 000 chambers of business around the world encouraging them to come to South Africa to watch their teams and also to investigate business opportunities. While they approached the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) for assistance, they told the chamber that they had used up their money. Nevertheless the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, “went for it anyway”. They brought in volunteers speaking a wide range of languages phoning chambers of commerce and business around the world. They went to “a hell of a lot of trouble”.

However this stakeholder argues that the government didn’t foresee the value that you could get out of the event beyond tourism. He in particular mentioned the importance of promoting South Africa as an international conference venue as it has very good facilities but is relatively cheap in comparison to other international venues. The chamber is currently following this up by thanking chambers who did come to South Africa for the World Cup and encouraging them to return to host their conferences here. They have also approached South African tourism in this regard.

He argued in terms of economic impact, expectations were too high in some parts of the country. He stated that the IPL should not have built such high expectations as ultimately the 2010 World Cup is “a money making event for Fifa, not us”. He asserted that it is important that we are “honest” with SSMEs and cited for example the fact that some products such as mascots for the World Cup had actually been produced in China. This stakeholder had attended a conference in Ekurhuleni with 2000 SSMEs who were told by senior SAFA and Fifa representatives about economic opportunities related to the World Cup. However, he argued the barriers to entry were very high, for example one had to pay for a license to make trays, which for many SSMEs was prohibitively expensive. Fifa also tended to deal directly with big businesses such as Edgars etc where their products would be sold, cutting out smaller SSMEs.

People built hotels, bed and breakfast and other accommodation in anticipation of economic benefits which did not materialise and an inflated estimate of the number of people who would come to the country. He stated that a lot of the eight host cities didn’t get the expected benefits. He mentioned Polokwane in particular in relation to this point. Nevertheless he felt that even if some of the accommodation was not filled during the World Cup the creation of these new businesses was a good thing in the long term.

He also argued that in assessing the economic impact of the 2010 World Cup it is important to take into account the “displacement” effect which was extremely prevalent in other

countries who had hosted the World Cup, where normal tourism and business is “displaced” or comes to a halt during the event and this leads to a loss of revenue equivalent to the inflow of revenue from World Cup related accommodation and business. This was particularly demonstrated by the interaction this stakeholder had had with a five star hostel group who reported that the weeks between 1 June-15 July had been the worst weeks in their history as a large proportion of their regular business cancelled in anticipation of the disruption of the 2010 World Cup. He argued that the profile of most of those visiting the country for the World Cup were primarily blue collar males between the ages of 25 and 35, who would not be staying at 5 star hotels. On the other hand 3 star hotels did do well as these establishments were much more closely aligned to the profile of visitors coming to the country. The other point he made that because the highest proportions of visitors were men, that we did not reap extensive benefits in the retail sector as it is “women who shop”.

Lastly we also have to take into account the fact that the World Cup took place during an economic recession. In a context where every match is televised live internationally, he asked “why would a guy spend the money to go to a risky country”.

While the benefits that accrued to the country, especially in terms of construction are likely to take a dip post World Cup, there is also no doubt that the World Cup shielded South Africa from the worst recession in recent history and created a buffer against its worst effects even though we lost a million jobs. India, China and Africa are all still growing economies.

The stakeholders from Agri SA argued that the organisation had grasped the opportunity provided by the World Cup to expose the agricultural sector to the international community. The organisation issued several press releases during the run up to the World Cup highlighting various South African produce from maize, to meat such as game as well as brandy and wine. As a result of this exposure they received compliments from the agricultural sector worldwide and also improved the sector’s profile in South Africa. However, they argued that the potential economic benefits could have been maximised even more but because people “didn’t know what to expect”, they did not necessarily know how to prepare. Also the scepticism among some sectors of the community about our ability to host the World Cup meant that some in the agricultural sector did not initially want to be associated with something that they expected to be “a disaster”.

3) Role of the Media

Did the media play a positive or negative role in terms of nation building, social cohesion and reconciliation?

According to the stakeholder from Sport and Recreation the media, “kept us on our toes” and to “prepare for the worst”. The spotlight was continually on the preparations for the World Cup. As the country moved towards the World Cup there was increased positive reporting. The media “came to the party”. The role of the media in terms of business was good as a whole range of sectors of the economy were given exposure as a result of media coverage. The media was also important in terms of “bringing the games to the people” through the SABC, print media and radio coverage.

According to the stakeholder from Cosatu the media played a positive role. From the first day in 2010 it built up and promoted the “hype” around the event. However, aft the event there hasn’t been any significant follow up in terms of monitoring the legacy of the World Cup.

The stakeholder from the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce noted the negative international media coverage of South Africa prior to the World Cup, particularly after the death of AWB leader Eugene Terreblanche, however, he pointed out that the international media had to “reluctantly back track” as a result of the successful hosting of the World Cup. He argued that the local media coverage of the World Cup had been good. However, he argued that SA tourism and the International Marketing Council of South Africa, “didn’t get onto the media enough” in terms of the profiling not the only bad news but also the good news and the country as well.

The stakeholders from Agri SA argued that the Afrikaans radio station which most of their members listened to, Radio Sonde Grense (RSG), “embraced the World Cup with everything they had”. They had programmes that taught listeners about the game of soccer, its history etc. Other media such as the newspaper Beeld were more “subdued” than the English media because of the nature of their reading public which is conservative and remained sceptical of the possibility of South Africa hosting a successful World Cup. However, as the event took off their coverage improved and they were leading with front page stories and photos of the World Cup.

4) Future International Events

Should South Africa host more major sports or international events in the future?

According to the stakeholder from Sport and Recreation, we have proven once again that we are capable of hosting major events. This puts us in a good position to bid successfully for future events such as the Olympics, Commonwealth games etc. We have hosted international events covering a variety of sporting codes including cricket, rugby etc.

An important part of the legacy for future international events is the question of mass participation. A specific component of the legacy programme is to upscale all sporting codes, not only soccer, with more coaches etc. However, the codes need to think through how they see themselves moving to another level.

Another legacy is the trust that Fifa is setting up to look at the development of football in South Africa and engage SAFA on their programme to develop football.

According to the stakeholder from Cosatu, as a general principle it is a good idea to continue hosting major international event but we need to look at each event specifically to assess its potential benefits and/or cost. He argued that in terms of the future of the country events such as the 2010 World Cup, “can only be the icing on the cake” rather than a solution to South Africa’s social challenges.

The stakeholder from the independent schools association argued that given the positive experience of the hosting the 2010 World Cup, this constituency would not be so “fearful” should such an event be organised again. They realised that the impact on teaching time was severe and were offset by the gains and broader enrichment that took place as a result of hosting the World Cup.

The stakeholder from Agri SA also thought that it was a good idea for South Africa to continue hosting large international events as it “put discipline on government”. They argued that South Africa has made an enormous investment into stadiums, which we must now use.

We have also developed our infrastructure and road network for the World Cup, which is now comparable to international standards. We have got experience in hosting a variety of international events, all of which should have a multiplier or ripple effect over time. They argued that the key is that we need efficient expenditure of revenue, rather than an emphasis on increased revenue.

Recommendations: Is there anything that could have been done differently in terms of the hosting the 2010 World Cup?

The stakeholder from Sport and Recreation argued that more could have been done to create more opportunities for small, medium and micro enterprises. He argued that while Fifa was “part of the problem”, South Africa could have been more proactive around issues such as Fifa’s exclusion zones around the stadia. Fifa also came with its own pricing model in terms of accommodation. People “signed on” with Fifa and then later when they were allowed to release the rooms, they were unable to fill them. In general, we could have “put our foot down” as countries such as Germany were able to do. However, as a developing country we were trying to prove ourselves. “We learnt many lessons”.

In general we could have shaped the *processes* around the inclusion of small, medium and micro enterprises more. We needed to organise people more and make them more aware of what the economic opportunities were. He argued also that Sport and Recreation could have done better in terms of positioning the department as critical to nation building. The department didn’t “seize the moment” despite the fact that sport is critical to nation building. This is also why there is no plan today about how to take the momentum forward. “We needed to better in relation to this”. He also argued that the country could have done better in terms of planning how stadiums could be used after the World Cup.

The stakeholder from the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce argued that when we initially bid for the World Cup in 2006 but did not get the bid, we should have, “maximised the opportunity”, and begun a concerted developmental programme among young school pupils so that by the time we actually did host the World Cup we could draw on this talent for the Bafana team. Chile had done this ahead of the World Cup and had got to the quarter finals as a result.

This stakeholder also had concerns around the stadiums built for the World Cup which he argued could become a “noose around our neck”. In Korea for example stadiums were torn down because they were too expensive to maintain. In other places such as Sydney, stands had been built on rollers so that they could be moved depending which sport was being played in particular stadiums.

This stakeholder also argued that there was a significant problem in terms of the sale of tickets. He argued that the ticket system was “locked too tight”. Match held onto to tickets until the last minute, anticipating a rush on the tickets, and then finally released them “too late”. This caused particular problems for the chamber as they wanted to invite business representatives to come to the country to watch their teams but had no way to ensure that they could book these specific tickets. The government and Fifa would not do an allocation of tickets to the chamber so that they could distribute tickets to potentially business investors.

In terms of the legacy of the World Cup, the stakeholder from Sport and Recreation argued that there had been a dip after the World Cup in terms of nation building. He emphasised the importance of sport as a way in which to bring people together. He recommended that the country needs to come up with a programme to sustain the momentum generated by the World Cup. He noted that the Department of Arts and Culture has been specifically tasked with addressing the issue of social cohesion in order to ensure that “the feeling of togetherness continues”. He argued that Sport and Recreation also needs to have a similar focus on social cohesion.

The stakeholder from Cosatu noted the importance of a civil society conference which was organised in the wake of the 2010 World Cup, which adopted a post World Cup declaration. He emphasised the importance of reviving the spirit of the World Cup and the need to involve as wide a range of organisations in this process.

The stakeholder from the Tourism Department explained that the department is developing a heritage tourism strategy whose shape has been influenced in part by the experience of the World Cup. During the event there was a realisation that there is a need to focus on contemporary heritage, people are not only interested in “traditional” culture but in the “contemporary nature of the people”. There was very positive feedback in terms of visitor’s interactions with South Africans during their stay. On the other hand this stakeholder was not aware of any specific decision or plan to have programmes to build on the legacy of the World Cup besides inherent legacy of infrastructure and stadiums.

The stakeholder from the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce argued that ‘if we don’t get proactive in the next few months we are going to lose the momentum of the legacy generated by the World Cup.

Limpopo

Interviews were conducted in December 2010 with representatives from the media (former radio station manager, Department of Health, South African Police Service (SAPS), Venda Taxi Association, a community representative (headmaster, ward councilor, traditional leader), an educator from a school, the Department of Economic Development and Tourism, Manager of Muofhe Graceland Lodge, Assistant Manager at Bougainvillea Lodge, a member of the Provincial Legislature, the Speaker of the Provincial Legislature, a professor at the University of Venda

1) Extent to which the 2010 World Cup brought South African citizens together

Did the World Cup have a negative, positive or no impact on social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation?

Overall, all respondents were very positive that the World Cup brought about social cohesion, nation building and reconciliatory practices.

A stakeholder from the Limpopo Department of Economic Development, Environment and Tourism said that the World Cup has made a tremendously positive impact on nation building. “Everybody in the World Cup was together: blacks, Indians, whites and coloureds. The department played a crucial role in tourism activities, making sure that fans did not get

lost, were accommodated, and had easy access to necessary information” (Department of Economic Development and Tourism).

The stakeholder from SAPS indicated that the World Cup had a positive impact. Crime was brought under control, contradicting ongoing negative perceptions of the past by international standards. In the police service for example, all the departments including the municipalities pulled together to ensure a successful World Cup, as did the communities of whites, blacks, Indians and coloureds, which was evidence of reconciliatory practices. The minimal crime rate during the World Cup paid dividends in the sense that South Africa’s image is now internationally respected. The police service worked hard as a united force, whether black or white, during and after the World Cup. There were no terrorist attacks or threats during the World Cup period. However, the stakeholder also said,

Of course, one is aware that there is no total solution to crime in the world. It became very clear that more attention was paid to the World Cup crime prevention, but little attention to the communities we live in. Despite all this, the people were of course proud about hosting a successful World Cup. (SAPS)

A stakeholder from the Limpopo Department of Health also confirmed that the World Cup had a very positive impact on the lives of the communities in South Africa. He illustrated his comment by noting,

The stadiums are now the property of the state which of course will yield long term investment returns. The World Cup also restored confidence in South Africa as a host of international events. Social cohesion was maintained during the World Cup, but it is too early to judge its sustainability post World Cup. (Department of Health)

From his observation, the stake holder involved in media and community activities asserted that everyone was excited that South Africa was allowed to host the World Cup and as it was done successfully it changed people’s perceptions. “Social cohesion across racial lines was maintained post the World Cup but with a mixed result. Overall, the attitude amongst us as South Africans has greatly improved despite our racial historical past” (Media).

The educator stakeholder indicated that the World Cup had a positive impact on social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation. “Even the whites were blowing vuvuzelas in the company of blacks, Indians and coloureds, unlike in the past, when the whites only supported the Springboks and cricket teams. There is a need, though, to sustain that cohesion post World Cup” (School Educator).

The same sentiments were expressed by the stakeholder who is the headmaster of a school, a pastor, traditional leader, and ward councillor and entrepreneur in Mopani District. To him the World Cup made a positive impact on social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation.

For example, one white man was for the first time talking about Orlando Pirates and Kaizer Chiefs clubs at the petrol station, and surprisingly wearing the Orlando Pirate T-shirt immediately after the World Cup. This was something which appears strange as some whites in the past were commonly known to be supporting cricket and rugby only. This is indicative of the fact that social cohesion was built during the World Cup. The Brazilians came to Phalaborwa, and they were friendly and

excited, and the community members were happy to receive the foreign nationals for the first time in their area. (Community Representative)

These sentiments were echoed: “The World Cup made us proud as the community was united in hosting the World Cup” (Taxi Association). Stakeholders agree that the vibrancy post the World Cup has dwindled with time, that spirit of the international event, “feel it, it is here” has vanished into thin air post the World Cup, sounding the alarm that social cohesion was not sustained post the World Cup.

The experience was not the same for a business woman, who said, in her view, “The World Cup made a positive impact, but for me, as a businesswoman, it was negative” (Manager, Lodge).

Her co-worker said,

The World Cup did make a positive impact as it brought together people from different backgrounds, within and out of the country. It is too early to judge though, as far as the sustainability of social cohesion post the World Cup. However, the people today still talk about the World Cup, how we interacted and treated each other during the World Cup. This needs to be sustained. The government should be behind this social cohesion boom to strengthen the image projected by the World Cup. (Assistant Manager, Lodge)

Sharing the same sentiments with other stakeholders, a professor from the University of Venda took the view that football was able to pull people from different cultures together - blacks, Indians, coloureds and whites. It was believed in the past that football was for black people, and rugby and cricket for whites, but this time around during the World Cup it was not the case,

Whether Bafana Bafana wins or loses, all South Africans irrespective of race or colour will express their emotions by blowing the vuvuzela, which is indicative of social cohesion. We hosted a world event, as part of a collective for nation building. This vision of the World Cup should be strengthened and the media should continue to strengthen this pride. The feeling should somehow be sustained. (Venda University)

Despite doubts about the sustainability of the spirit, the people developed pride as South Africans. The Speaker of the Limpopo legislature went all out to make a contribution to this survey and raised some critical issues. There was a significant specific impact in hosting the World Cup that enhanced patriotism, national unity, and social cohesion according to the Speaker,

White people, especially the Afrikaners, went all out supporting the event. Africans as a united force were hoisting one South African flag unlike the old flags hoisted by Afrikaners in the past. It was expected that post the World Cup, the social cohesion would be maintained, but the spirit deteriorated, as the people were no longer wearing the Bafana T-shirts, there were no flags hanging on the cars any longer as were all removed. Organs of civil society should be blamed here in failing to sustain the cohesion as the campaign was organized by the media and not the government.

However, the sense of pride that we hosted the World Cup together is still embedded in the hearts of the people, as we can now talk about tarred road connectivity, bus portals, big stadia and intermodal facilities, and this mega infrastructure came as a consequence of the World Cup, which remains a legacy for the nation. (Speaker, Legislature)

The Speaker emphasised that the government and civil society including other stakeholders should continue to work together to enhance the image projected by the World Cup.

The member from the Limpopo legislature said that the World Cup succeeded in making a positive impact on social cohesion. However, the spirit of the World Cup *post facto* dwindled, as was said before by other stakeholders. The leadership should take it further to speak in one language to sustain the cohesion.

Unfortunately as the euphoria of the World Cup is now over, we are no longer working together as a team at the same level. If we all work together with the momentum of the World Cup, we really can make the effort to improve the quality of the lives of the people we serve. The World Cup made us proud as people and we are patriotic about our own country. Those who doubted us in the global space were disappointed, because we all pulled together as a nation to deliver a successful soccer World Cup. (Member, Legislature)

Do South African citizens have more confidence in the ability of the government to deliver services as a result of the organisation of the 2010 World Cup?

All respondents indicated that from the experience of the World Cup, every South African has confidence in the government. The government has the ability to deliver and as such, it should use the same World Cup model to provide basic services. Service delivery should not be all about selfish enrichment, but about public interest, as the community members were disciplined and did not protest or vandalize buildings to express their dissatisfaction with the government during the World Cup.

According to the businesswoman in Venda, people had confidence in the government in hosting the World Cup and it should use the same World Cup model to provide basic services such as water and electricity.

With regard to policing, people had confidence in the government as today there are still mobile police services, which were offered during the World Cup, according to the stakeholder from SAPS. To him, this is still sustained as policing is brought to the people for certifying documents, affidavits etc, but a need for shared service, is imperative in addition to other policing structures.

In the same vein, the stakeholder from the Limpopo Department of Health thought, “The government gained confidence from the communities, especially when the Limpopo Department of Health was able to secure enough medication for the World Cup, using the best procurement practices. This should be maintained post World Cup” (Department of Health).

During the World Cup, the fans did not experience any hardship with regards to basic services such as water, electricity and road construction as opposed to before and after the World Cup.

The municipalities are to be blamed for inadequate services, “The local municipality should regain that World Cup momentum to turn around basic service delivery” (Media).

Overall, according to the stakeholder from the Vhembe District, the assistant manager of the lodge, the people still have confidence in the government (except those people who were affected negatively).

A professor from the University of Venda indicated that it was a mixed result, as the political language of getting quick economic returns during and post the World Cup raised false hopes in the minds and hearts of the people. To the professor, “it is not possible to get electricity and water overnight” (Venda University).

However, the speaker of the Limpopo Legislature hinted that the community still has confidence in the government delivering basic services on the ground, the confidence diminished immediately after the World Cup. According to him, is inconceivable that the government pulled its weight to deliver the World Cup within a short space of time yet it fails to deliver simple basic services.

In this vein he also noted that Limpopo citizens questioned the fact that “There was water available for the World Cup, but here in this community, there is no water for the locals and this is incomprehensible. It took the government less than three years to build stadiums, but it takes the government such a long time to deliver basic services, why?” (Speaker, Legislature).

The Taxi Association in Venda stakeholder also referred to the same point, that although the community had confidence in the government to deliver a successful World Cup, there is still the problem of water and electricity in parts of Limpopo.

The increased security by the police during the World Cup gave people confidence and made them feel more secure. The stakeholder from SAPS pointed out that mobile police services which were offered during the World is still sustained as policing is brought to the people for certifying documents, affidavits.

Referring back to the World Cup period, a stakeholder said that, “Communities gained confidence especially when the Limpopo Department of Health could secure enough medication for the World Cup, with the best procurement practices, which should be maintained post World Cup” (Department of Health).

During the World Cup, the fans did not experience any hardship with regards to basic services such as water, electricity and road construction as opposed to pre and post World Cup. However, “The municipalities are to be blamed for the problem of the basic services which are still a problem today. The local municipality should regain that World Cup momentum to turn around basic service delivery” (Media). “Overall, the people still have confidence with the government except those people who were affected negatively” (Assistant Manager, Lodge).

A professor from the University of Venda indicated that it is partly yes [that confidence in the government's ability to deliver services had improved], and partly no, as the political language of getting quick economic returns during and post the World Cup raised false hopes in the minds and hearts of the people. "It is not possible to get electricity and water overnight!" (University of Venda). However, the Speaker of the Limpopo Legislature hinted that the community still have confidence in the government to deliver basic services on the ground, although the confidence declined immediately after the World Cup.

This is inconceivable to see the government pulling its weight to deliver the World Cup within a short space of time yet it is failing to deliver simple basic services. There was water available for the World Cup, but here in this community, there is no water for the locals. It took the government less than three years to build stadia, but it takes the government a long time to deliver basic services, why? (Speaker, Legislature).

"There is still the problem of water and electricity in parts of Limpopo (Taxi Association). This was noted at the same time as the stakeholder's confidence in the government was acknowledged.

2) Economic benefits

Stakeholders gave detailed accounts of the disappointed hopes of people who anticipated exceptional business opportunities. False hopes led to people falling into debt after investing in unsuccessful enterprises, "People were asked to convert houses into guest houses, but literally, not a single tourist was accommodated in those guest houses" (Department of Economic Development and Tourism). Only the four top hotels were busy. Properties were re-possessed by the bank as bonds were not paid in time. The hawkers who rented shelters to sell items to fans found themselves disconnected from the flow of fans by the park and ride arrangement. This arrangement also affected taxi drivers adversely, "The taxis did not ferry even one tourist" (Taxi association). The perception prevailing amongst the people is that Fifa got away with the money which was taken out of the country without benefiting the South Africans. Some of the stadia are turning into white elephants. The investment returns gained cannot offset the heavy expenditure accumulated during the World Cup and this is very serious as the stadia need to be maintained. Employment created by the World Cup was temporary.

These observations were supported by all the stakeholders except the assistant manager of the lodge who said that the lodge had received tourists, even after the Cup. The manager of the lodge was concerned that rural areas did not benefit. Her point that the people had been exploited by community leaders was reinforced by the comment that, "The attitude of our leaders towards the community is problematic, and this must change" (Community Representative).

Peter Mokaba stadium was built, but it is not accessible. "People could not afford transport to Polokwane 210 kilometres away, and for the same reason they could not be at the fan parks" (Media).

It is unfortunate that the World Cup funds did not make an impact to cut down the level of unemployment. "If people could have understood from the beginning that the World Cup will

not bring about the economic spin offs, as was realised shortly before the Cup, they could have worked together very hard to make the ends meet in the business front” (Media).

“Only Kruger national park here in Baphalaborwa benefited a lot from this event as it attracted the tourists” (School). “There were some who displayed their traditional items next to the park and received some benefit” (Community Representative).

People thought that the World Cup will bring a windfall of the financial injections but it was more on social fun than economic benefit. There are two divides, those who are poor, remain poorer and those who are rich remain rich, and this is a worrying factor. The attitude of our leaders towards the community members is problematic, as they give more attention to their own selfish interest than that of the community, and this must change. (Community Representative)

The community members could not benefit directly from the World Cup economically. The majority of the community members are too dependent to the government because of the social grant syndrome, and this stifled the people to be creative and innovative, and some are losing interest to work.

The manager of the lodge lamented that the rural communities on the ground did not benefit economically. “They could not see even a single tourist accommodated in their lodges, or even to buy the traditional items, yet they spent lot of money to prepare their lodges to accommodate the tourists who did not come”(Manager, Lodge). She asked if there was a way that their invoices can be paid out by the government as they inherited the expenditures for the World Cup preparations yet they could not benefit from the World Cup spin offs.

There was billions of the money which was spent for the World Cup and Fifa also left some money after delivering the successful World Cup, but the people today are still poor, exploited by the very community leaders.

The taxi owners did not benefit economically as their earnings during the World Cup were less than what they generate on normal days before and after the World Cup. This is with the exception of those who operated in Polokwane which is closer to the Peter Mokaba stadium.

A professor from the University of Venda commented that the economic benefits vary from one place to another, as not everyone benefited, especially the rural communities. The event was centralized in urban areas, and as such it could not benefit the people in the deep end of the country.

The euphoria which was projected that the tourists will even visit the rural areas was impractical; as such there was no economic impact, and that idea made people spend money and suffer a lot in an effort to attract economic returns. Many roads were reconstructed to attract the economic spin offs, but it was unfortunate that the returns are minimal. (Venda University)

The people were creative, invested money in preparation of the World Cup, but there was not a single tourist who came to the rural communities. There were very high expectations of the World Cup but millions of rands simply passed them by. They were disconnected from the

World Cup hub because of the park and ride strategy which confined people from one point to the stadia and back. The people spent money, but cried post the World Cup as they could not benefit as anticipated.

One of the stakeholders from the Limpopo Legislature expressed that,

People ought to understand that the World Cup is not about money making, but about nation building, and this assumption of money making was a false hope, which people were over-excited about. People get excited about this, not only here in South Africa, you go to Canada, China, and elsewhere, there is also some disappointments. It is high time that people read in between the lines and stop assuming that everything the media says will happen (...) People were told to be ready to make big money, but they should have critically weighed the consequences of such ideas. At the same time, the government and the civil society owe the people an explanation why they could not benefit. (Member, Legislature)

He added that remediation of poverty needs a long term strategy and the government should roll out programmes to effect this.

3) Role of the media

The stakeholder from the Limpopo Department of Economic Development said that the radio and the TV played major roles, especially SABC channel 1 and 2 including SuperSport. The media was generally balanced in reporting and were also truthful, but worked very hard to project the image of the country positively. Also, the stakeholder from SAPS in Limpopo confirmed that the media played a role to bring people of different races together. The community was well informed, with a slogan “feel it, it is here”.

One stakeholder said that after the World Cup, “The media was more twisted in exposing the side effects of the World Cup, especially when people spent their monies, but the investment return was nil” (Department of Economic Development and Tourism).

Overall, the media succeeded in pulling the people into social cohesion. One can see immediately after the World Cup that the people were still wearing those T-shirts.

A stakeholder agreed about the main sources of information being radio and television, “The media was objective in reporting, and it cleared the perception of a high crime rate in South Africa. The media must report the reality on the ground, and this must be sustained post World Cup. Overall the media played crucial role in social cohesion” (Department of Health).

It was noted that, “The print media was not effective as most people do not read and that SuperSport did not play a role as it is not a free channel,” (Media) He added that, “The media was a very powerful communication tool” (Media).

“Print media is expensive, and it was not that important portal for promoting the World Cup” (Department of Health). Another stakeholder expressed the view that the print media could not attract the local community due to the level of literacy in the district. (Community Representative).

