

## **Informal residents' perceptions of the 2010 FIFA World Cup: A case study of an informal settlement in Cape Town**

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### **Abstract**

South Africa won the right to host the first FIFA World Cup on the African continent in 2010. The 2010 FIFA World Cup has been heralded as a 'once in a lifetime' opportunity with significant legacy benefits for South Africans. Many mega sport event organisations tend to disregard residents' perceptions of the events' impacts. Generally, there is a lack of research investigating responses of residents where the event takes place, and more specifically studies on informal residents' perceptions of mega sport events. The main focus of this study was to explore the level of awareness and perceptions of residents living in an informal settlement area in closest proximity to Cape Town Stadium regarding the impacts of the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Cape Town. A systematic, stratified random sampling technique was used to survey 370 residents of at Joe Slovo, the nearest informal settlement to Cape Town Stadium, three months after the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Residents expressed their support for the event by indicating various levels of participation. They also generally had positive perceptions about the 2010 FIFA World Cup; however, mixed responses and concerns were raised in relation to the economic, social and legacy impacts of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. This study 'paves the way' for on-going research into residents' perceptions of this event. Future research which focus on longitudinal impacts rather than short-term impacts are recommended.

**Keywords:** 2010 FIFA World Cup, mega event, informal residents, perceptions, impacts

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### **Introduction**

Sport tourism is becoming widely recognised as a means of generating economic growth through internal investment, the development of special interest tourism and the expansion of the service sector (Korea Tourism Organisation, 2006). Henwood and Pretorius (2008) state that the 1995 Rugby World Cup is regarded as a watershed event in South Africa's quest to join the international market for mega events. Having won the right to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup, mega sport events are increasingly being pursued by the South African government, not only for their anticipated developmental and financial gains, but also for their more elusive identity-building and signaling benefits, and their associated democracy and human rights enhancing qualities (van der Merwe, 2007).

Ap (1992) indicates that understanding residents' perceptions and attitudes toward the impacts of tourism allow for proper planning and policy creation in order to ensure the successful development, marketing and operation of existing and future tourism projects. While participation in the decision-making process is important, the impact of the 2010 FIFA World Cup would be best realised if one understood what the public was thinking (Pillay & Bass, 2009). A study by Kim and Petrick (2005) on residents' perceptions of the impacts during and after the 2002 FIFA World Cup in Seoul indicated that the residents living in Seoul perceived a fairly high level of positive impacts of the World Cup with image enhancements and consolidation perceived to be the most likely positive impact. The authors note that the negative impact items included: negative economic perspective, disorder and conflicts, traffic problems and congestion. Furthermore, most Koreans interviewed perceived the World Cup as successful. Several authors (Kim, Gursoy & Lee, 2006; Ohmann, Jones & Wilkes, 2006; Chain, 2009) concur that measuring perceptions of mega events often lack credibility and objectivity due to varying residents' views, however, it is important to assess their attitude toward the impacts of these events.

In accordance with the social exchange theory, it would be expected that residents who gain employment through the event, or those who perceive that the industry they work in benefits from the event, would derive a greater benefit than others and would therefore have more positive perceptions (Ritchie & Adair, 2006). The social exchange theory is used to understand people's reactions toward tourism ventures (Chain, 2009). Turco, Riley and Swart (2002) and Kim et al. (2006) state that the social exchange theory suggests that local residents are likely to form perceptions which differ based on the expected value of the exchange before the actual exchange occurs.

In relation to informal settlements in South Africa, in the early 1990s the housing or shelter needs of informal dwellers was not a priority, nor was there a policy as to how to deal with informal settlements (Development Action Group - DAG, 2007). At the time it was perceived that informal settlements were simply land invasions, and the policy adopted in response was to eliminate the growth of informal settlements by evicting dwellers, and in the process deny them their rights to adequate housing, health and the right to work (Klug & Vadwa, 2009). They further note that the inadequacy of human settlements in South Africa is manifestly seen in the growth of informal settlements in all major cities and towns.

