Sport Events and Social Legacies

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Sport Events and Social Legacies

Urmilla Bob
Kamilla Swart

Abstract
Sport events are used more and more in both developing and developed contexts to promote development (especially economic growth), enhance social cohesion and healthy lifestyles and profile locations as tourist destinations. Associated with an increased number of sport events and academic interest is greater focus on legacies, that is, what are the likely impacts (both positive and negative) of sport events. There are a range of legacies associated with sport events that include economic, social, political, tourism, infrastructural and sport impacts. There is a tendency to focus on the economic and infrastructural impacts and social legacies are often neglected. This is particularly the case the bigger the sport events. Furthermore, there is increased debate in the literature about what constitutes a sport event legacy and how can they be encouraged and assessed. In terms of the latter, the importance of undertaking research on legacy impacts is highlighted and methodological approaches are debated. This article draws on the growing body of literature on sport events and legacies to examine social aspects, an under-researched component of legacy research, in relation to key debates and issues as well as methodological aspects. Given the recent successful hosting of Africa’s first mega-event, the 2010 Fédération of International Football Association (FIFA) World Cup, the article reflects on the social legacies associated with this event.

Keywords: Sport events, social legacies, 2010 FIFA World Cup
Introduction
This article focuses on the social legacies associated with sport events and critically examines key thematic considerations. South Africa’s hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup forms the backdrop for these discussions. The focus of the article is two-fold. Firstly, the article examines the debates pertaining to legacies in relation to sport events. Secondly, the social legacy impacts in relation to sport events are discussed. Various sport event case studies are examined to identify key issues and trends, and they form the basis to identify best practices as well as appropriate social legacy indicators. Finally, methodological issues for assessing legacy impacts and knowledge management are considered.

Kirkup and Major (2007) assert that leaving suitable legacies has become a discourse which has left an unforgettable mark on the way in which planning for a mega-event takes shape. Furthermore, Weed and Bull (2004) assert that in recent years the necessity to use events to drive long-term developmental plans has popularised the concept of appropriate event legacies as an aspect of event planning. It is important to emphasise that different types of legacies are interrelated and often overlap. For example, tourism is often viewed as a positive economic legacy linked to the profiling of a specific destination and increased interest post the successful hosting of high profile events such as the 2010 FIFA World Cup. However, tourism itself is linked to several social and environmental impacts on host areas.

The focus on legacies and benefits have been related to a concomitant increase in research that questions whether these are realised, and if it is, the extent and nature of the legacies associated with hosting especially mega sport events (Cashman 2006; Matheson 2008; Preuss 2007). The legacy concerns pertaining to large-scale sport events are significant given the massive initial investments required by host cities and countries, especially in developing contexts.

Sport Events
Getz (1997:4) states: ‘events are temporary occurrences, either planned or unplanned. They have a finite length, and for planned events this is usually
fixed and publicised. Events are transient, and every event is a unique blending of its duration, setting, management, and people’. Sport events are planned events that revolve around a sporting activity. Sport events have become increasingly important in an effort to achieve growth in the tourism industry. Getz (1997) states that sport events contribute significantly towards increasing tourist traffic and driving economic development in a region. Thus, hosting and bidding for events have become a central component of the overall tourism product of many countries, including countries such as South Africa. Swart (2001:68) indicates that there are a variety of benefits for a destination that hosts sport tourism events such as the creation of local employment and creating a sense of community pride.

The table below summarises the main benefits that Junod (2006:103-104) identified in relation to a region/destination hosting sport events. The triple-bottom-line approach is adopted that addresses social, economic and environmental benefits. The table illustrates that a range of benefits are likely to be accrued. However, these depend on whether planning to leverage benefits occur, the allocation of resources to generate benefits and political will.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Triple-bottom-line components</th>
<th>Potential benefits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>Investments from outside the hosting region As a result of investments, new infrastructure and sport facilities can be developed Support from political leaders Rejuvenation and upgrading of existing facilities Positive impacts for tourism in terms of money spent on accommodation and shopping Creating a positive tourism image through the media and using the opportunities through media for destination marketing purposes Sustaining a presence as a sport tourism destination and expanding the market to host smaller events</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
An event can be used to encourage the local host community to engage in physical activity and cultivate a culture of health and wellness. Sport stars can be used as examples to cultivate this ethic of health and wellness, especially in the youth market, to be used as role-models in healthy living. Can instil pride in and for a community. Can provide opportunities to engage in skills development and voluntarism.

