(Un)Mapping The Contested Geographies Of Urban Knowledge Production During The 2010 World Cup In South Africa

by

David Roberts

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Geography
University of Toronto

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Abstract

In 2010, South Africa became the first country on the continent of Africa to host a World Cup. This thesis analyzes aspects of the planning process for this mega-event. My analysis focuses on three interrelated phenomena: public order policing and re-branding through the control of public space; policy transfer and the attempt to clone the 'world-class' city in South Africa; and, the influence of consciously planning for an external television audience on the uneven geographies and temporalities of the mega-event.

First, in analyzing the processes of public order policing and its connection to city branding in Durban, South Africa during the World Cup, I trace three mechanisms: the regulation of nuisance behaviors, the restriction of social movement activities, and the introduction of welcome ambassadors. I argue that this policing strategy reveals what city planners believe to be appropriate uses of public space as well as a future vision of the city.

Second, using “cultural cloning” as a metaphor, I argue that policy mobility and the valorization of “best practices” can reinforce hegemonic conceptions of a ‘world class’ city that exacerbate already existing social inequalities. Such notions, also, work to foreclose on
alternative visions of how a 'world class' World Cup host city might act such as those articulated in the *World Class Cities for All* campaign.

Third, I examine how the particular medium of television works to shape urban planning, the production of space and the processes of urban knowledge production during mega-events. Such a theoretical approach necessitates closer examination of the relationship between urban planning and urban knowledge production through television.

In the conclusion of my dissertation, I put my work in context of recent events and struggles that have emerged in Brazil as that country gets set to host the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Summer Olympics. Additionally, I highlight what I believe to be the key scholarly contributions of this project and outline a future research agenda that emerges from this work.
Acknowledgments

This dissertation is the product of a diverse constellation of relationships, engagements, conversations and expressions of support from such a large and varied group of individuals that I likely to inadvertently leave someone off of the list – for this, I offer a preemptive apology.

In August of 2006, I packed my bags, left my hometown of Seattle to move to Toronto to begin graduate school in geography at University of Toronto. Prior to my arrival, I had only ever taken a single geography course as an undergrad and had spent several years away from school in the working world. To say that the transition back to being a student, into geography, and to life in Toronto was a bit rocky would be putting it nicely. If not for the support, and mentorship of my supervisor, Minelle Mahtani, I would have likely walked away from the whole thing rather early on. Throughout, Minelle has proven to be my biggest advocate and ally – without letting me get away with anything in the process. I am the geographer I am today because of her guidance, encouragement, and constructive criticism.

I also want to thank the members of my committee who pushed me to improve in my thinking, writing, and research at every stage of the process. I chose an unconventional project and relatively unconventional path to my dissertation and I committee gave me to freedom to take the lead and convince them that there was a method to my madness. More specifically, I would like to thank Rachel Silvey for her keen eye and heartfelt words of support when I most needed them; Deb Cowen for consistently pushing me to deepen my analysis through her comments on many drafts of my chapters; Mark Hunter for his insights, both theoretical and practical, on doing research in South Africa and for introducing me to the Centre for Research on Research and Identity at the University of KwaZulu-Natal; and Sherene Razack for demanding precision and clarity of argument especially on my treatment of racialization throughout my work. Additionally, I am thankful for the careful read that Susannah Bunce brought to my project as my internal-external examiner, especially on issues of urban planning and development. Lastly, I am indebted to the suggestions that Juanita Sundberg provided in her role as my external examiner. I learned a lot about writing and being a scholar from her comments. My dissertation is significantly stronger as a result of the external examination process.
While not on my committee, my work and friendship with Thembela Kepe was also hugely formative intellectually in regards to this project and more broadly. Similarly, David Murakami Wood and Katherine McKittrick provided essential words of encouragement and advice at key moments in my research convincing me that I had something worthwhile to say and contribute as a scholar.

My dissertation would not have been possible without the community of scholars at the Centre for Critical Research on Race and Identity at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Beyond providing me an intellectual home and office while in Durban, Ori Bass and Gerry Mare became close colleagues and friends over the course of my project. I cannot thank them enough for the all that they provided me while I was in Durban - and I cannot wait to get back. My tophophilia for South Africa and, more specifically, for Durban is strong. I am indebted to all of the Durbanites who shared their ideas, passions, stories and insights with me. Our conversations challenged me to be a better scholar, writer and person.

I cannot imagine a better place than the Department of Geography at the University of Toronto to have come into my own as a scholar and geographer. My fellow students provided intellectual challenges, sounding boards for plenty of under-developed ideas, ears to vent to, partners in crime, fellow passengers on a world tour, among other things – all of which were indispensible to this dissertation – and my sanity. Thank you to Jp, Renata, Zach, Paul, Josh, Dean, J-F, Sabin, Jim, Shaista, Geoff and the many others whose friendship and support were a driving force for me.

To my good friends outside of the academy, both in Toronto and scattered around the world, thank you for letting me escape the confines of the academy and academic life – and for grounding me. I have some of the best friends a guy could have.

Lastly, I want to acknowledge the support of my family – especially my mom who has always taken a keen interest in my work, reading early and late drafts of everything I have written. Both critic and cheerleader – her insightful advice and close eye are reflected throughout all of my work.
There was many a moment – from early on to the bitter end – that I was certain I would not finish my dissertation. I owe this finished product and degree that comes with it in no small part to each of you.

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Introduction

Overview and Context

In 2004, South Africa was awarded the 2010 World Cup of Soccer, becoming the first African nation chosen to host the games. Recognizing the global media attention that accompanies an event like the World Cup, the planners of the event and municipal planners within host cities endeavored to seize upon this unprecedented opportunity to influence the narration of place that accompanied the broadcasting of the tournament's soccer matches. My project explores the dominant narrative that emerged in Durban, one of the host cities, in and through its hosting of the World Cup. I am interested in the mobility of ideas about what it might mean to be a 'world class' host city and how those ideas are translated into policies around the use of public space, strategic investments in certain parts of the city and a media strategy that focuses on broadcasting a particular set of story-lines to a global television audience.

In particular, my dissertation explores the interconnections between social geography and urban formations by paying particular attention to issues of race and racialization, perceptions of in/security and the specificities of urban planning in South Africa. Through analyzing planning for the 2010 World Cup, the three articles that make up my thesis focus on three interrelated phenomena: public order policing and re-branding through the control of public space; policy transfer and the attempt to clone the 'world-class' city in South Africa; and, the influence of consciously planning for an external television audience on the uneven geographies and temporalities of the mega-event. I use the 2010 World Cup as vehicle for examining tensions between planning directed at social development of the post-apartheid city versus planning designed to support the needs of a visiting tourist class. I engage a wide-range of urban geographic theory, while complicating these theories with the complexities of the South African case.

From a scholarly standpoint, my work and its analysis of the impacts of hosting the event on several marginalized communities in Durban differs from existing work, as most of the existing scholarship on sports mega-events in geography has tended to take an economic or economistic approach in assessing the benefit or cost of an event (Hiller 2000 and Pillay and Bass 2009, for
example). While economics is obviously a significant part of the story, there are many other aspects to how sports mega-events impact a host society. Understanding these other impacts alongside the economic consequences is crucial to improving planning of such events in the future. Furthermore, as most mega-events have been hosted by countries within the developed world, most mega-event scholarship relies upon case studies and analysis rooted in western cities. In focusing my attention on Durban, South Africa, my research adds complexity to this literature by writing about and from geographies that have largely been left “off of the map”, to borrow a phrase from Jennifer Robinson (2002), in the mega-event literature in geography without ignoring the way that South Africa has been widely and deeply examined by historians, anthropologists, geographers and scholars of other disciplines.

Broadcast globally, the World Cup provides an unprecedented opportunity for host cities to rebrand themselves and improve their lot in the global competition for tourists and business investment. A significant part of the entrepreneurial city is engaging in a culture of competition with other cities in a global marketplace of limited resources, such as tourism and business investment. Thus, the marketing of the city in the global economy has become a primary driving force behind city governance (Harvey 1989). The World Cup, and accompanying media coverage, offered a chance for South African cities to market themselves to the world as either ‘world class’ cities for business investment or as exotic locations that can function as the playgrounds for jet-setting tourists, or both. However, for South African cities, the legacies of apartheid and their urban spatial manifestations make this branding exercise quite complex. On the one hand, cities attempt to showcase themselves as 'world-class', while on the other hand an estimated one quarter of South Africa's population continue to live in informal shack-settlements historically linked to the urban policies of the apartheid regime (Turok 2011). This challenge of planning to be perceived as 'world-class' cities versus planning for livable cities strikes at the heart of one of the major claims of this World Cup: that it should be judged on its social impact legacies. It was not uncommon to hear statements like the one made by the event organizers to the South African parliament that, “The measure of the success of the 2010 World Cup will be based on the legacy it will leave behind for the ordinary Africans” (Local Organizing Committee, 2008). Despite this rhetorical commitment to legacy, there was a paucity of planning devoted to capitalizing on the investments for the World Cup towards long-term projects designed to benefit 'the ordinary Africans'. In most cases, the planning for hosting the
World Cup in South Africa simply proceeded on a separate trajectory than planning to address social needs. My work shows that there are alternative conceptions of how a country might host a World Cup or other mega-event.

The story that this dissertation tells focuses on the impact of hosting the World Cup on South African cities – and in particular, the city of Durban. I chose to explore this event by examining its urban dynamics. There were many other angles available to me, but I chose this approach because, simply put, the World Cup is an event that takes place in cities. The matches, themselves, were played in stadiums - located in cities. Moreover, each host city was required to enter into an agreement with FIFA that made explicit the obligations that municipal governments had in relation to hosting the tournament. Given the urban nature of the event, an urban geographic analysis of the tournament is vital.

I am particularly interested in the tensions surrounding the constitution of what is considered to be progressive urban development in post-apartheid South African cities given the socio-spatial legacies of apartheid that persist within the urban landscape. In relation to the World Cup, these tensions were manifest, at least in part, in urban planning designed to address social concerns, such as poverty, affordable housing, HIV/AIDS, and crime, verses urban planning investments in infrastructure primarily oriented to tourism and an international brand image. Thus, contestations over the direction or orientation of Durban’s urban development – or the work to improve the built, economic and social environments of a city – are at the heart of the debates I examine in this thesis.

**Guiding Research Questions**

The primary research question that guided my work was: how will hosting the World Cup impact the lived geographies of host cities like Durban? I was initially drawn to the project because I was interested in the ways in which city planners and the police, specifically, would reconcile the demands (and requirements) of hosting the World Cup, especially in terms of accommodating the needs of tourists and other visitors, verses (or simultaneously) meeting the needs of
individuals who work and live within the city. This initial interest was piqued by a 2004 FIFA inspection report. In the assessment of the five country's bids to host, South Africa stood out as being the only nation deemed not to have “a good internal security system”. The inspectors highlighted a “lack of security in the country, but [put their faith in the belief that] authorities have the know-how and resources to manage this aspect during the 2010 World Cup” (FIFA 2004). What is clear in this report is that, for FIFA, security was a genuine concern for South Africa in terms of its responsibilities as host nation and that much needed to be done to ensure that the security and safety expectations of the international community, FIFA, and fans of the World Cup were met during the summer of 2010. However, FIFA officials concluded, “... that as long as people attending the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ (FIFA family and spectators) keep within certain boundaries, they should not encounter any trouble” (FIFA 2004). I was interested in how these boundaries would be created and demarcated and how the creation of these boundaries would impact the lived geographies of the city.

As my project progressed, I became more interested in a different, but related question: How does hosting the World Cup fit into the narratives that Durban wants to be linked to, both contemporarily, as well as in future visions of the city? What it means to be a ‘world class' host city became central to my research and thinking. I was interested in what drove the dominant understanding of ‘world class' cities that seemed to be embraced by Durban city management. I am interested in the consequences of accepting this dominant definition of ‘world class' cities, especially in terms of foreclosing on alternative conceptions of what it might mean to be a ‘world class' city, as articulated by the World Class Cities for All campaign and other social movements.

Finally, my research culminated in coarse theorization of how understanding the World Cup as a mega-media event ought to impact our thinking about the relationship between urban planners and television news media. I became increasingly interested in how planners worked to capitalize on the intense television presence that accompanied the World Cup through attempting to influence the broadcast narratives of space. I asked, how does planning for a mega-media event and narrations of place through the medium of television impact planning decisions? In my analysis, I describe this aspect of urban planning, made-for-TV planning.

Through the course of the last two years, I spent nearly six months in South Africa, predominantly in the city of Durban (with a few short research trips to Pretoria and
Johannesburg). Located on South Africa's east coast, Durban, with a population that exceeds three million people, is the country's second largest city by population and home to the busiest port in Africa. With year-round semi-tropical climate, Durban marketed itself as the ‘warmest place to be for the 2010 World Cup.’ During the World Cup, Durban hosted eight World Cup matches including a second round match and a semi-final. While maintaining a strong reputation as a national tourism center, Durban has yet to develop the international profile of other South African cities, namely Cape Town. City management hoped that hosting the World Cup could begin to build Durban's international profile as an elite sport and tourist destination.

**Dissertation Format**

My thesis is comprised of a chapter outlining how I came to do this project and my positionality, a methods chapter as well as three self-contained, but linked, journal length articles that theorize different aspects of my case study. In the three empirical chapters, I am ultimately writing about a particular hegemonic message track that was/has been adopted by the city of Durban (and other cities that fall outside of the scope of the thesis) that is permeated with a colonial, Western, elitist notion of what it means to be a modern, civilized, 'world class' city – here I am not referring to colonial in the sense of a state-centered colonial power, but rather a process in which ‘planning fixes’ and ideas about how to treat urban planning challenges were dominated by solutions developed in cities in Europe and North America. This was, in part, at the behest of FIFA who dictated terms of host city agreements and aspects of the planning process, shaping the urban planning for the event. To this end, one chapter looks specifically at the mobility of ideas on what it means to be a 'world class' city and traces the ways in which the planning processes for the World Cup worked to undermine alternative imaginations of what a 'world class' mega-event host city might look and act like. In another chapter, I focus on particular mechanisms of policing used for the control and production of public space to materialize this 'world classness'. The final paper, on made-for-TV planning, provides the groundwork for theorizing the influence of a particular medium, namely television, for distributing the message to a broad audience. In this theorization, I worked to explore the analytic opportunities of understanding the World Cup and other similar mega-events as *television* events, rather than tourist centered events, and
explain the mechanisms that are used to produce narrations of place, while also highlighting some of the ways in which this particular media strategy impacts what is known about a host city.

Each empirical chapter draws on a different set of literatures to unpack a specific phenomenon that I observed through my research. With each chapter, there was a challenge to make a coherent, grounded argument within the confines of the limited page length of a journal article. I believe that each, independently, makes key contributions to the field, while collectively telling a complex story of the World Cup in South Africa.

Prior to these empirical chapters, I provide a methods chapter that works to both outline my methodological approach and to contextualize my choice of methods within on-going scholarly debates on methodology happening both within geography and beyond. I take this opportunity to ponder the ethics of social geographic and feminist geographic methodologies. Following the lead of Kobayashi (2003), I am interested in what a truly reflexive analysis of methodology might look like. I use my methodological approach, within the context of this project, to suggest alternative ways of thinking through research methods and community engagement.

**Empirical Chapter Summaries**

**Durban's Future? Rebranding Through the Production/Policing of Event-specific Spaces at the 2010 World Cup**

This chapter traces three interrelated mechanisms designed to control the use of event-specific public spaces in Durban, South Africa during the 2010 World Cup. First, I explore the implementation of new municipal bylaws designed to regulate 'nuisance' behaviors in public spaces. Through vaguely worded prohibitions on numerous behaviors deemed to be incongruent with proper use of public space, law enforcement officials were given sweeping new powers in the regulation of public space. While initially implemented specifically for the World Cup, many of these new bylaws were not automatically rescinded following the mega-event. The second mechanism I explore is the curtailment of social movement actions, through the
restriction of permits for protests, during the World Cup. Recognizing that social movement protests could capitalize on the media attention that accompanies an event like the World Cup in ways that would distract from the narrative the city attempted to promote the city in and through hosting mega-events, policing strategies were devised to limit authorization of permits to march or protest to days in which matches were taking place in other cities. Third, I discuss the introduction of a Welcome Ambassadors program that worked to identify and train key volunteers to provide a friendly face within Durban's public spaces during the World Cup. These ambassadors were asked to promote a particular narration of space through their role of welcoming tourists into event-specific spaces. I argue that, while many of these initiatives were limited to the duration of the World Cup, especially in terms of the funding they received, through these mechanisms we get a glimpse into the municipality’s hopes for what Durban will be like in the future (with increased tourism and foreign direct investment). Thus, hosting the World Cup was, for Durban, as much about promoting a future vision of the city as it was about highlighting the current city and its people.

This chapter is a revised version of a paper published in the journal, Sport in Society, in 2010 and republished in Sport in the City: Cultural Connections (Routledge, 2011) edited by Michael P. Sam and John Hughson. It has been revised and reworked to reflect feedback received through the thesis defense process and contains much that is substantively different from the published version.

While You Were Distracted by the Vuvuzela: Cloning, Securitization and Race in South Africa

In my second empirical chapter, I use a cultural cloning (Essed and Goldberg 2002) framework to discuss the pursuit, by city officials in Durban, of a particular, narrow, 'world class' city agenda while hosting the World Cup. I explore how processes of policy mobility, particularly in regards to policies around safety and security, shaped Durban's understanding of what it meant to be a 'world class' host city. I argue that the framing of the 2010 World Cup as somehow uniquely African disguised ways in which already existing inequalities were perpetuated in and through the implementation of best practices that reinforced hegemonic conceptions of how a 'world class' city looks and operates. I briefly trace the relationship, within the academic
literature, between the world city hypothesis (Friedmann 1986) and theorizations of 'world class' cities, highlighting how African cities have largely been left out of this body of scholarship. Despite the exclusion of African cities from the academic literature on world cities and 'world class' cities, South African host cities, like Durban, desire to be recognized as 'world class'. Unfortunately, the pursuit of a dominant notion of the 'world class' city largely undermined the potential of any alternative conceptions of what a 'world class' city could mean, while simultaneously ignoring the material inequalities of the post-apartheid city. I point to the World Class Cities for All campaign as providing a competing articulation on how to be a 'world class' host city based on the inclusion of the needs and desires of urban poor and other marginalized groups within society. In doing so, the World Class Cities for All campaign is attentive to the particularities of geography and history, which becomes increasingly important as the World Cup and other mega-events are being hosted by cities within the underdeveloped world with greater frequency. The World Class Cities for All campaign provides a model to look to in the quest to incorporate issues of social justice into the hosting of mega-events.

“We have the Ability to Create the Headlines”: Made-For-TV Planning and the Politics of Urban Knowledge Creation

For my final empirical chapter, I theorize the implications of the television media strategy, as I understand it to be mobilized by both city planners and national event organizers to influence the broadcast narratives of place during the World Cup. I argue that while simultaneously being theorized as a mega-event, the World Cup, which saw almost half of the world's population tune in to watch at least a portion of the action, must also be understood as a television event. Thinking through the World Cup in South Africa as a television event allows us to understand how a particular geographic imagination of a host city is mass-produced by and through international media covering the event. This requires that we pay attention to the ways that the World Cup is also about the politics of representation. It is important, then, that scholarship on such mega-events is conscious of the place narratives that accompany the broadcasting of the soccer matches. Event planners and urban planners, alike, were acutely aware of the enormity of the television audience that accompanies hosting the World Cup and devised a planning strategy
that worked to capitalize on the television media presence. In what I am calling made-for-TV planning, I develop an initial theorization of the mechanisms through which city planners organize and facilitate such a strategy. Among the key elements that I point to are strategic agreements between city management and news media organizations which blur the lines between boosterism and news about place. The existence of such partnerships requires us to rethink the relationship between planners and the news media. In addition to these partnerships, I highlight the uneven geographies of urban investment that feed what can be described as the postcard effect (Sadler and Haskins 2005) in which narrowly framed, partial scenes of the city become the basis for knowing about the entire city. I argue that this case study indicates the need to develop a robust research agenda to understand the elements and impacts of made-for-TV planning on the politics of urban knowledge production. Such a research agenda should include analysis of how media organizations understand their role in the broadcasting of particular headlines orchestrated through this planning process. Additionally, there is significant room for robust content analysis of television place images that accompany sports broadcasts. Further research should work to expand critical planning theory to include insights from media scholarship and theoretical approaches to representation and narration.
I want to start with a quick note of appreciation for being encouraged to think deeply about the crucial scholarly, political and personal questions embedded in the topic of positionality. I have been drawn to learn from and work with critical scholars because of the extraordinary and tough challenges they pose---and the insights they provide to my work as well as to society, academia, geography more specifically, interdisciplinarity, and to understanding and engaging with collective politics and individual racialized formations. This reflection on my positionality – knowing how to adequately articulate my thoughts on the matter – has been really challenging for me to write, but I recognize the importance of it is part of an on-going, personal, political, and scholarly commitment to engaging in counter-hegemonic work. I begin with a personal project biography and try to answer the question of how I came to do the project that I did. I follow this with reflections on how my social location shaped my research in South Africa and the analysis that stemmed from it.

My introduction to the academic study of South Africa came relatively early on in my undergraduate experience at the University of Washington in a course entitled Black Political Thought taught by Professor Patrick Rivers. The course focused on historical and contemporary Black political thinking both in the United States and in South Africa. We read about and discussed the social movements that were both inspired by and emerged from political ideas centered on race, particularly Blackness, in both countries. I was immediately attracted to, though somewhat naively, the passion and pace of social change in South Africa leading up to and following the demise of the apartheid regime. In some ways, I saw South Africa as taking the torch of American Black political thought, combining it with an indigenous political and racial consciousness, and igniting an inspiring social revolution of resistance and promise. This sparked my intellectual curiosity – a curiosity fueled by other courses in African American studies and eventually in a trip to South Africa in the spring of 2006 to, in part, determine the feasibility of me pursuing graduate studies in South Africa.
How I, as a young, white, male from the suburbs of Seattle, ended up in a college level course on Black political thought has deeper roots than my entrance to the University of Washington. I sought out classes in African American studies to feed a long-standing interest in questions of race, the civil rights movement, social revolution, and Blackness in the United States and elsewhere. These interests were fueled by early experiences growing up in diverse suburbs of south Seattle, a literal poster child for Head Start (a pre-school program that provides comprehensive education, health, nutrition, and parent involvement services to low-income children and their families), summers spent with my working class family in Queens, New York, a supportive and social justice minded mother, a love for hip-hop, and childhood reads of *Huckleberry Finn*, the *Autobiography of Malcolm X*, *A Lesson Before Dying* and whatever else I could get my hands on to try to make sense of questions of race, racialization, and persistent, systemic inequality (of course, my vocabulary and sophistication of understanding regarding these matters has matured since my teenage and pre-teen days). While my childhood experiences provided the spark – as well as plenty of visceral examples such as the racial segregation of my high school classes where honors courses were populated almost exclusively by white students despite the diversity of the school population – to fuel an interest in questions of race, it was not until university that I had a forum and mentorship to develop a more sophisticated, historically grounded, understanding of race and racialization. Although not certain that I wanted to make it my major – Business Administration and Political Science seemed much more practical in terms of developing marketable skills to my freshman mind – African American studies became my intellectual home in a lot of ways. As often the only white face in a diverse classroom of committed and passionate scholars, I developed a vocabulary, and an even greater intellectual curiosity for the academic study of race and racialization. Through African American studies, I also developed an interest in South Africa that would serve as the driving force for my dissertation research.

In March of 2006, a college friend of mine and I boarded a plane for South Africa – for me it was a trip to determine the feasibility of moving to South Africa to pursue graduate studies, for him it was simply a vacation. The two weeks I spent in South Africa were formative for me in a multitude of ways. I decided that I was not ready to move to South Africa for graduate studies. Having never lived outside of Seattle for an extended time as well as concerns about the health of my grandfather made the decision to move half-way across the world too daunting, at the
time. Yet, at the same time, I became fascinated by the impact that hosting the World Cup may have on the changes taking place in post-apartheid South African cities. Not really a soccer fan, I had not contemplated the significance of South Africa hosting the World Cup or the challenges that hosting it might bring to a country or city. Yet, time and time again, people I spoke to were concerned about the impact that planning for the World Cup might have on urban development, policing, the economy, commitments to social services and housing, and a whole host of other issues.

It was not until I began to narrow in on ideas for my Ph.D. research project that I returned my sights on South Africa and the World Cup. In fact, it was not the project that I proposed in my application to graduate school. I had some serious initial reservations about proposing a topic that appeared to be centered on a sporting event, as I was worried that it might not be taken seriously as an academic project. I felt like I had to work to convince my supervisor and others that there was value in studying the World Cup and that the urban spatial implications for hosting the event could speak to many important issues within the discipline of geography and more broadly. In reflection, some, perhaps much, of these reservations were likely a consequence of my own insecurities as a scholar and personal ideas on what constituted a legitimate topic of study. That said, I have experienced my share of teasing for my choice of topic and that attending the World Cup was part of my dissertation research from fellow graduate students, faculty members in my department, and others. Despite this – and perhaps partially as a result of it – I have not waivered in my belief that analyzing the processes of hosting the World Cup in South Africa, and, in particular, Durban, can and should inform our understanding of the social geographies of mega-events, the complicated terrain of policy mobility, the influence of television coverage on urban planning, and many other topics critical to urban social geography.

Upon settling on my project and research plan, I began to work to develop a more nuanced approach to the topics I planned to explore. As part of this process, I presented initial thoughts at a conference at the University of Durham, UK entitled “Security and Surveillance at Mega Sport Events: from Beijing 2008 to London 2012” in April 2008. A cross-disciplinary conference, the event brought together a wide-range of scholars including many of the leading academics interested in questions of security and mega-events, particularly sporting related mega-events. Given the way that questions about security had dominated media coverage of South Africa’s preparation for the World Cup, I was shocked to find that I was the only one talking about the
upcoming World Cup at the conference. Moreover, many scholars in attendance were not only planning on avoiding fieldwork in South Africa, they expressed both surprise and concern over my choice to work and live in South Africa given the supposed 'dangers' it poses not only to outside researchers, but perhaps more specifically to white researchers. This was a sentiment I heard from others to whom I explained my upcoming research. I believe this speaks to both the specific geographic imaginations that people have of life in South African cities and the violence that is seemingly inherent there, but it also says something about the racialization of space and the added fear and danger that comes with transgression of racialized space. The conference attendees did not speak of the same dangers when discussing fieldwork looking at ultra-nationalist soccer hooliganism or soccer related violence in the UK, for example.

This was not the only the moment where I was confronted with geographical imaginations of South Africa and the type of research work that was possible there. In some initial correspondences with the University of Toronto Office of Research Ethics I was directed to paperwork for ethics approval for research focused on HIV/AIDS. While there is no way to know if this was just an honest mistake in a moment of thoughtlessness, it also points to a common belief that if one is studying in South Africa, one must be studying the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

It would be dishonest to say that such moments - especially warnings of potential danger – did not have an impact on how I initially viewed my fieldwork and my own geographical imaginations of South Africa. To prepare, I spoke to several researchers who do work in South Africa including reading as much as I could, developing questions, and lists of desired interviewees. Luckily, both Mark Hunter and Thembela Kepe, both South Africanists within the department, were available to advise me in my upcoming fieldwork. Additionally, Prof. Hunter introduced me to Gerhard Mare, the director of the Centre for Critical Research on Race and Identity at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban – which would become my intellectual home while in South Africa. Dr. Mare invited me to be a position as a visiting research associate and became a close colleague and ally as I worked to prepare and conduct my fieldwork.

My initial research trip to South Africa took place during July – September 2009. My fieldwork was funded by the João Havelange Research Scholarship – a FIFA funded program administered by the International Centre for Sports Studies. I came armed with an approved research proposal
and a plan that focused, largely, on public order policing for the event and the impacts that such policing would have on the lived geographies of South African cities – I was interested in the various urban boundaries that would be created and the ways in which individual’s movement would be circumscribed by such event-specific geographies.

I quickly learned how difficult access to certain key informants in would be. I also realized that while I was ready to talk about the plans for hosting the upcoming 2010 World Cup, that many of the people that I wanted to interview were not yet ready to have conversations about concrete plans. This seemed especially true for civil society organizations who appeared to be waiting for city planners and police to make the first move. Interestingly, I found that I had greatest access to Durban’s Metro Police and the Durban-based South African Police Services (the national police force).

This access quickly evaporated by the time that I returned to Durban – April – August 2010. Promises of behind-the-scenes access to witness public order policing in action were replaced with requests to get accreditation through FIFA’s media accreditation process prior to being granted access – a process that I was unable to complete as my application was perpetually delayed in part because I was not a journalist and lacked affiliation with a media outfit. Additionally, the access to FIFA that I hoped would come from my research funding never materialized. Thus, I was left to strategize mechanisms of collecting data around the contours of opaque organizations – the police, FIFA and, to a lesser extent, city-planning officials. Some of the questions I asked and techniques I pursued developed out of this shifting access.