The provision of permanent services and housing to poor households has been largely relegated to a supply driven production of Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) 'matchbox' houses by municipalities, therefore, social inequalities and spatial marginalisation still exist (Klug &

Vadwa, 2009). The RDP was the initial strategy of the government of South Africa aimed at addressing the many social and economic problems facing the country and to transform the country post-apartheid (Knight, 2001). Informal settlements are a manifestation of poverty, social and economic exclusion, social inequality, marginalisation and discrimination (Chenwi, 2008). The author also notes that most households in informal settlements are poor and vulnerable, with generally low incomes resulting in severe social problems such as crime, drugs, alcoholism, domestic violence, community conflict and dependence welfare.

Kim and Petrick (2005) state that although there are a number of studies that have been conducted on residents' perceptions of tourism developments, there is still limited research investigating the perceptions, attitudes and views of residents on the potential impacts of mega events. Furthermore, informal residents are neglected and there is no known study on this particular group. Yet, they constitute a major part of the resident populace, especially in the major host cities. Gursoy and Kendall (2006) suggest that for a mega event to be successful, the understanding and participation of all stakeholders in the process is crucial. The actual voices of local residents are absent in relation to debates pertaining to the 2010 FIFA World Cup (Swart & Bob, 2007). The objectives of this study were to evaluate the informal residents' perceptions about the 2010 FIFA World Cup, their level of awareness of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, and to identify the potential impacts of the 2010 FIFA World Cup on informal residents living in close proximity to the Cape Town Stadium.

## **Methodology**

### *Study setting*

The Joe Slovo informal settlement had its origins in Apartheid policies which restricted the in-migration of blacks into the urban areas (Tapscott, 2011). The author notes that the first informal dwellings in the area were built on the outskirts of Langa in the late 1980s, but those were subsequently destroyed by the authorities. Joe Slovo is one of Cape Town's biggest informal settlements, situated alongside the N2 highway, about 10 km from the city centre (Chenwi, 2008). Overcrowding, fires, floods, unhealthy conditions and crime are characteristic of the area (Chenwi, 2008). The majority of Joe Slovo residents moved into the area from the Eastern Cape (Tapscott, 2011). The author further notes that those moving in from the Eastern Cape tend to have a greater degree of social cohesion, since it is known that those migrating into the cities frequently seek out family members, relatives or people from their home areas in establishing an urban base. Hundreds of residents of Joe Slovo were in the process of being upgraded and faced eviction to make way for formal housing which resulted in a number of riots and litigations before the High Court and

subsequently, the Constitutional Court (Chenwi, 2008). In May 2005, the national Department of Housing (DOH) announced the launch of the Gateway housing project as part of a broad programme to eradicate shack dwellings in the major cities of South Africa (Tapscott, 2011). Joe Slovo informal settlement is situated close to the Cape Town Central Business District (CBD) and has rail access to the city (City of Cape Town - CoCT, 2005). Its location and proximity to employment opportunities in Epping, Pinelands and the CBD made it a prime location for migrants, as rigid Apartheid spatial planning began to crumble (Tissington & Vartak, 2009).

### *Study design, sample and data collection procedure*

Both quantitative and qualitative research methods were used in this study. Systematic, stratified random sampling was used in order to gain a broad representation of respondents within the area of study. Personal face-to-face interviews were conducted with 370 household respondents across the different zones which make up Joe Slovo. Questionnaires were used as the primary data collection method to capture information related to Joe Slovo residents' awareness, perceptions and attitudes toward the impacts of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Interviews were conducted by trained fieldworkers three months after the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Quantitative analysis of data collected was completed using the Statistical Packages for Social Sciences (SPSS). Open-ended questions were analysed thematically.