Sport events can bring in the necessary funding to embark upon environmental and heritage projects.

The benefits/impacts of sport events are interrelated. For example, improvements in infrastructure can improve quality of life and therefore have social influences. Furthermore, there are different sizes and types of sport events related to number of attendees (including spectators, organisers and participants), media coverage and target markets as indicated in Table 2. The larger the event, the higher expectations there are about the anticipated legacy impacts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of event</th>
<th>Example of event</th>
<th>Target audience/ market</th>
<th>Media interest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mega Event</td>
<td>Olympic Games Football World Cup</td>
<td>Global</td>
<td>Global TV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Event</td>
<td>F1 Grand Prix World Regional Sports such as the Pan-American and Commonwealth Games</td>
<td>World/ regional/national</td>
<td>International/ National TV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to Cornelissen (2004a:1294), ‘sport mega-events are rapidly developing into one aspect of the global capitalist structure’ and until recently, the majority of these mega-events were held in First World countries. Cornelissen (2004b) also indicates that much of the research surrounding large-scale sporting events is structured around the economic, social and political circumstances of the developed world and as a result cannot be readily applied to the developing world. Furthermore, although in recent years many African countries have either bid to host or hosted such events, there is still a lack of research and ‘analysis of mega-events in the context of the developing world’ (Cornelissen 2004b:40). This includes an assessment of legacy impacts. Cornelissen indicates that the main reasons for hosting large-scale events is the perceived economic benefits and tourism gains associated with it, despite the fact that there exists little research on the probability of their success. Little attention has also been given to the ‘specific nature and dynamics’ of mega-events in the developing context, especially in relation to the reasons for the recent increase in efforts by developing countries to host large-scale sporting events (Cornelissen 2004b:42).

In relation to mega-event legacies, Van Der Merwe (2007:68) states that mega-events which are hosted in developing countries can be termed a ‘mixed blessing’ since, although they may bring the promise of numerous economic benefits and the hope of uplifting the host nation in a number of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hallmark Event</th>
<th>National sport event such as the Curry Cup and ABSA Premier League Large and established sport event in a particular location such as the Comrades Marathon</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>National TV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community Event</td>
<td>Local community sports event</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Local TV/Press</td>
</tr>
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</table>
ways, these events also tend to be the ‘source of much controversy’, and if not carefully planned, can lead to enormous financial losses. Host locations of mega-events centralise legacy impacts. This was certainly the case in South Africa as well. Marthinus van Schalkwyk, Minister of Tourism stated in December 2010 (cited in South African Tourism 2011:2):

The 2010 FIFA World Cup™ was never about the hosting of a tournament, but rather about building a legacy for our country and our continent - a legacy in terms of, amongst others, infrastructure development, economic growth, skills development, job creation, nation building and brand awareness. We as South Africans believed, and the world came to believe with us.

South African Tourism (2011) further states that the results of the 2010 FIFA World Cup impact study by South African Tourism and the National Department of Tourism illustrate that the event will have a lasting legacy for the country and its tourism industry. This indicates that there is a strong focus on legacy impacts of the 2010 FIFA World Cup.

Sport events are gaining prominence in the global, regional and local arenas (and are often associated with massive investments by many host countries and/or cities to promote sport events). This has resulted in a growing interest to examine the legacies associated with sport events. Furthermore, the hosting of particularly large-scale events is often justified on the premise that these events are likely to generate direct and long-term impacts, especially in relation to economic benefits. The nature and extent of specific social impacts tend to be neglected with a focus primarily on economic and infrastructural impacts. In relation to the economic impacts, it is important to highlight that these projections are often based on ex-ante studies and reports that tend to inflate anticipated outcomes and impacts. The long-term economic impacts of mega-event impacts tend to be ignored. The next section examines in more detail legacies and sport events followed by a discussion on social legacies specifically.

