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# 'Winning' the World Cup: the geopolitics behind the production of the 2010 World Cup in South Africa

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# **‘Winning’ the World Cup**

**The geopolitics behind the production of  
the 2010 World Cup in South Africa**

Thomas Marrinan  
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Senior Thesis

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the Bachelor of Arts degree in Geography

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Adviser, Professor Brian Godfrey

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgements and List of Terms.....	ii
List of Figures.....	iii
Abstract.....	iv
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Chapter Two: ‘This Time For Africa’.....	15
Chapter Three: ‘Winning’ the World Cup.....	42
Chapter Four: South African Legacies.....	74
Chapter Five: Conclusions.....	102
References.....	110

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## List of Terms

FIFA: Fédération Internationale de Football Association

OA: Organizing Association

OAA: Organizing Association Agreement

LOC: Local Organizing Committee

IG: (FIFA) Inspection Group

SAFA: South African Football Association

SRSA: Sport and Recreation of South Africa

FA: Football Association

CONCACAF: Confederation of North and Central American and Caribbean Association Football

CAF: Confederation of African Football

PwC: PricewaterhouseCoopers

For the purposes of this project, the terms ‘South Africa 2010’ ‘World Cup 2010’ and variations refer to the FIFA World Cup, a series of 64 football (soccer) matches, orchestrated as a round-robin, then knock-out tournament, that took place in nine cities throughout South Africa between June 11<sup>th</sup> and July 11<sup>th</sup>, 2010. These terms may at times also refer to the process of producing this tournament, or the brand created in order to market it.

## List of Figures

Figure 1: Map of South Africa.....	v
Figure 2: Stadium Budget History.....	32
Figure 3: FIFA Governance Committee.....	35
Figure 4: World Cup Organizing Structure.....	45
Figure 5: Mandela and Beckham.....	50
Figure 6: Bid Book Presentation of Hotels.....	57
Figure 7: Official Logo of the World Cup.....	64
Figure 8: A Vuvuzela.....	66
Figures 9 and 10: Bottle Cap.....	67
Figure 11: Zakumi.....	71
Figure 12: The Moses Mabhida Stadium.....	77

## Abstract

*The 2010 football World Cup heralded a new era, welcoming the sporting community's largest event to Africa for the first time. As the organization that oversees the governance of global football, FIFA, the Fédération Internationale de Football Association, was entirely responsible for this decision. FIFA wields an unholy amount of geopolitical power, derived largely from the popularity and ubiquity of what has been termed the 'Beautiful Game.' FIFA's exploitation of the widespread adoration of football as a sport, as well as the organization's stature and bureaucratic nature allow it to influence global political forces through the administration of events like the World Cup. Particularly with respect to the bidding process that prospective nations undergo when vying for the privilege to host a quadrennial World Cup, FIFA is able to manipulate local and national governments, influence widespread socio-demographic shifts, and alter broad cultural impressions and reputations. The South African case is an excellent lens through which to study how FIFA is able to use sport to harness the power of a global passion in order to influence the flow of capital, and the actions undertaken by the state in order to produce a specific image and iteration of World Cup places and space. This paper will examine the geographic impact of FIFA's selection process, the build up to the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, and the geopolitical implications and ramifications of FIFA and its relationship with space and sovereignty.*

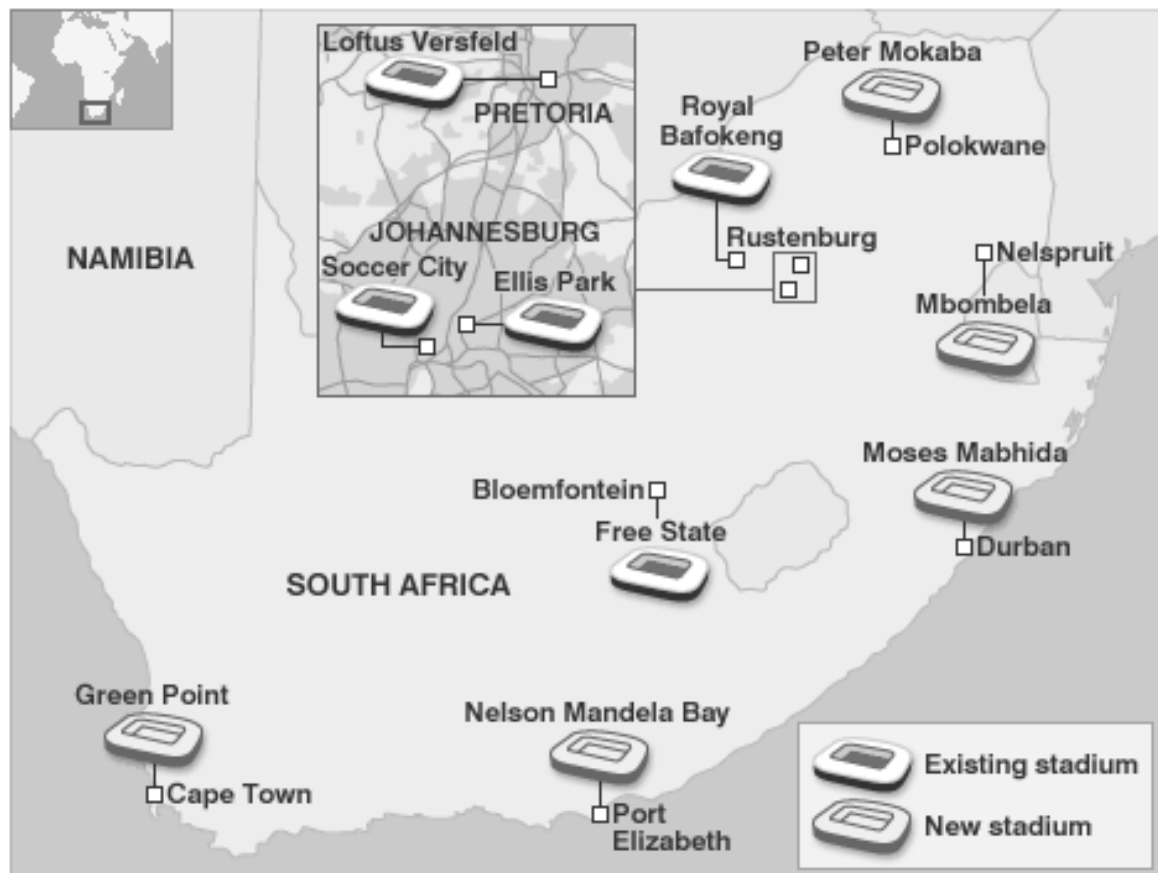


Figure 1: Map of World Cup stadia within South Africa (BBC News 2009).

## Chapter One: Introduction

*I watched Italia '90 with my mum and dad and my brother, you know, leaping around the house when the penalties were on... It would be great to be a part of that, to have that kind of impact.*

-Steven Gerrard, former England Captain

In 2002, when I was eight years old, I watched the World Cup on the corner television of a hotel lobby in the lakes region of northern Italy. Seated next to an elderly local gentleman, I was eager to bond, despite our language barrier and regardless of our age difference, over the action unfolding on the screen in front of us. In 2006, I wound up at a swimming pool bar in suburban New York, drinking virgin daiquiris with my father, and peering over the disinterested shoulder of the bartender at the smallest of several screens, which was the only one tuned in to the Final between France and Italy. Four years later, I watched in the Ecuadorian rainforest, the tiny, faded-color television screen surrounded by a family of raft tour operators in their living room. I was at work in 2014, making sandwiches and flipping omelets for weekenders and second-homers at a café in Vermont, streaming matches on my laptop behind the counter, at the mercy of a wi-fi connection as erratic as the consistency of the yolks in the eggs I was attempting to cook. In 2018, I like to think I could be anywhere.

Every four years for as long as I can remember, and for seventy-two years before that, the World Cup suspends the quotidian humdrum of the early summer heat (at least for those of us in the Northern Hemisphere), inviting a boisterous optimism and a bracing excitement to invade our routine or annex our vacation. I seem to have found myself in a new place every time the Cup rolls around, watching on a different screen, with a new set of faces beside me. In much the same way, the World Cup itself is never even remotely

predictable. Whereas the Super Bowl, for instance, occurs every year, the World Cup is a rarity, craved by football fans around the world. Unlike the Grand Slams of tennis, it is mobile, delivering the excitement to these fans in an inclusively arbitrary tour of the seven continents, and has consequently never been contested in the same place twice (allowing for the gulf in similarity between Fascist Italy and pre-war France as antecedent to their 1990s iterations, and the difference between West Germany and a united Germany of the 21<sup>st</sup> century).

A natural skeptic, I saw the rising popularity of each World Cup, especially in the United States, as an opportunity to study its particularities and shortcomings. What was it about the event that had alienated American fans, like my apathetic fellow patrons at the pool bar in 2006, for so long? What was it about the modern versions that seemed to be converting them? I called into question the shining principles of mobility and scarcity; yes, the World Cup travels, but where does it *really* go? Yes, the World Cup is quadrennial, and therefore enormously anticipated, but whom does this *really* serve? I realized it was not just the football that excited me, that dominated my every fourth summer, but also the structures that created the excitement, the unique character of every place that won the honor of hosting it. During the run up to the 2010 tournament I noticed that I spent more time studying the host, South Africa, than the national squads that were preparing for it, more time reading articles about FIFA than about my favorite players. I began to think more critically about the World Cup, not as a sporting event, but as a political one, a geographic one. I realized it was not just a force of nature, to be expected like a hurricane when it was due, but prepared, organized, and planned, all under the auspices of these myriad agencies, about which I had never really leant the time of day



before. Along with this epiphany came curiosity. If there are all these factors, forces, and systems at work, perhaps the World Cup represents more than just a football tournament. The World Cup is planned and organized, but who is responsible, and, most importantly, what are the ramifications of this responsibility when it is undertaken by certain groups? With the inaugural June kick-offs approaching I paused to ask myself, ultimately, how did the 2010 World Cup produce South Africa as a place? What was FIFA's role, and what does this illustrate about football's governing body as a geopolitical actor, as well as the relationship between the international sports body, forms of capital, and the state of South Africa itself?

If the South African World Cup could mean so much to me, both as a source of entertainment and of critical engagement with my budding interest in political geography, surely it carries an even greater significance elsewhere. I had witnessed this significance most pointedly in Ecuador, as the broadcast of one match brought an entire family together around a screen, around an experience. It generated an atmosphere that welcomed me into their living room, some wide-eyed kid who did not speak a word of Spanish. We see the ability of football, and even of sports in general, to unite people around a television, but never before had I actually contemplated it. Officially, the World Cup is the most watched multi-event phenomenon that is recurrently broadcast on television, and the Final itself almost always breaks the record for highest international viewership (Harris 2010). Indeed, estimates produced by the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) world football's governing body, for the 2010 edition of the Cup suggest that the Final was watched, in some capacity, by over a billion people, and that 47% of the global population (about 3.2 billion people) tuned in throughout the

tournament (KantarSport 2010, 8). The World Cup, then, represents a communal affair of incomparable enormity; it represents a tremendous amount of people who are doing the same thing, at the same time. Through the passion and emotion characteristic of football fans like the family with whom I was fortunate enough to watch in Ecuador, the World Cup can be framed not just as a sporting event, but also as a potential platform by which to speak to, and harness the excitement of, the entire world.

The 2010 World Cup represented the first time that attention of this magnitude, and category (engendering the search for entertainment rather than news, for example) had been directed towards the largely under-exploited consumer markets of Africa, and the broader global south. The cooperation of these two facts suggests a certain neo-liberal subplot that, just maybe, was a motivational undercurrent for this particular World Cup, considering the perspective of the World Cup as a podium. So we can begin to understand the possibility that the tournament can represent more than just a sporting event, but an opportunity, for business, for the promotion of principles, etc. This seems to have had a powerful impact not only on the citizens and peoples of South Africa, but also more broadly on Africa as a whole, and especially, on the integration of South Africa and Africa within the international community.

Herein, I hope to examine this process of awarding a World Cup to a country, of the steps taken in the interim to prepare for it, and of the general impact on the host nation. Above all, I hope to deconstruct the relationship between the Fédération Internationale de Football Association, the South African Football Association, South Africa, South Africans, and the 2010 competition, and to understand how this inherently political relationship influences the geographic impact of the event. This is important to

me, as the South African World Cup represents my own coming of age in a footballing-superstructural kind of way, providing me with a point of departure wherefrom I began to understand and examine the workings of football off the pitch. It is interesting in a broader sense for a number of reasons. The recent scandal (or series of scandals) regarding FIFA's selection process, that has indicted many senior members of the organization on counts of corruption and bribery, the significance of 2010 as the first tournament to be held in Africa and the ways in which this affected South Africans, Africans, and football itself, and the truths that can be unearthed by a close reading of the mechanisms in play when gigantic international bodies must interact with national governments all have serious implications for the way our purportedly dynamic multicultural international community thrives and engages. The South African World Cup matters because the World Cup is the most-watched broadcast on television, the most shared experience in the world. It matters because of its framing. It matters because of the invisible tidal wave of power it generates for FIFA. FIFA matters as a result, and its nature as a legislative, governing body sans geographical jurisdiction, sans voting electorate, sans any tangible source of constitutive authority creates a unique condition of indisputable control over the most popular source of entertainment in the world, and therefore a magnitude of marketable visibility unparalleled in global media.

Of primary importance to my own critical geopolitical analysis is the notion of production, not of goods, necessarily, but of image. The arm of FIFA's authority here is the idea of branding, and to a certain degree, the effect of this on the construction of place in order to adhere to a particular theme. FIFA prides itself on social movements like the 'Say No To Racism' campaign (FIFA 2011), and this pomp represents the type of

indisputably righteous impetus that helped to consolidate FIFA's hegemony over the World Cup process. It is therefore logical that the tournament, in each iteration, is imbued with this sort of humanistic dogma. South Africa embodies this spirit, chiefly because it represents a watershed as the first African host. This status comes loaded with certain racial and cultural burdens, as well as infrastructural expectations (perhaps greater and more scrutinized than Western host nations). It was in FIFA's interest to control the image of South Africa in order to justify their authority over the World Cup as a process and a micro-economy, because by structuring the image of South Africa, FIFA was able to dictate a sort of unity between its own expressed principles and the tournament that, by virtue of its popularity, generates a large proportion of its power.

It is important to study FIFA itself, as an independent institution in order then to examine how it operates within specific circumstances. FIFA is officially a Non-Governmental Organization, based in Zurich, Switzerland. It represents each of its member nations' official Football Associations (FAs), which in turn administer the rules and customs of football within their own respective countries. FIFA is responsible for the global unanimity of the game, organizing competitions between national teams, promoting youth football and integration of marginalized groups, and conducting comprehensive campaigns of inclusivity and social justice through football (FIFA 2016c). It is established as a congress, with various commissions and committees that execute these aforementioned responsibilities (FIFA 2016a). It is this structure that sparks my curiosity, and provides the tangible bridge between football and politics. Likewise, therefore, I clarify what is meant by the political aspects of FIFA, chiefly the theory of classical geopolitics, reconfigured to apply to our contemporary international community,

in a setting that is extremely global yet surprisingly political, and above all, at the end of the day, athletic.

Critical discussions of the World Cup in 2010 have varied widely both in form and in conclusion. Scholarly analyses tend to focus on the human and economic impacts, and costs, of holding a mega-event in a region that was perhaps unprepared, and these studies often point to trends, facts, and figures in order to criticize FIFA and the World Cup process. Journalistic and media sources, particularly those concerned with athletics and entertainment, often feature a more positive review, founded on the underlying notion of the World Cup, and FIFA, as reified, inviolable institutions. While they too may critique the individual outcomes and ramifications of certain aspects of the event, these critiques rarely provide much analytical structure. It is important to consider them, however, because they represent that branch of FIFA's ability to produce South Africa as an image, or are at least infused with aspects of particular images, and so are useful both as sources of evaluation from which to draw inferences, but also as products themselves of FIFA's ability (or perhaps the limits of FIFA's ability) to control the production of South Africa for the duration of the World Cup time frame.

Issues discussed also cover a wide breadth of topics. Some academics voice economic concerns, discussing the financial costs of hosting the World Cup as they compare with projected profits (see Zimbalist 2015 or Molloy and Chetty 2015), or the ability of local South Africans to participate in the business boom expected from the tournament and its predicted growth in tourism (see Kolamo and Vuolteenaho 2013, or Desai and Vahed 2009). Economic issues like infrastructure, budgeting proposals, and media revenue all play an important role in the discussion of South Africa's image during

this period, both with respect to the ways in which the Cup was constructed, and the ways in which it was perceived.

Other writers champion social issues, laid bare by the scrutiny that any host nation inevitably faces. These cover a broad spectrum themselves, ranging in scope from the all-encompassing United Nations report on the impact of mega-events on adequate housing, compiled by Special Rapporteur Raquel Rolnik (Rolnik 2010), to the detrimental impact on women's rights due to a skewed depiction of the World Cup as a masculine event, the projected increase in the illicit sex industry and human trafficking, and the obstacles faced by women working in institutional athletics more generally (see Machingambi, Wadesango 2011, Sanpath 2006, or Pelak 2010).

Most importantly, it is necessary to consider all these impacts with respect to FIFA and its role in producing South Africa. Due to the extent of government involvement in the production of the World Cup, and as a result of my emphasis on image creation and perception, it is necessary to refer to all sources that can contribute something to the discussion, chiefly FIFA's press releases, website pages, and official documents, in addition to various governmental reports and publications. These sources cannot be held to the same standards of objectivity as academic or even journalistic records; rather it is their bias that I seek to unearth and study, because ultimately, the notion of image is founded upon and imbued with subjectivity.

Hopefully where this thesis will diverge in character from academic discussions of the impact of the World Cup on South Africa will be in this deconstruction of FIFA itself, which will aim to analyze how exactly the international footballing authority is able to establish and wield the sorts of power that it does. Its astonishingly consistent

state of hegemony has been besieged by allegations of corruption for years –the awarding of the 2010 tournament in 2004 to South Africa instead of Morocco is one such flashpoint (Brown and Randall 2015) – and has operated on a fairly careless system of back-scratching and commercial deviance for decades. It attempts to simulate the governing structure of a democratic political body, yet has a shady system of appointments and no palpable electorate (FIFA 2016a). FIFA is, to make a long story short, a startlingly undemocratic institution, considering the extensive influence it manages to exert. If the FIFA congress, the bulk of the organization, strives to be a credible legislative body that has verifiable sway over sovereign governments, like that in South Africa, surely it must back this up with a viable political representative system? Corrupt and iniquitous geopolitical motives play a large role in how FIFA functions, and as such is an important factor in not only the accrual of power, but also in the methodology employed in order to create a World Cup adherent to a particular imagination, made possible to some degree by extra-legal means.

The purposeful branding of South Africa by FIFA and by extension the media is in many ways a crux of this project, and has been covered extensively in academic studies. While there is debate as to the overall success of the World Cup in 2010 as an event and as a boon for the host nation, there is little ambiguity as to whether FIFA had a hand in shaping its design. Among the key points to analyze is the unique selection process adopted by FIFA for the 2010 event, which for the first and so far only time in history limited prospective host nations to the African continent (FIFA 2007). So, while FIFA argues that it was ensuring the international diversity of the Cup (and by extension themselves), it is more prudent to surmise that it was in fact establishing a precedent for

this World Cup as an African one, regardless of which nation actually won the right to hold the tournament. Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed provide an excellent critique, claiming that the bidding process within Africa itself allowed for the obfuscation of the fact that FIFA had already decided to grant an African nation the Cup, and that this raises the question as to whether this really was an ‘African Victory’ as it was branded, or rather simply ‘Africa’s Turn’ (Desai and Vahed 2009). This issue highlights the question of FIFA’s authority and the ability it has to influence mass perception; a condition that I argue is reminiscent of a traditional geopolitical entity. ‘Africanness’ is also a pervasive issue in popular culture, with international pop star, Shakira’s, official anthem for the Cup, “Waka Waka” embodying conflicting ideals of the focal refrain ‘This time for Africa’ (Shakira 2010), and the fact that most Africans, and most African nations, had absolutely nothing to do with, and nothing to gain from, the 2010 World Cup besides a position of neutral viewership – only six of fifty-four fully recognized African states were represented by their national teams at the tournament.

