Mega-Event Preparation through Beautification: To Fast-Track Urban Development or to Justify Slum Eradication?

A Case Study on the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Cape Town, South Africa

By Evert-Jan Witteveen (S3751201)

Colophon

Thesis Title	Mega-Event Preparation through Beautification: to Fast-Track Urban Development or to Justify Slum Eradication?
Subtitle	A Case Study on the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Cape Town, South Africa
Author	Evert-Jan Witteveen
Student Number	S3751201
Contact details	ej.witteveen@gmail.com
	LinkedIn Profile
University	Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Faculty of Spatial Sciences
Version	Assignment 7
Date	11th of June, 2021
Supervisor	Dr. ir. T. van Dijk
Figure Front Page	(Housing Development Agency, 2020)
Word Count	6600

Abstract

While hosting mega-events can come with various positive aspects, it can also be accompanied by negative consequences for host cities and their communities. During the preparation phase for a mega-event, local authorities frequently attempt to visually improve their city under the term beautification, resulting in slum eradication affecting local communities. This thesis studied beautification as part of mega-event planning with the 2010 FIFA Men's World Cup in Cape Town as a case study. With this case in mind, beautification and its effects on the local community were studied through the analysis of two elements of beautification, namely housing development and slum eradication, all in connection to the preparation for a mega-event. This case study was conducted through an analysis of literature, secondary data on the beautification project and semi-structured interviews with experts on mega-events preparations and the current conditions for the local community in Cape Town. The beautification project associated with this case is the N2 Gateway Project, which aimed to redevelop informal settlements along the N2 Highway between Cape Town and its airport. Findings suggest that while the project aimed to redevelop informal settlements with the local community in mind, the main priority was on beautifying the area rather than providing adequate housing. Not only was community participation lacking during the project, it also came with the displacement of local residents to relocation areas outside of Cape Town. While these findings are mostly applicable to this case, displacement surrounding mega-events is a common occurrence, implying that there are larger issues at play with regards to mega-events and beautification.

Keywords: Mega-events, Beautification, Cape Town, South Africa, Slum Eradication, Housing, N2 Gateway Project

Table of Contents

1. Introduction

"A billion television viewers don't want to see shacks and poverty on this scale."

- Unnamed FIFA Delegate (Alegi, 2008)

1.1 Background

Over the last decades, mega-events are increasingly being hosted by emerging economies (Steinbrink, Haferburg, & Ley, 2011). Hosting a mega-event is often associated with beneficial characteristics, such as city branding, urban redevelopment and revitalization (Varrel & Kennedy, 2011). However, mega-events are also perceived to come with negative consequences, such as corruption (Panja & Draper, 2020), human rights violations (Pattisson, McIntyre, & Mukhtar, 2021) and displacement of marginalized communities living in inadequate housing conditions (Butler & Aicher, 2015; Hall & Hodges, 1996), the latter of which will be the focus of this research. While it is true that certain communities in the hosting city do experience benefits due to a mega-event, vulnerable communities often get the short end of the stick due to the process of beautification (Greene, 2003).

While there are multiple examples of beautification associated with mega-event preparation, this thesis will study the consequences of mega-events for the local community in terms of housing development and slum eradication by making use of the 2010 FIFA Men's World Cup in Cape Town as a case study. Even though this World Cup is considered a success for both FIFA and the world of football, this mega-event was also accompanied by controversies regarding housing and displacement (Corcoran, 2014). By studying the beautification process before the 2010 FIFA World Cup, this thesis can contribute to an improved understanding of this case and why it is perceived to have mistreated marginalized communities. In turn, this can contribute to the prevention of a similar sequence of events when hosting future mega-events, by showing potential deficiencies during beautification before mega-events.

1.2 Research Problem

As the aim of this research is to study beautification and its effects on the local community in Cape Town, South Africa, the research will be conducted from a sociospatial perspective. This perspective is defined as "[…] the role that economic, political, and social institutions play in creating and changing […] spaces, and the processes by which these spaces are given meaning by local inhabitants" (Gottdiener & Hutchison, 2010, p. 19). This highlights the importance of considering the urban environment while studying the effects of beautification prior to mega-events on the local community. Therefore, slum eradication and housing development are considered to be the focal point of this analysis, as these are associated with mega-events more frequently (Müller & Gaffney, 2018). This approach led to the formulation of the following main research question:

o *"How does beautification, implemented in Cape Town prior to the 2010 FIFA World Cup, affect the local community in terms of housing development and slum eradication?"*

While some research has already been conducted on the legacy of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, it primarily focused on the short-term effects of the mega-event (Newton, 2009; Steinbrink et al., 2011). As such, I will conduct this research from a wider perspective, taking both the short- and long-term developments regarding beautification, housing developments and slum eradication into consideration. In this case study, I will focus on both the new housing development part of the project, and the effects it had on the local community. To support the main research question, the following sub-questions have been formulated:

1. *"Can the N2 Gateway Project be considered a beautification project, and what did the project result in, in terms of slum eradication and housing development?"*
2. *"What are the intricacies and implications which came with the beautification project for the local community and city of Cape Town*?"

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis consists of five chapters. Following the Introduction, the Theoretical Framework will be introduced, which will elaborate on key terms of this research. This is also where the Conceptual Model is introduced. Then, in Chapter 3, the Methodology will be explained, covering both the selected method for conducting research and the argumentation behind the research design. Following this, in Chapter 4 on Results, sub-questions one and two will be covered, both through a descriptive and analytical study of the selected case. This will be followed by a Conclusion and recommendations for future research, which comprises Chapter 5.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Mega-Events

