WORKING PAPERS SERIES NR. 3

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'Festivalisation' in South Africa's host cities: themes and actors of urban governance in the media discourse on the 2010 FIFA World Cup

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Abstract

The hosting of the FIFA Football World Cup has been perceived in South Africa both as a challenge of accelerated social, economic, and spatial transformation, and as an opportunity to showcase the nation's ability to successfully provide the structures and capacities for one of the biggest sports tournaments in the world. The thesis of 'festivalisation' sees mega-events (like the Football World Cup) as a form of translocal dynamics which is embedded in the context of increased inter-urban competition in the era of globalisation. This paper aims at investigating some effects of such globalised forms of festivalisation (Häußermann and Siebel 1993) on the urban sphere in South Africa. The focus is on identifying key actors and key topics in relation to urban governance in the host cities. The method applied is a mix of various strands of discourse analysis, since every approach has its shortcomings and a combination might point out directions of how to systematically link these perspectives in future research. To a certain extent, the path presented here remains methodologically explorative. Still, the paper shows that an analysis of language-based communication, or more specifically, an approach that takes media representations as a point of entry to the field of urban dynamics, might produce insights otherwise overlooked, and thus adds a critical angle to the study of urban governance.

Keywords: Festivalisation. Urban Governance. South Africa. Media representation. Discourse analysis.
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1 Urban development in South Africa

In postapartheid South Africa, the cities' biggest challenges can be attributed to two main factors: to the legacy of segregation and to the country's socio-economic development path since the mid-1990s. Internal structures of the cities have been shaped to a large extent by their exposure to international economic competition, open real estate markets and immigration from rural areas as well as from outside of South Africa. The inherited fragmentation of the socio-spatial make-up resonates with these partially new dynamics. And for those nine municipalities that had been selected as host cities for the Football World Cup 2010, specific challenges have been added to this already complex picture.

In terms of governance structures, and as a result of the aforementioned context, urban policy formulation and practice has not only been affected by the two big factors of influence described above, but also by a thorough restructuring of municipal political structures and administrations. Hence, local level postapartheid government is challenged to this day. Although backlogs e. g. in housing and job creation, as well as traffic problems, can be traced back to urban policies of the past, the cities' local trajectories were framed in (and limited by) the national political context of the African National Congress' (ANC) market-oriented Growth, Employment and Redistribution GEAR project, which started in 1996. Urban development was increasingly supposed to be 'developmental' in a corporate sense (cf Parnell / Robinson 2012:603–608, Haferburg 2011).

Most urban problems are located in the former 'non-white', and still poorer, neighbourhoods. This applies to the built environment as well, e. g. to traffic infrastructure (Harrison et al 2008). The same is true for social cohesion. Consequently, continued and new (gated and peri-urban) economic segregation, increasing inequality, service delivery backlogs in the townships and high crime levels point to a persistence of the old patterns of urban fragmentation.

This situation is aggravated by policies that tend to follow neoliberal visions of urban development, as diagnosed by Friedmann (1986) and Sassen (1991): in a supranational world, cities no longer contextualize themselves mainly nationally, but are dressing up to attract foreign capital from globally active corporations. In South Africa, this applies especially to the metropolitan municipalities ('metros') that possess major planning competencies, and are trying to use these to recreate themselves as world class cities (Seedat and Gotz 2006). Against this background, the rhetoric of the benefits of hosting the FIFA World Cup sounds very familiar – economic stimuli and image gains had been expected to strengthen not only the host cities' position to compete globally for investment but also South Africa's international standing in general (Tomlinson 2009).

We can thus assume that the hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa blends in neatly with entrepreneurial urban policies under the condition of postmodernity, especially if we consider the points of reference given by the concept of festivalisation (see below). In this light it could be expected that trends in urban governance in South Africa show similarities to those cities that have relied on the path of festivalisation all along. Nevertheless we also have to take into consideration the local framing of these dynamics, e. g. a post-colonial political configuration, the heritage of apartheid's segregation and the specific form of the built environment.

The analysis of urban governance is seeking to understand the dynamics, drivers and driving forces of urban development (cf. Stoker 2000). This includes a variety of increasingly private actors involved in the process, dominant topics (these are indicators for fields of investment and for areas of concern) and their mediation between state and communities as well as trends of develop-

ment relating to various socio-economic dimensions. Governance concepts may not represent a consistent theory in their own right (cf. Häußermann et al. 2008:49), but nevertheless they can serve as analytical framework to facilitate the identification of specific urban configurations of power crucial for in the process defining of urban development agendas. This paper tries to point out possibilities of identifying characteristic features (linked e. g. to the mode of festivalization) of such configurations in South African host cities by means of a media analysis.

2 Discourse analysis – a different perspective on urban dynamics

Research on urban governance has a tradition going back to studies of community power in the 1930s (Lynd / Lynd 1937 as cited in Häußermann et al. 2008:343). Early work focused, for example, on key actors by compiling lists with the names of persons of influence (Hunter's method of measuring reputation 1953 as cited in Häußermann et al. 2008). Alongside methodological problems related to the identification of those key actors, this approach was soon critiqued for being oblivious of structural influences (i. e. economic base, production system and political context). The task of linking urban development of specific case cities to those broader trends was later addressed by Harvey (1989), among others. Additionally, such critique pointed out that the societal make-up would play a significant role in what kind of local power arrangements can work at all. As a consequence, and to an extent building on Harvey's argument, urban regime theories, and especially concepts of urban governance, did include local economics and social dynamics in their analysis (Mayer 2007). However, as with many approaches that focus on capturing different varieties of the urban world with one set of explanations, there is always the danger of case studies trying to prove that their epistemological concept is right rather than testing it. This is especially tricky when studying cities: they prove to be a field that remains very much shaped by local political bartering and alliances, and 'traditional' local heroes, too. But if this is true, how then do we gain valid insights?

Methodologically, in past years, the most common way of understanding urban governance by means of case studies were interviews with key actors, accompanied with the evaluation of political alliances and economic and social indicators. But this research tends to follow deductive assumptions, and thus there is always the risk of overlooking silent or hidden players, as well as topics that are not featured prominently in international literature. A possible solution to handling universalism's traps is approaching the theme from below, acquiring local knowledge. This takes more time, of course (which may be in short supply due to limited research budgets and due to considerations linked to academic career paths, as well). But aside from efficiency concerns, there is also the problem that inductive grassroots research may produce its own systematic oversights, especially when the 'field' is fragmented and a lot of sub-narratives compete with each other.