A professor from the University of Venda expressed that overall,

The media played a big role in raising expectations, with a slogan that ‘feel it, it is here!’ and that it succeeded in greatly exaggerating the possible economic benefits. So the media was only partly objective. They were ignorant of the necessity of being aware of raising false hopes in the minds and hearts of the people. Nevertheless, it positively succeeded in sustaining the social cohesion. (University of Venda)

Media in other parts of the world were criticised, “One of the miracles of the World Cup was that there was so little crime, that there was nothing to report about, and even if incidents happened, they were not picked up by the media”(Speaker, Legislature). Media was perceived to have played a central role in succeeding with the World Cup: “Without the media, we could not have hosted the World Cup. The media proved against everyone who doubted South Africa that we can host the World Cup. The media made tremendous impact in social cohesion, but the people should be conscious of the consequences of euphoria of such big events” (Member, Legislature).

4) Future large international events and recommendations

According to stakeholder from the Limpopo Department of Economic Development, Environment and Tourism, South Africa can host yet another international event with confidence. Immediately after the World Cup, there was a feeling that South Africa can host the Olympics in the immediate future. The stakeholder from SAPS in Limpopo also confirmed that South Africa is ready to host yet another World Cup due to new infrastructure and the peaceful environment which was generated during the World Cup. The Speaker of the Limpopo Legislature also expressed the same sentiments, saying that, “We have hosted the World Cup, rugby, Africa Cup, WSD, and many summits, without any hitches and they were a phenomenal success. Now, the proposal for hosting the Olympics, or any international event, South Africa is ready to host” (Speaker, legislature). “South Africa was exploited many times in the past by the colonial masters, but the freedom and acceptance in the international space demonstrated the capacity of South Africa to host the World Cup first on the African soil” (Community Representative).

There were reservations about the way the World Cup was carried out and recommendations were made as to how it could have been done differently.

- Expectations should not be raised to an unrealistically high level.
- There could have been more clarity about how government spent funding.
- Transport should be arranged so that it does not exclude hawkers and taxi drivers from their source of business.
- All the stadia must be outsourced so that the contracted company can leverage it for economic spin offs.
- Creative ways should be found to ensure that not only taxis, taverns and top hotels benefit from these spin offs.

- National cohesion, patriotism, reconciliation and nation building should not deteriorate as it did after the World Cup, but should be sustained.
- Commodities should not be overpriced.
- Future events such as the World Cup should be shaped by a study of what happened in the rural areas economically.
- People in the most remote rural areas should not be neglected.
- Local municipalities should have assisted the community members who have entrepreneurial potential.
- Marketing strategies should be improved.
- The community itself should be creative to attract such spin offs, but unfortunately, the representatives of the communities, at most, when they receive such opportunities, they look to their own pockets to enrich themselves, and this is very unfortunate.
- South Africa should prepare the grassroots and draw them out of the shackles of dependency syndrome, so they begin to show initiative, and be creative and innovative.
- Matches should have been brought closer to the rural communities than the fan park screens.
- People should not be mislead into making unrealistic investments and find themselves burdened with debt.
- The World Cup model should be used to effect service delivery
- Schooling should not be interrupted.
- When it rains, everyone should get a drop of the water.

Northern Cape

Stakeholder interviews for the Northern Cape were conducted in Kimberley and Platfontein from 7 to 9 December 2010. Eight representatives from the following stakeholder groups were interviewed: Sol Plaatje Municipality; Griekwaland West Rugby Union, !Xun and Khwe Traditional Council, !Xun and Khwe Community Sport Council, !Xun and Khwe Community Development Council, Diamond Fields Advertiser, Dutch Reformed Church

1) Extent to which the 2010 World Cup brought South African citizens together

Did the 2010 World Cup have a negative, positive or no impact on social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation?

Generally the interviewees agreed that the soccer World Cup had a positive impact on social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation. It has brought people together and has given

them a common goal. People were at first negative and unsure whether the country could pull it off, but positive reports about the event and the successful hosting of the event brought a lot of people together and strengthened social cohesion.

The stakeholder from the Dutch Reformed Church said, “For the first time ever people had a common goal and everybody was enthusiastic about the event. Different groups had met one another and socialized outside the ordinary which was a great opportunity for strengthening social cohesion among groups” (Dutch Reformed Church).

For the representative of the Rugby Union, social relationships between various ethnic groups are more relaxed after the World Cup. The fact that the Uruguayan soccer team practiced at the Griekwa’s rugby stadium

changed the general public’s perceptions about the stadium in the sense that they realized that they can also watch games at the rugby stadium and that it is not only limited to white spectators. Spectators from various ethnic groups watched the Currie Cup matches that were played after the World Cup. This has never happened before as it was perceived as a ‘white man’s game’ (Griekwaland West Rugby Union).

Although no matches were played in the Northern Cape, the fact that Kimberley successfully hosted the Uruguayan soccer team, and the Fifty-day Count Off ceremony, enhanced social cohesion among the Northern Cape population.

The role of the fan parks in promoting social cohesion and nation building was emphasized by some of the interviewees. “Watching matches together at the stadiums or fan parks also brought different people together. White people, for example, went to fan parks and soccer stadiums with blacks and nothing happened to them (no crime,) and they actually enjoyed it” (Diamond Field Advertiser). “Fan parks portrayed the rainbow nation and built social cohesion... people of all races went to the parks and enjoyed them” (Rugby Union).

Some of the interviewees indicated that the positive impact of the World Cup on social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation will only be sustainable if there is a conscious approach to keep it going. The World Cup brought different races and classes together, but the togetherness will take a long time to materialize. A representative from the Rugby Union, however, felt that the positive impact of the World Cup will not be sustained for people in remote areas in the Northern Cape since there is nothing left of the event to remind people of it. For them the World Cup and all its legacies is something of the past.

Although representatives from the !Xun and Khwe community supported the country’s hosting of the World Cup and were quite enthusiastic about the event the community felt isolated and forgotten by the government since the big screen for watching the matches only arrived for the last match of the tournament. Furthermore, the leaders were not invited to the opening ceremony or to matches in nearby Bloemfontein. Although the representative of the !Xun and Khwe Sport Council was invited to the Fifty-day Count Off ceremony in Kimberley, he left the ceremony quite early since he was ignored by the organizers of the event. According to a representative there were no signs of reconciliation during the World Cup.

All the interviewees agreed that South Africans felt pride in the country for a number of reasons: for being chosen to host the World Cup, for successfully hosting a world-class event, for receiving thousands of visitors from all over the world, and making tickets were accessible to all South Africans. The people of the Northern Cape felt particularly proud in the successful Fifty-day Count Off Ceremony that was held in Kimberley, and that Kimberley successfully hosted the Uruguayan soccer team.

According to the representative of the Rugby Union, the rugby matches played by the Blue Bulls in Soweto changed South Africans' mindset and created a positive spirit for the World Cup. "Whites enjoyed themselves in Soweto by attending the matches, but also visiting shebeens and taverns. These matches in Soweto created the vibe for South Africans to be proud of our country" (Rugby Union).

With regard to the World Cup's positive effect on xenophobia many interviewees were of the opinion that nothing has changed with regard to xenophobic attitudes towards foreigners even though South Africans were supporting Ghana after Bafana Bafana was eliminated from the tournament. For the duration of the event different nations enjoyed themselves at the stadiums and fan parks, and nationality did not matter. Everybody had fun and nobody felt threatened. However, after the event everything is back to normal and people still felt that foreigners take away their jobs. The representative of the media agreed and commented, "People supported soccer players from other African countries, but after the event they still feel that foreigners are taking their jobs, using their services. Scarcity of jobs and houses trigger xenophobia - the World Cup has not addressed that" (Diamond Fields Advertiser). The representative of the Rugby Union mentioned that although South Africans were supporting Ghana, the World Cup did not help to overcome xenophobia.

Did South African citizens feel pride in the country as a result of the hosting of the 2010 World Cup?

The interviewees unanimously agreed that the World Cup built a positive image of South Africa. Foreign visitors could experience a professionally organized event with good infrastructure in a country that is far more developed than they expected. Before the event there were many reports in the overseas media about crime in the country. However, due to good security measures, visitors felt safe during the World Cup which created a positive image of the country. The representative of the municipality commented as follows,

Overseas visitors were pleasantly surprised about conditions and life in South Africa. People even came at a late stage to the country after they received positive reports about the country. The positive image of the country encouraged investors to invest in the country after the event. The world now looks at us with a different eye and wants to know more about the country. (Municipality)

Although the interviewees agreed that the World Cup built a positive image of South Africa in the rest of the world, some believe it was only for the duration of the event. The representative of the Dutch Reformed Church commented,

After the World Cup, crime again took over and the positive image of the country was gone. South Africa could host another successful event and the same will happen. Crime will be in the background during the event, but dominate as soon as

the event is over. The positive image of the country has already faded. I watched CNN's coverage of the announcement of the host countries for the next two World Cup tournaments. South Africa was only mentioned in passing while reference was constantly made to Germany as a country that hosted a good tournament. (Dutch Reformed Church)

This concern with the damage to South Africa's image in international eyes was also voiced, "After the World Cup, crime incidents have damaged the positive image of the country. Unless the high crime rate is drastically reduced it will continue to damage the country's positive image in the eyes of the world" (!Xun and Khwe).

Some of the interviewees were of the opinion that no strategy is in place to maintain or strengthen the country's positive image after the World Cup. Furthermore, the country should have a strategy to maintain the infrastructural development like stadiums after the World Cup in order for other big events to be attracted to South Africa again.

Do South African citizens have more confidence in the ability of the government to deliver services as a result of the organisation of the 2010 World Cup?

Many of the interviewees agreed that the government has demonstrated that they can host a successful World Cup including the upgrading and building of new infrastructure. However, the interviewees differed on whether people are more confident in the government's ability to deliver services or not.

The representative of the Rugby Union was of the opinion that people are more confident after the World Cup that government can deliver on services, "It seems that people's perception about government's ability to deliver services has changed since there are fewer service delivery protests after the World Cup than before. People's perception is now that the government can deliver, but we will have to see if it is sustainable" (Rugby Union). The representative of the municipality agreed and commented as follows, "People have more confidence in government, because the government has proved to communities that service delivery can be effective. They do not know where the money comes from, but there was money for all the infrastructural developments. Government can, for example, remove the housing backlog, and improve education standards" (Municipality).

However, some interviewees indicated that people are not more confident in the government's ability to deliver services. A representative of the media commented in this regard,

People are not more confident in the government to deliver services since services were not delivered before and during the World Cup; things were done for visitors - stadiums were built. Everything that was done was quite cosmetic. After the event people were still in poverty, in squatter camps, and without water, toilets, electricity. Nothing has changed. People may think that South Africa has pulled the World Cup off, but can't explain why this capability is not shown in other areas, like service delivery. (Diamond Fields Advertiser)

A representative of the Dutch Reformed Church agreed with this perception:

People are not more confident since effective service delivery was only up to and during the World Cup. After the event everything was back to normal and effective service delivery something of the past. Although there was a large police visibility during the World Cup nothing has been done to address community concerns on crime and the community still does not feel safe. The decline in crime during the period of the World Cup is not sustainable. (Dutch Reformed Church)

The representatives from the !Xun and Khwe believe that their community does not have more confidence in government to deliver services, “Since we do not have any representation in government, there are no champions for our needs. Services are only provided to selected communities, only for comrades and their families” (!Xun and Khwe).

2) Economic benefits

The interviewees agreed that although many people have benefited from the World Cup, certain sectors, for example the building industry, the hospitality sector, big businesses and franchises in specific areas, benefited the most from the World Cup. On local level the informal sector did not benefit much since street vendors were not allowed to sell their goods at the stadiums, which affected their expected increase in business during the event. Furthermore, people in rural areas, some of whom expected to benefit economically from the World Cup through tourism, did not benefit at all.

Northern Cape benefited economically by World Cup tourists travelling through Kimberley on their way to other areas, and by soccer supporters travelling from Bloemfontein to watch the Uruguayan team practices. While in Kimberley they visited tourist attractions like the Big Hole. However, interviewees mentioned that in the Northern Cape, the ordinary citizens and guest houses in particular, did not experience an increase in business. On the contrary many guest houses upgraded their facilities, but suffered losses since their normal guests - business people, -did not travel during the event and the expected World Cup tourists did not arrive. The representative of the media commented as follows,

We did a lot of stories about guest houses that were upgraded but suffered losses, because there were no overseas tourists. The World Cup did not benefit ordinary people in Kimberley. Kimberley does not have a legacy from the World Cup. I do not think that Kimberley has benefited from the World Cup. Only the rugby stadium was upgraded, but it has already been vandalized. They came, we watched and they left. (Diamond Fields Advertiser)

Some of the interviewees commented that the world recession diminished the economic impact of the World Cup. If the economy was better more people would have attended and the economic benefits would have been more significant.

When discussing the sustainability of the economic benefits of the World Cup, a number of interviewees perceived the economic growth that was experienced during the event as artificial and not sustainable.

Many of the interviewees emphasized that with regard to future international events special measures have to be taken to ensure that the informal sector also benefits from such an

event. When discussing whether funds for the World Cup were misdirected or prevented spending on addressing poverty some of the interviewees commented that money had to be used to stage a successful event. By trying to save money and hosting an unsuccessful event, much harm would have been done to South Africa's image in the eyes of the world. The money, including a substantial amount from Fifa, was never intended for poverty reduction. A strategy has to be put in place to address poverty reduction and direct funds to it. The representative from the media commented in this regard:

Spending the money on poverty reduction would not solve the poverty issue. It would only be a drop in the ocean. The government needs to do something that's sustainable. I do not know what's going to happen with the stadiums, but the money was well spent in terms of hosting the event. (Diamond Fields Advertiser)

However, other interviewees were of the opinion that, as was the case with the successful hosting of the Rugby World Cup in 1995, existing stadiums could have been upgraded leaving some money to alleviate poverty. The representative of the Rugby Union commented that it would have made more sense to upgrade rugby stadiums for the World Cup and channel the rest of the money to poor societies, e.g. by building artificial turfs where both rugby, hockey and soccer can be played. In that way all communities could have benefited from the World Cup. Now the poor societies feel that the World Cup has not benefited them at all. Only Kimberley benefited from the event since the stadium and some roads were upgraded. The rest of the Northern Cape did not benefit at all from the event.

According to the representatives from the !Khu and Khwe community, the government and big business benefited economically a great deal from the World Cup, but the profit was not used to alleviate poverty in poor communities. "Photographs of us, the San people, were used for advertisements on South Africa, but nothing was done to relieve poverty in our community" (!Khu and Khwe).

3) Role of the media

The population of the Northern Cape was well-informed about the World Cup and had many discussions about the event with family, friends and colleagues. They got their information from various media sources. The Northern Cape has many poor rural communities who only have access to the radio. Various radio stations provided them with information on the World Cup. More affluent communities got their information on the World Cup from SABC TV, pay channels, the internet and local newspapers. Interestingly, it was mentioned that the youth, in particular, mainly got their information from the internet while the adults watched television, listened to the radio and read newspapers.

Various community radio stations in the Northern Cape had wide coverage of the event on a daily basis, for example, the !X and K FM daily broadcast many programmes on the event and encouraged people to be proudly South African. The representatives of the !Xun and Khwe community reported that, "our community were well-informed about the event especially through broadcasts by our local radio station" (!Xun and Khwe).

Not many people in the !Xun and Khwe community owned television sets. However, many of those without sets watched the games at family or friends with television sets. Apparently the languages in which the games were broadcast on television seemed to be a problem,

especially for the older people, who are not fluent in any of the official South African languages. Unfortunately the big screen TV for the Platfontein community only arrived on the final day of the soccer tournament. No newspapers are sold in Platfontein.

The interviewees commented that the media were objective about the event by publishing both positive and negative stories; news was brought to the people as it happened. However, the representative of the media mentioned that some of the overseas media, like those reporting on the Uruguayan team training in Kimberley were quite negative about Kimberley and were reporting, for example, on how dusty Kimberley was, and on social problems (crime and poverty) in South Africa. Unfortunately, a negative image of Kimberley was portrayed and will not enhance tourism in future.

Government campaigns also played an important role in informing people about the World Cup. Furthermore, all kind of publications (tourism, economic, sport) covered the event while schools and shops also provided information on the event.

Many of the interviewees believed that the media played a positive role in promoting social cohesion and nation building during the World Cup. However, after the event the media stopped promoting social cohesion and nation building through their articles. The representative of the Dutch Reformed Church commented in this regard:

For the duration of the World Cup the media played a positive role in promoting social cohesion and nation building by publishing, for example, stories about people eating and enjoying themselves in Soweto. They were also broadcasting from various parts of the country introducing South Africans to various cultures. The media also concentrated on positive stories, but after the event, the main emphases are once more on crime in the country. (Dutch Reformed Church)

The representative of the municipality agreed, “The media covered many stories on the event, including interaction between different groups. Thereby they played a positive role in promoting social cohesion during the World Cup. However, after the event this role stopped” (Municipality).

According to the representatives of the !Xun and Khwe community, the !X and K FM played a positive role in promoting social cohesion through their programmes by encouraging people to be proudly South African and to wear soccer jerseys. Due to their campaigns, the community wore Bafana jerseys, blew vuvuzelas and was greatly excited about the event.

For the representative of the Rugby Union the media, however, played a positive and negative role in building social cohesion: Before the event negative stories were published about the stadiums that are not ready. After the successful event, they are publishing positive stories. This leads to confusion among the public and they feel that they cannot take the media seriously. In future the media has to support all national undertakings in the country. At this point in time they are not doing the country justice.

4) Future large international events and recommendations

Should South Africa host more major sports or international events in the future?

The interviewees unanimously agreed that South Africa should host more major sports or other international events in the future. Many of them indicated that the World Cup was a

well-organized and well-managed event. The representative of the media, for example, commented that due to the success of the World Cup South Africa can in future be marketed as a destination for large events and not just as a tourist destination: “The country has proved that it is capable of hosting large events and will surely be capable of hosting the Olympic games” (Diamond Fields Advertiser).

The representative of the municipality supported this perception:

South Africa is ready to host almost any global event in future. Apart from the World Cup, we hosted the Rugby World Cup, Cricket T20, and have gained a lot of experience from that. We are ready to host the Olympics. Through hosting these events we have seen what the real world is about. We are exposed to many things like different currencies, social ills, such as human trafficking, and modern communication technologies. By hosting big events the world takes us seriously. (Municipality).

Recommendations: Is there anything that could have been done differently in terms of the hosting the 2010 World Cup?

The following recommendations were made by the interviewees with regard to the planning and hosting of large future international events.

In the planning stages of the event there should have been more interaction with the public at large. Public workshops should have been held to design a unique South African World Cup.

- The preparation of bid books were outsourced to consultants and real grassroots issues were not included in these bids.
- The Soccer Expo, a global soccer expo, could have travelled to all the provinces to alert South Africans about what the World Cup is really about, what is expected if hosting such an event, the economic benefits.
- The organizing committee has to be representative of all South African groups and communities, because the aim is to build a united South African nation. That will not happen if some groups are excluded.
- All groups / communities in South Africa have to be included in the event, for example fan parks should be erected for all communities.
- For future events international organizations have to adhere to South African tax regulations. Fifa did not pay any taxes on the profits. That could have benefited the South African economy.
- The hosting of the matches should have been more equally divided between the various cities so that more cities could have benefited from hosting the event.
- Transport is a big problem in various parts of South Africa and larger areas should have been included in the upgrading of infrastructure. People of the Northern Cape people still do not have an effective transport system.

- For future events more emphasis should be on social responsibility when planning the outcomes of an international event. For the World Cup the spin-offs were the upgrading of the roads and new stadiums. The poor must benefit from the event and there must be tangible legacies of such events, especially on community level.
- Special efforts should have been put in place for the development of local soccer during the event. For example, the Uruguayan team could have held coaching clinics in Kimberley and played a friendly match against the local soccer team.
- Visiting teams should interact with the local public. The Uruguayan soccer team did not interact with the public and were always protected by the police while there is no real crime in Kimberley. The general public was not invited to the team's practices although they were twice allowed to watch the team practising. It was, however, not advertised so that the general public could attend.
- Everything should be in place by the time of the opening match of the tournament. For example, fan parks in Kimberley were not ready for the opening game with the big screens not functional. Consequently people, initially enthusiastic about visiting fan parks, lost interest. An opportunity for community cohesion was thus lost.
- Existing stadiums have to be upgraded instead of building new stadiums.
- For future events sustainable development programmes have to be developed to ensure that the game is accessible to the poor after the event. Apart from building artificial training fields, enthusiasm for soccer should be sustained by taking children to watch national soccer matches. This will make them more proudly South African and will also make the parents proud.
- For future events training facilities have to be erected in areas that are accessible for all South Africans after the event. For example, state of the art training facilities were erected for the soccer teams, but are in most instances not accessible for ordinary people and will thus not be optimally used.
- Informal traders should be allowed to sell their goods at the stadiums. They must be included.
- In accordance with the rules of MATCH accommodation, air tickets, etc were quite expensive during the tournament and created the perception to foreigners that South Africa is an expensive country. This is not advancing future tourism to the country and has to be better negotiated in future.

Free State

1) Extent to which the 2010 World Cup brought South African citizens together

Stakeholders were interviewed in the Free State in December 2010 and included representatives from Small Enterprise Development Agency (SEDA), Mangaung Municipality, Free State Department of Economic, Tourism and Environmental Affairs, Volunteer Office in the Mangaung Local Municipality, Free State Association for Persons with Disabilities in the Free State, Taxi association.

Did the 2010 World Cup have a negative, positive or no impact on social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation?

All of the stakeholders interviewed in the Free State province were of the opinion that the World Cup had brought South Africans of all races, both genders and ages together. A volunteer organisation representative highlighted the interest of all people in the Cup and reported that people did not take the event seriously at first but the reality of the situation dawned when it was coming closer. The representative for people with disabilities shared the same sentiment that the World Cup has brought all South Africans together and mentioned that people put their differences aside to focus on the event.

However, respondents had differing opinions on the continuation of this 'togetherness' after the event. The representative from the Mangaung Volunteer Office remarked that, "The local games that we had after the World Cup had to some extent the same kind of relations that we saw during the World Cup. In order to sustain this we need to nurture these relations. However, it's going to be very difficult to sustain" (Mangaung Volunteer Office). In contrast, the disabled person's spokesperson said that, "Soon after World Cup people went back to their old roots and carried on with their daily activities like before. If the football Fridays, flag waving and other activities that were done continue to be re-emphasised, the spirit might continue to live" (Association for Persons with Disabilities).

The view that football Fridays need to continue was shared by most of the respondents who felt that this activity could be used to continue the nation building process, sustain the spirit of the Cup and to support all national sporting teams alike.

Did South African citizens feel pride in the country as a result of the hosting of the 2010 World Cup?

All of the respondents indicated that it was their perception that all South Africans felt proud that their country was hosting the World Cup. This pride was visible where people were observed to be buying and wearing soccer T-shirts and waving national flags. Support for the national team also reached unprecedented heights with one respondent reporting that people supported the South African team even though there was little chance that they could proceed to the next level of the games.

The disabled people's representative also believed that people were proud about their country because of the high spirit of the nation.

A Free State provincial representative from the Department of Tourism remarked that,

We need to build upon the culture that was established by the World Cup. A culture of national pride should not be events driven. It must be permanent. The World Cup provided a springboard to move to that culture, what we stand for as a nation. Using the national flag as an example, flags were seen everywhere, as mantles and drapes on cars. We need to show this pride as South African citizens when we travel overseas. People should know that we are South African and proudly so. (Department of Economic, Tourism and Environmental Affairs)

Did the 2010 World Cup build a positive image of South Africa?

All respondents also agreed that the World Cup event was very positive for the image of South Africa to the outside world. One respondent maintained that the event had put South Africa and Africa at a whole different level. She said that the world is looking at South Africa with new eyes after the event. South Africa's newfound image should support foreign investments in the country. Foreigners believed that SA was a beautiful place and offered much more than they expected.

Both the local municipality and provincial representatives believed that the low crime situation during the World Cup aided the positive perception of the country. The few crime cases related to visitors enhanced the image of the country to visitors, particularly in view of the negative image of South Africa portrayed by the international media. We have also shown the world that the country was able to host one of the most successful World Cup events the world has seen despite all the constraints being faced.

The provincial representative also reported that people had put their differences aside during the World Cup and worked together, all of which contributed to building a positive image of the country as a whole.

According to the municipal representative, more could have been done to enhance the tourism experience of visitors and consequently also the image of the country to visitors. In his own words: "We should perhaps have supplied complimentary tours to visitors to expose them to South African culture – mixed groups which could have included officials and fans. We could have taken them into the township at night to show how safe townships were" (Municipality).

Do South African citizens have more confidence in the ability of the government to deliver services as a result of the organisation of the 2010 World Cup?

Generally, respondents accepted that the belief in government's ability to deliver services has improved due the success of the World Cup event. This relates particularly to the efficient way crime was addressed during the event. Respondents were also of the opinion that a number of issues need to be addressed and principles followed before service delivery will continue to improve.

The volunteer representative believed that if some of the expertise of the World Cup is transferred to municipalities, then performance will improve significantly. She was also convinced that one of the challenges municipalities face is the fact that they operate in silos and that the World Cup example of team work should be continued to meet deadlines for service delivery. She also believes that the elimination of corruption in police services will increase confidence in the security system.

Meeting deadlines was identified as a central theme by more than one respondent. The disabled person's representative had the following comment:

Our government has the potential to deliver services and the World Cup has proven that. Government was put in the spotlight to deliver and they did not disappoint us. If they continue to be put in the spotlight then more deadlines may be met. The

upgrading of security made people feel safer about attending games at night; they believed that they were protected. (Association for Persons with Disabilities)

The taxi association representative reported that people started to relax because of high police visibility and maintained that this can only be sustained if Ubuntu principles of helping and protecting one another were followed.

The small enterprise association representative contends that government should focus on employing people that are capable of delivering high quality services, needs to keep the approach of delivering on deadlines and embark on focused interventions which will enhance the visibility of service delivery.

2) Economic benefits

To what extent did the 2010 World Cup benefit the whole country economically?

The general feeling of all the respondents was that large businesses benefited the most and that small businesses and individuals benefited either very little or not at all. The representative for disabled persons believed that the business model operated by Fifa was not well understood by communities where small businesses had to partner with larger businesses. In her words: “Any business with huge amounts of money had to be partnered with other big companies recommended by Fifa, so there was that gap that could not be closed”(Association for Persons with Disabilities).

Another respondent involved with small business development provided more details and said that most of the guesthouses were fully booked.

Some homestays were not utilised due being unready. If you were not linked with MATCH and the tourism information center than you would not have gained much. People on the database of the municipality and TEP did benefit. Institutions who benefited the most are hotels and larger more established guesthouses, shuttle services and the Windmill casino. It was not easy for small business to reap benefits from the event. (Small Enterprise Development Association, SEDA)

It was also reported by the disabled person’s representative that communities did not benefit as they believed they would and that people were bitter because they incurred debts because they were misled. For example, some people renovated their homes and upgraded them to bed and breakfast establishments at great cost but ended up having no visitors at all.