This discussion will allow a broader conceptualization of geographic principles as they pertain to FIFA, thus explaining what importance FIFA and the South African World Cup bear with respect to political geography, the prevailing school of geographic theory that informs this project. Political geography is widely understood to be the discipline of understanding politics of power, authority, and conflict as they create space and place, and are in turn determined by the nature of geographic entities and processes (Gregory et al. 2009, 549). Geopolitics, similarly, tends to deal more with the institutional and physical violences that occur as a result of the division and control of territory and resources (Ibid., 300-301). What is intriguing is how FIFA fits into these structures of



definition, how, despite absolutely zero legitimate authority over the territory of South Africa, in this case, FIFA can still exert control, influence politics, and manufacture space (a South Africa that is prepared and globally perceived to be prepared for the Cup) and construct place (Stadia, parking lots, homeless refugee camps, etc.) within a particular imagistic scape, often through what can geographically be called violence (forced relocations, rapid gentrification, cultural whitewashing, and so on) (Ibid). In juxtaposition, the post-modern notion of placemaking, which is the nebulous concept that a place is constructed through the performance of local cultural identity, tends to favor the potential of often marginalized, nonpolitical groups to influence the perception and appearance of their own locality (Main and Sandoval 2015). It is my contention that these two polar concepts that can explain the creation of a geospatial image of a place can and do operate in tandem, with mutual awareness, rather than on totally opposite ends of the geographic spectrum.

Chapter Two analyzes FIFA, and the process that this gigantic organization oversaw in order to produce an ideal 2010 World Cup. This discussion includes a close analysis of the guidelines for hosting the tournament contrived by FIFA, including the somewhat controversial mandate that only African bids were permissible for the 2010 selection process, particularly in reference to previous World Cup selection practices (FIFA 2007). It also examines the policies and procedures that manipulated the bidding and selection processes in order to shape the World Cup around FIFA's imagination rather than South Africa's, despite the public conception that South Africa was indeed solely responsible for the World Cup, and that the World Cup was a reflection of South African national values (Kolamo and Vuolteenhao 2013). Rather, this chapter introduces

the ideals embodied by FIFA's close participation in the early, fundamentally political, selection processes that sometimes influenced and often dictated how South Africa ended up acting, and appearing. Herein I refer to this concept of 'winning' the privilege of hosting, analyzing whether South Africa's bid reflected the strongest candidacy, or rather whether FIFA entered the selection process with a specific agenda and a certain methodology that enabled extralegal opportunism to influence the result of the process, and perpetuated the imperial attitudes prevalent within the organization and its international dealings. Whether one or the other of these eventualities had a significant impact on the tournament, and in turn, the host nation, thereby fulfilling the geopolitical aspects of this process, constitutes the theoretical aspect of this conversation.

Chapter Three commences with the South African approach, in particular the effort rendered by the South African Football Association and the South African government to 'win' the right to host the 2010 World Cup, and to create a unique footballing experience once the hosting rights were secured. Crucially, this notion of 'winning' (in) this process is closely scrutinized once more. Admitting the scope of this scrutiny, the official South African bid scheduled, promised and expected huge infrastructural and cultural undertakings, and the combination of acquiescence to and influence over FIFA's systematic blueprint for World Cup branding is considered along the chronology of South African interest in, and competition for, the right to host the event. This section also addresses the cultural and societal aspects of the South African national experience that were either emphasized or excluded in order to create a vision or version of South Africa in 2010 most suited to FIFA's idealized host nation. Naturally, aspects of colonial legacy, racial tension, and economic development are all assessed as

factors that not only shaped South Africa's motivation and self-branding process, but also how South Africa was able to understand and manage international expectations. Part of this process is of course the integration of the historical aspects of South Africa's footballing legacy. Both the *carte blanche* re-admittance of apartheid-era South Africa into FIFA under Englishman Stanley Rous' administration of the 1960s, and their furious banishment by his successor, Joao Havelange until the 1990s speak to the necessity of internally rebranding South African football from the outset of the post-apartheid era (Goldblatt 2006, 518). Finally, this chapter takes into account the philosophy of placemaking, of the production of spatial, communal identity from the ground up, and through this understanding, frames South Africa as a space in which this process not only occurs, but has constructive value.

In a somewhat linear fashion, Chapter Four will handle the conversation about the impact and implications of the tournament, and its presentation, on the country. The immediate, direct effects had tangible reverberations on the geographic environment of mostly urban South African landscapes, generating infrastructural development and altering cityscapes, particularly those that were not previously visible on a global scale. Similarly, the World Cup had huge repercussions for the human environment in South Africa. Whether on the transplanted, perceived culture that was adopted by FIFA and the host nation as a performative blanket that not only produced an image but also, as a result, transformed the fabric of the entire nation, or the forced relocation of the homeless during the tournament (Rolnik 2009), for example, the experiences of locals in South Africa help to explain the relationship between geopolitics and placemaking. This chapter concludes with a discussion of South African agency during the World Cup that was

supposed to herald a new era of African participation in, and organization of, global events, and questions the utility of discussing the value of an event of this magnitude and type.

Finally, Chapter Five uses this case study to ascertain a renegotiated understanding of FIFA as an international political body, prior to the emergence of the widespread allegations of, and individual convictions for, large-scale corruption in 2015. This discussion allows me to step back from South Africa, and to wrestle with the more theoretical notions of placemaking within the macro-geopolitical arena, that is, combining state and non-state actors with capital in order to produce a certain understanding of a space. As with many geopolitical undertakings, at the heart of the issue is the validation and application of power, and the overall necessity here is to examine the power with which FIFA has been able to act, given its intermediate position, suspended somewhere between governance and athletics. How this position was exploited in the case of South Africa 2010 helps to provide a possible framework by which we can approach the curious notions of non-traditional power structures, the malleability of national sovereignty, and the conflation of imperial ideas and practices that operate on a global scale, and ultimately contribute to a consensus as to why this case study is important at all.

## **Chapter Two: ‘This Time For Africa’ – How FIFA Produced the World Cup**

*We can all applaud Africa. The victor is football. The victor is Africa.*

-Former FIFA President, Joseph S. Blatter

The World Cup is not a natural phenomenon. It is precisely orchestrated, manufactured by the cooperation of countless international organizations, associations, and cultures. It subtly reflects and endorses values common within an imperial narrative. FIFA exists in order to arbitrate this process, and transitively has a hand in the production of the image of any host nation. At first, this may seem tentatively indirect, but upon further consideration, especially within the specific case of the 2010 bidding and selection processes, it becomes clear that FIFA actually wields immense power over the branding of the World Cup. From the initial decision to allow only African candidates, to the final face-off between Moroccan and South African bidding parties, FIFA closely adjudicated the process of the campaign for hosting rights. Through the establishment of hosting criteria, by making decisions, suggestions, and alterations to plans, and therefore by asserting their influence over the production of the tournament, FIFA played an instrumental role in the creation of the South Africa that was broadcast to the world during the summer of 2010.

This chapter commences with an overview of FIFA’s structure, explaining the curious position interpolated between global sport and politics that the organization occupies, and what this position demonstrates about FIFA’s use of power. I then introduce the 2010 bidding process as a broad procedure, in order to understand the circumstances that helped to create the South African bid that we will ultimately examine in Chapter Three. Subsequently, it is necessary as a mandatory step along this trajectory,

to understand exactly what external factors, considering FIFA's structure and criteria, colluded to aid South Africa's selection as the host nation for 2010. This will unavoidably involve a close examination of the corruption allegations that have plagued FIFA and its reputation over the course of the last few years. Finally, I draw connections with other, more traditional modes of power-brokerage that exist in more explicitly political arenas, in order to demonstrate the connection between FIFA and the theories of classical geopolitics, in order to paint a picture of FIFA as an imperial body, with material resources and capital, market interests, and business concerns far beyond the reach of its own legal jurisdiction.

## **FIFA**

According to its official website, "The Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) is an association governed by Swiss law founded in 1904 and based in Zurich [Switzerland]. It has 209 member associations and its goal, enshrined in its Statutes, is the constant improvement of football" (FIFA 2016c). The website has a specific, informational section entitled 'Governance,' that attempts to outline more specifically what FIFA's role in world football is. This section discusses ethics at length, but it clearly establishes FIFA as a self-styled political entity; the term 'governance' is prevalent as the title of the section and the phrase 'issuing regulations' is employed as a description of the organization's legal responsibilities, as is the expression 'separation of powers' (FIFA 2015a). This last notion inspires curiosity; the separation of powers is ubiquitously defined within the arena of government, and FIFA's insistence on separating its power among three branches – executive, administrative, and legislative (FIFA 2015a,

20) – is remarkably consistent with the governing structure of a sovereign democracy. Similarly, FIFA legitimizes itself through its constant referral and updates to the FIFA Statutes that lays out its basic principles and guidelines in much the same way as a national constitution (FIFA 2015a). This mimicry, despite FIFA’s obvious lack of territorial jurisdiction and status, specifically, as a Non-Governmental Organization, establishes FIFA in the model of a traditional political agency. So while FIFA purposefully reproduces the internal structure and governing procedure of a legitimate political body for reasons of appearance, it simultaneously interprets its stature as so potent, its position so tenable, that it must actively separate its own power for the sake of the broader judiciary good.

The main body of the association is known as its Congress, and it functions in a fairly straightforward way: according to Article 23 of the FIFA Statutes, the footballing association (the organization that administers teams and leagues usually within a single nation-state) of each member nation is assigned one vote, administered by a representative delegate at the annual meeting of the Congress (FIFA 2015a, 11). The FIFA Congress oversees a number of nominal issues, like the election of a president every four years, or the approval of the annual balance and income statements (Ibid., 21). So, while imitating the sophisticated, complex political networks of many developed nations, FIFA seems to function in a very simple republican way – each member nation’s Football Association delegates one representative to the FIFA Congress, who then wields one vote in the settlement of these administrative issues.

Yet the image of republican universalism is not an accurate portrayal of FIFA’s governing structure. The fact that only member associations have the responsibility of

selecting their delegate precludes the ability for football's self-proclaimed governing body to truly represent the people of the member states that they supposedly govern. FIFA's actions have consequences that permeate the barrier between sport and daily life:

Sport, generally, and football specifically, brings together people and nations in a manner arguably not seen in any other area of global society. While football itself is not inherently 'big business' in economic terms, increasingly football has implications for big business, particularly in the consequences of the periodic decisions associated with hosting the World Cup, which is often tied to large programs of government in infrastructure, television rights and sponsorship deals (Pielke 2013, 256).

The implications, therefore, of all of the organizations large-scale actions, are widespread, and not only limited to Roger Pielke's discussion of economics. FIFA's actions are replete with the unfortunate condition that they engender the prospect of oscillation into non-sporting tangents. FIFA's farcical triumviral political set up, saturated with voting systems, separation of powers, and member representation fails to recognize that its edicts, motions, and executions have repercussions for those not represented by their nation's football association – for example, the women and girls trafficked through South Africa during the World Cup as an underground response to an increase in tourism and nonpermanent migrant labor in host cities (Sanpath 2006, 120). While the impact of the World Cup itself on South Africa is assessed in Chapter Four, it is crucial to our understanding of FIFA to recognize the reality of its political situation.



This reality is something that is not always best communicated by FIFA itself. The World Cup Bidding Process is not mentioned on the official website as the responsibility of the Congress. Rather, it is described in the Statutes as more of a transaction, between the nebulous idea of 'FIFA' and the Member Associations (FIFA 2015a, 55). One has to dig deeper into the site in order to determine who is actually responsible for presiding over the World's most prestigious sporting event: the Executive Committee, comprised of a President, eight vice-presidents, 15 members, and, curiously, one mandatory female member, a new addition for the 2015 edition of the Statutes (Ibid., 28). Until 2014, these elite few earned salaries of \$100,000 per annum, for doing what economist Andrew Zimbalist calls 'very part-time work,' in addition to yearly bonuses that ranged from \$75,000 to \$200,000 (Zimbalist 2015, 3).

So, while FIFA extends membership to 209 nations, no more than 24 can ever be represented in the World Cup bidding process at a given time, representation, that is, by largely unmonitored individuals who are generously compensated for their service. Furthermore, each Executive Committee member is nominated by the delegates that make up the Congress, who are in turn appointed by their nation's FA (FIFA 2016a). This system still does not filter down to the common layperson at any juncture. It is therefore safe to conclude, logically, that the ordinary individual, despite FIFA's insistence on governing in a representative fashion, has no say whatsoever in the selection of a World Cup host. This may not come as a surprise; the footballing world should govern itself, and those unconcerned with football do not need a voice in these proceedings. However, given the image that FIFA produces of itself, and given the sweeping implications that its decisions often have, and especially given the

incompatibility of these two conditions, it goes a long way towards providing an explanation of how FIFA is able to function with such bold autonomy, ostensibly in the footballing world, but de facto in the realms of global politics, development, and business as well.

### **The 2010 Bidding Process**

In early August 2000, the FIFA Executive Committee officially decided that for the first time in history, a policy of continental rotation would be implemented for the hosting of the World Cup. By July 2001, Africa had been ratified as the first continent to host a World Cup, the 2010 iteration, under this policy (FIFA 2002). It is impossible to determine whether FIFA recognized the implications at the time of undertaking this process. As a gigantic, international quasi-political organization, it is likely that the association had some idea of what was at stake, chiefly, the likelihood of its own hegemony over the culture and politics of the tournament. Whereas previously, bidding nations had been able to spin their own culture as a unique part of their application to host, the 2010 bidding process, enshrouded within this official policy of rotation, to a large extent did that for them. As South African football historian Peter Alegi infers, the continental rotation policy was enacted soon after South Africa lost out to Germany for the 2006 World Cup, and, having won his own election in 1998 with the help of African support, then FIFA President Sepp Blatter likely felt obliged to help ensure that Africa got their reward for backing his campaign (Alegi 2010, 129). This World Cup was going to be an African one, regardless of how the bidding unfolded.

A key change for the 2010 edition of the tournament, a decision that may appear measured and even somewhat magnanimous, was FIFA's reversal on budgeting and revenue policy. Moving into the new millennium, FIFA had traditionally split revenue with the host nation or nations, and the burden of financing the operation of the tournament had been shouldered almost entirely by that host. In the case of Japan and South Korea in 2002, the operating costs had been so high for the co-hosts that FIFA had felt compelled to further compensate the pair with a substantial lump sum after the concluding ceremony. The change, however, first implemented along with the ill-fated continental rotation scheme for the 2010 tournament, was designed to eliminate the risk that the LOC (Local Organizing Committee) might run up an operating deficit before or during the Cup itself. The alternative shifted the burden of cost onto FIFA's shoulders, with each prospective OA (Organizing Association) submitting, along with their bid, an extensive budgeting outline for the tournament itself that could be viewed as a rough invoice by the Executive Committee. This change was somewhat necessary; the fact that the tournament was pledged to African management meant that only a developing economy could launch a bid, and few economies in Africa in the early 2000s were capable of independently bankrolling a World Cup. The catch, however, is that FIFA not only assumed the responsibility of financing – FIFA also demanded the revenue (Zimbalist 2015, 31).

Whereas the costs associated with hosting the World Cup remain fairly constant from tournament to tournament, increasing viewership, for example, means that revenue from global sponsors and television deals, among other sources, rises exponentially with each quadrennial tournament – 30% between 2006 and 2010 (de Almeida et al. 2013,

266) – and while FIFA’s acceptance of the financial responsibility of the competition may appear to be a noble concession, aimed at legitimizing the prospect of a tournament held in a developing rather than developed economy, it also functions as a sanctimonious justification to reap tremendous profit, and in so doing, stymie the OA’s potential for immediate remuneration. This was possible because of South Africa’s stated, if optimistic, goal; to promote economic development and prove Africa’s worth, not, tellingly, to make money in the short term (Ibid. 270).

Furthermore, FIFA’s assumption of the payment responsibilities only covers the operating costs of the tournament, referring to the 30-day span during which matches were contested (Zimbalist 2015, 31). The bulk of the pecuniary encumbrance however, particularly in so (comparatively) underdeveloped a nation, lay in the years of infrastructural preparation required to bring the stadia, highways, hotels, hospitals, etc. up to FIFA’s standards, an endeavor which would eventually cost South Africa about \$4.9 billion (Green 2015). The List of Requirements and the Organizing Association Agreement (OAA) expected at least eight modern stadia with specific capacities, transportation infrastructure adequate for World Cup visitor volumes, a thriving hospitality sector (FIFA and SAFA 2004), not to mention the improvements not required on paper but expected in practice, like beautification and gentrification projects in World Cup-visible neighborhoods (Herwitz 2013). So while FIFA strove to make it easier for an African nation to host matches and welcome fans, it was concurrently making it harder for that nation to enjoy the lucrative opportunities that they brought with them.

So, policy metamorphoses accomplished, all that remained for FIFA was to open the bidding. The most important document administered by FIFA during this period was

the aforementioned OAA, contained within which was the official FIFA List of Requirements for prospective hosts to consider within their bids (FIFA and SAFA 2004). Sent out to each of the official bidding nations, South Africa, Nigeria, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, and Libya, on February 28<sup>th</sup>, 2003 (Peeters et al. 2004, 7), the Agreement more or less outlines all of the standards demanded by FIFA for the bids it expected to receive from these nations' FAs. To ascertain an understanding of what this entailed, it is vital to go through some of the articles presented within the OAA. Section 25, for instance, handles tickets and ticketing procedures. The very first article, 25.1.1, explains: "FIFA shall at all times be the sole owner of all Ticketing rights to the championship, including all Matches and Official Events" (FIFA and SAFA 2004, 91). In subsequent articles, FIFA itself takes full control of Ticketing Policy (Ibid., 92), the allocation of seats in stadia to specific categories, like VIP, FIFA reserved seats, etc. (Ibid., 93), and the definition of the ticketing Terms and Conditions in coordination with the OA (Ibid., 94). Such articles demand that the OA and the LOC capitulate all rights to this area of the tournament's organization, in keeping with FIFA's requisition of generated revenue.

Conversely, FIFA cedes authority in other areas that do not coincide with its direct interests. Section 23 deals with Safety and Security, and Article 23.1.1 immediately demands that the LOC prepare and execute all security arrangements for the tournament, and must "...guarantee for the general security, safety and personal protection, especially of the FIFA delegation..." (FIFA and SAFA 2004, 87). Similarly, and perhaps, by this point expectedly, Article 23.2.1 states: "All costs associated with Championship security shall be borne by the Organising [sic] Association and/or governmental authorities in the host country" (Ibid., 88). FIFA, then, avoids responsibility for the security, or its

financing and operations, for the duration of the World Cup. Perhaps the guarantee of safety lies beyond FIFA's jurisdiction over operating costs, because of the inherently local individuality of potential threats, but this condition that omits FIFA from the responsibility of overseeing security lies in stark contrast to the governmental mantle the organization assumes; that it resembles a western democracy but refuses to participate in security measures exposes the hypocrisy and fallibility of its self-proclaimed structure and position of global power, while reconstructing its actual position as one of post-colonial imperialism, willing to derive scalar benefits without concern for the welfare of the locality involved.

So we see an incredible double standard emerging as we peruse the OAA. The preceding are just two examples of the type of requirements laid out by FIFA for the bidding process, and it is clear that while FIFA expected to profit off the tournament, it delegated the burden of organization to the host (Zimbalist 2015, 12). The bidding process therefore devolves into a battle of sycophants, each striving to balance compliance with FIFA's authoritative, power replicating demands with a formulaic expression of the individuality of their own footballing culture.