Six months is an impossibly short time in the field to develop a comfortable familiarity of the places, contestations, politics, people, and issues that I discuss in my dissertation. I was conscious and thoroughly terrified of this challenge, even as I began contemplating this project – terrified I might get something wrong because I take seriously the ethical responsibilities that comes with social science scholarship and I knew I was going to be working against both personal and broader geographical imaginations of South Africa and the urban legacies of apartheid. However, I tried not to let this challenge paralyze me. Rather, I worked to make the most of the time in Durban. My position as a visiting scholar at the Centre for Critical Research on Race and Identity and the University of KwaZulu-Natal provide an invaluable platform for developing a robust community connection. This included conversations with professors from
geography, criminology, sociology, development studies, and history, graduate and undergraduate students, community researchers and other members of the KwaZulu-Natal community and from other universities throughout South Africa. These were opportunities for me to get advice on strategies for research, especially as I encountered roadblocks, but also a chance to interrogate my assumptions and vet my findings as my research began to take shape. One such challenge was on ways to add depth to the branding message track that I had received from talking with members of the city management and planning staff. A professor in sociology suggested that I look at the World Class Cities for All campaign as a way to analyze how a coalition of civil society organizations had come to understand the city’s working definition of ‘world class’, while providing a grass-roots, locally formative alternative version of the concept. I discuss this campaign more fully in my second empirical chapter.

Additionally, I presented my work in three public talks, three university classes, and other university community forums. While certainly I had plenty of reservations and a distinct sense of vulnerability in presenting my preliminary findings and initial analysis to people who live and work in Durban, especially as a researcher coming from North America, I felt it crucial to open my findings up to critique and dialogue in this manner as a way of spot checking my assumptions and sense of what was happening around us. I received critical and supportive feedback in these fora and my work is infinitely better for it. Most of these interactions are not captured in the formal write-up of my methodology: list or interviewees, or transcripts – but nonetheless shaped the findings that I present in this thesis. For example, in a conversation that followed my first talk, I was challenged to think through how contestations over the use of public space during the World Cup are linked to longer histories of interactions between civil society organizations, informal traders, subsistence fisherman, and the police and city. In other words, while the World Cup may have accelerated and enhanced some elements of city policy on the policing of public space with a focus on nuisance behaviors and protest, the city had a history of clamping down on the use of public space, particularly when hosting large international events like the World Conference Against Racism. In other words, the World Cup should not be thought of in isolation, but rather connected to longer trajectories of urban planning.

I was also committed to vetting my assumptions and analysis outside of the university community, as well. I volunteered many hours with the World Class Cities for All campaign, a campaign. My volunteer work, as a member of the community steering committee, brought me
in contact with individuals from a wide variety of organizations who were working on the ground with and in communities who were being directly impacted by decisions made as part of planning for and hosting the World Cup. These included individuals who represented street vendors, labor, refugees, and other vulnerable populations living and working in Durban. Many of these individuals agreed to formal interviews. All of them contributed insight to my theorization of the planning of the World Cup, the motivations that were driving this planning, and the impact it was having on the lived geographies of Durban.

Additionally, I took part in almost daily conversations outside of my work with the World Class Cities for All campaign with my neighbors, friends, friends of friends, strangers in coffee shops and at the beach, taxi drivers and who ever else would talk to me. I was bouncing ideas and concepts off of as many people as I could in my time in Durban. I appreciate that there is a privilege in this – being an American with research funding that placed me in a position to be a researcher, rather than researched - but I felt the need to have as broad of conversations about what was happening in the city as possible. This included the publication of some of my initial findings and ideas in an article that appeared in The Mercury, a Durban based, English language, daily newspaper, on June 18, 2010 – one week into the tournament. In both formal and informal ways, I worked to initiate dialogue on my work – both as a way of assumption testing and as a way of contributing to on-going conversations about the event that was unfolding around me.

While I do not point to these as replacements for the knowledge and insight that could be gained from a more prolonged stay in Durban, I believe they point to me making the most of my time in South Africa to reduce the blind spots that my social position created in my research while also helping me address, both personally, and in my academic work, the problematic geographic imaginations about South Africa that I spoke of earlier. I also hope that these reflections work to illuminate some of my political and ethical commitments to being a scholar who is committed to community based work and who takes seriously my obligations to the communities I worked with and write about to get my assumptions and analysis as refined as they could be and to capture as many nuances and complexities as possible in the way I wrote and talked about the planning process for the World Cup and its broad implications.

I am committed to the understanding that race structures our lives, experiences, and social relations and understand that one of the privileges of whiteness is that whiteness and the
privileges structurally associated with it are often unmarked and unnamed. What follows is an attempt to reflect on some of the ways that this may have played out during my fieldwork.

In part, I want to trouble the notion of whiteness as a marker of identity in my work in South Africa or more specifically that there is a monolithic whiteness that gets read in a singular way in South Africa. Here, I am trying to get at the ways in which race works in and through scale and geography. I believe that my whiteness ought then be connected to a particular geographic history of a place. Given that, my whiteness is directly implicated in some aspects of this history of race, racialization and racialized oppression while not as directly implicated in other aspects. It is this geography of whiteness and scale of whiteness that shaped how I was read. In other words, I was not just a young white male conducting research on questions of security, exclusion, and urban planning centered on planning for the World Cup - I was an American white male doing this research. In some ways, which I detail below, I think this re-positioned me away from the specific racial histories and manifestations of white privilege in South Africa – though not entirely.

I believe that my Americaness, in part, allowed me to transgress some of the still lingering racial boundaries that exist in post-apartheid Durban, but this subject position – of the white American academic and the privileges attached to it - undoubtedly also shaped other boundaries. This was perhaps most evident in my discovery of topics that were simply a non-starter in interviews. For example, in each interview with members of the police, questions of the ways in which the legacy of apartheid – and in particular, apartheid era policing strategies as they related to the perpetuation of racial segregation – may be impacting current approaches to public order policing were met with virtual silence – and often an evocation that what I was asking about was the dark past – a ‘dark’ past that they refused to comment on. Here are two examples where this was made most clear to me,

In an interview with a colonel in the South African Police Force, when asked about the legacy of apartheid and its impacts on current policing strategies, I was told that "our dark past, at a certain level it will effect policing because you talk about equity – it is a fact – how it was used – some people say it was implemented correctly, some people say it was not implemented correctly. These are individual concerns and should not stand in the way of our collective goal to improve this country and this city." (Govender 2009 - personal interview) Later in the interview,
Govender qualified his response noting, “Like I said, my opinions are my opinions, but when I come in here I represent government. If you are I are having a drink a little bit later, I would tell you some different things” (ibid.).

On another instance, a member of the Durban Metro Police explained his desire not to have a conversation on the legacy of apartheid more explicitly, saying, "I see on your letter ‘mapping the legacy of apartheid in the planning for 2010,’ I cannot relate to those issues because I actually don’t know the scenarios... I sit here in an integrated Metro Police in an integrated country, but I was in the military police in the South African Defense Force under apartheid – that was my job. But in general, as far as theory is concerned, I cannot map that as far as your project is concerned, but I can give you a whole lot of issues as far as planning for 2010 is concerned" (Middleton, Metro Police 2010 - personal interview).

I read this as, in part, a product of my position as a researcher coming from outside the particular, embodied experiences of apartheid. What I believe this mostly speaks to were the limits to potential avenues of discussion during my time in South Africa. This ‘dark’ past that was, perhaps, even more silenced in interviews with me than it might have been in conversations with others given my positionality and social location. Yet, even given these silences in the interviews, what I have tried to do is identify the layering onto an apartheid landscape of a veneer of so-called ‘world class’ city discourse deployed in the service of selling Durban. The silences themselves are telling. The police were skirting the subject in collusion with selling, specifically to me, a particular, in some ways, sanitized vision of ‘their’ city; a vision that erased history and indeed worked to perpetuate the ongoing racialization and inequality so pervasive in the Durban landscape.

The spectre of apartheid haunted every encounter I had in South Africa during my research, even if attempts at discussions on the legacy of apartheid were largely met with silence. Some of this haunting was a result of my personal expectations and histories with the anti-apartheid struggle – my personal memories of the news coverage of the moment when Mandela emerged from Robben Island and the long lines at the polls that elected Mandela as president, for example. To me, the social organizing and struggle against apartheid was an inspiration and one of the most exciting contemporary examples of the possibility of social movements to succeed in the struggle for social justice. From this, prior to visiting South Africa, I had developed a whole set of
expectations of what I would find with the hopes that the social consciousness of Mandela would continue to pulse in both the social movements and governmental orientations alike. Of course, I recognized that my expectations of South Africa were, in part, naïve and, in part, hopeful and consequently not fully appreciative of the complexities of politics, activism, and life in contemporary South Africa. But these are the ways that in which apartheid haunted my work in South Africa, even as I worked to develop a more complex understanding of urban planning in Durban. Moreover, the legacies of the brutality of apartheid, both in terms of the material legacies as well as affective legacies, haunted all aspects of my work in South Africa as well as planning for hosting the World Cup, even as much of the legacy was not discussed.

Certain silences can be interpreted more powerfully from specifically situated standpoints – I am thinking of McKittrick’s (2006) re-reading of Canadian history with attention to racialization and Mahtani’s (2002) re-reading of performativity with attention to ‘tricking the border guards’ as two examples. Thus, while I am opposed to essentialist renderings of any identity, I am also aware that - and indeed my research has been driven by this awareness - that hegemonic knowledge constructions are shaped by geographically specific histories of race, nation, gender, and as an American white researcher in South Africa, certain storylines (about planning and television) were more accessible to me than others, such persistent haunting by apartheid of social relations and landscape of South Africa. Even so, I have attempted to work against these silences to try to bring what I was able to observe from my positioned standpoint into dialogue with what I have learned from other differently positioned sources.
Methodological Approach
“How do we research process?”

In pursuing a critical examination of my methodological approach, I have encountered several ethical quandaries, which I explore in more detail in this chapter. In particular, I question the way that social geography contemplates the ontology and epistemology of methodology more broadly, and ask what a truly reflexive analysis of methodology would look like (see Kobayashi 2003). I also detail my own methodological approach and suggest some alternative approaches towards studying the issues that concern me in this dissertation.

Before I delve into this territory, I want to share a short vignette that hints at some of my concerns with methodological approaches.

I recently took a break from agonizing over writing my own methods chapter to attend an informal discussion/workshop with a visiting scholar. During the course of our conversation, the scholar expressed ambivalence about recent 'celebrations' over the 10th anniversary of the inclusion of mixed-race as a census category in the UK census. She asked what the official recognition and designation of such a category might do to progressive movements dealing with issues of racism and exclusion. In response to this provocation, I expressed my thoughts about the nature of such categorizations – namely, that while the inclusion of mixed-race on the census can be extremely important for issues of visibility and organizing, we also must think through how such a category might be implicated in processes of racialization. In other words, if we accept that race is socially constructed, I argued, we should also think through how categories like mixed-race do more than just describe something that is, but also work to reify particular distinctions between races and work to establish, or at least reinforce, the salience of racial categories. With respect, specifically to the 10-year anniversary of the inclusion of the category of mixed-race, it is important to think through the historical and spatial moments that lead to its inclusion. Additionally, we have to analyze the way that this category has been used, by whom, for whom, and to what ends. I related this back to my own work, in which there is a conscious absence of counting racialized bodies within my analysis or empirical description. This is not because I do not believe that issues of race are not important in my study and my analysis – quite
the contrary. I believe the story that I tell is thoroughly imbued with race – imbued in race because geographic imaginations, perpetuated by the global media, are saturated with racial geographic tropes and assumptions of what life is like in South Africa. Furthermore, in tracing the processes of urban planning that shaped Durban’s preparations for the World Cup, I highlight the tendency of planners to look to western (European and North American models) for best practices in planning. Beyond just transferring technocratic policy mechanisms, the best practices also privilege particular conceptions of how a city should look and operate. That these idealized urbanisms are western in origin means that, as adopted best practices, they also import western notions of ideal urban behaviours and practices to Durban. This is a racialized civilizational project insofar as it elevates western notions of civility and ‘the urban’ above vernacular or local understandings. As a project of aiming for world class city status (as discussed in the second empirical chapter), Durban’s hosting of the World Cup functioned as a racialized civilizational project precisely because, as I discuss in the first empirical chapter, its mobilization of policing and volunteerism sought to reconfigure – using western notions of civility - what behaviours and bodies are in place and out of place within Durban’s city-spaces.

This civilizing project is, of course, far from recent. As a way of adding historic context to this civilizing project, Goldberg, in *The Threat of Race*, links the rise of tropes of civility and social virtues of “refinement, urbanity, sociability, and courtesy” (Goldberg 2009, 41) to a European Enlightenment project that linked these characteristics, in no small part, to racialized hierarchies and distinctions. One of the mechanisms through which distinctions between racialized groups were defined was through the belief that each racialized category had a particular predisposition and capacity for elements of civility and social virtues – refinement, urbanity, sociality, and courtesy. Western European, white people were deemed to be paragons of these virtues and therefore ‘ideal' models that others may or may not be able to emulate through training or education (Stoler 1995, McClintock 1995). As Goldberg explains, “The longing to connect, to be part of a civil order, came to be conjured, among other modalities through racially driven lines of demarcation” (Goldberg 2009, 42). This linkage of racial hierarchies and hegemonic notions of what constitutes civility or appropriate civilized use of public space is not just a historical aberration, but rather continues to shape ideas of urbanity today. Consequently, the trafficking of ‘best practices’ on how to look and operate as a ‘world class’ city – ideas conceived of and developed in largely European contexts, ought to be linked to long histories of attempts to
civilize through the governing of ‘civil’ relations between individuals that occur in and through the public space of the urban. As Goldberg explains,

“Race accordingly has been a primary ingredient in the making, molding, and manifesting of modern civility. In offering the conditions of possibility for the enactments and performances of personhood and subjectivity, race figures the presumptive representatives of social civility and who bears its burdens.”
(Goldberg 2009, 52).

In other words, notions of civility and appropriate uses of and behaviors in public space are thoroughly racialized. Restricting certain ‘nuisance’ behaviors, the policing of dissent, and restrictions around informal trading should all be understood as within the realm of the civilizing project. Furthermore, Goldberg links modern manifestations of this project to neoliberal inspired government policies and reforms that have, in part, worked to transfer some of the aspects of governing the appropriate use of public space to civil society organizations through empowering individuals to police themselves and others on civil uses of public space. The Welcome Ambassador program, discussed in my first empirical chapter, can be read, in part, as such a transfer of authority – masking the formal international, governmental and policing regimes that worked shape what constitutes acceptable behavior in the modern city in South Africa.

Through this thesis, I am interested in mapping processes of racialized othering in and through planning decisions and discourses of security that emerged through South Africa's hosting of the 2010 World Cup. In reply to my intervention, the visiting scholar asked, “But I have a really serious question -- how do we research process?”

This question, while seemingly simple, offers a very important question for social geography. In writing about a feminist methodological approach in geography almost fifteen years ago, Rose notes that,

The feminist task becomes less one of mapping difference - assuming a visible landscape of power with relations between positions ones of distance between distinctly separate agents - and more one of asking how difference is constituted, of tracing its destabilizing emergence during the research process itself. (Rose, 1997: 313)

The challenge, then, for feminist scholarship, is precisely one of researching process in light of difference and diversity. Processes through which socially constructed differences, like race (mixed-race), gender, ability, etc. come to be constituted and to have meaning. While we can
see the influence of feminist, anti-racist, Indigenous, post-colonial and other critical scholarship in much of the academic work produced in the discipline, we still have work to do in regards to methodology – in particular, methodology that is focused on processes - racialization as opposed to race and gendering as opposed to gender, for example.

It seems to me that while there was a moment in the 1990s when questions of methodology and the politics of conducting research were of central importance to the debates within geography, largely because the work of several feminist geographers, we, as a discipline, have largely moved away from substantive discussions about methods (there are some exceptions, see Moss 2002). While in some ways this reflects the wide acceptance of feminist interventions of the 1990s in much of the scholarship produced by the discipline, I do not believe that it means that we have necessarily developed a more refined approach towards understanding how to research difference with greater precision.

In a recent piece published in Antipode (Roberts and Mahtani 2010) a colleague and I express our concerns about the tendency of research on race and neoliberalism to simply map the impacts of neoliberal policy reforms on racialized communities. We argued that much of the current research in geography on the relationship between neoliberalism and race were projects that mapped 'racist eruptions' rather than working to understand neoliberalism as more than a “socioeconomic process that has racial implications.” We advocated for an understanding of neoliberal policy reforms and the acceptance of neoliberalism as the basis of a political philosophy as a project of racialization as it “modifies the way that race is experienced or understood in society” (Roberts and Mahtani 2010: 250). The intervention we were attempting to make was one that challenged scholars to understand race as much more complex than the fixed categories you may find on the census – categories which we can place onto a landscape of power and highlight the ways in which neoliberal reforms disparately impact one or more. Rather, we hoped that the discipline could move, both analytically and methodologically, towards understanding the social construction of race as an on going, evolving project. In other words, critical scholarship should ask how race and other aspects of difference are constituted rather than just map the differences. This, to me, gets precisely at the heart of the question of how we research process. Yet, twenty years after the path breaking work by feminist geographers in regards to methods in geography, we are still asking ourselves the question of how do we do this in practice?
As a project, I see my dissertation as an applied attempt to answer this question. I do not imagine my work as mapping an always already existing and knowable landscape of power and social relations but rather work to provide a thorough analysis of the evolving processes shaping urban life in Durban that work to reify and re-imagine particular socially constructed identities. Process, in other words, is central to my work and my methodological approach. Additionally, as a politically engaged scholar, I believe that my positionality ought not be limited to reflections within my analysis, but should be a conscious component of my methodological approach. Rose describes such a position as a “process of constitutive negotiation” (1997: 316). As Moss notes, feminist research must be conscious of the “relationships among people involved in the research process, the actual conduct of the research, and process through which the research comes to be undertaken and completed” (2002:12). Yet, quite often discussions of the relationships that are central to such a research approach are simply not discussed when scholars present the findings of their research. Many observations on methods are rather formulaic and focus almost exclusively on the formal tools that were used to ‘gather’ data. In some cases this is followed up with an autobiographical postscript or two to prove that the scholar is aware that their positionality may have impacted certain aspects of the data collection, research relationships and analysis (see Kobayashi 2003). Much about the research and process of interpreting and analyzing 'data' is missing from this attempt at explicit reflexivity. Conducting research is often a messy and complicated set of ethical decisions and relationships that go beyond the things covered in one's ethics review application or one's discussion of method and positionality. Often absent is an understanding of how one's political and personal ethical commitments impact their research. This has been addressed, in part through interventions like participant action research, but I would argue that even within other forms of research as commonplace as in depth individual interviews, one's political commitments may shape how this work is done. In other words, while we use catchall words like 'in depth individual interviews' to describe our research methods, these only shed partial light onto the methodological practices and approaches that shape what an interview looks like and how power relations manifest themselves in and through practices of research.

In the project that comprises my dissertation, as well as my research more broadly, there are questions with which I am constantly grappling. Some of the concerns rattling through my head are: What does it mean to be an anti-racist, politically engaged researcher? How does this
impact one's choice of methods? How can we think through issues of positionality as fundamentally shaping everyday research choices and practices as opposed to just impacting how we analyze or write about our work? I am conscious of the power dynamics that exist whenever one tries to do research that goes beyond what I might facetiously call navel gazing, but do not believe that this limits us to just talking about ourselves.

I raise these issues here to provide a brief introduction to my own choices for my methodological approach. In the rest of this chapter, I provide an analysis of and justification for surrounding my research method, which was designed to examine and analyze the impacts of the planning of the World Cup on the lived geography of host cities, especially Durban. I endeavored to build a diverse archive that approached this question in and through a diversity of spaces and scales. I wanted to allow myself the freedom to follow leads and pursue angles that may not have been those that I originally assumed to be important or interesting. Part of my rationale behind following such an approach was to welcome the unanticipated into my research and archive. This sense of anticipation and the unknown was partially a product of my positionality. While I had been to South Africa prior to this research project, I had not yet visited Durban in my previous trip, so I was unfamiliar with the particularities and complexities of Durban's specific sociocultural geographies. Additionally, my previous experiences in South Africa had largely been as a tourist, rather than an academic with a particular set of questions and concepts I wanted to explore. The other aspect of anticipation relates more specifically to the nature of the World Cup and my project itself. While I shy away from fetishizing the World Cup as creating new geographies and social relations, I believe it is important to recognize that a mega-event the magnitude of a World Cup (in terms of duration, media attention, expense, and securitization) had never been hosted by an African nation before. This does not mean that we should understand it outside of the socio-economic and historical contexts with which it takes place, but rather as a nexus of forces perhaps accelerated as a result of the unique political and social national climate that such an event can create. Finally, from the onset of my research, a feeling of uncertainty and anxiety permeated many people's thoughts of what may happen when the World Cup finally arrived – while people anticipated certain events occurring, there was a sense that something entirely unexpected could also occur. Thus, when developing a methodological approach for the planning of an event, with this in mind, I felt it important to design a large degree of flexibility into my research design. Yet, this flexibility was bounded by political and

As I pointed out earlier, drawing on the insights of feminist geographers, in 1997, Rose challenged the common approach to geographical research that involved questions of socially constructed/manifested difference which was comprised, primarily, of studies documenting how differences manifest themselves in society. Rose's critique is both one of research methodology as well as research product or outcome. Drawing on the work of several feminist geographers, Rose challenges the ability of a researcher to omnipotently map the 'visible landscape of power' that constitutes their 'field' (Rose 1997: 313). She also questions the value of placing difference within such a map. The implications of such a project are that both difference and the landscape in which it exists are static and objectively mappable by the researcher. Both assumptions have been thoroughly challenged by feminist (and other critical) geographers over the course of the last two decades. Recent work, especially work on the relationship between geography and racialization, have highlighted the need to focus our energy on ever evolving processes through which difference is constituted, marked, and given material importance in and through place – as opposed to research that points to the existence of difference in place (see Roberts and Mahtani 2010, Gilmore 2002, McKittrick 2006, and Sundberg 2004 for examples of this type of work).

While the existence of a relationship between socially constructed differences and geography is important to document, research that simply maps differences in place can work to reify structures of differentiation rather than destabilizing geographies of racialization and exclusion as I have gestured to earlier.

Thus, in developing a methodological strategy for understanding the implications of planning decisions, strategies and motivations for the 2010 World Cup, I worked to devise a methodology that followed these insights of Rose and others and focused on the constitutive elements of difference and geographies of exclusion in and through World Cup planning. In doing so, I focused on the processes through which certain, dominant, ideas of how Durban, as a host city, should look and act were materialized through planning mechanisms – mechanisms that, in part, work(ed) to reify racialization and other processes of difference through enacting new forms of control over the use of public space as well as over urban knowledge production. In looking at
these processes, I attempted to approach my project through a focus on developing a diverse archive of material that engaged with my research questions through an expansive approach that examined the various ways that World Cup planning impacted the lived geographies of Durban. Thus, I interviewed and worked with groups and individuals from various communities and roles in the planning processes. This allowed me to engage with the planning processes in and through various scales and sites, as well as with various actors who shaped and responded to the planning processes, both formal and informal.

In working to explore these processes, I engaged in a mixed-methods approach that included qualitative interviewing, critical discourse analysis, and participant observation. In addition to these formal components of my methodology, my understanding and theorization of the planning process was shaped by my community involvement and the informal relationships that I developed during my time in South Africa. I elaborate on the role that these informal aspects of my research played in my findings towards the end of this chapter. Before engaging in that discussion, I briefly discuss each of the other components of my methodological approach.

**Qualitative Interviewing**

I was initially interested in talking to people from four main groups: South African government officials, FIFA officials, representatives from security firms hired to execute safety plans, and members of activist and community organizations responding to and taking part in the planning for the World Cup. My initial “wish list” of interviewees evolved from a daily read of World Cup planning coverage in local and national newspapers. I began by approaching key individuals working on safety and security planning within Durban. I also spoke with numerous members of the University of KwaZulu-Natal community who were researching issues related to the planning of the World Cup and the impacts that hosting tournament matches would have on the lived geographies of host cities. From these initial contacts, my list of interviewees snowballed to include city management officials, members of the various police units working on World Cup planning, key individuals within civil society organizations attempting to influence planning decisions, FIFA representatives and various individuals whose lives were
intimately impacted by decisions around hosting the World Cup. While issues of security and safety were my initial line of inquiry, my research expanded quite significantly to encompass other aspects of World Cup planning. Yet, even with this expansion the specter of security (or perceptions of security/insecurity and safe spaces) was a key theme that ran through much of my interviews. That said, I found it quite difficult to gain access to security personnel, especially police officers and private security guards tasked with carrying out the policies and bylaws created as part of the World Cup planning process. I encountered numerous roadblocks that cut off seemingly promising inroads into access to the practices and procedures of public order policing. As a result, while I was able to interview a few key members of the policing leadership, I was not able to gain a behind-the-scenes look or understanding to the implementation of the World Cup security policies. As a consequence, I had to devise an approach to recruit interviewees that worked around these roadblocks to develop an understanding of World Cup policing, through interviewing individuals who experienced policing as the public being policed.

In each of my interviews, I pursued an open-ended, conversational style and largely let my interviewees direct the conversation. While I had a few guiding questions, I allowed the people I was interviewing to introduce new topics of conversation. During the course of my research, I interviewed individuals in Durban, Johannesburg, and Pretoria, but chose to focus on the data collected in Durban for the purposes of writing the articles that make up my thesis. In my appendices, you will find a list of interview participants, letter of introduction, consent form, and a basic interview guide.

**Critical Discourse Analysis**

To supplement my interviews and participant observations, I engaged in textual analysis of various documents including government reports, official promotional material, FIFA reports, and media coverage of the events. In analyzing these texts, I engaged in a methodological approach inspired by both Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and post-colonial theories that I first developed during my masters’ thesis. Both CDA and post-colonial theories, in their own
way, are designed to challenge the knowledge and power structures of society through examining the epistemology of hegemonic narratives. Whereas the underlying principles of CDA recognize the role of discourse and language in reifying the structures of power in society, much of post-colonial theory is concerned with the multitude of ways, including through discourse, that social structures are maintained to enforce a racial hierarchy. CDA provides a working tool to apply the concepts of post-colonialism to understand the role of discourse in society.

Within the context of critical human geography, scholars that have approached critical discourse analysis have “drawn on work in cultural studies, feminism, and postcolonialism to explore the constitutive nature of discourse” (Lees 2004: 103). In understanding the role of media in framing issues for public consumption it is essential to pay special attention to the conceptualizations of power hierarchies embedded within the news story. David Theo Goldberg’s *Racist Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning* provides an inspiring methodological and theoretical example from which I draw significantly. Goldberg’s project in *Racist Culture* is to “map the overlapping terrains of racialized expression, their means and modes of discursive articulation, and the exclusions they license with the view to contending and countering them.” (Goldberg 1993: 9) I am particularly interested in Goldberg’s emphasis on exclusion and aim to map out those particular geographies through this study. His central thesis is that modern racist culture is marked, fundamentally, by its refusal to acknowledge the role that racism plays in everyday structures of society and how these structures work to fundamentally disguise and, simultaneously, reify the power of racism within society. He intricately describes the ways in which liberalism sanctions racist institutions and reproduces racial knowledge with every outwardly progressive gesture, which works to normalize racism as just an aspect of life. I use discourse analysis to provide context and complexity to the data collected from interviews.

Additionally, the insights of critical discourse analysis largely inspired the third article of my dissertation where I examine the ways in which the medium of television as a format for communicating knowledge of place significantly impacted both planning for the World Cup and geographical imaginations of South African host cities. I argue that the unique nature of the medium of television has to be understood as shaping the narratives that emerge about host cities through World Cup coverage. I believe that critical discourse analysis provides the foundation for more robust understandings and analysis of the role of media – television in particular for my
case – in shaping both material policy decisions as well as conceptions of space based on what is contained in broadcasts and what occurs just off camera.

Participant Observation

In understanding the context of my interviews, I also engaged in a methodological approach that is loosely based on the concept of participant observation in that I used my observations of place, interactions, and responses to questions and events to provide the basis for the interpretation of my 'data'. I lived and worked in Durban for two successive summers. I participated, as a research associate, in the activities and scholarship of the Centre for Critical Research on Race and Identity at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, attended community events and forums, volunteered for civil society organizations, watched World Cup matches in stadia, public viewing areas, other public gathering areas and at home, and generally maintained an active social and work life while in South Africa. While much of this does not fall into the category of formal research activities, these experiences, without a doubt, shaped my understandings of the 'data' that emerged from my more formal research activities and proved to be invaluable resources for me to draw upon in making theoretical observations about the impacts of the World Cup on life in Durban.

Beyond the formal methods...