Despite the belief that communities did not benefit from the World Cup, it was acknowledged by most respondents that the country benefited at a macro level through the upgrading of infrastructure such as roads, stadiums and community halls and that South Africans in general benefited indirectly from this. A taxi association representative had the following to say, “In the taxi industry, what we have benefited the most from, and will benefit from in the long run, is the roads infrastructure. The roads are now first-class”(Taxi association).

A municipality representative had the following comment on Fifa restrictions and the role that government should have played,

More people should have benefited. Street traders could have benefited substantially more from the event. Fifa commercial issues and restrictions were harmful to local

culture. Government did not do enough to put the social economic case and realities on the table before Fifa. Government should have stood up more strongly for the nation to ensure that more people benefited from the event. (Municipality)

The disabled person's representative believed that the economic impact of the World Cup could be sustained by maintaining the partnerships that were forged and that the municipality together with different communication sectors, the police and security companies should continue to work as a team.

Were the funds for the 2010 World Cup misdirected or prevent spending on addressing poverty and other needs?

There was consensus among respondents interviewed that the money spent to host the World Cup was generally well spent, particularly in view of the many infrastructure upgrades.

The municipality representative felt that poverty alleviation with World Cup money might only have been a short term solution to many people whereas improved infrastructure will in the long run encourage more investments in the country. It therefore made sense that the government spent so much money on the event and supportive infrastructure that forms the basis of our economy. "Spending on entertainment for important guests and key investors was also money well spent because one million rand can be turned into ten thousand employment opportunities if investments are made by guests" (Municipality).

The taxi association representative believed that the expenses that government incurred with upgrading roads and stadiums could have been directed to building houses for people but would not have solved the housing shortage problem, "We need the infrastructure that we have, it is not misdirected. This infrastructure is an investment, it is what attracts the world to South Africa" (Taxi Association).

More comments related to the investment value of the money that was spent on the World Cup by the small business development representative were that the value of the investment could be ten times that amount in 10 years time due to opportunities and other investment spin-offs. She continued by saying that there shouldn't be perceptions that it was a tradeoff between either the World Cup or better service delivery, "This is something that we needed to build a nation and bring us together. It has shown that nothing is too big for us to do together. Events such as the World Cup was never meant to address issues of poverty" (SEDA).

It was also pointed out by the provincial representative that the image of the country benefited enormously from the investment made to host the World Cup and that this was an important and necessary event to show the world what South Africa and Africa can achieve.

Only the representative of disabled persons believed that some money was misspent with the following comment: "We believe that some funds were misdirected where local municipalities wasted millions of rands by buying tickets and T-shirts. Who were those for? People with disabilities did not receive even a single complimentary ticket from the municipality" (Association for Persons with Disabilities).

3) Role of the media

In general did the media play a positive or negative role in promoting nation building, social cohesion and reconciliation during the World Cup?

There was consensus among respondents that the media portrayed the country in a well balanced and mostly positive manner. People relied mostly on radio and television. Print media such as the Daily Sun newspaper played a role lesser role. Reportedly, Lesedi FM and OFM were the most popular radio stations among listeners in the Free State and the SABC played a major role with television updates.

The municipal representative also referred to other sources of information on the World Cup such as the local tourism information office and libraries in Bloemfontein. Other types of media used were the Internet with websites such as Twitter and Facebook which were singled out as important sources of information.

The taxi representative was of the opinion that the media played a critical role in bringing people together and that different types of media all had the same 'language' and supportive message.

The disabled people's representative believed that the community in Bloemfontein was well informed because of the huge support received during all the matches held in Bloemfontein. The provincial representative agreed with this statement and had the following to say, "The media supported nation building and also played an important role in breaking down the divide between race groups - white and black now had something in common to talk about and it changed how people view each other" (Department of Economic, Tourism and Environmental Affairs)

According to the small business development representative, the media also played a positive role in terms of running competitions, talk shows and creating excitement with countdowns. The slogan "it is here, feel it" was also used extensively by the media to create excitement around the World Cup event.

According to the municipal representative, the 2010 office had regular media briefings and news releases to provide first hand information to the media. Some was negative reporting highlighting problem areas, but it kept officials on their toes.

4) Future large international events and recommendations

Should South Africa host more major sports or international events in the future?

All the respondents were in agreement that more large international events such as the World Cup should be hosted by South Africa.

The taxi representative reported that South Africa has proved beyond reasonable doubt that it can host big events. This was a test that we passed. We had rugby and cricket in the past and had proven ourselves. If the world does not know where to go in terms of hosting mega events, South Africa should be considered.

The municipal representative was particularly positive about Mangaung hosting such events in future. Bloemfontein's status as an events and business tourism destination is ideal for hosting large sporting events.

The provincial representative believed that South Africa's success with the World Cup has placed the country in a position to host other major events such as the Olympic games.

Recommendations: Is there anything that could have been done differently in terms of the hosting the 2010 World Cup?

Respondents had a variety of suggestions on what could have been done differently to improve the experience and benefits to the country.

- More attention should be paid to managing accessible transport and accommodation for the disabled, based on input from disabled person's organizations.
- A better and more even spread of games across different provinces is needed.
- A greater variety of provinces can also be showcased to outside visitors.
- Communication with businesses and other role players was inadequate.
- More should have been done in the Free State to entertain visitors during the day when no games were played.
- Indigenous food and exhibitions of local crafts at stadiums and fan parks should have been presented to visitors.
- Insufficient involvement of small businesses and entrepreneurs.
- Potential traders should be well informed about the process of handing in trade applications.
- Bloemfontein could have been marketed better, with timely information on activities and affordable accommodation.
- Prices should not be inflated.
- There should have been more programs and tour packages to introduce visitors to outlying rural areas.
- Not having a base team in the Free State was a shortcoming because supporters preferred to stay where their teams were located.
- New temporary laws for the World Cup period should be communicated to those involved, such as liquor outlets which were extended trading hours on Sundays.

North West

Stakeholder interviews for North West were conducted in Phokeng near Rustenburg from 13 to 15 December 2010. Six representatives from the following stakeholder groups were interviewed: North West Parks and Tourism Board, Bafokeng Taxi Owners Association, Royal Bafokeng Administration (RBA) and two local tavern owners.

1) Extent to which the 2010 World Cup brought South African citizens together

Did the 2010 World Cup have a negative, positive or no impact on social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation?

There is concurrence from stakeholders in Phokeng, with the exception of the Bafokeng Taxi Owners Association, that the World Cup brought a positive experience to them in terms of nation building, social cohesion and reconciliation. There are sentiments that the “fly the flag” campaign, the Bafana Bafana jersey and the opportunity for the Bafokeng people to host the World Cup aided in a process of getting people together, and assisted them in working together with government, communities and municipality. In North West, social cohesion and nation building was experienced through interactions in malls and through various activities organized by the Royal Bafokeng Administration (RBA). There was massive interaction of people from all racial groups. In Rustenburg, for instance, the RBA had organized various activities to welcome and celebrate the World Cup and they experienced positive outcomes in terms of interaction and social cohesion. Everyone was willing to make the event a success.

One of the tavern owners is of the view that the World Cup had a positive impact on nation building and social cohesion. As he said during the interview, for the first time in his life since he was born in 1958, he saw blacks and whites gathering. The fact that his village hosted USA and England was so amazing. He said “It was the first time I was hugged by a white person, I have seen whites gathering in my tavern, both local and other white people from UK and USA. The World Cup really brought people together” (local tavern owner).

The following are the views of other stakeholders about the nation building, social cohesion and reconciliation “What I have realized is that the World Cup brought people close to their national flag, which was not the case before. Most people were flying flags everywhere, in houses and on cars” (North West Parks and Tourism Board).

It was a positive thing for the Bafokeng. I was part of the organizing committee for the tournament, and I can tell that the World Cup stretched our imaginations. It gave us an opportunity as a nation to work towards unity. I think that the World Cup did well in aiding that process if even if society does, at times, forget about that (RBA).

The Communication Department at the Royal Bafokeng Administration put forward the view that the World Cup brought positive social cohesion among the Bafokeng community. They state that the Bafokeng community felt proud that their village was hosting the Royal Bafokeng Stadium and this magnificent event. They monitored that through Face book and Twitter and saw comments like “I can’t wait to be home, I am proud to be Mofokeng” from people in Johannesburg and Mafikeng. The World Cup changed attitudes. It was seen to be a moment where whites wanted to be part of a larger South Africa and visitors from other countries were welcomed.

Contrary to incidents in the past, where whites would not want to be seen wearing or associating with the Bafana Bafana jersey, during the World Cup they were enjoying, cheering and saluting with everybody. Also whites from USA, UK were

interacting with the local people, especially in taverns and even buying drinks for them. In Phokeng, unity was so high that criminals even forgot about acts of crime. (RBA)

Stakeholders from Phokeng dismissed concerns about xenophobia as they had no experience of it in their part of the world, where “there is no concentration of foreigners as compared to urban areas”.

There were however, business relationships built between Botswana, Namibia and South Africa. During the World Cup, the Royal Bafokeng had positioned itself as a gateway to South Africa from Africa, in particular Botswana and Namibia. The relationship built with those countries was to facilitate the process of tourism during that period. (North West Parks and Tourism Board)

There were some who felt excluded because of disappointments relating to exclusion from business possibilities. Though their experience of the World Cup was positive, taxi owners said they felt “betrayed and sidelined” in the process of preparations for the World Cup (Bafokeng Taxi Owner’s Association).

Further modifications of the view that there was a positive impact on social cohesion were made by the local tavern owner who noted that “The togetherness is not yet sustainable.(...) it has subsided, and there is a need of efforts to ensure that South Africans work hard and as a team toward the achievement of unity which can be sustained only if black and whites can trust and respect each other”(Local tavern owner).

Addressing the concern about sustainability, the RBA outlined plans for the future. The RBA will continue to support Super7 (rugby tournament) and Platinum Stars (soccer), and ensure that more games for the local teams are played in Royal Bafokeng as a strategy to ensure that the nation has a sustainable process of nation building and social cohesion. The stakeholder’s last comment was “You cannot foretell because you will never know what may happen, but it will always remain in our hopes that unity should be sustainable” (RBA).

Continuing on the topic of sustainability, one respondent from the RBA said he thinks that the unity did have momentum during the World Cup, as happened in Germany in 2006. However, he does not think that it will be sustainable forever. He goes on to say,

The togetherness created by the World Cup was hype, it is the same as after the 1994 elections, where people thought that the unity would be there forever, but still it is good that the World Cup has created a sense of unity, because it was a positive experience for the country. For instance, after the murder of Terreblanche, people thought there would be a civil war, but the World Cup faded that, and it created a positive experience for the country instead. But what I can say is that unity is still fragile and it will take ages to have a sustainable unity as it takes only one silly thing to reverse unity, which is still fragile. So it will take ages to have a sustainable unity. (RBA)

Did South African citizens feel pride in the country as a result of the hosting of the 2010 World Cup?

Several participants say they were proud as South Africans to host the World Cup, and they have no doubts that Bafokeng “as a nation” are also proud to have hosted the World Cup in Phokeng village. People’s pride was shown by their hospitable responses to visitors.

“Everyone was focused on the World Cup and even crime came to a stop” (North West Parks and Tourism Board).

Another respondent from the RBA said they felt pride for hosting, and they still enjoy the recognition received after the World Cup. She said the Bafokeng are today dubbed as the most successful nation in Fifa history to host a tournament of this nature. This is because tournaments of this nature never happened in a village in this world, and they did. Now people all over the world are responding to the name, Royal Bafokeng. “The success of hosting an event of that nature talks about Bafokeng leadership, their dreams and aspirations which propelled the building of the stadium, and they invested resources to ensure that the event becomes a success” (RBA).

Also people were proud of new infrastructure relating to the stadium. The pitch was voted as the best pitch by Fifa during the World Cup. It was something positive for the Bafokeng, the nation and the country. Everyone was talking about it. Another respondent from the RBA said working and living within the Bafokeng territory, it was easy to pick up the pride. Bafokeng were happy, and they wanted to be seen. They wanted to see the name Bafokeng used more than the name Rustenburg. Most people identified themselves with Phokeng and not Rustenburg. It was a moment where the name ‘Bafokeng’ was reviving its meaning going back into the history. “So every time there is a little history, people feel pride about that” (RBA, communication department).

Taxi owners said that because of their treatment by the local organizing committee, they did not feel proud. Even though they saw the World Cup they did not feel proud. They were disappointed from the outset. The taxi owners did not have a positive eye about the World Cup. “The World Cup was a sad period, and it will be a sad history to us” (Bafokeng Taxi Owner’s Association).

Did the 2010 World Cup build a positive image of South Africa?

Respondents expressed sentiments that the World Cup built a positive image. South Africans proved to the world that they are not hostile to people nor do they live in a jungle.

Tavern owners told of how they housed BBC and Uruguayan television stations. One tavern owner said, “For the period of the World Cup, the BBC were broadcasting from my home free of charge” (Local tavern owner).

He heard people saying positive things about South Africa. They were impressed by the roads, infrastructure, park and ride facilities.

A respondent from the RBA Communication Department said he thinks the World Cup put them on the map as South Africans and as Bafokeng. He said there were journalists from 18 countries, who reported positively about Bafokeng

Media want to tell the world about this village, the village that has the capacity to host an event of such magnitude. The Bafokeng were covered in 46 languages, and most people who had never heard of the Bafokeng, came and wrote about Bafokeng in different languages. (RBA, Communication Department).

He observed that both the Bafokeng and the country were applying different methods to ensure that the legacy of South Africa in terms of the positive image remained behind. The Bafokeng wanted to protect its image, and it did so through continuation and protection of their strong policy particularly on tourism. The idea was to promote tourism, capitalize on that, and give people experiences of the Bafokeng. The Bafokeng did not have to counter stereotypes of lawlessness and crime.

2) Economic benefits

To what extent did the 2010 World Cup benefit the whole country economically?

Respondents gave examples of specific businesses that benefited economically. Airlines, tour operators, taxis, taverns and some forms of accommodation did well. Sun City is included among these. This increase of business did not reach further than the businesses that served tourists, of which there were many. They went to see places in Rustenburg and around Phokeng village. One respondent noted how “people were flocking to taverns next to the main road, but for a guy living next door, with no business or whatsoever there were no benefits for them, and they did not get anything either” (RBA).

Although 90% of guesthouses in Rustenburg were fully booked, it was unclear if people in Phokeng village who were not affiliated to the tourism office and were using home stay received any benefit.

The taxi drivers are thrilled that the World Cup is over, and they can start picking up the pieces. They said, “We were impatient for the World Cup to end, we were disturbed because our roads were closed...we could not wait for the World Cup to end. To us, the World Cup brought more harm, we were very bitter” (Bafokeng Taxi Owner’s Association).

The taxi business was governed by Fifa rules and the Greater Rustenburg Transport Co-operative (GRTC). Only 10 cars from the 493 vehicles were given permission to operate in fan parks, and that happened after the association had a long discussion with the GRTC.

In Phokeng, the RBA had renovated Lucky’s Tavern and visitors were supposed to be entertained there. This was a place of entertainment recommended for FIFA, but other small taverns were ignored. For every event there were buses organized to ferry visitors to go and drink there after the matches. One tavern owner said “some of us, like myself, despite the fact that I am 200m away from the stadium, were overlooked” (Local Tavern Owner).

The tavern owner who hosted the BBC did well. The Local Organising Committee selected one tavern owner to sell liquor. Our people bought new cars, selling their old “Siyaya” cars. Now people are stressed because they are in debt. To these respondents the World Cup did more harm than good, and they were very sad.

Another tavern owner who stays few metres away from the stadium says the World Cup was beneficial for his business and his partner. They assisted them with revenues to start business, and they made money. These people also benefited because they hosted Uruguay

media who were broadcasting from their tavern. It was an advantage to them because all the fans were flocking there, and they were enjoying drinks and braai/BBQ meat (Chesa nyama) there. They have increased the price of alcohol from R11 to R30. 'Dumpy' was sold for R30 instead of the normal price of R11, and no one complained about the price of beer, because it was cheap, especially for tourists.

Anticipation of the World Cup events led to high expectations that were not met, and this led to feelings of anger and disappointment, especially among the taxi drivers. Expectations of tourists staying in Phokeng were disappointed. There were unsustainable, short term benefits for some in the accommodation business. Others, who renovated their homes, to make them into tourist accommodation are now saddled with debt. (Bafokeng Taxi Owner's Association)

Among the taxi drivers comments was the view that "The World Cup was oversold" (Bafokeng Taxi Owner's Association).

Countering some of the critical views was an assessment from one of the Royal Bafokeng Association respondents, who noted that,

There were people who never thought that they will make a rand from the World Cup, but they benefited, like villagers who did the home stay instead of the B&Bs(...) tourists were not up to flashy B&Bs, and they asked for simple accommodation. That was something overlooked (...) Secondly, local people living on the main road benefited, especially tavern owners. Lastly, there were activation programmes, which benefited, in particular local agencies(...) I admit the economic benefit did not reach as far as was hoped. (RBA)

We are not far from the stadium, our offices are less than 500 from our we operate in this area daily, we were supposed to be the first to be contacted to transport people but we the but we were the worst. We could not transport people to the stadium, even local passengers. Our roads were closed, by Fifa zones. Roads closed from the Swartruggens crossings. (Bafokeng Taxi Owner's Association).

During the interviews, it was flagged by respondents that there were expectations in the community which did not contribute positively to a national morale. There were high expectations, from all sectors of the people in Phokeng, in particular, ordinary people who thought that the RBA would give people complimentary tickets to attend the matches. There were also expectations that lots of tourists will stay in Phokeng during the World Cup, as compared to Rustenburg, and people had huge loans for preparing their homes. It was indicated that while there were many people staying in Phokeng, it was not flooded as expected, and there was not much turnout for the local B&Bs and guesthouses.

"The World Cup was a flashy event, you spent and got nothing else, and that is not going to change" (RBA).

3) Role of the media

Which forms of media did you rely on to get information about the World Cup? Did they keep you well informed?

Overall, media played a positive role because the coverage was encouraging and it displaced many stereotypes, not only for the journalists, but also for the audiences who had certain expectations. The positive coverage encourages South Africans to shift mindset because everything said was positive.

Participants say television was the main form of media used. In particular, the SABC 1/BBC/Skynews/E-news, World/Supersport 3&4. They also relied on newspapers and radio. One respondent said he used to buy the Sowetan because it informed people about the fixtures, and schedules. People with access to internet used that to access information about the World Cup, tickets, transport and accommodation and directions to the venues. Tavern owners who housed international broadcasting like BCC and Uruguay, feel that international media played a positive role too.

Even the adverts were of one spirit, which is the spirit of the World Cup. A respondent from the RBA said, "I think the SABC did a fantastic job. Children of all ages knew about the World Cup. My son is four years; he knew exactly what was going on. Media did this country very proud. We had positive reporting, we were able to attract the eyes of the world, and we could not achieve that without the media" (RBA).

Radio and other media were powerful during the World Cup. People who listen to the radio used Motsweding FM: the community radio stations did not broadcast matches. In Phokeng, the RBA communication respondent learnt that there was a general exposure of the Bafokeng, and Phokeng, as a nation. There were over 41000 articles 'printed' about the Bafokeng on the online press.

Respondents said that even international reports were positive in many ways. They also monitored websites, blog columns in social media, and even ESPN; all talked about beautiful stadiums in South Africa. There were advertisements about tribes, the nation, the kingdom, the stadiums, sports - everything was positive.

4) Future large international events and recommendations

Should South Africa host more major sports or international events in the future?

Participants felt that they are ready to host international events. A stakeholder said,

If we talk about the capacity, we rose to a challenge and we gave it our best shot (...) We fully believe in our capability as the Bafokeng nation, we put our resources together, we invested in the World Cup, we were vigorous, there were no incidents of muggings, human trafficking, and we are taking the legacy forward in terms of how we are organizing international sporting events.(RBA)

Respondents also believe that South Africa is in the spotlight, and it has positioned itself very well. From the perspective of the RBA, the Bafokeng already have the facilities, the pitch, sports clinic, and the stadium is new; it makes sense for them to host international events. They said they have hosted the WSSD not long ago and there is nothing they cannot do. They said the Bafokeng nation do not have concerns about stereotypes or the stigma of

being a rural 'nation', they no longer see themselves as some backyard; the perception has changed. Fifa knows that the Bafokeng can be incredible partners and their stadium, their readiness in terms of everything proved it. They were ready for the Confederation Cup, they were ready for England, regardless of speculation that their camping facilities will not be ready

Respondents from the RBA said that they have a plan; and their stadium is going to be used, and it will not be a white elephant. In terms of their model, it makes sense to keep on hosting major events. As of now, they are bidding to host Rugby sevens (Rugby 7s). This is a rugby tournament played annually, also a world series where rugby teams across the globe participate. In the coming tournament in South Africa, it is expected that countries such as Zimbabwe, Argentina, and Hong Kong will participate and play at the Royal Bafokeng stadium. One respondent said in terms of tourism that will make lots of capital for the whole country. He maintains that this kind of tournament needs outlays, and perceives the Royal Bafokeng model as sustainable.

Recommendations: Is there anything that could have been done differently in terms of the hosting the 2010 World Cup?

- There were criticisms from respondents about the way the World Cup was planned and handled. Respondents felt there should be better planning and management projections.
- Nepotism should be avoided.
- There should be more consultation with taxi associations and tavern owners.
- Excessively high expectations should not be raised, causing over-investment and subsequent debt when expectations are not met.
- The taxi industry and bed and breakfasts should also benefit.
- Such events should not be organized by the people who are in management positions, as happened with the Local Organising Committee. Members enriched themselves.
- There should not be singling out of one business at the expense of others.
- Widespread poverty in Phokeng was concealed.
- Benefits should not be confined only to those affiliated to Fifa.
- Fifa should not be dominant.
- Information should be given well in advance by more active dissemination. People should be prepared for what is coming.
- Bad publicity about Phokeng, as a village with a lot of poverty.
- Arts and culture people should be given the opportunity to expose their works to tourists.

- Fifa rules should not be allowed to affect vendors negatively

Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga

Stakeholder interviews were conducted in the Eastern Cape in December 2010 with the following sectors: a Community Development Worker (CDW), Street Vendors, the Methodist Church and the Youth Development Agency.

Stakeholder interviews were held in Mpumalanga in December 2010 with a Municipality Manager, Women's Church Group and Local Sports Club Coordinator.

1) Extent to which the 2010 World Cup brought South African citizens together

Did the 2010 World Cup have a negative, positive or no impact on social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation?

The feeling across the different stakeholder groups in both the Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga was that the World Cup did bring together different sections of society, the young and the old, South Africans and foreign nationals, the haves and the have-nots. People from all walks of life gathered together in stadia, fan parks, entertainment areas, public viewing areas and taverns. Usual hostilities across different groups appear to have been suspended in the build up to as well as during the event. "It had a very positive impact (...)the attitude of the people when they attended matches was friendly (...) everybody felt they were all working towards the same goal, they felt the World Cup was good for the country and everybody felt patriotic about the whole event" (Municipality Manager, Mpumalanga).

"Maybe this points to a deficit of activities outside the World Cup which would have the same effect of bringing South Africans together"(Community Development Worker, Eastern Cape).

Isolated groups engaged with new people due to World Cup projects,

Yes, before the World Cup the only people that we know around here are the ones that we work with here at the hospital, we hardly knew anyone from the community other than as patients, but following World Cup related activities here at the hospital, whereby we recruited local youths from the townships as well as workers from other departments/organisations, we mixed a lot. Even criminal activities against us were reduced because the criminals are from the surrounding community and now that they know us, they protect our property. (Local Sports Club, Mpumalanga)

Describing the kinds of encounters that took place, one stakeholder said,

You could have been sitting next to a Frenchman (...) you don't understand each other's language but you could laugh together and at each other (...) it was nice (...)white people have even come back to the stadiums to watch black soccer teams playing This means that the World Cup has changed attitudes. There are also lots of black people who attend rugby matches, I also go to watch the Blues - I never did

before the World Cup. Before, if you went, you would be insulted and you would not even enjoy the game. (Local Sports Club, Mpumalanga)

He added,

Just before the World Cup, when the Blues were playing in Soweto, after the match the whites did not even bother to ride in the bus(...)the kind of love they saw from the blacks is something they will never forget(...)others did not even bother to go to the stadium itself, they remained outside boozing(...)the World Cup helped(...)they went to the township(...)can you imagine a white man going to the township and getting out without being beaten or having been insulted? (Local Sports Club, Mpumalanga)

He elaborated by describing details of incidents of new harmony,

White people stayed away from soccer matches before the World Cup(...)there was a racial divide in sports(...)some sports were for blacks and others for whites(...)there were incidents when blacks attending rugby matches were beaten or insulted by whites(...)but look at the Blues now, they have lots of black supporters and they enjoy that(...)when they came to Mbombela stadium the kind of support they got there was unbelievable(...)we were supposed to support the Pumas but one's love for the Blues took over. (Local Sports Club, Mpumalanga)

Judgments from a different group emerged during discussion, "the community was excluded(...) branding only occurred in the cities and suburbs(...)there was no full information provided to communities(...)only adverts(...)people came to feel that the World Cup was for politicians" (Street Vendors, Eastern Cape).

One perspective highlighted incidents of conflict, "There were some tensions(...)black business against black business(...) chairperson of the Taxi Association got shot (...) relationships between rich and poor were not good (...) some municipality workers were suspected of having business interests within Fifa" (Street Vendors, Eastern Cape).

Others described social cohesion,

What we saw was youth coming together for events (...) the different races did get together (...) the relations between blacks and whites improved (...) we understood that we need to protect our country (...) there was an understanding that crime had to be managed (...) that we had to extend hospitality to the visitors (...) there were three bands performing, a white band, a black band and a coloured band. (Street Vendors, Eastern Cape)

Relational bridges were built amongst hawkers in the townships, between black hawkers and local churches, white communities, coloured communities. Taxi operators agreed to help control the drug problem. Some local big businesses, for example a SPAR manager, offered to assist in providing security for hawkers. One centre manager who does not like hawkers agreed to accommodate them during the World Cup. One respondent said, "He was grateful that we approached him and said he had been worried about crime (...) a coloured lady even made special pinafores and hats for the hawkers (...) taxi drivers were very co-operative in

ensuring safety for visitors (...) even white people were taking taxis (...) they had 24/7 marshalls” (Street Vendors, Eastern Cape).

The stakeholder from the Methodist Church described the unifying effect of shared sporting activities, “In Sulekama we have football, netball, volleyball, tennis and athletics starting with 5 year olds, the children from the area, including adults, they all run together as a result people still feel ubuntu” (Methodist Church, Eastern Cape).

