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Abstract

This research sought to explore, understand and interpret community support for mega events in Cape Town, South Africa. Mega events have become popular because of their universal appeal, grandiose nature and capacity to engender lasting legacies that offer the host community an opportunity to unite in celebration, generate international exposure and develop the locale. As a result, developed nations are not the only countries seeking mega events: mega events have also become attractive to developing nations such as South Africa. Whilst positive social impacts can influence social unification, wellbeing and community development, negative social impacts can cause social division and marginalisation of community members. Those negative experiences influence event criticism and a reduced sense of support. Therefore, a host community's experiences of a mega event can either embolden community support, or encourage a reluctance to support future mega events; thus establishing the significance of community support to the development of mega events. This study undertook to explore community experiences to identify whether insight could show ways to foster support for mega events. The study collected narrative stories from the host community of Green Point. The respondents told stories from their lived experiences, revealing their individual outlooks on mega events. This helped the study to see the different ways that community members perceive the experience of a mega event over time, and the influence on community support. The resultant themes focused on the community's experiences of benefits from the event, also giving insight into their negative experiences. This showed how those experiences affected their feelings, and the influence on community support. The stories detailed the respondents' experiences of togetherness, thus enlightening the importance of a sense of community. The community's experiences of Ubuntu also emerged as significant to the location of Green Point. The data showed the different ways community members have diverse experiences, and their individual perspectives revealed a variety of feelings, including triumph, uncertainty, disappointment and frustration. Nevertheless, the stories demonstrated how the shared experience of a mega event could bring people together to form a sense of community in a particular place. Finally, the study contributed a timeline that takes into account the changing attitudes to mega events over time, and the influence on community support.

Table of Contents

Copyright Statement.....	i
Abstract.....	ii
Table of Contents	iii
List of Tables	vii
List of Figures.....	viii
List of Appendices.....	ix
List of Abbreviations	x
Acknowledgements.....	xi
Chapter 1. Introduction.....	1
1.2. The Research Context	3
1.3. The Relevance of the Research.....	9
1.4. Research Aim and Objectives	11
1.5. Outline of Thesis Structure	13
1.6. Summary	16
Chapter 2. Literature Review	17
The Pursuit of Mega Events	17
2.1. Introduction	17
2.2. Defining Mega Events	17
2.3. Differences in Mega Events	22
2.4. Mega Event Legacies.....	24
2.5. Mega Event Social Impacts.....	26
2.5.1. Amalgamation of Social Impacts and other Impacts	28
2.5.2. Tangible and Intangible Social Impacts.....	30
2.5.3. Experience of Positive Social Impacts.....	32
2.5.4. Experience of Negative Social Impacts	36
2.6. Mega Events in Developing Nations	39
2.7. Defining Community Support.....	45
2.8. Community as a Mega Event Stakeholder	50

2.9. Previous Mega Event Case Studies	55
2.9.1. Social Togetherness and Community Pride	58
2.9.2. Community Involvement	63
2.9.3. Employment Opportunities	66
2.9.4. Development of the Community	70
2.9.5. Gentrification and Marginalisation	73
2.10 Temporal Dimension on the Changing Attitudes to Mega Events	76
2.11. Summary	80
Chapter 3. Literature Review	82
Community Formation	82
3.1. Introduction	82
3.2. The term ‘Community’	82
3.3. The African Understanding of Community - Ubuntu	86
3.4. Theoretical Perspectives on Community	89
3.5. Theoretical Discussion	91
3.6. Tonnies’ Gemeinschaft/ Theory of Community	94
3.7. Turner’s Communitas	100
3.8. Lave and Wenger’s Communities of Practice Concept	107
3.8.1. The Three Aspects to the Communities of Practice Concept	109
Chapter 4. Case Study	113
The 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa	113
4.1. Hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Green Point	113
4.2. South Africa’s Aspiration for Mega Events	114
4.3. South Africa’s Strive for Image Restoration	116
4.4. Hosting the World Cup in Green Point	122
4.5. Summary	124
Chapter 5. Methodology	125
5.1. Introduction	125
5.1.1. Research Approach	126
5.1.2. Interpretivism	127
5.2. Qualitative Approach	128
5.2.1. Narrative Inquiry	129

5.3. Steps to Collecting Narrative Stories	135
5.4. Rigour in Approach.....	136
5.5. Ethical Considerations	141
5.5.1. Ethics on being an Insider in the Cultural Context.....	142
5.6. Data Collection	143
5.6.1. Sample Composition.....	144
5.7. Collecting Data in the Field	150
5.7.1. The Storytelling Process	153
5.8. Thematic Analysis	155
5.8.1. Ritchie and Spencer’s Framework Approach	156
Chapter 6. Findings.....	167
6.1. An Introduction to the Findings.....	167
6.2. Theme 1: Togetherness	168
6.2.1. Summary	179
7. Theme 2: Significance of Ubuntu Culture	182
7.1. Summary	192
8. Theme 3: Social Division and Marginalisation.....	194
8.1. Summary	201
9. Theme 4: Quality of Life.....	202
9.1. Summary	222
Chapter 10. Fostering Community Support for Mega Events.....	224
10.1. Introduction	224
10.2. Evidence for Community Formation.....	224
10.2.1 Ubuntu as Integral to Community Formation in Green Point	225
10.3. Theory Development	226
10.4. A Timeline For Taking Into Account The Changing Attitudes To Mega Events Over Time	231
10.5. Defining Mega Events – A Critique.....	240
10.6. Summary	244
Chapter 11. Conclusion	246
11.1. Introduction	246

11.2. Objective 1. To examine the individual experiences of community members of Green Point, and how these have shaped their view of mega events	246
11.3. Objective 2. To investigate whether the shared experience of mega events can bring people together to form a community	249
11.4. Objective 3. To explore the significance of Ubuntu in the shared experiences of the community	251
11.5. Objective 4. To identify the changing attitudes to mega events over time, and the influence on community support.	253
11.6. Contribution to Knowledge	255
11.6.1. Theoretical Contribution.....	257
11.6.2. Methodological Contribution.....	260
11.6.3. Contribution to Practice	261
11.7. Research Strengths and Limitations.....	263
11.8. Considerations for Future Research.....	264
11.9. Conclusion to the Thesis	265
11.10. Author's Personal Reflections	266
References	270
Appendices	374

List of Tables

Table 1 A Selection of Mega Event Definitions	19
Table 2 Identifying Complexities in Social Impacts.....	29
Table 3 Tangible and Intangible Social Impacts.....	31
Table 4 Previous Mega Events (1).....	56
Table 5 Previous Mega Events (2).....	57
Table 6 Structural Components of Rejected Theories	93
Table 7 Criterion for Respondents Selection	145
Table 8 Respondents' Socio Demographics (1)	148
Table 9 Respondents' Socio Demographics (2)	149
Table 10 Key Research Findings	236