I worked to complement and complicate my formal research methods with community involvement and ethical commitments that are inspired and informed through recent writings on Indigenous methodologies (Wilson 2001, Weber-Pillwax 1999 and 2001). Similar to my drawing from feminist geographical methods, my work does not explicitly deal with questions of Indigeneity, yet I believe strongly that the Indigenous methods and corresponding ethical commitments have value that extends beyond research focused on or done by Indigenous people.
In particular, I have drawn on Indigenous methodological commitments as I worked through the role of informal relationships and community involvement in providing context and depth to the observations and data that emerged from the more formal methods I utilized. For me, my community involvement and the relationships that formed from it were a natural extension of the participant observation I engaged in, as well as essential to acknowledging my commitment to personal integrity in and through my research project. In reflecting on her own research, Weber-Pillwax explained a similar commitment in this way:

Integrity of research is based on how I contextualize myself in my community, with my family and my people, and eventually how I contextualize myself in the planet, with the rest of all living systems and things. Without personal integrity, I would be outside the system. If I am outside the system, I destroy myself. (2001: 168)

Understanding my research and my role as a visiting researcher as within and connected to the communities that live, work, play and otherwise exist within the 'field' that comprised my work played a central role in influencing the way I conducted my work and interacted with people and organizations in Durban and elsewhere in South Africa. In other words, I did not and do not exist outside of the system and context in which I worked and my research simultaneously, while working to theorize planning mechanisms and their impacts, also, in some ways, shaped them. For example, as a visiting research associate at the Centre for Critical Research on Race and Identity, I actively participated in the community of scholars that worked, used, and/or affiliated themselves with the centre in some fashion. I gave talks about my research, taught guest lectures in courses offered by centre faculty, collaborated on writing projects, participated in a graduate course, and engaged in numerous other elements of the community life within the centre. This experience provided depth to my analysis as I was able to receive feedback on my observations, ideas and conclusions at the various stages of my project. Moreover, my institutional affiliation also granted me access to the wider university community, which became my intellectual home away from home. Additionally, the centre and university were integrated into a larger conversation about the World Cup as it unfolded around us and, consequently, my research and its findings were not outside of the geography and events that I was working to understand, but rather intimately involved within those processes. While I do not believe that this community embeddedness makes my research unique, I do believe that this aspect of research on
contemporary spaces and events often goes undiscussed when scholars describe their methodological approach.

Contextualizing my research in this way helped me develop a rather organic process of living, working, and attempting to make sense of what was happening in Durban and the rest of South Africa while I was there. My informal networks and relationships added context and shaped the formal aspects of my research and analysis. Feminist geographers have described similar phenomena in relation to work that adheres to a feminist commitment through what has been described as the betweenness of research. In pointing to a shared commonality across several descriptions of researcher positionality (Nast 1994, Katz 1994, England 1994) within feminist geographic research, Rose notes the common theme of betweenness, “between the `field' and the `not-field', between theory and practice, but also between researcher and researched” (Rose 1997: 313). The use of the descriptor of betweenness to describe the landscape of the research and relationships between the researcher and the researched can largely be read as a critique of approaches to research that assume the possibility of the researcher to exist outside of his or her research. One's position and identity are implicated within their research and research findings both through the impacts of one identity on methodology as well as on interpretation.

Indigenous research methodologies, as described by Wilson (2001) and Weber-Pillwax (1999 and 2001), not only recognizes the embeddedness of the researcher within the research landscape, but argues that being within a community and using this position to shape a research ethic is in fact desirable.

That is not to say that my research and my positionality were entirely comfortable. Navigating my positionality within the complex landscapes of World Cup planning in South Africa was a constant challenge fraught with a constantly shifting set of relationships between me and the project, the city, my interviewees, the World Cup, FIFA, and the communities that I lived and worked in for nearly six months through the course of 2009 and 2010. Staeheli and Lawson (1995) point to the particularly complicated nature of conducting research, as a Western researcher, in the underdeveloped world,

when Western feminists enter developing settings, they cannot escape the power relations that exist between those societies or between themselves as academics and their research subjects, even when they wish to do so. Western researchers are in a position of power by virtue of their ability to name the
categories, control information about the research agenda, define interventions and come and go as research scientists. (Staeheli and Lawson 1995: 332)

And while these relationships were informal and largely fall outside of the prescribed ethics of the research ethics board, they are deeply embedded in complex landscapes of power, which my positionality and research were thoroughly implicated.

**A Three Paper Approach**

For the three articles that comprise the three empirical chapters of my dissertation, I focus primarily on research findings and observations that relate specifically to the World Cup as experienced in Durban. Each of the three empirical chapters looks at a different aspect of the planning process and its consequences. While there is overlap in the data archive that each chapter draws from, they each make a different scholarly intervention and draw from their own distinct sets of literature. They are meant to both be able to be read individually and as complementary pieces of work.

There are both distinct advantages to and challenges connected to approaching my dissertation in this manner. In terms of advantages, the choice of presenting my analysis in three stand-alone articles highlights the diversity of analysis and distinct angles through which my particular case study can be approached and analyzed. In the process, I engaged with three distinct theoretical arguments and bodies of literature to make discrete arguments about elements of the urban processes at the heart of my study. This is not to imply that such a contribution is impossible through a more traditional dissertation model, but rather that the nature of my chosen format was one that necessitated constructing three articles that make independent scholarly contributions.

The ability to publish my work in three different journals and, consequently, have it read by three different audiences also appealed to me as I believe that the nature of my work provides valuable contributions to several different fields and sub-fields as I work across disciplinary lines and draw theoretical and analytical insights from academic debates that tend not to speak to each other. This is also reflected in the diversity of conferences that I have been invited to present my
work at. I believe strongly that the discipline of geography has much to learn from critical work done by scholars from a variety of backgrounds and scholarly traditions. Similarly, I believe that geography has much to offer other disciplines. Thus, in drawing from and contributing to debates that extend beyond geography, I hope that my work points to some of the exciting possibilities of speaking across arbitrary disciplinary divides.

Another consideration that I felt was important was one of timing and the timeliness of my project. Not only have I attempted to contribute to some very contemporary debates happening within the academy, I would also like my work to be part of on-going conversations that challenge the hegemonic ways in which mega-events in general, but sports mega-events in particular, are thought about, discussed and organized, especially in relationship to those being hosted in the underdeveloped world. I see my work as part of a growing number of voices calling for significant change in the approach to the hosting of mega-events to better integrate issues of social justice and social development into the planning of such events. This is even more important now as underdeveloped countries are being awarded the opportunity to host such events with greater frequency – a trend that I anticipate will continue. Given the issues that face many in the underdeveloped world, it is essential that planning for hosting such events is done in a way that does not exacerbate already existing social issues. Although this is not an easy task, I believe that a more equitable way of hosting is possible. I hope that my analysis and insights supports a more complex understanding of the various issues that influence the planning for the World Cup, and to a lesser degree other sports mega-events, as well as the potential sociocultural impacts of hosting such an event than has generally been applied to analysis of sports mega-events. I believed that working towards journal publications as the ultimate goal of my dissertation format would allow my scholarly work to enter into on-going conversations working to imagine alternatives much more quickly than a manuscript. Additionally, I have worked to engage with media both in Canada and South Africa to contribute to existing debates about the South African World Cup, in particular, knowing that my academic work would only be published after the event had concluded.

The challenges of this format are largely due to limitations imposed by the standards of journal publications. The average length of articles in journals in the discipline is approximately six to eight thousand words. This, of course, requires choices in terms of what information and data to include in the formulation of a coherent and meaningful argument. I have chosen to build
largely theoretical arguments from my research and observation and have focused on situating my theoretical intervention within already existing bodies of literature with the intention of providing critical, needed interventions and expansions of key debates. In focusing largely on theoretical interventions, I fear that this has come at the expense of the possibility of rich empirical description of my case and the places which both experienced and were shaped by the processes of hosting the 2010 World Cup. In other words, I recognize that the some of the particularities of the World Cup, itself, may have been sacrificed due to the constraints of the format I chose, as well as the types of interventions I attempted to make.

That said, I see each of these chapters as the foundation from which to build both depth and complexity to the argument that I have outlined. I believe strongly that each can be built upon within the existing context from which they emerge. I also believe that the insights that I have highlighted can also be applied to and refined through other cases and spaces and by other scholars. I now turn to the first empirical paper to explore the policing of public space as a mechanism to influence media coverage and ultimately work towards rebranding the city as an elite-sporting destination.

The treatment of interviewee identities

As outlined in my consent form (Appendix 3), I allowed my interview participants to dictate the way that they wanted to be identified in the text in regards to their name, place of employment, and job title. I gave them the opportunity to revise their choice following their interviews. In most circumstances, my interviewees were comfortable being identified by name, place of employment, and job title – and in such cases, I have identified them in this way in the text. For others, they are identified in other ways depending upon their answers on the consent form.
First Empirical Chapter
Durban’s Future? Rebranding Through the Production/Policing of Event-specific Spaces at the 2010 World Cup

Abstract

As South African cities prepared to host the continent’s first FIFA World Cup, one of the host cities, Durban, constructed plans to revitalize its city image through the media attention that accompanied the tournament. I place this rebranding in the context of what Mbembe (2004) describes as the shift within South African urban landscapes from what he terms as the ‘racial city’ to a ‘metropolitan’ form. Specifically, this paper explores a three-pronged strategy for the policing of event-specific public spaces during the tournament – the policing of nuisance behaviors, the restriction of protests by social movements, and the use of volunteer Welcome Ambassadors. These three endeavors significantly impacted the way in which public space in Durban was experienced during the World Cup for tourists and Durbanites alike. I argue that these public spaces give us a glimpse into the vision that city planners have for the city of Durban as an elite sports destination. The World Cup and the media coverage that it brings provided a rich opportunity for Durban to rebrand its image. Yet, the question remains as to how this will ultimately impact the future direction of city revitalization.

This paper focuses on the production and policing of event-specific urban spaces in Durban for the World Cup as an explicit strategy to use the media coverage accompanying the tournament to rebrand the city as an elite, international sporting destination. While, certainly, the FIFA World Cup is a large-scale event in and of itself, the planning for the World Cup in Durban was

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1 This chapter is a revised version of a paper published in the journal, Sport in Society, in 2010 and republished in Sport in the City: Cultural Connections (Routledge, 2011) edited by Michael P. Sam and John Hughson. It has been revised and reworked to reflect feedback received through the thesis defense process and contains much that is substantively different from the published version.
explicitly oriented around laying the foundation for the realization of a future Durban (Moody 2009). Thus, as much as the planning revolved around the safety and experiences of tourists traveling to Durban during 2010, I argue that the work that went into producing and policing event-specific spaces was much more about attracting future tourists and business investors rather than appealing to World Cup tourists. Moreover, in the event-specific spaces created for 2010 we get a glimpse into the geographical imaginations of the city planners in terms of what they believe that an elite sports tourism destination should look like. I position this argument within the historical urban shift in South Africa following the demise of apartheid, described by Mbembe (2004) as the shift from the 'racial city' to a metropolitan city.

Durban, along with the Province of KwaZulu-Natal and federal government of South Africa, devoted significant resources to the production of these spaces for the games. In this paper, I trace three processes through which event-specific spaces were being produced in Durban for the World Cup. I first look at a set of event-specific municipal bylaws that governed the use of public spaces during the tournament with a particular focus on the regulation of 'nuisance' behaviors. I couple this discussion of the policing of individualized 'nuisance' behaviors with an examination of the planned restrictions on protests or other forms of social movement organizing during the event. Combined, these two sets of practices worked to produce event-specific spaces where the range of 'acceptable' activities was severely curtailed during the tournament. The production of these newly created (and temporary) spaces was not restricted to the imposition and enforcement of new regimes of behavioral regulation. In conjunction with these processes of policing, the city has also devised a volunteer program to enlist local community members to act as “ambassadors... to paint the World Cup in the area he stays positively” (sic) (Govender 2009). These ambassadors, in displaying their national pride and ensuring that tourists had a good time, played a key role in Durban's re-branding. In short, I argue that Durban is hoping to use the World Cup as an opportunity to re-brand the city, setting the groundwork for revitalization. To do that they produced event-specific spaces, through: (1) the regulation of behaviors – i.e. nuisance laws; (2) the restriction of protests; and (3) the employment of a volunteer force to act as 'ambassadors' of national pride. In the final section of the paper, I reflect on the fleeting nature of much of the planning for the World Cup in Durban. While certainly, the World Cup left behind certain structural legacies, such as the newly constructed stadium, some infrastructure development, and highly trained police, much of the planning was
based on an intensification of resources for the six weeks of the tournament. The spaces produced for the World Cup may provide an insight into the geographical imagination of city planner in terms of their hopes for a future, revitalized Durban. They do not, however, represent permanent additions to the Durban urban landscape. Revitalization is an on-going and contested process. The World Cup offered a significant opportunity to alter the Durban brand. Re-branding and the increased tourism and business investment that may accompany a re-imagined Durban represents a starting point to urban revitalization. I argue that this opens up several questions and possibilities.

**Background and Methodology**

This article is based on fieldwork conducted in South Africa from July to September 2009. I was primarily based in Durban. I interviewed city planners, police officers, representatives of community organizations, academics and other South Africans about their expectations for the World Cup and the impacts that it may have on the lived geographies of host cities. During my research, a common theme that ran through many of my interviews, and was echoed in a significant number of media reports, was that as much as the World Cup was an event that happened on the ground in South Africa during June and July 2010, it was much more than that as the matches and everything that surrounds the festivities were broadcast globally. In fact, while the Local Organizing Committee (LOC) projected that 450,000 tourists visited South Africa to attend and otherwise celebrate the World Cup, they estimate that more than one billion people would tune in each day during the event.² While there is room to dispute both of these estimations were rather hopeful, the fact remains that the World Cup was largely experienced through the medium of television as only a small number, relative to the viewing audience, actually traveled to South Africa to experience the matches and festivities in person. My interviews covered a wide range of topics, but one thing that stood out was that everyone I spoke

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² Estimates presented as part of the Local Organizing Committee’s progress report to the South African Parliamentary Committee on Sport on June 17, 2008.
to was hyper aware of the media coverage that the tournament would receive. A commonly expressed belief was that if handled correctly, the intense media coverage that accompanies the World Cup could allow the country and host cities to significantly refresh, or completely alter, their media image or brand. The hope was that a re-branded South Africa, or a re-branded Durban as is the case for this paper, would provide the foundation for a refreshed economy. Ultimately, the hope is that the image displayed globally on television will inspire a future boon in tourism and business investment.

‘Durbanizing’ the Hosting of Mega-sporting Events and the Rebranding of Durban

A central aspect of the city’s vision for the future was using the hosting of the World Cup and the media coverage that comes with it to establish Durban as an elite, sport tourism destination and events host. This goal for the city brand was highlighted in numerous municipal policy documents, editorials written by the city manager, and other forms of public communication including:

- Call for tenders: Durban 2010 marketing and communications strategy and creative development. (2007)
- Durban KwaZulu-Natal South Africa: 2010 FIFA World Cup host city: 2010 and beyond strategy.
- Durban 2010. Presentation to Portfolio Committee on Sport and Recreation by Julie-May Ellington,
- Foreword in Durban: A return to Paradise and its People. Written by Durban’s mayor, James Nxumalo (2011)

Establishing Durban’s international reputation as a ‘world class’ event host and sport tourism destination was also discussed in my personal interviews with city officials. The city manager, Dr. Sutcliffe, in an editorial explained,

The [2010 and Beyond] strategy focuses on ensuring we attract world class events to our city and province, events which reinforce our passion for sport,
art and culture, whilst maximising tourism benefits and ensuring we have world-class facilities… We have coined the word after hosting these events: the Durbanising of sporting events. (Sutcliffe 2006a).

Similar goals were echoed in interviews I conducted with Durban planning staff with comments such as

the one thing that we call the L word, the legacy word, for us we find really annoying, because from the very first decision we made in 2010, there is absolutely no way we can justify spending this money on just an event. Everything that we are doing has to serve the event but also serve a longer-term goal for us, to establish ourselves as a big sporting event city, minor goals improving the public spaces, improving sports facilities. (A member of the Durban 2010 planning staff, personal interview).

What is evident is that establishing Durban as a sought-after host for large sporting events was a central component, if not the central component to a re-branded Durban. Ellison, the head of Durban’s Strategic Project’s Unit and the 2010 planning staff, outlined the components of the central branding strategy, 2010 and Beyond, in a presentation in 2007 in the following slide:

2010 & Beyond Strategy

- Putting Durban on the map
- Scale up infrastructure in the city
- Attract investment
- Create jobs
- Develop sporting infrastructure
- Urban renewal
- Improve tourism products

Portfolio Committee on Sport & Recreation (23rd January 2007) Presentation by Julie-May Ellingson, Head: Strategic Projects Unit & 2010 Programme
What this strategy indicates is that the primary orientation of the branding strategy is the outward image of the city and its international reputation. Job creation appears to be a happy consequence of increased tourism and investment, but the focus was centered on ‘putting Durban on the map.’

The goal of the Durban’s rebranding strategy is at once one to that is semiotic and economic in nature. By this, I mean that the World Cup represents a moment to alter the geographical images associated with the city with the hopes that the new imagery of Durban as a successful, ‘world class’ host city will translate to the improvement of the city’s economic condition through increased foreign investment, tourism, hosting future large sporting events – and that the number of jobs that are attached to these will also increase. In other words, through changing the semiotics of Durban’s brand, city officials hoped that a rebranded Durban would reap lasting economic benefits in terms of tourism and investments. In the third empirical chapter, I discuss the specific media strategy employed by the municipality, in and through planning mechanisms, to utilize the intense television media coverage that accompanied the World Cup to broadcast the rebranded Durban to the world.

At least rhetorically, Durban municipal officials talked of attempts to balance between this infrastructure of international events with providing for urban development that works to address social concerns such as poverty and informal settlements, HIV/AIDS, and homelessness. However, several of my interviewees believed that the balance had been significantly skewed towards investment in tourist and business infrastructure at the expense of urban development to address social issues. Comments, like the following two, illustrate the skepticism that some of my interviewees had about the ability for Durban to translate investments in tourist infrastructure into social development gains:

Durban, under the leadership of Sutcliffe and his neoliberal agenda, has largely turned its back on the people of the city, especially in the central city, to focus on gaining the attention of international tourists and businessmen… Our world class reputation is based on shiny buildings like the ICC [the International Conference Centre], uShaka [aquarium], and a new stadium we did not need, while service provisions continue to remain lacking, inequality grows, and segregation continues (Waters – personal interview 2009).

When the event was mooted it had to be argued that it would deliver a wider set of gains than it was likely to do in order to secure public sentiment and actual decisions. This is a common strategy. As the event drew nearer, with the funds that were available, the promise has had to be paired down. Perhaps there
was some naivety – people did not know what had happened elsewhere or did not understand the limits that FIFA would ultimately impose or thought that the national government would cough up a lot more money. But nation treasury officials told me that they received requests totaling an and additional R6billion [approximately 780 million Canadian Dollars] from cities and that most of these were for elaborations of stadiums and surrounding precincts and not for social gain projects linked directly to the poor. So the shift for me was really about a move from a period where it was all about the sell – making bids, getting support, securing bids, making a case to the national treasury – to when it became a process to deliver the nuts and bolts in a compressed period (Faculty of the School of Development Studies, UKZN, 2009 – personal communications).

This tension of investing in infrastructure to broadcast a particular branded image of the city verses focusing more specifically on addressing on-going social issues and the material legacies of apartheid extends beyond the hosting of the World Cup and is a central challenge faced by cities in the post-apartheid era.

From the 'racial city' to the metropolitan city

In a special issue of Public Culture focused specifically on contemporary Johannesburg, Mbembe (2004) describes the transition the city has undergone in the aftermath of apartheid as one marked by a transition from a 'racial city' to what he describes as a 'metropolitan form' (374). In their 'racial city' form, South Africa's apartheid cities were ordered spatially along racial lines that worked to inscribe socially constructed, though often psuedo-biologically justified, conceptions of race in the urban form through rigid racial segregation and geographies of exclusion. As Mbembe describes, “during the years of racial segregation, architecture and city planning were both the transcription of larger mechanisms of social and urban warfare... Although race as such could not be pinned to a stable biological meaning, it was used as a weapon in the production of a city of barriers and asymmetric privileges” (Mbembe 2004: 384). Following the end of apartheid, this urban orientation gave way to reconstitution of South African cites. As Mbembe writes,

In the wake of the collapse of apartheid (an insidious form of state racism), the collage of various fragments of the former city are opening up a space for
experiences of displacement, substitution, and condensation, none of which is purely and simply a repetition of a repressed past, but rather a manifestation of traumatic amnesia and, in some cases, nostalgia or even mourning. In the process, an original form, if not of African cosmopolitanism then of the performance of worldliness, emerges. (Mbembe 2004: 374).

The transition that Mbembe identifies from a the racial city, under apartheid, to the current orientation, which he describes as a metropolitan form, is a compelling framework for examining the way that city planners, residents, and investors have been shaped by the emergence from the apartheid regime and its urban spatial planning practices. In part, Mbembe is tracing a tendency towards the embrace of the aesthetics of superfluity and the excess of capital, which connects well to the flashiness of Durban’s new ‘iconic stadium’ as well as the circus-like atmosphere of the month long celebration that was the World Cup. Yet, Mbembe is also tracing what he describes as worldliness – or the ways that South African urban planning and urban life are fundamentally connected with global flows of ideas and goods – while also uniquely South African given the particular histories and legacies of apartheid in South African cities. For me, the transition that Mbembe describes captures the tension at the root of Durban’s quest to rebrand itself – through the excesses of the World Cup - as an elite tourist destination and the challenges that the urban spatial legacies of apartheid brings to that process.

Mbembe explains that within process of emerging from the conditions under apartheid, South African cities have developed a metropolitanism that is at once African and at once embedded in global flows of ideas and capital. He explains,

In the process, an original form, if not of African cosmopolitanism then of the performance of worldliness, emerges. It is structurally shaped by the intertwined realities of bare life (mass poverty), the global logic of commodities, and the formation of a consumer public. Today, the nervous rhythm of the city and its cultural pulse are made up of an unrepentant commercialism that combines technology, capital, and speculation. (Mbembe 2004: 374)

This highlights the ways in which urban citizens in South Africa are reimagining the use of space, relationships, and economic innovation to redefine urban life often in extremes. Specifically in reference to worldliness, Mbembe explains,

…the question of worldliness, the being-in-the-world. This is a theme I have been grappling with in my own work, mindful of the fact that to write the world from Africa or to write Africa into the world or as a fragment thereof is a
compelling, exhilarating, and, most of the time, perplexing task. (Mbembe 2010: 656)

Mbembe is writing specifically against Michael Watts, but also a broader tendency of scholarship that looks at African urbanity and concludes that, “it is the slum that constitutes the defining feature of contemporary African metropolises” (Watts 2005, 189). He argues that “There are numerous ways of rethinking the metropolis as it is usually thought of in the global north by taking on board the realities of, as well as innovating theoretically around, aspects of large cities in the south” (Nuttal and Mbembe 2005: 196).

Successfully hosting the World Cup, and in the process successfully managing the use of public space, per the expectations of FIFA and aligned with a hegemonic notion of how a ‘world class’ city might act, can be read as an outward and globally broadcast performance of the attempted 'worldliness' that Mbembe describes. The World Cup and its global consumerist orientation fits in with the what Mbembe and Nuttall describe as the symbols of contemporary South African metropolitanism. They describe the present modernity of South Africa as one filled with images and surfaces that function “to override and displace historical memory through quotidian practices and fantasies of consumption and fantasy” (Mbembe and Nuttall 2004: 368).

Of course, the project of overriding and displacing the memories of apartheid and the racial cities of South Africa's recent past is far from an easy task. One need only to look at the work of Simone (2004) and Bremner (2000 and 2004), for example, to appreciate the complexities of such a shift given the spatial and social legacies of apartheid that still shape urban social relations today. Whereas the World Cup gave city planners in Durban and elsewhere, the opportunity to display to the world how far the city had transitioned from its 'racial city' past into one more globally recognizable as ‘metropolitan’, the still present legacies of apartheid urban planning threatened to disrupt this display of modernity. This paper works to trace some of the policing strategies used to direct media attention to the stories about the present metropolitanism rather than the legacies of the 'racial city'. To this end, this paper traces a three-pronged strategy employed by the City of Durban to manage the use of public space during the World Cup. The three strategies that I outline here are part of a larger project of urban rebranding.
Re-branding South Africa

Confronting the negative media images about South Africa in the international media became a common practice in the run up to the World Cup. Whether in casual conversation or press conferences at FIFA Headquarters in Geneva, the international media bias was called out for unfair portrayals of South Africa. That is not to say that South Africa and Durban do not suffer significant issues with crime as well as other social ills, such as poverty, unemployment, lack of housing and HIV/AIDS – these problems do exist. However, Durban and South Africa more generally saw the World Cup as an opportunity to change these images in much the same way as cities like Manchester used the Commonwealth Games to shed their industrial image and gain status as a modern, world-class city (Smith 2007). For many of the individuals I interviewed, including members of the police, city management and civil society organizations, the World Cup, and the media attention it received, was a prime opportunity to confront South Africa's image and associated bad press. However, this goal of using the World Cup as the catalyst for fundamentally altering global tropes about South Africa, and Africa more broadly, is a formidable task as it confronts a widely held geographical imagination of Africa as an undifferentiated continent in agony – agony caused by underdevelopment, corruption, disease, and backward traditional practices, to name just a few of the widely held stereotypical views held about the continent. Following the lead of Said and his theorization of Orientalism (Said 1979), scholars such as Treichler have shown how media images rely upon and perpetuate a limited set of common tropes about life in Africa (Treichler 1991). These images, combined with other images of Africa in popular culture, underscore a geographical imagination of Africa as an undifferentiated continent of misery. For Treichler, the AIDS epidemic and the way it has been treated in the media has only worked to further exacerbate the issue.

In the case of the media coverage of South Africa, the stereotypical approach to the coverage of the AIDS pandemic is far from the only negative press that organizers of the World Cup were attempting to challenge in their planning for of the World Cup. From the moment that South Africa was announced as host of the 2010 World Cup there were questions about safety and security within the country. These concerns led to widespread speculation that there was a possibility that FIFA had clandestinely pursued an alternative location to be used for the tournament if South Africa proved itself to be unable to meet the safety and security requirements of the organization (Burger 2007). Moreover, questions of security and safety
continued to dominate a significant portion of the international media coverage of the lead up to the tournament.

From national government officials to city planners to police officers, combating perceptions of South African cities as violent and lawless was of a primary concern. Through various programs, the government has appealed to both the popularity of soccer as well as national pride at the core of tournaments, like the World Cup, which pit national teams against each other. To this end, various levels of government engaged in marketing designed to provide South Africans a consistent message about how to talk about South Africa to tourists and foreign press. In many regards, this re-branding took on an explicitly place-based approach. In Durban, there was a concerted effort to produce and police event-specific urban areas that provide alternative images to the negative portrayals that dominate the press. The goal is that these alternative images will provide the catalyst to a re-branding of the city, which in turn will provide for future revitalization.

Given its unique natural beauty and vibrant culture, it could be argued that, “if it were not for its apartheid history, South Africa would have been one of the most visited places in the world” (Maharaj, Sucheran, and Pilay 2006: 278). In South Africa, Durban stands out as a popular tourist and sporting destination with its year-round warm weather, world-class surfing beaches, proximity to attractions and other amenities. To this end, city planners set their sights situating the World Cup in Durban as a unique and powerful opportunity to promote a new Durban image. No one has been more vocal about re-branding the city through sports than Mayor Obed Mlaba, who has been mayor of the eThekwini Municipality since 1996. As Peter Alegi writes,

Mlaba leads a pro-business local administration that views international mega-events as engines of economic growth and branding tools for a city eager to reposition itself as 'South Africa's Playground'. Recognizing sport's potential to bring together an urban coalition of public and private actions seeking to attract investment and enhance the city's image, Durban’s corporate leaders quickly got behind the stadium project”. (Alegi 2010: 409)

The use of the World Cup as a marketing tool at both the national and city levels is not a surprising nor unique phenomena. To this point, David Harvey has argued that the rise of neoliberalism has led to the abandonment, by city governments, of the 'managerial city' model committed to the social-democratic provision of services in favor of the 'entrepreneurial city' model which places priority on projects of economic development and the governmental support
of capitalist growth within cities (Harvey 1989). A significant part of the entrepreneurial city is competing with other cities in a global marketplace of limited resources, such as business investment. Thus, the marketing of the city in the global economy has become a primary driving force behind city governance. The World Cup and the media attention it brings provides an unprecedented chance for South African cities to market themselves to the world as either world class cities for business investment or exotic locations that can function as the playgrounds for jet-setting tourists, or both.