Observations varied,

In our area here it is difficult to find any evidence of nation building (...) but watching places like Gauteng from a distance we can see white people mixing with black people in soccer stadia (...) something we have never seen before (...) this thing does not impact on us here (...) because even the World Cup excitement we were only able to witness it from afar (...) and on TV. (Methodist Church, Eastern Cape)

Socially you could see that the World Cup was able to help us cross gender and age gaps. It was quite common to get to a home or a church hall and find people from all walks of life gathered together to watch matches on big screen TVs (...) potentially we can see that sport in South Africa can unite...the vuvuzela had an impact...the World Cup brought cohesion amongst ourselves and amongst ourselves and other nations. (Methodist Church, Eastern Cape)

Despite fears of possible xenophobic attacks no incidents were reported anywhere in both the Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga. The general perception in both Mpumalanga and the EC was that foreign nationals showed support for the SA by wearing SA World Cup regalia, and South Africans supported other African teams which would have also facilitated a softening of attitudes on all sides: “When the South African team fell through, everybody started supporting the other African countries and I think other African countries were also very proud that it was South Africa that hosted (...) that it was an African thing (...) the message of inclusiveness came across very well” (Municipality Manager, Mpumalanga).

The Nelson Mandela Bay Street Vendors association is for all. People were told that in no uncertain terms that if they wanted an exclusive association that they should go elsewhere. Tribalism is not tolerated (...) the build-up to the event presented opportunities for dialogue between locals and foreign nationals who own businesses (...) there was, as a result, increased understanding amongst coloureds, Indians, Bangladeshis, Muslims, locals. (Street Vendors, Eastern Cape)

The role of sport activities as a vehicle for social cohesion was important, as one stakeholder said, “What stands out for me is how when Bafana Bafana exited the competition South Africans supported Ghana...there was no discussion, there was no meeting, it just happened. Xenophobia was only in the newspapers. In fact, going forward, sport seems like a good vehicle for dealing with xenophobia” (Methodist Church, Eastern Cape).

There were mixed views on the extent to which corruption in the awarding of tenders and in employment practices in the Eastern Cape had a negative impact on community relations/dynamics.

It was said that, “An authoritarian, abusive and domineering culture within the municipality is damaging community relations (...) it damages trust amongst communities (...) coloured people do not trust black people” (Street Vendors, Eastern Cape).

Did South African citizens feel pride in the country as a result of the hosting of the 2010 World Cup?

There was an unequivocally positive response to this question, across the board: “The pride and glory that people were able to experience are some of the intangible benefits of the World Cup” (Community Development Worker, Eastern Cape).

Reflecting on South Africa’s character, a stakeholder from the Eastern Cape said, “The World Cup re-inforced for me that when South Africa is put under pressure it can surprise you. Every time we are confronted by negativity we surprise ourselves” (Methodist Church, Eastern Cape).

The street vendors acknowledged the frustrations and the fact that they were not being listened to but felt that they had to show pride in their country, for example by taking pride in the products that they sold and in their personal presentation.

In Mpumalanga, similar sentiments were expressed, “The event made people feel that we are a winning country. Everybody was wearing the flag, the Bafana Bafana T-shirt, feeling really proud to be South African. Everybody came to watch soccer, something they had never done before, they were very happy to be part of the whole thing” (Municipality Manager, Mpumalanga).

Did the 2010 World Cup build a positive image of South Africa?

The response to this question from stakeholder representatives in Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga was that it did,

The community stakeholder said, The World Cup was good not only for the image of the country, but for the community development sector as well. Those who have been here before were thus able to witness progress first hand and that must surely, have helped change their perceptions of us. (Community Development Worker, Eastern Cape)

The representative of the Methodist Church commented,

I think the World Cup is the best thing that happened to us since Mandela. It painted South Africa as an alternative site of many events. We succeeded in defeating shadows, for example, the idea of South Africa as a place of crime, of South Africans as inefficient. We simply surprised everybody. (Methodist Church, Eastern Cape)

Yes, very much so. The whole world was doubtful whether we could do it and we proved beyond any doubt that we could. It was a good experience for everybody. The stadia that were built were state of the art facilities. There will always be negatives for some people but overwhelmingly everybody was very satisfied. If I look at the reaction of the international visitors that we had, they were very pleased, they took

pictures. It was fun. It was one big party for them and it was definitely, over all, a very good image for the country. (Municipality Manager, Mpumalanga)

The beneficial effects of South Africa's hosting of the World Cup were commented on, "We were not going to be recognised as a country if we failed to host this World Cup. Now the whole world recognises Africa because of South Africa, now business can come from the outside world because of South Africa" (Local Sports Club, Mpumalanga).

Do South African citizens have more confidence in the ability of the government to deliver services as a result of the organisation of the 2010 World Cup?

The overall feeling was that the successful hosting of the World Cup proved that the government does have the resources and capacity, "The government does have the capacity hence it succeeded in hosting the World Cup, so capacity and resources are there. The issue is one of political will, I am not sure if it's there" (Community Development Worker, Eastern Cape).

"We had the World Cup which was technically a difficult thing to do and the government was able to do it" (Municipal Manager, Mpumalanga).

The general feeling was that there was a significant drop in crime during the World Cup and that this, at the time of interviewing, was still the case, "The visibility of police in townships, which started with the World Cup is still there. There are now police permanently camped inside the townships. Previously, there was always a problem with shortage of police vans in the townships. We appreciate police presence in the townships" (Community Development Worker, Eastern Cape).

"The World Cup enhanced the belief that the South African government does have the capacity when it has political will. Our government seems to respond well to pressure. Even to get salary increases, people have to toy-toyi, then one witnesses political will" (Methodist Church, Eastern Cape)

Two respondents observed a lessening of crime: "Crime has dropped and cash-in-transit robberies have come down" (Street Vendors, Eastern Cape).

2) Economic benefits

To what extent did the 2010 World Cup benefit the whole country economically?

An overwhelming view amongst the stakeholder groups interviewed was that the World Cup benefited the whole country:

The whole country benefited. We were fortunate because the World Cup came at a time when it was the worst recession internationally...as a result of the World Cup there were projects going on with the government spending money on these big projects that kept a lot of people going because it was not just the construction of the stadia that people benefited from - there were other work opportunities created and I think that helped us as a country. In Nelspruit as well, there is a lot of money that the government spent on the project that would have never been spent on this part of the country. (Municipality Manager, Mpumalanga)

Nobody was left out. There are lots of unemployed people who were able to find work in World Cup related activities/businesses. For some the economic benefits continue, for example the stadia need maintenance and other services. It is just unfortunate that we cannot all work. Our local stadia here did not have grandstands and now one is being built. People are working there and some will get permanent jobs looking after it. (Local Sports Club, Mpumalanga)

Some took a broad and long term view:

As a community development worker, one did not expect that there would be cash injections into social development programmes during the World Cup, but one expects that post the event there will be spin-offs in terms of funding for programmes that seek to address social problems. We have not yet seen that - what one sees instead is the municipality having cash flow problems. (Community Development Worker, Eastern Cape)

“The money that was spent on the World Cup, we are going to recover though this won’t happen overnight, it takes time. The whole world is saying that if South Africa can do this why would we not want to take business back there”(Co-ordinator, Local Sports Club, Mpumalanga).

Some stakeholders suggested the problem was one of unrealistic expectations rather than one of economic benefit for the whole country:

The World Cup inspired overly high expectations that everybody would make money but that’s an unrealistic expectation. Not everybody can make direct money out of it. There was a huge hype around the whole event which did not translate into direct economic benefits for everybody because the projected tourist numbers did not eventuate. (Municipality Manager, Mpumalanga)

There were, however, some stakeholder groups that felt the benefits of the World Cup were not widely shared. In the Eastern Cape (Port Elizabeth) corruption and favoritism in procurement and awarding of tenders and job opportunities were cited as a negative factor by participants in both focus groups and stakeholder interviews. Some participants felt strongly that only some ‘connected’ individuals and established, white businesses benefited from the World Cup.

It was a negative experience for the hawkers. Some of them were not given the chance to be near the stadium, some were removed without proper consultation - the reason given was that overseas tourists had to find the place clean. That created infighting between the municipality and the hawkers. The Local Organising Committee never approached the hawkers, it asked the municipality to deal with them. Some were given an opportunity to go to the theme parks but the distance from the entrance was big and the fees were too high. The hawkers and the community felt excluded: “Fifa was not promoting the things that people are used to, for example, food. People were promised canteens but we found out that...there are suspicions that they were given to comrades...this created mistrust between people and the municipality” (Street Vendors, Eastern Cape).

“Here in the former Transkei we realised even before the World Cup started that it was going to be a big flood for Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban. The economic aspect of the World Cup did not touch us” (Methodist Church, Eastern Cape).

While the next participant understood that the benefits would be manifested in the period of the World Cup, he nonetheless felt that there was a need for signs in this direction:

“Materially people are not yet satisfied. The emotional hype is supposed to be complemented by material hype (Community Development Worker, Eastern Cape).

Others had a somewhat philosophical response to the question, “Small towns like Mthatha, Centane have pressing needs like electricity, water. so they can’t even think globally about economic benefits” (Methodist Church, Eastern Cape).

Were funds for the World Cup misdirected or prevented spending on addressing poverty and other needs?

While the stakeholders interviewed acknowledged the need to address people’s need for basic services and for addressing some of the social ills associated with poverty, the overall feeling was that investing money in the World Cup was a good thing to do. The spin offs of the event, in terms of both long term economic and social benefits was sufficient justification in this regard:

I can understand why someone might say this but I would not agree that it was wrong to invest in the World Cup infrastructure. I think we were correct to build the infrastructure for the World Cup, while acknowledging people’s needs for basic services. The counter-argument to that is that there are spin-offs from the World Cup (...) the idea that one cannot talk to hungry people about lofty ideas like social cohesion is problematic. As long as you balance things and understand that there is frustration with service delivery. Challenges notwithstanding, ours is really to say now that we have been given that chance as a population/citizens, we do want to reap the rewards as well. (Community Development Worker, Eastern Cape)

Its true funds are being misdirected, if you think of the money that was spent, but you know the problems of a country do not always lie just in infrastructure; it is in the mindsets of people. If you can succeed in getting people to feel proud about themselves, to have confidence and good self esteem, that is sometimes much more worthwhile than just building a house, building a road because if you change the mindsets of people, some of those other things will follow. I think that all it did was to prove to South Africans that they have the internal capacity to compete with the best in the world if they set their minds to it. That in my mind is worth a lot of effort and it is worthwhile to spend a lot of money on something like that. What we need to do now is to use those same principles in challenging the other problems that we have in South Africa. (Municipality Manager, Mpumalanga)

I don’t agree that funds were misspent or misdirected. When else could we have had the opportunity to have world class stadiums? The same for physical infrastructure....the roads that were built as a result of the pressure that came with hosting the World Cup and knowing that people who prefer to look down on us were coming here? (Methodist Church, Eastern Cape)

There was a fundamentally different view which was articulated by the Coordinator of the local sports club, “There are very few places without taps or electricity .This country is not poor, it’s our minds that are poor. South Africans are just lazy. They are not entrepreneurial. They lack initiative, we want the government to do everything for us” (Local Sports Club, Mpumalanga).

3) Role of the media

In general did the media play a positive or negative role in promoting nation building, social cohesion and reconciliation during the World Cup?

Responses to this question suggest that the media could have played a more positive role throughout: “There were ‘white’ and black media positions. The support should have been the same - the fact that the white elite dominated the media was a negative, though it did not have any impact. There was still the cohesion one witnessed during the World Cup, the togetherness was sufficient proof of that” (Community Development Worker, Eastern Cape).

Initially the media was very sceptical. Even with the stadiums there was always bad publicity, with allegations of corruption - even the local media was always complaining and on the municipality’s back all the time. Yet during the World Cup the whole thing turned around – international visitors were no longer trying to find fault. (Municipality Manager, Mpumalanga)

“The media helped a lot. Europeans never believed in Africa. There were promotional materials promoting the country which were shown mainly on Pay TV, it was beautiful, beautiful - it was like one was watching another country.” (Local Sports Club, Mpumalanga).

The representative from the street vendors of the Eastern Cape explained that the local press did not want to highlight the work that the Street Vendors Association was doing. They did not show that South Africa is not just about KZN and Gauteng. There was a sense of exclusion from the nation. It was stated that some of the reasons people do not like street vendors is because they do not understand them and only view them in stereotypical ways. It was felt that the media could have corrected this - had they been adequately showcased, some of these stereotypes could have been corrected “We were denied national exposure; there was discrimination and selective coverage. SABC and ETV seemed only interested in rich people, Umhlobo Wenene and Herald did some coverage but they are regional outlets” (Street Vendors, Eastern Cape).

4) Future large international events and recommendations

Should South Africa host more major sports or international events in the future?

Overall, a positive response: “Yes, we have proved to ourselves that we can do it. Certainly now with these facilities we can get international teams to come and play. We can think about massive concerts. We can think about things that were not possible before the World Cup” (Municipality Manager, Mpumalanga).

“Yes, we are waiting for the Olympics. We have got everything that the Olympics need to silence the whole world once more” (Co-ordinator, Local Sports Club, Mpumalanga).

“Yes...mega events create trust between the government and the community. White kids and black kids were playing together. The World Cup helped build trust between youth and adults” (Street Vendors, Eastern Cape).

Some responses were, however, somewhat tentative:

We are still waiting for the spin offs. To be honest and fair to the needs of South Africans we should perhaps focus on utilizing benefits yet to come. South Africa can host other mega events but not before the government has delivered on the promised spin offs of the World Cup. The government took a risk in that in the midst of all the many challenges the country faces, it took money and invested it in sports. For that reason alone, it would be irresponsible for them to host another event of the same magnitude whilst it has yet to address the expectations that were raised.
(Community Development Worker, Eastern Cape)

Recommendations: Is there anything that could have been done differently in terms of the hosting the 2010 World Cup?

A number of constructive comments were made including (i) the need to correct the bias towards the inner city areas (ii) rural development (iii) the need for an inclusive approach and (iv) even media coverage:

- Investment could have been distributed more fairly between urban and rural areas.
- Tourists could have been steered towards townships and rural areas more.
- Opportunities for developing underdeveloped areas should not be missed.
- Involve all stakeholders from the earliest planning stages.
- Could have used sport more as a developmental tool.
- Civic structures could have been involved as well as others.
- Government could have followed up more quickly to capitalize on the momentum.
- The church should be consulted about major events.
- Media could have reported more positively.
- Involvement could have been broadened beyond comrades.
- People could have been recognized and rewarded for the support they gave.
- The government needs to follow through and deliver on the undertakings and promises that it made.

Section Three

Quantitative analysis of SASAS data

Research methodology

Research universe

The research universe for the Social Cohesion and 2010 World Cup study was individuals aged 16 and over who live in South Africa. Specifically, the target population comprised people living in households, hostels and other structures. People living in special institutions such as hospitals and prisons were deliberately excluded from the sample. The inclusion of people from these institutions would have compromised the random selection procedure and would have complicated matters due to cumbersome and complex matters pertaining to access and permission.

The sample design

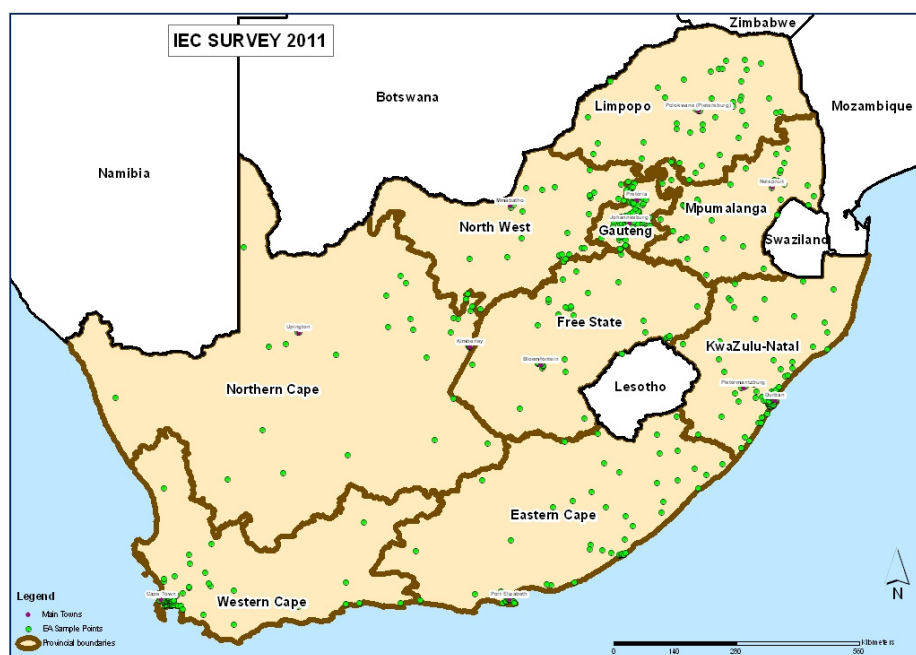
In order to achieve a national representative sample as desired by the Department of Sport and Recreation, a sample had to be designed that would ensure that all people in South Africa, 16 years and older are represented, regardless of race, class, residential status etc. To achieve this, a complex sample design was used that included stratification and multi-stage sampling procedures. The explicit stratification variables that were used in the sample was provinces, urban/rural population and people living in different types of areas (e.g. informal settlements, traditional areas, formal urban, farmlands). To ensure that the sample were also representative in terms of the ethnic and cultural diversity of South Africa, the HSRC's geo-demographic categories, which have been developed from the 2001 census data, were used as the implicit stratification variable. These geo-demographic categories reflect the diversity of the South African population based on their rural/urban, income, education, "ethnicity" and geographic characteristics. The sample frame did not make provision for people in special institutions such as hospitals or prisons.

Enumerator areas (EA's) from the 2001 Census formed the primary sampling unit (PSU). Five hundred EAs were selected throughout South Africa from the 2001 Census formed the primary sampling unit (PSU). Five hundred EAs were selected throughout South Africa (

Figure 1). Within each PSU or EA a total of 7 visiting points or households were selected for interviewing using random sampling. A total of 3500 visiting points or households were thus sampled for this study.

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Figure 1: A graphical representation of 500 selected Enumeration Areas



Navigation to the selected areas

Once the sample was drawn and the EAs selected, a navigational toolkit was developed to assist the field teams in finding the correct areas. These kits assisted the supervisors and fieldworkers to locate the exact EA where the interviews were to take place. The navigational kits included:

- Route descriptions, to assist the teams to navigate their way into the selected enumerator areas.
- Maps that, using aerial photographs as a base, identified the exact geographic location of the enumerator areas to be sampled throughout the country.
- More detailed maps that identified the exact area, pinpointing street names and places of interest such as schools, clinics, hospitals etc. (Figure 2)

Figure 2: An example of an EA map used to assist the field teams to navigate to the correct areas



Introduction of the project to the communities

Prior to starting the actual interviewing process, supervisors were instructed to visit the local police stations, indunas, chiefs, or other role players in the various areas to ensure that the authorities were aware of the project and to inform the communities of their intent. Official letters described the project, its duration and relevant ethical issues were distributed to the authorities. This was done not only as a form of research and ethical protocol but also to ensure the safety of the field teams.

Selecting a household and individual

After driving through the EA and introducing the project to the local authorities, supervisors had to select seven households in each EA. This had to be done in a randomised way in order to ensure equal selection probability. The first visiting point (household) was selected randomly anywhere in the EA by the supervisor. Once the random starting point had been selected, the field team needed to select the next household by counting an interval and using a serpentine way of systematically moving through the EA. The interval was calculated by dividing the total number of households in the EA by seven (the number of households required in each EA).

Once a household had been selected, a household member needed to be selected randomly as a respondent. This household member (respondent) needed to be 16 years or older. For the purpose of this survey, the KISH grid was used to randomly select the respondent in the household.

Data collection protocol

The following general protocol guidelines for data gathering were implemented:

- Fieldworkers and supervisors were required to notify the relevant local authorities that they would be working in the specific area. The purpose was to assist with their own safety and to reassure respondents, especially the elderly or suspicious, that the survey was official.
- They were advised to inform the inkosi or induna in a tribal area, whilst in urban formal or urban informal areas a visit to the local police and if possible the local councillor was to be made prior to commencing work in the area.
- They were further advised that farms should be entered with caution and that they should report to the local AgriSA offices before doing so. Field supervisors were issued with 'Farm letters' which contained information on the purpose of the study and contact details in case they had queries.
- Consent forms needed to be completed upon successfully finishing each interview. While verbal consent was to be secured from the respondent before beginning with the interview, a written consent form had to be signed afterwards.
- Fieldworkers were issued with name tags and letters of introduction to be used in the field.
- The introduction letter was translated into different languages.
- They had to present their identity cards when introducing themselves.

The questionnaire

Guided by the TOR and discussions with the Department of Sport and Recreation, the HSRC researchers developed a draft questionnaire. A draft questionnaire was submitted to the Department of Sports and Recreation, and they had an opportunity to give inputs and make changes to the questionnaire. The HSRC incorporated the changes and a final questionnaire was developed. The questionnaire was translated into six languages namely isiZulu, isiXhosa, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Setswana, and Afrikaans. Fieldworkers were issued with hard copies of the translated templates to ensure consistency of translations for the various languages.

Training

A one day training session was held in various provinces. The main training session took place in Pretoria and covered the Northern provinces namely Gauteng, Limpopo, Mpumalanga and North West. All relevant remarks and instructions discussed during the training session were included in the training manual. Other training sessions were held in Port Elizabeth, Durban, Kimberley and Western Cape.

The training session included sessions on selection and sampling of households; fieldwork operating procedures; research protocol; and ethical considerations. The questionnaire was discussed in detail. As far as possible, the training was designed to be participatory, practical and interactive, and gave fieldworkers the opportunity to seek clarification on questions. A training manual was also developed as part of the training toolkit.

The fieldwork commenced on the 10th of November 2010 and ended on the 20th of December 2010. A network of locally based fieldwork supervisors in all parts of the country assisted in data collection. Competent fieldworkers with a thorough understanding of the local areas were employed as part of this project.

Quality control

HSRC researchers conducted random visits to selected areas and worked with the fieldworkers for a period of time to ensure that they adhered to ethical research practices and that they understood the intent of the questions in the questionnaire. HSRC researchers also made sure that the fieldworkers correctly selected the identified households and respondents in the household. The researchers also checked on procedures followed in administering the research instrument. Field back checks were also conducted in eight of the nine provinces. Telephonic back checks were done on 10 % of the total sample.

Data capturing and cleaning

The data capturing function was outsourced to an external company. The process was carefully monitored by the HSRC's Data Management Centre and the HSRC required 100% verification of the data from the data capturing company. This meant that all variables were captured twice to ensure 100% verification. After receiving the data, the Data Management Centre embarked on a data cleaning exercise. Data was checked and edited for logical consistency, for permitted ranges, for reliability on derived variables and for filter instructions. After the data cleaning exercise the analytical team received the realisation rates of the survey. As can be seen from the table below, a realisation rate of 92% was achieved. Universally this would be considered a very high realisation rate, and was partly achieved due to the fact that communities were well informed about the survey. Another factor contributing to the high realisation rate was that the data collection methodology consisted of face-to face interviews.

Table 1: Sample realisation

Province	Number of replaced EAs	Ideal sample (N Households)	Realised sample (N Households)	% Realisation
Eastern Cape	1	455	412	91
Free State	0	266	256	96
Gauteng	0	581	537	92
KwaZulu-Natal	2	651	624	96
Limpopo	0	308	287	93
Mpumalanga	0	266	236	89
North West	0	259	165	64

Northern Cape	0	259	203	78
Western Cape	0	455	392	86
Total	3	3500	3112	89

Data weighting

The final data set was given to the statistician for benchmarking and weighting purposes. As can be seen in the table above, a total of 3112 people were interviewed during this study. When weighted this total represents 35 946 305 South Africans 16 years and older. The data was weighted to the 2010 midyear population estimates as published by Statistics South Africa. The final data set (unweighted and weighted) are disaggregated below by key demographic variables.

Table 2: Sample (Unweighted and Weighted)

	Unweighted N	Percent	Weighted N	Percent
Total	3112	100	35 946 305	100
Sex				
Male	1268	41	15 989 070	48
Female	1844	59	17 452 410	52
Age				
16-24 years	618	20	9 194 535	28
25-34 years	699	22	8 551 349	26
35-44 years	656	21	5 986 410	18
45-54 years	449	14	4 031 601	12
55-64 years	382	12	3 213 133	10
65+ years	306	10	2 445 161	7
Race				
Black	1781	57	25 619 206	77
Coloured	564	18	3 123 612	9
Indian	365	12	986 140	3
White	401	13	3 711 060	11
Living standard				
Low living standard	336	12	3 354 157	11
Medium living standard	1309	45	16 836 739	55
High living standard	1242	43	10 677 261	35
Province				
Western Cape	392	13	3 590 869	11
Eastern Cape	412	13	4 360 150	13
Northern Cape	203	7	756 310	2
Free State	256	8	1 940 179	6
KwaZulu-Natal	624	20	6 876 631	21
North West	165	5	1 984 448	6
Gauteng	537	17	8 164 232	24
Mpumalanga	236	8	2 355 884	7

Limpopo	287	9	3 412 778	10
Geotype				
Urban formal	1961	63	18 292 013	55
Informal urban settlement	285	9	3 633 378	11
Rural traditional authority area	594	19	9 663 087	29
Rural formal	272	9	1 853 003	6
Language				
Sesotho	219	7	2 548 849	8
Setswana	229	7	2 990 135	9
Sepedi	225	7	3 076 630	9
Siswati	71	2	758 296	2
Isi Ndebele	28	1	306 232	1
IsiXhosa	412	13	5 913 406	18
IsiZulu	412	13	7 522 814	23
Xitsonga	74	2	1 140 653	3
Tshivenda or Lemba	37	1	667 394	2
Afrikaans	674	22	4 542 286	14
English	609	20	3 273 204	10
Other African Language	15	0	95 984	0
Indian language	47	2	137 739	0
Other	9	0	68 964	0

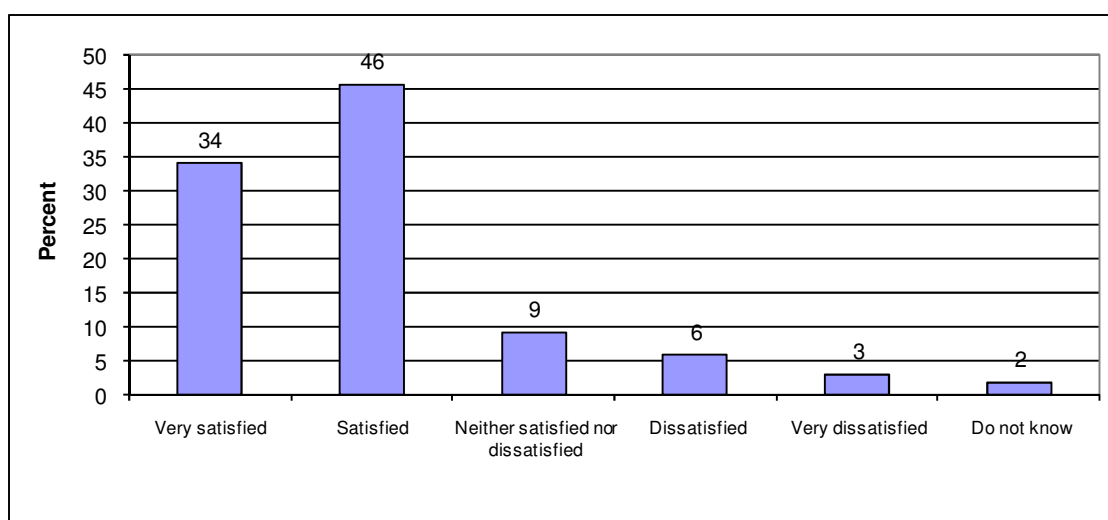
Results

The results portrayed in this section are based on weighted data and therefore represent the views of South Africans 16 years and older.