**Legacies and Sport Events**

Chappelet and Junod (2006) and Preuss (2007) assert that there is no clear
definition of the term legacy despite the focus of several studies on the legacy impacts of mega sport events. Preuss (2007) specifically argues that the confusion surrounding the concept of legacy and the elements which form part of a legacy make it difficult to accurately measure the legacy of mega sport events. Furthermore, Preuss (2007) finds it rather surprising that countries bid to host mega-events without fully understanding the complexity of event legacy and acknowledge that not all legacies are positive, nor can they always be planned. This is referred to as the intended and unintended consequences of hosting a sport event. The aspect of neglecting negative legacies (often the unintended consequences since organisers and governments tend to underscore the anticipated positive impacts) is highlighted by Chappelet and Junod (2006) who state that although a legacy is perceived by many to be associated with positive impacts only, this term also relates to the negative consequences of mega-events. It is also important to note that research has indicated that several of the legacies that are associated with the hosting of mega-events are not realised. Specifically, the economic impacts (the main reason articulated for attracting these events) are not realised with several sport mega-events resulting in host countries and/or cities being in debt post the event. Additionally, there is no evidence that the long-term economic benefits in terms of increased tourism and investments are realised.

Given the lack of a clear definition of legacy, Preuss (2007:211) proposes the following comprehensive and useful definition: ‘irrespective of the time of production and space, legacy is all planned and unplanned, positive and negative, tangible and intangible structures created for and by a sport event that remain longer than the event itself’. Mann (2008) states that legacy can be defined as ensuring as many long-term benefits are generated for the host city, region and nation – well before, during and long after the event. A legacy therefore includes ‘all unforeseen and planned effects and the material or tangible effects refer to the infrastructure built for the event’ (Chappelet & Junod 2006:84). Tangible effects such as infrastructural development and increase in tourism numbers are easier to monitor while intangible effects such as community pride and social cohesion are more difficult to assess. The latter relate to subjective experiences and concerns such as attitudes towards a specific destination or sport. However, the intangible effects are extremely important to consider, especially since they
often capture the social impacts and experiences. It is important to note that the ‘feel-good’ experience, discussed further later, has emerged as one the most important aspects of hosting mega-events and several studies have highlighted the potential importance of this aspect (Brenke & Wagner 2006; Chappelet and Junod 2006; Maennig and Porsche 2008; Tomlinson et al. 2009). However, the social aspects remain a neglected area of research in relation to sport events.

Sport event effects may also either be direct or indirect/induced. Sport facilities and/or infrastructure that are developed especially for the event are viewed as direct effects. On the other hand, indirectly linked effects refer to facilities or infrastructure that would have been built even if the event did not take place but was fast-tracked because of the event. Indirect effects also include the intangible outcomes. In the case of South Africa hosting the FIFA World Cup in 2010, for example, direct effects related to stadiums built specifically for the hosting of the matches as per FIFA specifications while the development and upgrading of transport infrastructure could be viewed as indirect effects since the South African government maintains that these were part of the country’s development plans but the hosting of the mega-event provided an opportunity to accelerate the pace of planned development.

It is important to note that existing definitions of event legacies do not provide a specific duration of the temporal duration of a legacy impact, implying simply that the effects are experiences ‘after the event’. While not specified, it is imperative that legacies should be sustained for a considerable time after the event, for at least 20 years. Very few events are evaluated for this period of time and therefore it remains unclear whether long-lasting legacies can be associated with sport events. The definitions also do not provide the spatial parameters regarding legacy impacts. However, legacy impacts are most likely to be experienced and sustained closer to where the sport event was held and within the host cities/locations. Furthermore, often the impacts in relation to the larger-scale events that require bidding (such as most World Cups) are stipulated in the bid book that details the capacity for the host nation/s and/or town/s to successfully host the event as well as the planned activities/impacts. These impacts are often stipulated, especially to garner political and public support. For example, South Africa’s hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup was embedded in producing and facilitating local
and national developmental agendas. Thus, the evaluation of the World Cup’s legacy impacts should provide a broad-based national impact that is beyond the nine host cities.