FIFA's decision to award the Cup specifically to Africa plays a crucial role at this stage. Knowing full well that Africa represents a developing, rather than developed, region, bids could be expected realistically from only a handful of associations. Of the six initial interested nations, only Nigeria and South Africa are not located along the Mediterranean coast; Dutch journalist Niels Posthumus encountered a Moroccan, Youssef, during a pre-World Cup road trip from Amsterdam to Capetown who was proud to admit that in his country, "The Africa Cup is no big deal. Moroccans feel more

European than African anyway” (Posthumus and Kerber 2013, 178). When Nigeria failed to present their bid by the assigned date of September 30<sup>th</sup>, 2003 (Peeters et al. 2004, 7), South Africa, the continent’s leading economy, remained as the sole non-arabesque culture in the running. So, with respect to both of the primary macro-criteria, in terms of developmental potential and cultural individuality, South Africa entered the race with a clear advantage. Furthermore, the 14<sup>th</sup> May, 2004 decision by the FIFA Executive Committee to prohibit bids to co-host the tournament (despite the precedent of the 2002 World Cup, which was held in both South Korea and Japan) dealt serious blows to the OAs in Libya and Tunisia, nations who had predicated their interest in bidding on a potential joint endeavor with one another. Their appeals against this edict were rejected by FIFA (FIFA 2004b), and although they followed through with solo bids, their chances of success were significantly reduced.

FIFA’s decision to prohibit co-hosting essentially narrowed down the viable candidates from five to three, South Africa, Morocco, and Egypt. South Africa had only lost in their bid to host the 2006 World Cup by one vote, to Germany, and this defeat is largely attributed both to German stature within the footballing world, and also, more recently, to allegations of severe corruption, connecting Germany-based sportswear giant Adidas, the German bidding committee, and several members of the FIFA Executive Committee to a slush fund that may have exceeded tens of millions of Swiss francs (Der Spiegel 2015). So while the South African Football Association (SAFA) itself is hardly free from allegations of corruption, which are explored later in the chapter, its bid for the 2010 World Cup was well placed to be viewed favorably by the FIFA Executive Committee, who so nearly awarded the 2006 World Cup to South Africa despite its

competition from such footballing, economic powerhouses as England and Germany. As then president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki bemoaned after losing out to Germany in the summer of 2000, “This is a tragic day for Africa... but next time we will win” (de Almeida et al. 2013, 269). FIFA’s widespread policy changes regarding the 2010 World Cup in particular helped to manufacture a climate in which Mbeki’s promise could realistically come true.

### **South Africa’s Victory**

There are a number of procedural aspects of FIFA’s dominant role in the process that played a crucial role in fulfilling Mbeki’s promise. For each World Cup selection process, FIFA appoints an Inspection Group that is tasked with assessing whether each association can back up its bid with concrete action and observable potential. This essentially entails reviewing each bid with respect to the conditions on the ground in that nation, and deciding amongst themselves which of the submissions to recommend to the Executive Committee for their ultimate selection (Peeters et al. 2004, 4). Through this bureaucratic process, the Executive Committee members are further distanced from the bids and nations that they are supposed to be intimately knowledgeable about so that they might cast an objective and thoughtful vote. Because of this absence of direct contact with the OAs or LOCs, the Executive Committee’s ability to develop an informed opinion about the viability of a tournament in each bidding nation is drastically abridged. It is therefore easier for individual Committee members to take into consideration factors besides tangible preparedness – for example, national image, or, as is frequently alluded to in media and academia, bribery. Despite falling legally under Swiss law, an absence of



accountability, due in part to the incompatibility of various international legal systems, has allowed FIFA to operate more or less under its own auspices (Pielke 2013, 256) and permits the sort of grey areas between the OA, the intermediary Inspection Group (IG), and the Executive Committee, that allow for, and simultaneously shroud underhanded operations.

The Inspection Group, chaired in 2004 by Belgian Jan Peeters, undertook to review each bid, and its respective OA and LOC, between October 2003, and February 2004. Their criteria, summarized and then assessed in full in the final report, was distributed, individually, to each member of the Executive Committee on April 30<sup>th</sup>, 2004 (Peeters et al. 2004, 7). The single page Summary of each nation's status presents the condition of the following aspects for each of the five bidders: Country Commitment, Football, General Country Infrastructure, Finance, and Legacy (Ibid., 11-15). While these are perhaps the most relevant factors in assessing a nation's preparedness for a football tournament, particularly the financial concerns that for the first time were to be handled by FIFA, there is more to consider by way of a nation's readiness to host a mega-event that is vulnerable to the perennial scrutiny to which the World Cup is subjected. For instance, among the key concerns that the IG had with the South African bid were socio-economic, and although the full report details what aspects of the South African situation were most pressing (Ibid., 61), South Africa's Summary page does not go into detail about items that are not directly related to a football tournament (Ibid., 14). As a consequence of the report's distribution to Executive Committee members, rather than presentation to them, again, we see the possibility of a gap emerging between the Committee and the prospective host nations. It is one thing to glance at a Summary page

and to form a generalized opinion. It is another thing entirely to delve into the substance of the report and to determine that the mega-event may indirectly detriment the swathes of impoverished, marginalized South Africans to a greater extent than the citizens of another bidding nation. The layout and style of dissemination of the report allow for fissures like this to appear, and therefore, it is acceptable to conclude that FIFA's structural framework for the selection of a host is riddled with loopholes and half-measures that allow certain aspects, problems, or opinions to fall through its administrative cracks.

The Inspection Group presented a picture of South Africa that was not necessarily entirely in keeping with the image that SAFA worked so hard to produce in its bid. While this particular topic will be the focus of Chapter Three, in order to deconstruct FIFA's role in the production of South Africa 2010, it is necessary to intersperse this analysis of the Inspection Group's role in the process with some details about what it was they were inspecting. After all, the contemporaneous productions of South Africa both internally and externally do not necessarily follow a suitable chronology, and although FIFA's role takes pride of place in this project, FIFA was by no means the first organization to begin to shape South Africa for the sake of the 2010 World Cup, nor did this procedure endure as a turn-based experiment. Rather, it is important to examine all facets of this process, and only through an understanding of the Inspection Group's report on South Africa can we begin to understand the power dynamics involved with FIFA's dubious decision to, largely, ignore it.

The aforementioned socio-economic anxieties appear to be of genuine concern to the IG, who spent 155 hours and 25 minutes evaluating the conditions on the ground in

South Africa. Their report cautions that: “Some problems still exist in the country as a result of the apartheid era. Strictly speaking, they are fairly serious social, labour [sic] and health problems (principally AIDS, affecting an estimated 20% of the population)...” (Ibid., 61). As I analyze in the next chapter, South Africa predicated its image on the assumption that apartheid could be utilized as a foil for the amazing feats of democracy and development that Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki’s governments had achieved since 1994. The IG, FIFA’s eyes and ears, saw through this flimsy binary, identifying the lingering echo of apartheid, and race-related social issues, as key concerns over South Africa’s socio-economic dependability. Chiefly, the report asserts “...nearly 50% of the population [is] living below the poverty line” (Ibid., 62). This is not consistent with South African claims of progressive economic accomplishment, which highlighted the aspects of the South African economy that were either touted as the best in Africa, or were compatible with European business and economic practices (SAFA 2010, 1/7). It is not surprising that a nation’s bid downplays its shortcomings, but this gulf between South Africa’s produced image and the realities observed by the IG becomes increasingly hard to overlook, especially considering the blatant tactical preference by FIFA for footballing concerns over socio-economic ones.

The IG goes on to express concerns over SAFA’s budget plans, explaining that they were not only insufficient, but also that “...it is extremely difficult for the Inspection Group to be able to assess all the figures submitted. It was...not possible to check how these budget estimates were reached, nor was it possible to understand fully the philosophy behind them all” (Peeters 2004, 64). This passage illustrates serious concern over even the basic ability of South Africa to effectively estimate and allocate funds for

the tournament. Similarly, the IG worries that South African revenue appraisals from ticket sales “will be very difficult to reach...the ticket process will need to be revised” (Ibid., 66). As beneficiaries of all ticketing revenue, it is clear that this would constitute a serious concern for FIFA. Ultimately, the IG does recommend South Africa as a viable contender, but only on the back of its perceived enthusiasm for the event, and on its footballing credentials (Ibid., 8), burying its serious concerns about racial tension and poverty deep in the bowels of the report, where each Executive Committee member may be less inclined to rummage. That is not to say that a single Committee member failed to read every word of the IG report, it is more a reflection of the values stressed by FIFA in the Inspection Group’s report, and the methodology of presentation (or rather, non-presentation) of this report, which is supposedly so seminal to the World Cup host selection process.

An interesting aspect of the report is that the Inspection Group was pointedly allocated the task of determining whether each OA’s marketing plan could ‘undermine’ FIFA’s own marketing project (Ibid., 67). The presence of this stipulation in the report, intended as a recommendation for consideration by FIFA’s ultimate decision-makers, reiterates the value placed on FIFA’s version of the 2010 World Cup brand over that of the host nation. Had the IG felt that South African marketing strategies would conflict with FIFA’s own, this could potentially have influenced the Committee against SAFA’s bid. Throughout the report, within the marketing sections, stress is consistently placed upon the notion of the VIP box. FIFA demanded total control over the classification of tickets and seats in the OAA, and this appears to remain a theme throughout the inspections. It is relevant, then, that in several of the North African evaluations, the

custom of VIP seat or box allocation is fairly alien. The Libyan section explains: “It is important to state that there is no VIP box culture...” (Ibid., 38). This is a point that serves to further advantage the more commercially-influenced democratic nation of South Africa, who’s own spectator culture does allow for the apparently vital inclusion of what FIFA likes to term ‘hospitality areas’: “It is important to point out that there is a strong tradition of VIP boxes in the country” (Ibid., 67). So, within this section, that has to do more closely with FIFA’s image promotion and financial interests, the ultimate standout appears to have been South Africa, whereas the eventual winners of the bidding process tend to fall short of their chief rival, fellow 2006 bid veterans Morocco, in some of the areas that are less relevant to FIFA’s direct involvement.

Some of these areas include the aforementioned budget discussion. Morocco’s bid, the country’s fourth such endeavor, included a practiced and detailed account of their expected budget. The IG deemed its presentation ‘outstanding,’ and was impressed by the clarity of Morocco’s financial organization, and by the figures produced, citing forecasted expenditure in U.S. dollars, at \$440,989,780 (Ibid., 50-51). This figure is significantly lower than South Africa’s \$476,054,993 prediction, and the Rainbow Nation’s ambitious estimate of a \$541,185,551 income from the tournament, caused some alarm first because of its quixotic optimism (Molloy and Chetty 2015, 1), and second because of its incomprehensibility: “...It was not possible to review the manner in which the budgets had been drawn up or to understand completely the policy behind the figures.” (Peeters 2004, 64-65).

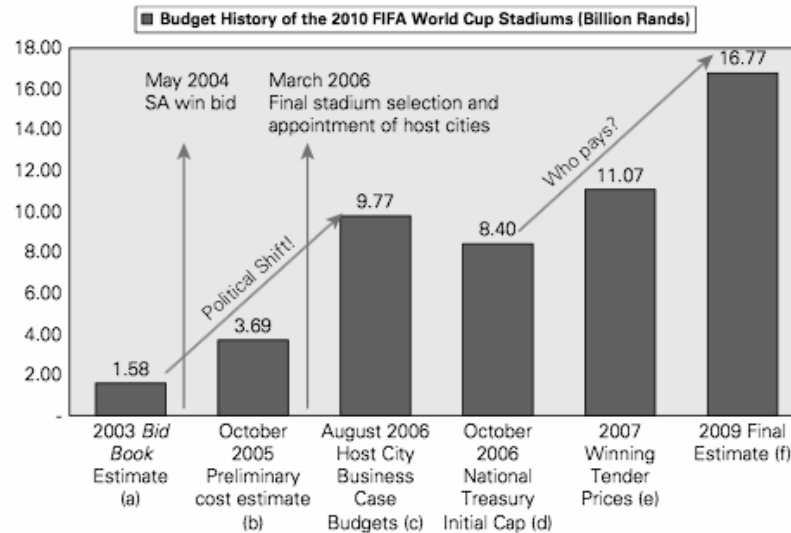


Figure 2: Molloy and Chetty's graphic representation of the rising predicted costs of World Cup stadia in South Africa (Molloy and Chetty 2015, 8).

Morocco's proposed ticketing system was preferable to South Africa's as well, and their more realistic income expectation, budgeted at \$440,988,615 (about \$1,000 less than the estimated costs) promised an economically viable tournament while not committing to a grossly misjudged, almost ridiculous, profit (Ibid., 51). It appears that the Moroccan bid, simply put, had the preferable financial strategy and organization, and although there were many items to consider, the importance of finance to FIFA articulates that Morocco represented an exceptionally strong candidacy. There are many ways in which the northernmost and southernmost African nations outranked and outflanked each other in the competition to win the hosting rights (Cornelissen 2004), and the nature of the disputability of their individual claims to be the best choice necessitates the voting process in the first place, but FIFA's structure and lack of accountability establish extra-procedural channels through which influential factors could be injected into its progression.

None of the bidding nations were entirely agentive in the bidding process. FIFA remained firmly in control of the procedure, relying on an atypically fierce competition between bidding nations in order to manipulate the course of events and privilege its own interests. In her comprehensive study of the 2006 and 2010 bidding rivalries between South Africa and Morocco, political scientist and mega-event specialist Scarlett Cornelissen explains the relationship between the methodologies employed by the two nations: “Since competition surrounding sports mega-events is so dependent on projecting certain images and representations, in crafting their bids developing countries must engage with and transcend fixed and often very negative representations” (Cornelissen 2004, 1296). In the case of the 2010 World Cup, as a direct result of FIFA’s decision to only allow African bids, she expounds that: “...the claims of both countries were built upon particular, but contending, conceptions of African identity” (Ibid, 1295). Because of the competitive nature of the bidding process, intensified by a fierce desire for international recognition and capital, both Morocco and South Africa, the most serious contenders, were encouraged to compete largely for the title of ‘African,’ a term in this case defined externally by FIFA.

This in and of itself reiterates the influence FIFA had over the process and over its production. Whereas, for example, English bids for assorted World Cup tournaments, including 2006 and 2018 have invariably included some version of the epithetical ‘Football’s coming home,’ (Baddiel & Skinner & Lightning Seeds 1996), the African version, ‘This time for Africa,’ popularized as a lyric in Shakira’s symbolic anthem “Waka Waka,” was constructed externally, and without a particular nation in mind. So while England has been able to capitalize on the uniqueness of its own slogan in order to

create what artists/comedians Baddiel, Skinner, and band Lightning Seeds call ‘a time for optimism’ (Skinner, in Rampton 1996), African nations are required to compete not only for the right to host the tournament, which is evidenced by the Inspection Group’s evaluations of their bids and preparedness, but also for the right to embody this perceived ‘Africanness’. These ideas work to marginalize the nations within the framework of the bidding process, and in many ways restrict the legal avenues available to each OA. This, compounded with the enhanced desire within each developing nation to showcase itself and its ability, encourage the sorts of corrupt dealings that FIFA has recently become so notorious for having allowed, and for having commenced.

### **Corruption**

Through a lack of accountability, it has become extremely easy for FIFA to conduct underhanded, illegal business, especially as far as the World Cup has been concerned. Pielke explains,

“The repeated failures of those seeking to enforce FIFA’s conformance to its own standards is why FIFA has faced a crisis of accountability. That there is a crisis of accountability is not controversial. FIFA announced an ‘Independent Good Governance’ committee in October 2011 to propose reforms ‘to improve FIFA’s governance and transparency’ (FIFA, 2011)” (Pielke 2013, 258).



So because FIFA is by and large responsible for its own regulation, as was evidenced in the earlier discussion of how FIFA is structured, it is ultimately easier for the organization to operate subservient to its own interests, rather than those of an external body, like a host nation for instance. That FIFA publically displays its own self-regulatory practices is not only a performance of acknowledgement that its internal structure can breed extra-legality, but is intended to distance FIFA from increasing calls for external regulation.

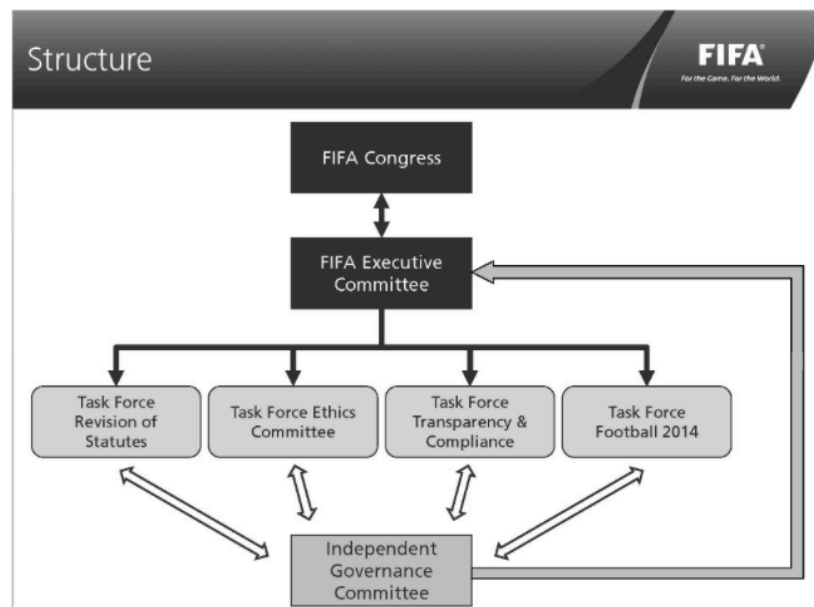


Figure 3: Diagram of the FIFA Governance Committee (Independent Governance Committee 2012).

So what mechanisms represent the execution of this self-accountability? Well, for example, as Pielke elaborates, FIFA's steps to root out its own corruption include paying a \$128,000 up front fee, plus \$5,000 a day, for a Swiss corruption expert to internally examine the potential reform process in 2011, and to then pick and choose the reforms recommended by this expert's committee (Pielke 2013, 260). So whereas the appearance of reform is negotiated through the press, the process of reform remains a ludicrous performance. This allows the corruption that actually takes place, and that directly

impacts the World Cup selection and staging formulae, to manifest. Pielke continues along this trajectory, illustrating that, following the 2010 World Cup, FIFA was able to redirect revenue from the tournament to its member associations under the guise of football development programs like the ‘Say No To Racism Campaign’. Pielke puts this number at \$115 million per member association, but notes that many payments were made in cash, and that the development programs in actuality should not cost that much to implement (Ibid., 261).

So it is equally possible, or perhaps even likely that corruption played some role in the construction of the African World Cup identity as South African. An official indictment, delivered by the United States District Court in the Eastern District of New York in May 2015, accuses 14 members of the FIFA Executive Committee of “...the enterprise to engage in schemes involving the solicitation, offer, acceptance, payment, and receipt of undisclosed and illegal payments, bribes, and kickbacks” (Dearie and Levy 2015, 29). The indictment acknowledges Committee members’ desire to conduct the business of the Committee, but under the auspices of illegal payments, protection of one another, aid in their illegal activities, and falsifying the appearance of legitimate dealings with fake contracts and agreements, shell companies, and mock business deals to cover their crimes (Ibid., 30). Of key interest is the indictment’s Section G, entitled “2010 World Cup Vote Scheme.” This section explains former CONCACAF (Confederation of North and Central American and Caribbean Association Football) President and Executive Committee member Jack Warner had developed close ties with South African soccer officials during the nation’s earlier bid for the 2006 World Cup. These ‘ties’ included the organization of friendly matches held in South Africa and the transference of

“...a briefcase containing bundles of U.S. currency in \$10,000 stacks...” (Ibid., 80). Having turned down a reported \$1 million personal bribe by a representative of the Moroccan bid committee, Warner himself eventually accepted an offer by the South African FA of \$10 million, purportedly “...to support the African diaspora” in exchange for his pledge to vote for South Africa in the selection process (Ibid., 81).