A possibility to partly overcome these problems might be the analysis of local media contributions. This concept is informed by considerations of discourse analysis in a broader sense, but uses the method in a more pragmatic way as an inductive point of access. The approach is based on the idea that a systematic sample of media contributions will reflect the local topics and actors that are relevant for adapting and translating travelling concepts such as the FIFA

World Cup into the local arenas of, in this case, sports and entertainment. Thus the sum of newspaper articles concerning the hosting of the World Cup can be interpreted as a key element in the broader discourse of event-driven urban development. It is a verbal form of processing and representing the themes that relevant actors are concerned about in preparing one of the biggest entertainment exercises in the world. Consequently, by analysing this material for key topics and actors, there is potentially less bias by a priori assumptions, e.g. on which threads and narratives might be important, and, compared to interviews with key role players, media analysis focusses on a discourse that is addressed to a wider audience, opposed to statements having been produced to be heard by researchers in the first place. Depending on the understanding of the concept of discourse, this can be seen as an advantage.

3 The discursive production of discourses

The definition of discourse depends on the research paradigm characterizing the scope of the respective study. In general, a distinction can be made between, on the one hand, paradigms that follow a radical interpretation of Foucault (1966) leading to the perspective that every social phenomenon (no matter if based on words and/or verbal communication or not) must be interpreted as a discourse, and, on the other hand, concepts like e.g. Critical Discourse Analysis, mostly linked to Fairclough (1995, 2003), that make a distinction between the discursive sphere (as a level of representations) and the sphere of practice or action. But beyond this broad and, to a certain extent, simplified distinction, some additional variations need to be introduced. For starters, however, it should be stated that this paper follows the differentiation between discourse and practice (although it does not venture as far in the field of societal critique as Fairclough).

There are quite a number of further variations in the different ways of 'doing' discourse analysis (Glasze and Mattisek 2009, Lees 2004, Van den Brink and Metze 2006). Hermeneutic analysis can be distinguished from structuralist, and those in turn from post-structuralist approaches. Other differentiations exist, but for our purpose, i.e. adding another angle to the analysis of event-driven urban governance – and emphasizing the explorative nature of the methodology – we rely on a mix of methods. Thus, as a working definition, Hajer's interpretation of a discourse may serve as point of reference for the analysis presented here: 'an ensemble of ideas, concepts and categories through which meaning is given to social and physical phenomena, and which is produced and reproduced through an identifiable set of practices' (Hajer 1995: 44).

4 Why use discourse analysis in urban geography?

Ideally, with discourse analysis we can identify aspects of space-society relations we were not aware of before, and we do see some of the conventional aspects of urban governance in a new light. We can identify topics we did not think of beforehand, and, to a certain extent, also actors linked to specific topics. This is especially true for lexicometric approaches that rely on

defined bodies of texts called corpora (e. g. a year's editions of a specific newspaper), as exemplified by the French School of discourse analysis: 'With the help of systematic comparisons and the calculation of similarities between different sub-corpora [...], even discursive phenomena that the researcher would not have been able to discover through the mere use of reading and interpretation due to large quantities of text, can be revealed' (Mattissek 2010: 318). Obviously, and in the more classical tradition of discourse analysis, the possibility to identify ambiguous or divergent interpretations of, for example, spatial development plans or urban regeneration projects, is also a key aspect. Discourses can serve to legitimize interests and may even have the power to silence opposing voices or block out alternative ways of framing topics. Thus, as Van den Brink and Metze (2006: 13) state, 'Words matter in policy and planning', and Mattissek (2010: 316) sums up: 'The majority of discourse theories agree that language plays a vital role in the constitution of social reality. Through language meanings are generated and transported, conflicts around different interpretations are played out and the processes of identification and separation take place [...]' This is important from a geographical perspective, as Mattissek points out, providing the example of using the method 'to determine which topics are regularly associated with certain spatial entities [...]' (2010: 318).

5 Discourses and event driven urban development

Mega-events have the characteristic of depending on a supportive environment, so we can expect brokers of urban development to be very active and present in the public sphere during the event planning stages: communication is the key. Additionally, from an economic point of view (and this is what FIFA as the content provider focuses on), it is critical to reach a huge audience for the event to be a success. Thus, publicity, advertising and marketing are constitutive elements of this exercise. On top of this, the concern of the host(s) (here, South Africa's national government as well as governance coalitions in the host cities), is to generate image effects, thus, again, we can expect a reflection of these motives in the publicity presented in the local media.

According to Van den Brink and Metze, 'Discourse analysis [...] contributes two extra dimensions to existing research methods: (1) words that matter, and (2) a critical approach to the context-specific and rhetorical character of analysis' (Fischer and Forester 1993 as cited in Van den Brink and Metze 2006: 13). They expand on this, saying: '[...] next to place, actors, interests and institutions, which can well be examined with all kinds of qualitative and quantitative methods, discourse analysis pays attention to meaning and arguments, and is therefore applicable to analyse another layer in policy and planning that "transcends conflicts of interests" [...]' (Van den Brink and Metze 2006: 13–14). In this paper, we will mainly focus on actors, interests and institutions, which we hope to identify with a media analysis presented below.

Due to the fact that mega-events have the appeal of singularity (or at least, of exceptionality), they create an atmosphere in which it is not only possible but necessary to communicate about otherwise unsaid topics, to raise issues that would be unheard of in the day-to-day routine of urban politics, and to rephrase and reiterate the visions and missions of the many policies in

place: all of this is an effect of a purposefully created state of emergency, of the exceptionality which forms the core of each mega-event's unique selling point.