The term *mega-events* refers to organized international events. Pioneered in the late 19th century, mega-events nowadays are much more than tools for nation-building. As defined by sociologist Maurice Roche (2003), mega-events are "short-lived collective cultural actions […] which nonetheless have long-lived pre- and post-event social dimensions." (p. 99). As these mega-events are followed on a global level and often come with foreign investment opportunities and tourism, they provide host cities with a high incentive to leave a positive impression during the event (van Blerk, 2011). Therefore, once a city gets selected to host a mega-event, local institutions are often inspired to redevelop and revitalize their urban area as much as they can (Greene, 2003). This function of mega-events can therefore be seen as a catalyst for infrastructure, services and venue development, with benefits for local businesses and the tourism sector (Ezeibe & Chinedu, 2014). Nevertheless, the legacy of mega-events and their preparation is often contentious. According to Hall & Hodges (1996), such preparation for a mega-event changes the focus of local governments from a public towards an entrepreneurial interest, which means that success of the event is mainly measured through tourism flow and profit. While these elements are indisputably important in organizing mega-events, other dimensions, such as social implications, are often neglected. While it is true that these mega-events spark urban renewal and development in host cities, this is not always designed to benefit the local community (Pillay & Bass, 2008). It is not uncommon that issues related to housing and homelessness exacerbated during the preparing phase of mega-events (Pillay & Bass, 2008), as the "[…] visibility of poverty becomes paramount in renewal schemes, and preparations often involve removing the poor from high-profile areas surrounding event venues, without significant attention to long-term solutions to slum problems." (Greene, 2003, p. 163). Important to note is that these effects relating to preparations for mega-events are complex and case dependent, as mega-events "[…] are appropriated very differently in different contexts" (Müller & Gaffney, 2018, p. 263), showing how local circumstances can be the decisive factor in the success of a mega-event.

2.2 Beautification

Renewal schemes in preparation for mega-events are often advertised under the term *beautification*. Intrinsically, beautification might sound like something rather welcomed by everyone involved, but in reality its implications can be quite detrimental. Following Newton's (2009) definition, beautification is an urban planning tool that is used to improve an area, mainly with visual improvement in mind. As mentioned before, this study will consider two aspects of beautification in its analysis: slum eradication and housing development. In this section, the link between these three terms will be elaborated upon.

The link between beautification and *slum eradication* is explained by Greene (2003), as "[…] 'beautification' projects immediately prior to international events are one of the most common justifications for slum clearance programs." (p. 163). Justified as a way to combat crime, slum eradication results in mass-evictions of neighbourhoods, all to make way for new housing development part of beautification projects (Davis, 2017). This is achieved at the expense of marginalized locals, as explained by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing Raquel Rolnik, with economic benefits stemming from the hosting of a mega-event not being distributed evenly among residents (Agence France Presse, 2010). Steinbrink, Haferburg and Ley (2011) continue this line of thought by stating that conditions of disadvantaged groups might even deteriorate due to the occurrence of a mega-event, as the development of stadiums and infrastructure potentially result in costs cut by the local government on the provision of facilities, such as housing. The local community affected by slum eradication then often ends up in relocation areas, where human rights violations are far from unusual (Davis, 2017).

Next to slum eradication, the *housing development* coming with beautification is also disputed. In this thesis, the term housing development will refer to all (fast-tracked) housing developed as part of beautification projects. These projects, which follow the ideology of planners such as Baron Hausmann and Robert Moses, are recognized as top-down master plans where not everyone's demands and needs are taken into consideration, all to create order and strengthen social control (Newton, 2009; Sennett, 2018). As mentioned, beautification mainly serves to improve an area visually, meaning that quality and affordability for the local community of housing development is not prioritized (Davis, 2017; Newton, 2009).

2.3 2010 FIFA World Cup

I will now continue by defining some relevant terms specific to the case study which will be introduced later on in this thesis, as these will also be used in the Conceptual Model. The case study will be on the *FIFA Men's 2010 Soccer World Cup* (In short 2010 FIFA World Cup), the first Cup ever hosted on the continent of Africa. It was played in 10 different stadiums in 9 cities across the country of South Africa, including Cape Town, which is the main subject of the case study (BBC Sport, 2004).

Following the announcement of South Africa as host for the 2010 World Cup in 2004, preparations in Cape Town started. As previously mentioned, the nomination of such a mega-event is often a trigger for host cities to initiate beautification projects. In Cape Town, the main beautification project which can be identified is the *N2 Gateway project*, designed to "[…] fight the housing backlog of 400,000 houses in the city" (Newton, 2009, p. 94). The project was launched in 2005 and would redevelop informal settlements along the N2, a highway connecting Cape Town to its airport (Satgé & Watson, 2019). The project first launched in Langa, where the informal settlement *Joe Slovo* can be found (see Figure 3). After a big fire in 2005, residents of Joe Slovo were no longer allowed to rebuild

their shacks and were moved to *Temporary Relocation Areas* (TRAs), such as in Delft and Blikkiesdorp, found outside Cape Town. The idea was that these displaced residents would only have to stay in these TRAs shortly, until proper housing were to become available (Watkins, 2020). However, to this day, these TRAs are still in use by former residents of Joe Slovo, with no end in sight (Gontsana, 2019). This highlights that while the term "TRA" may suggest that this is merely a temporary solution, the reality is often different. One such example is the planned relocation of residents in Blikkiesdorp who are to be moved to yet another TRA, following the realignment of "[…] one of the airport's runways, which would serve to relocate the community [of Blikkiesdorp]." (Watkins, 2020, p. 3).

2.4 Conceptual Model

The terms which have been defined and explained in the Theoretical Framework are visualised in Figure 1, with terms related to the case study written in cursive:
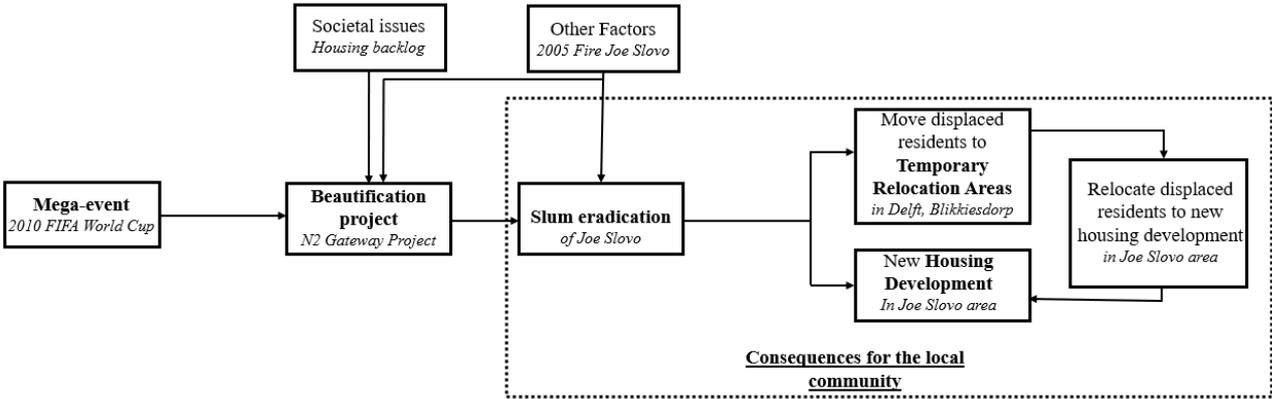
Figure 1 - Conceptual Model (Author, 2021)