Chappelet and Junod (2006) differentiate between five different types of legacies associated with mega-events, many aspects of which are relevant to sport events in general. These are summarised in Table 3 below. The social legacies can also relate to interactions between locals and visitors as well as changes in perceptions and attitudes outside the host country/city.

**Table 3: Different types of legacies associated with mega sport events (Chappelet & Junod 2006:84)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of legacy</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sporting legacy</td>
<td>Refers to sporting facilities newly built or renovated for an event and which will serve some purpose after the event has concluded. These sporting infrastructures often become emblematic symbols for the host city and depict its link with sports. Furthermore, they may also play a role in changing local sporting culture by either increasing people’s participation in sport, introducing new and different types of sport to the area or by the organisation of more mega sport events on a regular basis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban legacy</td>
<td>Refers to buildings which were built for the mega-event but which serve no sporting functions. Included here are changes made to the urban structure of the host city as well as the development of new urban districts and specialised areas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructural legacy</td>
<td>Refers to the different types of networks, ranging from transport to telecommunications, which are renovated or developed for a mega-event and maintained after the event is complete. New access routes by air, water, road or rail are also part of the infrastructural legacy. Additionally, an event can provide the trigger for promoting modernisation of basic services, such as water, electricity, waste treatment, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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| Economic legacy | Mega-events are often associated with increases in the number of tourists to a host city. Although it is difficult to determine the impact of tourism in the long-term, the tourist legacy needs to be evaluated by measuring the number of tourists over a long-term scale. In addition, the economic legacy also includes the setting up of non-tourism orientated companies that were attracted to the host region by its dynamism, that is, leveraging investment opportunities. Other good indicators of the economic legacy of mega-events are changes in the number of permanent jobs created and changes in the unemployment rate of the host region or city. |
| Social legacy | Mega-events are symbolic in nature and thus often lead to the creation of many stories and myths. These stories and myths form part of what Chappelet and Junod (2006:85) term, the ‘collective memory’ of an event. This term refers to local residents’ memories and experiences of the mega-event and can also include the actual skills and experiences which people gain through their direct or indirect involvement in the mega-event. An essential part of the social legacy of mega-events is the change in perceptions of local residents of the host city or region. |

Environmental and political legacies were not identified by Chappelet and Junod (2006). Environmental legacies relate to achieving sustainability objectives which include minimising negative impacts of the natural resource base, reducing and managing waste, and decreasing pollution. The intention is to reduce the carbon footprint of an event and promote greening principles such as ensuring that the environment is considered in the design, construction and operation of sporting facilities; use of alternative, environmentally-friendly energy sources; water conservation and management; promoting the conservation of nature and encouraging sport event attendees to become more environmentally responsible. Environmental legacies are directly linked to social impacts since an improved environment results in a better quality of life and healthier surroundings.
Political legacies relate to encouraging participation, good governance and democratic principles. Furthermore, sport events can be used to re-position a host destination’s political image. For example, the 2006 FIFA World Cup provided Germany with an opportunity to change well established perceptions internationally of ‘Nazi’, divided Germany’. The hosting of large-scale sport events in South Africa such as the 1995 Rugby World Cup, 2003 Cricket World Cup and 2010 FIFA World Cup reinforced the country’s post-apartheid transition in the global arena. Nationally, the events helped to unify and strengthen a South African identity among citizens that were previously divided. This sense of national pride and identity is a key social legacy discussed later. The planning of a large-scale event itself is also part of a political process that requires event management skills and the ability of different tiers of government to work together. The upskilling of human resources is therefore a legacy as well. Skills development is also associated with voluntarism and programmes targeting historically disadvantaged groups.

Additionally, the media attention and destination marketing are viewed as critical components to the hosting of sport events, especially large-scale events, and are closely linked to political debates and positions. For example, the 2010 FIFA World Cup was from the beginning marred with media focus relating to whether South Africa will be able to host the event, especially in terms of the concern over high crime levels in the country. Supporters of South Africa hosting the event, especially the Local Organising Committee and the government more generally, were consistently defending their stance in the media. The successful hosting of the World Cup with minor crime incidents (and given the global media coverage that the country received) is likely to change perceptions of South Africa among foreigners and locals. Of course, should there have been major crime incidents during the World Cup this would have resulted in negative media focus that would have had an opposite effect.