Thus, given the trend of neoliberal entrepreneurialism adopted by cities in South Africa and across the globe, it should not be surprising that host cities have seized upon the World Cup as a moment to present themselves as 'world class' (Harding 2010) locales and have implemented planning priorities accordingly. Moreover, the emergence of the entrepreneurial city did not begin in South Africa with the announcement that it would be the 2010 host of the World Cup. Indeed the host city governments, especially of the larger host cities of Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Durban, were already organized in a manner to support entrepreneurial activity. The supporting of such activity is indicative of the transition to metropolitanism theorized by Mbembe (2004). That said, many of the city officials that I spoke to commented on the unique position that they had been placed in given the enormity of the World Cup coupled with the challenge of bringing such an event into an underdeveloped country, especially given some of the on-going social challenges facing South African cities. These comments usually manifested in interviewees mentioning that although city governments had learned a lot from Germany (where the previous World Cup was held in 2006), the significant infrastructure differences between cities in the two countries had placed them in an unprecedented position, where they were basically 'writing the book' on how to host an event of this magnitude in a developing country.

As mentioned previously, in this paper, I trace three processes in which these landscapes are being produced. The first of these processes that I discuss is the imposition of nuisance laws focused on the use of public space during the tournament.
Controlling the Use of Public Space – Event-specific Nuisance Laws

One of the requirements that FIFA places on cities that would like to host World Cup games is the city's willingness to pass event-specific by-laws to “to enable the efficient running of the Competition” (eThekwini Municipality, 2009). The by-laws, which are to be implemented specifically during the duration of the World Cup, cover regulations on advertising, controlled access to event-related sites, public open spaces and city beautification, public roads and traffic guidance, and street trading. Of specific concern for this section of the paper are the by-laws that fall under the regulation of public open spaces and city beautification. In particular, I am interested in the by-laws aimed at policing and regulating 'nuisance' behaviors in public spaces.

In tracing the rise of nuisance or civility laws in the United States over the last two decades, Beckett and Herbert note that, “civility laws have significantly expanded local governments' capacities to regulate urban residents and spaces” (Beckett and Herbert 2008: 9). These types of regulations have become a common practice for urban municipalities looking to revitalize their cities and often go hand-in-hand with “broken window” approaches to policing, first pioneered in New York City. While their origins may be in the United States, their spread has been truly global (Mountz and Curran 2008). Thus, it should not be surprising that such measures would be included in the 2010 bylaws provisions. In fact, it ought to be noted that the implementation of these ordinances was not limited to the city of Durban, but happened within each municipality hosting tournament matches at the behest of FIFA. These new provisions expanded the authority of public order policing to police public spaces and other event-specific spaces to ensure that they were free from activities or behaviors that could sully the produced urban imagery that the municipality is trying to create.

Just a short sample of the language of the by-laws offers an indication of the types of behaviors being targeted by police while exposing the relatively vague language being used allowing for potentially expansive interpretations of what might be considered nuisance behavior and who might, consequently, be targeted by the police:

4.2. **General Prohibition:** No Person shall at a Special Event or in a Public Open Space, in particular, or in any other area within the Municipality, in general, without the Approval of the Municipality -

4.2.1. cause a Nuisance to other users of a Public Open Space;
4.2.2. use abusive or otherwise objectionable language or behave in an abusive, objectionable or disorderly manner towards any other user of a Public Open Space;

4.2.3. hamper, disturb, obstruct or harass any other person using and/or entering a Public Open Space;

4.2.10. lie, sit, stand, congregate or walk so as to cause a willful obstruction, or otherwise cause any obstruction, of any nature whatsoever in a Public Open Space;

(eThekwini Municipality 2009: 27-28)

Such ‘general prohibitions,’ while outlining some specifically prohibited activities such as the use of abusive language or lying in public spaces, gives a lot of authority to the police to determine what is a nuisance or otherwise disorderly behavior. In other words, what is considered objectionable at any given moment, and who is considered the perpetrator of such offensive behavior, is largely left to the subjective interpretation of the public order police. As a consequence, individuals and populations that are already socially marginalized (the poor, racialized groups, teenagers) are more vulnerable to be the target of aggressive public order policing of this kind further perpetuating their marginalization.

What is clear here is that this type of regulation of ‘nuisance’ behavior goes hand-in-hand with the production of the types of images of the city and city life that Durban was attempting to put on display during the tournament. Moreover, while these bylaws were enacted as part of host-city agreement signed between Durban and FIFA, the specific provisions above do not sunset at the end of the tournament. Rather, they “shall commence upon the adoption, hereof, by the Council and remain in effect for an indefinite period until the Municipality decides otherwise” (eThekwini Municipality 2009: 49). Clearly, then, these bylaws cannot be thought of as simply necessary restrictions to ensure an efficient hosting of the World Cup.

The implementation of such restrictions on certain nuisance behaviors works to enforce a furtive creation of a geography of exclusion. This geography is based on the welcoming of a particular deserving public and an exclusion of groups perceived to be a threat to the image of public space that Durban was attempting to promote as part of its re-branding strategy. As Ruppert explains, regulatory regimes focus on techniques that guide and shape conduct rather than simply exclude particular groups. This is achieved by reconfiguring
(rather than removing) liberty through the implementation of myriad constraints that act upon the freedom of choice of the agent and thus the possibilities of taking and making space. (Ruppert 2006: 287)

In circumscribing the permissible behaviors within open public space, the new municipal bylaws that address nuisance behaviors, necessarily limit how public space can be utilized and by whom. Through the vaguely worded ban on nuisance behaviors, policing can selectively target both individuals and groups as incongruous with the idealized image of Durban's public spaces that are at the center of re-branding the city during the World Cup.

Combined with this regulation of permissible individual behaviors is a planned restriction on the actions of social movements. There is an expressed fear among some planners for the World Cup that social movements would capitalize on the media attention that accompanies the games to garner attention for their struggles. Of course, this is the same media attention that cities, like Durban, were hoping to enlist in their re-branding project.

**Circumscribing Dissent**

One of the other common themes from my interviews was the belief/fear that social movements would seize upon the unprecedented media coverage accompanying the tournament to launch protests and other forms of civil unrest in hopes of stealing some of the spotlight of the games. Media stories about these protests and the grievances that social movements have with the South African state were precisely the types of stories that South Africa would like to keep out of the international coverage.

In an interview I conducted with South African Police Services (SAPS) Captain Govender, he made it quite clear that there would be a management of both the timing and locations of social movement protests through a permit process. Protests will be condoned in certain places at certain times with the hope that they would, consequentially, not compete for media attention with the event-specific urban spaces created as the cornerstone of the re-branding effort. Attempted protests without permits, that threaten to undermine the idealized images of the World Cup, were met with considerable response from public order policing. As Captain Govender remarked,
The Gatherings Act stipulates that you as an organizer of a protest march must inform the local authority and seek his permission. So what we are saying, ‘yes you can if we have the resources.’ It will be pooled to a central point and everyone will be asked, ‘can this march take place or should it be stopped?’ Then we will go back to the protest organizer and say, ‘sorry, we have a bigger event taking place we cannot police your event because we don’t have the resources for both. You are not allowed to march.’ So if you are not allowed to march, you should not be gathering there in the first place. So if you are gathering you are doing so illegally and we are going to take action against you. So there are steps in place to counter act this. And if you think you are going to hold the country for ransom during the World Cup – say you are Greenpeace – you come here afterwards for permission to march we will put so much restrictions on you – and it can be done legally. So there has to be a win-win situation and I truly believe in negotiating for a win-win. You can’t use your authority to say, ‘no and I don’t have to explain.’ You say, ‘no, because of A, B, and C and if you go ahead this is what can happen in the future.’ But we have contingency plans, extra resources, manpower dedicated to that sort of thing. (Govender 2009)

Rather than follow the direction of Seattle, during the WTO, and create a no protest zone buffer around designated protest sites, the SAPS devised a strategy of limiting protests through the restriction of approvals of permits to protests, using the excuse of limited security resources as the rationale for denying a permit. This is perhaps not an unsurprising strategy. While the World Cup took place over a month’s time, there were only seven matches played in Durban. It was during these matches that Durban was the center of the media attention and scrutiny. Thus, it is precisely during these days that city planners were most interested in policing and otherwise producing the urban public spaces that are at the core of the re-branding effort. Social movements were also aware of the heightened media attention during these dates, which sets the stage for conflicting agendas on game days – precisely the days with limited resources to police protests.

In the minds of many government officials, the stakes were too high and the possibilities and consequences of failure to live up to the world’s expectations for security were too significant not to take action to attempt to keep protests and other negative story lines out of the reporting on the World Cup, as much as possible. Thus, despite a robust array of social movements and grassroots political engagement, the South African state exercised the maximum authority allowed within the law to keep social movements from sharing in the media spotlight. This resulted in an uneven temporal geography of social movement activities, where some spaces in which protests were restricted on game days became available as the media attention shifts to
other host cities along with the tournament matches. This created an interesting temporality and allowed the municipality to avoid some of the complications of passing a blanket ban on protesting, while giving authorities a readymade excuse to deny protests during times when there was significantly greater media coverage.

In practice, this allowed the Durban municipality to essentially police and produce event-specific urban spaces – urban spaces that lack both 'nuisance' behaviors and disruption/dissension by social movement – selectively. Yet, the production of these spaces went beyond simply the policing of individual and social movement behaviors and activities. The municipality has also implemented a volunteer program to enlist the work of 'ambassadors' from the community.

**Enlisting Durbanites to Produce the Re-branded Spaces of Durban**

To complete the production of the urban space at the center of Durban's World Cup re-branding effort, the local division of the SAPS, with a the support of local government, established a volunteer program to tap into community enthusiasm for soccer and national/community pride. As Captain Govender of the South African Police Services describes,

But like I said, when the event unfolds, we are looking for people to be patriotic. That is going to help a lot. Because you have a lot of proud people in this country and they want to see it being successful. I am not talking about the politicians – I am talking about the man on the street – they want to see it being successful. And the only way they can do it is if a man has got nothing in his pocket – he has not got a penny in his pocket – he will ensure that as a tourist you have a good time, enjoy your stay, and then go away. If everyone can do that we have won it. We have won it. And we are busy trying to tap into that with our volunteers that are coming in from the various communities. We are training them – letting them be ambassadors. So if we have one volunteer say from an area in which I stay, he is going to paint the World Cup in the area he stays positively and fifty other people are going to know what is happening. That will eventually flow throughout the entire province. (Govender 2009)

These projects represent, in some ways, the soft side of the approach to managing the messages at the core of using the World Cup as a branding opportunity. Ideally, a widespread sense of ownership and national pride that was so pervasive during the World Cup would showcase South
African hospitality over other story lines. On one hand, as I have documented already, the municipality worked to eliminate 'nuisance' behaviors on both an individual level as well as at the level of disruptions by social movements. On the other hand, these 'nuisances' were replaced by a team of volunteers committed to provide a different depiction of Durban's urban culture.

On its surface, the recruitment of a volunteer force to provide a friendly welcome to tourists visiting Durban during the World Cup seems a rather benign and admirable approach to building a sense of community pride in and through the event. The use of volunteers during mega-events is not uncommon and has become an essential part of both ensuring that the events function as planned, as well as contributing to the celebratory spirit of the games. Thus, on its face, I find it difficult to criticize the implementation of the Welcome Ambassadors program within Durban (Welcome Ambassadors Program 2010). Steve Herbert, in discussing the appeal of the concept of community-based projects as part of planning the neoliberal city, explains that “part of the ideological advantage of governing through community is the benighted status the term possess” (Herbert 2005: 853). In this, he is pointing out that the general acceptance community participation projects enjoy is due, “in part because of the widespread and warm associations with the term” (Herbert 2005: 850).

Yet, while on its surface encouraging citizens to be welcoming to visitors and providing support in the form of a volunteer program is not seemingly problematic, given the wider context of the Welcome Ambassadors program, there is space to be critical of it. Ambassadors are a common way for business improvement districts and downtown associations to employ a secondary police force to identify precisely the nuisance behaviors that are the subject of the by-laws that Durban implemented for the games (see Amster 2005). Moreover, when coupled with the intense regulation of public space, as well as the pricing out of many locals from being able to see the games, the Welcome Ambassadors became one of the very few ways that marginalized Durbanites could take part in the games – of course, only those who have passed a screening and were willing to adhere to the guidelines of the volunteer program were allowed this opportunity.

In a recent interview on CBC radio, Rich Mkhondo, chief spokesperson for the Local Organizing Committee for South Africa made it clear “that an event is never intended to benefit people who cannot afford it” (Mkhondo 2010). However, while the World Cup may not have been intended to benefit marginalized Durbanites, they still had an active role to play in the production of urban spaces central to capitalizing on the World Cup’s potential to rebrand the city. While Mkhondo
was clear that the World Cup could not solve the country's social ills, he believed it to be an excellent opportunity to refresh the brand of both South Africa and the continent of Africa. Yet, it is precisely the individuals that cannot afford to attend the World Cup that were be called upon to act as Welcome Ambassadors, providing the human face for what otherwise might seem as overly policed city.

While the municipality was not forthcoming with much information regarding the actual volunteers who took up positions as Welcome Ambassadors, based on my interaction with many such ambassadors over the course of the event, they appeared largely to be young adults looking for ways to add to their resumes. Given the high unemployment rate in South Africa, volunteer positions are an important way for individuals to build a semblance of work experience without paid employment. I encountered ambassadors at the official fan parks, other tourist oriented sites in the central business district, as well as the middle and upper class neighborhoods that surround Durban’s downtown. In many cases, they were manning official tourist information booths and were quick to hand out maps and brochures highlighting the city’s tourist attractions. From my experience, the ambassadors were little more than a friendly face that often knew little about the neighborhoods to which they were assigned or even about the city services, such as airport shuttles, that were implemented specifically for tourists attending the World Cup. Yet the friendliness of the ambassadors must be understood in context of the overall policing and public space management operations that took place in Durban during the World Cup. This is not a difficult link to make given the role of the police in recruitment, screening, and training of ambassadors. The ambassadors ought, then, to be read as establishing a visible, friendly alternative to the 'nuisance' South African that was the target of increased policing during the tournament. Providing such a dichotomy of deserving Durbanite users of public space verses the undeserving Durbanite who disrupts the 'appropriate' use of such spaces with their 'nuisance' behaviors works to legitimate the policing that took place. In other words, the police were only evicting from public space those individuals who were incongruous with the version of the city that city management was attempted to use the World Cup to project because these individuals disrupted appropriate uses of public space. Other bodies or individuals more consistent with this vision were allowed to remain and through their presence work to further the re-branding project.
The re-branding of Durban and the hope that it will lead to a future boom in tourism and business investment was contingent on the production of a revamped urban image during the World Cup through the policing of space and an army of Welcome Ambassadors. Yet, the question remains, will such an intense investment in the control of space over the short term translate into a long-term trajectory of urban revitalization? In the final section of this paper, I provide some preliminary thoughts on post-World Cup Durban.

An Icon for the Future – Some Thoughts on Post-World Cup Durban

In their article, *The Global Circus: International Sport, Tourism, and the Marketing of Cities*, Whitson and Macintosh ask, “Who is the city for?” (Whitson and Machintosh 1996: 289). They challenge readers to consider whether the contemporary city is simply a commodity in the global tourism market, “Or is it a community where people including those without much disposable income – can, live, work, play and belong?” (Whitson and Machintosh 1996: 289). While Whitson and Macintosh's work focused primarily on the Canadian experience with international mega-events, these questions seem all the more relevant in the context of Durban and South Africa, given the many challenges the city and country face. The planning for the World Cup gives an insight on how city planners are approaching this set of questions.

By their very nature, urban revitalization projects are future oriented and, consequently, imbued with visions of what a city could become given the right set of circumstances. In this regard, the planning for the World Cup that is happening in Durban is no different than countless city revitalization projects happening around the globe. The produced urban spaces in Durban during the World Cup represent a glimpse into what city planners hope the future of the city can become through increased international tourism and the infusion of cash that accompanies such visitors. As Tomlinson put it in his chapter, *Anticipating 2011*, “Durban's economic strategy has long included sports tourism... This is not to say that 2010 is not a 'big deal' for Durban. Instead, the impression created is that it is at the same time 'part of the deal' – an aspect of how Durban has long viewed itself” (Tomlinson 2009: 105). One example of this can be seen in the construction of the new World Cup stadium in Durban after the municipality decided that the current stadiums were inadequate for the World Cup. The decision to construct a new stadium
was not based on the requirements of the tournament nor requests from FIFA as ABSA Rugby Stadium was already deemed adequate (with a few upgrades) to host World Cup games, including a semi-final. Rather, the city seized upon the World Cup to construct an 'iconic' stadium. As described in the instructions for bid submissions, “The completed stadium needs to be flexible, cost effective and 'ICONIC' such that it is regarded by sports athletes, officials, media, and spectators as having a unique quality and a desirable 'sense of place' which will be a hallmark of its reputation in the sports world” (emphasis in the original, eThekwini Municipality Strategic Projects Unit 2006: 6). For Durban city officials, the World Cup and the possibility of a new stadium provided an opportunity to further their vision of Durban as a sporting city while setting the stage for a future Olympic bid. In this way, hosting the World Cup fits well within the transition from the 'racial city' to a more globally recognizable version of metropolitanism described by Mbembe (2004). In the next chapter, I trace the mobility of the idea of the 'world class' city in relationship to Durban's hosting of the World Cup and argue that dominant, normative conceptions of 'world classness' have shaped this present metropolitan city that Mbembe describes. What is clear both in the policing strategy and the mobility of ideas about the 'world class' city, is that FIFA's interests in hosting a successful World Cup aligned with the dominant vision of a rebranded Durban that emerged from within the city's planning leadership. In other words, FIFA's desire to have a compliant host willing to alter it's bylaws to protect FIFA's interests and fulfill the perceived needs and desires of tourists seemingly coincided nicely with the vision that city management has for the future Durban as an elite sports tourism destination.

While the question of the desirability of this vision of urban re-development falls outside of the work in this paper, the question of desirability really ought not be ignored. However, given the lack of public consultation on the construction of the stadium in Durban it is somewhat difficult to assess community feelings about the way in which the city has chosen to position its brand. Thus, the decision to build an iconic stadium in a city that continues to suffer from significant social ills such as widespread poverty, unemployment, lack of housing and HIV/AIDS has had little formal opposition. Moreover, the scholarship on the benefits of hosting mega-events indicates that there is a no clear way to rebrand a city. As Gratton explains, “despite a strong theoretical case in favour of urban regeneration benefits from investment in sporting infrastructure in order to host major sports events, there is also strong arguments that the
negative impacts of such investment may even outweigh these benefits” (Gratton, C., S. Shibli, and R. Coleman 2005: 988). One must consider that there are often clear tradeoffs between a government investing in the construction of ‘iconic’ stadia and other infrastructure for hosting a World Cup and other things, such as service delivery, that might serve a different set of needs for the city. In considering Cape Town’s investment in the beautification of the highway linking the airport and city centre in the run-up to the 2010 World Cup, Newtown writes,

> City governments have become increasingly engaged in remodeling their places for the ‘visitor class’, the needs of the residents have gone out of sight… The allocation of public resources to these events and the related needs, such as public transport or neighbourhood renewal, means that cuts have to be made in sectors which are indeed less prestigious, but which might answer the need of local residents. (Newton 2009: 98)

The vision of Durban that comes into focus in its approach to planning to the World Cup highlights this approach to catering to a ‘visitor class’ and the revitalization of the city with that in mind. In approaching a question of the desirability of this future Durban, the tradeoffs that this version of Durban’s future requires ought to be considered. Thus, I would further question the mechanisms through which this vision is achievable.

While it certainly can be argued that the new stadium has the potential of becoming iconic in the way that it has become an essential part of the Durban skyline, the production of a sense of place in Durban during the World Cup goes well beyond the addition of an iconic piece of architecture as it is being constructed in and through the intense policing of nuisance behaviors, the control of protests and the use of Welcome Ambassadors. The iconic stadium is the centerpiece of an elite sports city; its existence as a permanent element of the Durban skyline does not, however, ensure that the other elements of the city that television viewers will see during the World Cup will endure. In several interviews, individuals associated with planning for the World Cup stressed that the planning effort is relying on an intensification of resource deployment, such as policing, for approximately six weeks during June and July, 2010. While my interviewees pointed to legacies that will outlive the tournament, it is clear that many of the measures being planned to produce the spaces of the World Cup were phased out shortly after the tournament’s final whistle. For example, the security for the World Cup was supported by the largest deployment of the South African military in the history of the republic (Szabo 2010) and supported by upwards of forty-one thousand additional, event-specific, police officers for the games
(Donaldson and Ferreira 2009: 9). While this level of security was designed, in part, to ensure the safety of tourists and athletes, it was called upon to support the production of the spaces of World Cup, as described in the previous section both in terms of policing the actions of social movements as well as 'nuisance' behaviors. It would be inconceivable, and, I would argue, undesirable for South Africa and Durban to maintain that level of securitization post-World Cup.

The fleeting nature of the intense energy used to produce event-specific spaces for 2010 leaves open the possibility for envisioning a different set of futures for Durban. The vision for Durban, as with most urban planning, is politically motivated and thus could change substantially with a change of political leadership. Speaking of the practice of planning in general, Myers and Kitsuse remark, “current practices in planning address the future in ways that are superficial, shortsighted, or hollow. These approaches may be dictated by the caution required of planners in government agencies or who must seek approval of elected bodies” (Myers and Kitsuse 2000: 230). Having a grand, politically oriented, vision for the future and seeing this vision through to fruition planning are two very different things. I argue that Durban’s approach to planning for the World Cup gives us a glimpse into one possible future of the city, but its ultimate vision of becoming an elite sporting destination is far from a future that is set in stone. Given the myriad social issues that South Africa faces, having the possibility of alternative futures from the ones produced during the World Cup is not a negative prospect. Nor is it negative for Durban to finally receive some good press coverage.

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Second Empirical Chapter
While You Were Distracted by the Vuvuzela³: Cloning, Securitization and Race in South Africa

Abstract

This paper uses the framework of cultural cloning to explore the pursuit of the 'world class' World Cup city in South Africa, focusing on the city of Durban. I work to explore the processes of policy mobility of the concept of the 'world class' city focusing particular attention on the role of perceived expectations of the 'international security' community on mega-event security planning. I explain that the municipality's quest for Durban to be seen as a 'world class' city fits within a narrowly defined hegemonic notion of what it means to be 'world class'. This adoption of this particular conceptualization of the 'world class' city does not take into account the particularities of the context of the post-apartheid city in its quest to be internationally legible as 'world class'. As a result, it effectively silences alternative understandings of what a 'world class' city might look and act like. As an alternative, I highlight the work of the World Class Cities for All Campaign and their anti-hegemonic articulation of what being a 'world class' host city might look and act like if it includes the needs and wants of the urban poor and other marginalized members of society.

With the drone of the vuvuzela, the introduction of the jabulani ball, and the intense marketing of the 2010 soccer World Cup as Africa's World Cup, it would be quite easy to get caught up in the commodified (South) African imagery. 2010, after all, marked the first time that the largest of the sports mega-events, the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup, was hosted by an African nation. Event organizers fed speculations that having South Africa as host could allow this mega-event to be transformed into something new and quintessentially “African”. Even the official slogan of the event, Celebrate Africa's Humanity, reflected this attempt to brand the tournament as showcasing something unique about Africa. This type of place marketing and commodification of constructed cultural symbols is certainly

³ A brightly colored, meter-long, stadium horn that has become an 'iconic' symbol of the 2010 World Cup
not unique to the South African World Cup. For example, Comaroff and Comaroff (2009), in *Ethnicity, Inc.*, document numerous cases of the commodification ethnicity and the construction of cultural narratives as integral to tourism place marketing based on highlighting the unique 'cultural' identity of a country.

The seduction of the vuvuzela and other "African" cultural symbols of the 2010 World Cup experience, however, conceals the pernicious processes just below the surface of the consumable “African” gloss. This paper traces some of the material violence that went into the production of the 2010 World Cup as a consumable commodity as well as the changes in city management policies and practices that work to ensure that the city has new (or enhanced) mechanisms for the exclusion of marginalized groups - mechanisms that were developed, tested, and refined through the unique circumstances of the World Cup. In other words, the use of superficial “African” symbols to market the event (Ginsberg 2010) only served to distract from planning decisions that worked to exacerbate already existing geographies of exclusion and racialization. I argue that simultaneous to the marketing of the event as a uniquely (South) African celebration several host city managers and planners attempted to position their cities within a narrow, hegemonic, conception of a 'world class' city. As discussed in the previous chapter, this fits within the trajectory of changes within South African cities post-apartheid as traced by Mbembe (2004) in which South African cities emerge from the 'racial city' of apartheid to more metropolitan form that characterizes contemporary South African urban landscapes. I work to connect this shift to the production of “abstract space” as theorized by Lefebvre (1979). Within this chapter, I examine Durban's embrace of a particular, dominant, conception of what it means to be a 'world class' city, especially in context of hosting the World Cup as a way of exploring how the desire to be a considered 'world class' has shaped Durban's present metropolitanism. In analyzing this process, I am interested in contributing to the emerging body of literature focused on policy mobility and mutation, while adding a sociocultural critique to the existing political-economic orientation of this scholarship. I utilize a cultural cloning analysis to link the pursuit of a specific notion of the 'world class' host city in South Africa to the sociospatial and historical processes that worked to silence alternative conceptions of 'world class' cities in the planning for the 2010 World Cup.

Inspired by Essed and Goldberg’s (2002) *Cloning cultures: the social injustices of sameness*, this paper explores the attempted cloning of the 'world class' World Cup city in South Africa,
focusing particularly on the city of Durban. Essed and Goldberg argue that “the effects of preference for sameness, whether intended or unintended, have been shown to be manifestations of all kinds of debilitating exclusions: racism, genderism, able-bodiedness, and so on” (2002: 1069). In theorizing the quest to be recognized as a ‘world class’ city through a lens of cultural cloning, I am making three theoretical moves. First, in mirroring the work of Essed and Goldberg, a cultural cloning analysis links Durban’s approach to hosting the World Cup to an underlying cultural context that makes the attempted cloning of a particular version ‘world class’ city, on the part of city managers, desirable and legible. This attraction of sameness is key to the cultural context that underpins the debate on biomedical cloning, but is not limited to the ethics within the realm of the biomedical. Second, I extend the analysis of Essed and Goldberg, which focus primarily on sociocultural forms of cloning, to highlight the applicability of the theory of cultural cloning to sociospatial processes. Finally, theorizing the urban processes that a city engages in as part of their strategy to gain recognition as ‘world class’ as a process of cultural cloning complicates the existing literature on urban policy transfer and policy mobility, which largely centers on a political economy analysis, by adding a needed sociocultural critique informed by postcolonial theory.

While recent literature on policy mobility and mutation literature provides the foundation for why spatial contexts matter through highlighting the link between space and the adaptation of policies in application, the focus is on the volatility of the policies and practices themselves (see Peck 2011, for example). The focus of this paper is less about the mutation of policy and more about the very practice of attempting to achieve a certain outcome through the adoption of what are assumed to be best practices for urban governance. In other words, I read the policy mobility literature as focusing on what happens to policies as they move across geographies. Without discounting the importance of this scholarship, I think it is important to also ask what are the impacts of the attempted adoption of mobile policies that originate in contexts that are quite different from those in which they are being implemented. I am much more interested in exploring the violence in the process of policy cloning, especially within the context of a city which is located in the underdeveloped world attempting to clone a hegemonic notion of ‘world classness’ developed and perpetuated in the West. This act of cultural cloning, in and of itself, authorizes and inspires certain violences even as mobile policies may be mutating within a new spatial context. As Peck and Theodore point out, “there is a pre-constituted market for lessons
from Barcelona or Vancouver, locations that are consonant with prevailing policy fixes, but the other side of this coin is that the policy blogs are unlikely to be running hot, any time soon, with talk of the Havana model, *Kabulism*, or even lessons from Detroit” (Peck and Theodore 2010, 171). As scholars of this process, we need to do more to ask why these model cities are identified as locations deemed worthy of emulating, while other cities and other conceptions of how to become a 'world class' city are dismissed as undesirable and unthinkable. More needs to be done to link such processes to prevailing and enduring forms of racism and Eurocentrism imbedded in the geographic imagination of 'the policy blogs' promoting certain models and ignoring or silencing others. In particular, I am interested in how these systemic modalities of oppression based on attributed social difference are reproduced through the processes of policy mobility. Critiquing the processes of policy promotion and adoption through a cloning mechanism allows for a more robust anti-racist critique of how the ‘pre-constituted market’ of urban policy lessons is imbued with race-based geographical imaginations about both the designated originators of policy as well as those cities deemed to be in need of prevailing fixes.