A popular statement on the 2010 World Cup was that it would present an opportunity to prove (South) Africa's ability to host a genuine mega-event (Desai / Vaheed (2010:154) quote Thabo Mbeki, the former South African president, with the words "the successful hosting of the FIFA World Cup™ in Africa will provide a powerful, irresistible momentum to [the] African renaissance"). FIFA, national government and political players in the host cities enjoyed huge media attention while opening new stadiums and implementing development strategies (cf. Black 2007: 264). Urban researchers have described this mixture of local, national and international interests as the 'festivalisation' of urban politics: mega-events are perceived as a form of trans-local dynamics generated by inter-urban competition in the era of globalization (Siebel 2011). Especially the political actors of the host cities are said to be benefiting from this, since the events supposedly provide economic gains (e.g. through the financing of long-term infrastructure projects) and political merits (proof of the capacity to act, if the event is a success). However, it is not always clear who exactly those actors in charge in the host cities are, and if they could indeed benefit from the FIFA World Cup. Power structures are difficult to identify, but – as stated above – discourse analysis is an approach that has the potential to contribute to this.

The background of hosting the World Cup thus provides for circumstances that can serve as a contrast medium for the analysis of urban governance in South Africa. More so, due to the need to sell the event not only internationally but also locally, the discourse around the event – and specifically the verbal means of communicating – can provide insights into the various local arenas of power in the different host cities. We can expect key actors to be more vocal than usual, and additionally, experts, who will go about their business without seeking the spotlight when things are running smoothly, will be interviewed as soon as uncertainties in the run-up for the event surface. The actors involved here may be the 'usual suspects', or they may be important only in event-related matters, or again, they may gain importance through the hosting of the event and stay influential in its aftermath. Contextualising these roles with topics and institutions can serve to validate arguments on those sectors of urban development that existing research regularly highlights in the context of event driven urban development, e.g. economic benefits, property speculation, evictions, transport, and security (cf. Pillay et al 2009; Haferburg and Steinbrink 2010).

6 Empirical foci and possible omissions of discourse oriented approaches to the World Cup

Discourses are consolidated ways of presenting perspectives, in this case, on the urban sphere. The concept of urban governance points to the increased importance of networks and alliances beyond established institutions of local government in the past decades, given the fact that the capacity to influence urban development depends increasingly on the private sector and possibly on a variety of civil society institutions as well. Thus, we hope to identify specific themes that show which perspectives are dominant in the representation of the World Cup in the media, and more so, to single out actors who are quoted on a regular basis or whose views show a strong presence in other ways. These actors are not necessarily strong performers 'on

the ground', but in establishing specific ways of 'seeing' the World Cup as well as relating the task of hosting it with specific fields of action and thus, translating the event into local challenges and spin-offs, these actors work as a kind of nomenclatura and set the tone for the hosting of the event in general.

A perspective on urban dynamics concerning the World Cup via an analysis of media representations cannot inform about all relevant aspects of governance. Newspaper-based discourse analysis is not seen as a substitute to interviewing experts in order to identify the effects of urban renewal projects or the discussions on the respective locations of the new stadiums. Although it is difficult to generalise – omissions depend a lot on which sub-discourses in the broader field of urban discourses are analysed – we can expect to pay comparatively less attention to the 'normal' and 'ordinary' procedures of managing urban development. Since most approaches in discourse analysis focus on language as a medium to perform a discourse, a lot of 'unsaid' aspects might be neglected – even if some discourse analysts claim to pay special attention to the unsaid (after all it is arbitrary, which of the many silenced voices are presented by those authors as the reverse side of the louder voices). Related to this, there is the danger of overlooking sub-discourses that may be present in the media, but not in the same article or on the same channel as the dominant discourse. For instance, for a long time, there was no open debate on the financial burden of the World Cup. On the other hand, based on categories that have been identified as relevant by conceptual approaches, e. g. in the field of the 'festivalization of urban policy', we can at least try to avoid these omissions.

7 Media analysis – the empirical translation of a discursive oriented concept

The empirical background of this paper is an analysis of World Cup related articles from the Mail & Guardian online edition. When we are relying on this kind of text corpus, we can identify trends and changes in discourses. The use of existing archives (e. g. newspaper, or other media) provides us with the opportunity to look back and compare different stages of past discourses with the present.

We also have the opportunity to identify topics, specific locations and actors in a systematic way that provides entry points for further quantitative and qualitative studies.

As for the caveats, it depends again on the type of media-based analysis applied. The most difficult hurdle to overcome is access to relevant data in sufficient quality. The quality and coherence of the archive is critical, and the problems created by inconsistent data are not easy to overcome. We were privileged to receive very valuable support by the Mail & Guardian in the course of our work – we had the opportunity to use an archive with almost all World Cup-related articles.

Another challenge comes from the technological strings attached to different software formats. This is one of the reasons why we chose not to start with a lexicometric analysis, but with a mix of methods: content coding is combined with a proposition-based technique, and a classical hermeneutic concept.

Finally, when media analysis tries to go beyond identifying speakers and topics by looking for systematic linkages between speakers' positions and arguments, then the problem arises

that those linkages are not always obvious. In some articles journalists disseminate opinions whose 'authors' are not explicitly mentioned, or cannot be assigned with certainty.

The aim of the empirical section of this paper is to shed light on the media representation on aspects of urban governance in South Africa's host cities of the 2010 World Cup. We did narrow the thematic focus from the start and decided to concentrate on a few key aspects. Existing research (Haferburg and Steinbrink 2010; Korthe and Rolfes 2010, Hammett 2011) suggests that some of those key themes will always be linked to mega-events. Against this background, we decided to pay special attention to the following thematic clusters: traffic, stadiums, informal trade, relocation of informal housing, safety and security.

8 The application of discourse analytical methods

The following section is based on an analysis of the discourses related to the foci pointed out above in one of the leading South African weekly newspapers, the Mail & Guardian (M & G), published in Johannesburg. Although the M & G was originally a weekly paper which had a new issue every Friday, since about a decade there is also an online version. In this paper, analysis is based on the online edition, and limited to the years 2008-2010.

Due to the technological requirements and also because of the potential pitfalls of lexicometric analysis outlined above, we relied on an approach more comparable to a 'classical' analysis of propositions. For an approach that shares some of the characteristics with the method applied here, see Lemanski and Saff (2010).

In contrast to other authors, we limited the focus to one newspaper only, i. e. the M & G, since this provides the advantage (at least in theory) to have a more predictable scope of positionality of the various speakers. In line with this, we selected two sub-corpora for the empirical work, which is the feature series 'My City, my World Cup' plus the whole range of articles tagged with the key word 'World Cup'. For further steps of evaluation, various secondary sub-corpora were created, e. g. a sub-corpus that was composed of themes related to urban development. The articles were then read regarding key words as well as specific subjects. An excerpt of the results is presented below.