Mann (2008) indicates that a legacy needs to be created not left, and that setting clear targets, securing stakeholder buy-in and monitoring and evaluating key performance indicators are all critical to creating a positive legacy. Key legacies, as alluded to earlier, are generally associated with economic, social, environmental, political, sport and other intangible benefits
such a sense of national pride and unity, the ‘feel-good factor’ (du Plessis 2008; Maennig & Porsche 2008).

Social Legacy Impacts
The above sections highlighted key issues in relation to sport events and legacies. Integrated in the discussion are social considerations. This section focuses specifically on social legacy impacts since this is a neglected aspect of research on sport events. According to Deccio and Baloglu (2002) and Kim and Petrick (2005), this neglect is because event organisers, for political reasons, tend to use economic impacts only as a means of generating support for and interest amongst residents in host cities; social impacts are more complicated than economic impacts and therefore more difficult to understand and accurately calculate; and social impacts are associated with various negative impacts which range from increases in crime, prostitution, drug-peddling and traffic congestion to additional security costs. Bob (2010:210) states that the core elements of achieving social sustainability in relation to sport events are:

... safeguarding existing and future members of society, the maintenance and development of social resources, equity in terms of access to resources and opportunities, participation in decision-making processes and investments in social capital.

As indicated earlier most sport event impact studies focus on economic aspects pertaining to income generation and employment multipliers such as contributions to the Gross Domestic Product related primarily from the generation of revenues from domestic and foreign investors and visitors, increases in government taxes, creation of jobs (although it is often unclear as to how many of these jobs are permanent or temporary/seasonal and the levels of the jobs created), and investments in infrastructure and other development projects. Negative economic aspects are often associated with negative impacts on traffic flows, residents, local governments, crime and violence, and tourism displacement. Many of these economic impacts have social implications that relate to improved or worsened quality of life as well as creation of opportunities that result in skills development. For example,
jobs created as a result of a sport event can change the social circumstances of the individual and household. On the other hand, if households are forcefully removed to accommodate infrastructural development, this could result in social disruptions and dislocations. The social legacies associated with economic impacts are difficult to ascertain since the economic impacts are often over-estimated and studies of many events reveal inconclusive or negligible results (Allmers & Maennig 2008; Cornelissen et al. 2011).

Another aspect is that the construction or upgrading of sporting facilities is often viewed as part of economic and/or infrastructural legacy impacts. However, as Allmers and Maenning (2008) reveal, the novelty effects of the stadiums (and sports facilities more generally) are related to intangible, social effects as well. Specifically, Allmers and Maennig (2008) assert that since many of the stadium projects in South Africa have been used as a mechanism to induce positive urban economic effects, these ‘signature’ projects could assist these host cities in ‘getting their name on the world map’, further inducing the ‘feel-good effect’ and social legacies. Maennig and Porsche (2008) state that in addition to the success of the home team as experienced in Germany 2006, the transmission of the event through free TV and the creation of fan parks as free and experience-oriented reception alternatives in host cities contributed towards counteracting the frustration of the ticket allocation policy. These sites were also central to provide opportunities for local residents to participate in the event and interact with visitors, a key expectation raised in resident survey studies. Fan parks and public viewing areas emerged as significant spaces for social interaction and celebration during the 2010 FIFA World Cup as well.

In terms of the media, the manner in which destinations are profiled can also have broad-based social implications. An illustrative example is the co-hosting of the 1996 Cricket World Cup by India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Dimeo and Kay (2004) examine the response of the international press to the co-hosting of this event by these three countries. They argue that while some aspects of the event organisation was unsuccessful, the problems faced by South Asian countries in trying to use the event to promote positive images were further exacerbated by the media overinflating problems and reconfirming underlying stereotypes and criticisms of South Asian cultures. The focus was on socio-cultural aspects that were criticised from a western perspective. This reinforces an issue raised earlier that media attention can
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reinforce negative stereotypes and perceptions rather than challenge these. Dimeo and Kay (2004) add that developing countries are less able to control the images that are projected in the media as the Western media and their audiences have a generally negative set of images in mind. When dealing with social legacies, a key focus should be on the manner in which sport events respect, improve and encourage the development of local socio-cultural systems as well as value and protect these resources.