Through this paper, I use a cultural cloning argument to examine the context in which a certain idealized notion of what it means to be 'world class' gets circulated and has become imbedded in the way that many host cities of sports-mega events orient their planning practices. Specifically, I look at Durban, South Africa's, quest to be regarded as an international, elite sporting destination. In focusing on the processes of policy cloning, rather than the ultimate outcome or mutation of policies in practice, I highlight that the process of policy mobility has a silencing effect in alternative visions of how a city might approach hosting a sports mega-event. A cultural cloning theoretical analysis provides useful insight into the context in which this silencing occurs. Ultimately, the uncritical embrace of hegemonic notions of the 'world class' host city significantly diminishes the hope that mega-events, like the World Cup, will lead to innovative, progressive investments towards social justice in host cities. Cloning is interesting not because World Cup host cities are exact replicas of each other, built in the vision of what FIFA desires as the quintessential host city. Rather, I find cloning to be an evocative metaphor, in ways that policy mobility is not, to point to how fundamental differences in geographies and histories are often ignored in the quest of the implementation of urban planning policies deemed to be best practices or essential to a city's quest to be considered 'world class'. In other words, in the case of Durban's hosting of the World Cup, the existence of alternative, indigenous, conceptions of
how to be a 'world class' host city were dismissed in favor of attempting to adopt a more globally dominant articulation of 'world classness'.

Before exploring the specifics of World Cup planning in Durban, I first provide a summary of Essed and Goldberg's theorization of cloning cultures. While Essed and Goldberg generally apply their analysis of cloning to people and professions, I argue that a similar process can also be useful for analyzing policy transfer and the adoption of best practices that support a municipality's quest to be considered a 'world class' city. In attempting to understand what is implied by the 'world class' descriptor, I highlight the common conflation between 'world class' and ‘world city’ that emerges in the academic literature. I explain why this conflation inadequately articulates what municipal managers of cities like Durban are trying to accomplish when they point to being a 'world class' city as a goal. Despite the limitations of the scholarly literature on 'world class' cities, I find the concept useful to explain aspects of how Durban city hall attempted to position itself as a host city. I analyze agreements made between FIFA and South African governments, both at the national scale and at the scale of host cities, to highlight FIFA's role in promoting a form of cultural cloning at both scales. I also explore the use of best practices in policing and security to analyze the role of the 'international security community' in further shaping World Cup planning. I contrast this hegemonic understanding of what it means to be a 'world class' host city with an alternative articulation that has emerged from the World Class Cities for All campaign. This campaign simultaneously highlights problematic aspects of the planning process that Durban and other South African host cities engaged in while providing a competing vision of what being a 'world class' host could be if it were built on a more inclusive process attentive to the desires and needs of host cities' urban poor. By way of conclusion, I reflect on the value of the cloning metaphor in critiquing the planning process for the World Cup.

This paper draws from data collected through semi-structured interviews, participant observation and textual analysis. It is a product of research conducted over a period of two years before, during and after the 2010 FIFA World Cup. For six months of this time, I was living in Durban, South Africa's second largest city – a city of 3 million people, located on South Africa's east coast on the shores of the Indian Ocean and home to Africa's busiest commercial port. During the World Cup, Durban hosted eight World Cup matches including a second round match and a semi-final.
Cultural Cloning as theorized by Essed and Goldberg – and its applicability to theorizing urban geography

Cultural cloning is a concept first introduced by Philomena Essed and David Theo Goldberg in their 2002 *Racial and Ethnic Studies* article, *Cloning cultures: the social injustice of sameness*. For them, “cultural cloning is predicated on the taken-for-granted desirability of certain types, the often-unconscious tendency to comply with normative standards, the easiness with the familiar and the subsequent rejection of those who are perceived as deviant” (Essed and Goldberg 2002: 1070). In linking three distinct, but related socio-political debates - relatively new debates surrounding the ethics and consequences of the biological cloning of human beings, the phenomenon of reproducing sameness, and the persistence of (attributed) social differences and systemic inequalities - they argue that the theorization and critique of the phenomenon of cloning ought to be extended beyond debates around the ethics of biological cloning. In short, what they are arguing is that you cannot separate the biological attempts at cloning from the sociopolitical and sociocultural contexts in which the very notion that producing sameness is desirable and intelligible. That we may be on the precipice of scientific breakthroughs that make the biological cloning of humans possible is a new manifestation of a much longer history of privileging certain archetypical qualities. As they explain, “the very context prompting the desire to clone human beings biologically is framed in historically rooted systems of preference for real or imagined replica and homogeneities. Cloning, in this sense, is properly bio-social reproduction, and not simply or strictly or primarily a biological function” (Essed and Goldberg 2002, 168). The social context within which the reproduction of sameness becomes an accepted and privileged desire within society is imbued with a long history of privilege connected to race, class, gender, sexuality and other forms of socially constructed difference linked to systemic inequality (Goldberg 1993, 2001). In Essed's words:

Race as an ordering principle has been interwoven in the very nature of and in the making of modernity (Goldberg 2001). The same holds true for gender, where modern manhood required the construction of domination, rational, emotionally suppressed identities and the imitation of these images of manhood over generations. (Essed 2002: 1070).

While acknowledging that the practices of racialization and gender privilege have changed over time, it is essential that scholars consider how present manifestations of systems of socially-constructed inequality and privilege influence the debates around cloning. The cultural context
that make the fantasy of cloning human beings possible, and potentially desirable, are also at work in other aspects of society through the privileging of certain ideal types or standards. It is precisely this acceptance that reproducing sameness – whether it be through the installation of best practices, policy transfers, or other attempts at standardization – that ought to be interrogated, theorized, and critiqued.

Much of Essed and Goldberg's work on cultural cloning focuses on issues of diversity (or lack thereof) in certain professions as justified or explained through the adoption and promotion of 'positive' standards for an ideal candidate for a given profession (see Essed and Goldberg 2002, Essed 2002, and Essed 2004). While not explicitly exclusionary, the desire for sameness and the implementation of standards that work to privilege those that fit a certain mold has similar consequences to more explicitly discriminatory practices of identifying characteristics to exclude in an ideal candidate. Thus, in some ways, the processes of cultural cloning and more overt forms of discrimination are two sides of the same coin. The main difference is that while there is robust scholarship, language, and social repugnance to overt discrimination, the same cannot be said about the adoption of 'positive' standards or criteria. Consequently, the project of theorizing cultural cloning is one that works to “problematize the context that makes it so ‘evident’ that certain criteria will be taken into and ‘others’ kept out of consideration in the cloning process, just as we are concerned to place a critical spotlight on the forms of inequality resulting from privileging those, or those criteria marking one as same” (Essed and Goldberg 2002: 1069). It is a project built on underscoring the importance of examining both the social values and practices that underpin the desire to clone and highlighting the discriminatory and exclusionary consequences of such values and practices.

Both Essed and Goldberg focus their analysis on the role that cultural cloning plays in privileging certain types of individuals - “normative preferences for clones of imagined perfections of the same type and profile: masculine, white, and European” (Essed 2002: 2). In this paper, I argue that the theorization of cultural cloning can also be applied to certain processes in urban planning. In this paper, I wish to extend the arguments about the cultural cloning of individuals put forward by Essed and Goldberg to the cultural cloning of spaces through the practice of urban planning. Like the cloning of individuals, the cloning of spaces exists through the elevation of ideal types and the privileging of particular forms of similarity. Moreover, like the cloning of individuals, the cloning of spaces can be tied to a history of
racialization whereby particular attributes from particular spatial contexts are privileged as ideal in other contexts, sometimes through violent imposition, but often through the more insidious and seemingly innocent discourse of 'best practice'. However, the critique of cloning as the privileging of sameness shatters this innocence, as it masks the desirability of particular (Western) spatial forms and processes over 'other' ways of imagining and constructing space.

Specifically, I argue that analyzing the case of Durban, one of the hosts for the 2010 FIFA World Cup, through the insights of cultural cloning adds a new layer of understanding to the planning process to host the tournament and the quest of a 'world class' reputation. While I believe the concept of cultural cloning has applicability beyond the world cities hypothesis, 'world class' cities, or the FIFA World Cup host city agreements, I use these concepts to extend Essed and Goldberg's theorization of cultural cloning as it relates to the privileging of certain human preferences to a geographical, urban question.

As I will get into more detail later, at the core of Durban's quest to brand itself as 'world class' is the adoption of policies and best practices that the municipality deems as fundamental to being recognized as a 'world class' city. The successful hosting of the World Cup and implementing and enforcing the details of the host city agreement became a cornerstone of Durban's plan to establish its 'world class' reputation as an elite sporting destination and premier host of mega-events. I unpack what is meant by the elusive term 'world class' city in a later section. For now, I want to argue that this quest to become a 'world class' city can be understood in similar terms of the cultural cloning that Essed and Goldberg theorize for the cloning of humans. The world city hypothesis and the circulation of benchmarks of what it means to be a 'world class' city underscore a cultural context in which certain urban characteristics are used to evaluate and, in the case of the world city hypothesis, rank cities. Furthermore, the 'achievement' of these benchmarks is facilitated through a circulation of best-practices and other forms of policy transfer that essentially provide the suggested mechanisms for cloning the 'world class' city.

By understanding urban policy mobility and the adoption of best practices that are part of the quest for cities in the underdeveloped world to become 'world class' as connected to a set of often hidden values of what a city ought to look like, we are invited to seriously question what underscores these values. Certainly others have made similar arguments in different ways, but the application of the cultural cloning argument to this process adds new and powerful language
to the critique of this practice. In a recent article in *Progress in Human Geography*, Peck explores “the distinction between the rational-formalist tradition of work on policy transfer, rooted in orthodox political science, and social-constructivist approaches to policy mobility and mutation, an emergent project with diverse roots in the interdisciplinary zone of ‘critical policy studies’” (Peck, 2011, 2). He goes onto argue, as do others (McCann 2011, Peck and Theodore 2010), that the mobility and mutation literature provides an avenue for a more robust critical geographic intervention into the study of movement and evolution of policies conscious of power dynamics and the “constitutive roles of spatiotemporal context” (Peck 2001, 1) in ways that the policy transfer literature has failed to do. Yet, despite the call for “to conceptualize them [policy] as produced by social, spatial, institutional, ideological, and political contexts in which they are developed, applied, transferred, and adopted” (McCann 2011, 122), the mobility and mutation literature is focused largely on the political-economic aspects of policy transfer. In taking seriously the call “to address the wider historical, geographical, cultural and political-economic contexts in which policy innovations are developed and mobilized” (McCann 2011, 124), I utilize the insights from a cultural cloning analysis to theorize the mobilization of a particular conception of a ‘world-class’ city as part of Durban's role as host of the World Cup.

**What does it mean to be a ‘world class’ city?**

In 1986, a professor of urban planning, John Friedmann introduced *the world city hypothesis* in an article in the journal, *Development and Change*. As he explained,

> the world city hypothesis is about the spatial organization of the new international divisions of labour. As such, it concerns the contradictory relations between production in the era of global management and the political determination of territorial interests. It helps us to understand what happens in the major global cities of the world economy and what much political conflict in these cities is about. (Friedmann 1986: 69-70)

In attempting to explain and theorize the interconnection between 'major global cities' in the era of globalization, Friedmann's articulation of the world city hypothesis has inspired voluminous
research on world cities and cities. In particular, John Friedmann describes his criteria for inclusion in the rankings of a world city as follows,

Selection criteria include: major financial centre; headquarters for TNCs [Transnational Corporations] (including regional headquarters); international institutions; rapid growth of business services sector; important manufacturing centre; major transportation node; population size. Not all criteria were used in every case, but several criteria had to be satisfied before a city could be identified as a world city of a particular rank. (Friedmann 1986: 72).

Following this, much of the research that adopts the world city hypothesis is a system of classification and ranking of cities based on specific characteristics of a given city. “Most of the published literature [on world cities] focuses on characterizing and ranking world cities in the global economy and rarely touches on sustainably and quality of life issues” (Ng and Hills 2003: 151). This works to privilege a particular type of conception of what it means to be a world city. This privileging both limits the potential variations and innovations in planning for a world city, as I argue through this paper. Yet, even in the privileging of certain attributes that a world city may possess, there remains an ambiguity to the concept.

Thus despite the abundance of literature extending the world city hypothesis, “there is little agreement among scholars as to what exactly constitutes a world city... The situation is positively wooly when it comes to popular usage of the term, especially in what Shirt and Kim (1999: 99-101) call 'wannabe world cities”’ (Paul 2004: 572). I would argue that this is especially true when in connection with wannabe 'world class' cities – cities that want to be recognized as possessing certain aspects that make them among the highest ranked and sought after cities in the world, but who may, for one reason or another fall outside of the academic designation of 'world city'. The challenge is further compounded by the nature of the academic work in that “despite the growth in research, the world city literature offers only limited directions and options for those cities seeking to secure or upgrade their position in the world-city network” (Rogerson 2004: 19). This points to the lack of consensus of what these concepts, world city and 'world class' city, actually look like in practice. Furthermore, as Paul explained, there is also significant disconnect between the academic application of these concepts and their popular usages. 'World class' is a term gestured to by many municipalities that have little hope of making the rankings based on the world city hypothesis, but still would like, at least certain aspects of their urban identity, to be thought of as rivaling their global peers.
In the case of Africa, the designation of 'world city' has been simply out of reach as the continent's cities are often left off of rankings inspired by the world city hypothesis. While Friedmann included Johannesburg within the initial categorization of world cities, he later withdrew the classification upon further review and adjustment to the world city criteria. No other African city appeared within the rankings, leaving it a continent devoid of world cities per Friedmann (Rogerson 2004: 14-15). Robinson links this elimination of African (and other non-Western) cities from the classification of world city in the academic literature to an often unstated western-bias of the literature as well as a limited geography of case studies and theoretical positionalities. She argues that these biases need to be more thoroughly interrogated and greater attention should be directed at how they limit the applicability of the hypothesis. As she explains, “theoretical reflections should at least be extremely clear about their limited purchase and, even better, extend the geographical range of empirical resources and scholarly insight for theorizing beyond the West and western-dominated forms of globalization” (Robinson 2002: 549).

Despite these limitations, the pursuit of recognition as a 'world class' city is not limited to the Western contexts in which the world city hypothesis was developed. “Global cities have become the aspirations of many cities around the world; sprawling and poor mega-cities [fear] the dangerous abyss into which they might fall should they lack the redeeming (civilizing) qualities of city-ness found elsewhere” (Robinson 2002: 548). This is at the heart of the explicit quest of gaining recognition as a 'world class' city by several of the host cities of the 2010 South African World Cup. Yet, despite the existence of academic work academic work that this critical of the bold claims that organizers and supporters of mega-events often make to justify the commitment of vast sums of tax payers money to such event (see Linkskyj 1996, 2008 and Olds 1998 for examples of this work), for many, the connection between successfully hosting a mega-event and gaining recognition as a 'world class' city goes unquestioned (Horne 2007). In focusing on the city of Durban, I work to unpack how this aspiration is materialized in practices and laws and I provide a critique of these cultural cloning processes.

Not formally connected to global capital flows in the ways theorized by world city scholars, Durban’s strategy has been to gain recognition as ‘world class’ through being a ‘world class’ host of large sporting events and through being recognized as an elite sports tourism destination. Specifically in regards to cloning, what I try to demonstrate is that the social cloning taking place
is precisely around the demands of being a host city. In part, these are outlined by FIFA’s host city agreements. They are also evident in the municipality’s treatment of the Early Morning Market, subsistence fisherman, and the policing of urban space. The World Class Cities for All campaign highlights that Durban’s planning for its roll as host was not unique in its treatment of urban poor and the use of public space, but rather followed a predictable pattern of established modes of being a ‘world class’ host city.

‘World class’ Durban

Durban city officials made claims to both the current status of Durban as a ‘world class’ city or as an aspirant ‘world class’ city, often directly linked to hosting the World Cup and other mega-events. Typical examples of the evocation of ‘world class’ can be found in a 2006 editorial written by the Durban’s City Manager, Michael Sutcliffe, who writes it in no uncertain terms, that Durban “must produce a world class African event for the 2010 FIFA World Cup” (Sutcliffe 2006). By the mayor’s assessment, the World Cup has successfully established Durban as a ‘world class’ city. In the forward in Durban: A return to paradise and its people, a coffee table book published by the municipality in 2011, Mayor Nxumalo wrote,

The face of Durban has changed dramatically over the past few years due to the massive investments in infrastructure upgrade that were kick-started ahead of the 2010 World Cup… [these investments] have helped transform Durban into a world class city that is praised by its citizens and visitors alike. (Nxumalo in Machen 2011: 9).

Investments he listed include: Moses Mabhiba stadium ‘an iconic landmark for the city’s renovated beachfront’, King Shaka International Airport, and the DubeTradeport project. He goes on to exclaim that, “Beyond the World Cup, these facilities, together with the Inkosi Albert Luthuli International Convention Centre and the uShaka Marine World, have held Durban to receive global recognition as Africa’s sporting and events capital” (ibid.).

The inclusion of ‘world class’ in the branding of the city is significant, as it shows an external orientation to the branding aspirations. In practice, it has also proven to be about adopting
conceptions of urban planning from places in North America and Europe with drastically different urban landscapes and histories. Additionally, this points to the worldliness that Mbembe connects to the current orientation of South African cities. Claims to being ‘world class’ and aspiring to be recognized as ‘world class’, particularly in relation to hosting elite international sporting events, is one of the ways in which Durban city management has articulated its connection to the world and the global flows of ideas and capital that such worldliness entails. This desire to be considered ‘world class’ appears to differentiate South Africa’s goals for hosting the World Cup from that of Brazil’s. As one prominent sportswriter put it, “One of the things that sets South Africa’s preparation for the World Cup apart from what I would expect we will see in Brazil is South Africa’s concern about its international reputation. South Africa wants to use the World Cup to broadcast to the world that it is world class” (anonymous, 2009 personal correspondence).

Through this chapter, I work to flesh out how the municipality worked to pursue a particularly narrow conception of what it means to be ‘world class’. In working to realize the stated goal of Durban hosting the World Cup as ‘world class African event’, the city partnered with FIFA to engage in a practice of cultural cloning, as explored in the next section.

The role of FIFA and international conceptions of urban security in providing the basis for cloning the ‘world class’ World Cup city

Durban's pursuit to be recognized as a 'world class' city is intimately intertwined with its identity as one of the host cities for the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Hosting the World Cup gave Durban an unprecedented opportunity to showcase the city to the world. Through meeting and exceeding FIFA's expectations in terms of hosting duties, the municipality believes that Durban is in a good position to be awarded the opportunity to host a Summer Olympics further cementing its identity as a 'world class', elite, sporting destination. In fact, just two days after the end of the 2010 World Cup, the South African Sports Confederation and Olympic Committee announced its intentions of submitting a bid for the 2020 Summer Olympics. Two months later, Durban emerged as the only city in South Africa to bid for the opportunity to host the 2020 games (The
Mercury, 9 September 2010). Remark ing on Durban's bid, Tubby Reddy, the chief executive of the South African Sports Confederation and Olympic Committee remarked, “Our intention is to provide a world-class city capable of hosting Africa's first Olympic Games in 2020” (The BBC, 13 July 2010). Conceptions of what it means to be 'world class' clearly underscore this bid. I believe it is also clear that the bid to host the 2020 Olympics is largely predicated on Durban's successful hosting of the World Cup or, as I highlight here, the successful cloning of a 'world class' World Cup city. The use of sports mega-events to secure ones claim to this particular concept of a 'world class' is certainly not unique to Durban's aspirations. It is a common trope of many municipalities bidding to host such events (see Whitson and Macintosh 1996 for more on the role of the pursuit of 'world class' city recognition through hosting mega-sporting events). However, it is a trope that has yet to be unpacked using a cultural cloning critique.

As is its practice with all World Cups, FIFA established a set of obligations and expectations for host cities through several agreements signed between FIFA and various levels of the South African government. These obligations and expectations provide the groundwork for a formal cloning of the 'world class' World Cup city, while also providing a mechanism for evaluating a municipality's success at the cloning process. To understand the World Cup from the perspective of FIFA, the international governing body of international soccer, I would argue that it is important to think of the tournament as FIFA's primary product. In order to protect the brand of this product, which generates a multibillion U.S. dollar profit for the organization, FIFA requires a set of practices, concessions, and other stipulations from host countries and cities. At the scale of the national government these government guarantees are codified in the 2010 FIFA World Cup South Africa Special Measures Act, passed in 2006. As outlined in this act, the National government is responsible for the delivery of 17 guarantees made to FIFA. These guarantees are contained in the bid book and are required of any country that wishes to host the World Cup. The 17 guarantees provided by various government departments cover access to South Africa, a supportive financial environment, intellectual property and marketing rights, safety and security, healthcare services, transport and telecommunications. (Republic of South Africa 2008: 5)

Key to these seventeen guarantees is that they are 'required of any country that wishes to host the World Cup'. Into these guarantees, FIFA has distilled what it believes to be the essential elements of hosting the World Cup to ensure that no matter where it is hosted it will fit within
the FIFA brand and be a recognizable event to FIFA sponsors and fans alike. In this desire to have an intelligible product is a clear indication of the desirability of cultural cloning of the World Cup city. As Essed and Goldberg note, “sameness, repetition, predictability renders social circumstance more manageable, more comfortable, more readily negotiable” (Essed and Goldberg 2002: 1071). These qualities – manageability, comfort, and negotiability – are important to FIFA’s ability to maintain brand loyalty allowing it to attract high-profile corporate sponsors, such as Budweiser, Sony and Coca-cola, and very large television contracts for the rights to broadcast the tournament to a global television audience that numbers in the billions over the course of the tournament (Torgler 2004: 288).

The guarantees that FIFA insists upon as necessary elements of hosting the World Cup extend beyond those encoded at the national level through the Special Measures Act. At the scale of the cities hosting matches, each municipality was required to enter into a host city agreement with FIFA and the tournament's Local Organizing Committee (LOC). “The host city agreements include aspects such as stadiums and official training grounds, supporting infrastructure, an official fan park, city beautification and compliance with FIFA marketing guidelines within the cities” (Republic of South Africa 2008: 5). Similar to the guarantees stipulated to by the national government, these host city agreements are designed to protect the FIFA brand and the exclusive marketing rights of event sponsors, among other things. These too are enshrined in law as each municipality was required to enact a set of municipal by-laws that simultaneously expand the powers of the local authorities while establishing new restrictions on those living, working and otherwise existing within host cities. While tailored specifically to the stipulations within the host city agreements for the World Cup, these by-laws did not necessarily sunset after the tournament is over. For example, section 9.1.1 of the eThekwini (Durban) by-laws reads, “All Chapters of these By-laws shall commence upon the adoption, hereof, by the Council and remain in effect for an indefinite period until the Municipality decides otherwise, except for the following clauses…” (eThekwini 2009: 49). The rest of chapter nine outlines those by-laws that sunset shortly after the World Cup is over. It should not come as a surprise that many of the by-laws that expanded policing authority and outline new restrictions on the use of public space were not automatically rescinded once the tournament ended; there are many cases in which mega-events have led to increased securitization of public space (Boyle and Haggerty 2009). Thus, through appealing to the necessity to enact certain provisions as a requirement of hosting
the World Cup, the city can make basic, enduring, changes to how it polices public space (see Roberts 2010 for analysis of specific changes that were made in Durban).

For FIFA, the logic of cultural cloning is reflected through what is produced by these various agreements and subsequent laws and by-laws. In essence, they provide an a-spatial or universal set of requirements for host countries and cities to meet which ignore the particularities of a particular host city. What types of laws, by-laws, policies, and procedures are enacted to produce the conditions in which these obligations are met is likely only FIFA's concern when there is a risk that a given obligation may not be met. In other words, how a particular host city works to ensure that they will meet the obligations outlined in the host city agreement was a decision made at the scale of the municipality.

In addition to the agreements made with FIFA and the subsequent laws to enforce those agreements, other elements of best practices and international norms shaped how cities approached their duties as hosts. In particular, in addressing international and local concerns about safety and security, Durban, for example, appealed to the standards of event management created by “the international security community”. As Dr. Sutcliffe, Durban's City Manager explained (to me),

we have done things pretty much across the norm and security has, unfortunately, been one of those things because it is so lead by the international security community, so lead by technology, that, in some ways, in my own views if I had to be critical of it, I can’t think of anything in our security that is at the same level of best practice then you would find in all of the other things that we are doing. I think that what they have done is that they have followed the conventional models that we have had in Athens, that we have had in Beijing, that we have had in where ever and I think that is one area where I think we could have been more innovative. (personal communication with author)

Sutcliffe gestures to an a-spatial approach to security, modeled after technology driven campaigns used and developed in other places. Despite the concerns of Durban's City Manager that following the lead of the standards set by the 'international security community' undermines innovation, a cultural cloning mentality won out. Deference to this ambiguous 'international security community' fundamentally undermined local struggles around appropriate planning in relation to policing and authorized an approach to policing and securitization disconnected from the sociocultural and historical contexts of policing within South African cities. Furthermore,
despite expressing some sort of disappointment that the security planning had taken this approach, there is little indication that the city manager's office provided much in the way of an objection to the security planning, despite having oversight of the Durban Metro Police force. I have argued elsewhere that the policing approach that Durban adopted as host of the World Cup provides insight into the city manager and mayor's vision for the future of the city (Roberts 2010). Thus, one should take Dr. Sutcliffe's expression of disappointment with a grain of salt.

The a-spatial nature of both the FIFA stipulations and the application of standards of policing developed by “the international security community” when considered through a lens that is critical of best practices and policy mobility, allows for a theorization of the violence that is at the root of implementing practices with such a lack of geographical specificity. For FIFA, how a given host country or city goes about meeting their obligations and producing a World Cup that feels and looks very similar no matter where it is being hosted is something for the local authorities to work out.

Host nation and city agreements only cover what FIFA deems as the most essential elements of the World Cup product. Outside of meeting the set standards on these elements, there is room for variation in how a municipality acts as a host. These variations do not foreclose on the applicability of the cultural cloning metaphor. As Essed and Goldberg explain,

> cloning is the copying of a model with the intended result of potentially limitless copies of the same item. Such copying does not, of course, preclude variations on the theme. Indeed, often such variations are deemed desirable, but the logic of variation is both that it is predicated on an original model and serves to replicate and so reproduce identifiable qualities of the original in its variation. (Essed and Goldberg 2002: 1077)

In some regards, this variation on a theme helps distinguish a particular host city as a global city. For a city like Durban, successfully hosting such an event and achieving and exceeding the expectations of FIFA is seen by the municipality as fundamental to recognition as a 'world class' elite sporting destination. Among other things, Durban intended to exploit its proven ability to meet World Cup hosting standards as the anchor for its bid to host the 2020 Summer Olympics, as mentioned previously. Finally, it is dangerous to think about this cloning process in solely economic terms, as the attempted cloning of this hegemonic conception of the 'world class' must also be linked to other aspects of the cultural context that make such a process possible and desirable.
While certainly having economic purposes, those structures which constitute the cityscape (office towers, highways, airports, houses, parks) as well as the spectacles which celebrate urban life (cultural festivals, museums, sporting events) are not simply vehicles of capital accumulation. They narrate and advance a particular definition and interpretation of the city. (Paul 2004: 575)

Thus, through the construction and improvement of infrastructure for the World Cup, Durban was performing a narrative of a particular definition of being a ‘world class’ city. Beyond the World Cup, itself, this performance is connected to longer historical shifts within South Africa post-apartheid that move from urban planning based predominantly on racial motivations to the current planning with its metropolitan orientation (Mbembe 2004).

**Producing “world classness” through “abstract space”**

The notion of the new metropolitan orientation of South African cities post-apartheid as well as Durban's implementation of urban planning policies and strategies as part of a 'world class' city strategy should be understood within what Lefebvre terms as the production of “abstract space”. Lefebvre describes “abstract space” as:

> A space of quantification and growing homogeneity, a merchandised space where all the elements are exchangeable and thus interchangeable; a police space in which the state tolerates no resistance and no obstacles. Economic space and political space thus converge towards an elimination of all differences. (1979:293)

The production of abstract space is dependent upon two main processes: 1) the “concerted attempt to define the appropriate meaning of, and suitable activities that can take place within, abstract space...”\(^{1}\); and 2) the rendering of the space as “ahistorical, devoid of any indications of the social struggles around its production, or traces of the concrete space it replaces” (McCann 1999: 169). As described in the previous chapter, Durban police, in conjunction with the city management office, implemented a three-pronged strategy to define and regulate the “appropriate” use of event-specific public spaces during the World Cup. This included increased policing of “nuisance” behaviors and the introduction of carefully screened volunteers as Welcome Ambassadors to help police out inappropriate behaviors and model acceptable uses of
such public spaces. Additionally, the policing strategy explicitly worked to limit the activities of civil society organizations that may have desired to use the media spotlight of the World Cup to gain attention for the various causes, social ills and struggles that such organizations focus on. Such limitations on protest work to accomplish the second process that Lefebvre points to by eliminating a central way in which individuals and organizations utilize public space to highlight the existence of struggle and counter-hegemonic pulses within society. As I discuss in depth later in this paper, the work to render Durban as free of social struggle went beyond the curtailing of protest in event-specific public space; it extended to the exclusion of the work of a non-profit, using soccer as a mechanism to empower youth around issues of HIV/AIDS, from the official narrative of Durban as host because “the World Cup should all be about a positive story” (Walsh 2010). Work that addressed a pressing social ill within Durban was silenced as to not disturb the production of “abstract space” by the municipality.