The model illustrates how beautification affects the local community and how these are relevant for the case study on Cape Town. While the relations are simplified, they do show what will be the subject of the study on beautification. The slum eradication was mainly studied through a descriptive approach on the N2 Gateway Project. This allowed for an analysis of the way the local community is affected by the beautification project, in terms of slum eradication and housing development.

3. Methodology

3.1 Case Study Research

To answer the main research question this study has been conducted through case study research on the city of Cape Town, with a focus on the Joe Slovo area. I selected this method of case study research as beautification processes and their impact are complex and context-dependent, requiring in-depth, intensive analysis. Case study research allows me to analyse such complex phenomena holistically using a variety of methods and aspects related to the case (Clifford et al., 2016). As this research will be conducted from a sociospatial perspective, it will benefit highly from the flexibility case study research has to offer.

3.2 Case Selection

In terms of case selection, Cape Town in relation to the 2010 FIFA World Cup was identified as suitable, as it is associated with housing development and beautification part of its preparations for this mega-event. As explained in the Theoretical Framework, the mega-event, together with "beautification project" the N2 Gateway, had a contested impact on both the urban development and the community of Joe Slovo in Cape Town. This makes Cape Town interesting for this research, as it is in line with the overarching primary research question. As the 2010 FIFA World Cup was hosted a decade ago, I can study the case intensively using both long- and short-term data from various perspectives and sources.

3.3 Triangulation

According to Clifford et al. (2016), high-quality case study research is achieved through triangulation. Triangulation refers to research where findings of different data sets, obtained from different sources, are combined and compared (Barnum, 2011). Triangulation was applied to the fullest possible extent given the findings of these data sets, and consists of the following three sources:
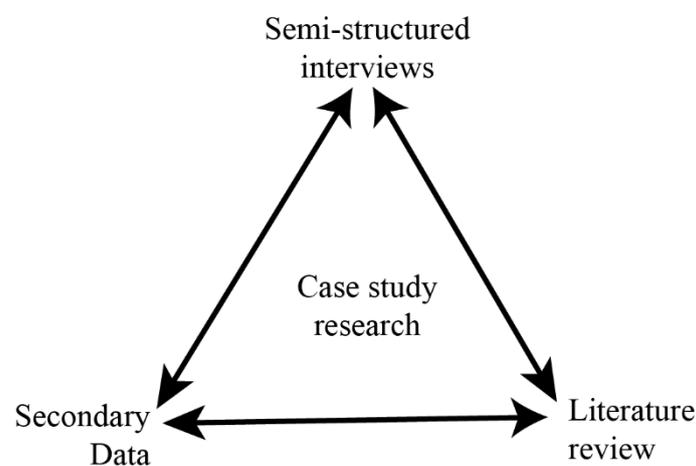

Figure 2 - Triangulation of data sources in this research (based on Figure 8.3 of Barnum (2011))

3.3.1 Literature Review

The reasoning behind selecting three different methods (namely a *literature review*, *secondary data* and *semi-structured interview*s) is as follows. Firstly, a literature review, in the form of a Theoretical Framework, is conducted to offer insights into relevant key terms for this research. As this will provide me with a state-of-the-art understanding of the case study, the secondary data and the semi-structured interviews can be analysed more effectively. The literature review is conducted with peer-reviewed academic articles, allowing me to assume that the quality is of a high standard.

3.3.2 Secondary Data

Next to the literature review, secondary data is used to gain a better understanding on the beautification project in the case study area. This will provide the core of the case study research. Secondary data was provided by both governmental and non-governmental organizations. It is recognized that there might be biases in the data which will be analysed, thus the analysis will be conducted critically. The findings from this method will mainly serve as a descriptive tool to identify the beautification and preparation for the 2010 World Cup in Cape Town.

3.3.3 Semi-Structured Interviews

The semi-structured interviews were conducted to gain a better idea on the contemporary conditions for the local community in the case study area. Semi-structured interviews were chosen, as these allow interviewees to answer at their convenience, while still allowing me to work with a guideline for questions (Clifford et al., 2016). The interview guide can be found in Appendix A. The secondary data and the interviews will be used to answer the first and second sub-questions. The interviews have been conducted with experts on the case study area and the field of mega-events, as this is considered to contribute the most to this research. As this research is written remotely, the interviews have been conducted digitally.

3.4 Ethical Considerations

The interviewees were asked for consent to conduct the interview. Additionally, the transcripts of the interviews were offered to the interviewees, so they could reflect upon their answers. These transcripts were encrypted and stored on a local, password-protected computer to minimise the chances for a data leak to occur. Finally, interviewees are allowed to and informed that they can retract their response at their convenience.

4. Results

The case study has been elaborated upon in two parts. First, in subsection 4.1, a case description will be provided through the descriptive analysis of secondary data. This will serve to answer the first sub-question. Then, the analysis of the beautification project and its intricacies and implications will be conducted from subsection 4.2 onwards, which attempts to answer the second sub-question. This will be done through an analysis of the secondary data, together with semi-structured interviews conducted in light of this research. In subsection 4.4, the consistencies and discrepancies between the findings will be elaborated upon, completing the analysis. The final part of the Results chapter will put the findings on the case study in a global perspective.