9 Which discourses can be identified concerning the World Cup?

Thematic coding – the identification of discursive poles

A first approach to identifying themes relating to the broader field of event-driven development would be to code all articles that have appeared in this context in the relevant corpus between 2008 and 2010.
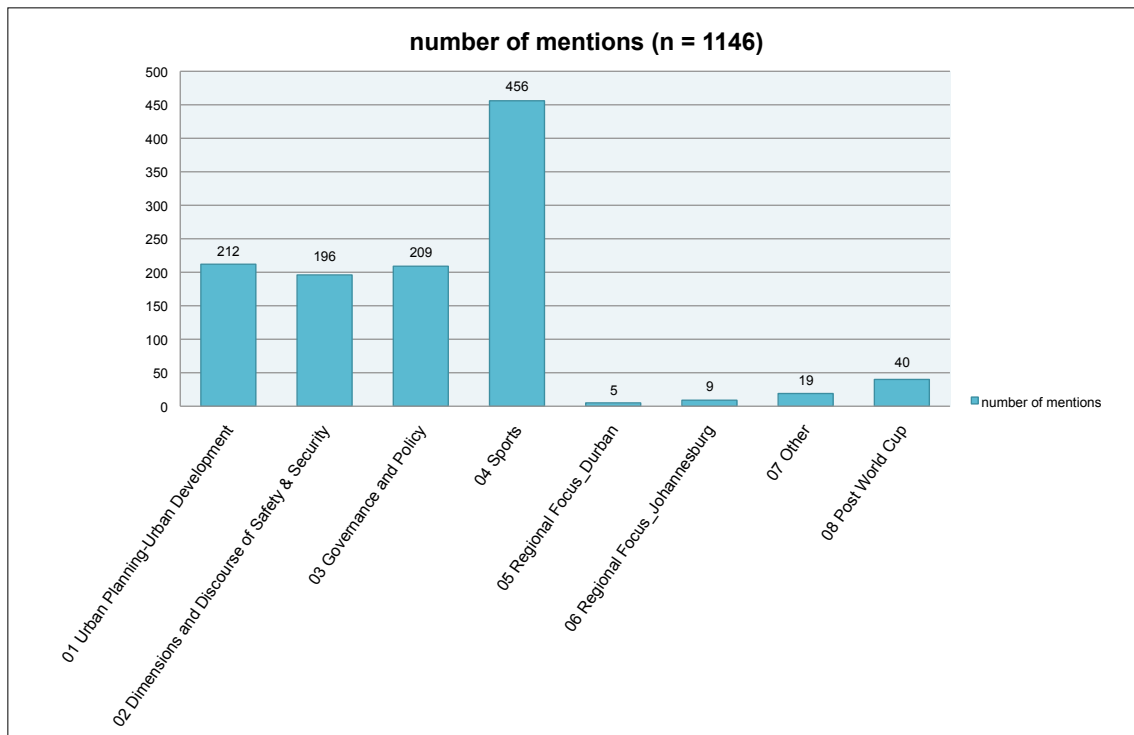
Diagram 1: World cup related articles '08—'10 coded by thematic focus

Diagram 1 shows the results of this exercise: besides pure sports coverage, urban development was the most prominent sub-discourse in the Mail & Guardian, though closely followed by contributions on World Cup related governance and policy, as well as safety and security. In other words, the combined number of articles related to either urban development or to governance doubled the number of articles related to security, which might be considered as quite surprising. These are still very broad categories, but the discursive poles of the non-sports coverage in the context of the event are quite clearly recognisable. The following examples should give an insight into some key topics. Relevant articles are cited as footnotes following the naming as we saved them to our corpus.

Example 1: Issues around safety and security

Issues concerning safety and security cover a wide range of aspects, some being more and others less obviously related to the World Cup. Whereas transport and security are deemed "the key challenges", others do not appear less important.

If readers were not aware of South Africa being a dangerous country before, then they would certainly have known this afterwards. The aspects featuring prominently here concern issues of public actors' awareness of security (and) threats; Mail & Guardian reports on new incidents (people missing[1], people expelled from the country[2]) as well as arrangements undertaken in order to prevent security threats.

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1   2010.02.23_German executive missing in South Africa.
2   2010.07.11_UK reporter ordered to leave SA.

Misconduct relating to stadium contracts[3] and other smaller, local drawbacks are also reported on. Nevertheless, the World Cup in general is been presented as a safe undertaking. "Global police agency Interpol on Wednesday said South Africa's Soccer World Cup security planning surpassed its expectations, with no tournament terrorism threats identified ahead of the June 11 kick-off".[4] Mail & Guardian stresses that South Africa is well prepared for the World Cup due to additional security measures, mainly for the stadia and training venues as well as due to the introduction of new legal structures, such as FIFA World Cup Courts[5] which do "speedy convictions". Following this line of argumentation, 'South Africa's 2010 safety and security strategy covers terror threats, hooliganism and crime[6]. ... Hooliganism is not a part of the soccer scene in South Africa, though there have been some random incidents of fan violence.' The question seems to be: is hooliganism a problem or not? Will hooligans be a security problem? This discussion also shows that the 'travelling concept' of the FIFA World Cup brings a number of 'travelling narratives' along, e. g. hooliganism and terrorism. Still terrorism does not seem too far away. After all, "... the reality is that the serious security focus will be on terrorism, not petty crime[7]". This is another reason to work together with other entities and to show that South Africa does not stand alone in its preparations for a safe World Cup.

An image of what security and safety, respectively insecurity mean, is constructed, especially by presenting a wide range of risks and weaknesses concerning the World Cup that people would not think of in the first place (natural risks, baboons mugging visitors, vuvuzela as dangerous instrument). Life-threatening phenomena are mentioned alongside seemingly small safety measures (checking the Sky Car[8], an elevator to the roof top of the Durban stadium) to show something like a common vulnerability. When security guards are on strike, police stand in for the security of World Cup stadia[9]. More than 600 travellers were denied entry into the country "because their names appeared either on the Interpol, FIFA or South Africa's Visa and Entry Stop List" – clearly a very relevant governance aspect. They could be detected through the newly established movement control system[10,] which is used to stop hooligans as well.