Warner is just one of the 14 indicted individuals, nine of whom were FIFA executive committee members. South Africa won their bid to host the 2010 World Cup by 14 votes to 10 over Morocco, but the allegations of corruption further complicate the issue (Hartley 2015). Jack Warner’s testimony to having received bribes from both competing bidders places a large proportion of the culpability onto his own shoulders, and onto those of the bidding nations. SAFA honchos Danny Jordaan and Irvin Khosa were fingered for their role as ‘co-conspirators’ in the New York District Court indictment. Even then-President of South Africa Thabo Mbeki has been tentatively connected to the payment made to Jack Warner (Brown and Randall 2015). But what about FIFA? In allowing the indictments of so many of its Executive Committee, FIFA appeared willing to surrender its bad apples for the preservation of the rest of the tree. The Telegraph reported in June 2015 that even the results of the Executive Committee vote had been manipulated, so that although Morocco had (corruptively) won the election, FIFA had altered the results to award the Cup to South Africa anyway. (Ibid.). By March of 2016, newly elected FIFA President Gianni Infantino confirmed the allegations that several recent World Cups had been bought, and in keeping with the preservation mentality, issued statements and initiated proceedings to demand restitution from its own convicted members like Jack Warner. FIFA’s statement describes itself as a

‘victimized institution,’ with Infantino stating: “The convicted defendants abused the positions of trust they held at FIFA and other international football organisations [sic] and caused serious and lasting damage to FIFA, its member associations and the football community” (FIFA 2016d).

At every level, it is possible to see the shady dealings that allowed for the production of the World Cup that we witnessed in 2010, as well as the attempt to pitch FIFA, and football, as the victim of this incisively malignant political climate, which emphasizes the reliance upon public perception and constructed image. There is no sign that allegations of corruption leveled at FIFA will cease any time soon. The final step along this archaeological process, therefore, is to determine what it was, specifically and abstractly, that produced this ethical void, and the culture and atmosphere at FIFA more generally that clashed with the organization’s projected appearance.

### **Geopolitical Connections**

This blatant corruption, and the position of power and unaccountability that allows it to occur, are a result of FIFA’s geopolitical position. Classical geopolitics, defined by the Dictionary of Human Geography, “...was all about how international relations relate to the spatial layout of oceans, continents, natural resources, military organization, political systems and perceived territorial threats and opportunities” (Gregory et al. 2009, 301). Classical geopolitics thrived in the late Victorian, Imperial, and Cold War colonial and neocolonial contexts, flourishing on the basis of European emphasis on, and dominance of, global resource extraction and territorial wealth. As the communist system weakened, emphasis gradually shifted from territorial to neo-liberal,

commercial concerns. Edward Luttwak mentions in a 1990 article for *The National Interest*, “Everyone, it appears, now agrees that the methods of commerce are displacing military methods – with disposable capital in lieu of firepower, civilian innovation in lieu of military-technical advancement, and market penetration in lieu of garrisons and bases” (Luttwak 2003, 125). Likewise, following the 2010 World Cup, Cornelissen explains a more focused iteration of this shift: “...mega-events constitute political commodities in the contemporary era, and... they are used in instrumental and strategic ways for large scale-objectives by political forces...” (Cornelissen 2012, 332). So in the post-Soviet world, there has been a swing in the implications of geopolitical thought, away from territory and resource oriented military operation, and towards the diffusion of capitalist ideologies.

Classical geopolitics carries an underlying assumption of European Imperialism, and if one considers the transition from land-based empires to economic ones, largely overseen by the triumph of Capitalism over Communism, then it seems less of a stretch to connect football to geopolitics. As football also developed throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, always headquartered in Europe, almost always lead by a majority of wealthy European men (Goldblatt 2006), it too became tied up with business; highlighted by the rise of sponsorship deals, television rights, star culture, and mass media (de Almeida et al. 2015, 268). Therefore, it is completely logical to conclude that football can occupy a modern, geopolitical space. Caricaturizing this connection, American Cold War geopolitical ‘grandee,’ as the Dictionary dubs him (Gregory et al. 2009, 301), Henry Kissinger was personally selected by Sepp Blatter to serve as a sort of FIFA elder, assisting, in an advisory capacity, then-President Blatter’s ill fated ‘sinking-ship’ reforms of 2011,

collaborating somewhat inexplicably with Spanish opera singer Placido Domingo, and Dutch footballing legend Johan Cruyff (Self 2011). What better reason to hire the most prominent Imperialist of the last half-century than to preserve and reify one's global status and hegemony?

Besides this obvious implication, FIFA's operations suggest further attitudes of geopolitical momentum and in some ways, an impressive dynamism. The Dictionary of Human Geography proceeds to identify the modern spectrum of critical geopolitics, a field that aggressively seeks to analyze the self-replicating cycle of power and the global narrative. Of particular significance to this project is the assumption of a somewhat anti-orientalist perspective within this critical scholarship. Orientalism, a term utilized by Edward Said to handle notions of colonial history, legacy, and domination of the 'Orient' (non-West) (Gregory et al. 2009, 513), provides an apparatus under which FIFA has always operated, clearly exploiting in this case the developmental status of an often violent post-colonial Africa in order to shape the World Cup in 2010, especially preying upon the perceived and real desperation of South Africa and Morocco to host the tournament for both economic and imagistic reasons, and seeking to appropriate these factors towards their own benefit. The classical geopolitics of FIFA, and the critical geopolitics that inform this project, will be further expanded upon, but it is important to recall these more theoretical notions in order to draw this discussion of FIFA's operations and manipulations to some kind of resolution.

## **Conclusion**

The attitude of ‘football first, socio-economics later’ fortifies the geopolitical power and position that FIFA occupies, because through the popularity of football, and the lack of genuine accountability, FIFA can demand what it wants from an LOC and remain impervious to the negative consequences, barring perhaps the inevitable media backlash (which we have certainly witnessed, and may have underappreciated). And while in recent years we have seen an increase of global pressure on FIFA’s credibility and a crackdown on its corrupt operations, FIFA itself continues to function with informal immunity. Punishments and sanctions have been dealt to individuals, not to the seemingly unassailable institution, and every tournament and program set up by FIFA in the past and planned for the future remains on track to take place, regardless of the perceived or predicted indirect ramifications that help to influence and create particular atmospheres, cultures, and perceptions within the nations selected as hosts.

### Chapter Three: 'Winning' the World Cup

*The 2010 World Cup is about nation-building, putting us on the global map and making us a nation to be reckoned with. The event is going to make us proud. We are going to show the world wonders come 2010.*

-Winnie Madikizela-Mandela

The FIFA selection process is an exhaustive experience. As with many political election processes, candidates must prove their worth. South Africa was compelled by virtue of competitive national pride to present a specific image of itself that coincided with FIFA's image of the ideal host. This chapter focuses, therefore, on the measures undertaken by SAFA, the LOC, and by South African business interests in order to produce this image, not only to alter the physical space of the country in order to address practical and sporting concerns, but also externally and abstractly, for the purpose of impressing upon FIFA that South Africa could produce a marketable World Cup. This entails a discussion of how South Africa manipulated and utilized the relationship between its footballing history and its political history in order to frame itself as a modern, progressive nation that deserved the chance to showcase its transition from pantomime villain to poster child for African sport.

In many ways, although the national scale is not conducive to traditional methods of what geographers consider to be placemaking, this process is of the utmost importance to the conditions within South Africa as they pertain to its World Cup image. Kelly Main and Gerardo Sandoval, when considering immigrant communities as among the most avid placemakers, define the term as "...everyday practices that assert and produce translocal spaces of identity, sometimes in the face of open rejection, marginalization, and racism" (Main and Sandoval 2015, 71). South Africa, the most multilingual country,



boasts eleven official languages and, its uniquely six-colored flag is a symbol of cultural amalgamation (Bornman 2006, 384). Its extensive and unique colonial history of diversity and oppression ensures that it has been an important nexus of exchange as well as unrest for centuries (Kynoch 2008, 644). As a result, South African spaces are constantly being reevaluated and reconstructed by its assorted groups of inhabitants, in the manner of Main and Sandoval's theorization. South African historian Gary Kynoch explains that resistance placemaking is a part of the South African racial and spatial narratives: "Within the constraints imposed by colonialism [South] Africans carved out spaces for themselves – physical, material and psychological..." (Kynoch 2008, 630).

Likewise, the 2010 World Cup process represented a period during which even the backbone of South African culture and identity, the official designation of what it meant to be South African, was under pressure itself from a (contextually) superior, external entity, FIFA. South Africa itself can be seen as the sort of marginalized, subcultural group that Main and Sandoval assert are active in the placemaking process. Thus, placemaking can function on both the local and the national scale simultaneously, and therefore plays a huge role in determining the ways in which South Africa and South Africans were able to reflexively produce the 2010 World Cup image.

Bearing in mind the notion of placemaking, I examine the composition of the actual bid to host the 2010 World Cup, authored and submitted by SAFA, in order to determine how, officially, South Africa worked to present itself to FIFA. I outline the nuts and bolts of the bid, explain what within the bid expresses the exceptionality of South Africa, present the more prosaic arguments made on behalf of the nation, and discuss the presence within the bid of figures like Nelson Mandela, Lucas Radebe, and

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and the impact that this celebrity incorporation had on the atmosphere of the process.

Fluidly, this leads to a deconstruction of the bid as a marketing experience. Particularly, it concentrates on South Africa's discussion of the country's history of apartheid and racism, and proposed narrative of evolution "...from darkness and despair to hope for a bright future" (Khoza and Jordaan 2010, 11). This inaugurates a dissection of the physical and cultural standards proposed in order to comply with expectations and business models, and will utilize post-facto sources and evaluations in order to determine in what ways South Africa, under the influence of relevant big business concerns, was able to produce an image in keeping with that presented to FIFA from the outset that had nominally won them the hosting rights.

Finally, I chronicle the presentation and dissemination of manufactured South African 2010 culture as a brand in the period between the awarding of hosting rights to South Africa in 2004 and the eventual tournament itself in 2010. This allows my analysis to include aspects of preparation for the World Cup that were not necessarily included in or expected from the bid, for instance, the more subtle ways that the South African experience became ingrained both in national and international culture as corollaries of the primary marketing strategy outlined in the official bid. This will include elements including music, mascots, slogans, and the business interests that coincide with the creation of this World Cup culture. I conclude by assessing the international reception of this South African image as a marker for the bid's success and influence over the global perception of post-apartheid South Africa.

## The Bid

Without going into detail, the bidding process is, obviously, a structured narrative. FIFA establishes its guidelines and expectations, as discussed in Chapter Two, and each interested nation applies common sense, optimism, and a pinch of bravado to their applications in order to come good on these suggestions in a unique and impressive way. Each FA must apply different strategies, based on the unique history and culture of its homeland, in order to achieve this.

The South African Football Association, the direct constituent of FIFA under its supposed representative system, was responsible for reviewing FIFA's List of Requirements, submitting their nation's official bid, and establishing the Local Organizing Committee to oversee the construction of the World Cup, all in close concert with the national government of South Africa, and specifically, the Ministry of Sport and Recreation (SAFA, 2003).

Figure 1: OC Governance Structure



Figure 4: LOC structure (SRSA 2012, 12).

SAFA, as the Association is known, was founded in 1991 as the agglomeration of four previous, apartheid era football associations (SAFA 2013). Its establishment coincided with a period of immense political upheaval, and therefore SAFA's origins were naturally linked with politics; their mission statement initially revolved around the desegregation of South African football and the resolve to reestablish South Africa as the preeminent footballing nation in Africa after decades of political sanctions and sporting banishment (Goldblatt 2006, 884). At the time of bidding, in the early 2000s, SAFA's President, Molefi Oliphant, worked closely with Danny Jordaan and Irvin Khoza, CEO and Chairman of the South Africa 2010 World Cup Bid (SAFA 2010, 6); the duo had also worked together on South Africa's failed 2006 World Cup bid (FIFA 1999). Jordaan has since taken over from Oliphant as President of SAFA (SAFA 2016), a reflection of his experience and esteem within South African football's administrative network.

While the bid book, an 18-chapter behemoth architected by SAFA and Jordaan and Khoza's team, begins with a series of pleas and promises, its meat and potatoes is a call and response, essentially regurgitating the mundane and predictable requirements set by FIFA for any prospective host. The various chapters of the bid that robotically account for this include Chapter Four, "Government Guarantees," that promises work permits, travel documentation, medical care, and essentially caters to every demand made by FIFA as regards administration and what the observer would call the behind-the-scenes organization of the tournament. It is an unremarkable section, but one which entertains some curious implications. The introduction stipulates "The Government of the Republic of South Africa has submitted a declaration to FIFA to issue all guarantees required in the

List of Requirements to ensure the success of the 2010 World Cup” (SAFA 2003, Chapter 4/ Page 3). So from the outset, the South African government is openly willing to submit to whatever conditions FIFA sees fit to demand of its host. Likewise, in the conclusion, SAFA submits that “These guarantees shall be valid and operable, irrespective of any change in Government or its representatives” (Ibid., 4/9), rendering the changing nature of national politics essentially static in the eyes of what increasingly appears to be the omnipresent potentate that is FIFA.

More administratively, FIFA officials are promised work permits, exemption from taxes and duties, personal security and expedited immigration and customs experiences. The South African government concedes to suspend their own national labor laws and to supersede local varieties of legislation when necessary in order to permit ease of work and travel for FIFA officials. SAFA surrenders all broadcast rights to “...FIFA’s legal and beneficial ownership...” (Ibid., 4/3-8). It seems reasonable to conclude that SAFA is assenting to a raw deal. Nevertheless, South Africa seems happy to void control over the media rights to what would become the most viewed television experience in history, despite its occurrence within their own territory. In so doing, SAFA, on behalf of the government, signs away the most lucrative opportunity that could arise from staging the tournament. The list of compliances goes on, with SAFA accepting and acceding to all of FIFA’s demands in what appears to be a rather deliberate show of obedience. All this speaks in some part to South Africa’s desperation to host the tournament, but it must not be considered unique. Morocco and Egypt include similar capitulations sans any effort to enact a defense of the integrity of their own local and national laws, customs, or opportunities to derive some benefit from the tournament (Peeters et al 2004, 11-13).

This is partly due to the competitive nature of the bidding process that Cornelissen describes, as was expanded upon in the previous chapter (Cornelissen 2004, 1296). South Africa, a potential host, accepts all of FIFA's conditions in order to appear willing and compliant, attractive qualities in a business partner. This manipulates the nation's external perceptions, but also interferes with its ability to control its own image, and the agenda implemented on its own soil.

Beyond the interesting dynamics that result from this set of government guarantees to submit to FIFA's jurisdiction, SAFA proceeds to address further mechanics of hosting the World Cup. Legal contracts are blueprinted in Chapter Five, insurance is discussed in Chapter Eight, Chapter Nine outlines security concerns and proposals, media requirements, ticketing, IT are all covered (SAFA 2003). While each section contains a plethora of interesting stipulations, demands, and assurances, these sections together all amount to the same thing: a blank check. This speaks to the power that FIFA has over its members, but the purpose of this chapter remains to dissect South African agency. In order to take this approach, we must examine the more tailored segments of the bid book.

The first two chapters are artful statements that combine patriotic prose with a laundry list of sometimes genuine, sometimes contrived reasons that South Africa must be the only viable choice. Chapter One, "The Case for South Africa," haughtily exclaims: "The essence of our proposal is simply that South Africa is best equipped to host a successful, administratively seamless, financially strong and emotionally joyful festival of football" (SAFA 2003, 1/4). In order to support this grandiose claim, the proposal points to two factors, namely that "We [South Africans] have overcome the challenges of apartheid in sport and society. We have hosted many major international events

successfully as a united democracy” (Ibid.). This establishes a thread along which the image of the country that the bid illustrates is defined by its political history, demanding that the nation be seen as a brand new entity, independent of the struggles of apartheid, and yet strengthened by them. This will be deconstructed later on in the chapter. What is of immediate concern is the curious way this is quickly juxtaposed within the chapter. SAFA explains: “But maybe the strongest dimension of this bid, the compelling reason why South Africa is ready, is to be found in our commercial maturity, physical infrastructure and human skills” (Ibid., 6). Here the bid attempts to impress upon FIFA its economic credentials, so that while championing an innovative democratic exuberance, they are also attempting to describe their country as economically mature and dependable, which seems paradoxical especially considering the new slate socio-political image that they seem to promote so vehemently was established in direct opposition to the apartheid regime that brought economic stability, through practices of post-colonialism and racial segregation and exploitation, to the nation in the first place (Alegi 2010, 62).

Chapter Two of the bid book is a continuation of this theme, entitled “Out of Darkness, Hope...The Story of South African Football.” Predictably, this chapter comprehensively handles the political transformation that occurred in South Africa in the 1990s, and the aggressively positive impact that this had on local football. This section stresses the youthfulness of the nation, and the disparity in traditional values held by the apartheid government and a modern South Africa. Chiefly, its goal is to pitch football as the true victim of apartheid, and subsequently as the primary beneficiary of the new democracy. It achieves this by establishing the lacerative nature of apartheid policies,

demanding that football players of different ethnic backgrounds compete in separate leagues. This process denied the whites-only professional league the benefit of black players, thus establishing South African football as the victim of apartheid because of its lack of access to a complete talent pool (SAFA 2003, 2/4).

This paints a picture of a nation of football crazy optimists who have consciously forgotten the struggles of apartheid. The emphasis is on differential progress, creating binaries between the divisions of the apartheid years and the unity of the modern era. A photograph of a jubilant David Beckham (then England Captain) shaking hands with an equally cheerful Nelson Mandela captures the manufactured unison of political and footballing freedoms, which feels almost as forced as Beckham's grin.



*Figure 5: David Beckham meets Nelson Mandela (SAFA 2003, 2/8).*

Nelson Mandela plays an important role, expectedly, in the bid, expresses his support in a brief letter that was included in the preface, along with letters from national President (styled His Excellency) Thabo Mbeki, and SAFA President Molefi Oliphant (Ibid., Letters/3-11). This triumvirate, representative of the political, footballing, and cultural aspects of the South African bid, link these aspects in a calculated way; it is impossible to



deny Nelson Mandela's contribution to the end of apartheid, and therefore to global resistance to oppression (Smith 2010), and by incorporating him so intricately, SAFA's bid appears not only politically savvy, but adheres to a globally recognizable brand of resistance politics, taking advantage of South Africa's moment in the political spotlight in an attempt to recreate that positive publicity and persuade FIFA of South Africa's competency in producing a 'different' World Cup.

### **Deconstructing the Bid**

To deconstruct this bid, and the image it seeks to create, it is necessary to move beyond its mechanical functions and explore the political implications that its diction, structure, and content help to manifest. The key component, especially when critiquing the geopolitical consequences of something as momentous as the World Cup, is appropriately the political climate. The bid makes the presentation of the desired South African political image extremely clear, and that comprehensively demands that the nation be seen as brand new, and totally distinct from its apartheid predecessor. For example, the bid proclaims "The political and social miracle that transformed South Africa from an isolated, bitterly divided country on the brink of bloody civil war into a young democracy, a beacon of freedom, peace, hope and reconciliation, exhilarated millions around the world" (SAFA 2003, 1/4). In many ways, this is a clever move, simultaneously combating doubts over the stability and unity of the country, and working to produce the nation itself in the image it envisions, an image that, it claims, is already appreciated on a global scale.

It is important to view South African history, for the purposes of this project, as a relationship between football and politics. This exercise allows us to understand FIFA's place in South African determinism, to grasp the persistent involvement that the international sporting body has maintained as a result of the politics there. Football, an English sport, originally entered South Africa by way of the British colonial structure, and therefore developed early on as the pastime of the colonizer. It was a sport that could easily be administered by the white Imperial class who introduced it: the South African Football Association was founded in 1892 as an all-white organization. Nevertheless, early black sides experienced success both domestically and abroad, establishing conflicting narratives of both universality and division within the nation's experiences of the game (Alegi and Bolsmann 2010, 30).

Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, South Africa attracted the ire of many of their African neighbors by maintaining strict policies on racial segregation. At the inaugural meeting of the CAF in 1957 (Confédération Africaine de Football), the first Pan-African organization and therefore a symbol of post-colonial, independent Africa, a South African refusal to field a multi-racial team led to their immediate suspension (Goldblatt 2006, 493), and by 1961, their temporary suspension from FIFA as well (Ibid., 518). In the 1960s, industrialization and urbanization in Africa's southernmost nation led to the intensification of racial strife, as more marginalized black citizens were drawn to denser areas (Kynoch 2008, 635). Football historian David Goldblatt argues that this created a focused pool of footballing talent among black, lower class South Africans, who then began to clamor for a more organized vehicle for their sporting ambitions. Goldblatt describes in his comprehensive history of the global game, *The Ball is Round*: "The pent-

up desire for top-class non-racial organized football in urban South Africa was immense” (Goldblatt 2006, 497). The increasing popularity of the game put pressure on the rigid apartheid restrictions on socialization, and through the next few decades, football remained highly racialized and inherently politicized in South Africa. On the international stage, FIFA, while reluctantly committed to South Africa’s prohibition from the game on a global scale, failed to support the marginalized footballing alternatives that the black communities in South Africa had attempted to pursue. Goldblatt explains: “Beneath a veneer of apolitical universalism lurked an unreflective racism so deep that collaboration with apartheid was deemed a firmer moral and practical basis for the development of football than resistance to it” (Ibid., 518). It was not until the dissolution of the apartheid regime under President F.W. de Klerk in the early 1990s that South Africa was readmitted to international football (Ibid.).

The South African bid embraces Goldblatt’s narrative. It frames football as the primary victim of the apartheid era, explaining how footballers, and not citizens, were segregated by race, highlighting how various footballing organizations, and not social institutions, like schools, were divided along ethnic lines (SAFA 2003, 2/4). Likewise, SAFA projects the transition from apartheid to unity as a victory not for the ordinary South African, but for football. This instills the image of footballing hope, footballing passion. It ignores the suffering and misery indoctrinated into its very recent history in order to frame itself as an exuberant, youthful “beacon of freedom.” What this achieves, then, is the minimization of the South African state’s bygone atrocities, in favor of the very public reconstruction that followed under their inviolable champion, Nelson Mandela. Daniel Herwitz explains that the calculated deployment of their tragic past is an

effort to ‘sell’ themselves to the world, “...recruiting painful history and its moral achievement to the twin purposes of nationalism and global branding” (Herwitz 2013, 25).

So it is easy to understand the emphasis SAFA places on the political transition. A perspicuous example within the bid of the nation’s rejuvenating sea change, prudent in its contextual application, is the case of the South African men’s national football team, which in 1991, thanks to the annulment of many apartheid laws and policies, began to operate, and succeed, as an integrated multi-racial footballing force in Africa: “The national side became adored as Bafana Bafana translated as ‘The Boys’ and success followed success. Huge waves of support rippled across the country, and a culture was born” (SAFA 2003, 2/8). The moniker is of singular importance, and hopes to capture a particular atmosphere or association that the nation attempts to harness as a force for unity, tying the team, and therefore the sport, to notions of national identity, and often place. Mambwe and Da Costa explain more generally: “...[footballing] nicknames can be used to foreground an individual or groups’ collective capabilities and attributes” (Mambwe and Da Costa 2015, 53) The English national football team is dubbed ‘The Three Lions’ in order to suggest ferocity on the pitch, and the Belgian side is called ‘The Red Devils’ to evoke a sense of trickery and to subliminally affirm the association with their red kit. The Algerians are ‘Les Fennecs,’ the desert foxes, a synecdochic allusion to an indigenous mammal that promotes a patriotic fervor among fans and engenders a fundamental comparison between the Algerian people and the characteristics of the celebrated fennec fox. In this way, South Africans associate with the boisterous youth exuded by the agile and unpredictable playing style of the Bafana Bafana that supposedly

embodies the excited attitudes of a nation emerging from a violent and oppressive period of its history (Ibid., 59). The moniker has been praised in the media as an appropriate symbol for the BRICS member, with one commentator highlighting its potential as ‘good for nation building’ (Okeleji 2015). Elirea Bornman explains the intense process of South African national identity construction following apartheid, outlining the reconstitution of the national atmosphere under the appellative of the Rainbow Nation, as invoked by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, a figure that makes several perfunctory appearances in the bid. Although not directly referenced, this spirit of The Rainbow Nation is clearly represented, and is another way that South Africa seeks to tie politics, national character, and football together (Bornman 2006, 384).

Similarly, to indicate that ‘a culture was born’ in this moment highlights the desire of the bid to introduce South Africa as a nation unhindered by its apartheid predecessor. This is compounded by the traits – strength, agility, youth – embodied by the nickname Bafana Bafana, which is stressed as a cultural redoubt of the new South Africa, and implies the sort of dynamic audacity intended to charm the FIFA Executive Committee responsible for reviewing each proposal. Somali-Canadian musician K’naan embodies these sorts of values in his equally visible, Coca-Cola endorsed unofficial anthem for the tournament, “Wavin’ Flag.” Although the song was originally produced independently of the World Cup, its lyrical emphasis on the coming of age, the quest for freedom, and above all, perseverance naturally coalesce with South African interests for imagining the World Cup. (K’naan 2009). By ensuring that these values are projected through television campaigns and the media reiterate their interconnectedness with the tournament itself.

Furthermore, the statement from Chapter One, “South Africa’s Case for the World Cup,” that “Since 1994, optimism has become a national trait” (SAFA 2003, 1/4), looks at the incumbent attitudes of South Africa during a period of transition, highlighting the change in the official outlook while in many ways ignoring the marginalized atmospheres that existed in resistance to apartheid. This presents a curious branding problem. The demanded detachment trivializes the affect of apartheid on non-footballing issues within South Africa, and while this document is first and foremost a bid to host a football tournament, it must be acknowledged that it barely discusses actual football. Rather it is a political pledge, the presentation of a nation, not merely a venue, and to rely heavily on the iconic Nelson Mandela, the most recognizable emblem for political struggle against oppression in recent memory (Smith 2010), necessarily ties the South African bid to a greater political history than the ‘new start’ discourse that it attempts to advocate.

To further complicate this uncertainty, the need to stress economic ability demands that the South African bid prove its commercial credentials. According to Zimbalist, South Africa had to prepare to welcome 400,000 tourists to the host cities (Zimbalist 2015, 40). Hotels, transportation infrastructure, personnel, visas, etc would all require arrangement and organization. These are the concerns addressed in the bid book’s middle chapters. Chapter Twelve provides a catalogue of official hotels, their distance to stadia and airports, their room count, and a large photograph of its façade (SAFA 2003, 12). This preparedness is designed to impress, but the central addition of a photograph appeals to Committee Members’ taste for luxury and comfort, in some ways

overshadowing the information provided with respect to practical concerns, like size and location.

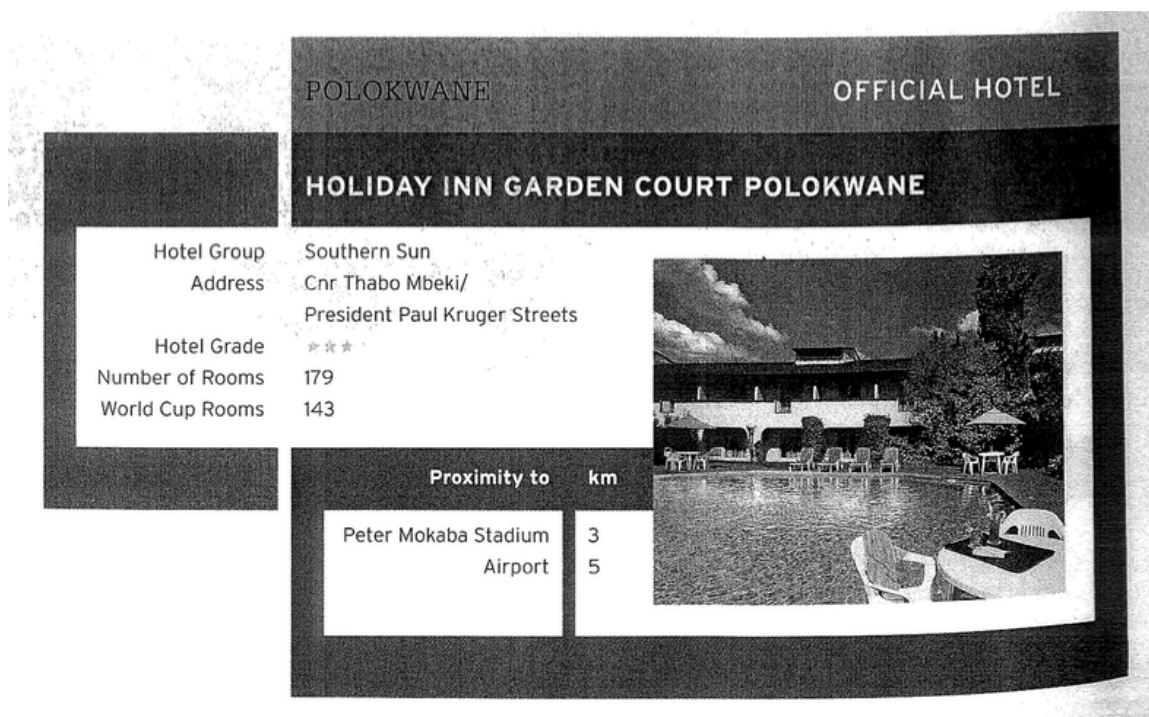


Figure 6: An example of a hotel as presented by SAFA in the official bid book (SAFA 2003, Chapter 12).

SAFA does not stop at hospitality. Buried in Chapter Ten, entitled “Stadiums and other Infrastructure,” it launches into a thorough debrief of the nation’s credentials. It explains that while occupying only 3% of the African landmass, South Africa accounts for 40% of the continent’s industrial output, 25% of its total gross GDP, and 45% of its mineral production (Ibid., 10/3). It explains the nation’s excellent state electricity and telecommunications utility companies, highway and railway systems, and ‘high’ government investment in education (Ibid., 10/3-10/4). While attempting to paint a broad picture of the exhaustive measures the government is able and willing to take to ensure viability, there are subtle examples of SAFA’s direct posturing for Swiss-based FIFA’s benefit: “Three international airports...combine to offer direct daily flights to major

capitals around the world, with 10-and-a-half hours flying time from Johannesburg to Zurich [FIFA's headquarters]" (Ibid., 10/4). Finally, it outlines the initiatives underway to promote business and industry, such as the nebulous Spatial Development Initiative along the Maputo Development Corridor, which is presented as a plan to connect the landlocked hinterlands with the Mozambican port of Maputo, the sort of economic, infrastructural development that can inspire faith in a nation's ability and commitment to progress (Ibid., 10/72).

SAFA is faced with the task of tackling the overbearing public figure of what Zimbalist estimates was a \$5-6 billion start-to-finish operation (Zimbalist 2015, 2), and by presenting this image of an expansive, economically bustling African superpower, it works to produce the sensation of a South Africa equal to the Sisyphean task of organizing and staging a World Cup. As South African foreign policy writer Suzanne Dowse explains in her exposé of the political aspects of the 2010 World Cup: "Founded on the adoption of a liberal capital market model, the country aligned its African Renaissance ambitions with western-orientated values of human rights, democracy, free trade and economic development, in a bid to move from the position of dependent to partner in relations with the developed world" (Dowse 2011, 10). So we can see the subliminal methodology of combining cultural, political, and economic models in order to create an image of South Africa as both unique and capable.

In order to achieve the credibility required to convince FIFA of its ability to handle this price tag, South Africa had to point to a certain fiscal and infrastructural maturity that is not consistent with the political and footballing images that SAFA produces: "In one sentence, South Africa offers FIFA security through its commercial



strength and advanced infrastructure...” (SAFA 2003, 1/7). At the time of bidding, in 2003/4, South Africa, operating as the representation it strove to project, had only existed for a decade. Where does this advanced infrastructure come from, if not the colonial and apartheid legacies left behind by the political history the bid attempts to alienate? This creates a branding conundrum, a confusion of political adolescence and economic experience. In attempting to establish that South Africa was economically prepared for this challenge, it inadvertently undermines its defining precept; that the nation is brand new.

The bid attempts to present South Africa as both edgy and progressive, and dependably established. It does this partly by referencing official supporters, like Adidas and BMW (Ibid., 1/6), that inspire a sense of commercial credibility, and partly by relying upon the economic foundations put in place during the apartheid era, partnerships and foundations that do not inspire the sort of liberal individuality that the conjured image of the Bafana Bafana, for example, seeks to instill. As Lucas Radebe, captain of the South African national side during their period of on-field prosperity in the 1990s, has claimed: “Football is not a pastime for us. It’s big business” (Radebe, in Alegi 2010, 110). Radebe, a national hero, is also quoted in the bid, explaining that the experience of hosting the World Cup will be the highlight of millions of South Africans’ lives (SAFA 2003, 1/6). By this token, it would seem that those that represent the youthful animus of the reimagined nation appreciate the dominance of economic values over cultural ones. This is also a theme demonstrated on a macrocosmic scale. De Almeida et al., when considering the legacies left behind by the 2010 World Cup, consider that: “Sporting mega-events promote the host state’s projection of a desired national image to the rest of

the world. This is coupled with corporate interests that seek to expand the global sports market” (De Almeida et al 2015, 267). Therefore, it is never entirely possible to separate economic interests from the production of an intentionally visible countrywide persona.

Beyond the political realm, the bid also seeks to produce a version of South Africa that not only embodies its own youthfulness and inspiration, but also, more subtly, colludes with the European demands set by FIFA. In a word, it seeks to blend African culture with European efficiency, and while this contradicts the overtly African theme established by FIFA and championed by SAFA, it does brand South Africa as a useful partner, which is ultimately the primary goal of the bid. In much the same way as the confusion of political youth and economic reliability create an oddly satisfying production of exactly what FIFA desires in a host nation, South African willingness to generate a European tournament with an African façade likewise render it a promising candidate. Various letters of compliance introduce the bid, acquiescing to FIFA’s authority over the World Cup process and the spaces in which this occurred, and over the functionality of SAFA, the Ministry of Sport and Recreation, and even the office of the President, despite FIFA’s lack of jurisdiction over the territory in question (SAFA 2003, 3/3-5).

FIFA, founded and based in Europe as a pastiche of Western government, through its replication of the image of a First World democracy, actually achieves the function of becoming one. FIFA presides over a fundamentally European sport that European teams traditionally dominate, and as such, has little genuine claim to a comprehensive representation of global values. The physical image of its fundamental, infrastructural preparedness for the tournament that the South African bid seeks to present is one that

follows a European ideal, or at least a model, along a (post-) colonial trajectory. Many of the hotels, for instance, officially submitted by SAFA as potential destinations belong to major international groups like Holiday Inn or Sheraton (Ibid., 12/21-23), or imitate them, like the Beverly Hills Hotel in Durban (Ibid., 12/19), which can either neutralize local influences, actively reject them, or conform to an international standard that is constructed for the sake of a particular business model (Dubcová, Petrikovič, and Šolcová 2013, 87). This serves to certify South Africa's position as eagerly subservient to European domination, negotiated by FIFA, of the operations of football and its fan base, accrediting the production of South Africa to its own citizenry and government, but ultimately under FIFA's supervision.

Another example of European or global erosion of the African norm is SAFA's accession to the need for perimeter fences within stadia. The bid states in article 10.1.5: "In general, it has never been necessary for South African Stadiums to install the oppressive perimeter fencing sometimes used elsewhere in the football world. The field of play will be secured either by installation of a moat or a FIFA-approved 1.5m-high fence" (SAFA 2003, 10/11). This brief, largely negligible section indicates South African alacrity to adjourn local values in favor of the negative expectations of the foreigner. So while South Africa perceives no need, indeed decries the request for an 'oppressive perimeter,' it gives over to the largely European tradition of hooliganistic fandom, in order to present the physical image of South African football as consistent with the European expectation, despite the recognition of the latter's inferiority with respect to this particular item.

The production of South Africa's palpable transformation from bidder to host is not exclusively a story of acquiescence and assimilation to an external ideal. While FIFA had a tremendous influence over the structural changes required for South Africa's metamorphosis, the physical result was a unique blend of modern efficiency and South African ingenuity that ultimately generated more national pride than it did anxiety, a more positive South African appeal than a negative, or obscure, one. Herwitz explains the manipulation required to exhibit the ideal South Africa across the landscape in Cape Town: "Where international visitors were forced to pass townships – for example, the main arteries from Cape Town International Airport to the city – government housing was strategically built so that the international tourists would arrive and depart with a rosy picture of South Africa" (Herwitz 2013, 28).

Calculated, perhaps, as the produced image became, it still represents a fulfillment of the goals and promises of the original bid. As Peter Alegi and Chris Bolsmann assert in their introduction to *Africa's World Cup*, a collection of essays on the tournament, "New and revamped stadiums, expanded airports, improved road and rail transport are tangible long-term legacies left by the tournament" (Alegi and Bolsmann 2013, 2). This collection of infrastructural improvements exists as a testament more to the challenges undertaken by African workers than to the prognosticative requirements set by FIFA at the outset. The legacy that Alegi and Bolsmann describe is a physical one, one that can be seen in South Africa. It is therefore South African, and represents the image of the South African World Cup experience by virtue of it having happened, regardless of its shape, color, material, etc. So while the physicality of the World Cup was overseen by FIFA, it was still a South African project, and as such enforces the African façade that SAFA had

walled over what in many ways was a European foundation. The very persistence of the image produced by South Africa, particularly in terms of physical improvements, through the bidding process until the closing ceremony, demands that the image produced in the bid and in the execution of its promises become more than an image of South Africa, but South Africa itself.

### **The Cultural Production of South Africa**

Among the less tangible aspects of the South African brand manufactured for the 2010 World Cup was the stress placed on culture. It is present in SAFA's bid, particularly with respect to the references to Nelson Mandela's liminal position between the political and cultural expressions of the ideal South Africa, but is peculiarly difficult to outline in written terms. As such, the cultural representation of South Africa before and during the 2010 World Cup is very much an overlooked aspect of the production of the host nation's image, and can offer a unique insight into the ways in which South Africa sought to carve out its own brand that both complied with FIFA's often rigid guidelines and simultaneously showcased the individuality of South African culture and tradition. Meanwhile, it also combats pessimistically preconceived notions of Africa, which, as Gauthier and Weinstock explain, is "...depicted as a continent of mud and grass huts and lions on the prowl" (Gauthier and Wienstock 2010, 317).

It is crucial at this juncture to recall that the 2010 World Cup was the first to be slated after the 2000 decision to adopt a policy of continental rotation. An official release from FIFA regarding the 2010 bidding process explains that "On 7 July 2001, the Extraordinary FIFA Congress in Buenos Aires ratified the decision of the FIFA

Executive Committee taken on 15 March 2001 that the rotation should start in Africa” (FIFA 2002), and that, therefore, only bids from African nations would be considered.

This moment serves as a ground zero for the cultural manifestations of the image South Africa was eventually able to produce upon submitting their bid, through to hosting the tournament. The Rotation Policy established a certain precedent, insinuating that each World Cup was no longer about the host nation specifically, but to some degree had to incorporate aspects of continental unity; that Africa was selected as the first continent to host a tournament under this directive is all the more critical, because it underscores the perceived necessity for an African experience due to the absence of one prior to the millennium. As such, all bidding nations were subsequently perceived as prospective African hosts, rather than as prospective hosts. The new emphasis on the African continental descriptor led to the catchy slogan ‘This Time for Africa,’ deployed frequently in the build-up to the World Cup in order to frame it in a certain way, and colluded with the official logo for the tournament, that depicted an artistic rendering of the entire continent of Africa, rather than of South Africa, in order to continentalize the Cup. The official logo, for example, includes a similarly stylized outline of Africa, not of South Africa. These factors ultimately influenced the ways in which South Africa was able to brand itself culturally, necessitating a reconciliation of the overbearing African theme with notions of their own specific culture.



