Johannesburg: Africa's World City?

A thesis presented to
the faculty of
the College of Arts and Sciences of Ohio University

In partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
Master of Arts

Joseph F. Witek

May 2013

© 2013 Joseph F. Witek. All Rights Reserved.
This thesis titled
Johannesburg: Africa's World City?

by

JOSEPH F. WITEK

has been approved for
the Department of Geography
and the College of Arts and Sciences by

Yeong-Hyun Kim
Associate Professor of Geography

Robert Frank
Dean, College of Arts and Sciences
ABSTRACT

WITEK, JOSEPH F., M.A., May 2013, Geography

Johannesburg: Africa's World City?

Director of Thesis: Yeong-Hyun Kim

Johannesburg, South Africa hosted events in the 2010 FIFA World Cup with the aspirations of overcoming its apartheid era image and inculcating a cosmopolitan, world-class image to the international community. Stakeholders in promoting the World Cup made promises to the citizens of Johannesburg and South Africa that the event would provide valuable upgrades, training, and economic opportunities. To carry out these promises, diverse projects were completed throughout Johannesburg and billions were spent improving the city. This thesis examines the perceptions of an international tourist audience to ascertain whether or not the World Cup image was disseminated and if the 2010 World Cup was enough to change the perceptions of the city in the minds of tourists. It finds that the impact of the World Cup was mixed on tourist perceptions and that Johannesburg, while being portrayed as modern and friendly, is still viewed as unsafe and caught in the legacy of apartheid.
I would like to dedicate this work to my parents who helped me through this process and gave me support and advice when I needed it.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Yeong-Hyun Kim, and my committee members, Dr. Harold Perkins and Dr. Edna Wangui, for their help and support during this process. I also would like to thank the Department of Geography for their support and instruction these past two years. I would like to give a special thanks to everyone who helped me in Johannesburg, but especially Greg, Aletta, and Mia Babaya, whose help and hospitality helped me complete this research and fall in love with South Africa. I also want to thank Archie Henderson and Didi Moyle for the lovely dinners and support. Finally I want to thank my friends, my mom, Mary, dad, Wally, and George for their support and love. Thank you everyone.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedication</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Tables</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Figures</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1: Introduction</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2: Urban Imagineering and World City Status</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Globalization and Discourses of Global Competition</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Urban Imagineering</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 World City Status</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4 Mega Events</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3: Johannesburg, South Africa</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 The Lingering Past</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Johannesburg as a Neoliberal City</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 Johannesburg as a World Cup City</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4: Methodology</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 Methodology Background</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 Officials</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3 American Tourists</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4 Newspaper and Document Analysis</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5 Positionality and Limitations</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 5: Hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup is Good for the City</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1 World Cup Coalitions</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 Creating an Image Unique to Johannesburg</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3 Projected Economic Benefits for Johannesburg During and After the World Cup</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 6: Urban Infrastructure Projects for the World Cup</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1 Joburg 2030 and Joburg 2040</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.1 Public Transportation before the World Cup</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.2.2 The Rea Vaya .................................................................................................... 94
6.2.3 The Gautrain .................................................................................................... 98
6.2.4 Soccer City ..................................................................................................... 102
6.2.5 Other Public Works for the World Cup ......................................................... 105

Chapter 7: A New Johannesburg? ........................................................................... 114
7.1 The Marketing of South Africa to Americans ...................................................... 115
7.2 American Tourists in Joburg ............................................................................. 118
  7.2.1 Sample Description .................................................................................... 119
  7.2.2 Did I Watch the 2010 FIFA World Cup? ..................................................... 120
  7.2.3 What Did I Hear About Johannesburg? ...................................................... 122
  7.2.4 What Did I Notice in Johannesburg? ......................................................... 125
  7.2.5 The Projected Image versus the Perceived Image ....................................... 130
  7.2.6 Is Johannesburg a World-Class African City? ......................................... 138

Chapter 8: Conclusion ............................................................................................. 146
References ................................................................................................................ 156
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Major City Plans since Independence ................................................................. 46
Table 2: Johannesburg Organizations Interviewed ........................................................... 52
Table 3: Questions for Officials ..................................................................................... 53
Table 4: Questions for American Tourists ....................................................................... 55
Table 5: World Cup Coalitions in Johannesburg .............................................................. 60
Table 6: Projected Images for South Africa and Johannesburg Through the World Cup 68
Table 7: Major Projects in Johannesburg for the 2010 FIFA World Cup ......................... 87
Table 8: Joburg 2030 and Joburg 2040 ......................................................................... 88
Table 9: Projected and Perceived Images of Johannesburg .............................................. 130
Table 10: Projected and Perceived Images of Johannesburg ........................................... 141
LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Figure 1</td>
<td>Knox’s Growth Coalition Web.</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 2</td>
<td>Map of Johannesburg within South Africa</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3</td>
<td>A view of Johannesburg from the Randlords Club facing south</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 4</td>
<td>Downtown Johannesburg</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 5</td>
<td>Potato Sheds Project</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 6</td>
<td>2010 FIFA World Cup logo</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 7</td>
<td>City advertisement displaying Joburg’s motto</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 9</td>
<td>Public thoughts on preparedness for the World Cup</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 10</td>
<td>Map of World Cup projects in Johannesburg</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 10</td>
<td>Rea Vaya BRT station</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 11</td>
<td>Gautrain cars</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 12</td>
<td>Soccer City</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 13</td>
<td>Ellis Park stadium</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 14</td>
<td>Greening Soweto</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 15</td>
<td>The Hector Pietersen Memorial</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“With cities to be the ‘lenses’ through which nations are viewed, the role of the urban centres in nation branding is vital, particularly when the cities played host to the large international branding opportunity that the nation had witnessed” (Knott 2012, 91).

“In 2030 Johannesburg will be a world class city with service deliverables and efficiencies which meet world best practice. It’s economy and labour force will specialise in the service sector and will be strongly outward oriented such that the City economy operates on a global scale. The strong economic growth resultant from this competitive economic behaviour will drive up City tax revenues, private sector profits and individual disposable income levels such that the standard of living and the quality of life of all the City’s inhabitants will increase in a sustainable manner” (Corporate Planning Unit, Joburg 2030, 2002).

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Globalization has brought many changes to the world economy. One major change is an increasing mobility of capital. Capital mobility has transformed once poor and peripheral nations like Brazil, China, and India into international economic contenders at the expense of established Western economies. Investment is sought after by national governments, but more often or not it is campaigned for and secured by major cities within those competing countries. As a result, capital mobility has somewhat shifted the scale of competition from the nation to the city. Former domestic regional centers in the United States such as Chicago and Cleveland now compete with Beijing, Warsaw, and Rio de Janeiro for investment, jobs, tourism, and sporting events.

However, despite this international competition, there are several cities that stand above and beyond all other cities in terms of international economic, cultural, and political importance. They include London, New York, and Tokyo. These are called world cities – the undisputed leaders of the international economy and are where
globalization takes place and gets done (Sassen 2001, 2006). Behind these world cities are an assortment of second tier cities, which have significant international linkages, but are confined to more of a regional role or a specialized function and includes the likes of Frankfurt, Los Angeles, and Singapore. Beneath the second tier cities are aspiring world cities, or cities that are seeking international prominence (Beaverstock et al. 1999). These aspiring cities have to sell and market themselves to potential investors and demonstrate their economic viability.

One strategy aspiring cities have utilized to advertise themselves internationally is through hosting mega-events like the Olympics. The opportunity for international advertisement is often described by national and city governments as critical to promoting new images and increasing the visibility of their nation or city. Mega events have been increasingly hosted in the developing world since Seoul’s successful 1988 Olympic Games, with one of the most recent examples being Johannesburg, South Africa, which hosted the 2010 FIFA World Cup, and Rio de Janiero, which is scheduled to host the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games.

Johannesburg has been a regional center for sub-Saharan Africa and now projects itself as a world city. In order to become a world city, Johannesburg has attempted to reinvent its image from one of an apartheid city to one of a Western, cosmopolitan city. The 2010 FIFA World Cup was the largest opportunity to highlight the progress the city, and country, has made since the abolition of apartheid in 1994. Already a regional attraction and destination, this re-imaging was geared towards the international community in the hopes of attracting investment and tourists.
A large body of literature exists on the politics of world city status and mega events, more specifically the rhetoric of world city status and the benefits can be accrued through mega events (Cornelissen 2007, 2010, Hiller 2000, Kim 2004, Levermore 2011, Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2011, Paul 2004, Shen 2010, Short 1999, Steinbrink et al. 2011, Whitson and Macintosh 1993, 1996). In measuring and assessing international tourism and investment in cities as a means to justify whether or not a mega event, such as the World Cup, is necessary to obtain world city status, researchers have utilized statistics on the numbers of overseas tourists traveling to the city, their monetary contributions, statistics on incoming foreign direct investment (FDI), and the relocation of international banks or multinational corporation (MNC) branches (Beaverstock et al. 2002, Brown et al. 2010, Cornelissen 2010, Du Plessis and Maennig 2011, Friedmann 1986, 1995, Haferburg 2011, Levermore 2011, Maennig and Du Plessis 2009). However, many argue that tangible benefits accrued after hosting a mega event are difficult to measure, but nonetheless existing measurements demonstrate that the promised benefits rarely manifest and are often well below expectations (Cornelissen 2010, Du Plessis and Maennig 2011, Haferburg 2011, Levermore 2011, Maennig and Du Plessis 2009). Despite the lack of tangible benefits, local politicians continue to argue that hosting international mega events should provide short and long term benefits for their city and changes in the international perception of it. Echoing these local sentiments, Mariagrazia Biancospino, the secretary-general of the Italian-South African Chamber based in Johannesburg stated, “The statistics indicate that when a World Cup is held in emerging countries the economic impact is felt for the next 20 years” (Hudleston, June 18, 2010).
It is critical, in light of the World Cup and the billions of Rand spent in marketing Johannesburg, that the perceptions of a targeted group of tourists are examined to determine if they are comparable to the discursive statements posited by the officials of Johannesburg and South Africa in general. International tourists are a significant group to analyze within this framework because international tourism is cited in many city and national government documents as one of the biggest benefits to hosting a mega event (Levermore 2011, Nogonyama 2010, Rogerson 2009) and will lead to multiplier effects throughout the rest of the economy.

In keeping, the purpose of this thesis is to examine the discourse and re-imaging strategies by the City of Johannesburg through the hosting of events during the 2010 FIFA World Cup, the urban projects initiated, and to explore their effect on American tourists’ perceptions of the city. This thesis seeks to answer the following questions:

1. How and why has the re-imagining of Johannesburg been argued for in the national/local, media circles?

2. What urban planning projects and programs have been initiated to project Johannesburg as a world city?

3. How has this re-imaging campaign (i.e. the projects and programs) helped to alter the perceptions of Johannesburg to the international community, specifically American tourists?

It is the objective of this research to explore the progress, or lack thereof, of Johannesburg’s attempts at international recognition and its placement in the world city hierarchy. Personal interviews with government officials from Johannesburg and
American tourists and visiting the city allowed for an assessment of both how the city campaigns have been proposed, implemented, and how they have proven (un)successful in reimagining the city as a world city. American (foreign) tourists are important to examine because, as Rogerson (2011) cites, “…the average spend in South Africa is generally higher for long haul ‘Northern’ tourists – for visitors from the Americas average spend is R17,400 [$2175 USD] and R13,800 [$1725 USD] from Europe – as compared to average spend per of visitors from Africa (R8,200) [$1025 USD]” (321). Based on these data the average tourist from the Americas spends enough for two average tourists from the region.

This thesis is also an opportunity to examine the politics and economics of an urban economic development program. This objective investigates what discourse, such as global competitiveness, cosmopolitanism, and Africa’s world city, is being used by officials and if that discourse matches the discourse used by international tourists. Millions of Rand were spent on hosting international sports competitions, promising that benefits would far outweigh the costs. Yet little research has been conducted on the discourse of these programs and its impact on target audiences.
CHAPTER 2: URBAN IMAGINEERING AND WORLD CITY STATUS

Johannesburg considers itself to be on the cusp of becoming a world city within the global urban hierarchy. The city has utilized a variety of strategies, including imagineering, hosting mega events, and supporting international tourism, to elevate its status in the global urban hierarchy. These strategies are significant because they are not unique to Johannesburg, but have been utilized by other cities throughout the world. Investigating these strategies will allow for a wider examination of their transferability.

As such, this chapter examines the literature regarding the rise and necessity of neoliberalism and the discourses surrounding global competition; urban imagineering as a byproduct of global competition; the world city model and its desirability amongst international cities; and mega events as vehicles towards world city status. This chapter dissects the background information behind the thesis and provides a platform from which to compare the results.

2.1 Globalization and Discourses of Global Competition

During the 1970’s and the 1980’s the global economy began to take on new characteristics. Countries like China and others in the ‘Third World’ began to industrialize and many industrial jobs that once prospered in the American manufacturing belt relocated overseas to lower operating costs and increase profitability. As such, the manufacturing belt transformed into the rustbelt and the emphasis in the American economy shifted from manufacturing to white-collar jobs. Coupled with rapid advances in computers, communications technology, and the internet, even those white-collar jobs became mobile and temporary in the era of globalization.
Ritzer (2007) defines globalization as, “…the worldwide diffusion of practices, expansion of relations across continents, organization of social life on a global scale, and growth of a shared global consciousness” (4). As technology has advanced, the quantity and speed of flows of goods and services have increased, financial transactions have multiplied, and networks and flows of goods have expanded and thickened (Bisley 2007, Mozaffari 2000, Pederson 2008). Supporting this, Pederson (2008) notes:

“…during the last two decades, international economic flows have not only increased in magnitude (and partly in rates of growth) but also changed in nature and overall composition. While the growth of international trade has increased the (commercial) interconnectedness of most countries…investment flows have increased the interconnectedness and international functional integration of production relations” (9).

Interconnectedness within the global system has seen what many believe to be the rise of the multinational corporation (MNC) and the decline of the nation-state and sovereignty (Bisley 2007, Krishna-Hensel 2000, Pederson 2008, Ritzer 2007). As such, this interconnectedness shifted the scale of competition from national to international while simultaneously shifting the scale of competitive agency from the national to the urban. Nations were no longer competing against one another for resources and growth, but urban centers across different nations, and even within nations, emerged as the new median for international economic competition and growth (Wang 2004, Yeung and Olds 1998). The increasing mobility of capital necessitated changes in the governance and planning for urban centers to accommodate business interests.

One solution to competition within the globalized economy is neoliberalism. The current neoliberal economic system associated with globalization began with the economic crises and stagnation in the 1970s (Pederson 2008, Willis 2011).
Neoliberalism, also known as post-Fordism (Pederson 2008) and the Washington Consensus (Peet and Hartwick 2009), became popular in the 1980s and was championed by the likes of Ronald Reagan in the United States and Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom. Neoliberalism is a reaction against Keynesian economics and the welfare states that arose after the Second World War and their perceived inefficiencies to generate sufficient comparative advantage in a competitive global economy (Willis 2011). As such, the neoliberal order is a reassertion of classical economic principles emphasizing free trade, limited barriers to trade and finance, privatization, a docile labor force (union breaking), limited government spending, cutting welfare programs, and an assertion of the individual over the community (Bond 2003, 2005, Peet and Hartwick 2009, Willis 2011).

Mobile capital and neoliberal economic policies have altered the way in which national and local institutions regulate and produce. Regulation theory, or the way institutional forms, states, and regulation frameworks interact to create changes in production (Pederson 2008), has arisen to assess the changes in production in Fordist and post-Fordist environments within the global neoliberal system. In order to attract more businesses and retain their existing ones, cities have adopted regulations to benefit businesses. Governance has shifted to a corporate model which attempts to limit the involvement of government in the role of the economy and in the affairs of business. In keeping, cities have offered incentives to businesses, like tax breaks, to invest in their communities, privatized parks and transportation networks to reduce expenditures, and have enacted laws that limit the powers of unions, like declaring states right to work.
Although those are just a few examples of neoliberal policies, these changes are supposed to improve the competitiveness of a location and retain and create jobs.

Analyzing these global shifts and assessing their impact on institutional and social frameworks is critical at different scales for understanding economic, cultural, and political development. According to Ritzer (2007), one way of harnessing development to respond to globalization is glocalization, or “…the interpenetration of the global and the local, resulting in unique outcomes in different geographic areas,” (13). However, the interconnectedness of globalization and neoliberalism also risks placelessness, wherein there are no unique characteristics of a place or all places tend to resemble each other (Ritzer 2007). The emphasis on competition within the neoliberal global economy dictates that a city needs to cultivate a unique image (‘glocalize’) or suffer the negative externalities associated with placelessness. Behind city images are growth coalitions, which are stakeholders in the city that have an economic and political interest in promulgating a particular image of that city. However, that city image must have international transferability and be attractive to multiple audiences in order to truly be competitive and effective. As such, imagineering is a solution to placelessness and an avenue to engineering greater global competitiveness.

2.2 Urban Imagineering

The title of this section is imagineering, which is a term coined by Walt Disney (Paul 2004, Rutheiser 1996) although re-imaging, imaging, and imagining are terms synonymous with imagineering. However, academics have adopted the term to mean, “…successive waves of organized promotion and redevelopment as linked, but not
always well coordinated…” (Rutheiser 1996, 4). Promotions during re-imaging campaigns are aimed at audiences’ collective memories, which are socially constructed (Pile 2008, Reijnders 2011). These memories, “…exist prior to actual visitation and refer to images that one has of a destination which have been influenced by books, novels, movies, television, and newspaper reports or word-of-mouth recollections” (Sealy and Wickens 2008, 127). They are also significant because, for example, “The intention of tourists to visit destinations such as Johannesburg and Cape Town is influenced by their perceptions or their knowledge of that destination,” (Donaldson and Ferriera 2009, 2) and, “…scholars, travelers, and residents alike face the occupational hazard of confusing cities with the words (and images) used to describe them” (Rutheiser 1996, 11). Therefore, creating new memories and new perceptions of a place are essential to attracting valuable economic assets to a city and country.

As such, Paul (2004) notes that, “… imagineering is at its core a political act…” (574) and involves conscious and subconscious attempts at manipulating histories and images (Pile 2008, Reijnders 2011). For example, Rutheiser (1996) cites image manipulation by the City of Atlanta whereby, “The ‘official’ mythology promulgated in numerous publications, ads, and videos, sponsored both by Atlanta’s predominantly white corporate elite and mostly black political establishment, posited the city as the embodiment of the New New South…” (3). This campaign consciously drew on historical myths of Southern hospitality and created new assumptions regarding what the South could and should be during the age of neoliberal capitalism.
As the Atlanta example demonstrates, images are subject to change (Alexander et al. 2005, Bonnett 2002, Hammett 2011, Harvey 2006, Oppenheimer 2006, Pile 2008) and cities will go to many lengths, including hosting the Olympics and other mega events, to obtain a better, more attractive image than the current one (Donaldson and Ferriera 2009, Rutheiser 1996). In many instances cities have negative images that are outdated, but lack the opportunities to alter the discourse surrounding the city to create a new, positive image. These images may be of a city in decline (Detroit), a city divided (Belfast), a city in war (Baghdad), or a city with no international image at all. Pile (2008) suggests that the geographical imaginations of place are often created for perceived external audiences, but have a dualistic objective of forcefully and subconsciously manipulating the imaginations of the local population to bring them in line with the dominant discourses and policies (Alexander et al. 2005, Oppenheimer 2006). Johnson (2002) calls this ‘agenda setting’ and it is mainly carried out through the media. As such, imagineering is intimately tied to unity politics, as images can be divisive and have the potential to elevate some at the expense of others (Alexander et al. 2005, Oppenheimer 2006, Pile 2008). Without the populace’s support of a new image, the plans brought about by the new image cannot be realized (Oppenheimer 2006).

Donaldson and Ferriera (2009) identify two main avenues through which place perception can be changed: mass media and personal experience. Using tourism as an example, Donaldson and Ferriera (2009) state, “Personal experience and word-of-mouth communication are the most important factors influencing a tourist’s decision to visit…” (5). Knowing someone personally who went to a destination and had a great experience
lends credibility to the perception and experience of that place – an example of trust in the source. However, Johnson (2002) cites Moeller (1999) when she posits, “…in these instances [lack of knowledge by the public], media audiences are especially dependent on the media sources as information sources and for guidelines about how to feel and react” (83). As such, images and their method of dissemination play an important role in creating a sense of place for a destination.

In order to attract new capital, residents and tourists, and retain existing ones, most cities are engaged in some form of imagineering. Urban imagineering is of particular importance in the neoliberal global economy, as it has magnified the importance of cities in international competition (Kim and Short 2008). The transient and mobile nature of capital in the global economy has meant the marginalization of cities that do not have the image or perceived capacity to incorporate new businesses or retain existing firms. “Good infrastructure, a high level of technology, efficient economic structures and a high quality of life [are] intended to attract investors” (Steinbrink 2001, 18). However, enacting such improvements requires investing millions of dollars in urban amenities and infrastructure, which requires existing businesses and politicians to justify large, infrastructural spending.

In order to compete internationally against other urban centers, cities have to reinvent themselves to attract capital (Jessop et al. 1999, MacLeod et al. 2003, Rogerson and Kaplan 2005, Sassen 1995) because, “To be seen as industrial is to be associated with the old, the polluted, the out of date” (Short 1999, 45). In what Sywngedouw (2004) calls ‘glocalisation’, Harvey (1989) terms ‘the entrepreneurial city’, and Elwood (2004) calls
‘new localism’, cities are making local responses to globalization to attempt to harness global capital and investment (Davis 2005, Molotch 1999, Ritzer 2007) – essentially commodifying their cities (Mbembe 2008). This is not to say that favorable national policies do not help cities or firms, because they do (Dorrian 2005), but the city is going to be the investment destination of global capital and has to imagineer itself as such.

Kim (2004) cites Seoul as a city that, prior to hosting the Olympics, was imagined around the world as a city mired in the Cold War and is now regarded as a world class city. The process and results of imagineering were significant for Seoul, and the benefits of this process are being pursued by other cities and countries around the world. Furthermore, Ryan and Ninov (2011) posit that a positive image can expand beyond the city to encompass the country as a whole. However, while imagineering can improve existing images, it can also unintentionally perpetuate or create negative images (Hammett 2011, Harvey 2006).