Thus, in attempting to implement planning initiatives, designed to further Durban's quest to be recognized as containing elements of a “world class” city, based on a dominant conception of how such a city operates and looks, Durban pursued a strategy of producing public space as “‘abstract space’—space represented by elite social groups as homogeneous, instrumental, and ahistorical in order to facilitate the exercise of state power and the free flow of capital” (McCann 1999: 164). This, in turn, protected FIFA's interests (what FIFA describes as its friends and family) in their quest to utilize public space for the marketing of specific brands who purchased the rights to exclusivity through sponsorship of the tournament.

Furthermore, the pursuit of “abstract space” fits squarely within the desirability of sameness that forms the basis of cultural cloning. The production of such spaces and the elimination of outward signs of socially manifested inequality have also become a central component of neoliberal policy implementation. “Neoliberalism effectively masks racism through its value-laden moral project: camouflaging practices anchored in an apparent meritocracy, making possible a utopic vision of society that is non-racialized” (Roberts and Mahtani 2010: 253). Goldberg makes a similar argument noting that neoliberalism is based on the privatization of both race and racism rendering the public sphere as raceless (Goldberg 2010). In the pursuit of a hegemonic conception of “world classness” in and through the hosting of the World Cup and the cloning of FIFA written planning and policing policies and procedures, Durban effectively works to entrench a neoliberal metropolitanism that not only obscures its recent history as a 'racial city',
but significantly undercuts work that addresses the on-going legacies of such a history by privatizing issues of race and racism.

In focusing only on the international trafficking of ideas about what it means to be a 'world class' city in the context of hosting the World Cup, one runs the risk of portraying this process as all-encompassing and complete. However, in the context of the hosting of mega-events, specifically, there has emerged a competing conception of what it might mean to be 'world class' articulated through the World Class Cities for All campaign.

**The World Class Cities for All campaign**

Launched in 2007 by Durban based StreetNet International, the *World Class Cities for All Campaign* (WCCA) is designed to provide an alternative to the hegemonic conception of what it means to be a 'world class' city. The campaign was inspired by the negative experiences of street vendors and other members of the urban poor in South Korea during the 2002 FIFA World Cup. The thought among campaign organizers was that a similar targeting of street vendors and the urban poor through planning, policing, and other processes of exclusion could happen in South Africa during the 2010 World Cup (and in any other country hosting a mega-event). These fears were further fueled by a history of struggles that street vendors experienced when Durban hosted the African Cup of Nations, the World Forum on Sustainability, and Indian Premier League cricket matches (Bikombo 2010). Thus, the campaign was designed to challenge host cities in South Africa to pledge to host the World Cup in a different manner than the international and local precedents by including a specific focus on working to ensure that the investments and planning were explicitly designed to serve a social justice agenda that recognized the unique needs of street vendors and urban poor more broadly.

Fundamental to the campaign is a critique on the generally accepted conceptualization of what it means to be a 'world class' city. While intimately connected to mega-events like the World Cup, the WCCA campaign moves beyond challenging the agreements that host countries and cities make with FIFA. Instead, the focus is on the ways in which such agreements are translated into
exclusionary practices targeting the urban poor of host cities. As the campaign material points out:

It has become a boringly predictable reality that, when a country prepares to host a high-profile international event, the country and its local government authorities prepare to create “World Class Cities” of a particular type, i.e. “World Class Cities” which:

- will attract foreign investment;
- have modern up-to-date infrastructure;
- have no visible signs of urban decay;
- have smooth traffic flows;
- have no visible poor people or social problems.

Street vendors’ organisations are usually a good barometer of these plans, as they start to notice plans for their eviction some time in advance of the main events. Sometimes they are actually given prior notice – but in other cases they learn to read the signs in advance and they are evicted without warning. (StreetNet International 2011)

This 'particular type' of 'world class' city is a product of the underlying social desire for sameness that is at the heart of Essed and Goldberg's theorization of cultural cloning. These five elements, which the campaign highlights in the above quote, have become a barometer by which one can judge the successful production of the hegemonic conception of a 'world class' host city. Like the guarantees that FIFA demands of host countries and cities, these five elements are a-spatial and used to measure 'world classness' without regard to the urban spatial particularities of a given host city. Ultimately, the success of a municipality's attempts to develop this hegemonic type of 'world class' reputation will largely be evaluated by external forces, such as international tourists and corporate investors. Yet, this criteria provides a concrete recipe for cloning a 'particular type' of 'world class' World Cup (or other mega-event host). Given the sociopolitical material realities of life in the post-apartheid city of Durban (high rates of unemployment, HIV/AIDS, poverty, and crime) the process of creating the appearance that Durban has 'no signs of urban decay' or 'visible poor people or social problems' required substantial planning and policing, a topic that I explore in depth in a previous article (Roberts 2010). As Lindell et al. argue, the “economic and political exclusion of the urban poor in the context of such events is, however, neither automatic nor inevitable. In this case, it was achieved through changes to laws and governance structures driven by very powerful actors” (Lindell et al. 2010: 3).
A primary tenant of the campaign is that the exclusionary practices of planning to host mega-
events are unacceptable and lead to the adoption of the cloned 'world class' city approach.  
Campaign organizers gesture to a lack of inclusiveness in the planning process as a significant 
reason that the planning has taken on an exclusionary approach focusing only on the desires of 
business and political elites. As a consequence, the “campaign aims to challenge this traditional 
approach to building 'World Class Cities' and create a new, more inclusive concept of 'World 
Class Cities for All' with the participation of street vendors and other groups of the (urban) poor” 
(StreetNet International 2011). This critique was echoed by other grassroots civil society groups 
as they took to the streets during a protest on June 16th, 2010 - South African Youth Day - a day 
commemorating the Soweto uprisings of 1976. “The slogan 'Nothing for us without us' used by 
some South African grassroots organizations clearly expresses their rejection of top-down 
planning and interventions and their demands for a bottom-up approach” (Lindell et al. 2010: 4).

In attempting to theorize what would have been necessary for host cities like Durban to translate 
hosting the World Cup into clear poverty-reduction projects, Pillay and Bass highlight the need 
for a public consultation process that seriously considers the needs of the city's impoverished 
residents. Furthermore, such consultation needed to be framed around the opportunities and 
limitations that hosting a mega-event posed in terms of a poverty reduction strategy. In other 
words, “vigorous public debate would provide direct insight and a nuanced, multidimensional 
understanding of the development consequences of hosting a mega sporting event” (Pillay and 
Bass 2009: 78). However, this type of debate did not happen in Durban as was confirmed by a 
member of the 2010 planning team:

    it is difficult, you have these big public meetings, it is like the last legal form of 
    blood sport, you just get shellacked with it, and it’s difficult to deal with that, 
    so public servants as a rule avoid that like the plague, it’s hideous (anonymous, 
    2010).

I am not denying the difficulty of facilitating and engaging in a planning process based on 
vigorous public debate – obviously, it is not easy to assemble a wide variety of voices and 
perspectives and emerge with a consensus on the development consequences and opportunities 
of hosting a mega-event like the World Cup. Yet, the lack of meaningful public consultation all 
but ensured that the process would be dominated by the desires of FIFA, business elites, and 
others who either had predetermined access to the planning process (as in the host city
agreement) or structural influence within the planning process. “World Cup 2010 illustrates the complex structures of governance that may be at work in such mega-events, involving not only local and national state actors but also international actors. In this case, the considerable influence of FIFA and corporate sponsors on urban governance was particularly egregious” (Lindell et al. 2010: 4). It is important to note that this is a critique lodged specifically at the planning process that Durban and other municipalities engaged in their role as hosts. What became clear in my interviews with members of several social movement organization was that the WCCA campaign and others similar to it did not represent a rejection of the desire to be 'world class' or even a lack of excitement over the opportunity to host the World Cup, but rather a sophisticated and nuanced critique of the status quo (cultural cloning) approach to hosting and to the version of 'world class' city that this approach produces.

The exclusionary planning practices extended beyond the lack of public consultation and laws focused on restricting the actions and rights of the urban poor. In their quest to be seen as a 'world class', the municipal government in Durban attempted to shape its image by excluding organizations that work on issues of HIV/AIDS from the stories it promoted during the tournament. This was highlighted in a personal interview with a staff member from WhizzKids United, a non-profit organization that uses soccer to provide HIV/AIDS prevention, care and treatment to Durban's youth. Despite the seemingly obvious connection to the World Cup – the use of soccer to address one of the more significant challenges facing Durban - members of the World Cup planning team shied away from including the organization within the official narrative of the city. In his words, “the feedback we have had is that HIV is an old story and it’s also a negative story, so why do we want to have negative stories about South Africa, when the World Cup should all be about a positive story” (Walsh 2010). Beyond being simply a negative story, the fact that so many of Durban's residents deal with living with the realities of HIV/AIDS falls outside of the outward image the city wants to project of itself and is antithetical to the version of the 'world class' city that they are pursuing. This exclusion of HIV/AIDS service organizations from official support or inclusion in the official message, in this way, turned a potential opportunity for WhizzKids to promote its message, highlight its programming, and garner sponsorship into a challenge in terms of advertising its work. It is rather stark and simplistic that the municipality decided to reduce how it conceives of 'stories' about South Africa into positive stories (to be promoted) and negative stories (to be silenced). Yet, in the context of
the city boosterism at the heart of culturally cloning this certain version of a 'world class' city, the attempted exclusion of the 'story' of HIV/AIDS from the official narrative of Durban somehow seems fitting.

The Fight to Save the Early Morning Market

One of the decisive moments where the municipality’s plans for urban renewal and rebranding came to a head is in the fight over the redevelopment of the Early Morning Market – a 100 year-old market and heritage site – that the city planned to develop into a shopping mall. The Early Morning Market is located within the primary transport node in Durban – the Warwick Junction - and plays host to nearly 800 traders who sell fresh produce, meat, and other items to the commuters who pass through Warwick Junction each day. Additionally, the Early Morning Market is also the primary supplier of goods for Durban’s network of informal street traders (Skinner 2009). As part of the urban renewal plans in preparation for the World Cup, the city identified Warwick Junction, and in particular, the Early Morning Market as in need of significant upgrading, which would include the displacement of the Early Morning Market for the construction of a shopping mall (though some accommodations for a reduced number of traders was promised on the ground floor of the mall).

The plan to redevelop the market was described in the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup: Durban, KZN: Business Plan as an “Opportunity to significantly improve the face of public transport” through the development of a “multi-modal transport and retail hub” (Sutcliffe and Ellingston 2006). The redevelopment of Warkwick Junction and the policing of informal traders was also justified as an essential component of a ‘world class’ city. An “argument was offered that the PRMP [Public Realm Management Programme] was necessary to advance a vision of Durban as a ‘World Class City’ more especially in view of preparations for the 2010 FIFA World Cup” (Karumbidza 2011, 25). The Public Realm Management Program was, in part, designed to formalize street trading through the a permitting process that worked to designate who could and who could not participate in the ‘informal’ economy of street trading. This program also worked to gradually limit the number of traders that would be given permits to work at places like the
Early Morning Market while criminalizing those individuals not given a permit. Informal trading, and the Early Market, itself, became a symbol for aspects of the current city that were incongruous with the vision ‘world class’ city being promoted by the city.

While the city attempted to fast track plans for development, and largely bypass public consultation, a collation of academics, labor unions, street traders, civil society organizations, and architects came to the defense of the Early Morning Market in opposition to city plans. This opposition lead to several court cases and ultimately the decision by the municipality to shelve development plans in the February 2011 due to “massive public resistance” (Gumede 2011). This project was seen by academics and civil society activists who I spoke to (D’Sa 2010, Xulu 2009, Dobson 2010, Bikombo, and Moodley 2010) as one of the key moments in which the city management’s vision of the city as an elite tourism destination – with its focus on catering to a tourist class – came to a head with the needs and desires of people who live and work in Durban and the specific urban spatial histories of the city.

In both the case of the World Class Cities for All campaign and the battle to save the Early Morning Market, the limitations of the ability of the municipality to simply clone a ‘world class’ host city ran into conflict with Durban’s existing landscape as well as the power of civil society organizations and supporters to have their voices heard. Rather than seeing these moments as indications that what was taking place was something other than cultural cloning, I believe they point to the difficulty of the attempted cloning project as well as the violences in play if the cloning was complete, as if such a process can ever be completed.

Cultural cloning and the salience of the metaphor

In an attempt to move towards a conclusion, I want to reflect on the salience of the cultural cloning metaphor to provide a critique on the type of policy transfer process that shaped the planning process to host the 2010 World Cup. I am concerned, on one level, that application of the cloning metaphor may perhaps indicate a totalizing project that, through such an extreme form of policy transfer coupled with overarching expectations and guarantees, eviscerates local
particularities of the host city. In practice, the attempted cloning is far more complex than urban planners and, in this case, FIFA, may like to allude to especially as each engage in a particular set of branding, boosterism strategies. Moreover, for a city like Durban, the attempt at cloning the 'world class' city is on-going. The 2010 World Cup certainly provides a unique set of circumstance for advancing a particular conception of Durban as a 'world class' city, but did not represent an end in and of itself in terms of Durban's pursuit of recognition as a 'world class' city. For me, the quality or completeness of the clone is far less important than analyzing the processes that the attempt at cloning puts into motion and the sets of values and priorities that these processes privilege. This is perhaps more important given the complexity of hosting the World Cup in the developing world.

While recognizing that the cloning of a 'world class' city is messy, filled with contradictions, and never complete, it is important to highlight that the identification of a narrow conceptualization of what it means to be 'world class' can have a chilling effect on the creativity of urban planning. “One unfortunate consequence of the whole popularity of the concepts of world cities and global cities 'has been to create exemplars to imitate as success models: a process of emulation has been put in place'. This imitation, however, critically misses the diversity in the world's most powerful cities” (Rogerson 2004: 14). This lack of diversity becomes increasingly more problematic in the context of the underdeveloped world and the post-apartheid city struggling with a legacy of exclusionary practices and their material manifestations. As Robinson explains, “the dearth of alternative vocabularies and approaches currently severely limits imaginations of possible futures for cities. The particular form of this limitation makes it particularly hard to mobilize creative ways to address the situation of poor and marginalized people in cities around the world” (Robinson 2002: 533). Through applying a cultural cloning critique to the planning processes for hosting the 2010 World Cup, I attempt to expose the underlying logic that privileged a particular notion of what it meant to be a 'world class' host city. This represented a significant missed opportunity. As Pillay and Bass explain, “the 2010 World Cup presented South Africa with a unique opportunity to fast-track the urban development impetus. Yet, a close reading of the international literature on the hosting of mega-events – especially the significant portion that is cautionary in its tone and vocabulary about the benefits that may accrue to host nations – heightened awareness around not inflating development expectations” (Pillay and Bass 2009: 79). Even in the context of the cautionary literature, interventions like the World Class Cities for...
All campaign highlight that there is perhaps another way of planning for hosting duties rather than simply cloning a 'world class' city model that privileges an elite, narrow agenda. Obviously, in the case of the World Cup, the implementation of an alternative vision may require some negotiation of the agreements and obligations that hosts stipulated by FIFA. Not dismissing that difficulty that host countries and cities may face in this negotiation with FIFA (or the IOC or other such body) or the challenges of actually implementing a more progressive, social development oriented vision for hosting an event like the World Cup, I believe that these are the goals that should be at the heart of campaigns and scholarship challenging the status quo on planning for mega-events.
Third Empirical Chapter
“We have the Ability to Create Headlines”: Made-For-TV Planning
and the Politics of Urban Knowledge Creation

Abstract
In this paper, I argue that the World Cup needs to be understood as having social impacts that extend well beyond the sports event and the tournament infrastructure. Thinking through the World Cup in South Africa as a 'television event' allows us to understand how a particular geographic imagination of host cities is mass produced by and through international media covering the event. Through an analysis of media strategies for the 2010 South African World Cup, this paper explores the politics of urban knowledge production and introduces the concept made-For-TV planning. Made-for-TV planning is the attempt of urban planners to capitalize on the unique opportunities and challenges of anticipated television media coverage of a city (such as that which accompanies a mega-event) to project a certain image of a city to television audiences around the world. In the process, there is a blurring of lines between city boosterism and news coverage. Positive, constructed, media stories and images of host cities were facilitated, in part, through geographically uneven investment in infrastructure, policing, and other city services towards the production of particular urban spaces designed to be television friendly. Made-for-TV planning approaches require broadening the typical understanding of the planner in this unique context -- it also requires an expansion of planning theory to include greater attention to media studies and representational theories. These relationships remain largely unexplored and under-theorized. What follows is a course theorization of made-for-TV planning as a way of laying the groundwork for further studies that should include, among other things, robust content analysis of the ways in which television news organizations, in partnership with urban planners, work to broadcast certain image production narratives.

More than just games…
This paper explores South African World Cup media strategies at both the national and host city scales as a way of introducing the concept of made-for-TV planning; an explicit project of urban knowledge production in and through the production of particular urban spaces. On its surface, the World Cup is a month long soccer tournament that happens every four years and features
thirty-two national teams vying for the right to take home the FIFA World Cup Trophy. Certainly, there is plenty to analyze about the media coverage of games themselves - ranging from nationalistic narrative explanations of why certain teams play in a certain way to clashes of former colonies and colonizers playing out within the games (Maguire 2011). A narrow focus on the tournament alone, however, obscures much of what happens behind the scenes as well as the ways in which television coverage do more than broadcast information about sport. Viewing the World Cup exclusively through the lens of a sports event glosses over the ways in which the tournament has evolved, especially in the era of television (Horne and Manzenreiter 2002, Kennedy and Mills 2009). The World Cup has become one of the most watched television events with a global audience that sets records for viewership on a regular basis. As FIFA recently reported,

The 2010 FIFA World Cup South Africa was shown in every single country and territory on Earth, including Antarctica and the Arctic Circle, generating record-breaking viewing figures in many TV markets around the world. The in-home television coverage of the competition reached over 3.2 billion people around the world, or 46.4 per cent of the global population, based on viewers watching a minimum of over one minute of coverage. (“Almost half the world tuned...” 2011)

These figures do not include those who celebrated by watching the games in public spaces like bars, hotels or official FIFA fan fests. The billions of spectators who tuned in to watch the drama on the soccer pitch quickly became consumers of the accompanying media coverage that include a variety of story-lines, many of which comment on the host city and nation. More than simply high level sporting competitions, mega-events, like the soccer World Cup, should be theorized as “large scale cultural (including commercial and sporting) events, which have a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance” (Roche 2000: 1).

The slide below, presented by the Local Organizing Committee at a South African parliamentary committee meeting (June 17, 2008), and readily available through the Parliamentary Monitoring Group's digital archives, is illustrative of the ways in which media presence was a central component of planning discussions:
It clearly depicts the primacy of television viewership in the planning for how to best capitalize on the World Cup to 'maximize tourism and foreign investment opportunities'. It is no accident that the slide highlights the anticipated television viewership as a way of distinguishing it from other processes through which South Africa and the World Cup captured global attention. While new media coverage of mega-events like the World Cup is increasing, television coverage still remains the most significant way in which people across the globe follow the month long tournament and accompanying commentary on the host country and cities.

Focusing on the tournament alone ignores the significant material and ideological work invested in South Africa's hosting of the tournament. As Berger writes, “the occasion of the Cup fits with … a “mega media event”… [serving] as a “media vortex” that goes beyond narrow football coverage as such.” In other words, “the 2010 Cup could not but resonate more widely than the specifics of the matches themselves” (Berger 2010: 178). This characterization of the World Cup falls in line with what Nauright described as the sport-media-tourism complex: “These events are commonly used in tourist promotions to present cities and nations as exciting destinations with interesting cultures for tourists to consume. It is appropriate, therefore, in the 21st century to speak of a sport-media-tourism complex that is at the centre of many local, regional and national development strategies” (Nauright 2004: 1326). For South Africa, hosting
the World Cup took on an added dimension in terms of challenging deeply rooted, persistent, negative media tropes about the country.

Given that the 2010 World Cup represented the continent of Africa's first opportunity to host one of the hallmark sports mega-events (namely the Summer and Winter Olympics and the FIFA men's World Cup), the stakes in successfully navigating the intense media scrutiny that accompanies a mega-event were extremely high. Beyond the presentation of a consumable culture for tourists, hosting the tournament was seen by many as an unprecedented opportunity to challenge the prevalent geographical imaginations of the country and continent. In a media analysis of World Cup 2010 reporting, Maguire highlights two key objectives of hosting nations:

First, governments tend to use mega-events as a form of 'soft power' or public diplomacy to showcase the nation as a global player and to highlight the robustness of its infrastructure and business acumen. Second, governments seek to address internal issues and concerns – nation-building, economic regeneration and fostering social capital (Maguire 2011: 690).

City planners and event organizers were well aware of the possible impacts that such coverage would have on the national and city brands. Former President Thabo Mbeki, for example, described hosting the World Cup as a significant opportunity to challenge “Afro-pessimism” (Pillay and Bass 2010, Maharaj 2011), the belief by many outside of Africa that Africa, especially sub-Saharan Africa, was too riddled with social problems and corruption to proceed down a path of economic and social progress. This argument that the World Cup, and its media coverage, posed a unique opportunity to impact the international view of South Africa and the continent more broadly was echoed in an editorial in The Sunday Times, South Africa's largest weekly newspaper: waxing lyrical about what an important opportunity the event offered South Africans to challenge disturbing stereotypes:

It will be a very long time before South Africa and the rest of the continent gets a better chance to dispel Afro-pessimism that undermines initiatives to fast-track the economic and social development of the people of Africa and secure their fair place in the world order. It will also be a very long time before the leaders of South Africa and the rest of the continent get another chance to show leadership and excellence of planning and execution to the rest of the world, and win their confidence. (Sunday Times, 2008 as quoted in Ginsberg 2010)
The editorial goes on to examine the perception that media coverage has historically painted South Africa with a wide pessimistic brush and that the World Cup presented the opportunity to inspire new story lines.

The World Cup, with the magnitude of media coverage it inevitably would bring to South Africa, presented a once in a lifetime opportunity to influence perceptions of the country and inspire investors and tourists alike to think of South Africa as a ‘destination of choice’. As discussed in the previous chapter, for Durban, success was tied to a narrowly defined, hegemonic conception of how a 'world class' host would act. The hope from event organizers and city planners was that successfully hosting the World Cup by exceeding the expectations of FIFA would establish Durban's reputation as a 'world class', elite sporting destination. Such a recognition would not only usher in increased tourism dollars and foreign direct investment, but would set the city up for the possibility of hosting a Summer Olympics. Thus, a successful showing as host was tied to a vision of a future 'world class' Durban (Roberts 2010).

Thus, at the scale of the host city, the nation, and even the continent, with the right media coverage, the World Cup represented the ultimate opportunity to recast geographical imaginations. City planners in conjunction with event planners actively worked to shift the media gaze from the field of competition to story lines about host cities and South Africa more broadly. To accomplish this task, event planners set out to develop strategic partnerships with key media institutions in order to assure that certain messaging would stick.

**The World Cup as a Television Event**

Thinking through the World Cup in South Africa as a 'television event' allows us to understand how a particular geographic imagination of host cities is mass produced by and through international media covering the event. That the media coverage that accompanies the World Cup or other mega-events can work to influence the geographic imagination of the host city and nation is neither surprising nor a novel idea. What I believe has largely gone unexplored is the production of particular urban spaces for mediated consumption of a global television audience.
My goal in this paper is to define what I call *made-for-TV planning* which investigates city planning practice oriented towards broadcasting the city on the small screen. This television coverage is designed to set into motion a future redevelopment of host cities through increased tourism and business investment. *Made-for-TV planning* is a strategy at influencing narratives with real material consequences for the production of urban landscapes designed to advance particular narratives about the city. I deliberately focus on television because I am curious about the way television, as a medium and as a ubiquitous form of international communication across the global north and south, offers us an opportunity to consider the limitations of television camera lens as well as the limitations in journalistic television coverage of mega-sporting events, especially in terms of the temporariness or fleeting nature of the journalistic attention (Ekström 2002). Moreover, while people accessed information about the World Cup through a variety of other forms of media, such as the internet and radio, the global saturation of television coverage of the event, combined with the unique nature of television as a medium for communication facilitate the processes that I discuss in this paper.

Within this chapter, first, I define the concept of *made-for-TV planning* using analysis of the media strategies for the 2010 World Cup that positioned the tournament as a mega-media event that must be understood as an opportunity to create positive story-lines about a city – story-lines that extend well beyond the action on the soccer field. In other words, the World Cup needs to be understood as having social impacts that extend beyond the sports event and infrastructure. It serves as a medium for the manufacture of discourses about world-class cities (Roberts, forthcoming). This means that we must pay attention to the ways that the World Cup is also about the politics of representation, particularly media representation given the World Cup’s status as a mega-media event. Second, I theorize made-for-TV planning as a practice that blurs the line between boosterism and broadcast television news. I am interested in the ways in which strategic partnerships between television news organizations and urban planners work to advance particular story lines. Third, I work to theorize the uneven geographies of producing a narrative about a host city in and through television media coverage in and through the production of particular urban spaces. Many of the investments in urban infrastructure and policing are specifically tied to the mega-event, itself, and thus are both limited to the duration of the event as well as being spatially limited to sites tied to the event or specific tourist attractions. The camera necessarily frames the image of the city excluding significant scenes happening just off screen.
In doing so, narrations of host cities are facilitated through metonymic representations that create a 'postcard effect' (Sadler and Haskins 2005), in which narrowly framed, partial scenes of the city become the basis for knowing about the entire city.

Before outlining made-for-TV planning, I would like to briefly comment on the process through which I arrived at this theorization.

**Methods**

This paper draws from data collected through semi-structured interviews, participant observation and textual analysis. It is a product of research conducted over a period of two years before, during and after the 2010 FIFA World Cup. For six months of this time, I was living in Durban, South Africa’s second largest city – a city of 3 million people, located on South Africa's east coast on the shores of the Indian Ocean and home to Africa's busiest commercial port. During the World Cup, Durban hosted eight World Cup matches including a second round match and a semi-final. Admittedly, I did not initially set out to conduct research on television coverage of the World Cup. I focused on analyzing urban planning decisions host cities in South Africa employed in order to respond to the unique circumstances and demands of hosting an event like the World Cup and how these changes impacted the lived geographies of individuals, especially the most vulnerable in society, who work and live in host cities (see Roberts 2010). I was also interested in the narratives that framed these urban planning initiatives (Roberts in progress). However, while conducting participant observation research, it became increasingly clear that television is the medium through which these narratives were broadcast to the world. This played a significant role in shaping the urban planning policy decisions on hosting this mega-event.

That the 2010 World Cup was viewed, at least briefly, by nearly half of the world's population makes understanding the ways in which this television coverage impacts the politics of urban knowledge production within host cities an essential component to understanding the critical geographies of mega-events. I want to make it clear to the reader that this paper is simply a preliminary theorization about the idea of made-for-TV planning as a way of laying the groundwork for further studies that should include, among other things, robust content analysis
of the ways in which television news organizations, in partnership with urban planners, work to broadcast certain image production narratives. This paper opens up questions about the complex relationship that emerges between anticipated television coverage, urban planning, television media strategies, and journalists. I did not interview journalists for this particular project; that endeavor will have to be led by others. That said, the centrality of television as the medium through which a global audience of billions was going to come to learn something about South Africa and the World Cup host cities is a prevailing theme that emerged from my research. This paper, then, is an attempt to lay the groundwork for understanding the relationship between urban planning and television media in order to encourage future elaborations on this topic.

Made-for-TV Planning

A few months before the kick off of the 2010 FIFA World Cup the official national government website for the World Cup, www.sa2010.gov, published a virtual call to arms to encourage South Africans to make the most of the media attention the World Cup to influence the news stories that might emerge from the tournament. The article, “2010: No rewinds, no edits, no second chances,” challenged South Africans to:

Think about it. For one solid month from the middle of June until the middle of July in 2010 South Africa will open its arms, doors, communications networks and broadcast cables to over 20,000 members of the international and national media community who will capture an estimated over 200 viewing hours of 64 matches across 32 teams. In total over 300 broadcasters will send out a continuous month of live television coverage which will bring South Africa into the homes of a cumulative viewing audience of over 40 Billion people, internationally and nationally. 40 billion people watching the 2010 Fifa World Cup live as it occurs in South Africa. No rewinds, no edits, no second chances...

A critical part of our messaging, one which we must never forget as a proactive voice speaking on our behalf is the Media. So often and so easily we criticize the media for speaking negatively about Africa, about South Africa, focusing on the bad-news stories which challenge our efforts to build our nation. We respond to the headlines. But we forget – we have the ability to create the headlines. We, through working with the media as partners, have the ability to
edulate and inspire the media into creating the good news stories. (Nhlumayo, 2009)

In the run up to the tournament, Western media stories focused on everything from lack of preparedness of the match venues (Fifa says South Africa unprepared 2010) to the risk that tourists and athletes faced from violent crime (Rohrer 2010) to the potential that the English national team could suffer snake bites while training (World Cup 2010: Is there a snake in the grass? 2010). The intense negativity of the stories, many of which were coming from the British press, sparked the ire of FIFA and members of the South African Government (FIFA slam negative South Africa stories 2010) who demanded that South Africa be given the chance to prove to the world that it was up to the task of successfully hosting an event of this scale. Needless to say, the relationship between event organizers and the press in the run-up to the games was contentious. This makes the switch from complaining about media stories to describing the media as “a proactive voice speaking on our behalf,” a shift in approach to the media (especially Western media) in South Africa.