## **Results**

### *Demographic profile of respondents*

Results of the respondents in terms of gender, reveals the higher (55.9%) percentage were female, in comparison to 44.1% who were males. The results also indicate that 86.8% of the respondents were African, which is to be expected as it is a traditionally African informal settlement. The age of the respondents ranged from 18 to 70 years, with the majority of respondents (74.3%) being in the age groups of 21 to 30 years (39.7%) and 31 to 40 years (34.6%), combined. In terms of the respondents' employment status, the main types of employment included the following: 21.6% of the respondents were employed in sales/marketing, 16.2% were students/scholars and 14.3% were business people. Moreover, 22.7% of respondents were unemployed. Again this result is not surprising given the high unemployment rate in South Africa. It is also evident that educational levels were not very high, with most respondents completing secondary school (38.4%) or primary school (19.5%). Only 16.5% of respondents obtained certificates/diplomas or a university degree (10.5%). Given the low levels of education, it is not surprising that income levels were also low. The results showed that 40.3% of the respondents had no regular

income, 34.6% of the respondents earned between R0-R1000 a month, while only 6.4% earned above R11 000 per month. Some respondents (18.9%) declared that they regarded their income as confidential.

#### *Awareness of and involvement in the 2010 FIFA World Cup*

The overwhelming majority of respondents (98.4%) were aware that South Africa hosted the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Less than half of the respondents (36.8%) indicated that they attended the 2010 FIFA World Cup matches while 63% gave a contrary response. Of the 36.8% who indicated that they attended, 31.4% attended matches in Cape Town while 4.3% attended the games in Port Elizabeth. Less than 2% indicated that they attended matches in Durban (1.4%), Johannesburg (0.3%) and Bloemfontein (0.3%). The reasons for not attending any of the 2010 FIFA World Cup matches included the following: 13.8% indicated that they were not interested in soccer, 9.2% were not able to afford tickets, 5.4% preferred to watch the matches on television and 4.3% preferred viewing at a public viewing area (PVA).

An overwhelming majority of the respondents (96.5%) noted that they watched matches on television, with 65.4% also indicating that they watched matches at the dedicated PVAs. Cross-tabulations between respondents' monthly income and their attendance of the World Cup matches revealed that attendance of matches was not constrained to higher income groups but there were in fact many people with low monthly incomes who also attended these matches.

#### *Impacts of the 2010 FIFA World Cup*

In order to determine the perceptions and attitudes of residents, respondents were asked to rate the level of agreement with a range of relevant statements pertaining to the 2010 FIFA World Cup (Table 1).

**Table 1:** Residents' perceptions of the impacts of the 2010 FIFA World Cup

| Thematic areas                                                                                            | Response alternatives |      |      |      |      |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|
|                                                                                                           | SA                    | A    | N    | D    | SA   |
| <b>Economic impacts</b>                                                                                   |                       |      |      |      |      |
| The FIFA World Cup only benefited the rich and big businesses                                             | 23.2                  | 17.3 | 27.9 | 24.3 | 7.3  |
| The event ensured employment opportunities for local community members                                    | 20                    | 37.3 | 34.6 | 5.1  | 3.0  |
| The event led to increased spending in the local area thus ensuring local benefits to the local community | 20                    | 40   | 33.6 | 4.6  | 1.9  |
| Too much money was spent on 2010 that could have been spent on other activities                           | 28.4                  | 26.8 | 32.7 | 9.5  | 2.7  |
| <b>Social impacts</b>                                                                                     |                       |      |      |      |      |
| The event caused significant traffic congestion within the local area                                     | 19.7                  | 32.4 | 31.1 | 16.5 | 3.2  |
| The event led to excessive noise which annoyed local residents                                            | 12.7                  | 20   | 30   | 28.4 | 8.9  |
| An increase in crime was experienced due to this event                                                    | 9.7                   | 13.2 | 33.3 | 29.7 | 14.1 |
| 2010 was a major boost for national pride and nation building                                             | 36.2                  | 32.7 | 24.6 | 4.3  | 2.2  |
| I felt proud that South Africa hosted the 2010 FIFA World Cup                                             | 48.4                  | 30   | 15.9 | 3.0  | 2.7  |
| <b>Sport impacts</b>                                                                                      |                       |      |      |      |      |
| I am more aware of soccer due to the hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup                                   | 32.4                  | 35.4 | 21.4 | 7.8  | 3.0  |
| I am more interested in soccer after the event was hosted                                                 | 25.7                  | 33.5 | 31.1 | 6.8  | 3.0  |
| I will consider participating in soccer in the near future                                                | 19.7                  | 25.1 | 33.7 | 14.6 | 6.8  |
| <b>Legacy impacts</b>                                                                                     |                       |      |      |      |      |
| I felt confident that the event was hosted successfully by South Africa                                   | 62.7                  | 28.4 | 5.9  | 2.7  | 0.3  |
| The hosting of 2010 resulted in South Africa achieving a legacy                                           | 48.4                  | 37.6 | 9.7  | 3.8  | 0.5  |
| Infrastructural development took place mainly near the stadiums                                           | 28.6                  | 38.9 | 26.7 | 4.1  | 1.6  |
| Facilities created for the event can be used by local residents in the long-term                          | 37.6                  | 34.9 | 22.1 | 4.1  | 1.4  |
| The maintenance of stadia will pose challenges                                                            | 31.6                  | 33   | 27.4 | 5.4  | 1.6  |