The discursive demarcation and linking of the negative and the positive underline this effect. In addition, ordinary decision making emerging in the course of the event, such as on the rights and duties of journalists, is presented as a sign of far-sightedness, underlining the overall positive effects of the World Cup preparations[11] (infrastructure, legal structures, anti corruption efforts[12]).

There is a heightened awareness on the power of the media about World Cup news, with each media outlet trying to convince readers of one opinion or the other. Nevertheless, "[t]he government does not expect local and international media to be its "praise singers" over the Soccer World Cup, but urges them to report "objectively", police commissioner Bheki Cele said on Monday[13]". Reflecting on what "objective" means, however, implies considering the opposite

3   2009.01.16_2010 big shot skips SA.
4   2010.04.01_Interpol gives the nod to Cup security.
5   2010.06.21_Facing justice, FIFA style.
6   2008.10.30_SA seeks private security firms in fight against crime.
7   2010.01.11_Spinning South Africa.
8   2010.03.26_Moses Mabhida Stadium Sky Car grounded.
9   2010.06.15_Cops take over security at four cup stadiums.
10 2010.06.27_Over 600 denied entry into SA during World Cup.
11 2010.07.08_Doubts over replicating Cup courts successes.
12 2010.02.25_Zuma wants SA to build on 2010 momentum.
13 2010.05.31_Be objective, Cele tells World Cup media.

meaning. What does subjective reporting imply? In general, after revising the corpus of articles we can say that Mail & Guardian offers a differentiated media coverage on issues concerning safety and security, with a focus on small incidents, seeking transparency and rectification[14]. It manages to cover both an adequate range of subjects as well as opinions in its articles.

Example 2: A comparative analysis of propositions: A synopsis of 14 perspectives on the ticketing around the World Cup

Based on a hermeneutic reading of all the articles of the M&G feature series 'My City, my World Cup', we will now turn to the analysis of propositions represented by a sample of interviewees responses that have been captured in this series (which was intended to give a broad impression of how inhabitants and key actors in the host cities anticipate the event). The theme that kept recurring most often was that of match tickets. The sub-discourse around this theme shows some characteristics:

First of all, tickets are an issue: they have been expensive, and few people can afford them. The following selection of statements illustrates what respondents voiced when asked if they were planning to watch any games (the question of availability of tickets was not asked for explicitly):

■   *'No, I don't have tickets because they're just too expensive'* (Andile Bhekizulu, bricklayer)[15]

■   *'Have no tickets — any offers!'* (Mike Sutcliffe, Durban municipal manager)[16]

■   *'I don't have the kind of money to buy Soccer World Cup tickets, but I will obviously watch from my television at home'* (Andrew Mlangeni, taxi driver)[17]

■   *'If I wasn't a raffle winner I wouldn't have been able to buy the tickets. [...] The tickets are expensive, They cost more than R 1.000 each.'* (Joyce Mahlangu, ticket winner)[18]

■   *'I have bought tickets for the quarterfinal and the semifinal in Cape Town. We also were successful in getting lottery tickets for the game in Cape Town between Cameroon and Netherlands.'* (Helen Zille, Western Cape premier)[19]

About half of the interviewees raise the point of ticket pricing, although they have not been asked for it directly — this can be interpreted as a discourse slightly trying to delegitimize the exclusionary effect of the profit driven set-up of the event.

The relevance of this subject ['tickets' and 'ticket sales'] can further be deduced by looking at the structure of the whole corpus – the file named 'ticket sales' under the category 'Governance and Policy' shows 40 articles that are exclusively ticket-related. These articles do not cover

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14   2010.01.12_Jordaan. Don't judge SA on Angola attack.
15   2010.05.14_My city, my World Cup. Andile Bhekizulu.
16   2010.05.14_My city, my World Cup. Mike Sutcliffe.
17   2010.06.11_My city, My World Cup. Taxi drivers.
18   2010.06.10_My city, my World Cup. Ticket winner.
19   2010.05.21_My city, my World Cup. Helen Zille.

personal statements by the fans on the ticket prices. There is, however, an overall awareness of the expensiveness, especially for the South Africans who often cannot afford to go to more than one match, if at all. The procedure to acquire tickets is likewise controversial, though. In the first phases of the selling, people could only apply for tickets online via the FIFA website or collect a hard copy application form at any First National Bank (FNB) branch nationwide. As a majority does not have access to the Internet or is less affine to these techniques, there were some complaints by South Africans, even "African journalists were vocal in their complaints to FIFA about the ticket cost and buying process when they toured the 10 World Cup stadiums in March"[20]. M & G offered some help by providing a "ticket guide". At the end, FIFA was to change its ticket selling procedure "in order to accommodate local fans"[21]. These considerations were vital. After all, the organisers as well as Cabinet were concerned that local fans were not buying tickets and thus wanted to avoid negative feedback. Organisers offered cheaper tickets "to ensure all 11 World Cup stadiums — and not just those staging the most popular games — are full"[22]. Few days before the first game, South Africans could acquire the last "partially obstructed view" or even "premier" tickets. "Construction workers at all the 2010 Soccer World Cup stadiums are guaranteed two free tickets each to the soccer matches"[23], and Gauteng province distributed over 3000 tickets to schools, orphanages, special homes and amateur sports clubs. This procedure is not featured prominently in the articles, though.

Another way of giving tickets to people is discussed more controversially. Government agencies purchased tickets to distribute them to business partners. In addition, the national power supplier Eskom bought 1,110 tickets in order to strengthen public confidence in Eskom and the system. "The tickets were given to 'customers and stakeholders that were specifically identified to enhance the networks to key event installations'".[24] The finance minister had to investigate if this engagement was really on a social level. In the end, "the ordinary man" felt lucky to even get his ticket(s). M & G presents the story of internet marketing manager Mahesh Singh who was the first to purchase his tickets during the over-the-counter sales in Cape Town[25]. Another man who wanted to remain anonymous was skipping work to stand in line for tickets.