The first question that was asked about the World Cup focused on perceptions of the way South Africa handled the 2010 World Cup event. South Africans were asked to rate their satisfaction with the way the 2010 World Cup event was handled on a 5 point scale. Options ranged from “very satisfied” to “very dissatisfied”.

Satisfaction with the way South Africa handled the 2010 World Cup

Figure 1: Satisfaction with the way South Africa handled the 2010 World Cup event



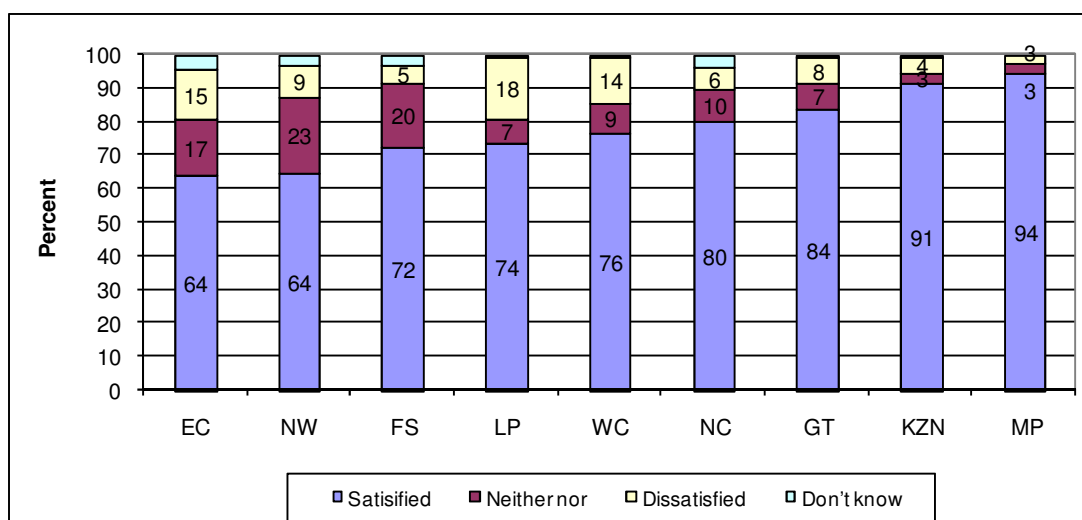
The overwhelming majority (80%) were either very satisfied or satisfied with the way South Africa handled the 2010 World Cup event. The rest were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied (10%) with a minority (9%) stating dissatisfaction with the way the World Cup was handled. A minority of 2% stated they did not know.

In order to further the understanding and underlying elements of the national results portrayed Figure, the results were disaggregated by select socio-demographic characteristics. This analysis showed that males were more satisfied with the way South Africa handled the 2010 World Cup event than females. Satisfaction levels systematically went down as age increased indicating that young people were significantly more satisfied than older people with the way the World Cup was handled. Amongst the various population groups, white respondents reported the lowest satisfaction levels with Indian or Asian respondents reporting the highest. When looking at geography, it was found that the level of satisfaction was generally lowest in tribal areas, but that the highest proportion of “dissatisfied” answers was found among the people in informal settlements. People in the high LSM¹⁶ group were

¹⁶ The Living Standards Measure (LSM) is a proxy for material wellbeing due to high non-response in the reporting of household income. The LSM is household-level asset index that was developed by the South African Advertising Research Foundation (SAARF) and combines together responses to 29

more inclined to be impressed with how the World Cup was handled whilst the lowest LSM group exhibited the lowest satisfaction levels.

Figure 2: Satisfaction with the way South Africa handled the 2010 World Cup event by province



In terms of the provincial distribution, levels of satisfaction differed significantly. When very satisfied and satisfied percentages were added, it showed that the Eastern Cape, North West and Free State were the least satisfied with the way the World Cup event was handled. The provinces that were most satisfied with how it was handled were Gauteng, Kwa-Zulu Natal and Mpumalanga.

In order to understand the impact that the World Cup had on the lives of South Africans, a personalized question was asked in order to determine if the World Cup impacted negatively or positively on people's lives. The question read: "Did the World Cup have a positive, negative or no impact on your life."

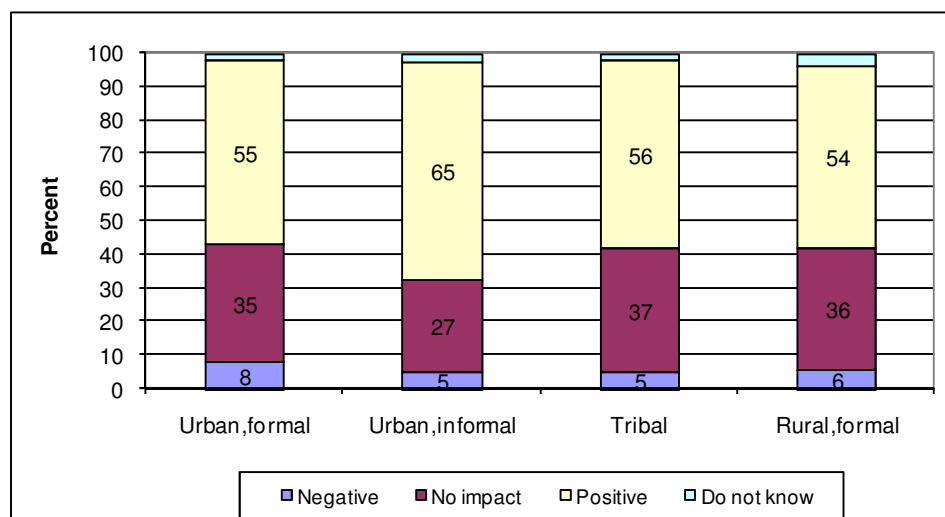
From Figure it is clear that the answers were skewed towards the positive, with 43% stating that the World Cup had a positive impact on their quality of life. The second highest category was no impact (35%), followed by very positive (13%), negative (4%), very negative (2%) and don't know (2%). The majority of South Africans therefore felt that the World Cup impacted on their quality of life, and mostly in a positive way.

The people most likely to have agreed that the World Cup had a positive influence on their quality of life was males, younger people, Asian and African people, people living in urban informal areas and people with a low LSM.

variables to classify the population into 10 LSM groups, where 10 is the highest and 1 is the lowest. Essentially the LSM is a wealth measure based on standard of living rather than income. In the analysis presented here, low living standards correspond to LSMs 1-3, medium living standards refers to LSMs 4-6, and high living standards to LSMs 7-10.

Did the 2010 World Cup have a positive, negative or no impact on your quality of life?

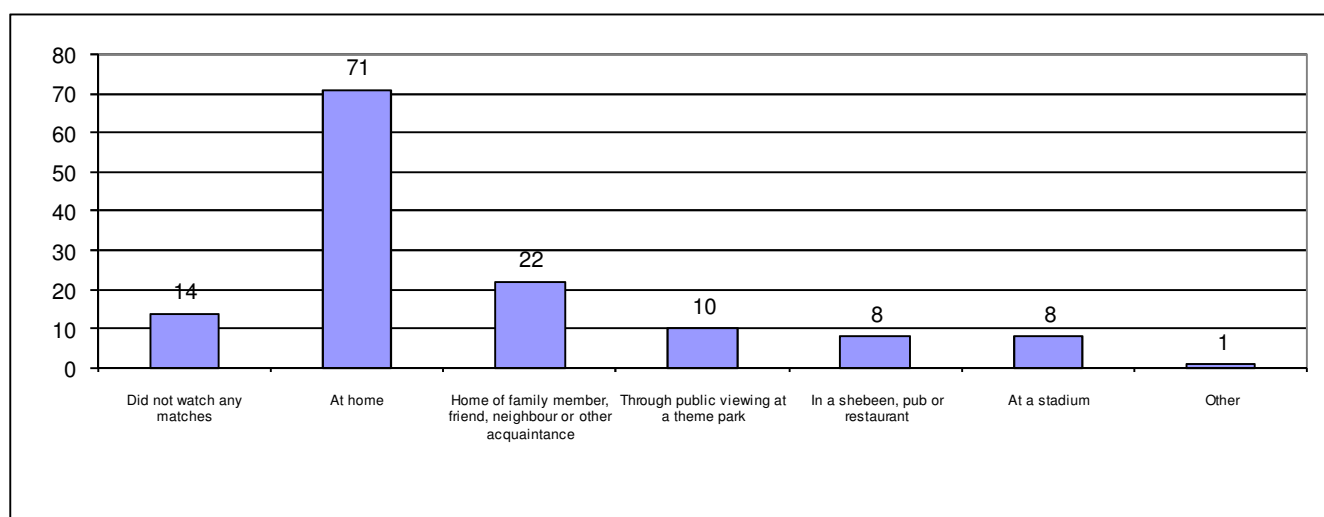
Figure 3: Did the World Cup have a positive, negative or no impact on your quality of life by geotype?



The table above illustrates that the majority of people in all geographic areas stated that the World Cup had a positive influence on their quality of life. However, the proportion of people that said the World Cup had a positive influence on their quality of life was significantly higher among people living in the urban informal areas.

World Cup game attendance

Figure 4: Where did people tend to watch the World Cup games (multiple response)



Just more than 1 in ten people (14%) did not watch any matches. Of those that watched, the majority watched them at their own homes (71%), at the homes of family members, friend and neighbors (22%), through public viewing areas such as theme parks (10%), at shebeens, pubs or restaurants (8%) or at stadiums (8%).

Factor analysis of the 2010 World Cup impact on social cohesion, confidence in government, job creation and economic impact

In the Social Cohesion and 2010 World Cup module a variety of questions about the World Cup were asked in relation to nation building, national pride, racial integration, service delivery, economic imperatives and job creation. A batch of 21 attitudinal questions was constructed around these themes and survey respondents had to respond to the statements by using a five point “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree” scale. In an attempt to group the related questions together, a factor analysis was done to extract factors or themes that emerged around the questions. The factor analysis grouped the questions into 4 factors¹⁷. The factors, with the associated questions, are listed below.

Factor one: The World Cup and social cohesion

Questions that loaded high on this issue were:

- I feel a personal sense of pride through my participation in the World Cup
- The performance of Bafana Bafana during the World Cup has enhanced the pride I feel for my country
- The hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup has enhanced my national pride
- The World Cup contributed to a sense of togetherness in my community
- The World Cup has given me the opportunity to socialize with other race groups more than usual
- The overwhelming display of the South African flags, Bafana T-shirts and Vuvuzelas by South Africans supporters is a positive development for the national identity of the South African society
- The opportunities for family activities increased during the World Cup
- Hosting the World Cup has helped to build a positive view of South Africa
- Assisted the government to achieve its aims in terms of nation building
- After the World Cup people of different racial groups in South Africa trust or like each other more

Factor two: The World Cup and confidence in the government

Questions that loaded high on this were:

- After hosting the World Cup I have more confidence in the government’s ability to deliver services
- After hosting the World Cup I feel safer than usual in South Africa

¹⁷ A factor analysis was done based on the 21 questions in the questionnaire using Principal Component Analysis. The results showed it was possible to extract four factors that explains 54% of the variance.

- The World Cup event increased my confidence in the police's ability to control crime

Factor three: The World Cup and economic opportunities

Questions that loaded high on this were:

- The World Cup created more jobs for your community
- The World Cup provided more business for local people and small businesses

Factor four: The World Cup and economic disadvantages

Questions that loaded high on this were:

- Increased the prices of goods and services
- Led to a waste of money on the construction of World Cup facilities
- Hosting the World Cup delayed the provision of necessary basic services to poor areas in South Africa

In order to understand the impact that the World Cup had on the above issues, a mean score was developed for each of the four factors. The questions were recoded in a way that a high score implied a positive response and a low score a negative response. "Strongly agree" was coded as a 5 and "strongly disagree" as a 1. The maximum score was therefore a 5 and the minimum a 1. The mean scores for the four factors are portrayed below.

Figure 5: Impact of the 2010 World Cup

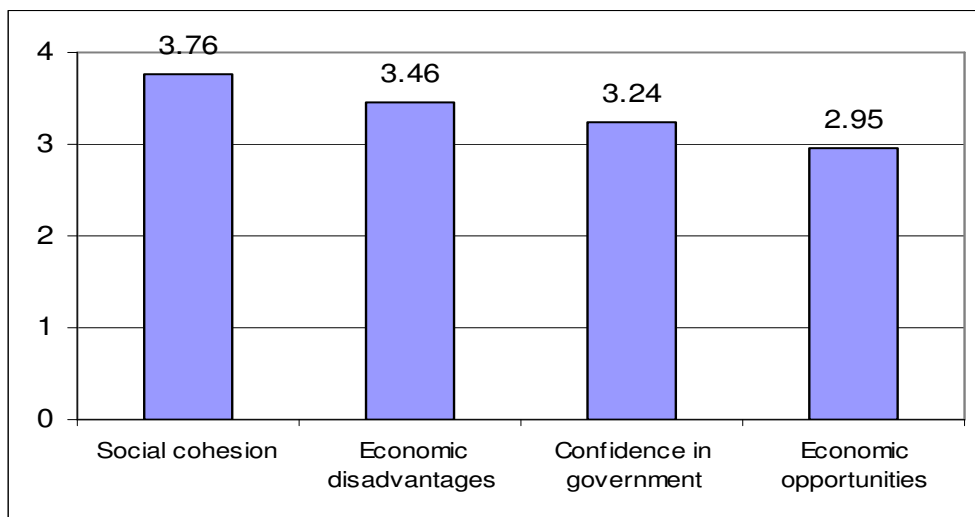


Figure 5 demonstrates that according to South Africans, the value of the World Cup pertains to its impact on social cohesion. Social cohesion in this context means nation building, image building and unification. South Africans were most likely to agree that the World Cup event achieved these goals, rather than other imperatives. These benefits are often referred to as 'intangible' benefits and are not uncommon in the literature. Many other studies that focus

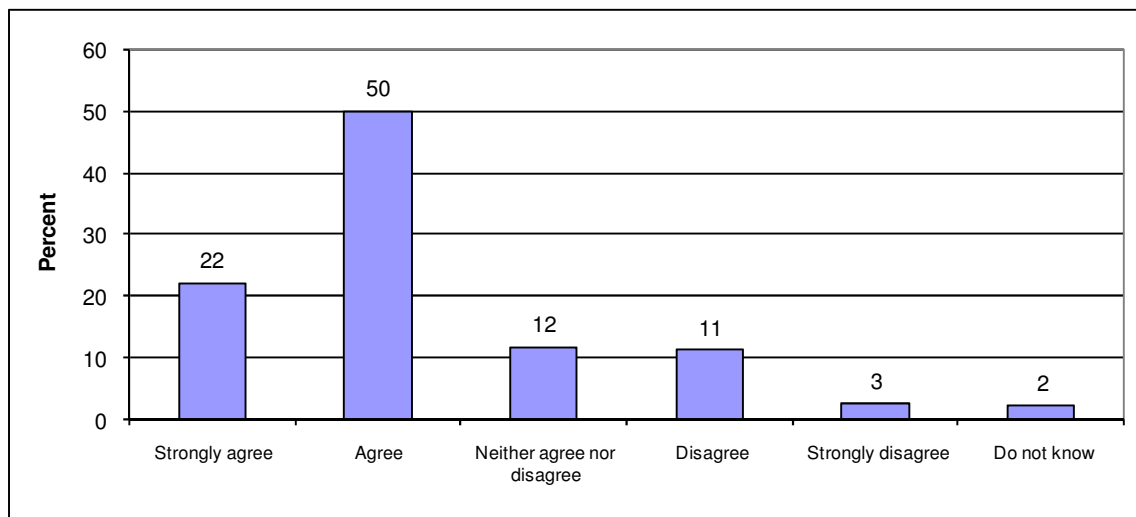
on mega events have found that the benefits of hosting a mega event are often related to the positive effect it has on things like nation building, unification and ultimately democratic life.

In terms of job creation and economic benefits, South Africans were less likely to agree that the 2010 World Cup succeeded in providing these benefits. They were also more likely to agree that there were economic disadvantages to hosting the 2010 World Cup. It appears that the people are therefore less convinced of the more “tangible” benefits of the World Cup event.

The factor that scored third highest was the confidence factor. Due to the hosting of the Soccer World Cup, a sizable proportion of people tended to believe that the government has the ability to deliver services better and to keep South Africans safer than before the World Cup. The successful hosting of the World Cup event did therefore raise expectations that government can deliver better services.

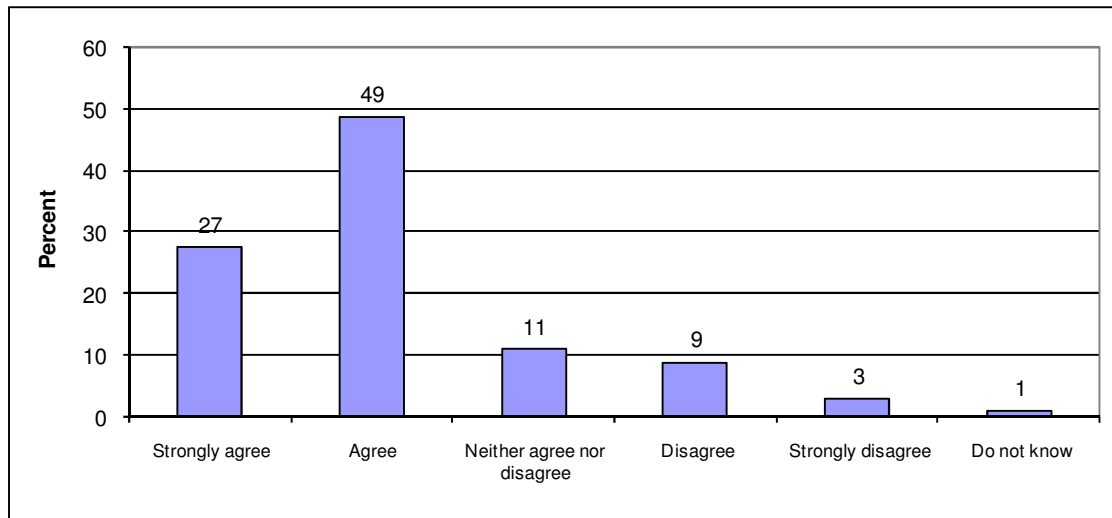
The 2010 World Cup and social cohesion

Figure 6: Did the World Cup event assist the government to achieve its aims in terms of nation building?



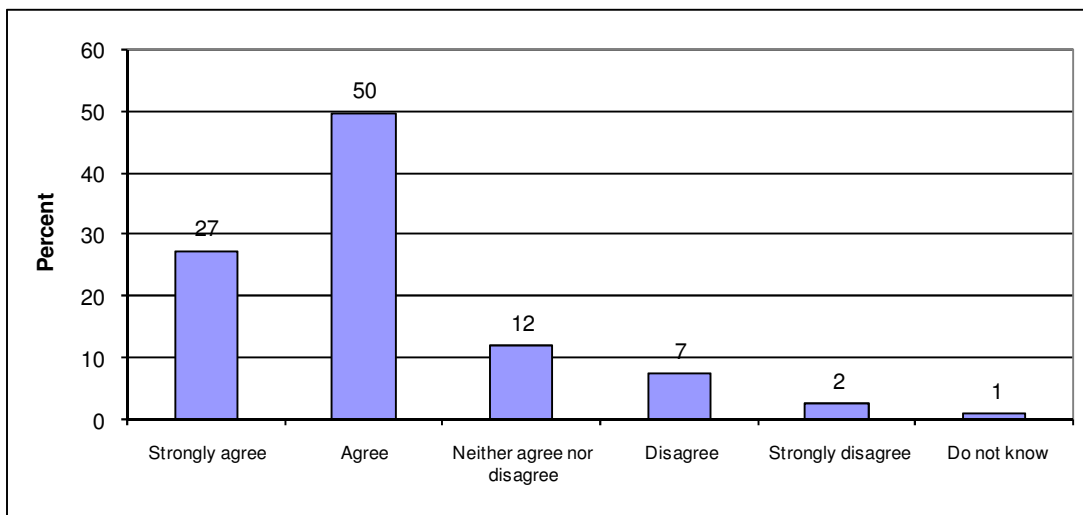
One of the main challenges facing South Africa is building a unified nation, devoid of racism and other social division. According to the majority of South Africans (77%) this event assisted the government to achieve its aims in terms of nation building.

Figure 7: The hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup has enhanced my national pride



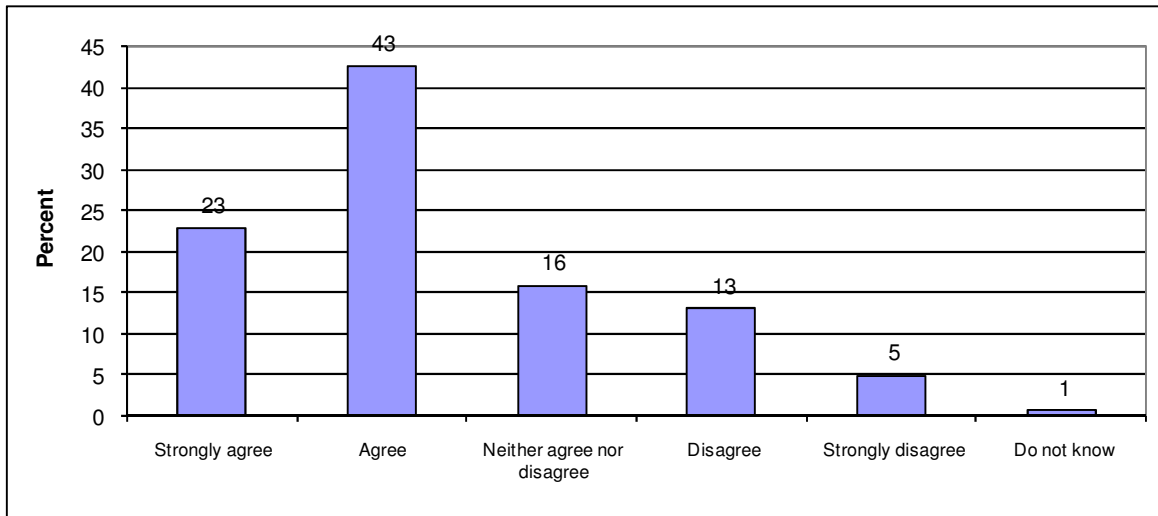
In terms of national pride, South Africa rates very high and is amongst the five proudest nations in the world. (ISSP Pride Index). South Africans are generally a very proud nation and this World Cup seems to have enhanced the national pride of the majority (76%) of all South Africans.

Figure 8: The hosting of the World cup has helped build a positive view of South Africa



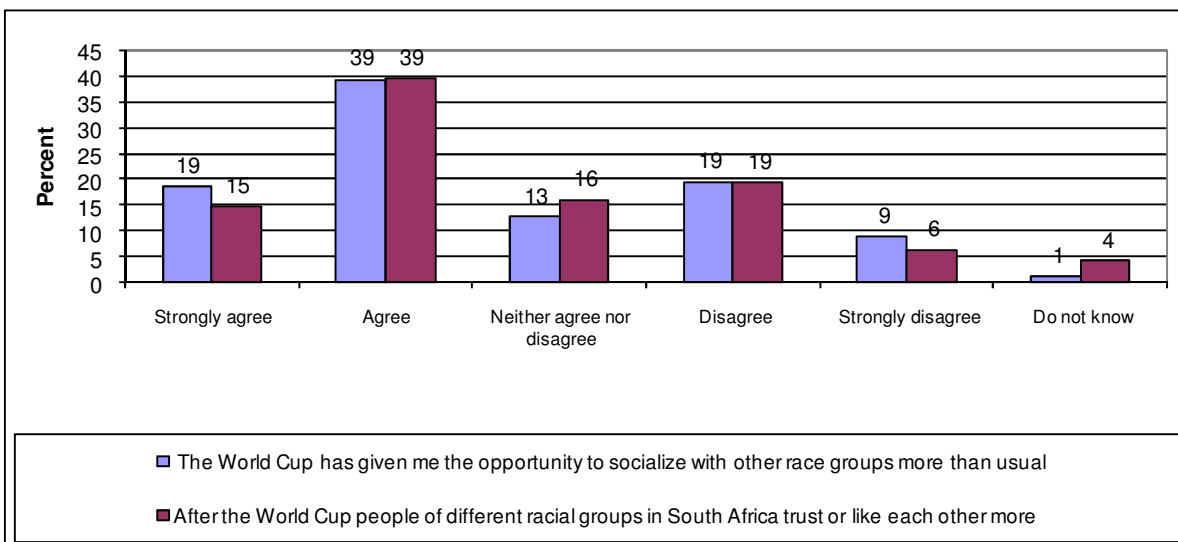
Again, the overwhelming majority (77%) felt that that the World Cup event helped build a positive view of South Africa.

Figure 9: The World Cup contributed to a sense of togetherness in my community



A sense of solidarity *within* communities was also tested in the social cohesion section of the questions. People were asked if the World Cup contributed to a sense of togetherness in their respective communities and it was evident that it did. Almost a quarter (23%) strongly agreed that the World Cup contributed to a sense of togetherness in their respective communities with 43% agreeing. About a third were undecided, or disagreed that the World Cup contributed to a feeling of togetherness.