Yet, this quote provides significant insight into the emergence of a media strategy of host city managers and event organizers, both at the national and host city scales, to actively partner with media outlets in an explicit attempt to “create the headlines” that project certain narratives about the country and host cities. This strategy falls in line with, what I call made-for-TV planning, or the attempt of urban planners to capitalize on the opportunities and challenges that anticipated television media coverage of a city to project a certain image of a city to television audiences around the world. Made-for-TV planning, then, is about the ways in which planning mechanisms, such as geographically uneven infrastructure investment and policing, are used explicitly for the purpose of impacting the broadcast narratives of a given city. I chose to focus on planning because I am interested in the urban planning mechanisms that were used to produce the material spaces that are at the heart of Durban’s claim to being a ‘world class’ city. Planning decisions and decisions made in the city management bureaucracy on urban planning issue were significantly influenced by political decisions made by elected officials who set the overall planning orientation and goals for the city. My work focuses less on the factors contributing to the political decisions. Instead, I examine the way that political decisions and goals on the branding of Durban were translated into urban planning policy decisions, investments, and policing – components largely overseen by the city manager.
Made-for-TV planning approaches require broadening the typical understanding of the planner in this unique context -- it also requires an expansion of planning theory to include greater attention to media studies and representational theories. I chose to focus my analysis specifically on television and not other forms of media because, for now at least, the phenomenon that I am describing is intimately tied to the medium of television as opposed to social media or even print media because television is by far the dominant way that people access the World Cup (and other mega-sporting events).

Not only is the medium of television particularly linked to live sporting events, like the World Cup, as the dominant way such events are accessed, television is unique in the way that it presents information. “The frantic rhythm of TV pictures does not let viewer's eyes rest and does not allow for one instant the viewer to ever consider whether what s/he sees is real or not, bound by a frame (that of the screen or the camera) or not” (Debrix 1999: 117). The unique nature of television, thus, facilitates urban planning goals to influence geographic imaginations and demands analysis focused particularly on it as a medium of communication. Social media and other online sources of information accompany the broadcasts and influence understandings of place, but have yet to decenter television as the medium of choice. Additionally, there is a great diversity of actors and technologies involved in new media and, I do not believe that city planning departments have yet figured out how to navigate a new media strategy with the same level of sophistication as is evident in made-for-TV planning. Finally, there is a universality to television that does not yet exist with other forms of media. “Television forms its own world order linking individuals from different areas to a unique visual perspective and to a global media network of images that everyone, no matter who or where they are, can access” (ibid.: 117).

Thinking through hosting the World Cup as fundamentally an exercise in projecting particular messages and images of South Africa and its cities, offers us an opportunity to consider how planners and event organizers attempt to capitalize upon the television news presence at mega-events to promote a particular vision of host cities. In doing so, we would do well to seek out the differences between planning for an individual tourist experience and planning designed to influence or shape the ways in which throngs of international television viewers come to 'know' South Africa from their experiences with the country through the medium of television. Made-for-TV planning represents an escalation of the shift of city governance from managerialism to
neoliberal post-Fordist entrepreneurialism (Harvey 1989) as investments shift from spaces of collective infrastructure to spaces of business or capitalist infrastructure, often times designed to lure external investment. This mirrors a marketing orientation where city planning is increasingly about managing the external perception of the city brand or image as a strategy to attract international investment, which is less focused on improving the material conditions of city residents.

While there has been substantial academic work on the entrepreneurial city and the use of high profile events, like mega-sporting events, to recast or establish a city's position within a global competition between cities for foreign investment and tourist dollars (Hall and Hubbard 1998), there has been little to no scholarship that theorizes the ways in which city planners in the underdeveloped world work to utilize the television news coverage that comes with an event as high profile as the soccer World Cup to project a particular image or narration of a given host city. There is, however, a growing body of scholarship that links tourism and place identity to depictions of a city in both film and other forms of fictional media (Mathews 2010; Kim and Richardson 2003; Busby and Klug 2001). And still another body of work that analyzes the ways in which the news media influences particular geographic imaginations of cities (Martin 2000). Yet, there seems to be little or no work that focuses on the ways that city planners partner with news media in the development and broadcasting of particular story-lines with the goal of advancing a particular narrative of the city. Through theorizing the existence of such partnerships in South Africa for the 2010 World Cup, this paper shows that this aspect of contemporary urban planning has significant impact on urban policy strategies.

The World Cup as a Vehicle for Improving Press Coverage

In the face of significant negative press in both the British and German media, FIFA leadership issued pleas to give South Africa a chance to prove itself as host. Examples of these interventions include:
It's sad that every morning you wake up and every morning there are articles from the world's football family saying that people should not fly to South Africa, that this is a dangerous country, that this is not good, that there is no way this person should fly to South Africa because it is a crazy country, that FIFA and (Sepp) Blatter made the wrong decision to host the World Cup in South Africa," the organisation's general secretary Jerome Valcke said."What we are asking is for fair treatment for South Africa, the same treatment that all the other World Cup countries got. Don't kill the World Cup before it has even happened. (ESPNewsccernet 2010).

The feeling appeared to be that the negative press in the months and year prior to the World Cup would significantly hamper the success of the event as tourists might think twice about traveling to South Africa out of fear. These concerns permeated the goals of Durban’s planners as well. As one official explained, for her,

I think actually the biggest [hope] is that the press - we have a huge problem with the press - is able to see the bigger picture rather than focus on some old lady’s handbag that gets stolen, because that will happen; that they actually can look beyond that and see the whole event and see the bigger picture. That history is kind to us. (Personal Interview with a member of the 2010 Office, 2009).

Improving the media of Durban was seen as the most important potential outcome from hosting the World Cup. The city manager explained this hope in more hopeful terms, explaining, “Press reports on South Africa, you are well aware of, are not balanced, and sometimes not even true, about the nature of life in cities like Durban. I think the World Cup, itself, the successful holding of the World Cup changes that” (Sutcliffe 2010).

What constitutes success of the tournament, then, went beyond just successfully managing the material aspects of the event, to receiving recognition of this success through the international media coverage of the tournament. This highlights just how important made-for-TV planning was to ensuring a successful event in potentially altering Durban’s brand.
**World Cup Durban as a Cinematographic Fiction**

In describing the U.S. entrance into the peacekeeping mission in Somalia in 1992, Debrix (1999) sets the scene where a legion of journalists and television crews set up stakes in the sand dunes along the shores of Somalia near Mogadishu to capture the perfect shot of the marines coming ashore. In describing the staging of the landing of the U.S. Marines and the early days of the peacekeeping operation, Debrix remarks “This made-for-TV show about U.S. Forces arriving on the shores of Somalia under the eyes of millions of TV viewers was going to condition the entire UN-U.S. Operation Restore Hope (the second phase of the UN mission in Somalia)” (Debrix 1999: 113). The ability both to stage the particulars of the broadcast images as well as reach millions of viewers throughout the world with those carefully orchestrated images added a new dimension to the mission that created the UN the opportunity to dramatically usher in UN Secretary Boutros-Ghali’s *Agenda for Peace* and for the U.S. an opportunity to extend the triumph of first Gulf War. Significantly, the visibility of the operation was key to its success in reshaping perceptions about UN peacekeeping. “Unlike panopticism, the strategies of visual simulation relied upon by the UN to achieve its ideological objectives are now intended to be highly visible” (Debrix 1999: 98). This visibility, designed to showcase the possibilities of a reordered peacekeeping, ultimately proved quite difficult to manage.

In analyzing the peacekeeping operations in Somalia through the lens as a form of cinematographic fiction, Debrix (1999) outlines an approach that is useful for understanding the production of World Cup Durban. Certainly the actors within the cinematographic fiction in Durban and the objectives of the production differ substantially from those in Somalia, yet there are similarities between the staging of the spaces of the World Cup for television consumption and the staging of the beach landing of U.S. Marines for Operation Restore Hope. The cinematographic fiction of World Cup Durban is obviously set in Durban, dubbed “the warmest place to be” during the World Cup, by event organizers. The actors are Durban, FIFA, tourists and Durbanites who play various roles in the production of Durban as a world-class sporting destination. The objective is of course not to usher in a reconfigured perception of UN peacekeeping, but rather to showcase Durban as fully transitioned from the “racial city” of apartheid to a neoliberal, post-racial metropolitan city (Mbembe 2004) of contemporary (and future) South Africa.
FIFA plays a key part in this production by providing the rights to host World Cup matches and thus place Durban at the center of a media spotlight that broadcast images of the city into homes in every corner of the globe. Local event organizers in Durban along with members of the planning department and city management office played the role of setting the stage for the event, including overseeing geographically uneven investments that targeted specific parts of the city, linked in some way to the event or tourism, for aesthetic improvements, service provisions, and increased policing. Some Durbanites were selected to perform the role of abstractly friendly citizen as Welcome Ambassadors within event-specific public spaces that had been cleansed of 'nuisance behaviors' and the individuals who might exhibit such behaviors (Roberts 2010). Visiting tourists played the important role of consumers of the newly produced and time-limited World Cup landscapes.

Through careful management of the production, Durban city management worked to set the stage in which new headlines would be produced about contemporary Durban. What follows is a discussion of some of the planning mechanisms used in pursuit of this made-for-TV, cinematographic fiction.

**Blurring the Lines between Boosterism and News**

Boosterism – defined as “the promotion of local economic development by urban governments in alliance with private capital and unions” (Dictionary of Human Geography 2000: 875) - is far from a new phenomena. In theorizing the city as a growth machine, Logan and Molotch (1987) illustrate the role that local media plays in promoting a city’s growth. They argue that local newspapers, among other actors, stand to significantly benefit from the promotion of place as urban growth is translated into increased readership and consequently increased revenue from advertisers. This role of the local media as promoting a growth agenda has a long history that extends to the settlement of the American 'frontier' in the nineteenth century to contemporary practices of growth. They focus primarily on institutions that are bound to a place due to capital investment in a given city. McCallum, Spencer and Wyly (2005), do well to adapt and expand the original theorization of the urban growth machine to include processes of urban image
production in their analysis of Vancouver, Canada's bid to host the 2010 Winter Olympics. In their analysis they work to expand theorizations of the urban growth machine to include analysis of the role of hosting urban mega-events on the city image-production strategies that are essential to many contemporary urban growth strategies. They argue that:

The acceleration in transnational tourist, consumption, and sporting economies has simply altered the medium through which city elites pursue their goals: in the process, the city becomes an image-production machine, with locally interested elites coming together in strategic coalitions to constitute symbolic cities for the next itinerant global spectacle. (McCallum, Spencer, Wyly 2005: 44)

McCallum et al focus their analytic gaze on the hegemonic narrative that promoters of the Vancouver Olympics developed and promoted through their bid to host. The media, obviously, have a central role in broadcasting, or making known, this hegemonic notion of the imagined city of Vancouver. The involvement of the media, however, is fundamentally different than in Logan and Molotch's formulation as McCallum et al. bring into discussion more than just local media in the promotion of particular hegemonic narratives of the city. This points to an emergence of a media strategy, on the part of city planners and event organizers, in advancing growth as opposed to an internal capitalist strategy or particular media outfits to promote growth.

The South African case, however, appears to be qualitatively different than the approach to the media that these scholars discuss. In South Africa, in addition to urban planning decisions made to attract the attention and praise of the visiting international media, we saw the emergence of strategic partnerships between city and national governments and key media organizations to influence the geographic imagination of a given place through the medium of television. As Berger notes,

the South African government stated: 'CNN International which has been working with South Africa Tourism and the 2010 LOC [Local Organizing Committee] for over 2 years on the bigger 2010 story, demonstrating clear commitment to the Games far beyond and long before the phenomenal spectacle of football matches being played across the nation.' The BBC was also reported to have agreed (in exchange for cut-price rental of Cape Town broadcast premises) to 'endeavor to include, if and when, relevant references to the Western Cape (Berger 2010: 179-180).

While agreements such as these, to partner with news organizations in the promotion of place are certainly not unique to the South African World Cup, they are significantly under-reported and
under-theorized. They point to a blurring of what is characterized as boosterism, or the promotion of one's city with the hopes of improving the city's reputation, and the reporting of broadcast television news. Both at the national and municipal scales, the quasi-quid-pro-quo relationship between international mass media corporations and the South African government represented a structural shift in the relationship between the two. The shift is bound up in the temporalities of the World Cup – both the increased media attention that put South Africa and its cities on televisions in every country and territory of the world as well as the increased investment in urban infrastructure, policing and several other municipal services that were tied to the duration of the tournament.

That we live a mediated life and that our understanding of place is thoroughly imbued with the conceptions and imaginings influenced by the media we consume has been a central component of contemporary media studies. As Rodgers, Barnett and Cochrane (2008) explain, “for media studies, space is always already mediated, spatially and temporally extended, distanciated and dispersed” (3). The blurring between what constitutes news and what constitutes urban entrepreneurial advertising fits within the blurring of the stage and 'real life'. As Zizek explains (2002), “in the late capitalist consumerist society 'real social life' itself somehow acquires the features of a staged fake, with our neighbors behaving in 'real' life as staged actors and extras” (386). Yet made-for-TV planning is about more than just the construction of narratives for the mediated consumption of an external audience of World Cup viewers, it is simultaneously about the production of spaces within cities that become the material basis for the mediated narratives that are consumed. As Lefebvre argue “ideologies do not produce space: rather, they are in space, and of it. It is the forces of production and the relations of production that produce social space” (Lefebvre 1992: 2010). Building from Lefebvre, the production of space occurs both discursively as well as materially. In other words, production of space is based on ongoing negotiations and contestations over “conceived, perceived, and lived spaces” (McCann 1999: 167). As Dickinson explains, “Space, then, does not disappear behind the veil of mediatic representations” (Dickinson 2006: 214). Thus, while agreements between various governmental bodies and news broadcasting corporations may work to ensure that particular story lines are included within the broadcasts of the World Cup, made-for-TV planning does not end with such agreements. Through discussing 'the postcard effect' (Sadler and Haskins 2005) and the
exploitation of the limits of the television lens, I discuss how made-for-TV planning manifest in material productions of space.

**The Postcard Effect**

Sadler and Haskins argue that “television's representation of cities creates a 'postcard effect' that affords the viewer the pleasure of a tourist gaze, a disposition that both reflects and legitimizes a fragmented experience of visiting a location without immersing oneself in the intricacies of its politics and geography” (Sadler and Haskins 2005: 196). Through the unprecedented television coverage of the 2010 World Cup, tourists from every corner of the globe were able to gaze upon the South African cities that played host to tournament matches and come away with a geographical imagination of each city based on the fragmented, ephemeral place images that accompanied broadcasts of the matches. The broadcasts of these particular images were facilitated by infrastructure investments and policing (Roberts 2010) that was specifically tied to meeting the needs and demands of hosting the World Cup (see Roberts forthcoming for some of the expectations that host cities were obligated to meet). In Durban, this is reflected both in uneven investment that targeted infrastructure and cosmetic improvements to places like the waterfront or 'the Golden Mile' designated as tourist zones as well as time-limited planning designed to facilitate the image-production mechanism of the city during the World Cup but with limited thought into how to maintain levels of policing and other service provisions post World Cup. Tournament specific funding from the federal and provincial governments (Tomlinson 2010) helped insure that host cities would be at their best for the television cameras that accompanied the World Cup, but do little to ensure the maintenance of 'world class' World Cup spaces after the final whistle (Roberts and Bass, forthcoming). Media coverage of the World Cup, then, must be understood as providing a partial and temporal snapshot of host cities at their best. Yet it is from these incomplete and fleeting broadcast images that viewers come to know host cities; the broadcast images become the dominant images associated with a given city.

The postcard effect is, in part, a function of the limitations of the medium of television. In covering the devastating 2010 earthquake in Haiti, television news reporter Anderson Cooper
observed, "The thing that's difficult about this is that the camera lens is too small to capture what is really happening here" (Shea 2010). Cooper, in trying to express the difficulty of capturing the magnitude of the disaster for a television audience abroad, insightfully observed the limitations of the medium of television camera lens to adequately capture the complexities of an event and place. While the World Cup in South Africa is in no way comparable to an unpredictable natural disaster like an earthquake, Cooper's astute reflection is applicable to the ways in which television coverage of South Africa and its cities was inherently limited by the nature of the lens simply being too small to capture the complexities and contradictions of place.

As a technology, television facilitates made-for-TV planning through the fundamental inability of the camera lens to broadcast more than simply a circumscribed snapshot of place. In understanding the nature of the technology, planners are able to devise specific urban planning strategies to align with their media strategies, fueled by the strategic partnerships with media organizations discussed earlier, to exploit the limitations of television and facilitate a mediated, idealized, image of their cities for audience consumption.

As MacCannell notes, the narrow focus of such mediated images fits squarely within a common strategy of travel imagery. He explains that “Satisfaction with tourist imagery depends on it seeming to be rich and complete when in fact, it is flat and drained of disruptive detail... The tourist image totalizes by exclusion” (MacCannell 2011: 183). In focusing on the desires of tourists, MacCannell is attempting to explain the tourist's desire to see and experience places as they are depicted in travel images, such as those found in promotional brochures. Thus, tourist satisfaction is predicated on the minimization or exclusion of distractions such as indicators of material labor necessary for the creation and maintenance of tourist spaces or other aspects of place that are incongruous with the fantasy presented in tourist imagery. Mitchell makes a similar argument on the ways that historically landscape representation worked to obscure many of the processes that went into the production of a given built form, noting "landscape representation thus sought to legitimize and naturalize the emerging capitalist order by erasing many of the facts upon which it was built" (Mitchell 2000: 117). Specifically, for Mitchell, the role of labor in the production of landscape is obscured by representations of landscape. A form of landscape representations, tourist images are presented as always already existing depictions of a potential tourist destination masking the labor and struggle that went into their creation and goes into their ongoing maintenance. That there are contestations over the future of urban life in
South Africa is certainly not a topic of the tourist imagery. I specifically trace some of the competing articulations of what a 'world class' city might look and act like in the previous chapter, for example. Through processes of policing out particular bodies and behaviors, event-specific public spaces were cleansed of evidence that the current manifestation of public space – its appearance, how it is used, and by whom – were contested and struggled against (Roberts 2010).

MacCannell goes on to argue that “the tourist image does not deceive us, because everyone knows it is not the same as what it depicts. Its apparent deception is its constitutive feature, always already known in advance” (MacCannell 2011: 185). In other words, the creation and promotion of particular, limited, tourist images and the consumption of those images, with all that they work to exclude, is an act of deception that both the tourist and the place promoter openly agree to. The same cannot necessarily be said of the images produced through made-for-TV planning that actively works to blur the lines between news and tourist images. Made-for-TV planning relies on the processes of excluding dissonant or disruptive aspects of place consistent with other processes of tourist image-production. In this regard, the planning for the South African World Cup was designed to showcase the ability for the country and its cities to host a 'world-class' mega-event and to downplay the myriad of social and economic challenges that the country continues to face.

In returning to Cooper’s observation, "The thing that's difficult about this is that the camera lens is too small to capture what is really happening here," I want to argue that through understanding space as socially produced, we can turn Cooper's argument on its head. Cooper's focus is on the limitation of the camera lens to capture the entire picture – the inability of such a small lens to capture the complexity of place. Without discounting this limitation of the camera lens as the conduit of spatial imagines, we should also ask ourselves, in the case of the planning for the World Cup in South Africa, how might this limitation be exploited in the production of space particularly designed to be broadcast on television. In other words, what does the production of space for such a small lens create?

That the camera lens is too small to capture much of what is taking place within a given city or even urban landscape facilitates specific, targeted, geographically uneven urban investments particularly designed to broadcast well onto small screens across the globe. In other words,
**Made-For-TV planning** links both the discursive elements of urban knowledge production through the influencing of headlines to on-the-ground decisions over which aspects of the city receive infrastructure investment, policing, and other material city planning interventions. That the production of space exists both within material space and discourses of space draws insight from Lefebvre and analysis of his work (Lefebvre 1992, McCann 1999, Brenner 2000).

As the postcard effect relies on the repeated broadcast of a small number of iconic, or otherwise distinctive, images a made-for-TV planning strategy can rely on targeted, uneven, investment and policing. Decisions that range from which lamp posts get painted to which public spaces are the focus of crackdowns on nuisance behaviors and informal vendors, made-for-TV planning creates an uneven urban geography of World Cup experiences. In other words, much happens just off camera, and excluded from the postcard tourist imagery, thus not part of the dominant broadcast narrative. Success, then, for planners using this approach is predicated on working to insure that the places and people that are incongruous with the desired broadcast narrative are excluded from the television coverage of the event and, consequently, prevented from marring the idyllic postcard image.

In Durban, the complex strategy of producing particular event-specific tourist oriented spaces to be broadcast on television for global consumption included a variety of policies and planning decisions, included, but not limited to, decisions on where to spend money on aesthetic improvements as mundane as painting lamp posts, cleaning parks, and additional garbage collection (personal interview with anonymous source in the planning office 2010), visible and targeted policing (Middleton 2010), and encouraging hotels and tour organizers to direct tourists to particular spaces within the city (Govender 2009). The visible policing was as much a management of perception as a response to actual threats of crime as it was deployed in the already comparatively low-crime areas frequented by tourists rather than in the neighborhoods with higher crime rates (Govender 2009). Thus, rather than using the additional funding spent on policing during the World Cup to address strategic policing needs, policing was used to ensure that particular (made-for-TV) areas were visibly policed for the benefit of the viewing audience, journalists, and tourists.

Additionally, activities such as subsistence fishing from the Durban piers, a practice that has been part of the Durban coastline for over one hundred years, was deemed incongruous with the
image that Durban was attempting to portray as it attempted to recast its brand. Consequently, fisher folk were systematically barred from fishing in traditional fishing areas along the beachfront and were the target of increased policing during the World Cup (D'Sa 2010, Jeffery 2010, Mohamed 2010). This represented an escalation of already existing tensions between fisher folk and surfers who vie for the right to use the piers (Adam 2010). In particular, fisher folk evicted from the piers prior to the World Cup and given the justification that the piers had to be closed so that they could be renovated prior to the tournament. They were relocated to a boardwalk above a storm drain that, by their accounts, was not a viable fishing area. Additionally, the exclusion of fisher folk from the city piers extended through the tournament as was still a source of contention between the city and fisher folk a month after the tournament had concluded indicating the municipalities attempt to permanent ban fishing from these areas.

Durban's beachfront played a central role in the city's hosting and rebranding strategy. It was the site of South Africa's busiest FIFA fan-zone, a free outdoor venue to watch matches, purchase World Cup products, and take in other forms entertainment. Thus, increased policing along the beachfront and the subsequent exclusion of subsistence fisher folk from the piers were deemed a necessary component of the city's made-for-TV planning strategy as broadcast images of men and women who live on or near the public piers and survive off of fishing would have marred the geographical imagination the city was attempting to project.

Yet, it is important not to understand Durban's made-for-TV planning strategy as seamless or all-encompassing. The cinematographic fiction of Operation Restore Hope, which began with the triumphant landing of U.S. Marines on Somalia's shores ended with images of tortured marines being dragged through the streets of Mogadishu exhibiting vividly the difficulty of successfully controlling the image production process of a made-for-TV strategy (Debrix 2004). Similarly, after the first match of the tournament hosted by Durban, hundreds of stadium security guards walked off the job, joining security guards in several stadiums throughout South Africa, in a dispute over wages. Such a move threatened to disrupt the carefully planned media strategy and cinematographic fiction that Durban, and other host cities, had developed through their made-for-TV planning strategy. As one BBC reporter described the situation, “At a time when South Africa wants to put its best foot forward, a series of strikes at almost half of the World Cup stadiums threatens to hog the limelight” (Fihlani 2010). Witnessing the potential unraveling of the carefully crafted made-for-TV strategy, the police quickly stepped in and took over stadium
security, dismissing hired security from their jobs and working to limit the ability for the striking workers to gain attention to their cause through limiting permits to march or protest. The goal was obviously to limit the damage that such a strike might have on the constructed postcard image.

**Made-For-TV Planning: A research agenda**

This theorization of made-for-TV planning only scratches the surface of the ways in which the relationship between city planning, mega-events, and television media impact the politics of urban knowledge production. In thinking through the city as a image production machine, there is a significant amount of work left to explore, and ultimately analyze the ways that city managers and other city elites work to ensure that their narrations of their city become the dominant influence on the geographic imagination of potential tourists or investors. What I have endeavored to do here is outline how mega-events, such as the 2010 World Cup, ought to be thought of as mega-media events and understood as having social and narrative impacts that extend far beyond the field of play. Host cities and nations are aware of the potential impact on city and national perceptions that the place images and narrations that are broadcast to billions of television viewers from every corner of the globe see while tuning in, ostensibly, to see a soccer tournament. Made-for-TV planning, as a concept, works to understand the ways in which city planners attempt to influence television coverage of their city. Aspects of made-for-TV planning include strategic partnerships with television news organizations as well as uneven investments in infrastructure and policing in designated tourist spaces. The result, often, appears to be postcard like dispatches from which a television audience of billions is left to develop a geographic imagination of a host city.

This outline is far from a complete picture but, rather, speaks to the need for further research that works to understand the media strategies of urban planners in conjunction with mega-events, but also more broadly. Future research should also examine more closely the role of news media, both organizationally and at the scale of individual reporters, to work to understand how they see their role within the image production machine of the city, especially in situations where
partnerships, such as the ones that emerged in South Africa work to blur the distinctions between news and boosterism. There should be more academic work that focuses on the media's consumption and broadcasting of the narratives that make up made-for-TV planning. There is also a need for robust content analysis to analyze what gets produced through this process. Just as Lutz and Collins (1993) provided insightful analysis on the ways in which *National Geographic* worked to shape the geographic imagination of Americans of far flung places across the world, dedicated critical content analysis that works to explore the place images that surround broadcasts of events like the World Cup could go a long way to understanding the impacts of made-for-TV planning on the narratives and understandings of place. Finally, there is room for further theorization on the medium of television as a mechanism of urban knowledge production. I have pointed to some of the limitations that I believe contribute to the particular 'postcards' of place that result from the broadcasting of a circumscribed number of key images and sights that allows for a fragmented representation of a city to stand in for the complete city. This process works to gloss over intricacies and complexities of life and geography in such places reifying hegemonic narratives of place. The process through which medium of television effects the politics of urban knowledge production is ripe for further exploration that works to connect planning theories, insights from geography scholarship as well as theories of representation.

What is clear is that city planners are becoming increasingly more sophisticated in terms of the mechanisms through which they work to promote their cities to an international audience; this growing sophistication has been significantly under-theorized within the academic literature. Because of the unparalleled viewership of the World Cup, this event provides the ideal case study through which to began to analyze how attempts to 'create headlines' and influence television news coverage of a host city influenced urban planning decisions in ways that created new and perpetuated older geographies of exclusion. Made-for-TV planning, as a research agenda, is about understanding these processes. More work needs to be done to explore the intricacies of this process and how it varies over time and place. Additionally, it would be useful to explore how the various actors understand their positionality and role within made-for-TV planning. Finally, it would be useful to more carefully theorize the consequences of such a planning strategy both on the external understanding of place as well as on the material, lived geographies within cities shaped by these processes. In pursuing a research agenda that focuses
on made-for-TV planning, I believe it should work to document the processes through which certain places and accompanying images are selected and promoted while others are simultaneously excluded. Working to understand these processes would go a long way towards closing the gap between the academic literature and contemporary planning practices designed to influence television coverage of place.
Not long after the final whistle of the 2010 World Cup, FIFA and the World Cup machine was on the move to the next host country – Brazil, the host of the 2014 tournament. It should come as no surprise that along with the relocation of the international mega-event machine (a double dose in the case of Rio de Janeiro, which will also host the 2016 Summer Olympics), actions to fulfill the same hegemonic conceptions of what a 'world class' host looks like and acts like were already taking place in Brazil. On May 12, 2011, The Nation reported on “a series of troubling tales of the bulldozing and cleansing of the favelas [the Brazilian term for shack settlements], all in the name of 'making Brazil ready for the Games'” (Zirin 2011). Commenting on the situation, Professor Gaffney remarked,

It's like a freefall into a neo-liberal paradise... We are living in cities planned by PR firms and brought into existence by an authoritarian state in conjunction with their corporate partners. These events are giant Trojan horses that leave us shocked and awed by their ability to transform places and people while instilling parallel governments that use public money to generate private profits. Similar to a military invasion, the only way to successfully occupy the country with a mega-event is to bombard people with information, get rid of the undesirables, and launch a media campaign that turns alternative voices into anti-patriotic naysayers who hate sport and 'progress'. (Zirin 2011).