List of Figures

Figure 1 The Number of Applicants for the Olympic Games and FIFA World Cup 1968 - 2028	39
Figure 2 Communities of Practice Principles.....	110
Figure 3 South African Stadiums for the 2010 FIFA World Cup.....	123
Figure 4 Ritchie and Spencer's 5 Phases Framework	157
Figure 5 Assembling a Thematic Framework.....	160
Figure 6 Version 1 of the Code Book	162
Figure 7 Changing Attitudes to Mega Events Over Time. Theme: Togetherness ...	169
Figure 8 Changing Attitudes to Mega Events Over Time. Theme: The Significance of Ubuntu Culture.....	183
Figure 9 Changing Attitudes to Mega Events Over Time (Social Division and Marginalisation).....	195
Figure 10 Changing Attitudes to Mega Events Over Time (Quality of Life).....	203
Figure 11 Condensation of Guiding Theory	227
Figure 12 Community Formation in the context of a Mega event experience	229
Figure 13 Proponents and Opponents of Community Support Framework.....	233

List of Appendices

Appendix 1 Extract of Field Notes and Thoughts.....	374
Appendix 2 Abridged Summary of Field Notes	375
Appendix 3 Field Journal Excerpts	377
Appendix 4 Ethics Approval.....	381
Appendix 5 Participant Information Sheet, Participant Agreement Form.....	383
Appendix 6 Narrative Storytelling Prompt Questions	389
Appendix 7 Assembling a Thematic Framework, Indexing	390
Appendix 8 Extended Version 1 Code Book	393
Appendix 9 Preliminary Links between initial ideas and patterns in Data.....	402
Appendix 10 Preliminary Coding Framework.....	404
Appendix 11 Nvivo extracts of the Evolving Coding and Charting Process.....	405
Appendix 12 Project Journal.....	409
Appendix 13 Visual Maps of the key Emerging Ideas	415
Appendix 14 Example of Verbatim Transcript.....	417
Appendix 15 Victoria and Wharf Waterfront Shopping Complex	424
Appendix 16 Green Point Park and Biodiversity Garden	425
Appendix 17 Example of Member Checked Story	428

List of Abbreviations

1. Bn – Billion
2. CoP – Communities of Practice
3. CPUT – Cape Peninsula University of Technology
4. FIFA - The Fédération Internationale de Football Association
5. Govts. – Governments
6. Ibid. - Ibidem/ in the same place
7. IOC - International Olympic Committee
8. NGO – Non Governmental Organisation
9. QOL – Quality of Life

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“...Sport has the power to change the world. It has the power to inspire, it has the power to unite people in a way that little else does. It speaks to youth in a language they understand. Sport can create hope, where once there was only despair. It is more powerful than governments in breaking down racial barriers. It laughs in the face of all types of discrimination...”

Nelson Mandela 2000

Fostering Community Support for Mega Events: A Narrative Inquiry of Stories and Experiences in the Context of Cape Town, South Africa

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Introduction

This research comprises an exploration of community support for mega events in Cape Town, South Africa. The first chapter sets the research in context by considering the background and scope of mega events to outline their reach and social impact. This evaluation incorporates a study of the shift in global trends and the recent growth of mega events in developing nations, outlining the reasons why mega events have become so attractive to developing nations. The term ‘community’ is examined to outline its origins and evolution over the years. This research seeks to discover whether the shared experience of a mega event can bring people together to form a community. Given the context of this study, the research looks into the Ubuntu or African worldview of community to provide an understanding of the African way of life and formation of community. The research builds upon existing knowledge of mega events to help define community support and establish the ways a community can help distinguish the mega event from other events through providing support e.g. a hospitable and celebratory environment. Equally important, this research looks at several past mega events, hosted in both developed and developing nations, to see why community support for mega events is of importance. Examining other community experiences helps this study to see how those experiences influenced community members’ attitudes and feelings which, in turn, shows how community outlooks can have an impact on mega events. This research specifically focuses on the case example of the 2010 FIFA World Cup to see whether the shared experience of a mega event can bring people together to form a community in this particular society.

The research discusses the theoretical dimensions of group bonding through social interactions such as mega events. Theoretical underpinning provides the conceptual

ideas that inform community formation in this research. Although the Ubuntu belief system helps to increase this study's awareness of kinship, mutuality and the institution of society (Mfenyana 1986; Muxe Nkondo 2007), this research also draws on existing conceptual ideas to help inform the link between the idea of people bound together over a shared experience and the theoretical underpinning of community support. Tonnies' ([1887] 1957) *Gemeinschaft* or conceptualisation of Community guides this research's awareness of how individuals can be bound together to form a community. Turner's (1969) work on *Communitas* develops this understanding and explains what mutually bonds and relates individuals through a shared or common experience; while Lave and Wenger's (1991) *Communities of Practice Concept (CoP)* directs the exploration of community togetherness within a shared experience, supporting the connection between existing views with the development of knowledge under consideration in this study. Drawing from these conceptual ideas helps to identify and inform what is known and not known about community togetherness as a result of mega events and, in turn, how the experience can influence community support for mega events.

In terms of methodology, this study followed narrative inquiry, which is a qualitative research approach. The narrative inquiry approach enables the researcher to investigate the stories people recount; the approach aids an understanding of how people represent their experiences (Creswell 2007; Riessman 2008). Narrative studies are often shaped by the interpretive paradigm that seeks to interpret the subjective, lived experiences of individuals towards a better understanding of their social world (Denzin and Lincoln 2011). In order to achieve this particular ambition, the participants were drawn from long-established members of the community, people that had lived in Green Point permanently or on a long-term basis and lived there during the event. Seventeen narrative stories were collected.

This study assumes the position that a stakeholder is a collection of people that can affect, or be affected by the realisation of any organisation's agenda (Freeman 1984; Clarkson 1995; Donaldson and Preston 1995; Friedman and Miles 2002; Fontaine et al. 2006). Therefore, impacts that mega events generate can affect the members of the

host community in various ways (Swart and Bob 2012; Martin and Barth 2013). For example, mega events can generate social benefits such as the development of useful recreational facilities that improve the community's quality of life (QOL) (Kaplanidou et al. 2013). Alternatively, they can generate negative impacts that affect the community's sense of wellbeing e.g. unsuitable infrastructure or facilities that remain unused after the event (Knott et al. 2015a). Those experiences can affect how community members view mega events and potentially have an influence on community support (Leonardsen 2007; Chen and Spaans 2009; Wilks 2016). For this reason, the community of Green Point is considered a key stakeholder of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The data collection was face to face; the researcher travelled to Green Point during September 2016 and was immersed in the field for three weeks. Whilst in the field, the researcher attended a local conference and through this opportunity, connected with others who enabled access to wider networks. Further participants were recruited through the technique of gaining recommendations from gatekeepers.