SA = Strongly Agree, A = Agree, N = Neutral, D = Disagree, SD = Strongly Disagree

The Lickert scale was used with the following options available as responses: SA = Strongly Agree, A = Agree, N = Neutral, D = Disagree and SD = Strongly Disagree. For a greater understanding of the results, the responses were grouped. The findings are further presented in relation to economic, social, sport and legacy impacts.

In terms of economic impacts, mixed responses were received. While 40.5% strongly agreed and agreed that the FIFA World Cup only benefited the rich and big businesses, 31.6% indicated the opposite. Most respondents (57.3%) agreed that the hosting of the event ensured employment opportunities for local community members, however, 34.6% remained neutral. Similarly, the indirect impacts of the event were noted, with 60% of respondents indicating that the event led to increased spending in the local area thus ensuring local benefits to the members of the local community. It is worth highlighting that more than half of the respondents (55.2%) indicated that too much money was spent on 2010 that could have been spent on other activities, and a further 32.7% remained neutral.

In terms of social impacts (specifically the inconveniences that were expected to arise as a consequence of South Africa hosting the World Cup), the results revealed that some local residents were concerned about disruptions the event created. Slightly more than half of the respondents (52.1%) indicated that the event caused significant traffic congestion in the local area, while 31.1% were neutral and 19.7% felt the opposite. There were also mixed responses in terms of excessive noise being created by the event, with 32.7% of the respondents agreeing that the World Cup led to excessive noise while 37.3% stated the opposite. With regards to crime, 22.9% respondents agreed that an increase in crime was experienced due to the event. However, most respondents (43.8%) disagreed with this statement and 31.3% remained neutral. The majority of respondents (68.9%) felt that 2010 was a major boost for nation building and they also felt proud that South Africa hosted the event (78.4%).

In relation to sport impacts, the majority of the respondents (67.8%) were more aware of the soccer due to the hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup while 21.4% of respondents were neutral and 10.8% strongly disagreed and disagreed with this statement. Similarly, the majority of the respondents (59.2%) strongly agreed and agreed that they were more interested in soccer after the event was hosted while 9.8% stated the opposite. Some respondents (44.8%) were considering participating in soccer in the near future while 33.7% were neutral and 21.4% disagreed with this statement.

In terms of legacies of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, the overwhelming majority of respondents (91.1%) felt confident that the event was hosted successfully by South Africa. Similarly, 86% of respondents felt that the hosting of 2010 resulted in South Africa achieving a legacy. Although many respondents (67.5%) agreed that infrastructural developments took place mainly near the stadium, it is interesting to note that slightly more respondents (72.5%) also thought that the facilities created for the event can be used by local residents in the long-term. Concerns, however, were expressed with respect to the maintenance of the stadia with 64.6% of respondents indicating that it would pose challenges.