*Figure 7: The official logo for the 2010 World Cup (du Toit 2007).*

The production of a discernable South African cultural brand did not begin with the bidding process. Bornman explains how the political rejuvenation of the 1990s itself created an aura of cultural transformation in many aspects of the South African national identity, including Tutu’s epithet of the Rainbow Nation, the new national flag and anthems, and the constitution. She explains: “The new multicoloured [sic] national flag has furthermore been “banalized” by being painted on faces at sports meetings and printed and displayed on kinds of consumer items such as bumper stickers, designs for caps, clothes, cars and all kind of curios and traditional art” (Bornman 2006, 385). Tutu embodied this *mélange* in many ways. Time Magazine’s Alex Perry describes the Archbishop of Cape Town’s importance to the image of the South African World Cup: “At an opening concert for South Africa’s soccer World Cup in June, he stole the show from a host of international stars simply by appearing onstage in a Bafana Bafana jersey, scarf and woolly bobble hat – and smiling and dancing” (Perry 2010a). Archbishop Tutu and Mandela represent aspects of Herbert Spencer’s revised ‘Great Man’ historiographic theory, whereby events are chronicled as a sequence of achievements by important, frequently male, figures given their societal contexts (Spencer 1873, 30). Their incorporation into the bid and the cultural production of South Africa go along way

towards unifying the atmosphere around not only a central icon, but also around an identifiable cultural premise, and can we see the cohesion of the political, the national, the commercial, and even the athletic aspects of South African culture as the product of a local and intentional rebranding process.

The introduction of the infamous vuvuzela to the South African experience at the Confederations Cup (a warm-up tournament the summer before the World Cup) in 2009 provides an interesting case study into the brand of ‘Africanness’ that South Africa was attempting to harness. The earsplitting plastic horns were curiously permitted by FIFA, with then President Sepp Blatter somewhat obnoxiously declaring, “We should not try to Europeanize an African World Cup. [The vuvuzela] is what African and South African football is all about: noise, excitement, dancing, shouting and enjoyment” (Blatter, in Waliaula 2013, 71). The vuvuzela represents a curious approach to cultural expression, combining what Kenyan anthropologist Solomon Waliaula sees as a reiteration of “centuries-old agrarian rites of passage and the twenty-first-century global cultural festival of the World Cup” (Ibid.). Its use, overuse, and misuse during the 2010 World Cup can be seen as a tactical maneuver by South Africa and tangentially FIFA in order to blend African custom with the South African World Cup, manufacturing an African atmosphere out of Chinese-made, historio-culturally imbued plastic tubes (Doyle 2013, 61).



*Figure 8: A vuvuzela in use (efm etv 2010).*





*Figures 9, 10: The bottle cap I found in Australia (T. Marrinan 2016).*

The effect of this branding process becomes abundantly clear over time. Fast forward to New Years Eve, 2015, in a neighborhood called Cremorne Point in Sydney, Australia. I bent over to pick up a bottle cap, the yellow lions of Carleton Draught identifying the distinctly Australian brew. On the reverse side is a trivia question: “Q: Which musical instrument irritated us during the 2010 World Cup? A: The Vuvuzela” (Carleton 2015). The vuvuzela is a paradigmatic example of how South Africa was able to appropriate the cultural emphasis placed on the African theme to create a branded notion of their own World Cup that has since permeated both our subconscious understanding of what it meant to be African in 2010, and the global commerciality we grow into as an increasingly international species.

Despite its decibel level and subsequent notoriety, the vuvuzela is just one of many cultural phenomena that emerged as an image of South Africa 2010. Of particular interest, especially considering the strategy of Afro-South African cultural amalgamation is Shakira’s official World Cup 2010 song, “Waka Waka” (Shakira 2010). By definition, an anthem is an uplifting song that unifies a group of people within a cultural identity. That “Waka Waka” is the anthem of the 2010 tournament implies that the tournament itself functions as an emblem of some unifying force. Therefore, it is possible to conflate ideas of South Africa the nation with South Africa the tournament. Many aspects of the

song reinforce the African theme of the tournament that it represents. For instance, Shakira's collaboration with Freshlyground, a South African afro-fusion, inspires a connection between the location of the tournament and its representation in the media. A little less directly, the song features a number of correlations between a broader sub-Saharan culture and football, including dancing styles, musical rhythms, lyrics drawn from the Cameroonian Fang language, like "Zamina mina, eh, eh/Waka waka, eh, eh," that combine to generate an African aura (Breslow 2010).

Altogether, the song does little, ultimately, to reinforce the 'South Africanness' of the tournament, despite its African vibe, and instead serves to globalize the image of the Cup it represents. This generated some ire within South Africa, with the arts ministry releasing a statement that complained: "It is not fair that mainly artists from outside the country and the continent should welcome our guests. We cannot condone South African artists being marginalized in their own motherland" (BBC News 2010). The backlash within South Africa serves to epitomize the challenges that come with producing an image of a nation under such global scrutiny, the pitfalls associated with attempting to please many extremely diverse parties.

"Waka Waka" fits into the socio-economic categorization consistent with the larger 'Brand Africa' movement, which encapsulates the mindset that allows for the blurring of lines between the continental and the national. 'Brand Africa' is a non-profit organization of brands, associations, and institutions, known primarily for its promotion of an African economic agenda to operate alongside US, Chinese, and other foreign interests on the continent (Brand Africa 2016). Headquartered in South Africa, it is a prime example of how internal forces can work to shape the experience of Africa on

multiple scales. Knott et al. explain how this frame of mind, coming from within Africa as much as from outside, can alter an image broadcast to the world, especially during periods of intense media scrutiny, like the World Cup: “The ‘Brand Africa’/continent brand effect results in all African nations being associated with the same attributes. A study of nation brand perceptions of South Africa...confirmed this, showing that there were limited clear perceptions of South Africa’s nation brand” (Knott et al. 2014, 46). The magnitude of the ‘nation brand’ as they call it is necessarily much smaller when considering the differences between South African involvement in and image produced by the Beijing Olympics and their own World Cup in 2010, but the principle remains the same – that a self-produced notion of ‘Africanness’ can obscure national identity.

Africans of all nationalities helped to manifest this idea during the World Cup itself by virtue of their support of the Ghanaian national side, the African team that advanced the furthest in the competition. The Guardian’s Sean Ingle describes South African support for the Ghanaian side during their eventual loss to Uruguay as ‘vociferous’ and ‘like the start of a party.’ He records the headlines of the day in local papers: “‘Africa Unite – Black Stars carry continent’s dream’ and ‘We’re all Ghana fans today’ screamed the headlines. Whenever Ghana surged forward, vuvuzelas would discordantly reverberate to excited cries, while every time a Uruguay player went down under a challenge there were pantomime boos” (Ingle 2010). That Ghana was able to consolidate African support was not a surprise. Their last minute defeat to Uruguay in the Quarter Final “...was a moment embedded in a century-long historical process of Africa’s adoption and adaption of a European game” (Waite 2013, 99). Africa’s very nature as a post-colonial continent unifies it against a Euro-cultural identity. As Shakira

so eloquently belts, that day, South Africans would agree “We are *all* African” (Shakira 2010) thus confirming the African brand as the foremost component of South African World Cup culture, and of the image produced by South Africa for the World Cup.

And finally, the World Cup experience could never be totally complete without the appearance of some kind of cartoonish mascot to encapsulate the cultural impetus of each particular tournament. Willie the Lion initiated the trend in 1966, his leonine appearance, garbed in a Union Jack, a manifestation of England’s Three Lions moniker. 1986’s Pique, resplendent in his sombrero, was a chili pepper, a symbol of Mexican cuisine and agricultural traditions. In 2010, South Africa submitted Zakumi to FIFA for official approval, the green-haired leopard having emerged as the most favorable of all the South African-designed characters (Pollack 2008). His name is a composite of Za-, the country code for South Africa, and -kumi, a ki-Swahili word that means ten, and in this way, the leopard’s name literally translates to South Africa, 2010. As the embodiment of the South African tournament, this seems entirely appropriate. A leopard, Zakumi represents a fusion of South African and African imagery, capitalizing on the touristic notion of the African continent as a place of wildlife and safari. Naturally, Zakumi is a 16-year-old male who plays football, which coincides handily with the youthful animus of the 16-year history of the Bafana Bafana, incorporated, of course, with the end of apartheid in 1994, 16 years prior to the 2010 World Cup (Brand South Africa 2010).



*Figure 11: Zakumi (Pollack 2008).*

Much of the cultural branding of the tournament was possible as a result of the influence that business interests, like those expressed by Brand Africa, had over the World Cup process. K'naan's "Wavin' Flag" provided an alternative anthem for the tournament, providing a catchy, popular link between the youthful spirit of the Bafana Bafana and the tournament as a whole (K'naan 2009). But K'naan's tune only achieved global recognition through its affiliation with Coca-Cola (the title of the 2010 re-release is "Wavin' Flag Coca-Cola Celebration Mix"). Indeed, South African and International corporations had their hands in the production of the tournament's image from the start. Official partners like PricewaterhouseCoopers and MTN represented the private sector interest in the Cup and the platform it provided (Subramoney 2010), and these large holdings became intimately affiliated behind the scenes with SAFA's ability to pitch a viable proposition to FIFA. Without the aid of contractors, telecommunications companies, etc., the World Cup could not have been physically constructed, and as such, the less tangible nature of the World Cup, for instance its cultural and communal aspects, were often molded at the subtle behest of private business. (Desai and Vahed 2009, 158).

## Conclusion

The World Cup in 2010 was South Africa's tournament. In order to manage the expectations heaped upon the adolescent nation, the leadership had to promise, produce, and present a certain image that would not only persuade FIFA to award them the right to host the Cup, but would maximize local and international fandom and interest, harnessing media scrutiny and the perceptions and misperceptions of South African, African, and International footballing cultures. It is not a straightforward process to decide whether this image production was ultimately beneficial or harmful, or something in between. As Desai and Vahed explain, "Marketing the World Cup as an African event has added to the pressure on organizers to 'deliver' not only the myriad benefits promised to South Africans but also meet the expectations of African countries" (Desai and Vahed 2009, 162). The two authors have excellent points about the detriment to Africa's standing in the global political economy of football that hosting the World Cup may indeed have had (see also Zimbalist 2015); but the chief conundrum that they present, illustrated by the title, is about the burden of expectation. This expectation, generated both from within Africa, and from beyond its shores, demanded the production of a specific image, a European event with an African veneer. On the other hand, the Sports and Recreation Department of the South African government reported in 2012 that 37% of non-South Africans surveyed "...mentioned World Cup related sources as the source of their current awareness of South Africa" (SRSA 2012, 119). In this regard, then, the image of South Africa produced with respect to the World Cup did increase the nation's international stock.

SAFA's bid clearly demonstrates this duality, presenting its political culture as the mascot, if you will, of the proposed tournament, while pandering to every demand and suggestion proffered by the overwhelmingly European institution of FIFA. The physical changes undertaken in order to support this particular brand of South Africa again cater to the idea of a European tournament, and were largely directed to impress visitors, rather than locals. The cultural manifestations of the bid and of the tournament itself serve as the African façade, reiterating the pride and cultural diversity of the African continent despite doing little to contribute to the mechanics of the Cup's operation. The brand that South Africa was able to produce as a function of its nationwide placemaking campaign took on new meaning, both within the Rainbow Nation, and around the world, as the image of South Africa presented in the bid began to manifest across the physical spaces that comprise South Africa as the tournament approached. South African journalist Mark Gevisser related the modern South African temperament to this process succinctly for the New York Times when he said in 2010 that "South Africa has an obsession with reputation, manifested by a tendency toward bling: If we look good, we are good" (Gevisser 2010).

## Chapter Four: South African Legacies

*Anyone who was not thrilled by the World Cup needs to go see their psychiatrist. The pride. The amount of people flying the flag. It was just crazy! We have shown the world. We have shown ourselves.*  
Archbishop Desmond Tutu

As one might expect, there is more to a World Cup than the selection of its host. Once designated, it fell to South Africa to continue its preparations, fulfill its promises, and organize, under the tutorial wing of FIFA, the 2010 mega-event. This, more than the selection and bidding processes, more than the international branding and rebranding of South Africa as a host nation, and as a representative of Africa, produced the lasting changes within the country that alter its geography. The World Cup, because of its enormity, has the power to reshape landscapes, and the magnitude of its broadcast, as well as its brief but monumental direct attraction as a tourist destination, both serve to modify the space within which it takes place. This is all the more potent a process considering South Africa's relative vulnerability, compared with previous and subsequent World Cup hosts, national historical contexts, and socio-economic conditions (Alegi 2010, 129). It is reasonable to assume that the Rainbow Nation may have been underprepared, and therefore manipulated in order to bulldoze, both literally and culturally, the South African landscape to pave the way for the tournament and its viewers.

The idea of benefit and detriment is a curious one within this case, because of the ambiguous nature of the promised returns and the sacrificial framing of the projected costs of the World Cup. An important factor to bear in mind is situation. The World Cup occurred in many locations across South Africa, but its visibility varied sharply



depending upon context. Big cities like Johannesburg, Durban, or Cape Town, where many matches were played, were naturally subject to greater scrutiny. These places therefore underwent more vigorous, supervised, and therefore geopolitically informed versions of South African World Cup placemaking. They likewise experienced a greater share of the socio-economic injury. This is a vital condition to remember moving forward – South Africa is a large country, and the World Cup was an entirely urban affair (Roberts and Blass 2013, 50). That South Africa has a unique history of urban poverty and violence (Kynoch 2008, 644) only amplifies the relevance of the scrutiny that South African cities underwent.

The collision of the geopolitical force of FIFA and the small-scale, internal placemaking projects undertaken by South Africa create an interesting geographical situation. Through an analysis of the (non-footballing) results of the World Cup, we can approach some understanding of how these processes both conspire with and against one another, and how a specific place is constructed simultaneously on a local and a global scale as a result. Most importantly, perhaps, is the analysis of the impact of this conflation on the municipal level. This analysis is often overlooked globally in favor of the more congratulatory commendations of the footballing aspects of the Cup in the press – the 2010 World Cup was largely deemed a resounding success by international media, especially in light of previous doubts about South Africa’s capabilities (Gibson 2010) – but it did indeed have significant socio-economic ramifications that were largely disregarded within this laudatory narrative. Sami Kolamo and Jani Vuolteenaho study the dynamics of power inherent in the branding of the 2010 World Cup, fingering FIFA as an actor whose decisions had palpable ramifications beyond the arena of football: “Despite

the rhetoric used to promote the football mega-event as a victory for the whole continent and all tiers of South African people, the totalizing place branding approach led by FIFA predominantly exacerbated inequalities in this deeply class-divided society” (Kolamo and Vuolteenaho 2013, 516). Therefore it is necessary to deconstruct the existing legacy of the 2010 World Cup as an iteration of South Africa’s image, an instrument of FIFA’s post-imperial power consolidation methods, and as a case study for the ways in which a manufactured narrative can take on form and meaning of its own through the lens of geographic theory.

### **The Relationship between geopolitics and placemaking**

Traditionally, geopolitics and placemaking work on very different scales. The classical geopolitician looks at broad trends, global ideas, and international opportunities, from a position of relative authority (Ó Tuathail 2003). The placemaker, by contrast, operates locally, using cultural stimuli and the lived environment in order to create identity (Main and Sandoval 2015). A sporting mega-event is an occasion at which these two concepts operate simultaneously within the same space. Whereas traditionally, the placemaker would have been in charge of almost all non-footballing aspects of the World Cup, under the loose supervision of a nebulous, benign father-like FIFA, “Since 1990, structural changes have shifted the balance of power from host nations and cities to the organizations that own the brandnames [sic] of global megaevents” (Grundlingh and Nauright 2013, 195). This transition has occurred largely as a result of the commercialization of the developing world since the end of the Cold War, and as such, is closely related to the changing economic and social practices that permeate local and

global economies and modern cultural trends, a relationship that makes these developing nations all the more inclined to dive headfirst into the tumultuous process of bidding for and hosting these global sporting festivals.

In Durban, FIFA had deemed the King's Park Rugby Stadium adequate, with some minor renovations, to host World Cup matches. The city however, with the support of SAFA, opted to construct a brand new stadium anyway, at huge taxpayer expense. David Roberts and Orli Bass comment that this decision likely reflects future potential for Durban to launch an Olympics bid (Roberts and Blass 2013, 43).



*Figure 12: The 80,000-seat Moses Mabhida stadium (front), constructed especially for the World Cup, outshines the existing, 52,000-seat Kings Park Rugby Stadium (rear) (constructionweekonline.com).*

So, in choosing to create a landmark that would represent not only the 2010 World Cup, but optimistically, some future mega-event as well, Durban moderated its control over the placemaking process in favor of acquiescing to the hegemonic demands and expectations of the international community, as adjudicated by FIFA, and, abstractly, even by the

International Olympic Committee. And in so doing, the global forces indirectly temper the ways in which the local community can construct itself; the municipal desire for a landmark that could impress the global community, both immediately and in the (perhaps distant) future, and could attract the commercial and critical attention that has emerged as the hallmark reward for hosting a mega-event, became the placemaking ideal for that particular project and moment.

The Dictionary of Human Geography explains of place; “It is usually distinguished by the cultural or subjective meanings through which it is constructed and differentiated, and is understood by most human geographers to be in an incessant state of ‘becoming’” (Gregory et al. 2009, 539). Likewise, geographical theorist Doreen Massey posits, “A global sense of place – dynamic and internally contradictory and extra-verted – is surely potentially progressive” (Massey 1994, 143). It is this state of progressiveness, and of becoming, which refers directly to the placemaking process, but it also pacifies it, implying that there is inherent within the idea of place the subliminal condition of transition. This infers that whether or not a group or individual is actively embarking upon a placemaking operation, the place in which they live still experiences transformation. So during the 2010 World Cup experience, many places within South Africa were constructed both as active symbols of the South African brand, and also passively and indirectly, as geopolitical subsidiaries of South Africa’s position within a global framework.

Another geopolitical value manifested through placemaking practices is the cultural popularity and festival atmosphere produced by South Africa and by South Africans on a local scale. Popularity can be considered geopolitical in the sense that it is a

resource, to be harnessed and exploited, like coal or oil (Kolamo and Vuolteenaho 2013, 507), and as Roger Pielke describes, FIFA uses the popularity of the game as amnesty against the disgruntlement of its member nations (Pielke 2013, 261). This remains a geopolitical concern because despite its intangibility, a resource like popularity still has spatial signification. Fiona Rankin-Smith describes the nationwide effect of football's popularity and its directed use within South Africa: "The upbeat nature of events permeated all aspects of life. Shopping malls, taverns and restaurants, public spaces and private homes – the entire country seemed to be draped in flags and banners" (Rankin-Smith 2013, 77). Popularity can easily entail a physical manifestation, and its universality compliments the miniscule scale of these arenas of cultural display that Rankin-Smith highlights. The importance of private home and small business decoration, in order to incorporate the theme of the Bafana Bafana, literally turns the small scale placemaker into a global actor, helping to contribute to the production of a place (whether that place is a living room, a city block, or a nation state), adherent to the constructed image of the Rainbow Nation as a boisterous and gregarious unit.

But it all remains subservient to the broader perspective, the underlying notions generated by FIFA. Places are constructed through the inculcation of a symbolic identity onto the physical arbitration of space (Werlen 1993, 174), but the South African example, conditioned to the reality of place as indicative of constant transition, allows for this identity to remain an ambiguity, a halfway point between the locally lived and the globally imagined. The places made by locals during the 2010 World Cup were not always representative of their version of South Africa, but rather of the South Africa

championed by SAFA and the bid committee, and ultimately shaped by the geopolitical determinism of FIFA.

Place is understood as a signified space in a perpetual state of transition. If the South African image exists in that constant state of transition, as SAFA doggedly claims, then perhaps the image has become an alternate version of South Africa itself, not a representation, but a manifestation. As David Harvey explains in his homage to Henri Lefebvre, *The Right to the City*, “The question of what kind of city we want cannot be divorced from that of what kind of social ties, relationships to nature, lifestyles, technologies and aesthetic values we desire” (Harvey 2008, 23).