1.2. The Research Context

Mega events such as the Olympic Games, the FIFA World Cup and Commonwealth Games are held once every four years. They are large in scale and are internationally attractive; they are considered significant and can generate many benefits for the host community (Roche 2000). Mega events of this nature continue to draw popularity because of their economic and social appeal to a wide range of people worldwide (Matheson and Baade 2005; Horne 2007; Knott et al. 2017). As a result, mega events are increasingly being pursued by both developed and developing nations for their potential to engender a lasting legacy of positive benefits e.g. community reimagining, useful infrastructure and long-term jobs (Grix 2013; Baade and Matheson 2015; Muller 2015a). Mega events produce a variety of both positive and negative impacts such as social, economic, cultural, political and environmental effects. However, many of the impacts do not occur in isolation: they often amalgamate resulting in socio-economic, socio-cultural and socio-political impacts amongst others. Although many

impacts are noticeable or tactile/tangible such as economic impacts, others are less perceptible and hard to measure such as social impacts.

Governments bidding for mega events often do so mostly for the economic impact (Malfas et al. 2004; Whitson and Horne 2006; Walters 2011; Martin and Barth 2013). Over the years many mega event studies have placed great emphasis on tangible outcomes such as the generation of economic benefits (see Preuss 2004; Matheson 2009; Shaw 2012; Zimbalist 2011 and 2016). However, it is becoming increasingly difficult to ignore the negative impacts of some of those economic outcomes (Maharaj 2015). For example, costs running in excess of the original budget, which influences increased tax rates and affects the cost of living (Scholtz and Slabbert 2016). However, little research has shown an interest in exploring the social impacts of mega events because of their intangible nature that is difficult to quantify (Kim and Petrick 2005; Marques 2013). For example, according to Marques (2013, p. 84) *“there is particularly a gap in the study of events regarding social outcomes; there are many quantitative snapshots of events, particularly concentrating on economic impacts, but there are fewer studies of the social dynamics.”*

Even though it remains difficult to specifically define social impacts, there is a well-established body of work that explores the effects of social impacts and the influence they can have on the host community's way of life (e.g. Lenskyj 2002; Chalip 2006; Balduck et al. 2011; Mair and Whitford 2013; Cope et al. 2015; Butler and Aicher 2015). Mega events produce a variety of tangible socio-economic benefits e.g. infrastructural development and job creation. However, many social impacts also result in intangible 'feel good' experiences such as an atmosphere of celebration, the opportunity to form social relations and an improved sense of quality of life (QOL) that can be experienced by many (Chappelet 2012). According to Cornelissen and Maennig (2010), intangible social impacts can influence community outlooks and feelings, and the benefits are not only experienced by a few in society but often pass down to all levels within the community. Therefore, central to this study is the examination of the individual experiences of community members of Green Point to see how these have shaped their view of mega events.

Mega events provide a celebratory atmosphere where people can come together and share in the experience (Malfas et al. 2004). According to Theodori (2004), people's sense of mutuality, attachment and belonging to a social group is vital to community support. The idea of community can be experienced through a feeling of relationship, living in the same locality or through togetherness with individuals that share a sense of community in mind (Nash and Christie 2003; Derrett 2008; Rheingold 2016). In its expanse, community can also be a goal-oriented community, a community of shared interests, a virtual community or a community of people bound by place or by shared beliefs or values (Henri and Pudenko 2003; Obst and White 2005; Yu 2016). Some communities may initially be defined by a sense of locality and co-presence e.g. a group of friends, but some of the group members may relocate ensuing in geographical distance (Davies 2005). Nonetheless, the loss of proximity does not discount the idea of community and a sense of community can still be maintained between the members of the group through other ways e.g. emails, phone calls and social media.

Support from stakeholders such as the community can help to ensure the outcome of a worthy mega event (Friedman and Miles 2002; Derrett 2003; 2008). In turn, mega events that bring people together can help to foster social relations and encourage togetherness within the community. In many past studies, community has been defined as comprising people that live in the same location (e.g. Cohen 1985; Rheingold 1991; Gieryn 2000; Kenny 2006; Craig 2007; Laumann and Pappi 2013). However, owing to the wealth of literature that argues communities are not only bound together by location (see Brent 2004; Blackshaw 2013), community in this study, alongside the idea of place, includes people that live in the same place, share some mutual qualities, experiences and relational bonds. To this end, the community of Green Point is not only bound by place, but is also connected through shared experiences that bring people together fostering a sense of belonging.

Despite the social benefits associated with hosting mega events, a major problem is the outcome of negative impacts that can change social wellbeing and alter community attitudes. Although social impacts are wide in range, some can result in the

marginalisation and displacement of community members to make way for event-related development (Minnaert 2012; Ward 2013; Giulianotti et al. 2015b). Some of those social outcomes can result in changes to social behaviour, inciting event criticism and altered community feelings that engender a loss of community support (Knott et al. 2015a; Pappalepore and Duignan 2016). In recent years, the experience of undesirable impacts has had a direct and more noticeable effect on community support for mega events. Communities from both developed and developing nations have taken to protesting and demonstrating against some of the negative outcomes experienced because of hosting mega events, thereby suggesting a reduced sense of community support. During the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics, members of the community carried out protests against the Olympic presence (Dvorak 2010), and during the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil, several communities also held demonstrations (Brownhill et al. 2014).

In some prospective host communities, particularly those from developed nations, the experience of negative impacts has resulted in community referendums against the presence of mega events. For instance, Oslo - Norway, Stockholm - Sweden, Lviv – Ukraine and Krakow – Poland withdrew their bids to host the 2022 Winter Olympics (Abend 2014). A community referendum and several protests influenced Boston - United States of America, to withdraw their bid to host the 2024 Summer Olympics (Zirin 2014; Bull 2016). In addition to Boston, Hamburg - Germany, Rome - Italy and Budapest - Hungary recently withdrew their bids for the 2024 Summer Olympics (Mather 2017). Only Paris – France and Los Angeles – United States of America remained in the bidding process to host the event, resulting in Paris being awarded the 2024 Summer Olympics and Los Angeles the 2028 Summer Olympics (Capstick 2017). The examples show how some of the effects of negative experiences have resulted in criticism of mega events, depicting a change in community perceptions. The pushback from host communities reveals the weight of community support and the influence on future mega events. Above all, the changes in community outlooks suggest a loss of support for mega events.