Frequent quotation of numbers and percentages on estimated fans arriving from abroad, their time to stay in South Africa, South Africans attending the games, although slightly differing between articles, provide a transparent and seemingly objective picture of the World Cup preparations. Again, there are reports on the challenges arising: problems in selling tickets due to technical overload, incidents when queuing for the tickets ("Police used pepper spray on brawling fans in Pretoria and a pensioner died of a heart attack in Cape Town"[26]) and problems in transferring fans to a game, so that Port Elizabeth Stadium was missing more than 10.000 spectators.

All in all, the issue of World Cup tickets concentrates mainly on the procedure of acquiring them, with a focus on the difficulties involved. These subjects are another tessera[27] within the World Cup topic, standing out as a rather clearly delineable field to report on.

20 2010.04.21_Few Africans at World Cup.
21 2010.01.18_Sale of 2010 Cup tickets to be simplified.
22 2010.04.19_South Africa's World Cup gamble.
23 2008.09.18_Stadium workers get 2010 Cup ticket boost.
24 2010.06.25_Eskom's R12m ticket splurge.
25 2010.04.16_Fans turn out in droves for over-the-counter ticket sales.
26 2010.04.16_World Cup ticket sales surge.
27 If we understand media coverage on the World Cup as an enormous mosaic of different subjects all constituting the whole, then the subject of tickets represents just one piece of it but is not less relevant within the whole.

Example 3: Other lines of argumentation that can be extracted from the subcorpus 'Governance and Policy'

■   2008.09.26_No 2010 spoils for chefs > working condition of street vendors
     [work & employment][28]

Two cases of street vendors are narrated: Silinda and Sibongile Ndlovu who travelled to Durban (for the MTN[29] 8 final) could not sell their food because the match was postponed due to the rain. They transfer their experiences in Durban to the future picking the FIFA and its strict rules for street vendors comes out as a central theme: 'It has always been clear from the onset that we will not get a slice of the 2010 World Cup'.

■   2009.07.01_Interdict sought to stop strikes at World Cup sites > The Building, Construction
     and Allied Workers' Union (BCAWU) and National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) had served
     notice for strike action: [work & employment]

The employees want to 'scare' their employers and demonstrate their power and influence: 'It's not just the World Cup stadia that will be affected, we are talking about power stations, hospitals, roads and the like. It will last until they [the employers] come to their senses and offer a 13 % wage increase for one year.' On the other hand, the employers' reaction is striving for the justification of their position: 'Employers have baulked at the demands, with consumer inflation at 8 %, citing the global economic downturn'. The World Cup is interpreted as an exceptional circumstance from both sides, a state of emergency that gives extra leverage to labour action as well as a situation that seems to legitimize the restriction of shop floor action.

■   2009.03.27_Taxis cuss the bus > The Gauteng taxi association did not want to participate in
     the negotiations over the bus rapid transport system: [work & employment] / [security]

The taxi drivers: 'Utaf's [United Taxi Association Forum] primary concern is that the BRT [Bus Rapid Transit System] will result in a massive loss of jobs and unfair competition'. Here, the statement is that the taxi drivers did not understand how the BRT worked and if it would benefit them, but that they never said they did not want the BRT[30]. 'Rehana Moosajee, head of Johannesburg transport, who told the Mail & Guardian that the city is open to negotiation with Utaf, condemned the forum's attitude.' 'That there is a small, minority group of South Africans who want to hold an international event in this country to ransom is unacceptable,'' she said.' In other words: these marginal group of workers (here: taxi drivers) put their interests above the higher cause, the World Cup, which is presumptuous.

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28 The specifications of the quoted articles have to be read in the following way: '-2008.09.26' refers to the date of publication on the M & G's online platform; 'No spoils for chefs' refers to the original title of the article; 'working condition of street vendors' refers to the content; '[work & employment]' is the category of content that has been used in this study for coding. The last item is also responding to the system lined out in Diagram 2.

29 The MTN Group is a multi-national telecommunications group involved in sports sponsoring.

30 The BRT is a model inspired by (inter alia) an urban bus network in Columbia that is based on dedicated bus lanes and specific bus stops with platforms. This intervention by the state raised considerable concern in South Africa's private sector minibus-taxi industry. The United Taxi Association Forum (UTAF) is one of the major roleplayers in this sector in Johannesburg (City of Joburg 2010).

■   2009.12.29_Will World Cup stadiums change Africa's image [displacement] / [eviction]

On the one hand: investment in World Cup structures is deemed 'a waste of money', money that could be better used for fighting poverty for example. On the other hand: statements such as the one made by Nobel peace prize laureate and anti-apartheid hero Archbishop Desmond Tutu who is quoted to have said that 'the World Cup will have as big an impact for black people as the election of US President Barack Obama and will give new pride to a still divided nation'.

Summing up the lines of argument: media discourse stressing the exceptionality of the event

These latter examples show that there is a dominant argument that can be summed up as "guests are coming to our house, we have to tidy it up and postpone our infighting about wages and escalating budgets". The subtext also has the message that, since the World Cup is more important than the small everyday affairs, it creates a realm in which the word of dignitaries and representatives of the hosting (e. g. members of the local organising committee (LOC) and councilors, also cf. Cottle 2011) counts more than mundane uttering and problems of small people. After all, the whole nation will share the spoils of the feast. Indeed, there are quite some concerns about equal access to these spoils, but they are brushed aside with references to the special occasion. On the other hand, some issues are raised precisely *because* of the World Cup, and actions been undertaken to make this event exceptional, for example activities for disadvantaged children or women. This is just one facet of the exceptionality that is fostered by the event. Emerging challenges (protests, power cuts, delay in constructions) are reported on as well – another sign of representing the World Cup as a unique event. The uniqueness will arise when showing the world that South Africa did manage to host this event. Although we cannot judge here to what extent the promised changes have been fulfilled, raising issues in the context of the World Cup should not be regarded as futile. An anecdotal hint (i. e. not substantiated by the media analysis, but by the authors' observations) to this might be the recurring post-World Cup statement "We did it then during the World Cup, why can't we do it now?"