4.1 Case Description

The secondary data analysed to describe the case and answer the first sub-question can be found in Appendix B. These documents concern the implications of the (preparations for the) 2010 FIFA World Cup or the N2 Gateway Project and originate from both governmental and non-governmental sources.

4.1.1 Preparation for the 2010 FIFA World Cup

On the 15th of May 2004, FIFA President Sepp Blatter announced the hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup by South Africa, making it the first World Cup to be hosted on the African continent (BBC Sport, 2004). The hosting of the World Cup comes with requirements and responsibilities for host cities, such as providing stadiums and supporting infrastructure, but also beautification of the city (South African Government, 2008). While the latter is not specifically listed as one of the guarantees which South Africa wanted to deliver upon when hosting the World Cup, a month after the reveal that South Africa would host the 2010 FIFA World Cup, Housing Minister Sisulu declared war on slums, aiming to eradicate them all by 2014 (Department of Housing, 2004). The Department of Housing converted these words into action by introducing the Breaking New Ground (BNG) strategy. This aimed at reducing the post-apartheid housing backlog in South Africa through "[…] phased in-situ upgrading as it would maintain community networks, minimise disruption and enhance community participation […]" (Tissington & Vartak, 2009, p. 10; Satgé & Watson, 2019).

One of the pilot projects of this new strategy was the N2 Gateway Project, a megaproject launched in 2005 initially focused on upgrading informal settlements between the airport and the city centre of Cape Town, see Figure 3 (National Department of Housing et al., 2004). While it is argued that the N2 Gateway Project first aimed to redevelop the informal settlements as these had to cope with extreme shelter and income poverty, the area was "[…] also prioritized in light of its high visibility on the gateway corridor linking Cape Town International Airport with the City." (National Department of Housing et al., 2004, p. 2). This shows that the N2 Gateway Project can indeed be seen as a beautification

project for the city of Cape Town and the 2010 FIFA World Cup, answering the first part of the first sub-question.
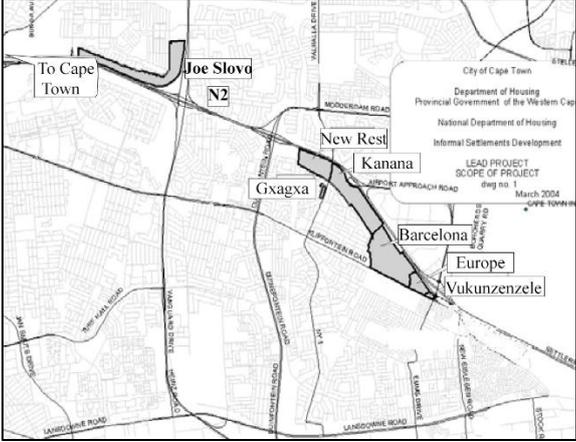

Figure 3 - Targeted Settlements of the N2 Gateway Project (Based on Fig.1 (National Department of Housing et al., 2004, p. 2))

4.1.2 The History of the N2 Gateway Project

As part of the launch of the N2 Gateway Project in 2005, Phase 1 aimed to redevelop the informal settlement Joe Slovo (see Figure 3). Joe Slovo had been growing since the 1990s and mainly accommodated migrants coming from the Eastern Cape, as it was in proximity to the central business district of Cape Town (Development Action Group, 2007; Satgé & Watson, 2019; Tissington & Vartak, 2009). The objective of Phase 1 was to replace the informal dwellings with 705 affordable housing units, with an overall understanding that residents relocated for this development should be first in line to receive this new housing (Tissington & Vartak, 2009). Residents who temporarily had to move out of the way for the project had to move to Temporary Relocation Areas (TRAs), which could be found in multiple locations around the city (Tissington & Vartak, 2009). Despite the large impact of such displacement, residents were only informed of the new housing developments and their consequent evictions through a local newspaper (Tissington & Vartak, 2009).

After an immense fire in Joe Slovo in 2005, plans to redevelop the area were fast-tracked and the 12,000 residents affected by the fire were no longer allowed to rebuild their informal dwellings (Development Action Group, 2007; Jordhus-Lier, 2015). Following this, one of these TRAs was constructed in Delft, 20 km outside of Cape Town (Satgé & Watson, 2019; Tissington & Vartak, 2009). Both the location and the poor quality of housing of the Delft TRA resulted in a lot of community resistance in Joe Slovo, as they did not want to move to Delft, far away from economic opportunities and education (Tissington & Vartak, 2009).

In 2006, once the housing developed during the first phase was completed, it became evident that the local community, displaced for the project, was not able to afford the newly built housing. This was due to the high rents that came with the units, making it that mainly people from outside the

9

community ended up moving into the new developments (Tissington & Vartak, 2009). Despite dissatisfaction with this allocation process and the overall quality of housing in Phase 1, Phase 2 was started in 2007, constructing an additional 3000 houses in the Joe Slovo area (Satgé & Watson, 2019). Thubelisha Homes, responsible for the construction of these dwellings, announced that it would "[…] carry out a rollover upgrade rather than an in-situ upgrade, and began a process of 'voluntary removal' of Joe Slovo residents […]" (Satgé & Watson, 2019, p. 104-105). Such an upgrade did not gratify residents of Joe Slovo, as an in-situ upgrading through increased densification, in line with the objective of the BNG strategy mentioned before, was seen as more advantageous (Tissington & Vartak, 2009). Additionally, the plan for Phase 2 implied that residents of Joe Slovo would only be eligible for housing constructed in Phase 3, which would be outside the Joe Slovo area, on cheap sites outside of the city (Newton, 2009; Tissington & Vartak, 2009).