Imagineering is a politically intense and contested project (Paul 2004, Pile 2008, Reijnders 2011, Rutheiser 1996). As a result, there are numerous and diverse stakeholders involved in the process who wish to create more desirable images and utilize different approaches to achieve success. These stakeholders often form growth coalitions or regimes (Paul 2004, Molotch 1999), which are groups of influential locals who have a vested interest (political, economic, social, etc.) in the creation of a certain image or project (Kim and Short 2008, Pederson 2008). As such, these coalitions and regimes play a prominent role in trying to persuade the local population that the event or image is necessary and make numerous promises, many economic, to placate their concerns.
Boyle (1999) identifies two main types of avenues through which growth coalitions attempt to sway public opinion, “…[the first is] the promotion of an ideology of value-free growth; and [the second is] the manipulation of sources of civic pride and identity” (58). In essence, these strategies invoke a utilitarian approach to growth and hope to imbue themselves within the city identity process to link their ambitions to the city image and collective sense of identity. Swaying popular opinion can be done a variety of ways including, “…the use of public art and street furniture…the construction of heritage…the organization of hallmark events…and the use of posters and adverts with clever puns and slogans…” (Boyle 1999, 66), and, “…architects are being deployed to foist onto local populations landscapes that promote forms of civic pride and local affiliation” (Boyle 1999, 66).
The composition and power of growth coalitions are dependent upon the institutional and economic framework of the city in question (Pederson 2008). In re-imaging the city, the projected image will be different depending on the institution (government, business, growth coalition, media, etc.) doing the promoting and the orientation of that institution (Harvey 2006). These institutions, “…narrate and advance a particular definition and interpretation of the city” (Paul 2004, 575), also known as urban “boosterism” (Hiller 2000, Short 1999). Growth coalitions are an integral part of every post-Fordist city hoping to compete in the global economy (Hiller 2000, Pederson 2008). Citing Atlanta’s Olympic Games as an example, Rutheiser (1996) demonstrates
that those involved in the imagineering process had substantial financial and political ties to the city government. In this case, promoting the city according to certain desirable guidelines had considerable political and economic benefits for particular parties. Not every city will have coalitions that include all of the examples in Figure 1, as growth coalition composition and strength will vary from city to city, but those in the example are common components.

The definitions and interpretations of the images these coalitions author are concerned with creating a positive sense of place for their city in the minds of others (Hammett 2011, Hiller 2000, Ngonyama 2010, Rutheiser 1996). Through using converging rhetoric like competitive, cosmopolitan, world-class city, and connected, local growth coalitions are trying to make it appear that their cities can compete at the international scale and aspire to be greater than their current station in the global urban hierarchy. This is the rhetoric many large cities are using to advertise themselves, trying to make their cities appear as if they are in fact “world cities.”

2.3 World City Status

The term ‘world cities’ has been used in academic writing since 1915 (Beaverstock et al. 2002), but failed to become a mainstream topic until 1986 (Kim and Short 2008). Since Friedmann’s (1986) article on world cities, the concept has been a dominant theme in contemporary urban research (Beaverstock et al. 2002, Davis 2005, Mbembe and Nuttall 2008). World cities, “…are centres of transnational corporate headquarters, of their business services, of international finance, of transnational institutions, and of telecommunications and information processing” (Knox 1995).
Another definition of a world city is, “…a major node in the organization of the world economy” (Gregory et al. 2009, 811). In keeping, world cities are a center for global economics, culture, information, and politics and are, “…integral to contemporary globalization processes” (Beaverstock et al. 1999, 445). Additionally, world cities are cited as having dense and diverse linkages through which information and capital is consumed by, communicated to, and traded to other cities throughout the world; and, as a result, these cities are usually home to the largest number of multinational corporation headquarters (Beaverstock et al. 2002, Brown et al. 2010, Davis 2005, DeRudder and Witlox 2010, Neal 2008, Robinson 2005, Yeung and Olds 1998). While world cities are the dominant nodes in the global economy, they also operate within an international network and researchers have recently begun to examine the relationships between cities and their capacities to handle international transactions, transfers, and commodity chains as opposed to the number of headquarters or international institutions present (Brown et al. 2010, Neal 2008).

The recent analyses of international connectivity and transferability build on critiques of the methods for ranking and assessing world cities. Wang (2004) asserts that there are weaknesses to the theoretical framework of world cities; mainly that it, “…rarely deals with the political power struggle dimension of different state levels…[and] the world city literature tends to ignore the geopolitical dimension of world city formation” (386). The world city literature has also tended to, “…neglect…the local and national contexts in shaping the processes of globalization” (Robinson 2005, 760). Robinson (2005) questions the logic of declaring whole cities ‘world cities’ because of
the relatively small, concentrated cluster of firms and businesses that constitute the worldliness of a city. Furthermore, city-regions often encompass world cities and contribute to their greatness, which has yet to be accounted for (Davis 2005, Robinson 2005). As such, “…cities cannot be understood as territories in any sense of being firmly bounded, easily demarcated or contained” (Robinson 2005, 762), but rather they seek individual identities and memories that can be cultivated through imagineering.

Since cities are the dominant scale of analysis within the neoliberal global economy, much academic literature has been published on the ways by which cities should be ranked in the global urban hierarchy (Abrahamson 2004, Brown et al. 2010, Friedmann 1995, Knox 1995, Neal 2008). Knox (1995) and Friedmann (1995) question the validity of ranking cities because of the mobility of capital and the range of diverse classification systems. However, the most dominant criteria used in the academic literature to categorize cities are economic indicators (Friedmann 1995, Kim and Short 2008, Lyons and Salmon 1995, Neal 2008, Sassen 1995), particularly connections and production networks (Beaverstock et al. 2002, Brown et al. 2010, Robinson 2005, Yeung and Olds 1998). From the diverse criteria and conclusions drawn from the myriad works in the so-called world city school three cities emerge as being dominant in the international economy regardless of the criteria used: New York, London, and Tokyo (Friedmann 1995, Ritzer 2007, Sassen 1991, Short 1999). These are the outright and undisputed world cities and are the centers of the international economy.

Behind these three well-connected world cities are what are referred to as second-tier world cities, many of which are regional centers, such as Hong Kong (Shen 2010),
Singapore, and Miami. These cities have significant numbers of multinational corporation headquarters, but tend to have greater concentrations of multinational branches than headquarters. These cities are often paramount in their respective region. This is not to say that these cities are not important outside of their respective region, but their influence is rather limited as they are overshadowed by the world cities.

Falling behind the second tier cities are aspiring world cities, also referred to as “wannabe” world cities (Short 1999), or gateway cities (Short et al. 2000). Being an aspiring world city often means competing at a national scale to become the largest and most prominent city in the country, and thus the world marketplace for that state (Beauregard 1995, Lyons and Salmon 1995, Short 1999, Short et al. 2000). Urban imagineering is particularly intense in these cities. Despite the contested nature of world city politics, these cities often advertise themselves using converging rhetoric such as world-class cities, cosmopolitan, and competitive in order to secure capital and elevate their status in the global urban hierarchy (Short et al. 2000). To supplement their internal efforts at attaining world city status, aspiring world cities often partner with ‘sister cities’ around the world to share ideas and experiences (Short et al. 2000).

parts of the world, especially in sub-Saharan Africa” (127-129). One way these aspiring Southern world-class cities have tried to elevate themselves above their regional competition, their poor images, and ascend the global urban hierarchy is through hosting international mega events (Steinbrink et al. 2011). Contrary to what Short (1999) argues, much of the current literature on world events posits that hosting world events will not categorize these cities as aspiring, but announce their arrival onto the global stage (Hiller 2000, Kim 2004, Olds 1995, Rogerson 2009, Rutheiser 1996, Short 1999, Whitson and Macintosh 1993), much like Seoul’s 1988 Summer Olympic Games (Kim 2004), Atlanta’s 1994 Summer Olympic Games (Rutheiser 1996), and Beijing’s 2012 Summer Olympic Games.

2.4 Mega Events

Van der Westhuizen (2007) defines mega events as, “…initiatives that are physical, very expensive and public, involving the creation of structures, equipment and/or prepared development of sites” (335). Mega events are important because “…with the intensification of competition amongst states to engage in post-industrial forms of development, such as hosting major mega events and its close connection to what could be called a kind of ‘sports-media-tourism’ complex…cities in the ‘emerging markets’ have also joined the race” (Van der Westhuizen 2007, 333-334) and have been cited to help cities reinvent their image and rise in the global urban hierarchy (Hiller 2000, Kim 2004, Olds 1995, Rogerson 2009, Rutheiser 1996, Short 1999, Van der Westhuizen 2007, Whitson and Macintosh 1993). Providing an example, Whitson and Macintosh (1996) assert that image reinvention was consistent, “…with Japan in 1964
and Mexico in 1968, for whom hosting the Olympics and the FIFA World Cup provided opportunities to announce to the world their modernity and economic dynamism” (279).

Desai and Vahed (2010) posit that the major international mega events are the FIFA World Cup Final and the Olympic Games, although there are mega events outside of sports, such as the IPCC Climate Conference. Indeed, “…since the spread of television during the late 1950s began to create global audiences for the Olympics and World Cup, hosting international sporting events has become one of the most effective ways for a country to place itself front and center on the world stage, however temporarily, and show itself off as a success” (Whitson and Macintosh 1996, 279). According to many government officials and interest groups, hosting one or both of these mega events is expected to bring short and long term economic benefits (Desai and Vahed 2010, Hiller 2000, Rogerson 2009, Rutheiser 1996), although this claim is highly contested (Maennig and du Plessis 2009, du Plessis and Maennig 2011, Bond et al. 2011, Ngonyama 2010, Van der Westhuizen 2007). These promises are made by a myriad of growth coalitions, which seek to use the mega event to highlight their industry’s accomplishments and to attain economic and public relations gains.

Hosting a mega event requires a dramatic increase in public expenditures, especially in upgrading existing infrastructure and building new infrastructure and facilities (du Plessis and Maennig 2011, Maennig and du Plessis 2009). Much of this infrastructure is constructed in order to handle the increased flow of international tourists and visitors (Ngonyama 2010, Whitson and Macintosh 1996) and to create legacy projects (Van der Westhuizen 2007). In fact, Whitson and Macintosh (1996) posit that
international spectacles are applied for to, “…gain exposure as an attractive tourist
destination” (281). The rising numbers of tourists and visitors will fill up the city’s
hotels, eat at restaurants, and shop at stores, which will result in a short term explosion of
economic growth (du Plessis and Maennig 2011, Rutheiser 1996) and longer, prolonged
growth.

This growth will profit large, home-grown and multinational firms. Cornelissen
(2007) asserts that, “South Africa’s hosting of the 2010 World Cup is embedded within a
global political economy of sport, marked by a particular economic rationale and set
processes of commercialisation and corporatisation…” (244). During Atlanta’s Olympic
bid, for example, Delta Airlines and Coca-Cola played a prominent role in advertising
(Rutheiser 1996). A more recent example includes international companies like Coca-
Cola, Adidas, and Sony which are sponsors of the World Cup events (Cornelissen 2007,
2010) and FIFA has very strict rules regarding what can be sold and displayed near FIFA
events (Cornelissen 2007, 2010). For example, a South African news article asserts,
“…the official 2010 logo, the emblem, mascot, poster, or pictures of the World Cup
trophy may not be used unless specifically permitted by [FIFA]” (Dardagan and Seale,
June 27, 2007). Whitson and Macintosh (1993) support the notion that big businesses
benefit when they espouse, “…the hotel chains and tour companies and airlines whose
decisions to invest in and promote an area are what turn a good local destination into an
international resort” (232). But according to local growth coalitions, small, locally based
businesses will benefit as well and there is a growing amount of academic literature
surrounding the ability of mega events to help alleviate poverty (Mitchell and Ashley
Such reports and promises of egalitarian economic growth are contested (Desai and Vahed 2010, Ngonyama 2010).

Those who contest the distributional benefits of mega events contend that only certain well connected interest groups, or growth coalitions, initiate, support, promote, and benefit from hosting these international spectacles (Desai and Vahed 2010, Hiller 2000, Molotch 1999). Overall, the costs get passed down to the citizen. Van der Westhuizen (2007) posits that, “Whether hosting these events…actually deliver the kinds of benefits mega-event proponents proclaim remains uncertain at best, and most probably, highly unlikely” (334). Although not referring to mega events, but sporting events and stadiums more in general, Molotch (1999) asserts, “…the vast subsidies that cities have been pouring into stadia are likely also an economic waste” (260). The critiques and evidence against sporting mega events and sports events more broadly are strong, but it does not stop growth coalitions from promulgating their value to urban centers and local populations. In fact, “…local opposition to their [the growth coalitions] plans is not welcomed by elites who seek to represent their populations as united and enthusiastic hosts; indeed, attempts to discredit critics and to circumvent the normal channels of political appeal are not at all unusual” (Whitson and Macintosh 1996, 281).

In keeping, hosting a mega event is a contentious and politically challenging process that requires persuading not only potential stakeholders in the growth coalition of the merits of the event, but the general public as well (Rutheiser 1996). Since it is going to be citizen’s tax dollars and cities on display, obtaining their support is an essential element for bidding and hosting an event. For example, “…Atlanta won the right to host
the 1996 Centennial Olympic Games partly because it was able to project an image of shared communal enthusiasm on the part of its entire citizenry” (Rutheiser 1996, 227). In order to garner support for these events, politicians and members of the coalitions make claims and promises to the public and discredit the opposition (Whitson and Macintosh 1996). For example, leading up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup, using Johannesburg as an example, the newspaper Business Day cites, “About 400,000 soccer spectators are expected to come to the country during the tournament” (Shoba March 18, 2008, 5). Such a claim is meant to demonstrate to the public that more people would normally come to Johannesburg to see the World Cup than would normally come to the country, and that tourists will spend money in Johannesburg and help the economy.

In addition, making such claims bestows credibility upon the party making the claim. Using the same World Cup example, if the event does go as planned and 400,000 tourists do in fact come to South Africa, the promising organization receives considerable credit for delivering something good to the country and the city. The growth coalition ‘responsible’ for the event is going to try and take credit for the planning of the event and the good things that happen as a result, as it should. However, proving their failure is harder, as the positives are exaggerated and the negatives tend to be under scrutinized by the media.

The media, both international and local, plays a pivotal role in the dissemination of these claims and promises. The media retains a significant position in the creation of the particular images and agendas the coalition wants the public to interpret (Harvey 2006). Conversely, the media is also the source of criticism and represents the voices of
those who oppose the event or have other interpretations than the growth coalition. As the main voice of support and opposition, the local media indeed represent an important facet of hosting a mega event and the dissemination of ideas (Hammett 2011) as, “…newspaper coverage of local events (particularly local efforts to attract inward investment) [parentheses not added], is cited as one of the main vehicles through which UPPs [Urban Propaganda Projects] are mobilized…” (Boyle 1999, 66). For example, the *New York Times* ran a series of op-eds to show support and indeed urge the city and its people to support the bid for the 2012 Olympics. As such, media sources need to be analyzed to determine what is being said by whom in order to identify the claims and promises so they can be compared to the results of the event.

Johannesburg considers itself to be on the cusp of becoming a world city within the global urban hierarchy and has advertised itself as such. The city has utilized a variety of strategies, including imagineering, hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup, and promoting international tourism to elevate its status in the global urban hierarchy and create new opportunities for its citizens. In order to understand why South Africa and Johannesburg are so persistent to host international mega events, one must examine the history of South Africa and Johannesburg, as that history is intricately linked to the political and economic realities of contemporary South African society.
CHAPTER 3: JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA

Johannesburg has long been the focal point of many of South Africa’s imagineering campaigns. The largest city in South Africa, Johannesburg is and has been a regional center for finance, business, and tourism (Rogerson 2011). However, after 1948 Johannesburg had been ravaged by apartheid, which left the city divided. In order to combat the divisions of apartheid and deliver much needed amenities and opportunities to its citizens, South Africa adopted neoliberal economic principles. In addition to creating new opportunities, neoliberalism would assist in realizing the city’s goals as an aspiring world city. In keeping, for Johannesburg, hosting the opening and final matches of the 2010 FIFA World Cup has been viewed by many local politicians and media as a crowning achievement for the city and an opportunity to demonstrate that the city has graduated from an apartheid past to a cosmopolitan, world-class future (Gevisser 2012).
Figure 2: Map of Johannesburg within South Africa. Map created by Joseph Witek. Data from ESRI
As such, this chapter examines the history of Johannesburg and the impact of apartheid on the city’s planning and urban political economy. There is a section covering Johannesburg and the country after independence and the perceived need for neoliberalism to alleviate the spatial and developmental problems the city faced as a scar from apartheid. The final section invokes the use of mega events to overcome the failings of neoliberalism to deliver the egalitarian city and society its people desire, while simultaneously creating a more competitive and entrenched city within the global neoliberal system.

3.1 The Lingering Past

Johannesburg, South Africa is a relatively young city, being founded in 1886 (Bremner 2000). Built upon the gold mines of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg has grown according to the highs and lows of the mining industry (Bremner 2000, Murray 2011). A city of sprawl and gross inequalities, Johannesburg was the jewel of the European African empires, even being referred to as a potential ‘world city’ in the 1930s (Murray 2011, 51). For example, in 1936 the city hosted its first mega event, the British Empire Exhibition, which attracted over two million people (Murray 2011, 54). The elite of the city always maintained that, “Johannesburg was a European city in a European country in Africa” (Mbembe 2008) and built the city accordingly.
However, in 1948 apartheid began which permanently branded and designed the city around segregation and racial policies. Indeed, “Under apartheid, South Africa was a country exhibiting levels of inequality in wealth and access to services among the highest in the world” (Beall et al. 2000, 837). Policies were put in place that prohibited the urban migration of blacks, restricted their movement and access within cities, and ensured that the white majority received the bulk of infrastructure and federal spending. For example, “…the apartheid government in 1968 [decided] to stop the development of African areas in ‘white’ South African cities” (Beall et al. 2000, 838). Black Africans were only allowed to live in peripheral townships that were heavily underinvested, including limited
accessibility to basic amenities and infrastructure (McDonald 2004). Johannesburg was the epicenter for black opposition to apartheid policies; with the most prominent example of resistance being Soweto (short for South Western Township). Soweto was created in 1955 as a segregated community and attracted international attention through anti-apartheid protests, such as the 1976 uprising, and the violent repression that usually followed (Worden 2007). In 1961 the United Nations placed sanctions upon South Africa and many companies disinvested from the nation (Worden 2007).

In the 1970s and 1980’s, as sanctions began to bite, international capital and many of the temporary residents fled the city (Todes 2012). Economic growth declined from

Figure 4: Downtown Johannesburg. Photo taken by Joseph Witek
3.3 percent per annum in the 1970s to 1.2 percent in the 1980s (Gelb 2010). Buildings went vacant and whites, fearing the continued influx of blacks because of easing of pass laws and the nullification of the Group Areas Act (Gaule 2005), moved en masse to suburbs further away from the urban core, like Sandton and Rosebank, and the businesses followed them (Bremner 2000, Dykes 2004, Murray 2011, Todes 2012). For example, “Between 1982 and 1994, 17 of the 65 top 100 national public companies located in Johannesburg moved from the Central Business District (CBD) to decentralized locations” (Bremner 2000, 186-187). Businesses and citizens were aided in their flight with the construction of massive highways and interstates that conveniently allowed them to commute to work and leave without ever interacting with “locals” (Murray 2011). The inner city of Johannesburg descended into disrepair and crime while the new suburbs began to prosper (Lemanski et al. 2008, Murray 2011, Todes 2012). Johannesburg’s international image began to decline to that of a violent and racially divided city (Bremner 2000, Lemanski et al. 2008, Todes 2012).

3.2 Johannesburg as a Neoliberal City

In 1994, under international and domestic pressure, the apartheid government held national elections and the African National Congress (ANC) won, making Nelson Mandela the first black president in South Africa’s history. Such elections were promising internationally because, “For the West, democratic South Africa had become a beacon of hope in a troubled continent…” (Vale and Barrett 2009, 446). However, domestically upon independence, South Africa was in a political, economic, and societal conundrum. The national economy was only growing by 0.6 percent per annum (Gelb
2010); “In 1995, 32% of the population was living on less than $2 a day” (Gelb 2010, 32); there were 1.049 million informal dwellings (Richards et al. 2007); there was a housing, “…backlog of 1.3 million units (rising to 3 million units including hostels and rural areas)…” (Tomlinson 1998, 137); and, “Estimates of unemployment var[ied] from around 33 percent to over 50 percent of economically active people” (Goodlad 1996, 1634). Compounding these issues was a massive influx of migrants from rural areas and neighboring countries. Noting this migration, Simone (2006) posits that “In the inner city of Johannesburg, 90 per cent of its current 400 000 resident were not in residence 10 years ago” (361). Solutions to these problems required immediate, sustained economic growth. Also, new boundaries and municipalities were created that were meant to change the legacy of apartheid in the landscape (Parnell and Robinson 2006). In order to facilitate the desired economic growth and progress, the newly elected ANC adopted neoliberalism as the guiding force for the national economy and political structure.

Neoliberalism was initiated by the National Party (the apartheid era government) in the 1980s through privatization to combat international sanctions and to combat large foreign debts (Bond 2005, Narsiah 2008, Satgar 2008). However, neoliberalism was entrenched and greatly expanded in South African society by the ANC and successive presidents to accommodate massive influxes of rural and foreign migrants, rapid urban growth, and the need to deliver desperately needed utilities and amenities (Bond 2007, Satgar 2008, Vale and Barrett 2009).

The main neoliberal policy that was to guide South Africa into the future was the Growth, Employment, and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy (Narsiah 2008), which was,
“…a home-grown version of structural adjustment” (Hart 2008, 681)(Mindry 2008). GEAR was a neoliberal economic policy that saw economic and political restructuring throughout the country to reflect greater efficiency and growth (Deegan 2011, Vale and Barrett 2009). For example, “In Johannesburg, the water and electricity utilities have been corporatised” (Narsiah 2008, 27). Corporatization, or ‘best practices,’ meant greater efficiency and better chances to compete internationally. “The beginning of a new era in 1994 did not challenge the discourse of privatisation. Moreover, privatisation as a discursive strategy solidified into a key policy position of the new African National Congress (ANC) government” (Narsiah 2008, 25). Furthermore, “Fiscal and monetary discipline, deregulation, trade liberalisation, privatisation and export-led growth became the new discourses of the ANC” (Narsiah 2008, 26). GEAR also meant changes in the political structure. The government was no longer the provider of services, but a facilitator for the private sector, which would provide the services (McDonald 2004, Tomlinson 2006).

However, “While GEAR had promised huge increases in employment, the 1990s saw a sharp contraction of jobs, especially in the labor-intensive sectors” (Hart 2008, 681). As the country moved forward into the twenty-first century it became apparent that there had been a, “…failure to meet targets laid out in GEAR for growth, employment, social infrastructural development, and redistribution” (Hart 2008, 684). Hart (2008) and Satgar (2008) also assert that GEAR, rather than alleviating the inequalities of apartheid, reinforced them based on class instead of race. Informality grew throughout the country and was important enough to be recognized as the ‘Second Economy’ by then President
Thabo Mbeki (Bond 2001, Hart 2008). “In short, this is a state governed by the market, is a product of capitalism and is a post-Westphalian imposition by transnational capital,” (Satgar 2008, 59) and, as a result, “…it has unleashed a new form of elite politics on South African society” (Satgar 2008, 66). Instead of redistributing wealth throughout the country the government, “…set out to de-racialise social relations by relying on affirmative action and black economic empowerment” (Vale and Barrett 2009, 450).