Now, if this practice is applicable to the city, why then, should it not be applicable to the nation-state? Massey raises concerns about the inadequacies of the concept of regionalism, that is, the underdefined notion that intranational space differs throughout the nation-state. Massey explains that the key issue is spatial development (and underdevelopment) within the broader unitary economy of that nation, and thus, “Such effects may occur at any spatial level within the social formation...” (Massey 1978, 106). Given that the South African economy operated as a unit during the World Cup, it is permissible to approach the notion of placemaking, interpretable as the development of a space, as an idea not bounded by the size or location of that space. Thus placemaking certainly can take place on a national level, so long as places constructed within that nation are imbued with some commonality. And if the geopolitical position of FIFA determines what forms of relationships South Africa, as a geographical unit, ascribes to, then the act of placemaking at this scale is by necessity imbued with geopolitical value. Thus South Africa was able, on a countrywide scale, to serve as placemaker, and the

unique, yet popularly globalized South African image that was created through a synthesis of geopolitical coercion and local identity was all the more tangibly significant for this layered, reciprocating process.

### **Economic Impact**

In order to really tease out the nuances that in some ways divide and in some ways combine the geographic forces at play during the 2010 World Cup, one must look closely at its impact on several aspects of South African life. Chief among these aspects are the economic concerns that fueled a large part of SAFA's bid, FIFA's evaluation of this bid, and more broadly the efforts that were required to substantiate a mega-event of this magnitude in the developing world. Both in terms of infrastructural improvement and business, the economic results of the 2010 World Cup paint a decisive picture of the South African experience, highlighting the beneficial aspects of this particular placemaking process, and also the enormous national responsibility of hosting the tournament, a responsibility that is rapidly losing desirability for this precise, economic reason (Zimbalist 2015, 2).

Among the primary concerns way back in 2003 was cost management, ratified by the Inspection Group's doubts over South Africa's budgeting predictions and expectations, both for the FIFA supervised operation of the tournament, and the South African government managed preparations for it. Eammon Molloy and Trish Chetty, in critiquing South Africa's stadium construction program, note the official figure that two-thirds of the more than R37 billion (\$4.9 billion) spent on the World Cup by the host nation was dedicated to the erection of new and renovation of existing venues (Molloy

and Chetty 2016, 1, and SRSA 2012). South African football historian and expert Peter Alegi questions this figure, explaining that “Overall, stadium construction accounted for nearly half of South Africa’s total World Cup expenditures” (Alegi 2013, 3). He expands upon this uncertainty in a subsequent footnote: “Due to pervasive secrecy and lack of transparency of megaevent planning and decision making, it is extremely challenging to find precise expenditure figures for South Africa 2010” (Ibid., 17). So if we are examining the impact of economic results of the World Cup on South Africa’s brand, the crucial example of stadium construction costs serves to confuse the public image of the tournament, confounding the South African spirit that had sold FIFA (somehow) on its enigmatic budget, and distracting the public from the true financial cost of the tournament through its apparent success and purported cost-effectiveness.

Other ‘tangible impacts’ as the Department of Sport and Recreation (SRSA 2012, 97) report on the World Cup labels the economic results of the tournament, include the massive investment in transportation, which the report states claimed the lion’s share of state funding, with more than R11 billion invested in train stations, roads, and airports that access the focal stadia. The SRSA (Sport and Recreation of South Africa) Country Report claims that investment in stadia construction alone created 66,000 construction jobs, which generated over R7 billion in wage income, R2.2 billion of which went to “...low-income households and therefore contribut[ed] to a reduction in poverty” (SRSA 2012, 98). The incontrovertible slippery slope down which SRSA tumbles is worrisome; accrediting a temporary, nonpareil construction campaign for reducing poverty is extremely shortsighted, and the fact that the improvements made to transportation hubs only applied to areas approximate to stadia more or less paves the way for future



gentrification, which could further marginalize some of the poorer communities located nearby (Herwitz 2013).

This sort of large scale spending towards an imprecise goal defined as ‘progress’ or ‘development’ is what Shaheed Tayob, using arguments originally made by George Bataille, defines as sacrificial consumption. This economic atmosphere encourages citizens and justifies governments to spend enormous amounts of cash on large scale, optimistic projects towards collective goals of nation building, and universal prosperity (Tayob 2012, 720). This buoyant confidence, reminiscent of the national emphasis on energetic jubilation, is associated very much with the millennial attitudes associated with neoliberal globalism. Tayob goes on to argue that the apartheid economic structure that existed in South Africa even after 1994 lingers in the macroeconomic framework established in the mold of a democratic society, and the conflict between economic liberalization and political liberation leads directly to socio-economic inequalities (Ibid., 721).

In accordance with this notion, it is fair to say that the World Cup had a disproportionately negative impact on South Africans already burdened with a lower economic status. Meg Vandermerwe explains that the underlying xenophobia in South African urban areas intensified around the time of the World Cup, with many inner city immigrants and foreign nationals facing increased ostracism and pressure to ‘pack their bags,’ come the conclusion of the World Cup (Vandermerwe 2013, 202). As occupants of newly desirable, visibly South Africanized territory, these often-impoorished outsiders were among the recipients of increased socio-economic difficulties, brought into focus because of the exaggerated economic climate around the World Cup. Vandermerwe

expounds that “most media outlets turned a blind eye to the stark contradictions that were fast overshadowing the legacy of what could have and should have been one of post-apartheid South Africa’s very proudest moments” (Ibid., 203). It is difficult to untangle the social and economic injustices within this particular example, but for the sake of the economic-focus of this section (I address social impact shortly), it is necessary to stress the class implications of this xenophobic sentiment and its omission from local media. The economic position of these foreign nationals, refugees, and immigrants, worsened by their position as social outsiders, allowed for the image of South Africa produced in the media to exclude them, and their plight, and in so doing renegotiate the production of South Africa as a nation absent this economic disparity.

Infrastructural innovations played a huge role in the production of a physical South Africa that could not only handle the World Cup, but could also present the appearance of capability. But the infrastructure accounted largely for the costs of organizing and visualizing the tournament, rather than the profits. The primary reason that FIFA is able to wield so much power over tournaments in this current era is because of the financial enormity of market capitalism; corporate sponsorship agreements have the potential to generate fantastic sums of cash through advertising deals: “FIFA and its global sponsors fully controlled the content of the event. Budweiser was the only beer sold at World Cup stadiums, though unbranded beer sold by SABMiller was sold at the Fan Fests...” (Grundlicht and Nauright 2013, 196). FIFA was responsible for determining vendors and sponsors, and so interested corporations, in this case Budweiser, paid FIFA an egregious sum – between \$10 and \$25 million a year for 2007-2010 (Chippis 2010) – for exclusive rights, including the monopolization of the in-stadium beer

vendorship during the World Cup, and even the ex-stadium vendorship was required to be unbranded. FIFA itself determined that more than three quarters of a million liters of beer were sold in the stadiums throughout the tournament (FIFA 2015a). As a result, Budweiser (and parent company Anheuser-Busch InBev) made incredible profits, helping to boost company revenue for the second quarter of 2010 by more than 7% over the same period in 2009 (Evening Standard 2010). Likewise, FIFA managed to accumulate revenue in excess of \$1.6 billion from all sponsors for this 2007-2010 World Cup cycle (Chippis 2010), while South Africa and SAFA made next to nothing on sponsorship deals. This evokes the original policy shift that enabled FIFA to justify appropriating revenue rights from the tournament by accepting the burden of its operating costs; but this process diverts all direct revenue from the tournament into FIFA's coffers.

The reasons that sponsors were willing to pay so much for their official partnerships with the World Cup are contingent upon one critical fact: the World Cup is the most viewed event on television, and is therefore the most communal experience in the world. The chance not only for the exposure this brings, but also to create an association with something so universally regarded as the World Cup is incredibly valuable to large multinationals, like Anheuser-Busch InBev, Adidas, Coca-Cola, etc (Tayob 2012). Viewership for the entire tournament, including brief viewers, classified as having tuned in for roughly one minute, (who are still exposed, if only for a short period of time, to advertising hoardings, and pre/post match or half-time television commercials), totaled over 3.2 billion (Kantarsport 2010, 7), which given, the 2010 world population of almost 6.9 billion, is 47% of humanity. The opportunity to showcase their wares, to participate in World Cup history, and to link global consumers to their products

and principles encourages corporations to pay exorbitant sponsorship fees. (Kolamo and Vuolteenaho 2013, 507) The imbalance, the manifestation of the geopolitical notions of power, control, and resources, requires that the ‘core’ body of FIFA exploit the ‘peripheral’ South Africa, and it does so, mining the television rights, as a modern raw material, and reaping the benefits of these deals and the sponsorships that are fostered as a result. South Africa, however, remained responsible for the establishment of the broadcast infrastructure, as something that falls within the South African remit of preparation, rather than FIFA’s responsibility of operation. So essentially, South Africa was compelled to invest what amounted to R1.5 Billion in broadcast technology to prepare for the global interest in and viewership of the matches (SRSA 2012, 98), whereas FIFA remained in control of the television deals and profits that this technology facilitated.

South Africa did stand to gain something tangible from the tournament. Obviously, the arduous process of modernizing and improving the many infrastructural aspects of the nation required a highly bureaucratic and delegated system that logically involved the private sector. Companies stood to gain not only as sponsors seeking exposure, but also as legitimate partners, contributing towards the viability of the tournament. Telecommunications giant MTN, for example, a company that purportedly services 98% of South Africans, was committed to a serious investment, providing “dedicated coverage and capacity in the ten hosting stadiums around the country – a R250 million project!” (Subramoney 2010, 81). As a result of the World Cup, MTN’s brand value increased by 15%, an increase that MTN itself attributes directly to FIFA – in PricewaterhouseCoopers’ business review of the World Cup, MTN states: “FIFA’s

contribution to brand value growth was over \$500 million” (Ibid., 83). MTN is one example of a local South African company that, as a business, did indeed benefit greatly from the tournament; Peter Alegi compares MTN’s participation in the branding of South African football an exponentiation of South Africa’s ‘sup-imperial role on the continent’ (Alegi 2010, 110). Construction companies, retailers, etc. all benefited from this commercially realized status, and the incorporation of local business into the World Cup production process did have a magnanimous impact on aspects of the South African economy as a result.

The other primary predicted source of revenue derived from the reality that not all viewers watch the World Cup on television. Zimbalist explains that South Africa had purportedly expected an influx of 400,000 tourists during the month-long event, whose non-World Cup related expenditures (hotels, ex-stadium food and souvenirs, transportation, etc.) could all be counted towards South Africa’s privilege as host. Zimbalist calculates that the projected World Cup visitor would stay for an average of five days in South Africa, injecting \$300 a day directly into the South African economy. Had, as he ‘optimistically’ calculates, only 300,000 out of the expected 400,000 tourists had come, this would have constituted a reasonable sum, about \$450 million in South African revenue (Zimbalist 2015, 40).

It is very difficult to estimate the volume of World Cup tourist traffic, but Zimbalist posits that the actual number of foreigners spending time in South Africa during June and July of 2010 was between 40,000 and 220,000, so at best, barely more than half of those expected, and at worst, one tenth, actually arrived and spent money (Zimbalist 2015, 40-41). So whereas FIFA’s projected revenue sources were fairly

reliable – television viewership statistics tend to remain very high for World Cups, and increase with each tournament (Frawley and Adair 2014, 49) – South Africa’s, which were predicated partially on physical tourism, were subject to myriad external and unpredictable factors, and ultimately failed to even come close to matching initial predictions. Furthermore, Zimbalist explains that often, tourism and the World Cup disrupt rather than galvanize local business. In Cape Town, for example, high business expectations and investment were met with “...slumps in sales as surrounding streets are cordoned off to foot traffic or become too noisy to attract customers” (Zimbalist 2015, 43). In this way, it is possible to frame the cultural production of South Africa, the cause of this raucous, Bafana Bafana temperament, as a detriment to the economic prospects of the nation during the World Cup.

Indeed, in almost every area where growth was expected, it fell short. Rupert Neate of the Telegraph provides a summary of the many disappointments the official figures convey. South Africa reportedly saw a return of about 10% on stadium investment, only 22% of South African companies saw a boost in business, and South Africa’s overall economic growth slowed from 4.6% in the first quarter of 2010 to 3.2% in the second, and again to 2.6% in the third (the World Cup began at the close of the second and opening of the third quarters) (Neate 2010).

Furthermore, while multinationals like InBev or Adidas were able to negotiate deals that solidified their domination of vendor-ship rights, locals who were traditionally involved in small-scale, football related business were more or less shut out. Desai and Vahed present the case of Mary Silanda, a South African mother of four who sells food for a living outside of football stadia during domestic club (non-FIFA related) matches.

The deals struck between FIFA and these large companies not only restricted the concept of individual entrepreneurship, but also actively prevented some South Africans from doing their jobs (Desai and Vahed 2009, 158).

How do these economic factors impact the image of South Africa? Clearly, with these last examples, we see the desired image of a bouncing party atmosphere colliding with the anticipated business opportunities that could help to recoup some of the costs of hosting. So in a strange way, the tourists, while fewer than expected, helped to solidify the South African brand that they had travelled so far to experience. If the South African image production can be seen as a national-scale placemaking project, then there are certainly economic implications beyond this as well. In many ways, all participants, by subscribing to the Rainbow Nation ideals spouted by South Africa from the initial bid to the closing ceremony, contributed to the branding of South Africa as youthful, prosperous democracy that was not only prepared for the challenge of the mega-event circuit, but was also deserving of it. That sponsors were so eager to pay massive sums to participate, and thereby reinforce this preparedness, and that fans were so keen to go out and buy a vuvuzela, or a Bafana Bafana jersey means that all those who engaged with the World Cup markets acknowledged and accepted the image of South Africa 2010, no matter how accurate a portrayal of ordinary South Africa this was.

### **Social Impact**

Economic processes and impacts can often be measured fairly accurately, and even rough estimates, like total tourists during the World Cup, can still be visualized within a quantitative range. Social issues are not always associated with numbers, and

when considering the idea of an image or identity, social aspects of an issue, while harder to assign value, can be all the more relevant. We have examined at length the production of the South African image, but it is time to contemplate it through the critical lens of social impact, because while the economic results of the World Cup were largely that, results, the social ramifications cut much deeper, not only receiving cues from the constructed image of the Rainbow Nation, but also constantly remaking that image, and giving it life as a dynamic version of South Africa, rather than as a static depiction of it.

The South African branding process was very much a nationwide activity, the goal being universality, as well as the appearance of universality. However, in many ways, the evolution of a placemaking scheme from a local project to a national scale essentially mandates that, while still about the construction of an identity, it no longer functions as a 'ground-up' project, but in many ways imposes an ideology upon a people and a space. For example, under the denominative of 'Domestic Mobilisation,' SAFA and the South African government worked together to spread the gospel, as it were, of World Cup fever. 'The People's Bus' toured around the country, visiting restaurants and small businesses, corporations, 'targeting' schools and malls, 'conducting activations,' and distributing merchandise, like vuvuzelas and hand-held flags, to citizens of all ages and backgrounds (SRSA 2012, 61). Advertising messages and slogans were therefore ubiquitous, with the tireless promotion of the World Cup coming to define public space in South Africa.

Feminist geographies tell us about the social marginalization levied against not only women, but also people of color, lower economic standing, and disability, among other things (Cresswell 2013, 149). By studying the nature of the existence of these



ostracisms, largely through the lens of the universal plight of the female in a world dominated by masculinity, we can begin to understand the theoretical importance of the struggles experienced by those communities within South Africa that were not enthusiastically supportive of the World Cup or the changes to daily life and personal fortune that it inspired.

For some, the indefatigable crusade to Africanize South Africa represented an obstructive process, bringing unnecessary hassle and tribulation to their daily lives. For others, the arrival of the World Cup was legitimately harmful. Part of South Africa's stated goal for the Cup was to ensure that the responsibility of hosting would bring opportunities that could be accessed by all South Africans, irrespective of their social or economic standing (Roberts and Blass 2013, 42). This meant that a certain measure of diversity would be required within the organizing committees and other groups who were tasked with some aspect of the production of the Cup. Severino Machingambi and Newman Wadesango observed that this socio-political necessity was not fulfilled, at least with regard to gender: "Contrary to expectation, it turned out that the organization and management of the game was left entirely in the hands of men with very few women playing a marginal and subordinate role" (Machingambi and Wadesango 2011, 151). The thrust of their academic undertaking is to prove that the 2010 World Cup was incredibly masculine – aided, necessarily, by the de facto hegemony of men's football over women's (Pelak 2010, 64-65) – and to then describe the ramifications of this for female South African children. Machingambi and Wadesango explain that the absence of women on the FIFA Executive Committee and the Local Organizing Committee expresses "...a clear manifestation of men's propensity to exercise hegemony over women in society," as

only 5% of the administrative staff for the World Cup were female-identified, and ‘nearly all’ of the football related positions were filled by men (players, coaches, team staff, referees, commentators, etc.) (Machingambi and Wadesango 2011, 152). This in turn influences the presentation of the World Cup in mass media (Ibid.), complicating the presentation of the tournament as ‘African,’ and rather suggesting that it was about masculinity. This is not necessarily surprising considering football obeys and reproduces a fairly rigid gender axis in terms of players, and saturates footballing culture with a certain masculinity (Pelak 2010, 64-65).

Machingambi and Wadesango’s narrative then emphasizes the effect of this absence of a female World Cup 2010 voice in favor of the depiction of women’s traditional supporting roles as cheerleaders, wives, and girlfriends (Machingambi and Wadesango 2011, 152.) They contest that this portrayal, particularly during the intensity of the World Cup (with its viewership, with its mass-marketing appeal, with this comprehensive nationwide placemaking scheme), erodes young girls’ self-efficacy. Through the lack of female role models during what was pitched as an extremely cathartic, pivotal moment for South Africa, through the over-masculinized portrayal of the tournament, and through the positioning of the female role in the tournament as marginal, and supportive, Machingambi and Wadesango corroborate:

...the negative portrayal of girls and women in the 2010 FIFA World Cup was not neutral as consciously or unconsciously, girls were forced to pick certain messages and nuances about their perceived abilities and

competencies, which in turn had a strong bearing on their educational aspirations (Machingambi and Wadesango 2011, 154).

Thus we can begin to see that the representation of the World Cup encumbered inherent misrepresentation of those within the fold that occupied a non-essential, non-hegemonic role, including women.

Other social issues were at stake during the World Cup as well. Women not only faced imagistic obstacles in the media and the production of the World Cup, but also suffered at the other end of the spectrum. After the 2006 World Cup, which saw an increase in prostitution and trafficking of women into and within Germany, Arthi Sanpath of Agenda, an equality-g geared women's publication predicted a similar trend for South Africa, but with more devastating consequences, due to the already high rate of women trafficked into South Africa from neighboring countries like Lesotho, Mozambique, and Malawi. The multi-billion dollar underworld industry traditionally spikes during major global events that inspire increased tourism, and as such provide another troublesome example of how the South African World Cup, set up to present an image of a dynamic, inclusive African project, could fail to come good on all of its developmental promises (Sanpath 2006, 120). South Africa had expected an increase of 40,000-100,000 foreign sex workers, including children, during the World Cup period, but most reports agree that this prediction was not even close to being realized, and no change in sex work or human trafficking occurred (Richter et al. 2014, 3).

This is not as comforting as it may sound; the reasons behind this plateau tend to be accredited to increased police presence and vigilance in public spaces, an action

designed to inhibit clients and prostitutes from engaging, rather than targeting the source of the industry, for the purpose of presenting a more welcoming, clean façade to foreign visitors and the media. Furthermore, as an illicit trade, trafficking tends to be difficult to quantify: the fact that the South African Department of Justice uncovered zero cases of human trafficking during the World Cup period (Richter et al. 2014, 3) is not indicative of an absence of trafficking, rather, it is very possible that the South African government, not only preoccupied by the World Cup but also by the grooming of its national image, did little to publicize the widespread prostitution and trafficking in a nation known for the prevalence of AIDS/HIV (Ibid., 4). It is possible that the high expectations represent what Richter et al call ‘moral panic,’ but the issue of sexual healthcare remained one of the FIFA Inspection Group’s most serious concerns during its visit in 2003 (Peeters et al. 2004, 61), and as Richter et al conclude, “Sports mega-events provide strategic opportunities to expand health and human rights programmes [sic] to sex workers. The 2010 World Cup missed that opportunity” (Richter et al. 2014, 1). Thus, sexual healthcare, criminal prostitution, and human trafficking became ancillary issues in South Africa, subsidiary to the nations obsessive concern with its image.