Therefore, community support is essential for the future of mega events and their worthiness. Despite the London 2012 Olympics generating both positive and negative social impacts, Pappas (2014) found that residents' support helped the London 2012 Olympics to realise its desired outcomes e.g. volunteering, sustainable living, improved perceptions of the disabled and increased community activity and engagement in culture. This suggests that the extent to which a host community offers support to a mega event not only influences the effectiveness of the event, but also influences the extent to which the subsequent social impacts affect members of the community. This underscores the importance of examining the individual experiences of community members to see how these have shaped their view of mega events. The insight is crucial to the strengthening of support for mega events. Under those circumstances, this research suggests a connection exists between community experiences of social impacts, community attitudes and support for mega events.

In recent years, several other studies have examined community perceptions of mega events. They contribute a variety of ways to look at the host community's experience of social impacts generated by mega events (e.g. Ohmann et al. 2008 - the 2006 FIFA World Cup, Gursoy and Kendall 2006 – the Salt lake City 2002 Winter Olympic Games and Pappas 2014 and Giulianotti et al. 2015a - the London 2012 Olympics). This research follows a similar approach. The exploration of stories and experiences from the community of Green Point helps to identify the extent to which social impacts from the 2010 FIFA World Cup affected the community's experiences and ultimately, to what degree those experiences affected community support. The community of Green Point in this study is located in Cape Town, which is the legislative capital city of South Africa. The Ubuntu belief system informs this study's understanding of community in the African context. In so doing, this helps the study to make sense of and interpret the individual experiences of community members of Green Point, to investigate whether their experience of mega events brought people together to form a community. The belief system's perspective takes into consideration the local social factors that influence the way members of the community view the world in which they interact, thus providing rationalisation for a deeper understanding of the social experience of the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Green Point.

Nonetheless, one important characteristic about South Africa is its apartheid history and the influence on the way people interact in this society. Apartheid or apartness in South Africa was institutionalised in 1948 and enforced social segregation between racial and ethnic groups (South Africa History 2017). Although South Africa gained independence in 1910, the country remained under apartheid rule between 1948 and 1990 (South Africa History *ibid*). The social injustices of this period resulted in the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) barring South Africa from participating in, and hosting mega events (Ibrahim 1991). However, in 1990 South Africa's anti - apartheid leader Nelson Mandela was released from prison, making way for the country's readmission to mega events. In 1992, South Africa participated in the Barcelona Olympics. In 1994, South Africa went through a period of change from the political institution of apartheid to one of majority rule that favours democracy, and hosted the 1995 Rugby World Cup (van der Merwe 2007). Although the apartheid era had left South Africa with a tainted image locally and abroad, *"tying the idea of nation building to sport began for South Africa when President Mandela attempted to utilise the national pride derived from hosting and winning the 1995 Rugby World Cup to achieve social reconciliation goals"* (Gibson et al. 2014, p. 114).

The 1995 Rugby World Cup helped to bring people together through the shared experience, resulting in a sense of social togetherness that influenced mutual engagement in the group manner of doing things (Cornelissen 2010). This was a very important social outcome in a society with serious problems of social division and segregation. According to Labuschagne (2008, p. 4), *"a divided and troubled country was for the first time truly united, albeit temporarily, as a rainbow nation."* In South Africa, the term 'Rainbow Nation' is widely used to capture the multicultural characteristics of the people and refers to the vast diversity of South Africa (Kellerman 2014). Since then, South Africa actively pursued further mega events including unsuccessful bids for the 2004 Olympic Games and the 2006 FIFA World Cup. South Africa was eventually awarded the 2010 FIFA World Cup, which presented the nation with another opportunity to share in an experience that could bring about

connectedness and bind people together. In light of these events, this study seeks to explore, understand and interpret community support for mega events in Green Point because of the shared experience of the 2010 FIFA World Cup.

1.3. The Relevance of the Research

The relevance of this research is the value in attempting to see other ways in which community support for mega events can be fostered. This research builds on other studies (see Kim and Petrick 2005; Gursoy and Kendall 2006; Ohman et al. 2008; Prayag et al. 2013; Chen and Tian 2015; Gursoy et al. 2017; Rocha et al. 2017). However, these are quantitative studies that have investigated differences in community perceptions and have value because they shed light on the different dimensions and factors that affect community attitudes. Some of the studies are underpinned by theories that hypothesise and posit an outcome that is measured, monitored or tested through SPSS to quantify change in attitudes. To illustrate, Kim and Petrick (2005) apply factor analysis that is a statistical method, and Gursoy and Kendall (2006) and Prayag et al. (2013) use structural equation modelling alongside several hypotheses. Meanwhile, Chen and Tian (2015) use a survey questionnaire and a likert scale, while Gursoy et al. (2017) and Rocha et al. (2017) also hypothesise and apply the social exchange theory, which is a cost benefit analysis. However, by contrast, this study seeks to explore, understand and interpret community support for mega events through the narrative inquiry approach. The context of a developing nation within this research offers a unique view on what makes a worthy mega event experience from this perspective. Differentiating from the aforementioned studies, drawing from the Ubuntu belief system allows this study to explore the significance of coming together from an African perspective, thereby enlightening the formation of relationships, mutual reliance and connectedness within Green Point. Tonnies' ([1887] 1957) *Gemeinschaft*, Turner's (1969) *Communitas* and Lave and Wenger's (1991) *Communities of Practice Concept (CoP)* inform the conceptualisation of community in this research. The primary aspects of the theories put forward that connectedness is a necessary part of social life and the feeling of belonging helps to explain what binds people together; at the same time, a sense of community can

develop from people coming together through a shared experience. This study therefore explores these assertions.

The narrative inquiry approach is of methodological importance to this research. The approach allows for reflective storytelling of first-hand experiences. The use of stories enables the researcher to listen to the individual lived experiences of the 2010 FIFA World Cup to gain interpretation of community experiences. The approach also helps to reveal diverse views regarding each respondent's feelings toward their particular experience of the mega event. This gives the research insight into community perceptions and attitudes toward the 2010 FIFA World Cup to see why they would support mega events. In addition to the methodological relevance, this study also has a practical contribution to the area of mega events. This research offers additional understanding to the idea of a hospitable and supportive community that can help the realisation of a festive event, which is important to the development of effective mega events. The results of this study provide recommendations and suggestions that could enable community support for future mega events. The findings in this research could support mega event organisers in producing better events by providing different ways to see the value that can be derived from fostering community support.

1.4. Research Aim and Objectives

Aim: To explore, understand and interpret community support for mega events in Cape Town, South Africa.