4.2 Consequences of the N2 Gateway Project

As mentioned by the secondary data, the lack of allocation of housing to the Joe Slovo residents in Phase 1, together with the revelation that the residents of Joe Slovo would not be eligible for the housing developed as part of the rollover upgrade of Phase 2, resulted in an uproar amongst the local community of Joe Slovo (Tissington & Vartak, 2009). Specifically, the lack of community participation and the forced eviction to TRAs without allocation of permanent housing left the community feeling like they were treated like animals (Tissington & Vartak, 2009). In 2007, the community of Joe Slovo showed their dissatisfaction with the top-down process and the marginalization of the community through protests and a blockage of the N2 Highway (Satgé & Watson, 2019; Tissington & Vartak, 2009). Following this blockage, both violence and a legal battle between the residents of Joe Slovo and the Housing Ministry occurred, as the Ministry wanted to continue evicting residents from the Joe Slovo area. In 2009, the Constitutional Court argued that evictions of the Joe Slovo residents were allowed, but only under the condition that 70% of the houses in Phase 3 would be eligible for former residents of Joe Slovo, making their stay in the TRAs truly temporary (Tissington & Vartak, 2009). The soundness of this court order can be questioned, as the TRAs are still being used by people that were evicted before the 2010 FIFA World Cup while Phase 3 already has been completed (Watkins, 2020).

Interestingly, dissatisfaction towards the N2 Gateway Project is not only present among former residents of Joe Slovo. The new residents, which moved in after the completion of Phase 1, were also unsettled as their newly build allocated housing was far from high quality (Satgé & Watson, 2019). Research by the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) pointed out that several homes came with health concerns due to the combination of poor ventilation and mould on walls (Tissington & Vartak, 2009). Additionally, there were concerns with regards to safety due to the similarity of locks and keys, allowing residents to enter multiple units using only one set of keys (Tissington & Vartak, 2009). Next to quality issues, there are issues with regards to the planning of the N2 Gateway Project.

The Auditor-General (2008), the Supreme Audit Institution of South Africa, indicated that there were several aspects of the project, such as identification and securing of land for construction, which were not ready for the launch of the N2 Gateway Project. Additionally, the report indicates that the design of housing units changed drastically during the project, reducing their affordability and the time frame of the project (Auditor-General of South Africa, 2008). This once again shows how the main priority of the project did not seem to be on providing proper, affordable housing, but rather on beautifying the city before the World Cup by eradicating slums. All in all, the report highlights that the combination of both ineffective planning and budgeting resulted in "[…] fruitless and wasteful expenditure […]" (Auditor-General of South Africa, 2008, p. 11). Next to this ineffective budgeting, Newton (2009) adds that the housing budget loses out compared to other sectors. However, in a country report on the 2010 FIFA World Cup by the South African Government (2013), it is argued that the housing budget across the whole country did not lose out, but went up from R11.4 billion in 2004 to R16.2 billion in 2010. Looking back, it is impossible to state whether the housing situation in Cape Town would have been in better conditions without the hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. However, in terms of conditions for the residents, it is clear that the beautification project came with a lot of forced evictions and slum eradication which did not benefit the local community.

4.3 Indirect Implications of the N2 Gateway Project on Cape Town

To support my analysis, two interviews with experts were conducted, which both served to supplement and confirm my previously done findings (see Appendix C). I recognize that a number of two interviews is far from enough to conduct proper analysis, and I hereby point out that these interviews can only be considered to be indicative for the situation in Cape Town. The analysis will only make use of these interviews to support findings of the other phases of the research process. Despite this, the interviews were valuable as the experts which were interviewed offered several insights into both Cape Town's contemporary situation and the issues they recognized surrounding beautification and mega-events. The remaining approached NGOs, NPOs, local institutions in Cape Town and the University of Cape Town which were not willing to partake in an interview can be found in Appendix D.

4.3.1 Introduction Interviewees

Expert 1 (E1) is the director of NGO Displacement Solutions and was previously part of COHRE, and has been studying and monitoring displacement surrounding natural disasters and mega-events in a multitude of countries. Expert 2 (E2), on the other hand, can be considered more of an expert on the contemporary situation in Cape Town. As HOPE Cape Town is active in Blikkiesdorp, one of the TRAs to which the community of Joe Slovo was sent after the launch of the N2 Gateway Project, they have several insights on a more local level. HOPE Cape Town works with and provides for the local community and bridges the gap between this community and the municipality of Cape Town. As such, both interviewees can be considered highly valuable for this research.

4.3.2 Findings of the Interviews

In terms of reflection upon the N2 Gateway project and the preparations for the 2010 World Cup, both E1 and E2 noted a few issues with the beautification process. As mentioned by E1, even though a project like the N2 Gateway might come with noble goals and objectives for both the city and its population, in execution these goals are often only partly met. One of the causes of this, as identified by both E1 and E2, is corruption, both prevalent among local institutions and the overarching organizations organizing mega-events. This finding is interesting, as this cause was not mentioned as much in the secondary data which was previously analysed. Not only corruption strongly affects the decision-making process, the hardcore profit incentive coming from the mega-event was also mentioned by E1 as having played a role. With this hardcore profit incentive, the interviewee aimed at the entrepreneurial interest of the organizations involved in organizing these mega-events, rather than focusing on the public interest of the local community. Nevertheless, as stressed by E1, not every mega-event is affected by these factors to the same degree, as some can be considered more beneficial for both the city and the organization. However, E1 continued that what happens before some mega-events is similar to what happens after a natural disaster, as politicians "[…] use [mega]-events as a pretext to achieve things that they could never otherwise […]" (E1, 2021). As mentioned by E1, such corrupt behaviour then often results in additional suffering for the local, vulnerable communities, as they do not have the power to be heard or make a change. This is also what happened in Joe Slovo, as the local community was displaced to TRAs to allow for the construction of housing, which they could not afford in the end.

E2 adds that the suffering of the vulnerable, former community of Joe Slovo continues to this day, as some of the people sent to such TRAs prior to the World Cup are still waiting for housing (E2, 2021). E2 continued that the people in these TRAs are not seen as victims of the beautification process by the city, but rather as a problem to be dumped somewhere. This, together with the lack of community participation, shows how the local community is still not treated with dignity by the city of Cape Town. However, E2 does recognize that it is not easy to work with the local community, as lack of education and frequent changing representatives of vulnerable communities make it difficult to reach consensus. Nevertheless, it might be advantageous for the city of Cape Town to make more of an effort, as, mentioned by E2, the lack of participation and voicelessness still makes the marginalized communities feel like they need to resort to violence to be heard.