10 Which actors can be identified in the field of urban governance around the World Cup?

Although, as stated above, there are claims that media and discourse analysis can help to identify (hidden) key role players, we have to state that, based on the articles analysed here, there is no clear answer to the question which actors were exactly responsible for urban-related issues around the World Cup (i. e. actually responsible for delivery and on-the-ground response). The limitation stems from two facts: firstly, the Mail & Guardian is a national newspaper, and although there is considerable coverage of urban issues, as has been demonstrated, detailed, long-term 'local' coverage is not its strongest point. Secondly, although a number of people or institutions are mentioned, it is not always clear what their role is. That is why we have developed a scheme where the division between 'assumingly' urban-related and 'specifically' urban-related actors (both in the left part of the figure) stands as a major finding. Talking about

the "assumed" role that people or institutions take on in the context of urban governance does not depreciate them. Although their role cannot be conceived already from the constellations in the article alone, the actors do take part in the mediation of urban and especially World Cup related issues. Apart from finding the "usual suspects", this method allows us to track actors' attitudes towards the World Cup, serving as a starting point for further investigation of their role in negotiations and enlarging the net of knowledge on those issues of urban governance. In the same way it is possible to structure the field and to assess the roles of some of the relevant players. The right hand side could easily be ignored as it treats only non-urban-related actors, possibly merely stating their outside opinion on urban-related issues, but in the interest of completeness, they should appear as well.
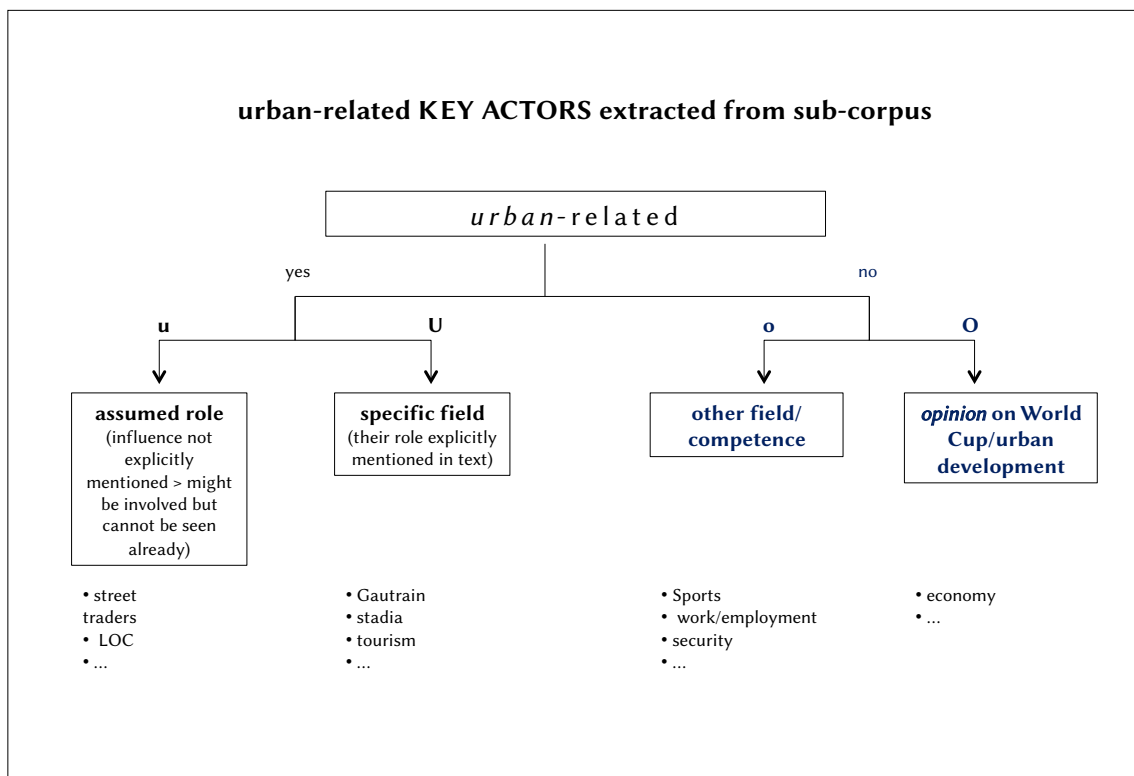

Diagram 2: Coding system for actors related to urban governance

The system of coding has been generated in inductive manner from the total corpus of non-sports coverage. Table 1 shows the results of applying this method to each article. Additionally, the table has been colour coded to combine the analysis of actors with the system of thematic categories. Orange coloured fields concern issues of "infrastructure", yellow stands for "government / party politics" and purple relates to "work / employment". If a name appears in grey it means that these actors do feature in other subcorpora as well (beyond this specific subcorpus). Double colour coding respectively stands for two categories.

	NAME	FUNCTION / STATEMENT / GEOGRAPHICAL SCOPE / ...	YEAR
u	**Essop Pahad**	part of the LOC stated that a lot of whites didn't support the national soccer team	2008
	Peter Steyn	Absa Corporate and Business Bank (ACBB) construction and infrastructure GM sees the construction of support structures for the 2010 World Cup as **catalyst** for the boom; future growth would be driven by investment-related activity such as power generation, road infrastructure and water-related investments by the public sector private sector […] is likely to take the back seat growth in construction industry, but building sector: slow-down for the future: foreign contractors in some local projects possibly helping to transfer skills and knowledge to locals	2008
U	**Mbhazima Shilowa**	"face of the Gautrain"; gave the project huge amount of support and direction > promoter of transport/infrastructure	2008
	Jack van der Merwe	Chief executive of Gautrain management agency [GMA] (see below)	
	James Stewart	DA transport spokesperson in Gauteng; did not foresee any problems with the project	
	Nomaindia Mfeketo	Cape Town mayor until March 15 2006 > influenced the decision in favour of Green Point Stadium (rather clandestinely)	2010
	Helen Zille	(DA), then Cape Town mayor; originally against Green Point stadium	
	Anthony Benade	DA leader in Mpumalanga > had promised alternate permanent schools on the Mbombela Stadium construction area	2008
	Danny Jordaan	CEO of LOC > accepts none of the blame: the entire project was in the hands of the Mpumalanga government	
	Marthinus van Schalkwyk**	Minister of Tourism and Environmental Affairs > meeting to resolve spat about accommodation want to ensure adequate accommodation	2008