Objectives:

1. To examine the individual experiences of community members of Green Point, and how these have shaped their view of mega events.
2. To investigate whether the shared experience of mega events can bring people together to form a community.
3. To explore the significance of Ubuntu in the shared experiences of the community.
4. To identify the changing attitudes to mega events over time, and the influence on community support.

The first objective examines the community members' lived experiences of the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Green Point in order to determine views on mega events emanating from this particular experience. The research gathered stories from respondents who are long-established members of the community. People that have lived in Green Point permanently or on a long-term basis and lived there during the event, thus allowing for an explanation of individuals experiences and how these experiences have shaped their views of mega events.

The second objective considers how the shared experience of a mega event can influence people to come together to form a community. This research draws from Tonnies' ([1887] 1957) *Gemeinschaft*, Turner's (1969) *Communitas* and Lave and Wenger's (1991) CoP concept to inform conceptualisation of community formation through a shared experience. The conceptual ideas guide this research on the various aspects of community formation - geographic location, communities of interest, communities founded on shared experiences, communities with common characteristics, mutual qualities or joint values. To this end, this objective investigates how the community of Green Point was bound together through the 2010 FIFA World Cup.

Following on from the second objective, the third objective examines the Ubuntu belief system and its contextual relevance to community formation in the case of Green Point, Cape Town. The Ubuntu belief system reflects on how the principles of mutuality, unity and kinship, which are central to the African culture and way of life, have had an effect on the way different people from the community of Green Point came together to share in the experience of the 2010 FIFA World Cup.

Objective four offers a series of timelines that plot the study's findings as embedded in the data, presenting a sequence of events that influenced the respondents' changing attitudes over time. In this study, the timeline is defined by the time before the 2010 FIFA World Cup, until 2016 when the data was collected. Although the respondents do not state a decisive starting point to define the time prior to the event, this timeline is estimated based on the twelve-year period from when the bid was awarded in 2004 to the data collection. In addition, some of the respondents' stories provide evidence in support of this timeline, also offering insights that give awareness of their future concerns.

1.5. Outline of Thesis Structure

This study is divided into ten chapters and is organised under the following headings;

Chapter 1: This chapter outlines the research focus and context, and states the research aim and objectives.

Chapter 2: This literature review defines mega events and charts their development over time, expounding on mega event social impacts and their nature. The chapter also provides an overview of previous work, exploring a number of issues relevant to understanding community support for mega events. The chapter looks at the effect of mega events on community views to identify how those experiences have affected community support for mega events over the years.

Chapter 3: This research is firstly concerned with community support. To this end, this chapter provides a literature review of what makes a community and examines the various ways a community can be established. This chapter also lays out the theoretical position assumed, and looks at how Tonnies' ([1887] 1957) *Gemeinschaft*/conceptualisation of community, Turner's (1969) work on *Communitas* and Lave and Wenger's (1991) *Communities of Practice Concept (CoP)* inform what is known and not known about community togetherness as a result of experiencing mega events, and the influence on community support. This chapter also explores the formation of community from the African perspective, discussing the ideas of kinship, human connectedness and unity, which are the institution of society according to the Ubuntu belief system.

Chapter 4: This chapter discusses the case example of South Africa, examining the history and current state of affairs to see the significance and worth of hosting mega events in the community of Green Point, Cape Town.

Chapter 5: The methodology describes the narrative inquiry approach undertaken in this research, detailing the actions taken to collect stories from members of the

community of Green Point to gain awareness into their lived experiences of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. This chapter presents the interpretivist approach which this study adopts to explore the respondents' experiences and interpret their diverse views. In addition, the chapter also provides details of the steps taken to collect the narrative stories, identifying the sample composition, ethical considerations and method of data analysis.

Chapter 6: This is the first of the findings chapters and investigates whether the shared experience of mega events can bring people together to form a community. Drawing from theory (Tonnie's ([1887] 1957) *Gemeinschaft*, Turner (1969) *Communitas* and Lave and Wenger's (1991) *CoP*) assists this chapter to enlighten the process of community formation. The stories reveal the different ways in which people can interact in a particular place and form relational bonds with others as they share together the experience of a mega event.

Chapter 7: Following on from the previous chapter, guidance from the Ubuntu belief system helped the research to interpret the African understanding of community. The respondents' stories depict the relevance of local customs and their contribution to social behaviour that brings people together. The accounts illustrate how the experience of Ubuntu values can inform connectedness, as it relates to *Gemeinschaft*, *Communitas* and the *CoP* concept.

Chapter 8: In this chapter, the stories presented help to identify the different social effects of staging the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Green Point. The respondents' stories reveal the extent to which their experiences of social division and marginalisation influenced their changing views of mega events. The critique in their stories reveals frustration and disappointment, brought by the displacement and marginalisation of some community members in Green Point. Moreover, the evidence highlights the issue of displacement and marginalisation as a growing problem, highlighting the subsequent effect on the increasing sense of frustration within Green Point.

Chapter 9: This chapter examines the experiences of community members of Green Point, to see how these have affected their sense of QOL. It can be seen that some community members felt the event enabled upskilling and job security. It gave way to an improved sense of social wellbeing and expansion of cultural perspectives that has enhanced their lives in the long-term. However, the limitations enlighten the reader of short-term benefits such as fleeting opportunities for business growth. The insight reveals the short-term nature of jobs created, the upsurge in cost of living, traffic congestion and corrosion of community welfare affected the host community; causing disappointment and changed attitudes towards mega events.

Chapter 10: This chapter looks at the experience of togetherness, exploring evidence for Ubuntu as integral to community formation. The guiding theory's limitations are explored, to reveal how the process of community formation is not always harmonious, and without difficulty. The discussion expands upon existing theory to consider the possibility of marginalisation and other negative experiences that can influence social division; which can ultimately affect community support. The interpretation of this presents evidence to address a community's changing attitudes to mega events over time, establishing how this can be detrimental to fostering community support. The argument also suggests a more comprehensive approach to defining community support would include both positions of community formation, a) location and b) mutual qualities.

Chapter 11: The conclusion restates the purpose of the study, answers the research objectives and suggests ways forward for the research. The main contributions of the research are addressed here, along with an acknowledgement of the limitations. In this chapter, the researcher reflects upon her personal experiences, giving insight into the learning and development that took place and the influence on the overall research.

1.6. Summary

This chapter introduces the context of the research and identifies the main ideas under investigation. This chapter also establishes the relevance of community support for mega events. Finally, it provides the structure of the thesis.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

The Pursuit of Mega Events

2.1. Introduction

This section provides a review of existing literature on mega events, charting their development over time and establishing their significance. The review considers the broad range of mega event impacts, identifying how they come about and their tangible and intangible nature. The chapter also looks at past mega events to see their impact on community experiences, and how those experiences have shaped community views and influenced community support for mega events over the years.