4.4 Consistencies between the Findings

In terms of consistencies and discrepancies between the findings, the shift towards an entrepreneurial interest of the involved organizing actors beautifying the city and preparing for the mega-event stands out. As mentioned in the Theoretical Framework, host cities often express their success in hosting a mega-event through economic benefits and profitability, which is in line with this

entrepreneurial mindset. In the case of Cape Town, the consequences of the entrepreneurial mindset are, for example, the unaffordability of the housing constructed in Phase 1 for the local community. This instance shows the priority of those involved to beautify the area, rather than to provide housing to the local community living in the former informal settlements.

Another finding which returned more often is the lacking community participation during the beautification project. The fast-tracking of urban development in light of the 2010 FIFA World Cup in the case of Cape Town meant that the local community was only seen as a problem that needed to be dealt with. This is in line with what was found in the literature review, which noted the similarity between beautification projects and top-down masterplans, as not all stakeholders' demands are considered as intensively. Discrepancies between the findings are not as clear. While the impression that corruption played a role during beautification and preparation for the mega-event was mainly prevalent among the interviewees, literature and secondary data (specific to the Cape Town case) did not disagree with this. A reason corruption is not mentioned as much in literature and secondary data might be due to the difficulty of proving its existence and a potential bias.

4.5 Beautification in a Global Perspective

As previously indicated, the beautification project in Cape Town was far from immaculate. While all analysis conducted thus far only concerns the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Cape Town, issues surrounding beautification are a common occurrence. As mentioned by Raquel Rolnik, there seems to be a "[…] pattern of lack of transparency, consultation, dialogue, fair negotiation, and participation of the affected communities in processes concerning evictions undertaken or planned in connection with the World Cup and Olympics." (UN News, 2011). Examples of this are the 2008 Beijing Olympics, evicting an estimated 1.5 million people, the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta displacing approximately 30,000 people, and the 1988 Seoul Olympics, displacing 720,000 people (Davis, 2017; UN Human Rights Council, 2012). Moreover, more recent mega-events, such as both the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games hosted by Brazil continued this trend of displacement driven by mega-event preparation (Müller & Gaffney, 2018). This suggests that the case study on Cape Town touches upon a larger issue linked to the preparation for a mega-event. Müller & Gaffney (2018) suggest that this larger issue is mainly prevalent among host-cities in less democratic countries, with state-led economies. In the case of more democratic, market-led economies are "[…] better able to mitigate negative impacts from mega-events such as displacement […]" (Müller & Gaffney, 2018, p. 263). South Africa has a relatively young democracy where the legacy of apartheid remains to a certain extent (Satgé & Watson, 2019). This could explain the attributes shared by the 2010 FIFA World Cup with mega-events hosted in less-democratic countries.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusion

In this thesis, I tried to gain a deeper understanding of the processes surrounding beautification and mega-event preparation, with a specific focus on the 2010 World Cup preparations in Cape Town. I did this using triangulation, in which I used literature, secondary data, and semi-structured interviews with experts to analyse the case from multiple angles. While the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Cape Town has been studied before, this has not yet been done in the bigger context of mega-events and beautification. In the case of Cape Town, the mega-event and its preparations came with the N2 Gateway Project. The secondary data analysed showed that the main priority of the project was to 'beautify' the city through slum eradication, instead of focusing on providing affordable housing for residents. Together with this beautification came a shift towards an entrepreneurial interest of the involved organizing actors, which did not benefit the local community of Joe Slovo. Specifically, the community was forcefully displaced from their homes to make room for unaffordable housing. Additionally, ineffective budgeting, inadequate quality of the newly constructed dwellings and lacking community participation also limited the satisfaction of both developers and the community regarding the project. As found during the interviews, displaced, former community members of Joe Slovo are still found in TRAs, with no chance of moving back into the area.

All of this tentatively suggests that there are merely disadvantages of fast-tracking housing development through beautification. Neither the local community nor the housing development benefitted from the beautification project. The limited time to implement the project, together with the focus on slum eradication, harmed both the new development and the community affected by it. While this research is only applicable to Cape Town in relation to the 2010 FIFA World Cup, displacement surrounding mega-events is a common occurrence, implying that there is a larger issue at play with regards to the way mega-events are currently prepared for.

5.2 Limitations of the Research

In terms of limitations, this thesis solely studied the beautification process in terms of housing developments and slum eradication, while other forms of developments, also part of this process, were outside the scope of it. Another limitation of this research is the number of interviews conducted. While the interviews are still considered valuable, the low number of interviewees makes it difficult to draw any conclusions based on the findings during this phase of the research due to potential biases.

5.3 Recommendations for Future Research

For future research, I recommend that other cases and aspects of mega-events are also studied. As mega-events and their impact are ever-changing and context-dependent, future research is vital to gain a better and more complete understanding of mega-events in other settings. Furthermore, I also

recommend that the attitude and behaviour of the Olympic Committee and the FIFA organization is studied in more depth. As these organizations have a substantial impact on the course and planning of mega-events, their role in displacement and beautification should not be underestimated.