As a result of ineffective neoliberal policies under GEAR, informality has grown to encompass 16.4 percent of the population (Goebel 2007) or 1.376 million dwellings (Richards et al. 2006); “…in real terms, average black African household income declined 19 percent from 1995 to 2000, while white household income increased by 15 percent” (Bond 2006, 142); “…the African National Congress (ANC) failed to deliver on its promise to redistribute 30 percent of the country’s agricultural land…” (Bond 2006, 142); unemployment remains around 25 percent (Bond 2006, 2011); migrants continue to flock to Johannesburg and other urban centers throughout the country (Cox et al. 2004); “…the degeneration of the health system, combined with AIDS, has caused a dramatic decline in life expectancy, from 65 at the time of liberation to 52 a decade later…” (Bond 2011, 63); labor intensive industries have declined (Banerjee et al. 2006, Bond 2011); and inequality is still rampant, if not worse (Bond 2011, Vale and Barrett 2009). Neoliberalism alone has failed to alleviate the externalities from apartheid as predicted and the national, provincial, and municipal governments are under pressure to deliver basic services to people and improve their lives. Citing a 2010 UN Habitat study, Steinbrink et al. (2011) assert that, “Johannesburg, with the Gini coefficient of 0.72, is
currently held to be the city with the highest level of social inequality worldwide” (20). Vale and Barrett (2009) noted the precarious situation South Africa faced when they asserted that, “…the basic apartheid configuration of white wealth and black poverty remains the central feature of South African society” (457). While there have been those who have benefited from neoliberalism and many have secured access to life-saving utilities and amenities, it is clear that something else was needed to account for the failure of neoliberalism to deliver the promises the Constitution and leaders espoused.

3.3 Johannesburg as a World Cup City

Even after independence, Johannesburg was known as a dangerous, decrepit, and dirty city. Other cities with pariah images, like Detroit (Neill et al. 1995), have had their image broadcasted and consumed around the world with detrimental consequences. It is this pariah image that had been portrayed to the world, along with an overall negative image of Africa and its cities (Hammett 2011, Mbembe and Nuttall 2008). This image was even devoured by the local population as this individual explained,

“And then you have locals. I had a group of women for one of their birthdays one of them booked a tour and didn’t tell the other what they were doing. So when they arrived there, there were only two women waiting for the tour and there should be a big group and I asked her where the others were and she said they are sitting in the car crying. And I said why are they crying? She said none of them have had to walk through the city and when they found out they were going to they were scared and they were crying. So I calmed them down and took them on the tour and they really enjoyed it, but that shows that there’s a lot of perception like that” (Personal Interview, July 24, 2012, Tour Guide).

However, despite this externally and internally perceived image, Johannesburg is also the financial hub of sub-Saharan Africa (Binns and Nel 2002, Rogerson 2009, Rogerson and Rogerson 2010, Todes 2012) and the “Gateway to Africa” (Rogerson 1996,

Even considering the atrocities of apartheid, Johannesburg’s international connections and significance were recognized by Friedmann (1986) when he placed Johannesburg as a secondary city in a semi-peripheral country (72). Beaverstock et al. (1999) placed Johannesburg as a ‘Gamma world city’, but then went on to say, “Geographically, the odd city out is Johannesburg, which might be considered to represent an outlier of European capital” (457). The only other African cities making any of the lists are Cairo and Capetown, which respectively displayed some evidence of world city formation and minimal evidence of world city formation (Beaverstock et al. 1999). Dorrian (2005) lends further support to Beaverstock et al.’s (1999) critique when he asserts that, “Nor are the majority of our [South Africa’s] businesses organisations of sufficient size, or have the reach, to be termed ‘global’” (6). However, if there were a ‘world city’ in Africa, it would have to be Johannesburg (Beaverstock et al. 1999, Friedmann 1986). Moreover, Johannesburg is an African city, not a European city, which has many unique benefits that the city can exploit for business and tourism purposes. As such, there have been differing opinions and ideas on how to overcome the negative past, how to envision a better future, and how to implement those visions.
Table 1: Major City Plans since Independence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City Plan</th>
<th>Year Implemented</th>
<th>Plan Components and Goals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iGoli 2002</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>• Creates four municipal boundaries within the city with the intention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Implements privatization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Implements neoliberal policies for governance and implementing policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iGoli 2010</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>• Create one ‘Unicity’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Integrate budgets and political structures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joburg 2030/Joburg 2040</td>
<td>2002/2011</td>
<td>• Address apartheid inequalities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Continue to develop business and economic potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• “A world-class city in Africa”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Develop larger, overarching planning strategies and objectives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since independence, growth coalitions within Johannesburg have been looking to overcome the negative image of a ‘divided’ apartheid city to embrace many of its new advantages, such as being a regional hub for finance, shopping, and business. Making a favorable business image and climate is essential because, “New research shows that the local business environment significantly influences business location choices across cities in the developing world” (Rogerson and Rogerson 2010). As such, there have been multiple campaigns launched by the City of Johannesburg in the almost two decades since apartheid to redesign and re-image itself. iGoli 2002 and iGoli 2010 were launched
to help the city consolidate power over new municipal boundaries (Table 1), fiscal problems, and establish permanent city councils and a bureaucracy (Parnell and Robinson 2006). After apartheid ended, Johannesburg was divided into four municipalities that had a weak oversight committee (Parnell and Robsinson 2006). iGoli 2010 was a planning process that was meant to create a ‘Unicity’ and overcome many of the budget and political shortfalls brought about by the four municipality system (Parnall and Robinson 2006). While iGoli 2010 was about integrating the various municipalities, “iGoli 2002’, is associated less with the creation of a new metropolitan structure, the Unicity, and more with the ‘privatisation’ of services” (Parnell and Robinson 2006, 345). Vision 2030, or Joburg 2030, is a plan to more adequately address the externalities of apartheid and is the campaign from which the descriptor ‘a world-class city in Africa’ originated (Parnell and Robsinson 2006). Recently, a Development 2040 Plan was released, Joburg 2040, but this will be discussed more in detail in Section 6.1.

As a part of their planning process, Johannesburg has been described as a world-class city and those in charge have proceeded to achieve those aspirations (Bremner 2000, Murray 2011). As in other parts of the world, a major strategy chosen for international promotion in Johannesburg was hosting international spectacles, especially sporting events, which started in 1995 with hosting of the Rugby World Cup (Masenyama 2006). In its most ambitious and recent attempt, South Africa applied for and was accepted for hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup and Johannesburg was awarded the opening and Final matches. South African President Jacob Zuma summed up why the government was fully behind the project by asserting, “We have, as government and
the nation at large, pledged that the World Cup will leave a proud legacy from which our children and our communities will benefit for many years to come” (Haw September 28, 2009). As one of the two major international mega events, the World Cup was supposed to allow Johannesburg and South Africa to be viewed by billions of people worldwide because, “…32 percent of all the games and activities around the World Cup were hosted in Joburg” (Personal Interview, July 11, 2012, Joburg Tourism Company). In addition, this was the first major mega event to be hosted in the entire continent of Africa and the event was marketed as a pan-African event (Steinbrink et al. 2011, van der Merwe 2007). Steinbrink et al. (2011) note that, “…the mega event was intended as a political vehicle to change Africa’s image from the continent of ‘crises, catastrophes and wars’ and to show it in a new, positive light” (17). Simply put, the event was defined as the opportunity that would announce Johannesburg’s arrival into the world city hierarchy and announce Africa’s into the mainstream international economy and politics. The rationale behind hosting the World Cup will be discussed in more depth in Section Five.

The World Cup was considered a success by the local media, politicians, and the general public as well as the international media (Haw September 21, 2010). However, after the euphoria died down, some began to question whether or not the World Cup had actually benefited Johannesburg and South Africa as a whole, or only a few elites (Bond et al. 2011, Desai and Vahed 2010, Haferburg 2011, Levermore 2011). Desai and Vahed (2010) offer critique when they posit that, “Few ordinary (South) Africans will benefit from what Blatter [the FIFA President] has described as the most commercially successful tournament ever” (158). They also questioned the sustained increase in
tourism and the money spent on marketing that could have gone towards other social programs (Bond et al. 2011). In order to support their arguments, these critics utilized quantitative data on tourist arrivals, profits and expenditures, and welfare programs that would point to the event as a mere government sponsored, elite-oriented celebration, if not an outright failure.

However, the critics and academics studying Johannesburg have failed to implement studies on the perceptions of international tourists and link them to the discourse surrounding world city formation. Johannesburg is already regarded as a regional tourist attraction, but greater attention needs to be focused on the city’s aspirations of becoming an international tourist destination beyond the African continent. Particularly, international tourists stay for a longer single-period of time and visit less frequently, but they spend more money per capita while in the country (Rogerson 2011). A steady flow of international tourists could bring both economic and developmental gains, as has already been cited. Although the needs for a new image and the resultant benefits for tourism were claimed time and again by local politicians and coalition members, few studies have been conducted on tourists and their views of the city in regard to being a world-class city. This is crucial because their word of mouth is far more valuable, or damning, than any international marketing campaign (Donaldson and Ferreira 2009). In order for there to be an increase in international tourism and a fulfillment of the growth coalition’s stated pre-World Cup goals, it is essential to examine how Johannesburg’s discourse and imagineering campaign has been perceived by international audiences.
CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to examine the discourse and re-imaging strategies by the City of Johannesburg through the hosting of events during the 2010 FIFA World Cup and to explore their effect on American tourists’ perceptions of the city. This study sought to answer the following questions:

1. How and why has the re-imagining of Johannesburg been argued for in the national/local, media circles?

2. What projects and programs have been initiated to project Johannesburg as a world city?

3. How has this re-imaging campaign helped to alter the perceptions of Johannesburg to the international community, specifically American tourists?

In order to answer these research questions, a variety of methods were engaged. Field work had to be completed in Johannesburg, South Africa as well as a comprehensive document analysis. Prior to departure, an analysis was conducted of official documents and local newspapers regarding the 2010 World Cup in Johannesburg. Qualitative field work was completed in Johannesburg from June 23, 2012 - August 17, 2012. During my field research, six officials and thirteen American tourists were interviewed alongside observations and field notes.

4.1 Methodology Background

Qualitative methods were utilized during this field research. Qualitative methods are a method of data collection and are premised around individual experiences, multiple
realities, and discerning social structures (Hay 2010). Qualitative methods make use of interviews, which allows for individual experiences, social structures, and place information to be discovered. This research utilized semi-structured interviews, which is an, “Interview with some predetermined order but which nonetheless has flexibility with regard to the position/timing of questions” (Hay 2010, 387). These interviews allow for flexibility and enable situational discretion. In addition to interviews, observations and field notes were utilized during the research process. Field notes and observations supplement interviews with additional information that can be descriptive, contextual, or informational (Emerson et al. 2011). The combination of interviews, observations and field notes, and documents analyses results in triangulation, which strengthens claims and offers greater evidence for research findings (Hay 2010).

4.2 Officials

Interviews with officials involved semi-structured, personal interviews and were one of the main avenues for information about Johannesburg during the World Cup. Six officials were interviewed for this research. The organizations and the organization type are listed in Table 2. Numerous overtures were made to city officials and other tourism officials and organizations. Unfortunately, no one from the City of Johannesburg responded to any emails and all information regarding city policy, positions, and information came from the city website and city documents. The tourism officials who responded to my overtures were interviewed. Others did not respond or failed to show up to interviews. One interview was conducted over the phone.
Table 2: Johannesburg Organizations Interviewed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization Type</th>
<th>Organization Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local Tourism Companies</td>
<td>• JoburgPlaces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• PAST Experiences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Cashan Tours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Organizations</td>
<td>• Joburg Tourism Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Organizations</td>
<td>• South African Tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• BRAND South Africa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interviews with officials were set up via email. Contact was made prior to the interview and permission to interview was received. Meetings occurred in public locations or at the office of the interviewee. Once at the meeting location, a consent form was provided and the interviewee was given all the time they needed to read over the form, ask any questions, and sign it. The interviewee was informed that if at anytime they wished to end the interview or not answer a question, they could. I then explained my thesis topic and what I hoped to ask them during my interview. A copy of the questions was also provided to the interviewee. A list of questions asked during the interview is provided in Table 3. Questions did not proceed in this order in every interview. Some questions were not asked and others were added as deemed necessary.
Table 3: Questions for Officials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question Category</th>
<th>Questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Benefits**      | • Some critics have suggested that the benefits of the event have not been worth the cost – how would you address those concerns?  
• Would you say the imaging and marketing campaign have been as effective as the city would like? |
| **World Cup**     | • How important was the World Cup for the city’s image and for tourism?  
  - What other campaigns are on the books or were operating alongside the World Cup campaign? |
| **City Image**    | • What images do you personally want tourists, or the international community, to have of Johannesburg?  
  - Do you think this is turning out to be the case?  
• How would you describe the city of Johannesburg? Such as a cosmopolitan place, a developing city? Describe some features of the city.  
• Is there any global or African city (cities) that Johannesburg has attempted – or should attempt – to benchmark?  
  - Which cities are Johannesburg’s other continental rivals?  
• If you could compare Johannesburg to any international city, what city do you think it is most like – not just in size, but function and image as well?  
• What would the most desirable image that the international tourists and businesses may have about Johannesburg?  
  - How about the least desirable? |
| **Tourism**       | • What tourism audiences are you specifically targeting in your marketing and imagining campaign?  
  • How about during the World Cup?  
  • What campaigns are geared towards certain demographics? |
| **City Projects** | • What things do you think can be done in order to improve the image – as far as events, projects, etc?  
• Has the City of Johannesburg ever worked to improve (or change, foster) its international image? If so, by whose initiatives and why?  
• What steps has your organization taken to ensure this image is inculcated in the minds of those targeted audiences?  
• What steps still need to be taken to ensure that image is in the minds of others? |
The responses to these questions were recorded with a digital voice recorder. In addition, notes were taken during the interviews that included additional questions for the interviewee, questions I had for my research, facial expressions and moods during the interview, and items I found to be particularly important. These notes were typed up as quickly as possible after the interviews, although some had a delay in their recording because of international travel and other research obligations.

4.3 American Tourists

Interviews with American tourists involved semi-structured, personal interviews. Thirteen American tourists were interviewed during the research period and their identities will be kept anonymous. The American Society of South Africa was contacted and I attended one of their monthly happy hour meetings. They were unable to provide specific information regarding Americans abroad, but I was able to make some valuable contacts. The U.S. Embassy was also contacted as were hotels, but both were unable to provide any information about tourists or would assist me. I was also able to identify a few tourists in other parts of South Africa, Cape Town and a game reserve, where I spoke with tourists who had just spent time in Johannesburg. However, most tourists were identified by frequenting tourist destinations, mainly the Apartheid museum, and locating groups of people with American accents. The tourist was then asked if they were American and if they would be willing to participate in the study. Access to the museum was achieved by paying an entrance fee. As the most important tourist attraction in the city, the Apartheid museum is a major stop along every tour and comes highly recommended.
A consent form was provided and the interviewee was given all the time they needed to read over the form, ask any questions, and sign it. The interviewee was informed that if at anytime they wished to end the interview or not answer a question, they could. I then explained my thesis topic and what I hoped to ask them during my interview. A list of questions asked during the interview is provided in Table 4. Questions did not proceed in this order in every interview. Some questions were not asked and others were added as deemed necessary.

Table 4: Questions for American Tourists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question Categories</th>
<th>Questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>World Cup</td>
<td>● Did you watch the World Cup? What do you think the impact of the World Cup was on Johannesburg?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| City Image/Perceptions  | ● What were your perceptions of the city before you came here?  
● What words would you use to describe the city?  
● What city in the U.S. do you think Johannesburg best compares to?  
● Johannesburg’s slogan is, “A world class city in Africa.” Do you agree and why?  
● How have those perceptions changed now that you are here? |
| Projects                | ● What do you think the city could do to better market itself or attract more tourists?  
● What sorts of things have impressed you and what do you think still needs work? |
| General Information     | ● Why did you come to Johannesburg?  
● How long have you been in Johannesburg? How long will you be staying for?  
● Would you recommend Johannesburg to friends looking to visit South Africa? |
The responses to these questions were recorded with a digital voice recorder. However, several interviewees requested to have their interview not recorded and I obliged them. The transcripts from those interviews come entirely from my notes. Notes were taken during the interviews that included additional questions for the interviewee, questions I had for my research, facial expressions and moods during the interview, and items I found to be particularly important. These notes were typed up as quickly as possible after the interviews, although some had a delay in their recording because of international travel and other research obligations.

4.4 Newspaper and Document Analysis

Through government documents from the city of Johannesburg, travel brochures, and official speeches, it is possible to ascertain the ‘official’ positions regarding 2010 FIFA World Cup. Complementing the official documents, newspaper articles from Business Day, the South African equivalent of The Wall Street Journal, and local Johannesburg newspapers City Press and Star were examined to identify different perspectives on the World Cup and to identify critiques of official policy, the relevant growth coalitions, the local politics, and official discourse.

Official documents were acquired via the City of Johannesburg website. There are sections of the website dedicated to tourism, from which relevant information was carefully analyzed in coordination with speeches and press releases acquired through searching the city website and newspapers. This information was valuable for investigating the discourse government officials and stakeholders utilized to promote the
World Cup. Furthermore, this information was used to denote power relations and the potential limitations of cosmopolitan/world-class city discourse.

*Business Day* was subjected to a discourse analysis. The articles were acquired through the LexisNexis database using the keyword World Cup. Within that search the keyword Johannesburg was used to narrow the focus of the articles to the specific research city. Articles from 2006-2011 were analyzed. The local newspapers *City Press* and *Star* are not on the LexisNexis database and the analysis of these articles was completed through a general search on the official website. Key words such as ‘FIFA World Cup’ and ‘world city’ were used to narrow the results. This information is relevant to the politics surrounding the event the discourse that is projected to the international community and it identifies projects and programs initiated by Johannesburg and South Africa.

4.5 Positionality and Limitations

Positionality is, “A researcher’s social, locational, and ideological placement relative to the research subject and or to other participants in it” (Hay 2010, 383). During this research I positioned myself to receive answers from tourists and, as a result, encountered limitations to my research. As an American and a tourist myself in Johannesburg interviewing other Americans, I may have received different responses than someone of a different nationality may have. Respondents may have felt more comfortable and been more willing to be negative or give more truthful accounts. I came into the interviews with an optimistic view of the city, which may have also evoked more negative responses than if I had been more neutral or negative in my views of the city.
However, being an American did not prevent respondents from declining to participate more than they agreed to participate. My method of participant locating may have startled or worried tourists that they were being singled out and the IRB system of consent may have worried tourists about their identity or theft. Also, as an American, I may have missed out on responses that tourists may have deemed more valuable for a local than for a student studying the city. Furthermore, where I interviewed my tourists could contribute to their negative or positive opinions. I was also limited in that I was unable to interview a government official and truly compare the image of the city with the opinions of Americans, know if the city already had knowledge about the opinions of Americans, or if those opinions are valued much at all.
CHAPTER 5: HOSTING THE 2010 FIFA WORLD CUP IS GOOD FOR THE CITY

Bidding for the World Cup is an intensive process that involves making physical, mental, and political changes to the national and local landscape. These changes are not without contestation and in order for support to be garnered for such a large event; promises have to be made to the populace. In bidding for the World Cup, the entire country is bidding for the event since the matches take place throughout the country. Even though the entire nation is awarded the right to host the tournament, bidding for the 2010 FIFA World Cup was intricately linked to the re-imaging of Johannesburg to the international community because, “…32 percent of all the games and activities around the World Cup were hosted in Joburg” (Personal Interview, July 11, 2012, Joburg Tourism Company).

This chapter answers the first research question: How and why has the re-imaging of Johannesburg been argued for in the national/local, media circles? In order to answer that question, this chapter examines the rationale behind hosting the World Cup, the growth coalitions behind re-imagining Johannesburg, the image Johannesburg and South Africa wanted to portray to the country and world, and some of the promises that were made to the people for their support during and after the FIFA World Cup.

5.1 World Cup Coalitions

There are many growth coalitions that could benefit from the World Cup and the changes it would bring to Johannesburg. As has been already mentioned, Johannesburg has suffered from high levels of unemployment and many groups are looking to receive more money for jobs and projects that will give them good publicity throughout the city.
However, as will be discussed, not all of these growth coalitions have the same objectives, creating conflicts within the city. A list of growth coalition components that come up in personal interviews and in the existing literature are listed in Table 5. It is important to note many examples in Table 5.1 are not confined to a single scale, but transcend multiple scales and categories.

Table 5: World Cup Coalitions in Johannesburg

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Coalition Category</th>
<th>Examples in Johannesburg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Promotional agencies</td>
<td>● Joburg Tourism Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inner city property owners and</td>
<td>● City Property</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>businesses</td>
<td>● Southpoint Properties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Gold Reef Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Randlords</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tourism companies</td>
<td>● Cashan Tours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● JoburgPlaces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● PAST Experiences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Lebo Backpacker’s Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Many, many other city tourism companies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>City government</td>
<td>● Johannesburg City Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Johannesburg Development Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● City Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>National corporations</td>
<td>● Eskom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Sentech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Murray &amp; Roberts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International</td>
<td>Promotional agencies</td>
<td>● BRAND South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● South African Tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Grant Thornton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>International sponsors</td>
<td>● Adidas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● McDonalds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Sony</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The growth coalitions in Table 5.1 can be broken down into three distinct categories based upon their scale. There are local, national, and international components of Johannesburg’s World Cup coalition. Promotional agencies operate at the local and national scale, but their analysis will be confined to the local for this thesis. These agencies, like the Joburg Tourism Company, seek to spread the positive image of Johannesburg abroad. However, the image they wish to create is not something purely created by the organization itself. The image is “…created by the city council and, you know, for a whole long political process they were then able to figure out some of the major proponents of it” (Personal Interview, July 24, 2012, Tour Guide). The agency then has some leeway to create imaging and marketing materials for the city so that businesses and tourists can investigate them and then decide to invest or visit. These agencies are the intermediary between the former, less desirable image and the new, more desirable image. The success of the agency websites and the marketing campaigns are tied to increased business, investment, tourism, and changed perceptions. As an official avenue for the city’s new image, these are valuable organizations and their websites represent a direct line of connection to potential visitors and investors.