2.2. Defining Mega Events

Undertaking a critical review of mega event definitions in this study helps to uncover understanding of the social context in which mega events are embedded. To that end, it provides insight into past contributions and reveals possible knowledge gaps on the issue of community support for mega events. Governments across the world are pursuing mega events and incorporating them into developmental policies due to the potential for benefits that have been witnessed across past events such as the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games, the Barcelona 1992 Olympics and the 2006 FIFA World Cup (Hill 1992; Garcia-Ramon and Albet 2000; Hiller 2000; Preuss 2007a). Mega events are increasingly being hosted for their capacity to attract growth and generate benefits for the host community. For example, according to Salazar (2016), the media attention and business that mega events invite have contributed to their growing attractiveness over the years. According to Nauright (2017), the significance of the economic appeal of mega events has greatly increased in recent times, arguing that mega events are being used even more as a socio-political tool by governments seeking to garner political influence. To indicate, Li and Nauright (2018) claim that following the Beijing 2008 Olympics, China bid for the 2022 Winter Olympics to be hosted by Beijing, in the hopes of generating further socio-political presence, and to develop

winter sports that could benefit the local communities. Over the past three decades, several useful definitions that demonstrate the progression of mega events have been offered, thus providing the current context for describing mega events (e.g. Ritchie 1984; Law 1994; Hiller 1998; Roche 2000; Malfas et al. 2004; Muller 2015a; Ziakas 2015).

However, notwithstanding the numerous contributions of mega event definitions, there appears to be consensus over the difficulty attached to defining the term. For instance, early works by Ritchie (1984); Hall (1989) and Getz (1989) reflect this difficulty through their interchangeable use of the terms ‘major, hallmark, mega and special events’ to describe mega events. Other academics from the following decade continued to use variations of the terminology. Law (1994) referred to mega events as ‘special events,’ asserting they are staged on a one off basis, distinctive leisure and cultural experiences. Despite the variation in terminology, work from this period appears to provide the foundations for a broad interpretation that summarises and combines elements from the terms major events, special events, hallmark events and mega events. Therefore, suggesting that distinct events of this nature remain attractive to communities that are seeking to experience development and gain international exposure. Hosting mega events has the potential to generate social impacts that facilitate growth and development for the host community. To explore exactly how the social impacts engendered from hosting mega events can bring about development, the characteristics of the term require further clarification. Table 1 offers a selection of definitions that help bring to order the development of mega events over the years.

Table 1 A Selection of Mega Event Definitions

Selection of Mega Event Definitions
<p>“Major one time or recurring events of limited duration, developing primarily to enhance the awareness, appeal and profitability of a tourism destination in the short and or long-term. Such events rely for their success on uniqueness, status or timely significance to create interest and attract attention” Ritchie (1984, cited in Hall 1989, p. 263).</p>
<p>Mega events are events such as World Fairs and Expositions, the Soccer World Cup or the Olympic Games are events, which are expressly targeted at the international tourism market. And may be suitable described as ‘,mega’ by virtue of their size in terms of attendance, target market, level of public financial involvement, political effects, extent of television coverage, construction of facilities, and impact on economic and social fabric of the host community” Hall (1997, cited in Allen et al. 1999, p. 18).</p>
<p>“Large and internationally-known, events of world importance and high profile, which have a major impact on the image of the host city” Bramwell (1997, p. 167- 168).</p>
<p>“Mega events are large-scale (usually national or international), special events which are high in status or prestige and which attract large crowds and media attention. They may be expensive to stage, may involve tradition or symbolism, attract funds to the region, lead to demand for associated services, and leave behind legacies or result in urban renewal” Jago and Shaw (1998, p. 29 – 30).</p>
<p>“They are discontinuous, out of the ordinary, international and simply big in composition” Roberts (2004, p. 108).</p>
<p>“Mega events are best understood as large-scale, cultural (including commercial and sporting) events, which have a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance” Roche (2000, p. 1).</p>
<p>“Two central features of mega events are, first, they are deemed to have significant consequences for the host city, region or nation in which they occur, and second, that they will attract considerable media coverage” Horne (2007, p. 81 – 82).</p>
<p>“The characterisation of a mega event is often linked to size but also according to its specific impacts” Wiltchko (2010, p. 8).</p>
<p>“Focus on significant national or global competitions that produce extensive levels of participation and media coverage and that often require large public investments into both event infrastructure... these events are short-term: they do not include successive happenings in the same area from year to year” Mills and Rosentraub (2013, p. 239).</p>
<p>“Four constitutive dimensions of mega-events: visitor attractiveness, mediated reach, costs and transformative impact” Muller (2015a, p. 627).</p>

Although the definitions are different in composition, they offer insight into what makes a mega event, enlightening this research on the key tenants of a mega event. A variety of common features emerge from across the definitions presented in Table 1, which denotes the significance of those features. To exemplify, the key tenets of mega events appear to be large-scale, short-term, cultural events with mass appeal and global significance. Those mega events attract sizeable media reporting and wide-ranging levels of participation, but they also necessitate substantial public investment and support. The mega events appeal to crowds of visitors from across the globe, generating a variety of impacts for the host community, such as economic, social and political benefits amongst others. Their impact can cause a marked change to a way of life, with the potential to bring about benefits that influence legacies beyond the existence of the event. For example, social benefits such as increased community participation in sport, useful regeneration of dwelling areas, increased public leisure and recreational facilities (Silvestre 2009).

Therefore, mega events are perceived by their impacts such as duration of event, aim of the event e.g. economic, social ambitions, size of the event and frequency e.g. Olympics and FIFA World Cup are hosted once every four years (Hall 1992). According to Hall (ibid), the location is equally of importance. In addition, he states that how the global audience will access the locations, the particular potential audience and event attendees, the nature of administration e.g. government bodies and other organisations and the nature of infrastructure required is also of equal significance. Nevertheless, the issue of establishing a consistent classification remained of urgency throughout the 1980s and by the mid-1990s, some researchers had begun to recognise ‘mega event’ as the guiding terminology to describe the attributes of events such as the FIFA World Cup, Olympic Games, Commonwealth Games and Rugby World Cup. For instance, in Bramwell’s (1997) article *Strategic planning before and after a mega-event*, the focus of attention on the festivities under review can be understood through the consistent use of the term mega event. The essential features to describe the definition come into view, “*large and internationally-known, events of world importance and high profile, which have a major impact on the image of the host city*” Bramwell (ibid, p. 167-168). It is important to identify and acknowledge that Bramwell’s description includes the prospect of generating a range of impacts as defining criteria.