6. References

Agence France Presse. (2010, March 8). UN: Olympic 'Beautification' of Cities Means Forced
Evictions. Retrieved 19 April 2021, from
https://www.commondreams.org/news/2010/03/08/un-olympic-beautification-cities-means-
forced-evictions

Alegi, P. (2008). 'A Nation To Be Reckoned With': The Politics of World Cup Stadium Construction
in Cape Town and Durban, South Africa. *African Studies*, *67*(3), 397–422.
doi:10.1080/00020180802505038

Auditor-General of South Africa. (2008). *Report of the Auditor-General on the Special Audit of the N2
Gateway Project at the National Department of Housing*. Retrieved from
http://www.pmg.org.za/files/docs/N2gatewayreport.pdf

Barnum, C. M. (2011). 8 - Analyzing the findings. In C. M. Barnum (Ed.), *Usability Testing Essentials*
(pp. 239–275). Boston: Morgan Kaufmann. doi:10.1016/B978-0-12-375092-1.00008-8

BBC Sport. (2004, May 15). SA wins 2010 vote. Retrieved from news.bbc.co.uk

Butler, B. N., & Aicher, T. J. (2015). Demonstrations and displacement: social impact and the 2014
FIFA World Cup. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*, *7*(3), 299–313.
doi:10.1080/19407963.2014.997436

Clifford, N., Cope, M., Gillespie, T. W., & French, S. (2016). *Key Methods in Geography*. London.
Retrieved from Amazon

Corcoran, B. (2014). Tangible effects of 2010 World Cup not equal for all South Africans. *The Irish
Times*. Retrieved from https://www.irishtimes.com/news/world/africa/tangible-effects-of-
2010-world-cup-not-equal-for-all-south-africans-1.1841415

Davis, M. (2017). *Planet of Slums*. Retrieved from Amazon

Department of Housing. (2004, June 10). Sisulu: Housing Dept Budget Vote 2004/2005 (10/06/2004).
Retrieved from https://www.polity.org.za/article/sisulu-housing-dept-budget-vote-20042005-
10062004-2004-06-10

Development Action Group. (2007). *Living on the Edge: A Study of the Delft Temporary Relocation
Area*.

Ezeibe, C., & Chinedu, I. (2014). Fifa World Cup Finals: Catalyst for Infrastructural Development? A Case Study of South Africa 2010. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, *19*, 86–95. doi:10.9790/0837-191118695

Gontsana, M.-A. (2019). The long wait for new housing for Blikkiesdorp families. Retrieved 20 April 2021, from https://www.groundup.org.za/article/long-wait-new-housing-blikkiesdorp-families/

Gottdiener, M., & Hutchison, R. (2010). *The New Urban Sociology* (4th edition). Boulder, CO: Westview Press. Retrieved from Amazon

Greene, S. J. (2003). Staged Cities: Mega-events, Slum Clearance, and Global Capital. *Yale Human Rights & Development Law Journal*, *6*, 161.

Hall, C. M., & Hodges, J. (1996). The party's great, but what about the hangover?: The housing and social impacts of mega-events with special reference to the 2000 Sydney Olympics. *Festival Management and Event Tourism*, *4*(1–2), 13–20. Retrieved from Google Scholar

Housing Development Agency. (2020). N2 Gateway Housing Project | The Housing Development Agency. Retrieved 7 May 2021, from http://thehda.co.za/index.php/projects/n2-gateway

Jordhus-Lier, D. (2015). Community resistance to megaprojects: The case of the N2 Gateway project in Joe Slovo informal settlement, Cape Town. *Habitat International*, *45*, 169–176. doi:10.1016/j.habitatint.2014.02.006

Müller, M., & Gaffney, C. (2018). Comparing the Urban Impacts of the FIFA World Cup and Olympic Games From 2010 to 2016. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, *42*(4), 247–269. doi:10.1177/0193723518771830

National Department of Housing, Western Cape Department of Housing, & City of Cape Town. (2004). *Briefing Document for the N2 Gateway Project*. Cape Town: National Department of Housing. Retrieved from https://www.westerncape.gov.za/text/2004/10/cape_gateway_briefingdocument_oct04.pdf

Newton, C. (2009). The Reverse Side of the Medal: About the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the Beautification of the N2 in Cape Town. *Urban Forum*, *20*(1), 93. doi:10.1007/s12132-009-9048-y

Panja, T., & Draper, K. (2020, April 6). U.S. Says FIFA Officials Were Bribed to Award World Cups to Russia and Qatar. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from NYTimes.com

Pattisson, P., McIntyre, N., & Mukhtar, I. (2021, February 23). Revealed: 6,500 migrant workers have died in Qatar since World Cup awarded. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from www.theguardian.com

Pillay, U., & Bass, O. (2008). Mega-events as a Response to Poverty Reduction: The 2010 FIFA World Cup and its Urban Development Implications. *Urban Forum*, *19*(3), 329. doi:10.1007/s12132-008-9034-9

Roche, M. (2003). Mega-events, Time and Modernity: On Time Structures in Global Society. *Time & Society*, *12*(1), 99–126. doi:10.1177/0961463X03012001370

Satgé, R. de, & Watson, V. (2019). *Urban Planning in the Global South: Conflicting Rationalities in Contested Urban Space*. Palgrave Macmillan. Retrieved from Amazon

Sennett, R. (2018). *Building and Dwelling: Ethics for the City*. New York. Retrieved from Amazon

South African Government. (2008). *2010 FIFA World Cup South Africa: Government preparations*. Retrieved from https://www.gcis.gov.za/sites/default/files/docs/resourcecentre/multimedia/sa2010_govprep.pdf

South African Government. (2013). *2010 Fifa World Cup Country Report | South African Government*. Retrieved from https://www.gov.za/documents/2010-fifa-world-cup-country-report#

Steinbrink, M., Haferburg, C., & Ley, A. (2011). Festivalisation and urban renewal in the Global South: socio-spatial consequences of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. *South African Geographical Journal*, *93*(1), 15–28. doi:10.1080/03736245.2011.567827

Tissington, K., & Vartak, M. (2009). *N2 Gateway Project: Housing Rights Violations as 'Development' in South Africa*. COHRE. https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.1.4334.7448

UN Human Rights Council. (2012, February 16). Written statement submitted by the Human Rights Advocates, Inc.. Mega-events, urban development, and human rights: Preventing evictions and ensuring the right to adequate housing. Retrieved from https://ap.ohchr.org/documents/dpage_e.aspx?si=A/HRC/19/NGO/21.aspx?si=A/HRC/19/NGO/21\

UN News. (2011, April 26). Right to housing at risk as Brazil prepares for World Cup and Olympics –
UN expert. *UN News*. Retrieved from https://news.un.org/en/story/2011/04/373172-right-
housing-risk-brazil-prepares-world-cup-and-olympics-un-expert

van Blerk, L. (2011). 'Managing' Cape Town's street children/youth: the impact of the 2010 World Cup
bid on street life in the city of Cape Town. *South African Geographical Journal*, *93*(1), 29–37.
doi:10.1080/03736245.2011.570515

Varrel, A., & Kennedy, L. (2011). *Mega-events and megaprojects*. Chance2Sustain. Retrieved from
http://chance2sustain.eu/fileadmin/Website/Dokumente/Dokumente/Publications/Chance2Sust
ain_-_Policy_Brief_No3___Mega-Events_and_Megaprojects_-_WP2.pdf

Watkins, A. (2020). Sonic Apartheid: ecoracism, apartheid geographics and noise pollution in Cape
Town's Blikkiesdorp. Retrieved from open.uct.ac.za

Appendix A: Interview Guide

Information sheet

First of all, thank you that you are willing to join this brief interview!