By this account, it would appear that Brazil was headed down the same path of cultural cloning and adoption of the mobile 'best practices' that shaped South Africa's hosting of the World Cup. I would argue, however, that the story is perhaps more complicated.

In early November 2011, FIFA's Secretary General, Jérôme Valcke, arrived in Brazil to urge the Brazilian national legislature to pass comprehensive legislation to establish the legal framework for the operation of the tournament, security, the protection of FIFA's brand and the 'rights' of its sponsors, and the prosecution of individuals accused of violating the World Cup laws. This document almost mirrors similar legislation passed in South Africa with much of the provisions that became entrenched in the host city agreements and municipal bylaws discussed in the second empirical chapter of this dissertation. Yet, in the Brazilian case, this legislation has run into a bit of a snag. Initially introduced in 2007, it remains a hot-button issue within the national
legislature, both because of particular provisions that contravene Brazilian law (nationally and at the state level), such as laws mandating reduced ticket prices for students and the elderly and the restrictions of the consumption of alcohol at matches, as well as because of a more broad critique that the passage of such a law represents sacrificing a level sovereignty over the control of domestic affairs. The delay in passage of the legal framework has prompted threats that FIFA may pursue finding a new host for the 2014 event, as permissible in a clause within the original host country agreement regarding such matters. South Africa was rumored to have faced a similar threat over concerns that labor disruptions may prevent South African infrastructure from being ready in time for the 2010 event. For some, this represents a watershed moment – a moment to re-imagine the relationship between the host country and FIFA and its corporate backers (see Glickhouse 2011) and in the process perhaps move in the direction of a inclusive social planning mechanism into conceptions of what it means to be a 'world class' host.

I use this diversion from the World Cup as it was planned and experienced in South Africa to point both to the on-going, contemporary, relevancy of the debates that I engage in through my research, as well as point to how I think about my project and work more broadly. In other words, the question that I continue to grapple with is how does hosting a mega-event like the World Cup impact the social geography of the cities and countries in which the event takes place? This is of course a multi-scalar question that involves issues of the international mobility of ideas, policies, and practices, questions of national sovereignty verses the demands of international or non-governmental organizations and corporations, and the policing of urban public spaces, the intimate threat of homelessness if your home (in the case of Brazil, at least) is deemed to be incongruous with the demands of hosting the event (both material demands and narrative demands). This is not an exhaustive list of the ways in which the hosting of mega-events can impact lived geographies, but provides an example of the scales at which and through which these impacts are debated and experienced. But I also want to think more expansively here in my conclusion to discuss these, and other, issues in relation to the hosting of the World Cup. In other words, I believe that my work engages with ideas and makes contributions that extend beyond a better understanding of the forces that were at work during the lead up and hosting of the 2010 World Cup.

The 2010 World Cup became a lens through which I examined a confluence of forces that work to shape urban planning, nationalism and narratives of 'world class' cites, policing and other
factors within South Africa. While the World Cup certainly provided a unique case study, many of these forces were part of South Africa's urban landscape long before the announcement of the country as host. Thus, I look at the World Cup as an event that worked to exacerbate, accentuate, and accelerate fundamental tensions in urban planning, policing, and urban knowledge production in the context of the post-apartheid city. Through my analysis, I attempt to heed McCann's call “to address the wider historical, geographical, cultural and political-economic contexts in which policy innovations are developed and mobilized” (McCann 2011, 124).

As a way of working towards a conclusion, I use this final chapter to reflect on what I see as some of the key scholarly contributions of my work and to briefly outline a future research agenda that emerges from this project. I start with a chapter by chapter reflection before moving into a discussion of broader scholarly interventions.

**Highlighting the connections between public order policing and urban planning**

With increasing ferocity, mega-events have become the impetus for significant changes in host cities' security apparatuses. As Klauser writes,

> Over the past decade, the strongest realm of sport mega-event expansion in terms of cost and personnel has arguably centred on security and risk management. Furthermore, examples of recent mega-events have shown that securitization strategies continue to have significance beyond the event itself (as surveillance technologies and practices, security legislation, long-term policing collaborations, and so on, remain in place). (Klauser 2010: 715).

In *Durban's Future: Rebranding through the production/policing of event-specific spaces at the 2010 World Cup*, I highlighted the interconnection between Durban's public order policing strategy for the World Cup and its urban planning, city rebranding strategy.

In the run up to the 2010 World Cup, the persistent media depiction of South African cities as being potentially unsafe places for tourists to visit during the World Cup presented a concern for both security officials – city and state police and various branches of the military – as well as city planners. On the security side, there was a genuine commitment to working to ensure the safety of tourists and others in town for the World Cup. Yet, this is only one of the roles of security
planning for the event. Without discounting the role of real safety and security in the security and risk management, I argue that we have to also understand security planning as intimately connected to city brand management. While critical security studies is a burgeoning field, the geography of policing remains relatively under-theorized (See Mitchell 1995 and Herbert 1997, 2001 for some of the limited work that has been done). There appears to be a paucity of work on the relationship between policing strategies and the management of city branding. This is a key intervention as it challenges us to think about the ways in which safety and security strategies depart from being about addressing actual crimes and are, at least in part, focused on the managing the perceptions of security. My paper links the policing of nuisance behaviors in public space to the curtailing of permits for civil society group demonstrations and the introduction of welcome ambassadors as being key elements of a comprehensive strategy to produce a particular, sanitized public space.

I concur with Klauser's observation that the policing strategies developed and implemented often endure long after a mega-event has concluded. However, I argue that this endurance is far from ensured in a case like South Africa. Both the planning and accompanying funding for the policing strategy implemented by host cities of the South African World Cup was temporally limited to the duration of the event. While there will certainly be a carryover of certain aspects of policing developed and implemented during the World Cup into the future ways in which a city like Durban manages its public spaces, there will also, necessarily, be certain aspects of the strategy that will not be sustained. In certain regards, such aspects will simply be deemed unnecessary post-mega-event. In other regards, the decision will be a fiscal one as money earmarked specifically for the policing of public space during the World Cup is no longer available post-event (See Roberts and Bass 2012 for more on this negotiation). What elements endure and through what mechanisms they continue are important questions towards understanding the long-term implications of hosting mega-events in terms of public order policing. While, I do not answer these questions directly in my work, I challenge the scholarship to be more specific on the notion of legacy.
Exploring the mobility of the concept of 'world class' cities and the mechanism through which it influences policy in a city not generally considered 'world class'

In *While you were distracted by the vuvuzela: cloning, securitization and race in South Africa*, I trace the way in which cities of the underdeveloped world, especially African cities, have been systematically excluded from much of the scholarship on what it means to be a world city or 'world class' city. Lessons on how to join the rank of 'world class' cities come from a narrow group of cities. As Peck and Theodore remark, “there is a pre-constituted market for lessons from Barcelona or Vancouver, locations that are consonant with prevailing policy fixes, but the other side of this coin is that the policy blogs are unlikely to be running hot, any time soon, with talk of the Havana model, *Kabulism*, or even lessons from Detroit” (Peck and Theodore 2010, 171). This, however, does not preclude cities of the underdeveloped world from desiring to be considered 'world class' through the adoption of the hot policy fixes. The consequence is that wannabe 'world class' cities, like Durban, attempt to adopt urban planning strategies that are incongruous with some of the needs and desires of people who live and work in Durban (Streetnet International 2011). In other worlds, there is a geographical mismatch between the cities from which 'prevailing policy fixes' emerge and many of the cities who feel compelled to adopt such fixes. In particular, I focus on the role of expectations around security planning as inspiring a set of security policies that lack geographic specificity and are focused almost exclusively on the production of certain outcomes, while ignoring the violence of the mechanisms that may be needed to produce such outcomes. FIFA facilitates such an outcomes based approach as it appears to be significantly more concerned with the final result in terms of hosting than the mechanisms through which a municipality produced the result.

In focusing on the social implications of such policy 'innovations' in Durban, I extend the existing literature which tends to focus on political-economic aspects of policy mobility. I draw on the work of Essed and Goldberg (2002) to highlight the ways in which a desire for sameness, within a cloning culture, permeate hegemonic understandings of what it means to be a 'world class' city, even for cities generally not given such recognition. I argue that the pervasiveness of narrow conception of 'world classness' undermines the possibility of alternative conceptions of what a 'world class' city might do and act like if it were more in-tune with the needs and desires of the urban poor and other marginalized members of society. I highlight the work of the
organization, *World Class Cities For All*, and argue that it provides an alternative vision, less concerned on the cultural cloning and the adoption of the 'policy fix' du jour.

I argue that thinking through the planning process for the World Cup in this way undermines some scholarly approaches that focus on the marketing of the exotic in their attempts to argue that events like the 2010 World Cup are somehow uniquely African. While certainly, there was significant marketing work done to brand the 2010 World Cup as African, with such symbols as the vuvuzela as exemplified proof of this Africaness, the focus on such contrived symbols ignores the underlying desire and demand for sameness. That alternative notions of what it might mean to be a 'world class' host city within a post-apartheid context, rather than a clone of other host cities, were not implemented, underscores the ways in which the mobility of dominant normative conceptions of how a mega-event host city ought to operate and look trumped the desire for this to be a uniquely African event – whatever that might have meant.

**Introducing the concept of Made-For-TV Planning and highlighting the need for more scholarship on the relationship between urban planning and the media**

In “*We have the Ability to Create the Headlines*: Made-For-TV Planning and the Politics of Urban Knowledge Creation, I introduce the concept of made-for-TV planning as a way of theorizing the ways in which attempting to influence the geographic imaginations of a given city through the medium of television impacts urban planning strategies. This is a much needed intervention as the relationship between the media and urban planning in “promoting, legitimating and diffusing hegemonic ideas about the good life, good places and good local economic development policy has been relatively understudied” (McCann 2004, 1909). While South African city planners are certainly not unique in their development of a sophisticated media strategy to capitalize on the presence of television news media, the 2010 World Cup provides a robust case study from which to build upon the concept of made-for-TV planning. As reported by FIFA, the 2010 World Cup was broadcast to nearly every corner of the globe and almost half the world's population tuned in to watch at least a portion of the tournament (“Almost half the world tuned...” 2011). This makes the World Cup an unprecedented mega-media event. City planners and event planners were conscious of this level of media attention and clearly devised strategies to capitalize on the media attention. Through strategic
partnerships, these strategies endeavored to blur the lines between news coverage and boosterism as exemplified by the statement that 'we have the ability to create the headlines' (Nhlumayo 2009).

That the World Cup and the place images of the tournament's host cities are experienced largely on television speaks to the need for a more robust scholarship on the ways in which television, as a medium, impact the politics of urban knowledge production as well as influences an uneven geography of the material production of space. I build upon Sadler and Haskins' (2005) work on the post-card effect to theorize this process. The ability of city planners to influence which images and accompanying place narratives are the ones broadcast to a global television audience is the hallmark of a successful made-for-TV planning strategy. Relying upon a small number of key place images to influence the broadcast place narrations allows city planners to engage in a process of strategic, uneven, investment which focuses on places deemed worthy to depict the predetermined urban narratives. Places (and the people who occupy them) that are deemed unworthy of the chosen narrative are systematically under-invested and excluded from the made-for-TV planning strategy. That the television lens is inherently limited in its ability to capture and broadcast the complexities of urban geographies only facilitates this type of planning strategy. Through a preliminary articulation of the concept of made-for-TV planning, I show the need for an expansion of planning theory and geography to include insights from media studies and representational theories. Ideally this would include robust content analysis of the broadcast images as a way of documenting and analyzing the outcomes of urban planning media strategies as well as research that includes insights from interviews with journalists and others involved in the process that I have described.

**Crossdisciplinarity**

One of the things that initially attracted me to the discipline of geography as a field of study, was what I perceived as an openness to ask questions across disciplinary divides and use insights to from many different literatures to inform work within geography. Additionally, I have become fascinated with the application of geographic methodologies and concepts to analyze concepts and ideas that are central to other disciplines. Through my project, I worked to build on these two strengths of geography. I see my project as situated in the nexus of social geography,
critical planning and sports studies, broadly constituted. I attempt to demonstrate though my analysis and writing that there are insights and methods of analysis and inquiry that can push each discipline in necessary directions, especially in regards to understanding the ways in which hosting a mega-sports event impacts the lived geographies of host cities. In other words, I understand much of the work of sports studies and geographies of sport to focus on the manifestation of inequalities and power knowledge through sports (often focused on the field of play, stadia, or recruiting grounds) (see Muller 2007 and Bale 2003). In my work, I slightly de-center sports and demonstrate that the social organization of inequality through sports-related (mega) events is achieved in part through the mechanism of planning.

Methods – Researching process as a way of better understanding race and other forms of difference

As I discussed in my methods chapter, I see my work contributing to a concerted effort to move disciplinary discussion around race and difference more broadly away from understanding of socially constructed difference in space towards analysis of difference as constituted, experienced, and reified through processes within space. This, for me, is a necessary shift in analyzing the complexity of race and geography as it works to get us beyond thinking about race as an ontological given. That is certainly not to say that race does not have lived, material, spatial consequence, but rather to understand how race is social constructed in and through space. This is both an argument about method and analysis (see Roberts and Mahtani 2010). I believe that my project speaks to and works to model an approach to race and other forms of difference that takes seriously the socially constructed nature of difference. I work to draw on both feminist geographic methods and indigenous methodologies in articulating the political and ethical commitments that were central to my methodological approach. My hope is that my work reinvigorates existing conversations about the nature of methods and inspires new work that looks at the geographical processes of racialization, an area which remains under-theorized despite excellent interventions by McKittrick (2006), Gilmore (2004) and Kobayashi and Peake 2000, to name a few.
Future Research Directions

For future research, I plan to connect my critical analysis of the planning process in South Africa to normative planning theory to develop recommendations for how future host cities, especially in underdeveloped cities, can better integrate planning for social development into planning for mega-events; work with the communities that I analyzed during my doctoral research to document long-term impacts of South Africa's hosting of the World Cup; theorize how my findings may be applicable to future mega-events, such as the 2014 Brazilian World Cup; and, continue to expand on the concept of made-for-TV planning.

Through my empirical chapters, I used the 2010 World Cup as a basis for examining tensions between planning directed at social development of the post-apartheid city verses planning designed to support the needs of a visiting tourist class. My work is part of a growing number of voices calling for significant change in the approach to the hosting of mega-events to better integrate issues of social justice and social development. This is even more important now as underdeveloped countries are awarded the opportunity to host such events with greater frequency – a trend that I anticipate will continue. Given the issues that many cities of the underdeveloped world face, I believe that it is essential that planning for hosting such events is done in a way that does not exacerbate already existing social issues. Although this is not an easy task, I believe that a more equitable way of hosting is possible. Thus, it is essential that scholars develop planning theories that work to integrate planning for social development and livability into the work that is done to prepare for a mega-event. Thinking through my project with an explicit focus on normative planning theory will highlight the policy applicability of my study and provide future planners and communities with tangible tools on how to integrate social development goals into planning to host such events.

Additionally, through follow up interviews with my research contacts, I plan to continue to work with the communities that were part of my research over the past two years in South Africa to develop a better understanding of the long term impacts of such events. Unfortunately, much of the existing research on mega-events take a relatively short-sighted approach, focusing on the event and its immediate aftermath without much in terms of longitudinal analysis. As a result, claims of lasting legacies, as were made in South Africa, as well as the long-term challenges that hosting the event created are left largely unexamined. These challenges include a large public
debt, uncritical security regimes, and questions about the wisdom of such a large expenditure on a soccer tournament. In a book chapter co-written with a colleague in South Africa (that was not included as part of my dissertation) we questioned what aspects of the 2010 World Cup geography would endure in the months and years after the World Cup. We pointed to both tournament specific, time-limited investments in policing and infrastructure as well as the difficulty to sustain the type of community enthusiasm that an event like the World Cup inspire as indications that the legacy of the 2010 World Cup is far from certain. There is a significant need for long-term longitudinal analysis of the complex legacies of hosting mega-events. I believe that such scholarship can only support the movement to ensure that social development concerns are more fully integrated into mega-event planning. Through follow up interviews, I believe much can be learned from the experiences of the communities I worked in during the months and years after the event.

Additionally, I plan to think through how my work is applicable to upcoming sports-mega events. I have already began to make contacts with scholars who research urban security in Rio de Janeiro and believe that there is a valuable work to be done that reads the planning for the World Cup in Brazil through the lens of having watched the process unfold in South Africa. As I wrote about in my 'world class' cities paper, I am interested in the notion of ‘best practices’ and the transfer of policies and practices from one context and the role of mobile planning agents like security firms, mega-events planners, and even FIFA’s own traveling set of rules and people in shaping mega-events and ultimately the legacy of such events. I am also interested in the ways that communities, especially historically marginalized communities, resist and reshape ‘mobile’ policies. There is significant room within the current scholarship to analyze the ways in which these policies are shaped by the particularities of geography. The 2014 World Cup in Brazil provides a very compelling case study to analyze alongside my work within South Africa to better understand these processes. I believe that this is best accomplished by utilizing a similar methodology to the one I used for my research in South Africa; a combination of in-depth interviews, with community members, social movement leaders, police, city planners and others, and discursive analysis of planning policies and procedures and media coverage of the event. The connections that I have made with FIFA and security scholars working in Brazil should set the foundation for significant access and insight into their planning processes.
Finally, I plan to continue to expand upon the theorization of made-for-TV planning that I introduced in my third piece. I believe that this paper provides a preliminary theorization of the ways in which the relationship between city planning, mega-events, and television media impact the politics of urban knowledge production. I attempt to provide a definitional foundation of the concept as well as a frame work for further scholarship. On a theoretical level, I plan to endeavor to expand on existing planning theories through a greater incorporation of media studies and other theories of representation. Lutz and Collins (1993), through their work on National Geographic magazine, provide a compelling blueprint for how such a project could proceed. In addition to analyzing the narratives and imagery created through a made-for-TV urban planning strategy, I plan to conduct qualitative interviews with journalists and city planners to work to understand how these groups of individuals understand the changing relationship between the media and planning. There is also significant room to think through how social media and the internet make the terrain of influencing urban knowledge production in and through a made-for-TV planning strategy more complicated. I strongly believe that there is significant possibility and promise in developing and applying the concept of made-for-TV planning.

The public debates happening in Brazil on the FIFA World Cup laws are positive indications that the nature and consequences of hosting mega-events, such as the World Cup, are being drawn from critical thinking about such events. This is not say that this type of critique was not prevalent in South Africa, but there was little indication that such debates happened (publicly, at least) when South Africa passed their version of the World Cup laws. While it is too soon to know what may come of the debate happening in Brazil, the ability to have this conversation in an open forum in an essential step towards re-imaging the hosting process in a way that may include more visions on how that hosting takes place and who is included within the decision making process. These are exciting times with a wide range of possibilities.
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## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Schedule of Interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Organizational Information</th>
<th>Date of Interview</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amisi, B.</td>
<td>Community Researcher, Centre for Civil Society, UKZN and organizer for the KwaZulu-Natal Refugee Council</td>
<td>24. July 2009</td>
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<tr>
<td>Govender, P.</td>
<td>Captain, South African Police Forces, Durban and Chief Coordinating Officer of SAPS' Durban Preparation</td>
<td>7. August 2009</td>
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<tr>
<td>Xulu, P.</td>
<td>Organizer of the World Class Cities for All Campaign, StreetNet International</td>
<td>17. August 2009</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
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<td>20. August 2009</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cadoni, L.</td>
<td>Community Organizer, FIFA Festival for Hope, StreetFootballWorld</td>
<td>24. August 2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geddes, M.</td>
<td>Community Organizer, FIFA Festival for Hope, StreetFootballWorld</td>
<td>25. August 2009</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sutcliffe, M.</td>
<td>City Manager, eThekwini Municipality (Durban)</td>
<td>12. May 2010</td>
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<tr>
<td>Middleton, S.</td>
<td>Deputy Head, Durban Metro Police Services – Chief Coordinating Officer for Durban Metro's 2010 planning</td>
<td>19. May 2010</td>
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<tr>
<td>Walsh, O.</td>
<td>Community Outreach Coordinator, Africaid - WhizzKids United United</td>
<td>10. June 2010</td>
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<td>D'Sa, D.</td>
<td>South Durban Community Environmental Alliance – Coordinator</td>
<td>12. June 2010</td>
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<td>Bikombo, G.</td>
<td>Organizer of the World Class Cities for All Campaign, StreetNet International</td>
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<td>Moodley, A.</td>
<td>Azanian People's Movement</td>
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<td>Adam, K.</td>
<td>The KwaZulu-Natal Subsistence Fishers Forum</td>
<td>30. June 2010</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jeffery</td>
<td>The KwaZulu-Natal Subsistence Fishers Forum</td>
<td>30. June 2010</td>
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### Schedule of Interviews - continued

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Organizational Information</th>
<th>Date of Interview</th>
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<tr>
<td>Beverley</td>
<td>Football Festival for Hope Volunteer and Resident of Alexandria</td>
<td>2. July 2010</td>
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<td>Leokana, A.</td>
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<td>Madiba, R.</td>
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<td>Mameje, M.</td>
<td>Football Festival for Hope Volunteer and Resident of Alexandria</td>
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<td>Phahlane, D.</td>
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<td>Seete, K.</td>
<td>Football Festival for Hope Volunteer and Resident of Alexandria</td>
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<td>Setshedhi, M.</td>
<td>Football Festival for Hope Volunteer and Resident of Alexandria</td>
<td>2. July 2010</td>
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<td>Zulu, F.</td>
<td>Football Festival for Hope Volunteer and Resident of Alexandria</td>
<td>2. July 2010</td>
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<td>Football Festival for Hope Volunteer and Resident of Alexandria</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Football Festival for Hope Volunteer and Resident of Alexandria</td>
<td>24. July 2010</td>
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<td>Mdumdu, E.</td>
<td>Polyvalent/Educate Africa – Refugee Services</td>
<td>24. July 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hewitt, T.</td>
<td>co-founder and CEO of Umthombo Street Children</td>
<td>27. July 2010</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fredericks, G.</td>
<td>Head of Legacy Programmes at 2010 FIFA World Cup Organising Committee</td>
<td>5. August 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dobson, R.</td>
<td>Asiye eTafeleni – Markets of Warwick</td>
<td>6. August 2010</td>
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<tr>
<td>Xulu, P.</td>
<td>Asiye eTafeleni – Markets of Warwick</td>
<td>6. August 2010</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2: Letter of Introduction

Department of Geography &
Programme in Planning

Department of Geography and Planning
Faculty of Arts and Science, University of Toronto
100 St. George Street, Rm. 5047, Sidney Smith Hall
Toronto, Ontario M5S 3G3, Canada

Letter of Introduction
May 15 2009

Dear ___________

I am currently conducting a research for a project entitled, “Mapping the Legacy of Apartheid in the Planning for the 2010 South African World Cup”. The research is being funded by the João Havelange Research Scholarship, which is supported through funding from the Fédération Internationale de Football Association. I am a PhD Candidate in the Department of Geography, University of Toronto and a visiting scholar in the Centre of Critical Research on Race and Identity, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

I am interested to hear your thoughts about the legacy of the World Cup in terms of security, racial reconciliation, social harmony, and the image that South Africa projects of itself to the rest of the world. The World Cup offers the opportunity to bring people together, and the chance to build spaces of alliance that cross racial boundaries. However, this is difficult work, which will require coalitions between event planners, policy makers, scholars, businesses, community leaders and South African citizens. I hope that my research will help contribute to making these alliances productive towards social justice and community development. Results from the study will also be published in academic geography and other scholarly journals. When the research is complete, you will receive a summary of the findings if you would like one. Your participation is greatly appreciated and will further my understanding of the processes and contestations over the planning and hosting of the World Cup.

Interviews will last approximately an hour. They will be very informal and in a conversational style. I want to hear your thoughts and experiences, so you are encouraged to introduce issues that you feel are important.

The interview will tape recorded. All information you provide will be treated confidentially. Unless you give me your permission, your name will not appear in any publications stemming from the research, nor will it be associated with any information you provide.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me. I will contact you in the next week or two to discuss this project, and set up a potential interview.

Thank you,

David J. Roberts
PhD Candidate, Department of Geography, University of Toronto
Visiting Scholar, Centre of Critical Research on Race and Identity, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

robertsd@geog.utoronto.ca

Tel: 011.1.416-978-6729 E-mail: robertsd@geog.utoronto.ca

*The title of my project as reflected in this document is the original project title. In writing my dissertation, I chose to change my title to better reflect my analysis and theorization.
Appendix 3: Consent Form

Department of Geography & Programme in Planning

Department of Geography and Planning
Faculty of Arts and Science, University of Toronto
100 St. George Street, Rm. 5047, Sidney Smith Hall
Toronto, Ontario M5S 3G3, Canada

Consent Form

Title of Study: “Mapping the Legacy of Apartheid in the Planning for the 2010 South African World Cup”*.  
Principal Researcher: David J. Roberts, PhD Candidate, Department of Geography, University of Toronto
Visiting Scholar, Centre of Critical Research on Race and Identity, University of KwaZulu-Natal
Funded by: João Havelange Research Scholarship, Fédération Internationale de Football Association

Name of Participant: ____________________________

(please print)

- I have been given and read the Letter of Introduction provided to me by the Principal Investigator conducting the research.
- I understand that my participation in this study will last approximately one hour.
- I understand that the purpose of the investigation is to understand the role of the event planners/organizers as well as the response of social movements to the various planning policies facilitating the World Cup.
- I understand that my participation in the study will bring only minimal risks or harms.
- I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and that I may withdraw from the interview at any time for any reason without penalty.
- I understand that I may ask questions of the researcher at any point during the research process.
- I understand that I may avoid specific topics that come up in the interview.
- I understand that I will have the opportunity, at the end of the interview, to retract any statements I made during the interview.
- I understand that there will be no payment for my participation.
- I understand that all personal information will be kept strictly confidential, unless I consent to its use. Unless consent is given, my name will not appear in any publications stemming from the research, nor will any it be associated with any information I provide.
- I understand that the interview will tape recorded, only David Roberts, and a tape transcriber will hear or read the transcript of the tape. The tapes will be stored in a locked cabinet.
- I understand that the results of this study will be distributed in academic journals, conference presentations and policy reports and that a summary of results will be made available to participants.
- As indicated by my signature below, I acknowledge that I am participating freely and willingly and I am providing my consent.

I give my permission to have my name used in publication. (please check one) yes _____ no _____
I give my permission to use my place of employment in publication (please check one) yes _____ no _____
I give my permission to use my job title in publication (please check one) yes _____ no _____

Signature of Participant: ____________________________ Date: ____________________________

Please take one copy of this form with you for further reference. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact David Roberts, Department of Geography, robertsd@geog.utoronto.ca

If you have questions about your rights as a research subject, please contact the University of Toronto Ethics Review Office at 011.1.416-946-3273 or via email at ethics.review@utoronto.ca

I have fully explained the procedures of this study to the participant.

Researcher’s Signature: ____________________________ Date: ____________________________

Tel: ____________________________ Fax: 011.1.416-978-6729 E-mail: robertsd@geog.utoronto.ca

*The title of my project as reflected in this document is the original project title. In writing my dissertation, I chose to change my title to better reflect my analysis and theorization.
Appendix 4: Interview Guide

Mapping the Legacy of Apartheid in the Planning for the 2010 South African World Cup*

Attachment: Interview Guide

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main category</th>
<th>Tentative sub-categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Background information of interviewees</td>
<td>Relation to the World Cup; current employment; Length of time in South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Security legacy of World Cup</td>
<td>Current crime rates; keeping tourists safe; impacts of security policies on citizens of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. World Cup as a means of Racial Reconciliation</td>
<td>Current state of race relations in South Africa; role of World Cup in improving race relations; FIFA anti-racism initiatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Other social benefits of hosting the World Cup</td>
<td>Why host the World Cup?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Challenges faced by South Africa as host of the World Cup</td>
<td>Crime; stigma; poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. The role of the World Cup in project an image of South Africa to the rest of the world</td>
<td>Thoughts on the current global image of South Africa; opportunities of the role as host to influence that image; lasting legacy of this image</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. The World Cup and South Africa in relationship to the rest of Africa</td>
<td>Is this a South African or an African World Cup?; South Africa as leader in Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. The role of the legacy of apartheid in role as host of the World Cup</td>
<td>What has changed since the end of apartheid?; what remains the same?; how will this impact planning for the World Cup?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The title of my project as reflected in this document is the original project title. In writing my dissertation, I chose to change my title to better reflect my analysis and theorization.
Copyright Acknowledgements

A version of my first empirical chapter, *Durban’s Future? Rebranding through the Production/Policing of Event-specific Spaces at the 2010 World Cup*, was published in the journal, *Sport in Society*, in 2010 and republished in *Sport in the City: Cultural Connections* (Routledge, 2011) edited by Michael P. Sam and John Hughson. It has been revised and reworked to reflect feedback received through the thesis defense process and contains much that is substantively different from the published version.