In the article *Mega-events and modernity*, Roche establishes that mega events have “*a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance*” (2000, p. 1), thus offering a definition that still informs principle understanding of mega events today. Other studies that followed have taken into consideration this understanding of the term as an explanatory statement that establishes the relevance and purpose of mega events (e.g. Horne and Manzenreiter 2006; Gold and Gold 2007; Dolles and Soderman 2010; Knott et al. 2015a; Frawley 2016). For the most part, the definitions that came after follow a similar description to that contributed by Roche (2000). To demonstrate this, Roberts (2004, p. 108) suggests that what defines a mega event is “*they are discontinuous, out of the ordinary, international and simply big in composition.*” In another example, Horne and Manzenreiter (2006, p. 2) suggest a fundamental characteristic of mega events is that they primarily produce “*significant consequences for the host city.*” Similarly, Gold and Gold (2007) and Ziaka (2015) opine that mega events are bound to place; and because of this, they are a means to generate economic growth, drawing broadcasting attention and attracting international awareness that can provide a means to expedite community advancement. This process is often attributed to the idea of leveraging (Smith 2014). The term event leverage is defined by O’Brien (2006, p. 25) as, “*events and opportunities they present are merely the seed capital; what hosts do with that capital is the key to realising sustainable long-term legacies.*” Therefore, this suggests that mega events can result in outcomes that offer a means for the host community to make the most of, and leverage the benefits generated.

Other definitions that followed similarly modelled their views based on the scale and scope of political, social, environmental and economic impacts (e.g. Jones 2001; Roberts 2004; Preuss 2007b; Getz 2008; Jago et al. 2010; Gold and Gold 2011; Muller 2015a). For instance, Jago et al. (2010, p. 221) identify that mega events have the capacity “to act as catalysts on their paths to sustainable development”; whilst Muller (2015a) asserts that mega events have the capacity to produce life-changing impacts. The extent and nature of the impacts caused can influence the degree to which host communities are willing to support mega events. Over the years, definitions have remained broad, accommodating various understandings of mega events. Despite the range in the terminology, there are principal descriptive features that continue to be consistent and relevant. They reveal that mega events are international, unique and

have the capacity to generate lasting impacts. The definitions presented here, restate and maintain the assertion that mega events are universally pursued, and supported for their attractiveness and potential to influence development within the host community.

2.3. Differences in Mega Events

Having defined mega events, it is necessary to establish the varying elements or criteria that constitute a mega event. Past studies have frequently recognised and classified mega events by their universal appeal, grandiose nature and capacity to engender impacts for the host community (e.g. Malfas et al. 2004; Bowdin et al. 2011; Rose and Spiegel 2011; Maennig and Zimbalist 2012b; Getz 2012). For example, Malfas et al. (2004) claim that the establishment of mega events is determined by their duration, scale and reach in media, international appeal and impact within the host community. However, Muller (2015a, p. 628) cautions, “not all mega-events are ‘mega’ in the same dimensions and to the same degree,” and suggests that the wide range of mega events that exists is often overlooked. Mega events can take the form of sport events such as the FIFA World Cup and Olympics (Rose and Spiegel 2011). Equally, mega events can be in the form of World Fairs, Conventions and World Expositions such as Expo 2008 and Expo 2010 (Chen and Spaan 2009; Rose and Spiegel *ibid*). Mega events such as the Olympics, World Cups, and Commonwealth Games are primarily viewed as sporting events that typify grandeur and distinction on the world stage, with the capacity to generate development (Cornelissen et al. 2011; Gold and Gold 2016).

For example, the 2002 Manchester Commonwealth Games drew great media attention and attracted many international visitors, resulting in image restoration and a legacy of distinguished sporting facilities that have assisted in nurturing top athletes in the region (McKeegan 2014). According to Mangan (2008, p. 1869) legacy can be considered, “*a tangible or intangible thing handed down by a predecessor, a long-lasting effect of an event or process; the act of bequeathing.*” The ability to realise legacy is widely related to the aftermath of an assortment of outcomes that include community development and improved social relations (Preuss 2007b; Mangan 2008;

Davies 2012). Different to those mega events of the sporting variety, world expos often draw themed exhibitions to a chosen host country, displaying various accomplishments from the international community and every so often, some of the exhibitions created remain in operation post the event (Lamberti et al. 2011). For example, the 1889 Expo resulted in the Eiffel Tower that has continued to benefit the host community of Paris, and the 1964 Expo in New York resulted in some of Disney Land's present-day infrastructure (Lumenick 2015; Selwood 2017).

Yet an alternative argument exists and suggests that sport mega events are different and more effective in comparison to world expos, due to their distinct appeal and greater capacity to impact development (Horne 2007). The argument follows the view that sport mega events and world expos play a different role, and the 'how and why' they occur also varies. It is suggested that sport mega events are more concerned with recreational and leisure activities as compared to expos that are often directly concerned with strategy and civic issues (Leavy 2007). However, Mendez (2010) asserts that all mega event celebrations offer the host community a platform to attract international audiences and growth, transforming beliefs about the local way of life, fostering social interactions and effecting the reimagining of the locale. Nonetheless, Busa et al. (2012) argue that world expos remain outstanding in nature and attract various stakeholders and benefits that promote growth. Although all mega events are considered 'cultural icons' that draw significant international attention, and can cause varied social impacts for the hosts e.g. exposure and the opportunity for people to come together in celebration (Getz et al. 2012), Coates (2012) maintains that the nature and characteristics of world expos continue to be different from sport mega events. According to Muller (2015a), it is because they differ regarding the resources needed to stage the event, differ on scope, duration and the attributes of the tourists and participants.

Therefore, apart their focus – religious, traditional, commemorative or competitive, mega events create an opportunity for people to come together over a shared experience that can raise the host community's image, progress local sporting services improve infrastructure and attend to other social issues in the host community (Butler and Bairner 2015). With respect to this understanding, the distinction between mega

events in this study remains mostly dependent on enormity, interests, scope and the nature of event impacts. To this end, this study accepts Muller's (2015a) criteria and asserts that mega events are determined by visitor appeal, broadcasting reach, cost and capacity to generate community development and the ability to bring people together in celebration. Overall, mega events are mostly short-term in nature and can vary from festivals to expos and sport events. They are considered large in scale, have international attractiveness and can generate a variety of impacts for the host community.