Figure10: The World Cup and race relations

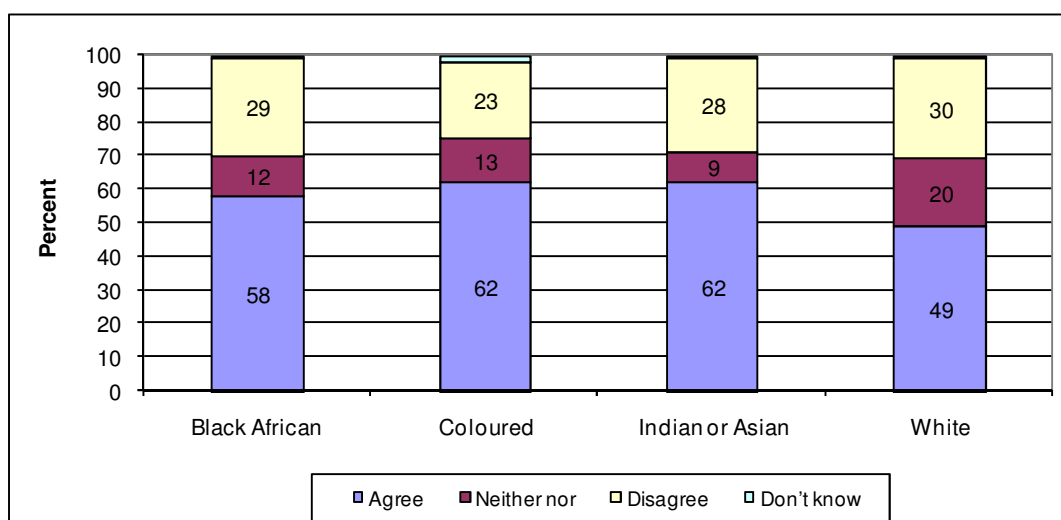


One of the biggest challenges facing South Africa is the social cleavage between racial groups. The World Cup was seen as an opportunity to address this cleavage and to bring people of different race groups together. Two questions pertaining to race relations and the

World Cup was asked. The questions were: “The World Cup has given me an opportunity to socialise with other race groups more than usual” and “After the World Cup people of different racial groups in South Africa trust or like each other more”. People had to agree or disagree with these statements.

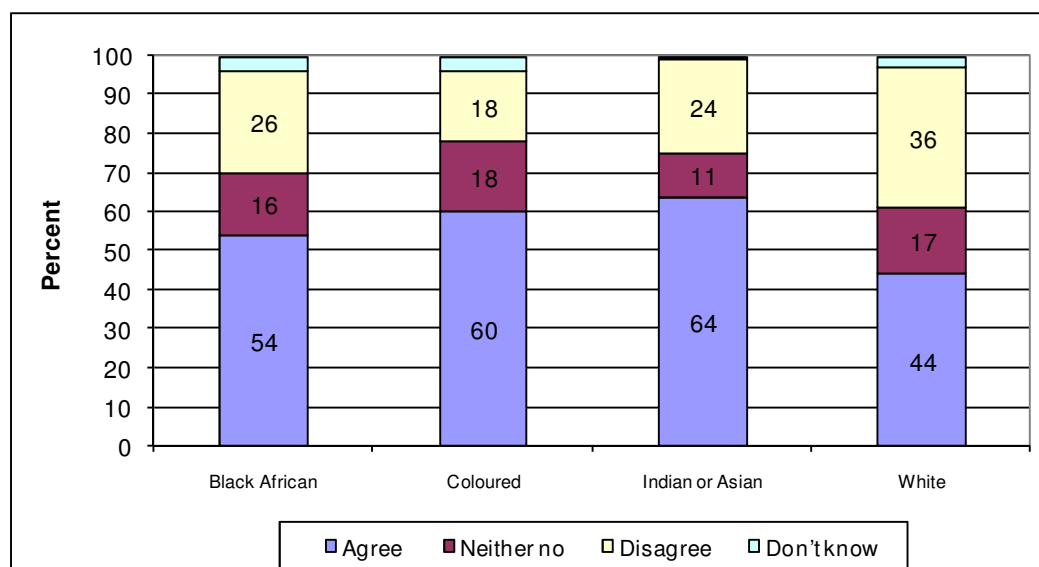
Similar responses were recorded for both of these questions. More than fifty percent of the survey respondents agreed with these statements, noting that the World Cup event had a positive impact on race relations. A greater proportion (19%) strongly agreed that the World Cup gave them an opportunity to socialize with other race groups whilst fewer (15%) strongly agreed that people would now as a result of this event trust or like each other more.

Figure 11: The World Cup has given me the opportunity to socialize with other race groups more than usual.



A greater proportion of coloured and Indian or Asian respondents were likely to agree that the World Cup offered them the opportunity to socialise with other race groups. The white groups were much less likely to state that the World Cup gave them the opportunity to socialise with other race groups.

Figure 12: After the World Cup people of different racial groups in South Africa trust or like each other more



As with the previous question, a greater proportion of coloured and Indian or Asian respondents were likely to agree that after the World Cup different race groups will trust or like each other more. The white group was more sceptical than the other race groups.

The various questions that pertain to social cohesion are now analysed in more detail.

Table 1: Social Cohesion questions

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither nor	Dis-agree	Strongly disagree	(Do not know)	Mean (100)
The overwhelming display of South African flags, Bafana T-shirts and Vuvuzelas by South Africans supporters is a positive development for the national identity of the South African society	34%	47%	10%	6%	2%	2%	4.09
Hosting the World Cup has helped to build a positive view of South Africa	27%	50%	12%	7%	2%	1%	3.93
The hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup has enhanced my national pride	27%	49%	11%	9%	3%	1%	3.9
Assisted the government to achieve its aims in terms of nation building	22%	50%	12%	11%	3%	2%	3.8
The World Cup contributed to a sense of togetherness in my community	23%	43%	16%	13%	5%	1%	3.66
I feel a personal sense of pride through my participation in the World Cup	20%	45%	15%	13%	6%	1%	3.62
The performance of Bafana Bafana during the World Cup has enhanced the pride I feel for my country	22%	44%	13%	13%	6%	1%	3.62
The opportunities for family activities increased during the World Cup	18%	40%	18%	15%	7%	1%	3.47
The World Cup has given me the opportunity to socialize	19%	39%	13%	19%	9%	1%	3.4

with other race groups more than usual

After the World Cup people of different racial groups in South Africa trust or like each other more

15%	39%	16%	19%	6%	4%	3.39
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On aggregate, almost 70% of all people agreed that the 2010 World Cup had a positive spin-off in terms of social cohesion. The display of South African flags, Bafana T-shirts and Vuvuzelas by South Africans supporters were seen as a positive development for national identity in South Africa (81%) and the majority also felt that hosting the World Cup helped build a positive view of South Africa (77%). A general sense of national pride was felt by people due to the hosting of the World Cup (76%), the participation in the World Cup (65%) and the performance of Bafana Bafana (66%). It has assisted the government to achieve its nation building aims and has afforded people the opportunity to socialize with other race groups more than usual. The overwhelming majority of people strongly agreed or agreed that the 2010 World Cup brought South Africans citizens together in one or another way.

In order to understand the impact on Social Cohesion better, the Social Cohesion Index were disaggregated by select socio-demographic variable of the survey respondents. A mean score was calculated for each socio-demographic subtype where these differences appeared to be significant. The mean score was calculated from a 1=negative rating to a 5=positive rating. The higher the means score the higher the social cohesion index.

Table 2: Social Cohesion by various socio-demographic subtypes

Group ¹⁸		N	Std. Deviation
Male	3.75	1169	.70352
Female	3.69	1647	.71663
Total	3.72	2816	.71192
Age ¹⁹			
16-24 years	3.85	555	.61966

¹⁸ (F=6.574; df=1; Sig=0.010)

¹⁹ (F=9.668; df=5; Sig=0.000)

25-34 years	3.73	647	.66962
35-44 years	3.73	598	.71837
45-54 years	3.66	408	.75059
55-64 years	3.59	339	.77934
65+ years	3.45	268	.74964
Total	3.72	2815	.71014
Group²⁰			
African	3.76	1596	.69656
Coloured	3.81	504	.65071
Indian or Asian	3.82	345	.60595
White	3.36	371	.83965
Total	3.72	2816	.71192
Group²¹			
World Cup	3.78	366	.59680
EC	3.26	358	.77987
NC	3.72	163	.72948
FS	3.85	231	.67598
KZN	3.80	587	.53056
NW	3.80	143	.84505
GP	3.74	468	.78197
MP	4.00	230	.55895
LP	3.70	270	.75969

²⁰ (F=35.948; df=3; Sig=0.000)

²¹ (F=29.192; df=8; Sig=0.000)

Total	3.72	2816	.71192
Group²²			
Low	3.52	290	.78315
Medium	3.76	1177	.68844
High	3.73	1156	.70143
Total	3.73	2623	.70703
Group²³			
Urban, formal	3.69	1797	.71325
Urban, informal	3.86	248	.67312
Tribal	3.71	538	.71342
Rural, formal	3.80	233	.73053
Total	3.72	2816	.71192

If the national results for the impact of the 2010 World Cup are disaggregated by select socio-demographic characteristics, some trends emerge. All differences portrayed between subgroups in the table above are statistically significant. The results show that in terms of the impact of the 2010 World Cup on social cohesion, male citizens were more likely experience the 2010 World Cup as a unifying event. Young people were also much more likely to feel that this event raised social cohesion and gave people the opportunity to socialise with other race groups and unified South Africa. In terms of race, white citizens were by far less likely to see the value of the World Cup in terms of unifying the nation whilst the other race groups, especially the coloured and Asian respondents saw this event as very good for nation building. Geographically, residents in the Eastern Cape and Limpopo express notably lower levels of agreement with the statements that 2010 World Cup was a unifying event. Of all the provinces, people in Mpumalanga were most likely to agree that this event was a unifying event. Statistically significant differences were also evident between the different LSM groups, with those with a low LSM reporting lower levels of

²² (F=7.862; df=2; Sig=0.000)

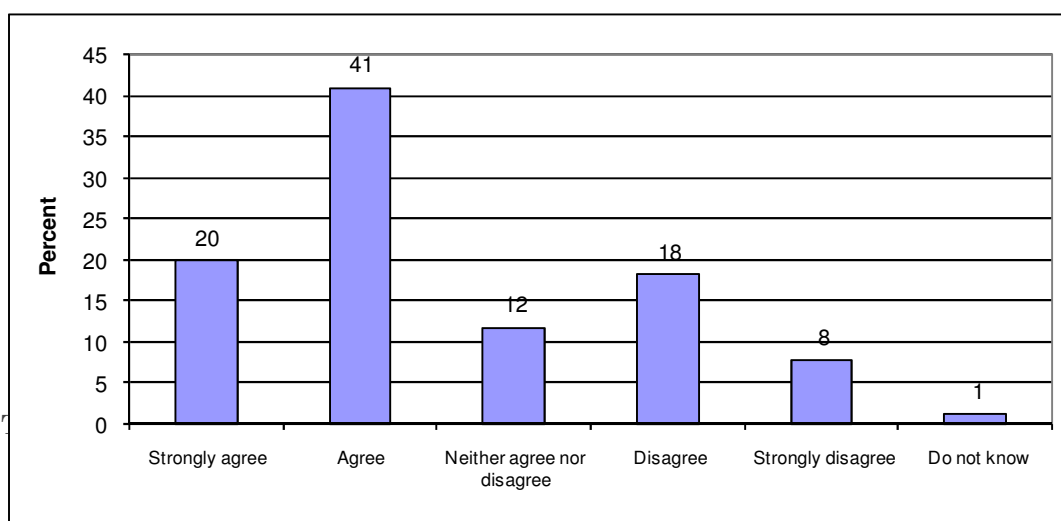
²³ (F=2.648; df=3; Sig=0.047)

satisfaction with the World Cup as a unifying event. In terms of geography, people living in urban informal areas were most likely to see this 2010 World Cup event as benefitting social cohesion.

The 2010 World Cup and confidence in the government to deliver services

Apart from the social cohesion value of the World Cup, South Africans were also inclined to say that because of the hosting of the World Cup they have more confidence in the ability of the government to deliver services.

Figure 13: Do South Africans have more confidence in the ability of the government to deliver services as a result of the organization of the 2010 World Cup?



The successful hosting of the World Cup had a positive spin off in terms of people's perception about the ability of government to deliver services. More than three fifths (61%) of South Africans have more confidence in the ability of the government to deliver services as a result of the hosting of the World Cup.

The various questions that pertain to the issue of confidence in the government are now analysed further.

Table 3: Confidence in the government questions

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither nor	Dis-agree	Strongly disagree	(Do not know)	Mean
After hosting the World Cup I have more confidence in the government's ability to deliver services	20%	41%	12%	18%	8%	1%	3.47
The World Cup event increased my confidence in the police's ability to control crime	15%	35%	17%	23%	10%	1%	3.22
After hosting the World Cup I feel safer than usual in South Africa	14%	33%	17%	25%	11%	1%	3.15

In general, two fifths of people in South Africa said they felt they had more confidence in the government's ability to deliver services after the hosting of the World Cup 2010, including more confidence in the police and the ability to control crime. More than three fifths (61%) of respondents agreed that after the World Cup event that are more confident that the government has the ability to deliver services. Half (50%) stated that the World Cup event increased their confidence in the police to control crime. Almost half (47%) stated that they feel safer than usual in South Africa.

In order to understand the impact on perceptions of service delivery better, Confidence in Government was disaggregated by select socio-demographic variables of the survey respondents. A mean score was calculated for each socio-demographic subtype where these differences appeared to be significant. The mean score was calculated from a 1=negative rating to a 5=positive rating. The higher the means score the higher the social cohesion index.

Table 4: Confidence in government by various socio-demographic subtypes

Group ²⁴		N	Std. Deviation
Male	3.30	1230	1.05640
Female	3.20	1783	1.05516
Total	3.25	3013	1.05605
Group ²⁵			
Black African	3.30	1722	1.04145
Coloured	3.22	543	1.02013
Indian or Asian	2.82	357	1.04218
White	3.01	391	1.08177
Total	3.25	3013	1.05605
Group ²⁶			
16-24 years	3.38	605	1.00663
25-34 years	3.29	678	.99358
35-44 years	3.25	634	1.07760
45-54 years	3.24	439	1.08374
55-64 years	3.04	366	1.10138
65+years	2.86	290	1.05328

²⁴ (F=3.188; df=1; Sig=0.074)

²⁵ (F=26.156; df=3; Sig=0.000)

²⁶ (F=11.104; df=5; Sig=0.000)

Total	3.38	3012	1.05543
Group²⁷			
Low	3.07	323	1.05192
Medium	3.29	1266	1.05566
High	3.25	1218	1.04954
Total	3.25	2807	1.05455
Group²⁸			
World Cup	3.13	382	1.05491
EC	2.88	402	.92339
NC	3.38	185	1.02251
FS	3.66	250	.97285
KZN	3.25	609	1.04666
NW	3.25	156	1.17213
GT	3.13	512	1.07957
MP	3.87	235	.82703
LP	3.41	282	1.02511
Total	3.25	3013	1.05605
Group²⁹			
Urban, formal	3.13	1902	1.05859
Urban, informal	3.38	271	1.06861

²⁷ (F=6.255; df=2; Sig=0.002)

²⁸ (F=28.277; df=8; Sig=0.000)

²⁹ (F=11.397; df=3; Sig=0.000)

Tribal	3.39	583	1.00394
Rural, formal	3.35	257	1.07556
Total	3.25	3013	1.05605

Males rated the ability of the government to deliver on services following the World Cup more favourably than females. In terms of race, mean satisfaction scores confirm that African and coloured people are much more inclined after the World Cup to think that the government are able to deliver better services. The Asian/Indian and white respondents view the government's ability to deliver services after the World cup less positively than the other race groups. The low LSM group are least likely to think that due to the hosting of the World Cup government will be able to deliver better services. Eastern Cape residents were most sceptical and were least likely to have been impressed by the government's performance. Mpumalanga and Free State residents were most likely to have heightened trust in the government's ability to deliver services after the World Cup.

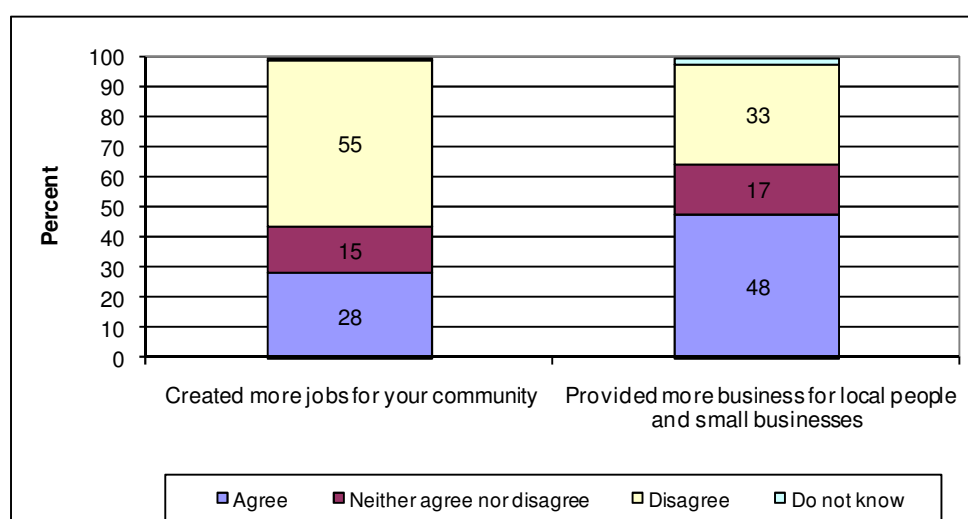
In terms of genotype, people living in urban informal, tribal and rural formal were more likely to think that the government is better able to deliver services following the World Cup. People living in urban formal areas were generally more sceptical.

The economic impact of the 2010 World Cup

The 2010 World Cup and economic opportunities

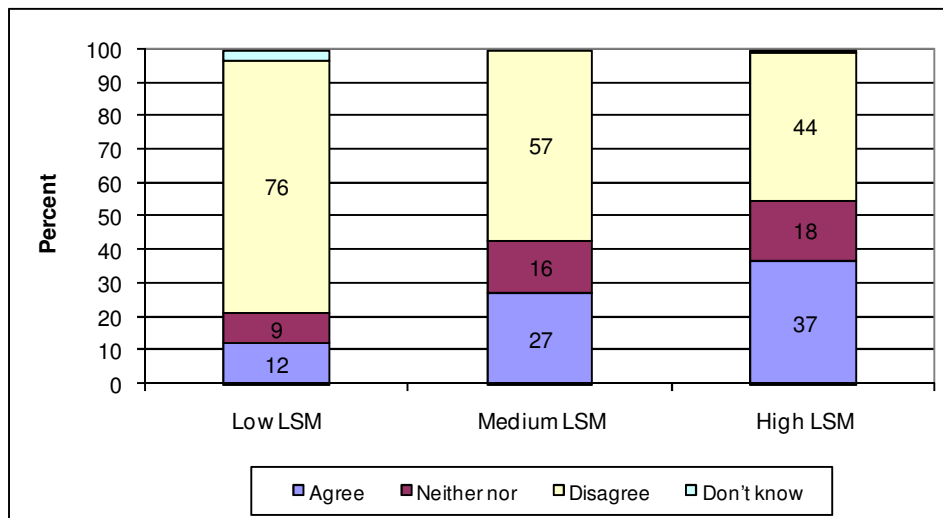
Job creation is one of the big challenges in South Africa and the World Cup provided an opportunity for job creation. When South Africans were asked about this issue, the majority (55%) stated that they disagreed that the Word Cup created jobs in their communities. Just more than a quarter (28%) however stated that some jobs were created in their communities. In terms of business opportunities for local people and small business, a greater proportion (48%) said that the World Cup did provide opportunities. A third said that the World Cup did not provide more local and small business opportunities.

Figure 14: Job creation and business opportunities as a result of the World Cup



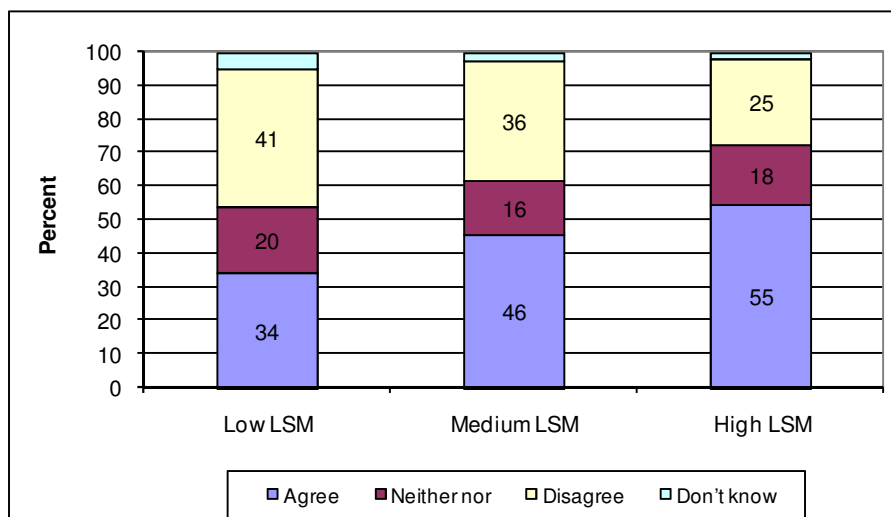
An analysis of perceptions about job creation and business opportunities was analysed by LSM (Figure below).

Figure 15: Do you agree that the World Cup created more jobs for your community



Interestingly, the high LSM group was more inclined to agree that the hosting of the World Cup created jobs. Low income South Africans (as measured by the LSM) were much less likely to say that the World Cup created jobs in their communities. An overwhelming majority (76%) stated that no jobs were created.

Figure 16: Provided more business for local people and small businesses



With regards to business opportunities created, the high LSM group was more likely to state that the World Cup created opportunities for small and local businesses whilst the low LSM group was least in agreement.

Table 5: Job creation and business opportunities questions

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither nor	Dis-agree	Strongly disagree	(Do not know)	Mean
Provided more business for local people and small businesses	12%	36%	17%	23%	10%	3%	3.17
Created more jobs for your community	8%	20%	15%	30%	26%	1%	2.55

More (48%) people were likely to state that the World Cup provided business for local and small businesses than they were to state that jobs were created in their communities (28%). In terms of the creation of new or more jobs due to the World Cup, the impact was fairly limited.

Table 6: Job creation and business opportunities analysed by various socio-demographic subtypes

Group ³⁰		N	Std. Deviation
Male	2.95	1223	1.07935
Female	2.81	1763	1.08609
Total	2.86	2986	1.08576
Group ³¹			
Black African	2.79	1702	1.07872
Coloured	3.04	536	1.07302
Indian or Asian	3.10	358	1.06355
White	3.22	389	1.09056
Total	2.86	2985	1.08535
Group ³²			
Low	2.37	309	1.04627
Medium	2.79	1251	1.08105

³⁰ (F=14.361; df=1; Sig=0.000)

³¹ (F=15.652; df=3; Sig=0.000)

³² (F=47.900; df=2; Sig=0.000)

High	3.15	1206	1.05342
Total	2.86	2766	1.08314
Group³³			
World Cup	3.19	379	1.06801
EC	2.20	391	.85593
NC	2.90	180	1.04128
FS	3.17	250	1.16836
KZN	2.71	609	1.04864
NW	2.82	155	1.11683
GT	3.18	518	.95308
MP	3.10	228	1.11124
LP	2.77	276	1.16356
Total	2.86	2986	1.08576
Group³⁴			
Urban, formal	3.04	1893	1.06963
Urban, informal	2.88	275	1.04677
Tribal	2.57	572	1.03650
Rural, formal	2.90	246	1.15397
Total	2.86	2986	1.08576

Male respondents were more likely to agree that some job opportunities were created than females who were considerably more inclined than their male counterparts to feel that jobs were not created. Interestingly, white respondents were more likely than other race groups to be of the opinion that the World Cup had created jobs and business opportunities. High LSM groups were also much more likely to believe that jobs and business opportunities were created than low LSM groups.

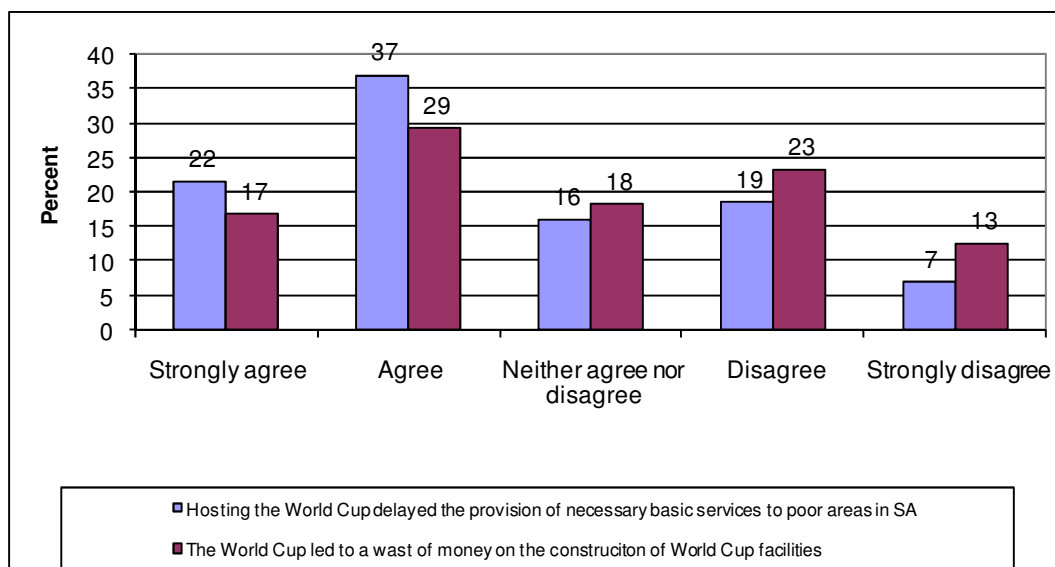
³³ (F=32.811;df=8;Sig=0.000)

³⁴ (F=33.387;df=3;Sig=0.000)

Were the funds for the 2010 World cup misdirected or prevent spending on addressing poverty and other needs?

South Africans were asked about the economic disadvantages of the World Cup, i.e. if the hosting of the World Cup delayed the provision of necessary basic services to the poor areas in South Africa and whether money had been wasted on the construction of World Cup facilities.

Figure 17: The World cup and economic disadvantages



Almost a quarter (22%) of people agreed *strongly* with the statement that the hosting of the World Cup had delayed the provision of necessary basic services, with a further 37% agreed. The majority (59%) of South Africans were therefore of the opinion that this event delayed the provision of basic services. More than a quarter (26%) had an opposite view, stating that this event did not delay the provision of basic services.

Almost half (46%) stated that the World Cup led to a waste of money on construction of World cup facilities with the rest (18%) were undecided or disagreed (36%).

Table 7: Economic disadvantages questions

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither nor	Disagree	Strongly disagree	(Do not know)	Mean
Increased the prices of goods and services	24%	43%	14%	13%	4%	3%	3.70
Hosting the World Cup delayed the provision of necessary basic services to	22%	37%	16%	19%	7%		3.51

poor areas in South Africa							
Led to a waste of money on the construction of World Cup facilities	17%	29%	18%	23%	11%	3%	3.16

Almost 70% of people agreed that the World Cup event increased the prices and services of goods. Almost three fifths (59%) of people felt that the hosting of the World Cup delayed the provision of necessary basic services to poor areas in South Africa. Fewer (45%) felt that the World Cup led to a waste of money on the construction of World Cup facilities.