	NAME	FUNCTION / STATEMENT / GEOGRAPHICAL SCOPE / ...	YEAR
U	**Trevor Manuel****	Finance Minister > granted more cash for the construction of the stadiums; justification: they would be "sources of output growth improvement in 2010" (+) confidence in economic development	2009
	Jeff Radebe	Transport Minister > stands for BRT and is made culpable	2009
	Barry Pollen	director of National Stadium Management SA fear of "white elephants": stadiums being unused after the World Cup exception: Soccer City > events planned already	2010
	David Jenkins	*Megapro* chief executive > looks for sponsors for Johannesburg's fan fests	2010
o	**Dennis Brutus**	late anti-apartheid campaigner > appears in the documentary film Fahrenheit 2010 (-) stadiums will remain "white elephants"	2009
	Frans Cronje	deputy CEO of the South African Institute of Race Relations (-) costs for World Cup are not justifiable	
	Archbishop Desmond Tutu	Nobel peace prize laureate and anti-apartheid hero (+) the World Cup will have as big an impact for black people as the election of US President Barack Obama and will give new pride to a still divided nation	
	Dr Udesh Pillay	editor of book about the legacy of the World Cup overall satisfaction, although estimates had been higher > tourism, employment, security, social aspects can serve as a very good foundation for SA's development	2010

Table 1: Media discourse on world cup related urban governance: prominently featuring individuals

	NAME	FUNCTION / STATEMENT / GEOGRAPHICAL SCOPE / ...	YEAR
u	**StreetNet**	aims at facilitating the restrictions for traders	2010
	Department of Trade and Industry's (DTI)	> set up a draft liquor policy for the football showpiece: every vendor of liquor has to pay a fee	2010
U	**Gautrain management agency [GMA]**	public entity established in terms of The GMA Act. The Agency is governed by a Board and its main function is to ensure the proper implementation of the Concession Agreement on behalf of Government	2010
	SAIL Stadefrance	private company appointed by Cape Town; manages Green Point: the city will get a third of revenue, but not be liable for losses […] the city will pay all structural maintenance costs, plus operational maintenance costs	
	SA Tourism [chief executive Moeketsi Mosola]	> tourism industry is said to have a good working relationship with FIFA and Match > looking for smooth lodging of tourists	
	Match	Swiss-based company appointed by FIFA to provide ticketing, accommodation and event information technology services for the Confederations Cup in 2009 and the 2010 World Cup > Mosola accused Match of bullying smaller bed-and-breakfast establishments and independent hotels into dropping prices	2008
	Football for Hope	partnership between FIFA, streetfootballworld, the City of Johannesburg and LOC	2010

Table 2: Media discourse on world cup related urban governance: prominently featuring institutions

Key players featuring in other subcorpora are not included. Institutions do not prominently feature in the subcorpus, as shown in table 2. Either urban-related or not, these are all institutions that have some relation to the World Cup. Here again, although showing no direct relation to urban processes and subjects, assumingly related urban institutions might help tracing links to urban-related ones and even reinforce discursive negotiation of World Cup issues. The selection of the results is mainly meant to illustrate how this aspect of the media analysis can work: it shows who is deemed important by the respective news channel, in this case, the Mail & Guardian, in connection to specific topics. It also highlights the links of 'non-urban governance' actors (marked with an 'O' for other) to the very theme of World Cup related urban governance. More so, the selection represents an overview of the discursive poles in which the

various topics are framed. Although their role or opinion on urban-related issues might not be foreseeable, some subjects cannot be talked about without their presence in the discourse.

Some of the persons mentioned may very well be considered as 'usual suspects', such as Helen Zille, Danny Jordaan, Marthinus van Schalkwyk, Trevor Manuel, and Jeff Radebe. Others are less likely to be remembered as influential. However, a differentiated interpretation of this overview deserves more room than is available here. But in a research process, in a follow up this list could be used to generate a starting point in interviews, in a way that interviewees could present their view to qualify the list, and to add or to cancel persons.

11 Conclusion

Through the example of a media analysis a rough picture of the South African discursive field around the urban issues of the 2010 World Cup – as sketched by the Mail & Guardian – has been generated. In terms of content, it seems important to point out that apart from the security issue, this World Cup has been very much connected to urban development. In fact, even in the subcorpus analysed here, all the topics prominent in mega-event related literature shine through: traffic (here mainly focused on BRT, taxis and the Gautrain[31]), stadiums (especially as costly 'white elephants'), informal traders (as being left out), and safety and security. The relocation of informal housing featured less prominently in this selection of articles. On the other hand, aspects of national pride (as less tangible benefits) have been raised even in the urban context.

On the methodological side, the limitations of a national newspaper for urban issues became apparent, as well as the temporal concentration of most of the articles in the two years preceding the World Cup, a result that may not be so surprising but points to the risk of over-estimating long term impacts of the event at least on the media discourse. And of course, as the restricted range of interpretations shows, there is a lot of contextual knowledge involved in order to expand the weight of the results. This is however in line with the role attributed to this analytical element in this paper – to use it as an entry point. It would also be possible to consider the comments made by readers of the articles. In some cases, there are more than 40 comments – they might serve as additional contextual knowledge for the articles. Furthermore, the issues addressed in future tense, referring especially to the (longterm) effects of the World Cup, could prove to be a valuable field for an ex-post investigation.

Thus the paper has introduced an alternative starting point to analyse dynamics of urban governance. The method applied is a mix of different methods of media analysis, all of them varieties of empirical approaches within the field of discourse analysis. The idea though is not to remain purely in the sphere of debate on how the World Cup has been discussed in online newspapers, but to use the results of this exercise to identify possible starting points for an analytical focus on key themes and key actors, that should be followed up by doing interviews

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31 The Gautrain is a new high-speed rail link connecting Johannesburg, Pretoria and the O.R. Tambo International Airport. It was planned before South Africa won the bid for the World Cup, but there was a lot of pressure to speed up construction so that the system would be up and running in time for the event. In the end, the first Gautrain-stretch between the airport and Sandton was operational just a few days before the kick-off.

with experts as well as investigating urban interventions at grassroots level that are linked to the themes that have been identified as described.

However, as especially the example of the availability of tickets has shown, it is also possible to remain on the discursive level and take the results for what they are: pointers that in the field of symbolic representations around the World Cup not all went well, and that indeed the problem of social exclusion influences the perception of many South Africans to the point that the legacy of the mega-event may not be the one of being a World Cup for all.

Acknowledgments

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Leipzig and Halle 2014.

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