1. **Introduction**
   ○ In the first step I will introduce myself: "I am Evert Witteveen", a student Spatial Planning and Design from the University of Groningen, the Netherlands. For my thesis I am studying how the South Africa 2010 FIFA World Cup affected the residents of Cape Town, with regards to housing and the N2 Gateway Project.

Could you maybe tell me a little bit about yourself?

2. **Give an indication on how long the interview will be**
   ○ Depends on the time available for the interview and the knowledge available on the questions, not more than an hour though.
3. **Explanation on what will be done with the data**
   All the data and answers will be kept safely and securely in the research and the rights (right to change the answer after the interview, right to stop the recording at any moment during the interview, right to stop with the interview altogether, right to take back their consent) of the respondent will be respected. ***Interviews with people representing organizations might be quoted, I will ask for permission for this***

Interview guide

1. **Introduction (use the information sheet).**
2. **Ask for permission to record the interview.**
3. **Opening question(s):**
   ○ "*Thank you for making time for this interview! Could you tell me a little bit about yourself?"* Set the tone of the interview so that the interviewee is comfortable in answering your questions.
4. **Main questions**

IMPORTANT NOTE: As I will be conducting a **semi-structured interview**, these questions are seen as **guiding.** Depending on the interviewee and their responses I might approach these questions differently. The overall theme within the interviews will stay the same. The questions are:

   ○ *In what way are you familiar with the N2 Gateway Project?*
   ○ *(How familiar are you with Cape Town's preparations for the World Cup?)*
   ○ *Do you think there is a relationship between the N2 Gateway Project and the World Cup? If so, what kind of relationship? Could you explain this in more detail?*
   ○ *What is your opinion on the N2 Gateway project? How about the first phase of the project, which mainly worked on redeveloping Joe Slovo? Why do you think this?*

- *Some argue that the N2 gateway project is a beautification project. What is your stance? What do you understand under beautification?*
- *Do you think beautification played a role in preparing for the World Cup? If so, what role? Could you explain why you think this?*
- *Do you think beautification is a good thing? Why?*
- *How is the housing which was developed in the former region of Joe Slovo, Langa? Do you know: bad at first, but how is it now? Did it ever get improved?*
- *Overall, would you consider the world cup a success or not for the development of housing in Cape Town? Did it speed up or slow down the supply of housing? Why do you think this is the case?*
- *Do you think that Cape Town's housing situation would be in a worse or better state without the World Cup? Could you elaborate on this? How about the local community?*
- *Do you know how the residents which were displaced for the N2 gateway project are doing right now? Are the TRAs still in use?*
- *How are conditions in these TRAs?*

5. **Closing questions**
   - *Is there anything you would like to add?*
   - *Do you have any recommendations of people I should to speak to next?*

6. **Information about the follow-up of our research. I will give my contact details to the respondent**

Appendix B: Secondary Data Analysed

Document Title	Type of Document	Author(s)	Date
Briefing Document for the N2 Gateway Project	Briefing Document	(National) Department of Housing, Western Cape Department of Housing, City of Cape Town	2004
Living On The Edge: A Study Of The Delft Temporary Relocation Area	Report	Development Action Group (DAG)	2007
Report of the Auditor-General On The Special Audit Of The N2 Gateway Project At the National Department of Housing	Report	Auditor-General	2008
2010 FIFA World Cup South Africa: Government preparations	Report	South African Government	2008
N2 Gateway Project: Housing Rights Violations as 'Development' in South Africa	(Technical) Report	Tissington & Vartak (COHRE)	2009
2010 FIFA World Cup Country Report	Report	South African Government	2013
Urban Planning in the Global South: Conflicting Rationalities in Contested Urban Space	Book	Sátge & Watson	2019

Appendix C: List of Interviewees

Expert	Part of	Location	Date	Duration of interview
1	Displacement Solutions (and former COHRE), NGO	Online, Zoom	29-4-2021	45 minutes
2	HOPE Cape Town, NPO	Online, Google Meet	29-4-2021	30 minutes

Appendix D: Approached Organizations

Name	Date of invitation for the interview	Open to interview
Development Action Group (DAG)	18-4-2021 (again on 7-5-2021)	*
South African SDI alliance	18-4-2021	*
The Housing Development Agency	18-4-2021	*
Langa Township	18-4-2021	*
Abahlali baseMjondolo	18-4-2021	*
COHRE (Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions), Displacement Solutions	18-4-2021	YES
HOPE Cape Town	18-4-2021	YES
Anti-Eviction Campaign	18-4-2021	*
Ikhayalami	28-4-2021	**
VPUU (Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading)	29-4-2021 (Again on 6-5-2021)	*
Legal Resources Center	29-4-2021	*
Slum Dwellers International	4-5-2021	*
Reclaim The City	6-5-2021	*
Khulisa	6-5-2021	NO
ACC	6-5-2021	*
NGO Recruit	6-5-2021	*
Just Grace	7-5-2021	*
U-Turn	7-5-2021	NO
Bread 4 Life	7-5-2021	*
Cape Town Community Housing Company	7-5-2021	*
N2 Gateway Young People (Facebook Group)	7-5-2021	*
N2 Gateway Community Church (Facebook Group)	7-5-2021	*
Personal connection in South Africa	7-5-2021	*

* no response to date

** first response, but no further contact thus far