Other potential social benefits associated with sport events and media attention include boosting local residents’ national pride and morale which serves to increase corporate involvement and generate public support (Saayman & Rossouw 2008). Allmers and Maennig (2008) underscore the importance of focusing on the ‘non-use’ or ‘feel-good effect’. They define this as the benefit for the host country’s population of the event taking place in their neighbourhood even if they themselves do not visit the stadiums. Allmers and Maennig (2008) note that the value of this effect is often being neglected in ex ante and ex post studies on mega-events. They add that an analysis of ‘willingness to pay’ (WTP) for the 2006 World Cup indicates that this effect is amongst the most significant effect of this event and could be possibly as a result of participation in the numerous fan park opportunities. Heyne et al. (2007) account that the increase in WTP is attributable to, above all, a change in attitude of those who, before the World Cup were not willing to pay anything. Post the World Cup, an increased WTP was expressed especially by East Germans and low-skilled persons. They conclude that mega-events have an ‘experience value’. Research in South Africa that focused on resident perceptions prior to the hosting of the FIFA World Cup (Bob & Swart 2008; Pillay & Bass 2008; Swart & Bob 2007) indicate that generally most South Africans supported South Africa hosting the World Cup and were excited about this unique opportunity. However, there were fears and concerns raised which were related to who will directly benefit and the negative impacts that they may experience such as noise pollution, increase in costs of goods and services, traffic congestion and disruptions to their daily lives.

Kersting (2007:281) asserts that the 2006 World Cup in Germany enabled ‘certain expressions of identification which became broadly legitimated for the first time’. Two social marketing campaigns focused on national pride and national culture, namely ‘You are Germany’ which tried to
strengthen German national identity and ‘The world as a guest visiting friends’ was aimed at strengthening hospitality and reducing potential xenophobic tendencies during the event (Kersting 2007). Surveys on national pride in Germany showed an increase from 71% before the event to 78% during the World Cup, and in the months thereafter national pride went down to its normal status (72%) (Kersting 2007). He adds that an analysis of survey data indicates that during the World Cup xenophobia was reduced slightly and that these small effects may have long-term sustainable influences. In addition, a peaceful and friendly atmosphere during the 2006 World Cup could be seen as an indicator of a multicultural, non-racist and non-xenophobic society (Kersting 2007). Kersting (2007) argues that while sport patriotism may not be sustainable, mega-events can contribute towards diminishing xenophobia and strengthening national identity and unity.

The aspect of nation building was also important for South Africa in relation to its hosting of large-scale sport events after the demise of apartheid. Cornelissen and Swart (2006) assert that South Africa’s pursuit of mega-events has also been used as an instrument for reconciliation. South Africa’s bid for the 2006 and 2010 FIFA World Cups, as was the case for the Olympic bid, was linked to government’s larger nation building processes and its developmental approach to bidding and hosting mega-events (Cornelissen 2004a; 2004b; Swart & Bob 2004). Similarly, the bid was characterised by its pan-Africanist thrust, characterised by the 2006 World Cup bid slogan ‘It’s Africa’s turn’ (Cornelissen 2004a; 2004b). The slogan was to signify to the rest of the world that despite Africa being a large football region, it never hosted the World Cup before. South Africa persisted with and enhanced this theme for the 2010 World Cup bid with an additional slogan being ‘Ke Nako: Celebrate Africa’s Humanity’. A continent-wide legacy makes the legacy of the World Cup different from previous World Cups by virtue of the extension of the benefits beyond the host country (Black 2007) and centralises a key political aspect.

The President of South Africa (Zuma 2010:2) also highlighted the importance of social aspects in relation to sport (especially in relation to the 2010 World Cup) in a media statement issued four days before the start of the event:

It is clear that millions of our people have waited for years and
looked upon this tournament with hope, pride and a sense of belonging. Sport has always played an important role in our historical mission to build a united, non-racial and prosperous South Africa and a better world. Almost all sporting codes in our country such as rugby and cricket have made a contribution to build social cohesion and human solidarity.