The inner city business and property owners consist of another major local growth coalition component during and after the World Cup. Decades of decline in the inner city left property cheap, neighborhoods crime-ridden, and buildings derelict. Many investors have purchased property and businesses to try and resurrect the CBD and other inner city neighborhoods, like Braamfontein. Revitalization is not a cheap endeavor and large
amounts of it took place before the World Cup when property values were at their lowest. For example, an interviewee stated, “If you look at the fact that [in] the city of Johannesburg, one of the largest investors is a Scottish man who did it long before the World Cup” (Personal Interview, August 2, 2012, BRAND South Africa). If people are afraid of the inner city and the downtown, then that investment cannot be fully realized. However, with the help of the World Cup, Braamfontein, one of the formerly derelict inner city districts, “…is the next Silicon Valley” (Personal Interview, August 2, 2012, BRAND South Africa) and Puma is looking to make Braamfontein its continental hub (Personal Interview, August 2, 2012, BRAND South Africa) as it, “…expects sales in Africa to increase 400% as a result of 2010” (Ngonyama 2010, 169). The World Cup can change local and international perspectives, which could mean an increase in tourist traffic, support new businesses and enlarge existing ones, and increase employment and the tax base.

Another local element includes tourism companies. These companies have the opportunity to use the 2010 World Cup to show tourists the Joburg CBD, different attractions throughout the city, and, most importantly, increase business and promulgate a specific vision of the city. To promote economic growth among tourism companies and operators, “A first-ever concession by [FIFA] means that bed-and-breakfast accommodation operators can have their premises quality graded by the Tourism Grading
Council and then be contracted to make the accommodation available for world cup visitors” (Jackson 2006, 13). Such initiatives could result in increased profits for smaller companies and not only large, multinational hotel chains. By extending official labels and services to smaller companies, the city is also ensuring that these companies abide by the official discourse of the event and city. Despite the official nature of some of these arrangements, smaller companies often belong to larger tourism committees and organizations that have different objectives than the city government. The image they extend to tourists may not be ‘official’, but is likely going to be what a tourist is most directly impacted by. As such, they constitute a very important and vibrant component of the World Cup coalition, although their influence on the decision making processes of the city image is more advisory. As an observation, these groups are interested in making a profit, or else they would not be around, but they have a much larger goal of sharing the
city with tourists, spreading what they love about the city, and helping to create an overall positive image of the city. While their image may differ from the official view of the city, the images tour providers promote are extremely positive, yet honest, and highlight personal experiences and passions in the city.

The City of Johannesburg and the Johannesburg Development Authority (JDA) constitute another component of the World Cup coalition. The Johannesburg City government is behind the new city image, as an earlier quote demonstrated, and will steer projects in the direction it wishes. This makes it the most important of the growth coalitions and sets the image and project agenda. For example, the JDA is taking steps to make Johannesburg friendlier to pedestrians and businesses by implementing projects like, “…the second phase of the Beyers Naude Square Improvement, as well as the refurbishment of Mary Fitzgerald Square and the Commuter Links Project” (Garner 2011, 166) and revitalizing Newton with the Potato Sheds Project (see Figure 7) (Garner 2011). As mentioned above, the World Cup has the opportunity to increase the city tax base through new businesses and an increase in tourist traffic. This is money that can then be used to pay off the event, to subsidize projects aimed at alleviating the legacy of apartheid throughout the city, or to fund additional projects that will make the city more competitive and tourist friendly. Furthermore, each project in Johannesburg, like the Guatrain, is something that an official can put their name behind and use for personal glory and political development. However, the entrepreneurial city government does not operate alone and, in keeping, there are a host of public-private partnerships that take
place in order for reinvestment to occur. As such, this is a very powerful growth coalition.

At a national scale there were other important stakeholders. For example, Sentech, “…the state-owned operator of SA’s broadcasting signal distribution network…said that with or without the 2010 World Cup, the parastatal’s 30-year-old transmission infrastructure was in grave need of being replaced” (Derby 2006, 1). Thanks to the World Cup, Sentech received a massive influx of capital that may not have otherwise been available. Since Sentech bids for event contracts offered through the World Cup, they are closely partnered with the city, provincial, and national governments. Also, Johannesburg hosted the International Broadcasting Center for the 2010 World Cup which meant that, “More than R400m will be spent on facilities at Nasrec [a suburb with an expo center] to enable broadcasters to reach about 30-billion viewers across the globe” (West 2008, 2). Murray (2011) provides another example of a national company profiting from the event where, “As the country’s largest construction firm, Murray & Roberts has profited handsomely from infrastructural development related not only to the Gautrain but also to the 2010 World Cup. For instance, the company has a 45 percent stake in the Bombela joint venture that is responsible for all civil works along the proposed 50-mile transport route [the Gautrain]” (132). A further example includes City Property, a large property management company with properties in multiple cities, which, “…manages about 100 buildings in the Johannesburg CBD” (Garner 2011, 86), including properties in neighborhoods benefitting from Gautrain and Rea Vaya BRT stations. A positive image of Johannesburg during the World Cup was
expected to induce many to rent or purchase those downtown properties, induce people to expand their businesses, or motivate people to spend more time in these newly renovated districts. In addition to profits, these companies are hoping to develop their products to cast their company and the work they are doing in a favorable light to the international and local communities. Tourists and locals examining revitalized buildings have the opportunity to view the City Property logo on downtown buildings and Sentech advertisements about utility provisions throughout the city. It is hoped that tourists and locals will associate those good experiences during the World Cup with the city and with the companies and cast a favorable light on them and their progress.

There are also international FIFA sponsors that have an interest in re-imaging Johannesburg and South Africa, mainly because of the investment and publicity they will be receiving. This is in large part because, “As a sector, international sport has seen significant expansion, to today being among the largest and fastest-growing components of the world economy” (Cornelissen 2007, 246). Since the matches are visible to billions around the world, having Adidas as a sponsor is great publicity and these companies have an interest in making sure the events are problem free and that other companies do not impede on their opportunity for international visibility and profits. Furthermore, sponsors coming to a host country can use the marketing opportunities presented by the event to expand their economic footprint in the host country market. This is a very powerful growth coalition as it constitutes major multinational corporations that have the backing of the actual political body governing the event.
These are diverse components of the World Cup coalition that all come together to form an agenda for the city. This agenda is to make Johannesburg world-class. However, as one interviewee suggested, “They all need to work together to portray; they need to understand exactly what their image is and do it together” (Personal Interview, July 21, 2012, Tour Guide). As mentioned above, the image of the city can differ from tour to tour, and as this quote illustrates, it can differ from organization to organization within the city. Without discrete avenues for official imaging information, the city cannot broadcast a united city and coherent image to its local population and the international community and undesirable images can be distributed to tourists. More importantly, while improving the conditions for one coalition has trickle down effects for other coalitions, the monetary influx and impact will be limited for those in the lower rungs, so it is up to each coalition and business to fight as hard as possible for as many contracts, as much media exposure, and as many customers as is possible.

5.2 Creating an Image Unique to Johannesburg

The South African FIFA World Cup organizing committee wanted to have the following image of their country relayed throughout the world during the World Cup:

“The organizing committee for the 2006 and 2010 campaigns emphasized the following themes: a Pan-Africanist rhetoric and imagery; a discourse of development and modernity; the country as a young and stable democracy; possession of infrastructural and human capacities; and the country’s low risk in terms of insurance, due to its having hosted previous tournaments and being a financially secure option. The final emphasis was placed on South Africa’s ‘world-class’ stadiums, ‘excellent’ transport, ‘advanced accommodation structure’, strong information technology base and ‘mature’ media” (Bolsmann 2012, 158).
The image is significant because, “…between 35-billion and 40-billion pairs of eyes will watch the competition unfold on television” (Haw, September 28, 2009). This image was portrayed to the world throughout the World Cup and through advertisements affiliated with the World Cup. This image is important because in addition to the general negativity of images associated with South Africa and Johannesburg, “…it is evident that knowledge and clear perceptions of the country have historically been very limited among most nations of the world and that South Africa’s brand image is clearly under-developed” (Knott 2012, 92). As such, this event took on a much larger element; representing the continent while simultaneously deriving a recognizable image unique to South Africa. From this larger context, an image had to be developed that was unique to Johannesburg.

Table 6: Projected Images for South Africa and Johannesburg Through the World Cup

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South Africa</th>
<th>Johannesburg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pan-African</td>
<td>World-class City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern</td>
<td>Modern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young</td>
<td>Developed Infrastructure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic</td>
<td>Vibrant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>Cosmopolitan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advanced</td>
<td>Economic Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospitable</td>
<td>Unique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendly</td>
<td>African City</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Transforming perceptions and realizing these images were also in part carried out through official event logos, which play an important element in establishing the culture of the society behind the event (Shultz 2012). For example, in an interview with graphic
designer Gaby de Abreu about a 2010 World Cup logo (See Figure 7), Abreu commented that, “While showcasing our country and celebrating our passion for soccer, the logo was essentially required to welcome the world to our continent, and demonstrate that the associations of Africa with famine, war, corruption, poverty and disease are not what characterise the ‘African experience’” (Shultz 2012, 36). This quote emphasizes the pan-African nature of some of the advertising during the World Cup; especially that South Africa would be at the helm of representing the continent in its first major international mega event. Knott (2012) quotes the CEO of South Africa’s FIFA Organizing Committee in stating, “It’s not about football – it’s about nation building. South Africa has been chosen to not only stage the World Cup in 2010 but also to carry the hopes, dreams and aspirations of Africa and especially African football. This provides a golden opportunity to change perceptions about Africa and to influence public opinion around the globe…” (91). One South African stated:

“After I graduated from university I went backpacking across Africa from Johannesburg to Cairo and the whole continent was still going crazy about the World Cup. I went four months after it was done and if you were wearing a South African soccer jersey then everyone would come up to you and talk to you about how South Africa did such a good job representing the continent and how much it meant to them. It was a great time for the continent and meant so much to a lot of people” (Field Notes).

So this was an image of modernity and international acceptance that was felt by more than just Johannesburg and South Africa, but by the entire continent. However, as the quote at the beginning of this section illustrates, pan-Africanism was only one aspect to the image and that a greater portion of that image was to be concentrated on the country and its cities.
The image also highlights the many positive and desirable aspects of South Africa. South Africa is a young democracy and is capable of boasting statesmen like Desmond Tutu and Nelson Mandela, which is valuable in a continent perceived to be in perpetual civil war. Furthermore, the World Cup and image affiliated with the event were considered to highlight the fact that South Africa has modern infrastructure, cities, and amenities that should be drastically different from the continental stereotypes held by many outsiders. For example, “…our [South African Tourism’s] campaigns around the World Cup were mostly showing people in South Africa and trying to show that we’re welcoming the world and really show beyond what people sort of expect from South Africa” (Personal Interview, September 5, 2012, South African Tourism). This national image of a welcoming and modern destination was to be exemplified by South African cities, which would host the World Cup events and be the centers for re-imaging and changing perceptions.
“The World Cup presented an opportunity for the country and its host cities to engage in the high-profile promotion of their products and services to a global audience” (Jordaan 2012, 21). As such, “…Johannesburg was able to present itself as a global economic node. It shrugged off perceptions of violent crime and corruption, replacing them with true urban experiences of vitality, culture, design and sophistication. Tourists flocked to Johannesburg, eager to experience a real South African city – and Africa’s financial centre still benefits from this successful PR drive” (Asmal 2012, 73).
Johannesburg had to display the sophistication and modernity espoused by the World Cup and South Africa’s organizing committee while simultaneously solidifying its own unique image, that of a world-class city in Africa.

The city motto for a period of time before and up to the World Cup was ‘A world-class African city.” As has already been sufficiently demonstrated in the literature, Johannesburg has many qualities that make it world-class. However, the World Cup presented Johannesburg with an opportunity to improve upon its physical worldliness and promulgate a worldly and cosmopolitan image abroad.

The idea of a world class city was only improved upon by the World Cup. The Executive Director of Joburg – 2010 FIFA World Cup Host City states that, “This [the World Cup] will be an event that will make the people of Johannesburg truly proud of our world-class African City” (Joburg – 2010 World Cup Host City, 6). For example, Bolsmann (2012) quotes an editorial stating, “…we invited the world…and we have finally arrived – as a world class nation” (163). However, “…you can’t change the image without changing the reality” (Personal Interview, July 24, 2012, Tour Guide). As such, Johannesburg received major upgrades to its infrastructure, realized the Guatrain and Rea Vaya bus system projects, developed a new sports complex at Soccer City, created jobs and skills training, and made the city more visible to the international community. These are vital improvements to become a world-class city. Soccer City, for example, “…is possibly among post-apartheid South Africa’s greatest architectural achievements,” (Trangoš 2012, 58) and, “For generations it will be a symbol of a nation that dared to dream big and claim its rightful place among the nations of the world” (Joburg – 2010
FIFA World Cup Host City, 9). Prominent stadiums and landmarks, improved transportation, and a larger, sustained job market will bring with it changes in international perception.

The world-class city image is meant to persuade both international and local audiences, which is interesting considering, “…whether it’s the exact words or the concept of it I do think it’s something that society generally believes in strongly” (Personal Interview, July 24, 2012, Tour Guide). This is quite different than the quote in Section 3.3 illustrating the concern and fear of locals of the inner city. Those locals may see certain suburbs of Johannesburg, like Sandton for example, as being world-class, but the CBD and inner city are locations to be feared and are not an element of the city’s worldliness. It is interesting that two dichotomous, yet fairly prevalent beliefs exist among the city population. There are those who apparently see Johannesburg as a world-class city and those who believe it is far behind that status and is something to be feared. While unrelated to the scope of this research, the belief in or lack of belief in the concept of ‘world-classness’ could be impacted by race, class, and the legacy of apartheid, which are prominent and demanding issues in Johannesburg. However, “In general I think [they] have been quite effective working a slogan by selling the vision that Joburg can be unique, it can be rooted in Africa and it can be world class” (Personal Interview, July 24, 2012, Tour Guide). In keeping, there is still a need for segments of the local population to be introduced to the new ‘African’ city and to reintegrate themselves into it. But in reintroducing these citizens to Johannesburg, the city is not shying away from using such
bold claims and images as a world-class city, but is out to make the necessary changes to back up the world-class claims to make those claims and perceptions a reality.

The World Cup had specific images for the country and continent while Johannesburg declared itself to be a world-class city. However, there are other campaigns at work in Johannesburg to highlight different, but important, aspects of the city. For example, “…what we did was actually try to use the World Cup as an opportunity to showcase, obviously the whole country, but especially Joburg from a…signature events and lifestyle perspective to say you know, Joburg is an all-year around happening destination” (Personal Interview, July 11, 2012, Joburg Tourism Company). So the country itself is not only an advanced nation amid what many consider to be a poor and impoverished continent, but Johannesburg itself is a ‘Northern’ urban center where international tourists and citizens can safely and securely shop, eat, dance, drive around, and visit. This is an important image and notion to release to the rest of the world as, “…the 2010 World Cup provided a once-in-a lifetime opportunity for the country [and city] to present a real account of itself, unblemished by media speculation, paranoia and a romanticized Africa” (Asmal 2012, 16). One interviewee noted that this was realized by the mega event because, “It’s [the World Cup] definitely taken the destination to another level of comfort in that people will consider it and not, you know, see this fears of safety anymore; we don’t see [these] issue[s] being lumped in with things that are happening elsewhere in Africa. I mean those were our real problems pre-World Cup. And since then we’ve sort of seen that we’re able to more stand on our own” (Personal Interview, September 5, 2012, South African Tourism). As such,
Johannesburg and South Africa have clearly used the World Cup to create a unique, yet broad and comprehensive image to promote around the world and throughout the continent.

5.3 Projected Economic Benefits for Johannesburg During and After the World Cup

“In making the case for why it was necessary to pursue this particular holy grail of international recognition and tourism, the government invoked the idea of a ‘developmental bid’. In other words, the World Cup was seen as a catalytic event to expand economic investment (through increased tourism and greater country-brand recognition), remake cities through strategic investments, foster ‘social cohesion’ and accelerate the penetration of sport-related activities into the fibre of the nation, especially disadvantaged communities” (Pieterse 2012, 83).

Paraphrasing South African President Jacob Zuma, Bolsmann (2012) asserts that, “…2010 was the most important year for the country since 1994, when the first democratic elections were held in the country” (163). Such an important event requires the support of the population, just as the 1994 national elections did. Figure 9 displays local confidence for the World Cup in the five years prior to the event. As Figure 9 shows, confidence for the event ebbs and flows so it is essential that growth coalitions maintain the interest and support of the local population in the years and months preceding the event. As a result, growth coalitions, local and national governments, FIFA, and other organizations make numerous promises and provide various statistics as to the benefits of hosting an international mega event like the World Cup. In keeping, this section examines the promises to the citizenry and who made them based upon newspaper and literature analyses.
Johannesburg is a city in desperate need of sustainable economic growth as is evident from the long list of problems it has that are associated with so called “Third World cities” as opposed to world-class cities. The World Cup was supposed to be a short-term and long-term economic boost to the national and city economy, providing jobs, skills, and investment that would help alleviate socioeconomic problems. For example, Lebo Biko, MD of Network BBDO Consulting was quoted as saying, “…the World Cup was expected to add R55,7bn to SA’s gross domestic product next year and create 415000 new jobs” (Newmarch, May 16, 2009). Business Day journalist Chantelle Benjamin posited in an article that 483,000 tourists were expected to attend the World Cup and, “…the police would spend R64m on the deployment of 32000 permanent
officers, 10000 police reservists and 10000 people from other disciplines” (Benjamin November 26, 2008, 32). Gauteng premier Mbhazima Shilowa asserted that, “…the province's growth and development strategy identified the tournament as one of the levers that could be used to help the province achieve its target of an economic growth rate of 8% by 2014, the creation of 800000 jobs, skills development, capacity development for 100000 people and support to 30000 small businesses” (Benjamin March 30, 2007, 3). One study published in Business Day suggested that, “The expected tax income to government is about R19bn,” and, “The amount of money to be spent by African nationals and foreign tourists during the event…is expected to be about R8,5bn” (Haw, September 28, 2009). Another report from an independent group, “…suggests that 373,000 visitors will come to the country and translate into gross economic impact of R93 billion” (Rice, June 1, 2010). Although the article in which this next quote was cited was itself was negative in nature, the following economic figures were argued for even after the World Cup had finished,

“The politicians will try convince you the World Cup added at least half a percent on to our GDP last year and injected more than R70 billion into the economy. They will say that more than 130 000 (albeit temporary) jobs were created, which is pretty good going. The City of Joburg will produce studies to show that for every rand invested, almost R8 was generated. It will point to the Gautrain, the BRT network and the airport to show that new infrastructure will benefit us for decades” (Eliseev, June 10, 2011).

All of these quotes from private and public officials indicate that significant short term and long term job creation was expected in the country and in Johannesburg. As this last quote demonstrates, even after the World Cup was complete politicians were still boasting about figures and improvements for the people. In a city and country ripe with
unemployment and socioeconomic stratification, these are critical promises to make, but even more critical promises to fulfill.

There was also the promise of redevelopment throughout the Johannesburg during the World Cup to make the city more efficient and alleviate the problems of apartheid. Cir Amos Masondo, the Executive Mayor of Johannesburg, postulated that, “Thus, after 2010 the people of Johannesburg will continue to benefit from a cleaner environment, greener city, safer urban setting and better facilities in terms of transport, commerce, health and leisure” (Joburg – 2010 FIFA World Cup Host City, 4). Additionally, Cir Bafana Sithole, a member of the Mayoral Committee with Community Development stated, “…the initiatives that we have identified as Legacy Projects will enable us to address the backlogs and leave in their wake a better, more efficient and more inclusive city” (Joburg – 2010 FIFA World Cup Host City, 5). For example, “The IBC [International Broadcast Center] would become a key legacy project for business and sporting-related businesses in a safe hi-tech node which would eventually include residential, shopping and entertainment developments” (West 2008, 2). Furthermore, “The 2010 FIFA World Cup has afforded the City the opportunity to revitalise these stadiums [stadiums throughout the city to be used as training grounds] and conduct significant upgrades that will make them valuable assets for the people of Johannesburg” (Joburg – 2010 FIFA World Cup Host City, 11). The Gautrain and Rea Vaya Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) System helped make travel more efficient and sustainable. Similarly, the ‘Greening Soweto’ Initiative was a beautification project started to improve the visual and environmental qualities of Soweto (Joburg – 2010 FIFA World Cup Host City).
These projects are only a few examples of the hundreds of projects that took place during and after the World Cup to facilitate redevelopment and create new centers for economic and social growth. While the economic promises and redevelopment plans are incredibly valuable, some of the most valuable economic gains, in terms of jobs and investment, should come in the way of international tourism.

The importance of tourism to the South African economy had been identified well before the World Cup. “In the era of democratic South Africa, tourism is viewed as an essential sector for national reconstruction and development and one that offers ‘enormous potential as a catalyst for economic and social development across the whole country’” (Rogerson 2006, 45-46). In fact, “…the tourism industry contributed R69.8 billion of the country’s R545 billion in GDP in 1999 of which R14 billion originated from Johannesburg” (City of Johannesburg Tourism Strategy 2012, 2). This is a significant value considering tourism in South Africa has traditionally highlighted the ‘Big Five’ and the natural beauty of the country.

Also, “The picture emerges that Gauteng, South Africa’s economic heartland, which includes the cities of Johannesburg and Pretoria, is the most significant focus for regional tourism” (Rogerson and Visser 2007, 51). As a result of the economics and potential for employment in the tourism sector, Gauteng Province and Johannesburg are actively looking to make tourism a larger aspect of their respective economies. However, there are other emerging tourism components, such as medical tourism and business tourism, which Johannesburg and South Africa are hoping to exploit. For Johannesburg, business tourism (conferences, business training, international business people coming to
the city, etc.) is of particular importance due to its image of a world-class city. In keeping, during the build up to the World Cup and in its aftermath, city and national officials espoused the ongoing economic and social benefits of tourism to their citizens and made it a central theme in their public relations campaigns for the event.

“Tourism was one of the main reasons the government bid for the World Cup, and it has had an impact on South African tourism, leisure and business revenue since” (Jordaan 2012, 21). Hosting the World Cup for tourism is significant because, “Tourism represents an economic sector that is marketing-intensive” (Nemasetoni and Rogerson 2005, 206). According to South African Tourism, “A total of 309, 554 foreign tourists arrived in South Africa for the primary purpose of attending the 2010 FIFA World Cup” (South African Tourism 2010a, 2). This is significantly lower than the 483,000 tourists predicted by Chantelle Benjamin in her Business Day article, but also greater than some estimates, which had the number of tourists numbering only 200,000 (du Plessis and Maennig 2011). Those tourists placed R3,64 billion directly into the South African economy and Gauteng [the province in which Johannesburg is located] was the most visited province, hosting 223,039 tourists during the World Cup (South African Tourism 2010a). Additionally, “…South African tourism can expect between 130000 and 290000 extra foreign arrivals a year from 2011 through to 2015 because of the World Cup effect that in 2006 provided a big boost for the German tourism sector” (Haw, September 28, 2009). These figures are significant for Johannesburg and the impact of the World Cup. However, aside from these figures, no more information is going to be provided on
tourism and the World Cup in this chapter. More information regarding tourism is going to be available in Chapter 7.