Mega-events indeed provide the opportunity for host nations to enact serious social welfare programs, and likewise, this opportunity is frequently overlooked. United Nations Special Rapporteur Raquel Rolnik explains in her 2009 Special Report on adequate housing and sports mega-events that said events can have tremendous urban benefits, including “...the enhancement of mobility, the cleansing of contaminated areas, the development of waste management and sanitation, the provision of social and cultural infrastructure, and the construction of new dwellings, or the rehabilitation of the existing

ones...” (Rolnik 2009, 4). These changes can leave a positive housing legacy that can work to decrease homelessness, improve transportation, and generally improve the lives of those of certain socio-economic disadvantage. However, Rolnik explains, “...it is difficult to find in FIFA procedures and regulations any standards to help the institution and its members integrate a human rights approach to its daily activities” (Ibid., 14). Furthermore, at the time of her report, FIFA had failed to reply to this criticism, or to the invitation to work with Rolnik towards developing policy that could satisfy this demand (Ibid., 15).

FIFA’s obstinacy on this issue manifests into the 2010 World Cup. Rolnik expresses concern that mega-events run by FIFA often represent the sort of missed opportunity mentioned above, and that evictions and displacement, as well as the proportionally huge negative impact on marginalized groups, are serious social ramifications of hosting these tournaments (Ibid., 9-10). As Cornelissen explains, the people of South Africa were not clamoring for beautiful stadia and state-of-the-art bus terminals: “the government is pouring money into the 2010 World Cup... why are they not pouring money into housing?” (Cornelissen 2012, 329).

Shaheed Tayob illustrates the more subversive campaigns undertaken by the government in order to reinforce South Africa’s positive image, explaining: “Perhaps the starkest example of the sacrifices imposed on South Africa’s poor was the forced eviction of the urban poor to places where they would be out of sight of World Cup venues” (Tayob 2012, 734). Relocation disproportionately impacted the racially diverse, immigrant communities that Vanderweghe discusses, and so this measure, taken by governments in many host nations prior to a mega-event, represents the manifestation of

a direct socio-economic repercussion onto the socially marginalized communities of foreigners, minorities, and the poor, for the sake of the nation's image. This obviously represents a massive hypocrisy, considering the emphasis SAFA, the South African bid, and the produced image of the Rainbow Nation placed upon the reversal of racial policy in the post-apartheid era, and the progressive steps towards inclusivity that South Africa had supposedly taken thus far.

The social aspects of the World Cup were not unilaterally conditioned to support the image of the nation produced by SAFA and FIFA – the marginalized did have a voice as well. Cornelissen posits that despite the hegemony of official structures in the development of a tournament's trajectory, outsiders often have a role in this process simply by virtue of their outspoken opposition to it: "...such events are shaped by the competing agendas and demands of those who champion their economic potentials – usually sport, corporate and political elites – and those who regard themselves excluded or negatively affected by the material changes resulting from the events" (Cornelissen 2012, 330). So sometimes, despite the tailored appearance of a tournament and its host, it is possible to trace the dissenting cultural voices – abundant within South Africa's urban spaces (Kynoch 2006) – suppressed and marginalized through the process of image production in the very narrative of the produced image. This in many ways embodies the spirit of the placemaking process that Main and Sandoval expound, allowing the silenced voices to be heard through the medium of protest: while the World Cup annexed spaces intended for other uses, it also provided a platform and focal point for social activism and debate.

## Legacy

In the production of the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, theories of geopolitics and placemaking came together in order to construct the image of South Africa as a paradigm of modern ‘Africanness.’ The scale of the event was so huge that it was inevitable that the production would have an influence on the space in which it transpired, and the people who lived within it. Because placemaking is a perpetually ongoing process, this influence and its effects constantly reinvigorated the actual constructive process, and so the economic and social implications of the World Cup are vital not only in so far as determining the legacy of the tournament, but also in continuing to understand the dynamism that this sort of process entails.

Legacy is a term that generally means the lasting impact of the tournament, or, as Molloy and Chetty put it, “The gap between expected benefits and actual outcomes” (Molloy and Chetty 2015, 1). Its use throughout the process as a categorization of the influences the World Cup would have on South Africa, and that South Africa would have on the idea of the World Cup, is worth mentioning as a variation of the methodological approach to branding South Africa 2010.

The official economic and social implications can be tied together under the case study of PricewaterhouseCoopers. As a multinational consulting corporation PwC was understandably connected to the economic and commercial components of the event. Their official involvement in the tournament’s production, however, was framed largely as a social project; their final summative report, published in January 2011, six months after the end of the tournament, is subtitled ‘Leaving a Social Legacy.’ In this document, PwC focus on the infrastructural developments that helped make the World Cup feasible,

occasionally throwing in some social fish food that smacks of arrogant indifference: the unquantifiable measurement of a ‘new-found national pride’ as an ‘Estimated socio-economic effect’ of the Cup (Subramoney 2010, 125), for example, serves the robotic purpose of socializing the economic avarice that comprises the reasoning for, and the perceived, directed benefits from, hosting the tournament.

To simplify PwC’s main argument, the World Cup, having attracted foreigners to South Africa and exposed potential tourists to the Rainbow Nation by virtue of a massive broadcasting campaign, catapulted South Africa into a different stratum. PwC declares that tourism is the largest industry in the world: “According to the UN World Tourism Organisation [sic], the combined direct economic linkages within this sector amount for approximately 10% of global GDP” (Ibid., 126). This figure alone serves as the justification for any and all actions conducted by FIFA and SAFA’s corporate partner with respect to building a hospitable environment. The hospitality, then, and those who take advantage of it, can be framed as a legacy of the World Cup. That this legacy represents a largely external cross-section of people, capital, and industry, remains largely overlooked.

PwC, a very important, official partner of the World Cup, who had a significant role in the production of the tournament, recognizes tourism as the most important industry on the planet. PwC subsequently claim: “It is abundantly clear that this event has provided an opportunity for marketing the development potential of the whole of the Southern African region that will probably not repeat itself in the next millennium” (Ibid.). This all takes place under the mystifying charade of a presentation of ‘Social Legacy,’ and socio-economic impact. The private companies that produced the World



Cup highly valued the economic potential of the tournament, while using the idea of social progress as a moral shroud of sorts, and therefore more or less admit to acknowledging the importance of branding South Africa, in light of the power of the tourism industry, over all other aspects of the World Cup. So another relevance of this version of legacy, then, is that it allows the notion of branding to supersede all other aspects of the tournament in the eyes of those who are responsible for managing it, and this had a tremendous effect on the methods considered in the approach to the production of the World Cup.

Another, distinctive component of a legacy is that it is eternal, and self-replicating. The construction of a legacy is intended to inspire a certain memory, by the reproduction of the atmosphere that occurs during an event. In April 2012, FIFA and SAFA collaborated in order to establish the 2010 FIFA World Cup Legacy Trust, a R450 million fund, designed to, as Brand South Africa describes it: "...harness football for sport development, education, health and humanitarian activities in South Africa" (Brand South Africa 2012). This is very much in keeping with the original argument, that South Africa intended the World Cup to inspire development and growth within its borders, thus fulfilling the cyclical elements of a legacy. The fact that then FIFA secretary-general Jérôme Valcke was extremely open about this being the first such trust awarded to a World Cup host (Ibid.) subliminally emphasizes the inferior position of South Africa, even after the conclusion of the World Cup, as it compares with that of previous host nations, who have never required such a comprehensive symbol of gratitude. This in turn reminds us of the underlying 'Africanness' of the 2010 World Cup, one of the principal girders of the production of the tournament's image. This notion is interwoven with our

remembrance of the tournament, and its legacy, therefore, emerges not only as a product of the 2010 World Cup's image, but also as an instrument of its perpetuation.

It can be difficult to untangle legacy from results or consequences, but Zimbalist does it in a thought-provoking way. He discusses the lauded positive impact of the 2010 World Cup for South Africa, particularly the example of the improvements made in wastewater treatment facilities and the nebulous but beneficial accumulation of knowledge about energy efficiency (Zimbalist 2015, 63). These are progressive steps towards modernizing South Africa, and certainly towards geographically defined social justice, as issues like pollution, among others, tend to affect peripheral communities more than core, affluent ones, that comprise a broadly envisioned place (Lefebvre 1996, 116).

However, green benefits are merely noisy incidentals compared to the environmental degradation that it is often desirable to overlook. So while South Africa can champion its improvements in sewage treatment and water quality (SRSA 2012, 27), it is never so quick to talk about the colossal levels of carbon emissions, for example, inseparable from the public campaign to attract international, particularly European, visitors (Zimbalist 2015, 63). This complicates the binary conceptualization of South Africa's experience of the Cup as positive or negative, tangible or intangible. Instead, we see aspects of the same tangible issue reflecting both detriment and benefit to the nation, and while it is generally fair to determine the intangible outcomes of the tournament as those sought after ('legacy'), and the tangible outcomes, like monetary cost, as somewhat negative, this example casts doubt over the ability of any observer to make some judgment about the perceivable 'success' of the World Cup, or the indeterminable value

of nebulous reward for hosting a mega-event versus the nebulous cost of indeterminable damage done as a result.

South Africa's image production not only helped to create this perplexing state of quasi-hypocrisy, it was entirely predicated upon it, considering PwC's claims about tourism being the largest single motivation for hosting a mega-event. In this light, we can see that the South African brand, and the ways in which it was produced, operating under pressure from various competing geographic forces, not only has the power to manipulate the built, social, and natural environments, but was created for this purpose in the first place. This process thereby allocates a degree of agency to the subordinate actor within the geopolitical process, regardless of size or perceived importance, within the scope of an enterprise or event over which that actor would ordinarily be expected to lack influence.

## Chapter Five: Conclusions

*Some people believe football is a matter of life and death, I am very disappointed with that attitude. I can assure you it is much, much more important than that.*

-Bill Shankly, former Liverpool Manager

There were two World Cups in 2010. There was the World Cup that kicked off on the 11<sup>th</sup> of June and 64 matches, 145 goals later, concluded with an exhilarating Spanish victory over the Netherlands in extra time. This was the World Cup 3.1 billion people around the globe, myself among them, watched and drooled over for an entire month, this was the World Cup that was visible, that inspired me, enraged me, and ultimately, satisfied me. The other World Cup was equally visible, but never as noticeable. If the 2010 World Cup was about the Rainbow Nation, about the Bafana Bafana, about Africa, about post-apartheid democracy, and most importantly, about football, then South Africa 2010 was about allowing this to happen. It is important to understand the difference between the 2010 World Cup and South Africa 2010. It is also easy to confuse the two; we use the terms interchangeably, reducing an entire year of a nation's history to a synecdoche for a few football matches. But ultimately, the 2010 World Cup was a moment, and an event. South Africa 2010 is a process, ongoing, that not only predates the tournament it built, but that also outlasts it in every way. This is the World Cup that has impact, and it has impact because it was produced in order to achieve an impact. The 2010 World Cup is a costume that FIFA and South Africa tailored to drape over South Africa 2010, something flashy and noisy to distract us from the real feat: the geopolitical construction of a new South Africa.

The popularity of football is an intangible force, much like the benefits that South African leadership expected to reap from their undertaking to harness it. In our modern

world, there are two avenues along which a state or organization can approach this popularity; it can either hold a tournament, thus bringing the world to football, or it can broadcast one, and bring football to the world. South Africa yearned to accomplish the former; FIFA demanded (the financial rights to) the latter. An unenviable amount of effort, capital and risk are required to host a World Cup – this much has been made clear – whereas to broadcast one, the financial rewards significantly outweigh the costs. Although this was never in contention, and South Africa and FIFA clearly entered their partnership for 2010 with different goals in mind, FIFA's ability to yoke the force of global fandom through their control of broadcasting rights epitomizes their imperial attitude towards global processes. Their position of power enabled the capitulation of weaker bodies – SAFA is subordinate to FIFA in footballing terms, and as the representative of South Africa in the footballing world, in a strange way, the South African state is similarly deferential – in submission to FIFA's demands.

These demands are predicated on what can be considered a modern version of a raw material in a world driven by commercial forces of supply, demand, and capital; these resources are the global trends, the visibility, and the popularity that drive economic markets in every corner of the world. So ultimately, the popularity of football, plus the ability to aggregate a financial gain from this popularity through control over aspects like the television broadcast of the World Cup, equals the genuine power to enact and exact legitimate physical and social change in particular environments. And, the very fact that FIFA could enter this equation from a position of consolidated enfranchisement means that it is a cyclical thing, that power reproduces itself, through the neoliberal exploitation of these resources (Harvey 2008, 32). Thus, FIFA is a classical geopolitical body, a neo-

liberal empire, encumbered by ostentatious acts of corruption, but simultaneously buoyed by its own opacity, lack of accountability, and status as the official arbiter of the world's most popular pastime.

The 2010 World Cup in South Africa, and the image or brand constructed and disseminated that reflects it, is important because of its context. FIFA's similarities to an empire, as it were, are meaningless without the South Africa that was produced simply in order so that it might be 'conquered.' In the early 1990s, global geopolitics experienced a gigantic shakeup in the form of the fall of Communism. Gearóid Ó Tuathail explains: "While the Soviet complex began to disintegrate, the Western complex of ideology, institutions and intellectuals remained coherent and in place" (Ó Tuathail 2003, 103). A Western, consumerist ideology had won the Cold War, he argues, but never stopped fighting it afterwards. In the political realm, the United States aggressively threw its militaristic weight around the globe as a facet of President George H.W. Bush's 'New World Order' that essentially assumed responsibility for all global political and economic activities (Bush 1991, 131).

South Africa, emerging from its own struggle with apartheid, and seeking to totally overhaul its image, adopted the trope of the novice democracy under this sweeping, worldwide ideology. So from the beginning, the historical context is interwoven with geopolitical significance. FIFA's similarities to a Western government, in structure, in operation, and in methodology, allow it adopt this Bushian role as the geopolitical suzerain of football. South Africa's hyper-awareness of its own image in an aggressively neo-liberal, post-Soviet world lead it to FIFA for what is ostensibly a non-political path to development, beginning as early as the bidding process for the 2006

World Cup in the late 1990s. In reality, it is an extremely political path, and this is part of the World Cup's significance. Because of its public role, and image, as a sporting event, it is perceived as leisure, as vacation, and as fun. FIFA are known as the body that organize football tournaments, not necessarily the organization that demand the relocation of homeless children, or that requisition public space for executive functions, or that dictate urban transportation policy. But FIFA fulfills these roles as well, and many more, taking and making decisions that have a genuine impact on the everyday lives of non-footballing, ordinary people. And as an unelected, unrepresentative, unrepentantly for-profit brotherhood masquerading as a republican congress, this is totally unjust. FIFA's image obscures its purpose, which is to make money and corroborate its own power first, and to administer world football second.

So FIFA is a deceptive body, in rhetoric, in appearance, and in function. This deception is of tremendous importance, because in the shape of perceived benefits for a host nation like South Africa come heightened expectations, international pressure, and most importantly of all, a loss of sovereignty. Timothy Luke describes the value of sovereignty:

Sovereignty follows from an almost mythic power of geographic authority, writing and drawing lines of identity and antagonism on the Earth. States, in turn, are those legitimate monopolies charged with enscribing, discursively and coercively, writs of difference – in money, religion, markets, ideology, and militaries – from what transpires within

and without the geopolitical spaces framed by international borders. (Luke 2003, 141).

Clifton Crais describes South African sovereignty as 'tenuous' to begin with, due to the novitiate nature of the young democracy (Crais 2006, 721). In adopting a policy of eager capitulation that is so integral to SAFA's original bid, by allowing global forces to have an influence over the physical and social conditions within its own nation-state, within its own borders, South Africa relinquishes its fragile control over the agenda manifested on its people and territory, and in so doing, it surrenders its sovereignty.

In this way, just as we see a shift in the perception of resources in modern geopolitics, we see a shift in what could be seen as a form of annexation, from military supremacy to something entirely different, but with some of the same, if less aggressive, results. In this way, it may be possible to attribute to the World Cup some of the characteristics of a military engagement, and therefore, again, the imbalance of power associated with mechanizations of violence that one might expect from a classical geopolitical proxy war, like Vietnam. George Orwell said football is war minus the shooting (Orwell 1945). He was wrong – football is war plus a football.

As with any battle the seizure of power by one party leads to the surrender of sovereignty by the other. In the South African case, as the Rainbow Nation ceded much of its sovereignty to FIFA, this surrender led to conflicts of interest, indifference towards the traditional concerns of the citizenry, and a resultant measure of vulnerability. Because of its inexperience, South Africa relied heavily on its national sovereignty and the integration of human rights into its image and politics (Crais 2006, 732), and as



SAFA accepted FIFA's hegemony over much of the World Cup project, it had to seek alternative ways to remain relevant within the process of branding itself and the tournament. As we have seen, the absence of authority is often a characterization of the typical placemaker. This unique brand of FIFA geopolitics turns placemaking into a nation-wide project, constructing identities for localities that have been shaped, not only by the people who live and work there, but also by the geopolitical authorities that exist elsewhere (for instance, in Zurich). The World Cup is important, then, because it truly represents the efforts of a modern, stateless governing body to construct an empire on the basis of an intangible, universal force, like popular love for a game that on the surface of things, has no political bearing. In reality, it has the potential, when channeled by a body like FIFA, to construct enormous feats of engineering, to bring hundreds of thousands of people across oceans and continents, to generate billions of dollars in revenue, and to create images and icons that will last indefinitely in the global culture (Goldblatt 2006, xv). Likewise, the South African World Cup proved that the placemaking process is not limited to the local scale, but can operate across vast regions and territories that share some common motivation.

When Bill Shankly, the manager that catapulted English club side Liverpool FC to international eminence in the 1960s, said that football is more important than life and death, he probably meant that the results of the game played out on the field were of unparalleled importance. His characterization, however, applies to the ramifications it has off the field as well. Football can mean life and death to many people, it can mean homelessness or shelter, it can mean poverty or employment, it can mean safety or harm, in the broadest sense, because of FIFA. Football can pervade through every aspect of any

person's existence, even if that person is not involved in football. That makes it more than a pastime, more than a game, even more than culture – it makes football politics.

The synthesis of geopolitics and placemaking is a very interesting infusion, because it combines the extremely local with the worldwide. As geopolitical methodologies switch to encompass less tangible forces (digital rather than raw materials, capital rather than armaments, for example), control of peoples' perceptions supersedes control over their bodies, and so whereas classical geopolitics would engender systematic placemaking as a mode of resistance, modern geopolitics seeks to manage placemaking as a tool for the dissemination of certain values. The scale and involvement of FIFA and more directly SAFA in local placemaking projects in the narrative of the 2010 World Cup combine global values with local practices in a way that produced a particular national brand, reciprocated through the built local environment. This brand, working both from the ground up and vice versa, created an image of South Africa, which, through this strange geopolitical placemaking process, actually became a material version of the country. The importance of the South African brand, then, is that through these geographical projects, it represents the possibility that an image, a manufactured culture of symbols, can manifest itself across reality, despite the passive resistance of the alternative quotidian customs and practices that are inherently pervasive through the nature of placemaking as resistance culture.

I was born in London, and my love for football was cultivated there. I live in New York now, and watch more matches in more competitions than I can count. The World Cup was held in South Africa in 2010, while I was travelling in South America. I watched games in malls, rainforests, airports, restaurants, and strangers' living rooms. It

is impossible to describe ubiquity without referencing football, and considering my own passion for the sport, and for the teams that I support, combined with this universality, this popularity expressed in viewership figures, in broadcasting deals, in the expenditures willingly made by host nations, by the extraordinary measures they adopt, and sacrifices they make, to host a World Cup, it is impossible to quantify the power of a world, united by passion around 22 men running about, kicking a ball around on a piece of turf. On the field, Spain won the 2010 World Cup; off the field, it is much harder to say.

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