Table 8: Economic disadvantages analysed by various socio-demographic subtypes

Group ³⁵	Mean	N	Standard
Black African	3.43	1639	.86856
Coloured	3.63	523	.75077
Indian or Asian	3.45	353	.86044
White	3.53	381	.85739
Total	3.46	2896	.85903
Group ³⁶			
WC	3.55	372	.81884
EC	3.32	383	.79763
NC	3.52	175	.74890
FS	3.31	240	.91318
KZN	3.62	603	.66548
NW	3.36	142	.87501
GT	3.58	483	.90383
MP	3.39	229	1.06242
LP	3.15	270	.90473

³⁵ (F=6.302;df=3;Sig=0.000)

³⁶ (F=10.167; df=8; Sig=0.000)

Total	3.46	2897	.85905
Group ³⁷			
Urban, formal	3.51	1848	.85267
Urban, informal	3.47	256	.87790
Tribal	3.35	548	.86334
Rural, formal	3.56	245	.79780
Total	3.46	2897	.85905

Coloured and white respondents were most likely to agree that the hosting of the World Cup lead to a waste of money, delayed the provision of necessary basic services to poor areas and increased the prices of goods and services. Indian or Asian respondents and African respondents were least likely to state that there was economic spillage. KwaZulu Natal and Gauteng were most likely to think that there was economic wastage whilst Limpopo was least likely to state this. People in rural formal areas were more likely to state that the hosting of the World Cup might have been a waste of money.

In order to determine who the beneficiaries were from the World Cup event South Africans were ask to list who they thought benefitted most or least from the hosting of the World Cup.

Who were the beneficiaries of the 2010 World Cup?

Table 9: Beneficiaries of the Word Cup

	Benefitted most	Benefitted least
FIFA	38%	6%
Businesses	22%	9%
The wealthy or rich in society	17%	6%
Government officials	9%	4%
People living in towns and cities	7%	7%

³⁷ (F=6.318;df=3;Sig=0.000)

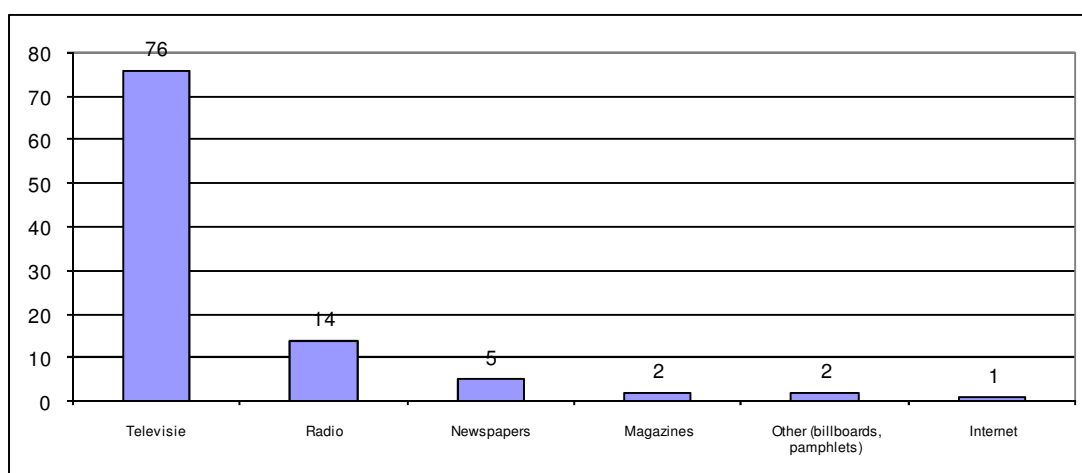
South Africans in general	3%	6%
Poor and disadvantaged	3%	46%
People living in the rural areas	1%	15%

Clearly South Africans felt that the International Football Federation (FIFA) benefitted most from the World Cup held in South Africa. Business and wealthy people were also listed as primary beneficiaries. The poor and the disadvantaged in society were listed as the group that benefitted least, followed by people living in rural areas.

Role of the media

Asked what the main source of information for the 2010 World Cup was, it was clear television played the biggest role as a source of information with more than three quarters (75%) stating television as their main source of information.

Figure18: Main source of information during the World Cup



The vast majority of respondents used the television as their main source of information during the World Cup. Radio was the second most popular source of information and this was clearly more so for the older respondents. A third source of information was newspapers.

Table 10: Main source of information analysed by various socio-demographic subtypes

Group	Magazines	Newspapers	Radio	Television	Internet	Other
Male	2%	6%	11%	78%	1%	2%
Female	2%	4%	16%	75%	0%	2%
Black African	2%	5%	17%	74%	1%	3%

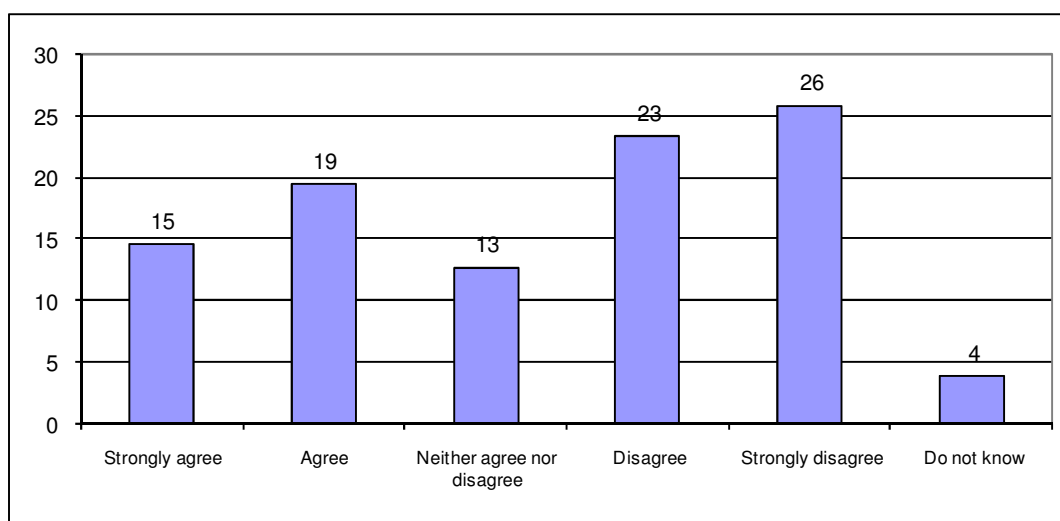
Coloured	3%	7%	6%	83%		1%
Indian or Asian	2%	5%	2%	90%	1%	1%
White	2%	6%	4%	85%	2%	2%
16-24 years	2%	5%	13%	78%	1%	2%
25-34 years	2%	5%	13%	77%	1%	2%
35-44 years	3%	7%	12%	76%	1%	2%
45-54 years	2%	4%	15%	76%	1%	3%
55-64 years	1%	5%	18%	72%	1%	3%
65+years	0%	4%	21%	71%	0%	3%
Low	1%	8%	50%	34%		7%
Medium	2%	4%	12%	79%	0%	2%
High	2%	6%	5%	85%	1%	1%
Group						
World Cup	4%	6%	6%	83%	1%	0%
EC	1%	1%	25%	68%	0%	5%
NC	2%	10%	9%	77%		1%
FS	2%	8%	16%	70%	2%	2%
KZN	2%	6%	11%	79%	0%	2%
NW	2%	4%	15%	74%		5%
GT	1%	4%	7%	86%	0%	2%
MP	2%	7%	18%	72%		1%
LP	1%	3%	20%	71%	3%	3%
Group						
Urban, formal	2%	4%	7%	84%	1%	1%
Urban, informal	1%	9%	15%	72%		2%

Tribal	1%	4%	24%	67%	1%	3%
Rural, formal	3%	10%	21%	63%	0%	4%

Should South Africa host major international events in the future?

As there was some scepticism surrounding the benefits associated with the World Cup, people were asked if South Africa should host other major sports events or not, given the associated costs.

Figure 19: Agreement with the statement that South Africa should not host other major sports events like the Olympics because it is too expensive.



When asked if South Africa should host other major sports events like the Olympics almost half (49%) felt that South Africa should host other major sports events. A sizeable third (34%) said that they did not want South Africa to host other major sporting events. The rest were undecided.

Those that felt South Africa should host another major event were more likely to be male, African or Asian/Indian, young people, people with a low living standard measurement, residents in urban informal, tribal or rural areas.

Those least likely to want South Africa to host other similar major sports events are females, white and coloured people, older people and people with a high living standard measurement and people who reside in urban formal areas.

Concluding remarks

South Africans generally felt that the value of the World Cup lay in its contribution to nation building, unification and image building. People were less convinced that the hosting of the World Cup resulted in tangible benefits such as job creation and economic benefits.

Males, young people, Asian people, people living in informal settlements and people with a high living standard measurement, people from Mpumalanga, KwaZulu Natal and

Mpumalanga were generally the groups most satisfied with the way South Africa handled the World Cup. Females, older people, white people, people with a low living standard measurement and people from the Eastern Cape or Free State were generally less inclined to be satisfied with the way the World Cup was handled.

In terms of having a positive impact on their quality of life, males, young people, Asians and Africans, people living in informal areas and people with a low living standard were most likely to agree that the World Cup event had a positive influence on their quality of life.

In terms of the impact of the World Cup on nation building and social cohesion, the majority of South Africans were in agreement that this event boosted nation building and unification. People most likely to agree with this was males, youngsters, Asians or Indians and coloured people, people from Mpumalanga, people with a high LSM or people from informal settlements.

It was males, Africans, young people, people with a high LSM, people from Mpumalanga and people from urban informal areas who were most likely to say that the hosting of the World Cup had increased their confidence in government's ability to deliver services.

In terms of economic imperatives, the majority of South Africans felt that the World Cup did not generate economic opportunities. Those most likely to think that there were some economic spin-offs were males, whites, people with a high LSM, people from Western Cape and Gauteng and people living in urban formal areas.

Asked if South Africa should host further mega sports events such as the Olympics, almost half (49%) stated we should. Thirteen percent were undecided and a third felt that we should not host such an event. Those that felt South Africa should host another major event were more likely to be male, African or Asian/Indian, young people, people with a low living standard measurement, resident in urban informal, tribal or rural areas. Those least likely to want South Africa to host other similar mega sports events are females, white and coloured people, older and people with a high living standard measurement and among people who reside in urban formal areas.

Section Four

Cape Town and Durban Resident Perceptions of the 2010 World Cup

Professor Urmilla Bob and Professor Kamilla Swart

Introduction

The developmental agenda of hosting 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa has foregrounded the need to integrate social issues at the local level (Swart and Bob, 2007). Bob and Swart (2009) argue that while residents are one of the key stakeholders directly impacted by the hosting of mega-events, generally the actual voices of local residents are absent in relation to debates pertaining to the 2010 FIFA World Cup and concomitant anticipated benefits. This assertion supports Ritchie and Adair's (2004) claim that sport tourism event research has tended to neglect local community perceptions and concerns. Fredline (2004) indicates that events have differential effects on individuals within a community which illustrates differing, and often contested interests. This report presents results from resident surveys undertaken in Cape Town and Durban before and after the World Cup. The focus is on socio-economic perceptions and experiences related to South Africa's hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The residents surveyed lived in close proximity to the competition venues in Durban (the Moses Mabhida Stadium) and Cape Town (the Cape Town Stadium).

The report is divided into the following sections:

- A brief overview of the methodology adopted
- Data analysis
 - Match viewing
 - Perceptions of social impacts
 - Perceptions of the impact of the 2010 World Cup on South Africa's image
 - Perceptions of economic impacts
 - Perceptions pertaining to future hosting of events
- Conclusion

Methodology

Four hundred residents in Cape Town and 200 residents in Durban living in close proximity to the Cape Town stadium and the Moses Mabhida stadium, respectively, were interviewed 3-6 months before and after the event. The difference in sample size was due to funding availability. Respondents were systematically chosen starting with a home deemed to be closest to the stadium being purposively chosen. In Cape Town and Durban every 20th household was interviewed until the required sample size was achieved. If a household was not available or did not want to participate in the survey, the neighbour was interviewed. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with trained fieldworkers.

Data analysis

Match viewing

Table 1 illustrates that a significant proportion of the respondents indicated that they would attend matches (60.3% in Cape Town and 43.5% in Durban). It is interesting to note that a higher percentage of respondents (53%) actually attended matches in Durban while a lower percentage (46.5%) in Cape Town actually attended matches. The results reveal that there was significant interest among residents to directly view matches during the World Cup.

Table 1: If respondent would be attending/ attended 2010 FIFA World Cup matches (in %)

	Cape Town		Durban	
	Pre-event (n=400)	Post-event (n=400)	Pre-event (n=200)	Post-event (n=200)
Yes	60.3	46.5	43.5	53
No	39.8	53	56.5	47
No response	-	0.5	-	-

Among the respondents who indicated that they would not (pre-event surveys) or did not (post events surveys) plan to or attend matches, the main reasons forwarded for non-attendance were not interested in soccer, will not or could not afford tickets and preference to watch games on television (Table 2). Concern over transport and safety were also raised by a few respondents. Some of the respondents also wanted to watch the games in public viewing areas. It is interesting to note that fewer respondents stated that they were not interested in soccer post the event, with none of the respondents identifying this aspect in Durban. Preference to watch games on television differed geographically with more respondents identifying this response post-event in Cape Town (10.3% post-event compared to 5.3% pre-event) compared to Durban where more respondents indicated preference to watch matches on television pre-event (19.5%) compared to post-event (6.5%).

Table 2: If no, why will respondent not be attending 2010 FIFA World Cup matches (in %): only 'no' respondents

	Cape Town		Durban	
	Pre-event (n=400)	Post-event (n=400)	Pre-event (n=200)	Post-event (n=200)
Not interested in soccer	16.8	14.8	15.5	-
Will/ could not be able to afford tickets	12.8	13.8	16	13.5
Transport is a problem	1.3	0.5	-	0.5
Want to go to a public viewing area	2	4.8	-	4.5
Prefer to watch game on television	5.3	10.3	19.5	6.5
I do not feel safe to attend matches	3	1.5	2.5	1.5

More than 90% of the respondents in Cape Town and Durban watched matches on television during the World Cup (Table 3). This clearly indicates the interest among residents and that television provided a medium for them to watch the games. Slightly more respondents stated that they actually watched the games on television (post-event surveys) compared to whether they would watch the games (pre-event surveys). This indicates that during the World Cup locals begin to show increased interest in the games although they may not be interested in soccer generally. This is supported by Ohmann et al (2006) who assert that local interest in the game increased during the course of the event. This increase is heightened if the national host team performs well.

Table 3: If respondent watched match/es on television (in %)

	Cape Town		Durban	
	Pre-event (n=400)	Post-event (n=400)	Pre-event (n=200)	Post-event (n=200)
Yes	90.5	94.3	91.5	95
No	9.5	4.8	8.5	5
No response	-	1	-	-

In terms of watching matches in public viewing areas, a third of the respondents (slightly more post-event than pre-event) stated that they would consider or watched games in public viewing areas because they could not purchase tickets (Table 4). The interest in public viewing areas was high and seemed to be as successful as the German World Cup in 2006

when public viewing areas or fan parks were initiated on a large-scale. Bob and Swart (2010) illustrate that public viewing areas/ fan parks emerged as important spaces for social interaction, especially among locals and visitors, during the World Cup.

Table 4: If respondent could not purchase tickets, would they consider watching the match/es at dedicated spectator locations or public viewing areas in big screens (pre-event) or if they watched match/es at dedicated spectator locations or public viewing areas in big screens (post-event) (in %)

	Cape Town		Durban	
	Pre-event (n=400)	Post-event (n=400)	Pre-event (n=200)	Post-event (n=200)
Yes	67.3	69.8	67	73
No	32.8	29.3	33	27
No response	-	1	-	-

Perceptions of impacts on social cohesion and pride

Table 5 indicates that more than 80% of the respondents in both cities before and after the event strongly agreed or agreed with the statement: “I feel proud that the event will be/ was hosted in my town, city or area”. Slightly more respondents felt this way after the event compared to before the event reinforcing the perception that residents supported the event being hosted in Cape Town and Durban, respectively.

Table 5: Level of agreement with the statement “I feel proud that the event will be/ was hosted in my town, city or area” (in %)

	Cape Town		Durban	
	Pre-event (n=400)	Post-event (n=400)	Pre-event (n=200)	Post-event (n=200)
Strongly agree	61	61.5	53.5	63.5
Agree	25.5	31	32.5	31
Neutral	10.3	6.1	11.5	5.5
Disagree	2.3	0.5	0.5	-
Strongly disagree	1	1	2	-

The support of the cities' involvement in hosting the event was also echoed in relation to South Africa being the host nation. Again, more than 80% of the respondents in both cities before and after the event strongly agreed or agreed with the statement: "I feel proud that South Africa will be/ hosted the 2010 FIFA World Cup" (Table 6). Almost all studies on resident perceptions in South Africa (see for example, Bob and Swart, 2009; 2010; Pillay and Bass, 2008) indicate that South Africans generally supported the nation hosting the event despite their concerns regarding the distribution of social and economic benefits. The results from this survey indicate that this perception persists after the event.

Table 6: Level of agreement with the statement "I feel proud that South Africa will be/ hosted the 2010 FIFA World Cup" (in %)

	Cape Town		Durban	
	Pre-event (n=400)	Post-event (n=400)	Pre-event (n=200)	Post-event (n=200)
Strongly agree	63.5	63.5	57.5	66
Agree	23.5	27.8	30	26
Neutral	11.3	6.8	9	7
Disagree	0.8	1.3	1.5	1
Strongly disagree	1	0.8	2	-

The positive attitudes pertaining to the cities and South Africa hosting the event is also reflected in residents' perceptions regarding whether they were proud of South Africa. Table 7 shows that more than 80% of the respondents in both cities before and after the event strongly agreed or agreed with the statement: "I am generally very proud of South Africa". This indicates a positive national identification among the respondents.

Table 7: Level of agreement with the statement "I am generally very proud of South Africa" (in %)

	Cape Town		Durban	
	Pre-event (n=400)	Post-event (n=400)	Pre-event (n=200)	Post-event (n=200)
Strongly agree	68.8	66.5	49.5	69.5
Agree	21	28.5	35	25.5
Neutral	6.3	4.5	10.5	5

Disagree	3.8	0.3	3.5	-
Strongly disagree	0.3	-	1.5	-

More than 80% of the respondents in both cities before and after that event strongly agreed or agreed with the statement that “The 2010 event will be/ was a major boost for nation building” (Table 8). This shows that most respondents felt that the hosting of the World Cup will/ did strengthen nation building in South Africa.

Table 8: Level of agreement with the statement “The 2010 event will be/ was a major boost for nation building” (in %)

	Cape Town		Durban	
	Pre-event (n=400)	Post-event (n=400)	Pre-event (n=200)	Post-event (n=200)
Strongly agree	56.3	50.8	38.5	54.5
Agree	31.5	33.5	43.5	32
Neutral	7.3	12.1	13.5	10
Disagree	3.3	2.8	3	3
Strongly disagree	1.8	1	1.5	0.5

Nation building associated with the World Cup was not only confined to South Africa but also contributed to one's sense of being part of the African continent. Most respondents before (80.1% in Cape Town and 87% in Durban) and after (91% in Cape Town and 93.5% in Durban) the World Cup strongly agreed or agreed with the statement: “I feel very much part of the African continent as a result of this event” (Table 9). It is important to note that more respondents in both cities supported this statement after the event. This shows that the notion of an African World Cup was achieved among the residents.

Table 9: Level of agreement with the statement “I feel very much part of the African continent as a result of this event” (in %)

	Cape Town		Durban	
	Pre-event (n=400)	Post-event (n=400)	Pre-event (n=200)	Post-event (n=200)
Strongly agree	58.8	67.5	51	70

Agree	21.3	23.5	36	23.5
Neutral	12.5	7.3	7.5	6
Disagree	4.8	1.5	4.5	0.5
Strongly disagree	2.8	0.3	1	-

Most of the respondents (68.6% in Cape Town and 79.5% in Durban pre-event and 81% in Cape Town and 79% in Durban post-event) strongly agreed or agreed with the statement that “It is very important that Bafana Bafana (SA national soccer team) won matches during the 2010 FIFA World Cup” (Table 10). The responses after the event are interesting given that Bafana Bafana did not make it to the second round. The respondents still felt that their performance was important.

Table 10: Level of agreement with the statement “It is very important that Bafana Bafana (SA national soccer team) won matches during the 2010 FIFA World Cup” (in %)

	Cape Town		Durban	
	Pre-event (n=400)	Post-event (n=400)	Pre-event (n=200)	Post-event (n=200)
Strongly agree	43.3	46	53	46
Agree	25.3	35	26.5	33
Neutral	16.8	13.6	13	16.5
Disagree	9	3.3	5	3
Strongly disagree	5.8	2.3	3.5	1.5

The responses pertaining to the statement ‘The event will have/ had NO negative social impacts’ differed before and after the World Cup (Table 11). In Cape Town and Durban, 67.8% and 58.5% of the respondents, respectively, strongly disagreed or disagreed with the statement before the event with only 11.6% and 25.5%, respectively, strongly agreeing or agreeing with the statement. After the event, 52.1% of the respondents in Cape Town and 48.5% in Durban strongly agreed or agreed with the statement while only 16.1% and 17%, respectively, strongly disagreed or disagreed with the statement. This shows that in Cape Town and Durban a significant proportion of the respondents anticipated negative social impacts. However, after the event most of the respondents felt that there were no negative social impacts. The increase in neutral responses after the event is important to note and

again reflects that a significant proportion of the respondents were unsure whether the event had negative social impacts.

Table 11: Level of agreement with the statement “The event will have/ had NO negative social impacts” (in %)

	Cape Town		Durban	
	Pre-event (n=400)	Post-event (n=400)	Pre-event (n=200)	Post-event (n=200)
Strongly agree	5.3	22.8	10	20.5
Agree	6.3	29.3	15.5	28
Neutral	20.8	32	16	34.5
Disagree	43.5	10.3	42	10
Strongly disagree	24.3	5.8	16.5	7

Perceptions of the impact of the 2010 World Cup on South Africa's image

More than 80% of the respondents before (83.8% in Cape Town and 83% in Durban) and after (90.3% in Cape Town and 91% in Durban) the World Cup strongly agreed or agreed with the statement “The event will showcase/ showcased South Africa in a positive light” (Table 12). The results show that more respondents supported this statement after the World Cup and indicates that the residents recognise the destination profiling benefits of hosting a mega-event.

Table 12: Level of agreement with the statement “The event will showcase/ showcased South Africa in a positive light” (in %)

	Cape Town		Durban	
	Pre-event (n=400)	Post-event (n=400)	Pre-event (n=200)	Post-event (n=200)
Strongly agree	52.5	50.5	44	50.5
Agree	31.3	39.8	39	40.5
Neutral	13.5	9.1	9.5	8
Disagree	1.5	0.3	6	1
Strongly disagree	1.3	0.5	1.5	-

More than 90% of the respondents before and after the World Cup also strongly agreed or agreed with the statement “The event will attract/ attracted tourists to the area” (Table 13). This indicates that residents were aware of the potential tourist benefits associated with the World Cup.

Table 13: Level of agreement with the statement “The event will attract/ attracted tourists to the area” (in %)

	Cape Town		Durban	
	Pre-event (n=400)	Post-event (n=400)	Pre-event (n=200)	Post-event (n=200)
Strongly agree	67.3	59.3	52.5	61.5
Agree	29.3	32.8	43.5	31
Neutral	3	7.1	3.5	6.5
Disagree	0.5	1	0.5	1
Strongly disagree	-	-	-	-

Similar to the above responses, Table 14 shows that more than 80% of the respondents before and after the event strongly agreed or agreed with the statement that “The event will increase/ increased positive media coverage of the area”. This again reveals that residents were aware that the hosting of the World Cup generates significant media coverage of the host cities.

Table 14: Level of agreement with the statement “The event will increase/ increased positive media coverage of the area” (in %)

	Cape Town		Durban	
	Pre-event (n=400)	Post-event (n=400)	Pre-event (n=200)	Post-event (n=200)
Strongly agree	53.5	51.5	44.5	53
Agree	35	34.3	41	30.5
Neutral	9.8	10.6	11	12.5
Disagree	1.3	2.3	3	2.5

Strongly disagree	0.5	1.5	0.5	1.5
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Table 15 shows that 51.8% of the respondents in Cape Town and 65% in Durban strongly agreed or agreed with the statement that “Crime will showcase/ showcased South Africa in a negative light” with 27.1% in Cape Town and 27.5% in Durban strongly disagreeing or disagreeing with the statement. After the event fewer respondents supported this statement: 40.8% in Cape Town and 45% in Durban. The results show that while crime remains an important consideration in relation to showcasing South Africa in a negative light, a significant proportion of the respondents felt that this was not the case during the World Cup.

Table 15: Level of agreement with the statement “Crime will showcase/ showcased South Africa in a negative light” (in %)

	Cape Town		Durban	
	Pre-event (n=400)	Post-event (n=400)	Pre-event (n=200)	Post-event (n=200)
Strongly agree	24.5	18.5	37	21
Agree	27.3	22.3	28	24
Neutral	21.3	26	7.5	27.5
Disagree	21.3	22.5	22.5	17.5
Strongly disagree	5.8	10.8	5	10

Perceptions of economic impacts

The respondents generally strongly agreed or agreed with the statement that “The FIFA World Cup will benefit/ only benefitted the rich and big businesses” (Table 16). In both Cape Town and Durban fewer respondents strongly agreed or agreed with the statement after the event with a significant increase in neutral responses in both cities. This may be due to these residents enjoying the event. More respondents in Cape Town than Durban disagreed or strongly disagree with the statement.

Table 16: Level of agreement with the statement “The FIFA World Cup will benefit/ only benefitted the rich and big businesses” (in %)

	Cape Town		Durban	
	Pre-event (n=400)	Post-event (n=400)	Pre-event (n=200)	Post-event (n=200)

Strongly agree	30.5	28	24.5	27
Agree	22.3	26.8	42.5	29
Neutral	16.3	26.5	13.5	26.5
Disagree	27.3	15.5	18	14.5
Strongly disagree	3.8	3.3	1.5	3

The pre-event survey also included a question pertaining to which group respondents believe will benefit the most from the World Cup. Table 17 illustrates that most respondents believed that businesses (50% in Cape Town and 42.5%), the wealthy and rich (21% in Cape Town and 41% in Durban) and people living in towns and cities (14.5% in Cape Town and 9% in Durban) will benefit the most from the World Cup. The responses indicate that residents felt that businesses and the economically better-off were better positioned to benefit from South Africa hosting the World Cup.