The focus on the ability of sport to promote unity and nation building has not gone unchallenged. Labuschagne (2008) states that while the impact of sport on nation building is a popular theme in political science and sociology, sport as a nation builder has limited potential. He specifically states that several analysts see sport as ‘nothing more than ninety minute patriotism’ (Labuschagne 2008:3). Labaschagne (2008:13) is, however, optimistic and concludes that sport does have the capacity to unify people, although temporarily, and the positive effects of sport ‘could be made more enduring by careful planning and deliberate efforts to ensure that its benefits are felt as widely as possible’. The potential of sport ‘to inculcate in people a feeling of unity, and to motivate them’ can only be achieved if there is a ‘comprehensive, structured plan’ for this to happen (Labaschagne 2008:13).

A key social aspect of sport in developing contexts such as South Africa is the issue of crime. This relates to perceptions about crime at the host destination as well as how to deal with the potential of crime during a sport event. Larger events in particular are associated with increased criminal activities due to the sheer increase in the numbers of people in a particular location. It is for this reason that most large-scale events have elaborate safety and security plans in place. Safety and security measures during sporting events are often heightened. As indicated earlier, the media plays a critical role in profiling sport events and the destinations in which they occur. The aspect of crime and safety is often a key focus of media coverage before and during the event. In reflecting on the failed Cape Town 2004 Olympic bid, one of the most significant criticisms levelled against the bid pertained to the high levels of crime in South Africa that was not adequately dealt with by the Bid Committee (Swart & Bob 2004). They add that it is worth underscoring that a critical aspect of the issue of crime is linked to perceptions and the way in which international media portray criminal activities and crime rates. The massive investments in safety and security
infrastructure and service provision for the 2010 World Cup in South Africa is also a major source of angst among local residents who feel that the safety and security strategy for 2010 was geared towards making tourists, participants and FIFA safe rather than being a long-term legacy that will make a significant impact on crime which is undoubtedly one of the main concerns among residents and visitors alike. Bob et al. (2006:201) assert that 2010 ‘provides the platform and the impetus to initiate proactive measures and evaluate existing strategies to ensure safe environments’ for both visitors and the general South African populace. It remains to be seen whether this legacy will be realised.

Sport events are also linked to philanthropic projects aimed at benefitting local communities. These projects often target disadvantaged and vulnerable groups. A case in point is the Amabeadi project associated with the Comrades Marathon where proceeds from the sale of beaded traditional jewellery are used to support five charitable organisations. The 2010 FIFA World Cup was also associated with a range of sport-related and socially responsible development projects that included the African Legacy project established in 2006 aimed at supporting African renaissance efforts on the continent, the Win in Africa with Africa project which established activities and programmes for skills development on the continent and Football for Hope, a programme aimed at promoting social development. These programmes were initiated and implemented by a range of organisations/institutions including FIFA, government departments and community-based organisation. Football for Hope is an illustrative example of a global partnership between FIFA, several private corporations (such as Adidas, CocaCola, Emirates, Kia, Sony and Visa) and ‘streetfootballworld’, a social profit organisation founded in 2002 that promotes positive change through football and operates in more than 50 countries (FIFA 2010). Joseph S. Blatter (FIFA president cited in FIFA 2010:2) asserts:

> With its unique appeal and core values that reach across generations and cultures, football offers a common ground for engaging in a wide range of social development activities, including education, health promotion, social integration and gender equality. That is why Football for Hope is of strategic importance to FIFA. Football is and needs to remain a school for life.
FIFA (2011:3) further states:

Football has become a vital instrument for hundreds of social development programmes run by non-governmental and community-based organisations all around the world. These programmes are providing children and young people with valuable tools that make a difference to their lives and, by addressing the most pressing issues in each community, they are contributing to positive social change on a global scale.

Football for Hope is deemed to be one such programme. It is important to note that the life-spans of these projects are not stipulated and their spread across the African continent is limited. Whether these programmes will continue and emerge as long-term legacies remain to be seen.