Skills were also among the most important impacts of World Cup tourism in Johannesburg and throughout South Africa. The World Cup was an opportunity to host large quantities of international tourists and for employees to learn by doing and obtain valuable know-how, accumulate experience, and learn how to treat tourists in a way that could be translated into a favorable image for Johannesburg. The Joburg 2030 planning guide asserts that, “…there is a serious lack of appropriate skills in the City…[because] there is now less mining and industrial production and more services and trade and high level manufacturing” (Corporate Planning Unit 2002, 4). One tour guide stated, “So, from your guides, to your drivers, to your hotel staff, your booking agencies, and so on and so forth - the World Cup was an immense skills development [event]. And it was not a terribly long lasting event. But the preparation phase made all sorts of big demands for new recruits into the industry who had to be, you know, up to standard by the time the World Cup began” (Personal Interview, August 15, 2012, Tour Guide). Another tour guide echoed this sentiment when he posited that,

“I have once had two French tourists who were staying in a hotel in Sandton and he was here for business for a week, two weeks. And his wife came along and they contacted me on the Sunday of week one. And their concierge at the hotel told them to not even leave the hotel it’s so unsafe in Johannesburg. So he went to his business meetings with his chauffeur driver and she stayed in the hotel the entire week. She didn’t leave there – she didn’t even walk to Nelson Mandela Square, which is literally a 100 meters away and completely safe to walk to. I have walked up myself to some of the hotel concierges – I know one of the people who work there, one of the concierges, and told them go on a tour with me because he’s been on my tour. And I took them on a tour of the inner city
and they couldn’t believe how nice Joburg was and how safe it is (Personal Interview, July 24, 2012, Tour Guide).

This story emphasizes the importance of developing skills and knowledge about the city and how to properly relay that information to tourists and even to locals. Another example of a lack of skills in regards to interacting with tourists is,

“…during the World Cup improvements started happening in the inner city especially, but not only in the inner city, all over the Joburg security guards stop you from taking photographs as a tourist because you are supposedly a security threat which makes no sense because you can see everything on Google Earth. So now you cannot take photographs of Gandhi on Gandhi Square which is a monument which is surely a tourist attraction and a security guard comes up to you and asks do you have permission to take a picture of that? I mean that is just a simple example of security guards not being trained properly, but they have to learn to deal with the public. One day they are at a mine out of town and the next day they’re in the city center next to a public sculpture and don’t know the difference. At that level, it’s the level of that the tourist interacts with people. So the tourist walks into a public square and takes a photograph and gets in trouble and they leave with a very bad impression of the city” (Personal Interview July 24, 2012, Tour Guide).

These stories highlight the fact that an event like the World Cup, with an influx of hundreds of thousands of tourists, requires training and retraining of personnel throughout the city, and not only in the tourism industry. This means educating employees to meet ‘international standards’ and acquiring ‘Western best practices’ in order to cater to a demographic with existing expectations of service and hospitality. With a variety of things to do in the city and a plethora of new projects (to be discussed in the next chapter), there is room for improving the training of tourism staffs and a lot of opportunities to provide valuable, practical training to a variety of individuals for whom such training may have otherwise been out of reach. More aspects of tourism from the World Cup will be discussed in Chapter Seven, but this discussion on tourism is meant to
show not only the significant economic impact that tourism has throughout South Africa and Johannesburg, but also to highlight that tourism has been claimed to be a major avenue of city imaging and is critical to changing the perceptions of locals and the international community.

In concluding this section, it is clear that the 2010 FIFA World Cup was hosted to help the city and country overcome the legacy of apartheid and announce Johannesburg’s presence as a world-class city. Promises, especially regarding the economic opportunities, international tourism, and infrastructure, were made to the population to garner their support for the capital intensive mega event. Finally, a new image was promised to supporters and is a critical component to creating the world-class city and creating a competitive economic environment. While not the only program undertaken in the city to improve its image, the World Cup is by far the largest and most intense project and of critical importance for Johannesburg’s future development. The images created and projects created through this event have the potential to create and build up the label of a world-class city.

In the next chapter of this thesis, the scope of analysis is narrowed from national and urban to primarily urban. The promises from the World Cup coalition are placed in the context of projects that were completed in Johannesburg for the World Cup. These projects are meant to be the realization of Johannesburg as a world-class city and they are the vehicles through which employment and revenue will be garnered for the city.
CHAPTER 6: URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS FOR THE WORLD CUP

“However, the Council [the Johannesburg City Council] has identified another category of projects with a special purpose. These they have called catalytic or flagship projects: their aim is to trigger other similar or associated projects that will support new economic growth immediately” (Corporate Planning Unit 2002, 8).

A variety of projects were initiated and completed during the preparation period for the World Cup, the majority of them infrastructure projects. These projects were not only short term projects for immediate use, but long term projects that were going to be fixtures of the city landscape for decades to come. As such, projects like the Gautrain, the Rea Vaya, and Soccer City were projects not only meant to project Johannesburg as a world-class city during the World Cup, but critical pieces in the planning process to overcome apartheid era planning and restrictions to create a more economically competitive and socially accessible city for all.
This chapter answers the second research question: What projects and programs have been initiated to project Johannesburg as a world city? As such, it examines many of the physical transformations the city underwent in the build up to the World Cup. First, this chapter analyzes the planning documents within which the World Cup projects must operate. Since the emphasis of the projects during the World Cup is on urban infrastructure, two critical transportation projects, the Gautrain and the Rea Vaya, are examined as is the pre-transportation system that necessitated their construction and implementation. In addition to transportation, the developments at Soccer City are analyzed as well as numerous smaller projects and initiatives throughout the city. It is the intention of this chapter to demonstrate the sheer range and depth of projects completed in Johannesburg for the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Table 7 lists some of the many projects.
that were completed in the city for the World Cup and Figure 10 shows their locations in the city.

Table 7: Major Projects in Johannesburg for the 2010 FIFA World Cup

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Project Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Rea Vaya Bus Rapid Transport (BRT) System | • First phase creates stops to World Cup areas and tourist attractions.  
• Cheap and fast was to navigate the inner city and downtown                                                                                           |
| Guatrain                        | • Africa’s first high-speed rail system  
• Meant to alleviate traffic between Johannesburg and Pretoria and access to OR Tambo International Airport                                        |
| Soccer City                     | • Brand new stadium for the games  
• Broadcasting center and upgrades to facilitate business, freight, and housing development                                                  |
| Greening Soweto                 | • Goal is to plant 300,000 trees in Soweto  
• Clean up waterways, parks, and open spaces                                                                                                        |
| Ellis Park Upgrades             | • Upgrade the two stadiums  
• Green and improve the surrounding stadium grounds  
• Revitalize the nearby districts                                                                                                                  |

6.1 Joburg 2030 and Joburg 2040

Hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup was the primary cause of many of the urban infrastructure projects Johannesburg in the 2000’s. However, these projects were not without precedent and, as had already been mentioned in Section 3.3, there have been
multiple plans for Johannesburg since 1994. Two plans are going to be elaborated on in this section: *Joburg 2030* and *Joburg 2040* (Table 8). These documents will be the focus because they are the most recent and comprehensive plans for urban inclusion and development that have been developed for Johannesburg and the greater Gauteng province.

Table 8: *Joburg 2030* and *Joburg 2040*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plan Name</th>
<th>Plan Components</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joburg 2030</td>
<td>• Overcome the spatial and socioeconomic inequalities of apartheid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• “World-class African City” campaign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Emphasis on economic growth and realizing world-class potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Trickle-down benefits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joburg 2040</td>
<td>• Combination of multiple planning documents that covered a wide array of sectors and issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• First comprehensive plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Make the city competitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Emphasis on human rights and education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Looks to create the Gauteng city-region to maximize human and economic potential</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“...if we want to achieve sustainable economic growth in Johannesburg and become a world-class city, some major changes are going to have to be made to the way our City is planned and laid out” (Corporate Planning Unit 2002, 5). This quote from the short version of *Joburg 2030* succinctly summarizes the goals of the 2030 planning
process; offsetting the barriers and problems erected by apartheid in Johannesburg. The 2030 plan, which was constructed in the early 2002, is fixated on economic growth as a solution to the woes of apartheid. For example, “…unless Johannesburg can be put firmly on the road to a high level of sustainable economic growth, it will not be able to deliver the increased prosperity and quality of life we all so badly need” (Corporate Planning Unit 2002, 3). Economic growth will allow for greater formal employment, social development, integration into larger economic systems and frameworks. From economic growth will be trickle down effects to other sectors that will benefit from an overall more efficient and prosperous system. Along with economic growth, tackling crime, skill shortages in relevant sectors, and sustainability from an environmental perspective are emphasized in the document. The emphasis on economic growth is paramount, as is upgrading infrastructure that will improve competitiveness and integration in the global economy. This plan is about realizing not only the ills of apartheid, but alleviating them in such a way as to transform Johannesburg from a city mired in apartheid to the world-class city of the future. This emphasis on economic growth and world-class infrastructure is consistent with hosting the World Cup and the benefits that are perceived to accompany it. While Joburg 2030 concentrates at the city level on upgrading the city and its economy, the Joburg 2040 plan takes this plan one step further.

“At the time [in 2006], there were numerous strategies, including, amongst others: ‘Joburg 2030’, the Human Development Strategy (HDS), and integrated Transport Plan and the City Safe Strategy. Each addressed a different angle of the city’s development.
The GDS [Growth and Development Strategy] provided the opportunity to consolidate all of these into a single cross-City strategy” (Joburg 2040 2011, 5). This is the city’s first comprehensive plan and goes far beyond just economic growth. It tackles everything from health and crime to economic growth and green energy. Joburg 2040 is looking to integrate Johannesburg into a cohesive and functioning unit that can not only deliver sustainable economic growth, but also address shortfalls in education, housing, and service delivery. A lot of energy is dedicated towards making Johannesburg a more competitive and vital place in the global economic chain by investing in human capital through education and changes in planning to reduce sprawl. For example, the comprehensive plan looks to promote, “Change[s in] the zoning to allow mixed-use…promote connectivity across the city…[and] encourage greater linkages across green spaces in the city” (Joburg 2040 2011, 73). The plan also recognizes that South Africa as a whole is behind in knowledge creation and that Johannesburg needs to take the lead in creating knowledge and making knowledge more easily accessible to the majority of its population. It terms this the ‘smart city’ which entails, “…all the characteristics associated with organisational change, technological advancement, economic, social development and other dynamics of a modern city” (Joburg 2040 2011, 81). In addition to making Johannesburg a larger and more functional urban unit, the strategy is also looking to make Gauteng province more connected along the lines of a city region. Such connections are beneficial for the province, which is the hub of economic activities in South Africa, and aims to position Johannesburg as the central node in such an integrated provincial network.
While the strategy includes projects completed during the World Cup, especially the Rea Vaya and Gautrain projects, *Joburg 2040* makes one direct mention of the World Cup. The quote in which the event is mentioned is, “The construction sector held up well, as a result of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, with sizeable public sector investment in stadia, infrastructure and transport” (*Joburg 2040* 2011, 17). This, along with the mention of the numerous projects, is proof that *Joburg 2040* hopes to build off the success of the World Cup, particularly through tourism. The major legacy from the World Cup, as taken from *Joburg 2040*, is not the stadiums or image changes, but the transportation infrastructure that was completed during the event, with the main focus being the Rea Vaya BRT and the Gautrain.

### 6.2.1 Public Transportation before the World Cup

Before analyzing the Gautrain and Rea Vaya projects, it is necessary to examine some of the existing “public transportation” in Johannesburg to establish why these projects were needed. *Joburg 2030* states, “...because of Apartheid, Johannesburg is very spread out and has poor transport systems” (Corporate Planning Unit 2002, 5). In keeping, a bustling minibus taxi service in arose in South Africa to address the public transportation shortfall for blacks and they dominate urban centers (*Joburg 2040* places their user rate at 41 percent as of 2009). Minibus taxis are the preferred method of travel for the urban poor who cannot afford cars or to maintain them properly (Ishibashi 2012, Stavrou 2000). This seems like a beneficial, sustainable option. Fourteen or more people in a bus to get around the city would reduce the number of cars on the road. However, Stavrou (2000) points out that this service is not federally funded or subsidized and many
of the vehicles on the road are old, not kept up, and prone to breaking down. From personal experience in Johannesburg, the minibus taxis do not obey the rules of the road, break down frequently, are massively overcrowded, and create congestion and delays when they stop randomly in the road. There are also thousands of these taxis and they congest urban centers, have horrible emissions, and have no apparent accountability even though there are laws in place that are supposed to regulate them. This contributes to Johannesburg’s dangerous image and is not compatible with tourism or a world-class image.

The only other transportation method in Johannesburg is the Metrorail. This system connects Soweto with the CBD and other peripheral towns. “The system transports large volumes of workers, but is recognised as not being safe or reliable. While the City of Johannesburg is not responsible for rail, the daily experience of many of those who live and work in the city is affected in significant ways by the network’s underperformance and poor quality” (Joburg 2040 2011, 68). The Metrorail is drastically underfunded and in need of overhaul even though over 2 million people use it per week (Van der Westhuizen 2007). The ineffectual nature of this system can be best exemplified by the lack of any real research on the system and the lack of policy found regarding upgrading or expanding it. The only mention of the Metrorail comes from the 2040 GDS which mentions offhandedly about upgrading it. In fact, even after going to Johannesburg for two months, I was unaware that the train functioned or that it transported as many people as it did.
Since there is a definite lack of public transportation within the city, public transportation has been identified as a major concern and essential development sector by both *Joburg 2030* and *Joburg 2040*. Additionally, “The wholesale price of diesel in Gauteng is now three times more than what it cost in 2002…” (*Joburg 2040* 2011, 69) and “A larger population with more cars means more congestion – with negative effects for the quality of life for residents, let alone the impact on the environment and sustainability of Johannesburg’s infrastructure” (*Joburg 2040* 2011, 68). This makes developing public transportation not only a matter of accessibility, but a matter of improving the health of Johannesburg, Joburgers, tourists, and the economics and efficiency of the city. The minibus taxis and the Metrorail do not embody efficiency, quickness, or safety, which are pivotal for world-class cities and they do not facilitate enough formal economic opportunities. “In sum, transportation upgrading is clearly a key concern of the government and draws much from the financial reserves of the country” (Cornelissen 2007, 252). One interviewee stated, “…when I think of world-class I think of transport structures; I think of public access into the city itself…” (Personal Interview, August 2, 2012, BRAND South Africa). There are also benefits to systems like the Guatrain and Rea Vaya BRT that are not accessible by those in the existing transport system. For example,

“Large-scale improvement programmes [like the Rea Vaya BRT] offer an ideal opportunity through which to create opportunities, through which to promote scarce skills development and through which to provide experiential training opportunities…as well as empowering mini-bus taxi operators to become prosperous public transport operators. They also present opportunities for the empowerment of vulnerable groups…through involvement in activities across the transport value chain” (*Joburg 2040* 2011, 72).
Therefore, “…key public transportation interventions such as the Gautrain…and the Rea Vaya BRT system…have laid the foundation for a new era of mass public transport” (Joburg 2040 2011, 70) and have major implications for urban and social development. Hosting a mega event has been used as an opportunity to justify the upgrading of the city infrastructure, including the implementation of a new bus system.

6.2.2 The Rea Vaya

The horde of minibus taxis that roam the streets of Johannesburg make it abundantly clear that an affordable, reliable public transportation system is needed. An effort initially geared at the downtown and currently expanding to the suburbs and other segments of the city is the Rea Vaya bus rapid transport (BRT) system. The Rea Vaya BRT system in Johannesburg is based off of BRT systems from South American cities, which face similar transportation and spatial issues. There were two phases of the Rea Vaya and phase one began in 2006 (Ishibashi 2012, 64). The first phase, “…was around the stadiums. So Ellis Park and then the City of Joburg and [a] couple of tourist attractions like Vilakazi Street and everything else” (Personal Interview, August 2, 2012, BRAND South Africa). The first phase was completed before the start of the World Cup. “…the second phase was around schools, hospitals, and everything else,” (Personal Interview, August 2, 2012, BRAND South Africa) and is still being expanded to the northern suburbs. So this line is not only linking tourist attractions and events for the World Cup and tourists, but essential amenities and establishments for citizens as well.

The Rea Vaya BRT, which means “We are Going!,” (Ishibashi 2012) has lanes that are reserved for buses in the middle of the streets and does not require them to get
caught in traffic jams, reducing trip times. Overall, “The goal of the Rea Vaya BRT is to place 85 percent of the City’s population within a 500 metre radius of a Rea Vaya BRT feeder or trunk route” (Joburg 2040 2011, 70) and each of the stations is in fact 500 meters apart from one another (Joburg 2040 2011). Furthermore, the bus line is cheap, costing only R4.50 (1 Rand = 8 USD) to travel anywhere in the downtown and only R12 to travel from the downtown to Soweto. This is extremely affordable and much safer than driving in the city, which has more than double the normal global accident level (U.S. State Department).
The bus system is part of the regeneration efforts in the downtown. “Both the Rea Vaya BRT and Gautrain provide opportunities for corridor development and transit-oriented development…” (Joburg 2040 2011, 71). Braamfontein, for example, was once run down and dangerous. No one would walk there willingly. But now, with the help of investors and the nearby Wits University, the area has emerged as a bustling and upbeat business and residential center that is attracting people back to the downtown. Braamfontein also benefits from the Rea Vaya BRT system and has a Gautrain station nearby, which promotes economic development and makes it an important transportation node. Using the bus system assumes that people can walk in the downtown, that it is safe, and that people want to live and work in the downtown. These attitudes:
walkability, safety, and livability are on the rise in Johannesburg and many segments of the city that were unwalkable or navigable just ten years ago have been transformed into walkable and vibrant communities and business districts. Furthermore, the regeneration and sustainability of the city and area is highlighted by walking tours in the downtown to educate both foreigners and locals about what happened in the downtown and how it is changing.

In addition to making the city more sustainable through walkability and enhancing local businesses and housing markets, the Rea Vaya bus line is green. The Rea Vaya website posits that, “If only 15 percent of car users who live close to the city switch to the Rea Vaya, carbon dioxide emissions can be cut by 1.6 million tons by 2020” (Rea Vaya, 2012). Additionally, the website claims that their bus fleet is the greenest on the continent and uses low-sulphur diesel (Rea Vaya, 2012). The bus system should reduce the amount of CO2 entering the atmosphere, which is good for combating global climate change. Also, using cleaner fuel will mean less putrid emissions, which makes the city more walkable and less dirty. Furthermore, according to a Rea Vaya press release, as of 2009 over 16,000 people were using the Rea Vaya everyday (Rea Vaya, 2009). Assuming four people per car, that is more than 4,000 cars off the road each day and if a minibus taxi holds sixteen people then that is over 1,000 off the road each day. Such changes could make the inner city less congested, cleaner (Benfield 2012, Toderian 2008) and more accessible to the poor (Stavrou 2000). Furthermore, the reduction in automobile traffic in the downtown reduces the need for so many parking garages and parking spaces. This should make parking more available to those who do drive around
the city and some of those garages and spaces can then be converted into something more profitable.

However, despite the early success of the new BRT system, there are problems with knowledge of the system and attracting ridership. “While the Gautrain and Rea Vaya BRT have gone some way in addressing this [shift in transportation methods – from private to public], significant work needs to be done to ensure increased rider-ship” (Joburg 2040 2011, 69). One tour provider stated, “I promise you that no tourist will know – and most locals don’t know at the moment – that you can walk out of Park Station [in Braamfontein] and [go] into the middle of the street, walk onto a Rea Vaya BRT station, and get in a bus for R4.50 and go anywhere in the city” (Personal Interview, July 24, 2012, Tour Guide). The Rea Vaya was a project aimed at everyday congestion within the city of Johannesburg. It was coupled with a larger, more controversial project; the Gautrain.

6.2.3 The Gautrain

Even before the Gautrain project was started, the City of Johannesburg was looking to use light rail and public transportation to reintegrate the suburbs and the downtown. Bremner (2000) asserts that in 1991, one of the ten strategic projects for the city included, “…a R200 million light rail link between the high rise inner city suburbs and the central business district” (189). This project did not take off and is probably best exemplified in the Rea Vaya BRT system that links many of the inner city suburbs and the central business district. In fact, “…the [Gautrain] system was not conceptualised as a panacea for mass public transit. Instead, it was developed as a high-speed corridor
route to connect major cities with the GCR [Gauteng City Region]…” Joburg 2040 2011, 71).

While integrating the city was important, linking Pretoria and Johannesburg was also of notable importance as, “Every year 21,000 more cars take to the roads in the congested corridor between Pretoria (now Tshwane) and Johannesburg…[and] the main commuter networks in Gauteng Province [between Johannesburg and Pretoria] have 300,000 cars a day” (Van der Westheuizen 2007, 335-336). When congested, the trip to Pretoria (roughly 42 miles) can take upwards of two hours (Van der Westhuizen 2007). Additionally, Ishibashi (2012) states that, “According to calculations by Gauteng Province, the total negative cost, including lost productivity due to traffic congestion on the N1 [the main route between Joburg and Pretoria] is as much as R300 million per annum” (64). That money is being wasted not only on lost productivity, but on fossil fuels and automotive repair as well. R300 million a year is a lot to lose and makes a viable inter-city option a valuable necessity.

Relieving congestion within this corridor is necessary to help speed up travel, be more sustainable, and assist economic activity. The Gautrain is supposed to revive the desire to travel using public transportation between Johannesburg and Pretoria and will take only 35 minutes from CBD to CBD (Van der Westhuizen 2007). Also, according to estimates, the Gautrain would commute 100,000 people every day (Ishibashi 2012), which means a lot of cars will be removed from the roads and a lot of associated emissions will be prevented (Akerman 2001).
The R25 billion project is the most contentious project in Johannesburg associated with the World Cup. Van der Westhuizen (2007) declares that most light rail systems around the world are not sustainable and public opinion on the Gautrain was greatly divided, much of it because of NIMBYism (Donaldson 2005). Something has to be done to alleviate the congestion between the two cities, but even upgrading the deficient Metrorail system would be extremely expensive (Van der Westhuizen 2007). The Gautrain project was also pushed by FIFA when South Africa was awarded the bid for the 2010 World Cup and by politicians as a legacy project. As a result, the Gautrain

Figure 11: Africa’s first and only high speed rail. Photo from Gautrain.
construction was sped up and the first phases of the train were ready in time for the World Cup (the routes from OR Tambo and from the CBD to Sandton), even though many felt there was not enough time to adequately assess the costs and benefits (Donaldson 2005, Van der Westhuizen 2007).