## **Discussion**

Given that this informal settlement is 10 km away from Cape Town Stadium it is not surprising that there was a high level of awareness of South Africa hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Residents were involved in the World Cup in several ways; mainly via watching matches on television and at PVAs, with fewer residents watching live matches. The PVAs for the 2010 FIFA World Cup were free events. Swart and Bob (2007) confirm that PVAs created opportunities for access to the matches thereby facilitating participation and social interaction among residents. Maennig and Porsche (2008) highlight the importance of the emotional or 'feel-good' effects of hosting mega events, and this is reflected in

the positive feelings of confidence in hosting a successful event, and to a lesser degree (but still high), national pride in hosting the event. These feelings of positivity were expressed despite the mixed responses in relation to the economic impacts of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. It is also interesting to note that direct and indirect economic impacts of the event was acknowledged in relation to increased employment opportunities and spending in the host area. However, many respondents highlighted the opportunity costs in that they felt that too much money was spent on the 2010 FIFA World Cup that could have been spent on other activities. The findings support Cornelissen and Maennig's (2010) contention that national pride and international recognition are more prevalent for host communities as opposed to economic gains.

While there were high levels of concern for South Africa's excessive levels of crime in the lead-up to 2010 (Donaldson & Ferreira, 2007; Swart, Bob & Turco, 2010), more respondents disagreed that an increase in crime was experienced as a result of the event thus confirming South Africa's ability to host a crime-free event. However, there were many neutral responses and elements of disagreement, possibly as a result of crime still being experienced in the informal settlements as opposed to the 'safe zones' created for tourists. The disruption of local people's daily lives is an important social impact that requires consideration (Kim et al., 2006). Mixed responses were received in relation to personal inconveniences such as traffic congestion and excessive noise. In terms of the sporting impacts of the World Cup, greater awareness and interest in soccer was created but whether it translates to actual participation remains to be seen. Preuss (2007) underscores that legacies are both tangible and intangible and can be positive and negative. While almost all the residents felt confident that the event was hosted successfully by South Africa and that the event achieved a legacy for the country, they also noted the maintenance of the stadia would pose challenges. However, they felt that the facilities created for the event can be used by local residents in the long-term, despite that they also recognised that infrastructural development took place mainly near the stadia. This finding is of particular importance given that Joe Slovo is an impoverished area and that many residents also noted the opportunity costs associated with hosting the event. Furthermore, these results contradict pre-event findings by Bob and Majola (2011) who found that some respondents of Makhowe, a rural community in KwaZulu-Natal, indicated that the infrastructure developed for the event would not be accessible to local communities.

## **Conclusion**

Malfas, Theodoraki and Houlihan (2004) assert that the most important reason behind the decision of a city, region or country to host a mega sport event is the potential impact of the event on the local economy, which in turn can improve the social status of the host community. Pillay, Tomlinson and Bass (2009) note

that residents of host localities, especially those residing close to the event stadia are stakeholders who are directly impacted by these mega events. Therefore, the hosting of these mega events can have serious implications for the residents, especially the poorer segments of society (Pillay et al., 2009). Such communities are often overlooked in relation to mega event planning and management. In this study, Joe Slovo residents generally had positive perceptions and attitudes toward the 2010 FIFA World Cup, however, mixed responses and concerns were raised in relation to the economic, social and legacy impacts of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Moreover, the intangible feel-good effects were emphasised to a greater extent.

As highlighted by Swart and Bob (2009), it is important that local communities be informed about the exact nature of the benefits that they can expect, in relation to job creation, disruptions and opportunities to participate. Kim et al. (2006) assert that should authorities neglect issues and concerns of local residents, they stand to lose valuable community support.

Examining informal residents' perceptions contribute towards our limited understanding of different community perspectives on the impacts and legacies of mega events. Moreover, there are very few studies that have examined residents' perceptions post-2010 which can play an important role in informing mega-event organisers, host destinations and policy-makers about informal residents' perceptions and experiences of the event. Finally, longitudinal research is recommended to evaluate sustainable informal residents' perceptions of the impacts of the 2010 FIFA World Cup in the long-term.

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