Table 17: Which group, according to the respondents, will benefit the most from the 2010 FIFA World Cup (pre-event – in %)

	Cape Town (n=400)	Durban (n=200)
Poor and disadvantaged	1.3	2.5
People living in the rural areas	1	1.5
Businesses	50	42.5
Wealthy and rich	21	41
People living in towns and cities	14.5	9
No response	12.3	-
None	-	1
Other	-	2.5

In relation to the statement “The hosting of this event will ensure/ ensured employment opportunities for local community members”, most respondents in both cities strongly agreed or agreed with this statement (Table 18). This is interesting given the previous responses which supported the view that generally the rich and big business will benefit from the World Cup. The results may denote a recognition among the respondents that employment

opportunities for local community members were created via the hosting of the World Cup, albeit for a few only.

Table 18: Level of agreement with the statement “The hosting of this event will ensure/ ensured employment opportunities for local community members” (in %)

	Cape Town		Durban	
	Pre-event (n=400)	Post-event (n=400)	Pre-event (n=200)	Post-event (n=200)
Strongly agree	27.5	29.3	25.5	35
Agree	42	41	48.5	41
Neutral	17.5	18.6	17.5	16.5
Disagree	12.3	10.3	7.5	7
Strongly disagree	0.8	1	1	0.5

More than 70% of the respondents in both cities strongly agreed or agreed with the statement that “The hosting of this event will lead/ has led to increased spending in the local area thus ensuring economic benefits to the members of the local community” (Table 19). Again, support of this statement illustrates that local residents were of the opinion that local communities benefitted as a result of South Africa hosting the World Cup. The strong support may also be indicative of the fact that the respondents in this survey resided in close proximity to the competition stadiums.

Table 19: Level of agreement with the statement “The hosting of this event will lead/ has led to increased spending in the local area thus ensuring economic benefits to the members of the local community” (in %)

	Cape Town		Durban	
	Pre-event (n=400)	Post-event (n=400)	Pre-event (n=200)	Post-event (n=200)
Strongly agree	36	28.5	28	33
Agree	42	44	46	42
Neutral	13.8	17.3	13	17
Disagree	7.5	7.8	11.5	5.5
Strongly	0.8	2.5	1.5	2.5

disagree				
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The majority of the respondents strongly agreed or agreed with the statement that “The hosting of this event will ensure/ ensured extended shopping hours in the area of the event” (Table 20). This illustrates that residents were aware that hosting an event such as the World Cup results in extended shopping hours to accommodate the visitors and respond to the activities associated with the event.

Table 20: Level of agreement with the statement “The hosting of this event will ensure/ ensured extended shopping hours in the area of the event” (in %)

	Cape Town		Durban	
	Pre-event (n=400)	Post-event (n=400)	Pre-event (n=200)	Post-event (n=200)
Strongly agree	33	35.3	33	41
Agree	39	43.8	49	41
Neutral	20.3	14.9	14.5	13
Disagree	5.3	5.3	3.5	4
Strongly disagree	2.5	1	-	1

Responses relating to the statement “Black economic empowerment will improve/ improved” as a result of the World Cup differed (Table 21). In Cape Town, 46.3% of the respondents strongly agreed or agreed with this statement pre-event compared to slightly fewer respondents (37.8%) post-event. In Durban, 78.5% of the respondents (significantly more than Cape Town) strongly agreed or agreed with the statement pre-event compared to 41% of the respondents post-event. Thus, significantly fewer respondents in Durban supported this statement post-event compared to pre-event indicating that more residents anticipated that Black economic empowerment will improve but felt that this did not materialise.

Table 21: Level of agreement with the statement “Black economic empowerment will improve/ improved” (in %)

	Cape Town		Durban	
	Pre-event (n=400)	Post-event (n=400)	Pre-event (n=200)	Post-event (n=200)
Strongly agree	19.3	17.5	39.5	20

Agree	27	20.3	39	21
Neutral	33	38.3	14.5	34.5
Disagree	13	11.8	6.5	11.5
Strongly disagree	7.8	12.3	0.5	13

The majority of respondents in both cities strongly agreed or agreed with the statement “I think the price of goods in the area will increase/ increased due to the event” (Table 22). However, it is important to note that significantly more respondents stated neutral post-event (20.6% in Cape Town and 20.5% in Durban) compared to pre-event responses (4% in Cape Town and 5% in Durban). This suggests that some of the respondents did not experience an increase in price of goods in the area due to the event.

Table 22: Level of agreement with the statement “I think the price of goods in the area will increase/ increased due to the event” (in %)

	Cape Town		Durban	
	Pre-event (n=400)	Post-event (n=400)	Pre-event (n=200)	Post-event (n=200)
Strongly agree	65.8	40	47.5	37.5
Agree	24.5	34	43	35.5
Neutral	4	20.6	5	20.5
Disagree	3.8	4.5	3.5	6
Strongly disagree	2	1	1	0.5

The majority of respondents in both cities strongly agreed or agreed with the statement “I feel that the use of public funds in support of this event was acceptable” (Table 23). However, similar to the previous statement regarding the price of goods in the area, significantly more respondents stated neutral post-event (26.3% in Cape Town and 34.5% in Durban) compared to pre-event responses (14% in Cape Town and 17.5% in Durban). This suggests that fewer respondents supported the use of public monies post the event compared to before the World Cup took place. These respondents may have felt that the benefits of hosting the Cup were not realised.

Table 23: Level of agreement with the statement “I feel that the use of public funds in support of this event was acceptable” (in %)

	Cape Town		Durban	
	Pre-event (n=400)	Post-event (n=400)	Pre-event (n=200)	Post-event (n=200)
Strongly agree	41	23	28	21.5
Agree	26.8	39.5	33.5	31.5
Neutral	14	26.3	17.5	34.5
Disagree	12.8	6.8	17	8
Strongly disagree	5.5	4.5	4	4.5

The level of agreement with the statement “Too much money was spent on the 2010 event that could be spent on other activities” differed between the two cities before the event but were similar after the World Cup with the majority of the respondents (58.1% in Cape Town and 54.5%) strongly agreeing or agreeing with the statement (Table 24). Before the event only 26.6% of the respondents in Cape Town and significantly more respondents (82%) in Durban strongly agreed or agreed with this statement. This indicates that in Cape Town more than half of the respondents felt that too much money was spent on the World Cup that could be spent on other activities. In Cape Town, this sentiment increased after the event while in Durban this decreased with more respondents disagreeing or indicating neutral in relation to the statement after the event.

Table 24: Level of agreement with the statement “Too much money was spent on the 2010 event that could be spent on other activities” (in %)

	Cape Town		Durban	
	Pre-event (n=400)	Post-event (n=400)	Pre-event (n=200)	Post-event (n=200)
Strongly agree	14.3	25.3	48	23
Agree	12.3	32.8	34	31.5
Neutral	22.3	25.3	9	26
Disagree	27.3	10.8	8.5	13
Strongly disagree	24	6	0.5	6.5

Responses relating to the statement “The 2010 event only benefited some members of the community and increased social inequalities” differed (Table 25). In Cape Town, 54.3% of the respondents strongly agreed or agreed with this statement pre-event compared to slightly fewer respondents (50.3%) post-event. In Durban, 71% of the respondents (more than Cape Town) strongly agreed or agreed with the statement pre-event compared to 51.5% of the respondents post-event. Thus, significantly fewer respondents in Durban supported this statement after the World Cup compared to before the event suggesting more respondents were unsure about the social inequalities created in communities by the World Cup. This was also reflected in the increase in neutral responses post the event. However, the responses reveal that most respondents were unsure or felt that the World Cup only benefited a few members in the community and increased social inequalities. Thus, respondents believed that both social and economic benefits derived from the World Cup were not equally distributed within the local communities.

Table 25: Level of agreement with the statement “The 2010 event only benefited some members of the community and increased social inequalities” (in %)

	Cape Town		Durban	
	Pre-event (n=400)	Post-event (n=400)	Pre-event (n=200)	Post-event (n=200)
Strongly agree	18.8	20.8	30	23.5
Agree	35.5	29.5	41	28
Neutral	25.8	35	15.5	38.5
Disagree	15.5	11.3	11.5	7.5
Strongly disagree	4.5	3.5	2	2.5

The majority of respondents in Cape Town and Durban before and after the event strongly agreed or agreed with the statement “The event will stimulate/ stimulated training and skills development for members of the community” (Table 26). There was a significant increase in neutral responses (12% - mainly from strongly agreed or agreed) in Durban after the event. The responses show that many respondents felt that the hosting of the World Cup will create/ has created opportunities for training and skills development within the community.

Table 26: Level of agreement with the statement “The event will stimulate/ stimulated training and skills development for members of the community” (in %)

	Cape Town		Durban	
	Pre-event (n=400)	Post-event (n=400)	Pre-event (n=200)	Post-event (n=200)

Strongly agree	21.5	22.8	32.5	26
Agree	34.5	34.8	38.5	35
Neutral	28.5	27.3	18	30
Disagree	14.3	14	9	7
Strongly disagree	1.3	1.3	2	2

Perceptions pertaining to future hosting of events

The majority of respondents (84.5% in Cape Town and 76% in Durban) interviewed after the event indicated that they supported South Africa bidding to host future mega-events such as the Olympic Games. This again reveals that residents generally supported South Africa hosting the World Cup and felt that the country should continue to attempt to attract mega-events.

Table 27: If respondent thought that South Africa should bid to host future mega-events such as the Olympic Games (post-event – in %)

	Cape Town (n=400)	Durban (n=200)
Yes	84.5	76
No	13.5	22
Not sure/ no response	2	2

Conclusion

The results from the resident survey findings in Durban and Cape Town illustrate that locals participated in the World Cup and generally supported South Africa hosting Africa's first sporting event. A significant proportion of the residents watched matches in the stadium/s and/or public viewing areas. Almost all respondents watched games on television.

Residents generally recognised that the World Cup is unlikely to have widespread economic benefits (supporting the statement that a few will benefit). Most respondents indicated that businesses and the rich were likely to benefit from the World Cup. However, this did not detract from them supporting and participating in the event. Most respondents supported their respective cities and South Africa hosting the World Cup. Furthermore, they were proud of being South African and part of the African continent. Additionally, they generally supported the view that hosting the World Cup will contribute to destination profiling and attract tourists.

The significant proportion of neutral responses to many of the statements indicates that many resident respondents were unsure of the impacts of the World Cup on the various aspects examined. Despite this and concern over the distribution of benefits, the majority of the residents interviewed indicated that South Africa should bid to host future mega-events.

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Section Five

Press Analysis

Introduction

This section seeks to conduct an analysis of press coverage of social attitudes towards the World Cup and by extension social cohesion. The study pays particular attention to sources and content with the objective of capturing different perspectives on social cohesion and the World Cup.

Specifically, the articles reveal that the World Cup represented the possibilities for South Africa as a nation including: the ability to co-exist with others in a peaceful manner; a collective focus diffusing racial and socio-economic boundaries, the ability of law enforcement bodies to provide security and; the ability of government to provide essential infrastructure and services. This analysis argues that although some of this success was momentary, the basic principles utilized by the press such as mobilising the country in support of the national team (*Bafana Bafana*), and providing positive coverage of the occasion were utilised to enhance social cohesion in the country. The press also played a role in illuminating legacy projects.

Newspapers were permeated with messages that emphasised the role of the World Cup in promoting patriotism. These stories were closely accompanied by reflections of feelings of national pride especially at the efficiency with which the event was undertaken. Symbolic buildings such as the iconic Soccer City Stadium, located in Soweto and gestures such as the football Fridays observed by many organizations and the yellow T-shirts worn in support of *Bafana* enhanced national unity. As newspaper reports indicated in many ways, South Africa was turned from a “Rainbow” nation to a “Yellow” nation, revealing a breakdown in barriers that often set people apart.

The press coverage of the World Cup and *Bafana Bafana* was for the most part supportive of South Africa’s and Africa’s ability, therefore shifting from disability narratives. Second the press highlighted voices that encouraged South Africans to participate in the World Cup. Specifically, as various reports pointed out the successes of the country, they emphasized that the success was not made possible solely by the government or by Fifa but by the South African people.

Methodology

This press analysis focuses on newspaper articles written between January to July 2010. A combination of major national and provincial newspapers were selected by using S.A. Press which provides online access to newspaper reports. A total of 3180 articles on the FIFA World Cup were identified. In attempts to narrow the scope of the research materials two practical strategies were adopted. The first paid particular attention to articles that provided substantial information on the following key words; national identity, patriotism, nation building, and national pride. These words are consistent with the South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) questionnaire, the quantitative tool utilized for this study. Instead

of focusing on particular newspapers standpoints about a particular issue, this analysis looks for emerging themes in the discussion of the above topics. The second strategy included a random selection of newspapers covering the period preceding the World Cup (January to May), during the event (June-July), to the period following the World Cup (remainder of July). In total, 11 newspapers are examined including: the *Mail & Guardian*, *Sunday Times*, *City Press*, *Daily Dispatch*, *Natal Witness*, *Sowetan*, *The Citizen*, *The Star*, *Cape Argus*, *Cape Times*, and *The Herald*. Driven by an objective to provide representative views, the analysis draws from editorials, letters to the editor, opinion and analysis pieces, and feature stories about social views and attitudes. The next sections present key findings on nation identity and nation building³⁸.

National Identity

The World Cup was framed in the majority of newspapers as an African event and as a result, South Africa was situated within the continent. The selection of the country to host the game was seen as a victory for Africa as a whole (Mboyisa, 2010, Joordan, 2010, Moeng, 2010). The Chief Executive Office of the World Cup organizing committee in South Africa Danny Jordaan noted that hosting the World Cup has helped to elevate all Africans to their in their rightful place in the world. He argued that at the end of the tournament “no one will ever have the courage to argue that Africa is a ‘hopeless continent’” (Joordan, 2010).

In a similar manner, President Zuma pointed out that the success of the World Cup would change certain stereotypes that were associated with the continent. He indicated that after the World Cup, “nobody can tell us that nothing good can come from Africa, or that we are a continent of wars, conflict and poverty. Wherever we go in the continent these days, our African brothers and sisters thank South Africa for proving Africa’s capability” (Ngalwa, 2010).

The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) also contributed to this perception of an African World Cup. The broadcaster played both local and African music during the period preceding the World Cup (*The Citizen*, April 15, 2010). The intent of this scheduling was to ensure that all Africans were able to enjoy and celebrate with the South Africans.

At the national level, the World Cup was seen to provide a deeper understanding and new outlook of the country (Memele, 2010). The World Cup was perceived as reminding the country of South African the Ubuntu Spirit or a reminder of South African humanity and the need to put differences aside (Moeng, 2010). The “feel-good” positive messages by the government, Danny Jordaan and Sepp Blatter enhanced these sentiments (Moeng, 2010). In preparing the nation for the game between France and *Bafana Bafana*, one writer urged the nation to “draw on all its reserves of courage, courtesy and ubuntu” (*The Citizen*, June 22, 2010). In the World Cup context ubuntu, one newspaper defined the concept as “the acceptance of others as parts of the sum total of each of us” (*Daily Dispatch*, July 9, 2010).

Perspectives about the World Cup were also informed by a pragmatic approach. A number of articles noted that the game alone could not change the structural and social-economic issues

³⁸ Please note that additional details on the economic impact and South African’s perspectives on future events will be provided in the draft report.

that faced the country. Indeed, a number of journalists, letters to the editor, and opinion pieces indicated that the World Cup could contribute to the advancement of the South African narrative but this of course had to be supported by other initiatives. One such writer noted that “The purpose of the World Cup was never to turn everyone into a millionaire but to provide a growth point in our development as a people” (Memele, 2010). The event was also seen as one that went beyond a month of football, to one that contributed to SA’s legacy and nation building (Bro, 2010). For some the utilization of the money provided by FIFA to the South African Football Association (SAFA) for legacy projects was the greater task that lay ahead or the yard stick for evaluating the event’s success (Naidoo, 2010). The impact of the event was highlighted for example in Khayelitsha. Barnes (2010) noted that the youth and children of Harare, Khayelitsha were already enjoying the legacy benefits of the World Cup. The area had acquired a multi-purpose facility, ‘Football for Hope’ sponsored by FIFA that had a world-class artificial grass pitch and a hall, where schoolchildren were equipped with life skills, HIV/AIDS information sharing workshops, and assisted with their homework after school. The youth soccer clubs in the area utilised the fields for the matches on weekends, while pre-school children from the nearby crèche used the grass pitch for recreational activities during the week. Sepp Blatter indicated at the opening ceremony after the World Cup final draw in Cape Town that the center would draw on people’s passion for football to transform communities and to provide hope and opportunities for young people (Barnes, 2010). These legacy projects were consistent with many projects in the world that have been utilized to address gang violence, health concerns, unemployment and self esteem among young people.

The crux of the matter, though, was how South African’s viewed themselves. Reports indicated that South Africans were optimistic about the World Cup and how it reflected on their identity. One survey conducted towards the end of the event, for example, indicated that 85% believed in a better future for citizens. More than 85% of South Africans in a snap survey indicated that they were more hopeful and that they expect a happy future for all South Africans after the football World Cup (*Witness*, July 15, 2010). Other news articles indicated that the event had taught South Africans more about how they viewed themselves and also how the rest of the world saw them (*City Press*, July 11, 2010). The above article concluded by stating that as a result of the World Cup the perception had emerged that, “the image of a working, organized South Africa with designer stadiums is what we now see in the mirror.” (*City Press*, July 11, 2010)

Support for *Bafana* revealed South African’s unity. Most local newspapers were imbued with praise for the team and the emerging collective spirit was attributed to the World Cup. After *Bafana Bafana* lost, the message emerging from various media was that although the team was out, South African’s had much to be proud about. One article, for example, stated the following: “Truly, we are a nation that possesses love, humility and humanity which portrays Madiba’s wishes, vision and convictions.” *Bafana* may be out but as a nation we are in” (Mathabela, 2010). Another stated that “the lesson we should take home is a sense of our ability, not of our disability (*City Press*, June 13, 2010)

Nation Building

Nation building was represented as a process, thus, the World Cup was viewed as contributing to previous narratives of nation building. Trench (2011), for instance noted that South African as a nation was still under construction. He went further to provide an explanation of a nation “A nation is more than a geographic delimitation on a map; it is a curious consensus among all who live within those boundaries- and sometimes even outside them- that they share something in common, that they see in each other something of themselves- and that they are glad and proud to see this.” His larger point was that although 1994 generated hope of a new nation, this had taken longer than imagined.

Analogies were also drawn between the Rugby World Cup of 1996, the Conference against Racism and the World Summit on Sustainable Development (Zondi, 2010). South African leaders were described as having pushed for inclusion at these events because they understood that such occasions had the potential to creating a positive image that could position South Africa as one of the leading nations. (Zondi, 2010).

The World Cup was also viewed as a continuation of a journey that began in 1994, with the advancement of a national constitution that was all inclusive. The event played this uniting role by bringing people together to directly participate. Others saw the event as the most significant event since 1994 and argued that South Africans could use the World Cup as a moment to cement their nationhood and to eradicate things that derailed their development (Makhanya, 2010).

Race

The World Cup was viewed as a great catalyst in the drive toward nation-building and “ensuring that although South African races are plural, the fact that we are all human beings united us as one single human family” (Umbilo, 2010). The hosting the World Cup was also seen as a culmination of events that began in the 1950s. Norman Middleman, a veteran in the struggle for non-racial sport, pointed out that the hosting of the World Cup could be seen as a culmination of events that began in the 1950s with the formation of the non-racial South Africa Soccer Federation (SASF), which defied the apartheid government and applied for membership of FIFA (Naidoo, 2010).

A number of news reports also drew attention to an increase in the number of fans. One article noted that middle class football fans in this country represented a small minority before June 11. The rest of the middle class looked down on “soccer”, seeing that it, if not a “black” sport, then certainly a lower class of game. That elitist worldview has been shaken if not shattered, by the past month (Calland, 2010).

South Africans were credited for putting aside their differences in support and in celebration and hosting the World Cup (Mboyisa, 2010). As such the nation was transformed from a “Rainbow Nation to “Yellow Nation” referring to the country’s support for Bafana Bafana (*City Press*, 13 June, 2010). The collective pride was also perceived as tangible proof to the world that the Rainbow nation can and will overcome its deep divisions; that we can gather as a country united in pride and camaraderie (*City Press*, May 30, 2010).

Some articles saw the hype created by the World Cup as indicative of ignorance about the countries serious challenges which was potentially damaging (*Mail & Guardian*, July, 8, 2010). Some argued that the kinds of flags flown that were often from other countries went against nation building ideals. Others countered that perspective by arguing that it revealed the notion of living with difference which is a good thing as difference was there to stay (*Mail & Guardian*, July, 8, 2010). Others were sceptical about the survival of what they perceived as the World Cup “fairytale” in South Africa’s racial politics (Moeng, 2010).

Service Delivery

At the heart of discussions about the World Cup was its impact on public perceptions of service delivery. Key political leaders were in agreement that SA had surpassed high expectations. IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi noted that “if we are able to do all this, our people are certainly going to ask why we are not able to address the daily challenges they face” (Ngalwa, 2010). Opposition leader, Hellen Zille, spoke to the high efficiency that had characterized the World Cup by noting that: “The ultimate legacy of this World Cup must be the new standards of shared purpose we have set ourselves. We have shown that with firm deadlines, clear budgets, proper planning and good management, we can achieve anything.” She noted that the event had presented a snapshot of what South Africa could achieve as a nation. South Africa’s president, Jacob Zuma, speaking during the Youth Day celebrations, lauded citizens for displaying “amazing patriotism and national pride” (Mboyisa, 2010). According to Zuma, the World Cup was successful because of the support of the people. This statement and others shifted from focusing the act of nation building from politicians to ordinary South Africans. Nation building was therefore presented as everyone’s responsibility.

The World Cup presented opportunities for government and NGOs to collaborate on development projects. In rural Keats Drift, Msinga, Northern Kwa Zulu Natal, the Independent Development Trust and Land reform Department, started a campaign before the World Cup with the aim of ensuring that football fans from rural areas would not miss out on the experience of hosting the tournament (Burnard, 2010). The national campaign sought to create what was referred to as Village Viewing Areas (VVAs) through installations of big-screen TVs, DSTV decoders and smartcards in 11 municipalities in poverty stricken areas of South Africa. Moreover, the rural development and land reform Department set up village viewing areas in 45 villages and towns in all nine provinces. All the equipment—including projectors, screens, speakers, amplifiers and satellite dishes for each site would become the communities’ property after the World Cup (Naidoo, 2010).

A few articles focused on security, indicating insecurity had decreased during the World Cup. One private security company referred to Call-A-Guard which offered body guard personnel, for example, was depicted as not having much business as few tourists had approached them for the service (Sibanyoni, 2010). Additionally, the police were honoured for their World Cup service. They received the “Star of the Stars” award, a monthly initiative to honour policemen and women who go beyond the call of duty. The decision was unanimous that the police should receive the title for the role they played in ensuring a safe and secure World Cup to all (Mashabane, & Mndebele, 2010).

Other analyses adopted a more critical approach. The World Cup had shown that government could successfully host a large international event, but it also brought to the forefront bread and butter issues. According to a *Mail & Guardian* editorial (July 8, 2010), “the World Cup’s hallucinogenic grip on South Africans was momentary and daily hunger was not forgotten during a football match, neither was job-hunting. Similarly, Calland (2010) warned that “the World Cup’s success should not serve to mask the delinquency of South Africa’s public services or the inexcusable gulf between the quality of life enjoyed by the minority and that of the poverty stricken majority.”

In addition, although the World Cup highlighted that the government could advance complex development initiatives, the event also illuminated some infrastructural problems. A number of reports highlighted residents who were sidelined in the event. Thembelihle residents in Reeston, for instance, missed the World Cup due to lack of electricity (Mgwatyu, 2010). In an informal settlement in Sweetwaters, one of the reports indicated the following: “Unlike many parts of the country, where the streets were bustling with hordes of colourfully dressed, vuvuzela-blowing fans, the untarred roads of Sweetwaters shackland were engulfed by a depressing silence.” (Ledwaba, 2010) A few households had generator operated TV sets and battery transistor radios but most residents could not afford R40 to fuel the generators. Further, FIFA’s unilateral stance on merchandise and business ventures around the World Cup was seen as another hindrance to inclusion in of all sectors of society in the 2010 World Cup. The football body has, in effect, considerably stifled—if not buried—the already dwindling local spirit of entrepreneurship (Kamaldien, 2010).

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Section Six

CONCLUSION

“Sustaining a common humanity”

The question of sustainability will be critical to the long term legacy of the World Cup in terms of social cohesion and nation building. A general momentum with regards to social cohesion and nation building was established during the World Cup. Some of this impact has not completely dissipated, iconic moments such as the Blue Bulls rugby team playing in Soweto, remain in many South African’s consciousness. We need to realize this “social capital” that was created during the period of the World Cup. We require coordinated and integrated strategies to take the momentum forward. It is evident from interviews with focus group participants that the sharing of common social space by people of different races and classes at stadiums, fan parks and in entertainment venues had a profound impact on many South Africans, simply as a result of a recognition and experience of common humanity in such contexts, e.g. the sharing of laughter, jokes, excitement etc. The fact that such a recognition of the humanity of the “other” was something that impacted on South Africans in such an important manner is indicative of the damage wrought by apartheid to the social fabric and the profound cleavages that continue to exist today.

While recognition of common humanity is an important start in terms of nation building, mere recognition of common humanity is clearly not enough. As some focus group participants pointed out there is a difference between mixing and integrating. While South Africans shared common *public* space during the World Cup event, this seldom translated into the sharing of *private* social space. After the event South Africans of all races and creeds went back to their “racially separate publics”. Significant efforts will be required to draw South Africans back out of their safety zones to participate actively in a shared experience of citizenship. Enormously innovative, creative and sustained interventions will be required.

There is no doubt that until the economic legacy of apartheid is addressed including its socio-spatial “map”, which continues to divide the country into township and suburb as well as contemporary economic challenges such as growing economic inequalities, unemployment etc., it will be difficult to substantively and meaningfully break down the social barriers between South Africans. Nevertheless, while not pretending that meaningful reconciliation can be premised on anything but far reaching socio-economic justice, there are things that we can do in the meantime. The World Cup demonstrated this. It demonstrated that by simply placing people in common spaces on trains, in buses, in fan parks, walkways etc. the deeply entrenched division between “us” and “them” was ameliorated. It is therefore recommended that a concerted national strategy be adopted to focus on creating public space, which draws South Africa’s racially separate “publics” physically and symbolically, into a common social space. Strategies to this effect have been successfully implemented in other conflict ridden cities such as Bogota in Colombia. We need to study and learn from these examples.