The importance of the Gautrain has been emphasized regionally up to this point, but the project is ultimately more beneficial for Johannesburg than Pretoria. There are multiple Gautrain stations within Johannesburg along the 80km of track that link the CBD and inner city to the suburbs of Sandton and Rosebank. There is a line linking Sandton to OR Tambo International Airport, which is much quicker, more convenient, and much safer than traversing the highways and traffic around the airport (from personal experience). There is also a Gautrain line that goes from the Joburg CBD and inner city to Pretoria’s CBD and makes stops at some of the exurbs along the way. These stations will be able to serve as hubs for economic development in their respective locations and will also serve to reduce traffic between the suburbs. “In the case of Park Station [in Braamfontein], the City of Johannesburg hopes to redevelop this precinct into a multi-nodal transport interchange coupled with new office developments, and an international trade and transit centre” (Garner 2011, 158). And as of 2012, “…some $4billion…worth of mixed use development has risen alongside the Gautrain’s two lines…” (Chambers 2012, 78). One hundred and twenty-five buses linked to the Gautrain stations will also have 430km of routes to give those without direct access opportunities to use the train (The Gautrain Management Agency, 2012). In keeping, Johannesburg appears to be
modern and world class while at the same time making the city and region more sustainable and creating jobs and economic opportunities during and after construction.

6.2.4 Soccer City

“...The stadium as a symbol of advanced civilisation takes us back to ancient Rome and its awe-inspiring Colosseum...” (Trangoš 2012, 55). As such, the World Cup presented South Africa with a chance to show off its ‘civilization’ through new stadiums. Soccer City is a new development that is focused around the Nasrec suburb in between the Johannesburg city center and Soweto. It is built on the ruins of another, older stadium that had the honor of hosting the likes of Nelson Mandela. The new stadium at Soccer
City, now FNB Stadium, is the 11th largest stadium in the world and can hold upwards of 90,000 spectators (Joburg – 2010 FIFA World Cup City). The construction of FNB Stadium is highly symbolic in that it represents a new, united South Africa and Johannesburg which has overcome a relic of apartheid and distrust. This symbolism is congruent with the image of a united and advancing democracy that was propagated by South Africa’s World Cup organizing committee. Interestingly, “The stadium has green-friendly elements. All lighting is energy efficient; materials from sections of the old stadium were re-used; water collected in the moat around the field is used to water the field, and access water to flush the toilets. The flushing of urinals is programmed, releasing water in tune to the use of toilets” (City of Johannesburg 2010).

Coming in at a price tag of R3.3 billion, it is an architectural wonder for the country and is going to be a major legacy project associated with the World Cup. “Soccer City is, clearly, the ‘jewel in the crown’ of South Africa’s hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup” (Joburg – 2010 FIFA World Cup City, 9). The stadium itself resembles a calabash (a gourd) and, “The calabash was selected as it is one of the most recognisable objects associated with the continent” (Joburg - 2010 FIFA World Cup Host City, 8). Citing Bob van Bebber, the architect of the stadium, the City of Johannesburg website states, “It symbolises people coming together, a melting pot of cultures, sharing and passing around the calabash” (City of Johannesburg 2010). This symbolism is emblematic of the pan-African rhetoric espoused by the organizing committee during the bidding process for the World Cup. As such, the rhetoric is not only visible through campaign posters and official rhetoric, but through the physical manifestations of the
event as well. FNB Stadium hosted the opening ceremonies, four first-round matches, one second round match, one quarter final match, and the final match of the 2010 World Cup (Joburg – 2010 FIFA World Cup Host City, 9). Since the end of the World Cup, the stadium has become a tourist attraction and has also played host to various international rugby and soccer matches.

In addition to being a stadium, the developments at Soccer City included a brand new facility for the SAFA (South African Football Association) and the stadium district is going to serve as an area of economic development. The district is connected to the Rea Vaya BRT, has an updated expo center, has modern telecommunications infrastructure from being the headquarters of the World Cup, and the nearby highway has been improved to alleviate bottlenecks and allow for increases in traffic. These updates, costing over R120 million, will also include, “…a fully-functional transport hub, including a railway station. The rail system will serve future industrial, commercial and residential developments planned for the area after the soccer tournament” (Joburg – 2010 FIFA World Cup Host City, 9). The Nasrec suburb has received a lot of investment and redevelopment as a result of the World Cup and is going to serve as a future site for redevelopment and growth. Further precinct upgrades include, “A transportation hub and pedestrian mall [which] is being constructed to its south and the precinct will contain new roads, walkways, lighting, signage, landscaping, CCTV cameras [a security measure] and public amenities” (City of Johannesburg 2010).

This project is emblematic of the planning initiatives espoused by the Joburg 2030 and Joburg 2040 documents. This is an area that is going to be critical for
economic growth and development, which is central in the *Joburg 2030* document. It is also going to serve as a telecommunications hub and what appears to be mixed use development that is connected to the rest of the city’s infrastructure, which is consistent with the ideals of the 2040 document. Furthermore, the stadium itself incorporates green principles that will mitigate water and energy usage. Soccer City was also built in between two historically separated districts (Soweto and the downtown and suburbs) and can serve as a node for transportation and connectivity in addition to integrating the populations through jobs, social events, and commuting. While Soccer City was the ‘crown jewel’ of the World Cup, there were many other infrastructure upgrades and improvements that took place throughout Johannesburg during the years building up to the event.

### 6.2.5 Other Public Works for the World Cup

The World Cup saw the construction of big projects like the Gautrain and Soccer City, but there were also other projects throughout the city that were either started or finished by the event. “The 2010 FIFA World Cup is an important catalyst for Johannesburg to upgrade existing infrastructure and introduce services that will bring lasting benefits to the residents of the City” (*Joburg – 2010 FIFA World Cup Host City*, 14). The biggest projects that came from the World Cup for the city came through infrastructure projects and redevelopment. For example, a BRAND South Africa report on the World Cup asserts,

“Infrastructure projects will help to keep the economy buoyant in times that are clearly challenging. Government and state-owned enterprises will spend a whopping R787 billion over the next three years [building up the World Cup] on diverse developments. The funds have been allocated to
projects that will significantly advance industrial operations and public service delivery. They include improving rail and road infrastructure, an innovative bus rapid transit system, as well as the building of clinics, schools and housing for the poor” (BRAND South Africa, 7).

The global economic crisis in 2008 impacted Johannesburg as 90,000 jobs were shed (Joburg 2040 2011), but the industry breakdown of those job losses was not stated in the Joburg 2040 report. But the World Cup preparations, as is evident from this quote, were able to shield the country and city from greater losses in employment throughout certain sectors of the economy and better prepare the city for the future. As a part of this ‘shield’, Eskom, the national energy provider, upgraded and expanded its electric infrastructure throughout the city. As has already been mentioned, Soccer City hosted the IBC during the World Cup. The IBC meant the installation of new, modern telecommunications infrastructure that will be valuable for hosting other events and for upgrading and integrating other segments of the city. On a related note, the city also upgraded its bandwidth and laid new cables for better communication and connectivity. R20 billion was spent on the Gauteng Freeway Improvement Project, which, “…involv[ed] [the] upgrading of existing roads and [the] building of new roads to improve accessibility and reduce congestion…” (City of Johannesburg 2012). Throughout the city, roads were built, rebuilt, and improved. Greening took place throughout the city and Johannesburg had to be cleaned and beautified for the international spectacle.

While there were many projects that took place throughout the city, a few of the lesser known projects deserve greater recognition and analysis. One such regeneration and infrastructure project is concentrated in the area around Ellis Park Stadium
(hereinafter referred to as Ellis Park). Ellis Park holds a lot of history for sport and unity in South Africa. It was founded in 1928, rebuilt in 1979, and, “On 24 June 1995 it hosted the Rugby World Cup Final, and then President Nelson Mandela came out of the tunnel wearing the Number 6 jersey. South Africa won the Cup against New Zealand and Ellis Park became a symbol of a united South Africa” (Joburg – 2010 FIFA World Cup Host City, 10). However, after the fall of apartheid and the inner city decline of Johannesburg, the area around Ellis Park became dangerous and derelict. “Yet while it’s no longer the garbage dump it once was, the precinct still has its problems, given its location in the heart of Hillbrow’s slums and Doornfontein’s run-down buildings” (Craig, July, 19 2006).

Figure 13: Ellis Park stadium. Some of the green spaces around the stadium can be seen as can the surrounding areas. Photo from the City of Johannesburg.

Even though Soccer City was constructed to be the new symbol of the country and city, Ellis Park was slated to be a major venue and, “…only received a major revamp
for the 2010 FIFA World Cup” (Joburg – 2010 FIFA World Cup Host City, 10). While the boosts to the stadium are impressive and worthy of praise, the bigger project is that, “The general area around the precinct [also known as the Greater Ellis Park precinct] is benefitting from a R2 billion refurbishment…” (Joburg – 2010 FIFA World Cup Host City, 10). “This has included beautifying the whole area with street furniture, artwork and lighting and the provision of additional infrastructure” (Joburg – 2010 FIFA World Cup Host City, 17). One area in the precinct, Doornfontein, received a brand new R77 million train station and has received stops for the Rea Vaya BRT. Doornfontein is also home to the University of Johannesburg and is receiving upgrades to help facilitate students and private development in the area. Roads and infrastructure for pedestrians have been upgraded, rerouted, and improved around the Greater Ellis Park precinct in order to allow for the BRT and new train station to be utilized effectively. In addition to the infrastructure upgrades in the area, parks, bridges, and walkways have been created between the stadiums in the precinct and brand new sports facilities and complexes are being created within the precinct, which will also hopefully help spur private development and revitalize the communities. However, this redevelopment is not about gentrifying the neighborhood and kicking out residents. The Affordable Housing Company has taken over some of the buildings and ensured that residents of multiple socio-economic statuses have access to the housing in the improved district.
Murray (2011) posits, “If South African cities have historically lacked public spaces, it generally is because open places for unimpeded social interaction and congregation were considered at the outset a threat to the colonial ideals of divide and
rule, and during the apartheid years, a violation of white supremacist vision of compulsory racial separation” (77). As a result of such planning and ideals, “…high quality public spaces,” (Joburg – 2010 FIFA World Cup Host City, 17) were identified as essential for the World Cup and for the future of Johannesburg. As has been already described, the Greater Ellis Park precinct has received substantial amounts of money for parks and green spaces, especially around the stadiums and sports facilities. Other public spaces identified by the city included playing fields for soccer. Therefore, “…the City identified 238 soccer fields for greening and upgrading. Work taking place at these venues includes grassing the fields, installing irrigation systems, planting trees, making lines, building ablution facilities and erecting fences” (Joburg – 2010 FIFA World Cup Host City, 18). Critical to high quality public spaces includes maintaining their quality and as such, “…the number and position of dustbins will be increased; the type, number and position of informal traders’ stalls will be improved; and uniform street lighting introduced” (Joburg – 2010 FIFA World Cup Host City, 17). For the World Cup, “A number of public viewing areas, where fans will be able to watch games live on big screens and enjoy live performances by some of the City’s top artists, have been identified [throughout the city]” (Joburg – 2010 FIFA World Cup Host City, 21-22). These public areas will allow fans to watch for free and enable all to get together in one location to cheer for their country.

Soweto also received upgrades in addition to having a Rea Vaya BRT station added to Vilakazi Street. “In September 2006 Mayor Masondo launched the ‘Greening Soweto’ initiative, an ambitious project to beautify the township ahead of the 2010 FIFA
World Cup,” and, “Through the R7.6 million Greening Soweto project, the City plans to plant more than 300,000 trees” (Joburg – 2010 FIFA World Cup Host City, 19). Greening Soweto, “…is the City’s biggest greening initiative” (City of Johannesburg 2008) and is considered to be a legacy project (Figure 15). The project is part of the larger ‘Greening of Joburg campaign for the World Cup, but it is by far the biggest part of the project. By the time the World Cup began, over 200,000 trees had been planted throughout Soweto (Greening Soweto). The project has won multiple awards and has had success in integrating the private sector for support. In addition to improving the physical environment, “An estimated 15,000 learners from around Johannesburg will be taught about the importance of a clean and green environment” (City of Johannesburg 2008). Having the opportunity to provide firsthand experience with tree planting and teaching about the environment may leave a bigger legacy than the trees themselves.

Johannesburg is looking to be greener and “…has set itself the target of scoring some important ‘green goals’ during the 2010 FIFA World Cup (Joburg – 2010 FIFA World Cup Host City, 18). Included in Greening of Joburg is the Klipspruit Kliprivier (KK) project. The Klipspruit River, “…is one of the most important catchment areas that drain into the Vaal Dam, the primary source of water for the city. Throughout the years the river and its surrounding wetlands have become clogged through pollution and uncontrolled growth of vegetation” (Joburg – 2010 FIFA World Cup Host City, 18). The project is another attempt to improve sanitation, aesthetics, and create green spaces for traditionally underserved areas and areas whose greenery had been neglected during apartheid. Chris Vondo, a Member of the Mayoral Committee of Community
Development, stated the following about the measures to be taken during the project, “The project encompasses a wide range of interventions including river rehabilitation measures such as bank stabilization, weirs, pollution mitigation, wetland rehabilitation and management interventions, the development of eco-parks and eco-recreation amenities, greening and landscaping, as well as the promotion of economic and job creation opportunities associated with these…” (Greening Soweto, 3-4). Highlighting the social development opportunities, he notes, “An example [of social development] is the Dorothy Nyembe Park, which was upgraded while making the people living in and around the area more aware of the environment. The park has an ecological training centre with a medicinal educational garden” (Greening Soweto, 4). Through regular, volunteer cleanups, information about the importance of a clean environment is being relayed to the community at large, but especially young people. “About 28,000 learners per annum are taken on nature-tours through City Parks conservation facilities” (Greening Soweto, 6). Furthermore, the projects can create jobs for construction and maintenance, skills can be taught and acquired by the unemployed, and the spaces can be used to plant gardens and fruit trees, thus confronting the issues of hunger and poverty.

These are but a few of the many projects that were initiated throughout Johannesburg in order to successfully host the 2010 World Cup and announce the city’s ascension to a world-class city. The World Cup provided a much needed facelift for Johannesburg and created new legacies for the city and people to build upon. While these projects by themselves will not create a world-class city, they are integral components for a city hoping to be competitive in the neoliberal global economy. Such
projects can help create centralized nodes, diverse connections, and extensive linkages throughout the city that will help maximize the physical, business, and human capital of Johannesburg. Therefore, these projects are necessary to engineer a solid foundation from which to build a world-class city. However, do international tourists, one of the major World Cup targets, notice these projects and images?
CHAPTER 7: A NEW JOHANNESBURG?

In the previous two chapters the images and projects associated with the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Johannesburg were examined. These images and projects were initiated to create a new, unique image for Johannesburg that would announce the city’s ascension in the international community. Additionally, the World Cup was supposed to attract increasing numbers of international tourists to Johannesburg and the World Cup coalition made international tourism a central feature of their public relations campaigns. It is hard to measure the impact of the World Cup on international tourism and on foreign tourist’s perception, which is why interviewing a targeted foreign tourist audience, American tourists, is critical. Americans are an international tourist group and a traditional target audience for South Africa, making them a valuable case study. An analysis of the perceptions of an American tourist sample helps gauge the depth to which the projected World Cup image was received and consumed by outsiders, whether or not the physical changes to the city have been noteworthy, and whether or not the World Cup has impacted the international perceptions of the city.

In keeping, this chapter answers the third research question: How has this re-imaging campaign helped to alter the perceptions of Johannesburg to the international community, specifically American tourists? It analyzes the ways in which Johannesburg and South Africa were marketed to the United States during and after the 2010 FIFA World Cup. This entails evaluating South African Tourism’s strategies and their continued efforts to penetrate the American market. These strategies are coupled with the information from the previous two chapters to examine American tourist’s perceptions of
Johannesburg. In particular, the specific images of Johannesburg postulated during the World Cup and in successive imaging campaigns; modernity, unity, friendliness, and cosmopolitanism, are examined for their readership amongst the selected American tourists. The readership of the Johannesburg image and brand amongst this targeted tourist group offers valuable insights into the promises made by growth coalition during the World Cup and image and strategies for the city moving forward.

7.1 The Marketing of South Africa to Americans

“But generally, I put most Americans who would subscribe to that thing of like, “how wild is it” you know, “when we get there are we going to see wildlife?” You just have to think, or a lot of them still think they are going to be landing in the bush on a landing strip [and] we had to buzz the animals off before you land. I think a lot of them still would probably think that. They probably wouldn’t even really know. They probably think like, my take is, a lot of them would probably view South Africa like they do South America. That’s like the vast continent with – they don’t really know” (Personal Interview, July 11, 2012, Joburg Tourism Company).

The quote above illustrates an image that Johannesburg and South Africa want to get away from if they are going to be successful in marketing their brand of urban tourism or their brand of a modern nation. The nation and city had an image they wanted for the World Cup, but that image had to be marketed around the world to different audiences with different ideas about South Africa. As such, the specific message and campaign towards Americans during the World Cup is of significance and can offer insights into the sample’s perceptions.

The image that South African Tourism wanted for South Africa was, “…a very welcoming destination. Mostly welcoming in its people. So our campaigns around the World Cup were mostly showing people in South Africa and trying to show that we’re
welcoming the world and really showing beyond what people sort of expected from South Africa. I mean I think that was generally the goal of how we sought to portray ourselves” (Personal Interview September 5, 2012, South African Tourism). However, this was a national image since, “…we [South African Tourism] don’t focus in any particular province or region,” and, “From our standpoint we did not focus it [the campaign during the World Cup] on any particular region. Although different provincial tourism boards and cities of course did” (Personal Interview, September 5, 2012, South African Tourism). So the strategies towards the United States and North America more broadly were country based and not city based. The only benefit that Johannesburg appears to have in this campaign is that it is the main port of entry for the country.

The campaigns themselves were centered on,

“…partnerships with major league soccer. We did large scale campaign activation with major soccer, at major league soccer events leading up to the World Cup. For example we did a huge Galaxy event in Los Angeles; we did a big event with the Fire in Chicago; we did an event in one of the world Cup qualifying matches in DC. So it’s sort of through a series of those. I mean we gave out promotional items at the events. We were very, very visible there. It was just sort of South Africa is coming, the World Cup is coming, talk to an audience of people that we knew would be interested, and sort of how we activate it there. We actually had dancers on site at all those places teaching the dance and promoting South Africa and the World Cup. We did some halftime performances and things like that” (Personal Interview September 5, 2012, South African Tourism).

As such, this campaign targeted soccer fans and not South African Tourism’s traditional market. “Generally speaking we have two markets that we try to target in the U.S. I wouldn’t say that that really was consistent during World Cup. World Cup was sort of an anomaly. We sort of changed our focus more to people who are interested in soccer and would travel to the World Cup” (Personal Interview, September 5, 2012,
South African Tourism). That makes sense as the World Cup is about soccer and sport, but it is also an opportunity to expand to those two target audiences: NSSAs [Next Stop South Africa] and Wanderlusters since, “…our biggest challenge is getting people to South Africa” (Personal Interview, September 5, 2012, South African Tourism). The NSSAs are mainly retired or older people with a lot of travel experience who have older kids who are looking to see the world and Wanderlusters are younger people with no kids who have disposable incomes and are interested in traveling. Some of these audiences may have been a part of these promotional events or interested in soccer, but they were not specifically targeted in the build up to the World Cup. Since the World Cup, South Africa has tried to stay visible by hosting episodes of The Bachelor television show and having, “a six-part integration with Jeopardy” (Personal Interview, September 5, 2012, South African Tourism).

According to my interviewee, the World Cup campaign in the United States made a difference in the perceptions of South Africa and in the tourism market,

“I mean we did a lot of really comprehensive surveying post-World Cup of people who had gone to the World Cup or watched the World Cup and the results are like astonishingly good. I mean it’s something like 99% of people who came would recommend South Africa as a destination to their friends and family” (Personal Interview September 5, 2012, South African Tourism).

Furthermore, and probably most importantly in terms of branding and creating a market for tourism,

“I think it’s [the World Cup] done a tremendous amount. I think that the benefits of the World Cup are very long term and I think that a lot of the people on the ground in a destination hope or think that it will be much more short term and that they will see real results right away. So I don’t know who you’ve talked to in the past, but I mean just in my own
interactions with people in South Africa sometimes people are like oh, the World Cup was not what it should have been and things like that, but I know from where I sit, that it’s definitely had a major impact on the perception of the destination overall in the American market. So whether or not that was warm and welcoming or specific things we sought to engage Americans on, it’s definitely taken the destination to another level of comfort in that people will consider it and not, you know, see those fears of safety anymore. We don’t see the issue [of] being lumped in with things that are happening elsewhere in Africa. I mean those were our real problems pre-World Cup. And since then we’ve sort of seen that we’re able to more stand on our own. And the numbers that we are seeing Americans going to South Africa since the World Cup have just been increasing and increasing and increasing” (Personal Interview September 5, 2012, South African Tourism).

In keeping, South Africa mainly looked to portray itself as safe and welcoming to the American market. This was done not only for tourism purposes, but to definitively separate South Africa from the problems and crises that are typically associated with Africa. South African Tourism has also attempted to maintain visibility through television shows and marketing to their traditional audiences. However, Johannesburg was not advertised by itself, but the overall image portrayed to the American public is also congruent with what Johannesburg hopes to portray itself as. This campaign was effective in attracting Americans during the World Cup and according to statistics it has worked in the following year. But, outside of the sheer numbers, are tourists taking away the desired message?

7.2 American Tourists in Joburg

This section analyzes the perceptions of Johannesburg amongst American tourists to examine whether or not they noticed projects completed during the World Cup and if the images promulgated during the mega event align with the images perceived and believed by American tourists. Such an analysis is critical as the local growth coalition
promised a changed image as a result of the World Cup and initiated projects costing billions of Rand throughout Johannesburg to reinforce the new image. However, before analyzing tourist’s perceptions, some descriptive features of the tourist sample are discussed and then their perceptions are analyzed.

7.2.1 Sample Description

The thirteen American tourists interviewed for this thesis aligned with the Wanderlust or NSSA demographic that South Africa Tourism tends to focus on, although one couple had their small children. The tourists were in Johannesburg primarily for leisure or business. One American I briefly encountered asserted, “We are just here for the trip” (Field Notes). Three of my interviewees were in Johannesburg permanently throughout their stay for business while four of my interviewees were in the U.S. military and were traveling throughout South Africa doing research and training. The rest of the tourists were in Johannesburg for a short period of time on business or were only staying briefly before going to Cape Town or going on a safari. For example, “We are here to go on a safari and are just stopping through. We are leaving tomorrow. We ended up staying here for two days because of the air connections and the costs of traveling” (Personal Interview, July 31, 2012, Tourist). Another tourist stated, “I mean I think the main destinations were going on a safari and coming to Cape Town. So, [I] stayed in Johannesburg for a little bit, but it wasn’t really the main focus” (Personal Interview, July 9, 2012, Tourist). Besides the three tourists in the city on business, none of my interviewees expressed that Johannesburg was their main destination.
The average stay for the tourists was around one to two days, although those in the city on business tended to stay for a longer period of time. That ranged from three days to multiple years for one individual whose husband was in Johannesburg on a work contract. This is significantly lower than the length of stay during the World Cup, but their activities around the rest of the country would suggest that they are similar to the average American stay according to South African Tourism (2010b). All of the tourists I interviewed, except for one individual, were in Johannesburg for the first time. The lone tourist who had been to Johannesburg before had been to the city multiple times, including during the 1980s and 1990s, but this was the first time he had been back in over a decade. As such, the city was a completely new experience to the vast majority of tourists and even for the tourist who had been to Johannesburg, since a lot has changed in a decade.