**Approaches to Examine Social Legacy Impacts and Knowledge Management**

Smith and Fox (2007) assert that one way of understanding cities (and host nations) is by analysing the legacies of the events they staged. Thus, the evaluation of social legacy impacts can contribute to knowledge management, specifically in relation to identifying best practices and lessons for future efforts to bid for sport events. Smith and Fox (2007) add that securing regeneration from events require vigilant planning by event managers who are sensitive to the significance of legacy. Moreover, they state that delivering a successful event, whilst ensuring a positive legacy, requires effective coordination between a range of stakeholders such as event organisers, regeneration agencies, different spheres of government, local businesses and community representatives.

Notwithstanding the challenges experienced and the benefits derived, the hosting of sport events (especially large-scale events the scale of the World Cups and Olympic Games, for example) is important from a learning perspective. However, research on these events have been ad hoc and limited. Thus, the knowledge legacies associated with sport events have been inadequate and as yet there have been limited attempts to systematically
examine and track legacy impacts. Halbwirth and Toohey (2001:91) stress the importance of sport and event organisations ‘to successfully capture, share, manage and harness their corporate knowledge to reduce uncertainty of outcomes and co-ordinate and facilitate strategy and policy implementation’.

There are several approaches to examine and assess social legacy impacts of mega-events. One such approach is the Balanced Scorecard Approach to event evaluation presented by Gratton et al. (2006). This approach examines the range of impacts associated with hosting a sport event, including social aspects. The Olympic Games Impact Programme (OGI) is another example of systematically evaluating legacy impacts. Cornelissen (2007) contends that within the Olympic Movement there have been more advances in establishing knowledge about the effects of the Games in contrast to the FIFA World Cup to date. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) acknowledges the importance of sustainable development and social responsibility, and developed the OGI programme in 2003 (Vancouver Olympic Committee OGI 2007). The purpose of OGI is to measure the long-term impact of the Olympic and Paralympic Games through a consistent and comparable reporting system across all future Games. Moreover, it is intended to assist cities that are bidding for Olympic Games and future organisers to identify potential legacies to maximise Games’ benefits. One hundred and twenty six (126) indicators measure the status of a range of environmental, socio-cultural, and economic dimensions of the host city, region and nation (Vancouver Olympic Committee OGI 2007). The social indicators include disruptions in the lives of locals (such as traffic congestion and housing displacements/relocations), political representation in decision-making structures linked to the event and related activities, community-based pressure groups (including minority representation in these groups), crime rates and incidences, changes in health status, sports and physical activities, availability of and access to sporting facilities, discrimination in sport, and cultural activities associated with the event.

Conclusion
The importance of understanding and critically examining the impacts of sport events, especially in relation to social legacies, is emphasised in this
article. The significance of undertaking research in relation to social legacies is highlighted. However, it is also underscored that these issues are complex and related to economic, environmental and other types of legacies associated with sport events. Additionally, the larger the sport event the bigger and more complex the range of legacies experienced. Both positive and negative impacts are heightened as the size of the event increases. In fact, Ahmed et al. (2008) warn that as sporting events are getting bigger and bigger the negative impacts associated with them are growing. To summarise, the key social issues pertaining to sport events relate to respecting and supporting local socio-cultural systems; the ‘feel-good’, experiential aspects; disruptions to the lives of locals; opportunities for nation and community building (including promoting unity and social cohesion); increased safety and security measures; the development of sport facilities and increased access to these; improvement in the environment; skills development and training; and philanthropic projects.

The discussion notes that there are considerable debates that relate to the definitional and conceptual aspects pertaining to what constitutes a legacy, the variety of legacy impacts and how they interrelate to each other, and methodological approaches to monitor and assess social legacy impacts. In terms of the latter, the discussion informs the identification of potential social legacy indicators and approaches to assess impacts associated with sport events. The article highlighted that they are both positive and negative impacts which need to be understood. Additionally, there are intended and unintended consequences as well as tangible and intangible outcomes. These result in complex dimensions. An important aspect to consider from a social legacy perspective is changing perceptions and promoting more responsible social and environmental behaviour.

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