7.2.2 Did I Watch the 2010 FIFA World Cup?

The World Cup, although viewed by billions, was not viewed by the majority of the tourists in the sample. For example, one tourist said, “I did not watch the World Cup at all,” (Personal Interview, July 31, 2012, Tourist) and another asserted, “Was that in 2010?” (Personal Interview, July 31, 2012, Tourist). If the tourists did watch the World Cup, it was briefly and not long enough to form any substantial opinion on the host city. As another example, one American stated, “…I mean, I have probably watched two hours of the whole thing,” (Personal Interview, July 5, 2012, Tourist) and another responded, “You know [I watched] bits and pieces – it’s not my focus” (Personal Interview, July 23, 2012, Tourist). Many knew that South Africa hosted the 2010 World Cup, but that was
generally the limit of the knowledge about the event. As such, they did not know about the improvements made throughout the city or some of the ways that the city was made more accessible to them.

Only two tourists did in fact watch the World Cup. One of the viewers asserted, “Well it certainly made it seem much more like your traditional Olympic City” (Personal Interview, July 31, 2012, Tourist). Another tourist watched a lot of the World Cup and she, “…thought the World Cup did a good job and helped the city and country out…it worked and it did its job and [I] thought the city was better off” (Personal Interview, August 17, 2012, Tourist). Those that did watch the event thought it did a good job marketing the city and the country and made Johannesburg look like a traditional Olympic city. In keeping, the two tourists who watched the mega event thought the World Cup altered their perceptions of the destination.

However, the lack of viewership amongst this tourist sample diminishes the significance of mega events in city marketing and imagineering because the 2010 FIFA World Cup was touted as one of the major mechanisms by which Johannesburg was to re-image and develop itself. The World Cup was supposed to attract more tourists to the city and change their perceptions. It appears that only one of those objectives, changing perceptions, was present in this sample and the majority of the sample did not see the event at all. The two tourists who watched the World Cup did not state that they were in Johannesburg because they watched the mega event and decided to travel. They only mentioned that it made the city look good and changed some of their thoughts on it. This contradicts what was promised by growth coalitions, mainly that people would watch the
event and then discover a different Johannesburg. Due to the lack of viewership of the World Cup amongst this sample and American public in general, the prior perceptions of the city and their sources take on greater significance.

7.2.3 What Did I Hear About Johannesburg?

Upon their arrival in Johannesburg, the American tourists who had and had not watched the World Cup had a variety of interpretations of the city and what to expect. Much of what had been heard or read about the city came from word of mouth and websites such as Tripadvisor.com and the U.S. State Department. One American noted, “…we used the embassy website. And that’s about it. Advice from friends” (Personal Interview, July 31, 2012, Tourist). No one in this tourist sample went to the City of Johannesburg’s website, South African Tourism’s website, or the Joburg Tourism Company’s website. The emphasis on word of mouth and Tripadvisor is going to be apparent as this analysis continues and will be addressed in the Chapter Eight.

When asked what he had heard about Johannesburg before he arrived, one tourist asserted, “I don’t know. I didn’t really hear anything” (Personal Interview, July 31, 2012, Tourist). Another tourist was a bit more descriptive when he stated, “…I saw Lethal Weapon 2, or was it 3? I forget. But I saw that in theaters and that was my main introduction to South Africa up until Nelson Mandela came on the scene that I heard of back in 1998 when I was in college” (Personal Interview, July 31, 2012, Tourist). Based upon these assertions, it is clear that some people did not follow the city a lot in the media or did not distinguish Johannesburg specifically from South Africa as a whole in
terms of its image. These quotations are extreme examples, but are the sorts of perceptions the city is going to have to combat and change.

While tourists had their own expectations and interpretations of the city’s past, people close to them who had been to Johannesburg before played an important role in shaping tourist’s opinions, as was suggested in the literature review. For example, “…they had heard not to go with the taxis. She also mentioned that she heard it was fairly dangerous and a lot of the stuff here was cheap. She also heard that she should not walk around, as the city was dangerous. Additionally driving was hard” (Personal Interview, August 17, 2012, Tourist). An even more daunting account came from one tourist who stated, “…the CFO in New York when he was here last time; they stayed at a hotel right attached and he scared me. He’s like, you can’t go anywhere alone; you can’t go outside at night…” (Personal Interview, July 5, 2012, Tourist). Also, “I had heard a lot about the crime and that at one point the city was the ‘gun capital’ of the World” (Personal Interview, August 15, 2012, Tourist). An interviewee posited, “I was just in South America in March and I expected something like that. Like, not great infrastructure, not so modern…” (Personal Interview, July 5, 2012, Tourist). In a similar vein, upon finding out I was going to be going to Johannesburg, my parents were extremely nervous as they were convinced it was a dangerous place and I would be physically harmed during my trip.

Others noted that the city and country could be dangerous, but also very beautiful and enjoyable. “I’ve had plenty of friends obviously [doing similar things in the military], who have travelled through here and essentially you get two sides of the story.
Which is either people say the violence is not that bad and you shouldn’t worry about traveling around South Africa. Or they say it’s a fantastic, good beautiful place, people are all nice, but don’t mention the security issue at all” (Personal Interview, July 31, 2012, Tourist). One couple only heard great things about the city and country since, “…my sister had been here as a stopover on a mission trip and she loved it. She said you’re going to love it; it’s great there are lots of coffee shops and its really nice here. That’s kind of the only thing I had heard about Johannesburg” (Personal Interview, July 31, 2012, Tourist).

Despite hosting the World Cup and espousing a new image for the city, the majority of my tourist respondents still came to Johannesburg with rather negative perceptions of the city. This counters arguments made by growth coalition and event supporters that the World Cup would change the Johannesburg brand abroad. One of the major issues expressed by tourists centers on safety, which has not been alleviated by the campaigns or the numbers of tourists who came to South Africa during the World Cup and its build up. So Johannesburg is still viewed as a violent city in turmoil. Although this is beyond the scope of this research, the experiences of the informants would be worth examining to ascertain when they came to Johannesburg, what version of the city they are telling people, and whether or not an event like the World Cup would be enough to alter their perceptions or if they would have to come back to see the transformations firsthand. So overall the bulk of American tourists in this sample did not watch the World Cup and many entered the city with rather negative and narrow expectations.
Now that the tourists were in Johannesburg, it is the job of the billions of Rand in projects to prove their worth in altering the perceptions of these American tourists.

7.2.4 What Did I Notice in Johannesburg?

In Chapter Six the multitude of projects initiated during the World Cup were discussed and analyzed. Billions of Rand were spent on these projects to cultivate a new image that would help change international perceptions, especially those of tourists. Affirming the growth coalition’s strategy and objectives, many of the tourists noted the infrastructural upgrades the city made during the World Cup. One tourist noted, “I am impressed at how modern the city is especially in terms of infrastructure. It is very modern” (Personal Interview, July 31, 2012, Tourist). Another commented on the Gautrain stating, “The Gautrain is a great service offering for professionals, tourists, and everyday transportation…” (Personal Interview, August 15, 2012, Tourist).

The tourists who travelled around Africa before were floored by the infrastructure in Johannesburg. One tourist who had spent time in East Africa stated,

“…having travelled around Africa before, this is entirely miles beyond any other place that I’ve been on the continent. So you know the condition of the roads, the signage that is there, the fact that there’s an interstate instead of just one major artery clogging through the middle of the city. You know things along those lines are fantastic. You actually have police who seem to direct traffic as opposed to impede it” (Personal Interview, July 31, 2012, Tourist).

Another couple was based in Kinshasa in the Democratic Republic of the Congo for a year stated, “We spent the last month in Kinshasa and [it] is a rough place to live. It’s very chaotic, very congested, dirty. Just a lot of problems there,” and, “…coming here is almost, its nice that you can just drive and get around and kind of – you don’t
have to be on edge all the time. I have been very surprised and happy” (Personal Interview, July 31, 2012, Tourist).

Interestingly, many tourists noted being surprised by OR Tambo International Airport. For example, “Even when I got to the airport in the restroom and they have…that hand dryer…that is really fast that we have here in the states. That alone and the airport was nice and clean and more modern so I was surprised right away” (Personal Interview, July 5, 2012, Tourist). Another tourist addressed the airport when he stated, “…the airport is entirely modern,” (Personal Interview, July 31, 2012, Tourist) and another said, “The airport’s nice” (Personal Interview, July 9, 2012, Tourist). As the gateway to the country and city, positive perceptions of OR Tambo could reflect positively on the city and what the tourist might expect.

But, despite major projects like the Rea Vaya BRT and Soccer City, most tourists in the sample were unaware of the World Cup projects or at least did not make mention of them in their interview. Despite the major transportation upgrades one tourist stated, “I am not impressed with the lack of public transportation…” (Personal Interview, August 15, 2012, Tourist) and only one tourist mentioned the Gautrain. Several tourists had been on city tours and a few had been through Soweto, but none of them mentioned being awed by Soccer City or made note of the parks or greening. The projects that impressed tourists the most were the road networks and the airport. Billions of Rand were invested throughout the city on legacy projects and ways to make the city more ‘tourist friendly’ for growth and development and not one tourist knew of the Rea Vaya BRT. Only one used the Gautrain. The legacy projects that were supposed to launch
Johannesburg into the international economy and alter the perceptions of tourists are clearly slow to manifest if this sample is any indication of wider perceptions.

As a result, Americans in this sample are relatively unwilling to recommend Johannesburg to friends as a tourist destination – in large part because of the lack of perceived tourist attractions and things to do in the city. According to South African Tourism (2010a), 99 percent of North Americans who came to South Africa during the World Cup would recommend coming to friends. However, this research contradicted the assessment by South African Tourism. This sample would be more inclined to recommend South Africa more broadly as a destination, but most had mixed reactions in recommending Johannesburg for a prolonged period of time. One tourist asserted (paraphrased), “It depends – maybe for business. I would recommend more of going to Kruger and Cape Town. However, my first choice of vacation would not be South Africa, but if I were going to come here they might spend a little time in Joburg (like a day or two) and then go out to the aforementioned places” (Personal Interview, August 17, 2012, Tourist). Similarly, another American posited, “I think I would pick other places in Africa for them to go through, but I would have no problem with them traveling through Johannesburg to get to other places” (Personal Interview, July 31, 2012, Tourist). Fellow tourists asserted, “I think I would only recommend it as a stopover to somewhere else. They have one day here, see the apartheid museum, see the other the hector, or whatever that museum. But I don’t think you would need a couple days here” (Personal Interview, July 5, 2012, Tourist) and, “…I wouldn’t recommend they [friends] stay there for an extended period of time” (Personal Interview, July 9, 2012, Tourist). Despite the
multitude of projects completed in the city an American noted, “…it’s not something that I am going to get on a plane and travel 18 hours to go and experience that museum. Because I could kind of do that type of research or learning about it in other ways that don’t take or require me to travel 18 hours on a plane” (Personal Interview, July 9, 2012, Tourist). One tourist gave a more detailed analysis,

“That depends on who is visiting. For my older friends and parents, for example, I’ve suggested that we go to a few of the highlights in a day and then fly to Cape Town where I know they’d be more comfortable (it’s more provincial, slower, beautiful, less crime, whites can ride the taxi’s and feel safe, etc.) as well as South African game reserves or to neighboring countries. For friends our own age, we’ve recommended that they spend 4-5 nights with us here before venturing to game reserves and Cape Town” (Personal Interview, August 15, 2012, Tourist).

The quote above indicates that perhaps the city is better for younger people and this tourist actually gave a somewhat extended timeframe for people to stay in the city. However, well over half of the respondents expressed skepticism about recommending Johannesburg, with others responded shortly, but positively with, “yea,” and, “I think so.” In keeping, Johannesburg is not being seen as a long term or even a worthwhile destination by tourists – in large part because they do not perceive that there is anything to do in the city or anything that would warrant a prolonged stay.

So American tourists are coming to Johannesburg with negative perceptions and not having watched the World Cup, are clearly not noticing the physical changes from the World Cup, and are not recommending the city to fellow tourists. These results contradict the promises the World Cup coalition promised during the build-up to the event, which was that tourists would flock to Johannesburg because of these projects and their impact. The projects associated with the World Cup have clearly not been
noteworthy amongst this sample group, but has being in the city swayed the tourist’s perceptions of Johannesburg at all?
7.2.5 The Projected Image versus the Perceived Image

Table 9: Projected and Perceived Images of Johannesburg

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Images (Combined)</th>
<th>Tourist’s Perceptions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pan-African</td>
<td>Positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advanced</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospitable</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World-class City</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developed Infrastructure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vibrant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmopolitan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Center</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unique</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African City</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Friendly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Developed Infrastructure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Economic Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Advanced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Historical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unsafe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lacking Attractions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not cosmopolitan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not World-class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Still ‘Africa’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lingering Apartheid Image</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9 lists the projected and perceived images for Johannesburg and South Africa during the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Up to this point in Chapter Seven the tourist sample has not perceived what the city growth coalitions promised or expected. But has being in Johannesburg altered tourist’s perceptions or just reinforced the perceptions they arrived with? In keeping, this section examines the projected images for Johannesburg during the 2010 World Cup and whether or not American tourists in this sample have perceived the same images from the city. Since images are transferable (like associating
South Africa with the rest of Africa), this section also examines whether some of the images at the national scale are trickling down to the urban scale.

South Africa and Johannesburg were both attempting to portray themselves as modern and advanced during the World Cup. Although the viewership of the World Cup was low in this sample group, the tourists have generally portrayed the city and the country as being modern and advanced. Numerous quotes in the previous sections separate Johannesburg and South Africa from the rest of the continent and the quality of the infrastructure is perceived to be present throughout the rest of the country. Since many tourists are willing to view other parts of the country, but not spend time in Johannesburg, it would appear that this is an image that was transferred from the national scale to the urban scale.

The friendly and hospitable image was transferred from the national scale to the urban scale. Numerous tourists made references to the city and residents being hospitable and friendly. One couple noted, “People [in Johannesburg] actually obey traffic laws and are not driving all over the place. The people here are much nicer. In Kinshasa they’re always wanting something from you, specifically money and people overall here seem happier” (Personal Interview, July 31, 2012, Tourist). Someone else asserted, “The people were very nice. [I] did not expect that,” (Personal Interview, August 17, 2012, Tourist), and another tourist stated, “Everyone is very friendly and very accommodating…” (Personal Interview, July 9, 2012, Tourist). An American noted that, “The fact that it’s [Johannesburg] been coupled with a real eye towards being a hospitable and international city - it goes a long way in making it a more hospitable place
for things like international conferences” (Personal Interview, July 23, 2012, Tourist). This is an important image and perception to note because in the build up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup the city and the country spent a lot of money training retraining personnel to better interact with tourists and to match western-style international practices. This is something the tourists are noting and it is something that is shedding positive light on the city and on the country, which embodies the promises of growth coalitions.

No one overtly referenced the fact that South Africa or Johannesburg was young, democratic, or pan-African. However, the democratic nature of South Africa was alluded to when a tourist asserted, “As far as Africa it’s, I mean, you hear it’s the nice Africa; the easy Africa” (Personal Interview, July 31, 2012, Tourist). Another tourist echoed this sentiment when she noted, “I think that it was more something that was already a thing that I wanted to do to go on safari and South Africa seemed the most accessible of the places where you could go” (Personal Interview, July 9, 2012, Tourist). Nice Africa, easy Africa, and accessible Africa could be indicative of its democratic nature and the relative political and economic stability it has had in relation to the rest of the continent. Despite that stability and perceived ‘easiness’ of the country it is clear that the niceness and easiness do not alleviate fears of safety in Johannesburg. Multiple tourists, as has already been described in the prior sections, made mention of their concerns for safety within the city and that they were going to be spending little time in Johannesburg and instead would be travelling elsewhere (Cape Town and safaris). Based upon those quotes, it appears that this tourist sample does not associate the crime and safety concerns
of Johannesburg with safaris and Cape Town or at least not to the degree that it would prohibit their time in those locations. While the national images have been mixed in their transferability to Johannesburg, the city itself has also experienced mixed success at transferring its images into this sample’s perceptions.

Several of the quotes in the prior sections note that Johannesburg is modern, especially regarding its infrastructure and airport. The quotes in those sections also note that the infrastructure is extremely developed and, in comparing it to the rest of the continent, much more advanced and developed. However, one tourist who had been in the city for a longer period of time stated, “The city is not clean and I’m often embarrassed of this while friends and family are visiting” (Personal Interview, August 15, 2012, Tourist). So at least in the minds of tourists from this sample, a developed infrastructure and cleanliness are intimately tied to notions of modernity. So modernity is not a frame of mind or something that can be imagined, but has to actually be cultivated on the ground.

Johannesburg has been projected as being vibrant and cosmopolitan by organizations like the Joburg Tourism Company. This perception was reflected in some of the responses by the sampled American tourists. One tourist posited, “Exploit that [South Africa] is truly a ‘rainbow nation’ with a very diverse population so all cultures and nationalities could feel a home here” (Personal Interview, 2012, Tourist). An American responded to my questions on their perception of Johannesburg by asserting, “I mean you can say [a] cosmopolitan city…” (Personal Interview, July 5, 2012, Tourist). Another tourist emphasized the cosmopolitan nature of Johannesburg when he postulated,
“You know, I am one of the people principally responsible for figuring out where it’s [an international conference] going to be. We will have people in Cape Town and Durban that are showing us sites, etc., etc. I am way more leaning to Joburg now than I was two months ago. You know, and I don’t think it’s just image, some of its just logistical ease, but I think that if the logistical ease was the only piece of it, I might have leaned in another direction. The fact that it’s been coupled with a real eye towards being a hospitable and international city. It goes a long way in making it a more hospitable place for things like international conferences” (Personal Interview, July 23, 2012, Tourist).

However, of the tourists interviewed for this thesis, these were the only comments regarding Johannesburg being cosmopolitan and vibrant and two of these respondents have more experience in the city. One of the interviewees had been in the city for a longer period of time because a family member was in the city on a work contract and the other had been to the city multiple times during the 1980s and 1990s. As such, they are more familiar with the city. So the other tourists in the sample do not perceive Johannesburg as cosmopolitan and vibrant, or at least those thoughts are not immediately coming to mind in thinking of the city. Since few of those sampled watched the World Cup and are familiar with the city’s marketing campaigns, it is evident that the built environment and the projects initiated during the mega event are not emitting an aura of vibrancy or cosmopolitanism.

Johannesburg has also utilized the World Cup to describe itself as unique and to build upon its identity as an ‘African city.’ However, no one interviewed used the words unique or African city to describe Johannesburg. While those specific terms may not have been used during the interviews, several tourists did mention an aspect of Johannesburg that is distinctly unique and African: apartheid. The preservation of history and the struggles against apartheid were aspects of the city that multiple Americans in the
sample noted as being important in their perceptions of and experiences in Johannesburg. For example, one tourist noted, “It is important that when tourists from the U.S. come here that we understand - to try to understand what happened here. This is about human rights and it is really important. It was a very momentous occasion and it is almost the same as MLK [Martin Luther King Jr.] and the Civil Rights movement in the US. I think it - this museum [the Apartheid Museum] is very important” (Personal Interview, July 31, 2012, Tourist). Someone else asserted, “You know, that in fact the history has been well preserved in ways that are both clear, but also for looking,” (Personal Interview, July 23, 2012, Tourist) and, “[Johannesburg is] a place that recognizes its past, but is really focusing on its people to the future” (Personal Interview, July 23, 2012, Tourist).

Figure 15: The Hector Pieterson Memorial in Soweto is one of the top ten attractions on Tripadvisor. Photo taken by Joseph Witek.
As such, the majority of the tourists I spoke with were at the Apartheid Museum or another museum because of the history and people often took a day or two in the city to specifically see those attractions. For example, “We came to Johannesburg specifically because we wanted to see the apartheid museum and to see Soweto. The actual destination was supposed to be Pretoria but we wanted to spend some time here to see those two things before we went to the embassy at Pretoria” (Personal Interview, July 31, 2012, Tourist). While most tourists have a negative or skeptical opinion of Johannesburg upon arrival, they did recognize that these were attractions they should see and made time to do so. As one tourist said,

“I did think that the tour of the different apartheid museum and the…Hector Pieterson Museum was really interesting and something as (pause) an American or an American who wasn’t a kid when all of this stuff happened that I didn’t know a lot of the history about and I thought that it was really interesting” (Personal Interview, July 9, 2012, Tourist).

So tourists recognize Johannesburg for its unique, tumultuous past and hope to learn from it. This is an aspect of Johannesburg’s image the city has tried to overcome internationally (the apartheid city), but Johannesburg has tried to physically preserve some of these sites and cultivate tourism around them. Historical tourism is an important aspect of international tourism and millions travel to museums, battlefields, and monuments around the world each year. As such, Johannesburg has made it’s history into multiple, high-drawing tourist attractions (Five of the top ten things to do according to Tripadvisor.com include museums or something related to apartheid era history). In overcoming the image of an apartheid era city, it is apparent that these museums should serve as clear reminders of Johannesburg’s distinct history and serve to educate tourists
as well as locals. One tourist echoed this sentiment when he postulated, “…there’s some mindful work in crafting those works and that image and it shows not just in the video [a video about overcoming apartheid at the Constitution Hill], but in what we’re experiencing,” (Personal Interview, July 23, 2012, Tourist) and, “…there is a sense of healing, a sense of history, and a sense of forward movement” (Personal Interview, July 23, 2012, Tourist).

It is clear then that the American tourists in this sample are aware of Johannesburg’s unique past and are interested in learning about it. As such, they recognize that apartheid is something distinct to South Africa, and Africa more broadly, and that it created a unique situation in Johannesburg that has affected its development. However, based upon the poor reception of the World Cup, subsequent marketing campaigns, and the lack of knowledge or visibility of major projects throughout the city, it is still this perception of an apartheid era city or a city with apartheid era problems that persists amongst the majority of this sample. The persistence of the apartheid city image can be demonstrated through the perceptions of danger regarding the city and the inability of tourists to stay longer than a day or two within the city before going to another destination. Based upon this sample then, it appears that the World Cup coalition was contradicted once again as Johannesburg is still being defined by its past. If Johannesburg is still associated as an apartheid era city in the minds of tourists, does that void or diminish the city slogan, ‘a world-class African city’?
7.2.6 Is Johannesburg a World-Class African City?

In this thesis it is apparent that while some aspects of the city re-imaging campaign are present in the perceptions of this tourist sample, several other aspects are missing from these perceptions. As an aspiring world city, these images are critical to swaying international opinion towards the city slogan of a ‘world-class African city.’ This slogan is painted throughout Johannesburg and at every tourist site in the city. However, do the tourists in this sample perceive Johannesburg to be a world-class city in Africa?

Generally speaking, tourists recognized that Johannesburg was a gem in Africa, and even world-class in Africa, but the application of that term was limited to its use on the African continent. For example, when asked if they agreed with the slogan a ‘world class African city,’ one tourist commented, “Yes, it is absolutely a world class city in Africa [italics not added]. You realize this the more you venture outside [South Africa] to other African countries. However, in comparison to the developed ‘Western’ world, it has a long way to go in terms of being a world class city on a global level” (Personal Interview, August 15, 2012, Tourist). Another asserted, “It might be true for Africa, but not for the US or Europe. It is still caught in between a first and third world country and in my opinion a world city is firmly in the first world” (Personal Interview, August 17, 2012, Tourist). Another tourist provided some positive news for Johannesburg when she stated,

“Sandton, yes. I don’t know if I would, again, I associate cities with a place where there is so much to do and you can just walk around and spend hours, days and I don’t see that here. So I would not say I associate that with. But as a business sector, that I was here on business so I did see
all that area and in business perspective yes, I can see it as a city with lots of offices, big companies, here, so in that respect, yes” (Personal Interview, July 5, 2012, Tourist).

While Johannesburg may be sister cities with New York, tourists do not view it to be in the same league as the elite world city. One American articulated, “I am not going to compare it to New York, not just yet. Comparisons are difficult though because I like to look at every place in its uniqueness and I know Joburg like to compare itself to the New York thing. That’s part of the PR campaign. I am not quite buying it yet” (Personal Interview, July 23, 2012, Tourist). “Definitely not New York,” was the response from another tourist. Some other tourists were unable to comment on the question as they did not have enough time or experiences in the city to make an informed decision.

In the build-up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup stakeholders in the growth coalition asserted that the mega event would highlight Johannesburg as a world-class city. World-class was intended to have internationally applicability, not just continental relevance. But as the tourists from this sample made clear, Johannesburg has mixed reviews in being viewed as a world-class city with international applicability or appeal. It is significant that some individuals are noting that Johannesburg is world-class, especially in terms of its business infrastructure. So it may be that certain aspects of Johannesburg, like its business infrastructure, may be world-class, but other aspects of the city are missing world-class qualities.

Similarly, the tourists in this sample are not able to identify Johannesburg as an African city in terms of attractions, vibrancy, or cosmopolitanism, but are quick to note that it is an African city when it comes to being world-class. Based upon the responses
from this tourist sample, it is clear that the built environment and re-imaging campaign have not elevated Johannesburg from the African continent to ascend the international urban hierarchy. One positive aspect from this exchange is that the dialogue recognizes that Johannesburg is in fact the business center for the South Africa and for the continent. However, the businesses are clearly not enough to elevate the perceptions of the destination and modernity and infrastructure do not foster world-class perceptions.

In hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup and cultivating the image of a world-class city, the growth coalition for the mega event utilized imaging strategies discussed in the literature. As this thesis demonstrated, the city has used public art and street furniture to improve the aesthetics of the city and to make it more pedestrian friendly. They have constructed heritage in the form of museums and monuments to apartheid and the struggle. During the World Cup and during the build up to the event posters and creative slogans were used, like ‘a world-class African city.’ The World Cup also saw the construction of new stadiums, fan parks, and urban upgrades to promote pride, unity, and help foster a greater sense of place amongst the local population. So the growth coalitions are quite stereotypical in their strategies and used them to try and deliver on their promises.

However, it is clear that these stereotypical strategies have had a mixed success rate in their perception changing abilities amongst the post-World Cup American tourist demographic. The mixed success rate is likely attributable to the limited dissemination of the World Cup message and image amongst this American sample and the fact that few saw or noticed many of the flagship projects Johannesburg completed. As a result, some
remain skeptical of Johannesburg as a tourist destination and of Johannesburg’s self-proclaimed title as a world-class city. The majority of the tourist sample had never been to South Africa or Johannesburg before and heard about the city mostly through word of mouth, the bulk of which was negative publicity. Even though perceptions changed once tourists were in the city (this will be touched upon later in this section), the majority of this sample still saw the city as being unsafe, lacking tourist attractions, lacking cosmopolitanism, struggling to be world-class, saw Johannesburg as being associated with ‘Africa,’ and still bought into the image of an apartheid era city.

Table 10: Projected and Perceived Images of Johannesburg

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Images (Combined)</th>
<th>Tourist’s Perceptions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Pan-African</td>
<td>Positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Modern</td>
<td>• Hospitable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Young</td>
<td>• Friendly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Democratic</td>
<td>• Developed Infrastructure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Safe</td>
<td>• Economic Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Advanced</td>
<td>• Modern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Hospitable</td>
<td>• Advanced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Friendly</td>
<td>• Historical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• World-class City</td>
<td><strong>Negative</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Developed Infrastructure</td>
<td>• Unsafe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Vibrant</td>
<td>• Lacking Attractions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Cosmopolitan</td>
<td>• Not cosmopolitan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Economic Center</td>
<td>• Not World-class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Unique</td>
<td>• Still ‘Africa’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• African City</td>
<td>• Lingering Apartheid Image</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These perceptions run contrary to what the growth coalition promised after the 2010 FIFA World Cup and billions of Rand of internal investment. Johannesburg was supposed to be viewed in a new light that would separate itself from the image of Africa, while simultaneously embracing the unique African culture and vibrancy to create an attractive, cosmopolitan, and world-class city that would render the apartheid era a tourist attraction and not a contemporary perception. In this regard, there are clearly some discrepancies between the ways in which the city has imagined itself and what appear to be the realities on the ground. Even though there are some significant discrepancies between the tourist’s perceptions and the projected images, there are also some significant correlations.

Johannesburg was viewed as modern, an economic center, historical, well-developed in terms of infrastructure, and friendly and hospitable. These perceptions justify the claims made by the growth coalition and show that a lot of the work completed during the World Cup was indeed noticed and made an impact in the minds of international tourists. The link between modernity and infrastructure was noteworthy. The millions spent on highway and road upgrades, improving the power system, etc. were noticed and worked to distinguish Johannesburg as modern. What exactly is meant by “modern” will be alluded to later in this section, but modernity is not something normally associated with the typical images and perceptions of Africa as a whole. Similar to the modernity and infrastructure, tourists, especially those in the city on business, noticed that Johannesburg is a place of business and an economic hub. Johannesburg wanted to have itself viewed as an economic center and wanted to make changes that would
advertise itself as a place of business and a location that has the capacity to take advantage of linkages and connections and this has been recognized by tourists. Tourists in this sample noted that South Africans were friendly, hospitable, and accommodating. This demonstrates that the skills and training during the World Cup provided valuable instruction that is still showing and is making a difference in the perception of the place and people. Finally, many tourists noted the historical significance of Johannesburg and have made overt efforts to see the Apartheid Museum and other monuments to the struggle against apartheid, demonstrating that people want to learn about the history and experience that chapter of Johannesburg’s history. While these are great images, perceptions, and successes, the pros and cons need to be weighed.

A destination attracts tourists based on attractions. Johannesburg is not perceived by the tourists in this sample to have those leisurely attractions, which detracts from its value as a tourist destination. Modernity, great infrastructure, and friendliness are important attributes, but are not going to warrant a trip to Johannesburg, especially when the destination is viewed as unsafe. Great infrastructure, modernity, and friendliness can be experienced in many cities throughout the United States and around the world that are cheaper and easier to get to.

However, the modernity, infrastructure, and friendliness are good images and perceptions that could aid business tourism and lead to more conferences and business taking place in the city. This contributed to Johannesburg being perceived as a world-class city for business. Business tourists are a major tourist demographic the city wants to target (City of Johannesburg Tourism Strategy 2012). So it appears that the image of
Johannesburg from this sample may be more beneficial and conducive to business tourism than leisure tourism. Business tourism may not be as beneficial for small tourism operations or those hoping to develop new tourism niches, but can help solidify some suburbs like Sandton and reestablish the inner city and CBD as centers for business and development. Such images and improvements have the potential to increase connectivity, clustering, and international perceptions which are beneficial for an aspiring world city.

While business tourism is beneficial for Johannesburg and it is seen as a world-class city in Africa [italics added], there seems to be a dichotomy in the city’s image within South Africa. South Africa was quoted as being the easy, safe, and accessible Africa, which aligns with the images postulated during the World Cup. However, the interviewees did not mention Johannesburg as being easy or safe and, indeed, noted that Johannesburg was the opposite. Johannesburg, at least from this sample, appears to be included more in the dangerous and stereotypical Africa category, contradicting the promises and images espoused during the World Cup. Since international tourism was promised as a significant benefit for Johannesburg from the World Cup and billions were spent on cultivating this new image, such a perception is quite damaging to the claims made by World Cup supporters. The inability of Johannesburg to join South Africa’s easy and safe Africa perception still renders the apartheid images and fears relevant. It appears that this image is not dominating tourist’s perceptions once they arrive and see the city, but it is still in the back of their minds. As such, they are unwilling to separate Johannesburg from the continent as a whole and integrate it into the ‘world-class’ or
‘Northern-class’ of cities. So, based on the responses in this sample, Johannesburg has a unique international image; unfortunately it is not one of a world-class city with international applicability, but that of a city still struggling to overcome its turbulent past.

In concluding this section, it is clear that the images for Johannesburg been received with mixed perceptions amongst this American tourist sample. Johannesburg is perceived as modern, a place of business and commerce, and hospitable and friendly. Significantly, some individuals are noting the Johannesburg does indeed have world-class qualities, especially in regards to its business sector. However, there are some images, such as safety, easiness, pan-Africanness, and some aspects of the world-class image which have not been attributed to Johannesburg. These are important images in the national and city re-imaging campaigns and are images that were promulgated and promised by the World Cup coalition. So if the dissemination and absorption of these images is limited amongst the international tourist audience, was there another target?
CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

This thesis examined the rationale behind hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup, the projects initiated, the images projected, and the impact of those images and projects on a targeted foreign tourist audience. In order to overcome the legacy of apartheid and increase its competitiveness in the global economy, South Africa, with Johannesburg at the helm, won the right to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Stakeholders in the World Cup coalition promised economic opportunities, a new international image for the city, an increase in international tourism, and the opportunity for greater incorporation in the competitive global economy. In imaging Johannesburg and South Africa, the World Cup coalition advertised a country and city that were modern, friendly, attractive, vibrant, and safe. Physically creating this image throughout Johannesburg required investing billions of Rand and overhauling apartheid era planning and infrastructure. However, following the event there has been a lack of analysis on the part of international tourists and their perceptions of the world-class African city. As such, this thesis shed light on these perceptions through a sample of American tourists in Johannesburg between June 23, 2012 and August 17, 2012.

This thesis discovered that the World Cup coalition argued that a new international image and economic development were the largest benefits of hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup. There were an assortment of other promises, but these were the most prominent in official dialogue. Johannesburg still bears the physical legacy of apartheid and that legacy translated into its international image as a dangerous and pariah city. In order to be more competitive in the global economy and to attract new
businesses, that image needed to change. As such, the World Cup coalition promulgated a modern, competitive, friendly, and cosmopolitan image to the international community. The new image needed to attract jobs, investment, and economic growth to alleviate the high unemployment numbers, strengthen the tax base within the city, and address socio-economic stratification. Jobs during and after the World Cup, increases in international tourism, and increases in investment were all promised to locals as benefits to hosting the mega event. In keeping, these promises necessitated the construction of various urban infrastructure projects throughout Johannesburg.

While the World Cup coalition could espouse an image to the international community and make promises to their citizens, these promises and images had to be delivered. As a result, the city undertook many urban infrastructure projects building-up to the World Cup to physically create the city they imaged and to deliver on their promises of economic progress. Soccer City became the new architectural wonder of Johannesburg and the Gautrain was constructed as the first and only high-speed rail line on the African continent. The Rea Vaya BRT was constructed to alleviate the traffic in the CBD and inner city and to make transportation easier for tourists hoping to see the city’s attractions. Other upgrades were undertaken to revitalize the Ellis Park precinct and hundreds of thousands of trees were planted throughout Soweto to beautify the township after decades of neglect. These projects poured billions of Rand into the city, created jobs, and remade the city in the image of a modern, cosmopolitan city. It is clear, that following the event, that some of the improvements made through the World Cup, like the stadiums and the Gautrain, may not realize their potential and cost too much
money; and that others, like the Rea Vaya, are good projects that will help modernize and connect Johannesburg. However, after the World Cup passed, had the projects and campaigns altered the image of Johannesburg to that of a world-class city or was it still mired in its apartheid past?

This thesis analyzed the perceptions of American tourists, a traditional, target tourism market for South Africa, to discern whether or not the physical and imaged changes in Johannesburg have manifested. To this end, the reactions and perceptions of American tourists in post-FIFA World Cup are mixed. Looking at the positive aspects of the tourist’s perceptions, it is clear that Johannesburg is viewed as a modern city that has a well-developed infrastructure. The airport, roads, and infrastructure surprised individuals and demonstrated that the money spent on these projects was not in vain and as many have suggested. The tourists also viewed South Africans as friendly and hospitable and the tourists noted that Johannesburg is definitely a center for business and possesses historical attractions. Most importantly for this research, many who were in the city on business asserted that Johannesburg was indeed a world-class city in relation to that sector. However, there were also negative perceptions.

Firstly, few tourists watched the 2010 World Cup and the majority had heard disparaging opinions on the city from informants. As such, Johannesburg was still perceived to be unsafe, still possessing some of the apartheid imagery, and is still being associated with Africa as a continent even though the country as a whole is separating itself. Furthermore, the tourist’s perceived that that Johannesburg lacked sufficient attractions to warrant a holiday, that the city was not cosmopolitan, and, most importantly
for this research, they were adamant that Johannesburg was not a world-class city, at least outside of the continent. They concluded that the city might warrant a day a two of examination, but that it should only be a stopover and not *the* destination. So despite the perceptions of modernity, friendliness, and a developed business climate, Johannesburg is still not a lengthy tourist destination and not a world-class city by some tourist’s standards.

At the end of Chapter Seven, this thesis proposed that there could in fact be another target audience for the World Cup imaging campaigns. This thesis concludes that if not the international tourist’s and the international community, then the local population was in fact the primary target of the World Cup campaigns. Although the perceptions of Johannesburg amongst the American sample are valuable, especially the fact that Johannesburg is in fact recognized as being a world-class city for business, unity is something that has been identified in the literature as a reason to host the World Cup and multiple quotes in this thesis have made mention of unity and bringing people together. However, unity is not a promise as much as it is a project. Unity is not thrown together, but carefully crafted. In 2008, there were xenophobic attacks in Johannesburg and throughout South Africa that left 62 people dead and 670 wounded (Staff Reporter, May 31, 2012). Furthermore, right before the World Cup in April the right wing leader Eugene Teere’blanche was murdered (Hammett 2011). As such, there were major concerns expressed throughout the media about what would happen to tourists in South Africa; in a country that had apparently unresolved racial and class divisions (Hammett 2011). However, some of the projects mentioned above: Soccer City, the Greater Ellis
Park precinct, and fan parks, were completed with the intention of bringing together diverse people, South Africans included, into one area and to unite around one event, one team, and one country. The euphoria of the event alleviated local tensions and citizens rediscovered Johannesburg. For example one interviewee stated,

“...because during the World Cup was the first time in a very long time that Joburgers actually congregated in public space together. They weren’t hiding behind their walls. And so in the process we had lots of foreign visitors and a very interesting thing happened, it even happened to myself, you know you would go to town and in the street you will find Mexicans, Argentineans, Brazilians and others walking the streets partying out at night and you think – I never do this in my own city. It’s hard to think – you think it’s far and then you start speaking to people and they are like I can’t believe what a great city this is with all the infrastructure and everything. So Joburgers sort of started looking at their own city with fresh eyes (Personal Interview July 24, 2012, Tour Guide).

One individual stated,

“The World Cup was great here. It was an atmosphere of coming together and people did not want it to go. Up until about two months before the event everyone was very pessimistic and after that everyone hopped on board. It was truly a magical time for the country. It was one of the first times that Joburgers came out from behind their walls and all interacted together. It was a magical event” (Field Notes).

The influx of people enjoying the city had a trickle-down effect on the locals and brought them to new places (or old places they had not been in a while) and enabled them to interact with new people. South Africans showed their national pride by displaying their flags and cheering for the national team, even though it did not perform well. South Africans interacted with other South Africans with a similar objective: cheer for South Africa. “[sic] Fan parks, giant [television] screens, connective public transport and the strategic placement of World Cup event spaces worked as unifying mechanisms…” (Asmal 2012, 73). The country put on a large, international display and did so without
any major incidents, which should be a source of pride. Asmal (2012) asserts, “…South Africa hit the big leagues in hosting the successful event – and this memory, if kept alive, has significant implications” (73). Although there are numerous pessimists after the event, most of them seem to have disappeared during the event, potentially caught up in a fan park or match at one of the upgraded stadiums. These pessimists and many others who had not traveled around their own city in years were forced, by international tourists and the World Cup, to go into public spaces and rediscover their city.

The poor perception and fear of Johannesburg amongst locals has been highlighted earlier in this thesis. Many locals had not been to places like Braamfontein and the CBD in a decade. As such, tourists offered a way to get locals out from behind their walls and interact with the city and with people. Supporting this sentiment, one interviewee noted,

“I think it really put people in that mindset where they had to see Joburg from an outsider’s perspective and they had to make it look as good as possible as well so that people could experience it. And I think from that point of view the World Cup has been great because it has given us a chance to really try and see ourselves through a tourist’s perspective and get into that tourism aspect. [To] understand your city not just your city as a place you live, but as a destination that other people may want to come to and experience as well” (Personal Interview, July 11, 2012, Joburg Tourism Company).

Fan parks, stadiums, and restaurants and bars became a place for people to unite around, rediscover, and enjoy Johannesburg and South Africa. After the tourists left, the stadiums, restaurants, physical alterations, and perceptions remained in place. Locals are now more willing to explore their own city and to try experiences they never would before, like inner city walking tours. One younger local on a walking tour noted, “I have
never walked the downtown before and was interested to see what it was like” (Field Notes). Quotes like that are significant because it demonstrates that people are curious about their city and there is a desire to rediscover Johannesburg – almost like there is a part of the city and their perception that is missing or incomplete. The above quote also indicates that a certain level of trust is being reestablished between the built environment and people and between citizens. Citizens of Johannesburg spend more money and time in the city than any tourist and Joburger’s continued support and presence in the CBD and in rediscovered segments of the city can create sustainable economic opportunities and create jobs – one of the main goals of the mega event.

So the World Cup was about self-confidence and helping Joburgers gain confidence in their country, city, and fellow citizens. The problems stated in this thesis that are associated with poor economic and social development are divisive as is evident from the 2008 xenophobic attacks throughout South Africa. As a result of divisiveness, confidence in the government falters, confidence in fellow citizens falters, and the confidence in the ability of the country to move forward and progress falters. Growth coalitions know that confidence is essential for unity and essential for South Africa and Johannesburg to compete in the international economy. As one interviewee stated, “I think most people got so excited about the World Cup and some people do ridiculous – as you say I don’t have a house, running water, electricity, but you’re still waving your flag around in the streets” (Personal Interview, July 24, 2012, Tour Guide). This quote highlights that people forgot for a little bit about their personal politics and were proud to be South African and have the eyes of the world upon them. In the future, the 2010 FIFA
World Cup is an achievement growth coalitions and politicians can look to in order to rally support and is proof that South Africans and Joburgers and capable of more than they expect.

This thesis has covered a wide range of issues and it is clear from completing it that my positionality and limitations influenced the direction and responses of this thesis. Different methods and audiences could have yielded different responses. Also, many questions remain and many more have emerged as a result of this research. Broadening this research to other international tourist groups and traditional source markets could offer significant diversity to the existing results. One question that needs to be examined is comparing Johannesburg and Cape Town through a targeted tourist audience. This could offer insights as to what international tourists constitute as world-class and how different cities in South Africa are benefiting compared to others from the World Cup. It is also clear that more research needs to be done on local perceptions of Johannesburg after the World Cup. The euphoria of the event has died down and such insights could shed light on what locals perceive the World Cup coalition succeeded or failed to accomplish.

In addition to these questions, some concerns remain in changing Johannesburg’s perceptions abroad. The lack of official website viewership on sites like the Joburg Tourism Company and BRAND South Africa is particularly troubling as official images cannot be disseminated. More importantly, many tourist attractions and travel opportunities are listed and advertised on official websites. It is clear that increasing viewership among potential tourists is critical. Similarly, there is a need for the city to
advertise its attractions better. There are a lot of things to do in Johannesburg – the museums, Soweto, a nearby UNESCO heritage site, city tours, the restaurants, and shopping just to name some – and they are clearly not being advertised well enough through websites like Tripadvisor. Better advertising of these attractions and tour providers could be very beneficial tourism and job creation. Additionally, there are still limited numbers of international tourists coming to South Africa. It is not easy for Americans to get to South Africa, nor is it cheap. Offering flight discounts, providing special rates for spending a longer time in the city, offering discounts on attractions and tours, or providing other incentives for travel could go a long way in increasing the number of tourists and their perceptions of the city. Also, while South Africa is staying visible through shows like The Bachelor and Jeopardy, Johannesburg needs to enhance its international visibility as a tourist destination and utilizing similar shows and popular media could be a promising avenue to change perceptions and advertise many of its attractions.

However, the 2010 FIFA World Cup is not going to single handedly rid the urban landscape of informal settlements, eliminate the unemployment problem, or erase the tensions that remain from apartheid. But the World Cup brought together different peoples in Johannesburg and reminded citizens of all classes and races that Johannesburg is a great place and the city and its citizens are capable of great things. The mega event is a start for future efforts and a boost to existing efforts to construct a stronger and competitive city and society. It is but one path in a long journey of healing, building, and reconciliation and a lot of work and building remains. But the World Cup proved that
even in times of struggle and hardship, the ‘Rainbow Nation’ can come together and function as a rainbow and not as individual colors. This rainbow is a stronger and more vibrant than any individual color and is what is going to attract people’s attention and admiration around the world.
REFERENCES


City of Johannesburg “Infrastructure.”


City of Johannesburg. “Soccer City: an architect’s dream.” (February 12, 2010).


Rice, Andy. “Analysis: World Cup will give SA a serotonin shot, but not much money.” Daily Maverick, June 1, 2010.


South African Tourism. “Impact of the 2010 FIFA World Cup.” (December 2010a), 1-36.


Van Der Westhuizen, Janis. “Glitz, Glamour and the Gautrain: Mega-Projects as Political Symbols.” *Politikon.* Vol. 34, No. 3 (December 2007): 333-351.