Social science research seeks to interpret social experiences. The exploration of human behaviour helps to gain knowledge about social behaviour such as community support for mega events (Giddens 2001). Human behaviour and the individual's belief system draw influence from the community. In turn, sociology informs understanding of social nuances that guide the structures and beliefs of a community (Bell and Newby 2012; Banton 2013). This, therefore, suggests that the exploration of mega event practices could contribute knowledge to better appreciate 'behaviour in society' such as community support (Fredline and Faulkner 2002b; Holden 2006; Deery et al. 2012). As a result, it is of significance to explore the way social relationships can be formed within society, to see the overall influence of those experiences on community views, and how those views can influence community support for mega events.

2.4. Mega Event Legacies

According to Horne (2010), legacy has arrived at a place of utmost importance in mega event considerations. Legacy plays an important role in shaping community attitudes and views toward supporting mega events (Preuss 2007b; Mangan 2008; Davies 2012; Vanwynsberghe et al. 2013). However, the idea of legacy is continually changing and remains disputed because the term is still relatively new (Cashman 2006; Gold and Gold 2009; Leopkey and Parent 2012; Sant and Mason 2015). Legacy has been defined as the ability to leverage benefits, lasting beyond the existence of the event (Gratton and Preuss 2008; Cornelissen et al. 2011; Bell and Gallimore 2015; Preuss 2015b; Alm et al. 2016); therefore, suggesting that the contents of legacy can be

understood in terms of the ability to achieve lasting benefits through hosting a mega event that remains useful to the host community in the long-term. Positive mega event legacies offer the host community the opportunity to continue to come together in celebration, fostering civic pride, whilst creating an opportunity to realise development (Prayag et al. 2013; Li and McCabe 2013; Vanwynsberghe et al. 2013; Smith 2014; Cornelissen 2014). Therefore, a crucial feature of achieving positive social impacts should be the ability to generate and maintain lasting benefits for the host community. In consequence, a mega event that has the capacity to leverage benefits could possibly shape community outlooks of mega events and by the same token influence community support for mega events.

For example, the Turner Field stadium from the 1996 Atlanta Olympics was successfully converted to a baseball park that is now home to the Atlanta Braves baseball team (Alm et al. 2016). As a result, the stadium has generated lasting benefits to the host community, providing jobs and a place of recreation and leisure where the community can continue to gather and celebrate together. The 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany also left a positive legacy of stadiums and brought about a sense of community. In separate studies, Florek and Insch (2011), Matheson (2012) and Alm et al. (2016) found that the 1996 Atlanta Olympics and the 2006 FIFA World Cup influenced experiences that had a positive effect on the way those host communities' look at mega events; therefore, helping this study to show how positive legacies can shape community outlooks and play a role in fostering community support for mega events. Nevertheless, Coakley and Souza (2013) caution that positive legacies do not happen spontaneously, neither are they guaranteed. Coakley and Souza (ibid) also identify that mega event legacies do not always result in affirmative community perceptions of mega events.

Moreover, this research is of the view that mega events can generate negative social impacts that affect QOL and engender a variety of other negative social impacts. Those experiences can result in the host community harbouring negative feelings toward mega events. This research deliberates over how those experiences can cause community disengagement and influences a reduced sense of community spirit. For

instance, the Montreal Olympic Stadium and other the facilities built for the 1976 Montreal Olympics remained largely underutilised over the years, generating a negative socio-economic legacy that became a costly responsibility for taxpayers, and significantly affected the host community's way of life for many years (Stewart and Rayner 2016). In the case of the 2002 FIFA World Cup hosted by Japan and South Korea, Alm (2012) found that the event left a legacy of expensive stadia that was difficult to adapt for further use by the host communities. In another case, the 2010 Commonwealth Games hosted in Delhi, India resulted in the displacement of approximately 200 000 members of the community to make way for the event (Mishra et al. 2010). In consequence, part of the event legacy became attached to the experience of displacement (Amis 2013). The examples show how the events engendered a negative legacy of burdensome debts absorbed by the host community, impractical infrastructure, and displacement from one's community. The unfortunate outcomes help this research to establish how the experience of negative legacies can affect a community's outlook of mega events in a negative manner.

2.5. Mega Event Social Impacts

Mega events produce a variety of outcomes that can impact the host community (Gursoy et al. 2004; Gaffney 2014; Kim et al. 2015). Those outcomes are wide in range covering social, economic, political, environmental, physical and cultural impacts. For example, economic impacts of mega events can benefit the community through generating resources for community developments (Shaw 2012; Baade and Matheson 2015). Economic impacts can also affect the community by generating debts that necessitate increased taxes to assist payment of debt responsibility (Preuss 2004; Maharaj 2015; Zimbalist 2016). Meanwhile, the political impacts of mega events can benefit the community through generating exposure and fostering of international relations (Caiazza and Audretsch 2015; Maennig and Vierhaus 2016). Conversely, negative political impacts have seen some governments use mega events as political tools to gain relevance in global affairs, thus prioritising those needs over the experiences of the community (Grix 2013; Horne 2017; Li and Nauright 2018). To this end, this research is of the view that the impacts generated by mega events can

affect the perceptions of the host community, influencing their willingness to support mega events. Nevertheless, this study acknowledges that mega events produce social impacts that play an important role in bringing a community together in celebration, whilst also encouraging the development of society.

This section discusses the experience of positive and negative social impacts of mega events, as a means to appreciate their varied nature, therefore enabling this research to investigate the individual experiences of the 2010 FIFA World Cup and how these have shaped their views of mega events. Mega events produce a variety of impacts e.g. economic, political, environmental, social and political. Many of the impacts often integrate resulting in socio-economic, socio-cultural and socio-political impacts amongst others. Numerous studies have extensively covered economic impacts of mega events (e.g. Brunet 1995; Preuss 2004; Matheson 2009; Zimbalist 2011; Dwyer and Jago 2014; Maennig and Vierhaus 2016). These studies have found that mega events often generate negative economic impacts. Therefore, instead of seeking economic impacts, communities pursuing mega events are increasingly doing so for the promise of social impacts such as international exposure, community regeneration and social togetherness (Gursoy et al. 2017). According to Roberts (2000, p. 17), the idea of regeneration considers a *“comprehensive and integrated vision and action, which leads to the resolution of urban problems, which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change.”* Although many impacts are noticeable or tactile/tangible such as economic impacts, others are less perceptible and hard to measure such as social impacts (Waite 2003; Owen 2005; Silvestre 2009; Sadd 2012; Deery et al. 2012).

As a result, this study places emphasis on exploring social impacts, which allows this research to look at community experiences from the 2010 FIFA World Cup to see their influence on community support for mega events. However, the range in mega events and the disparities observed in each mega event makes it challenging to assign comprehensive descriptions and rationalisations that can be applicable to all possible scenarios where social impacts are generated (Stone and Sharpley 2011). While defining social impacts remains complicated (Deery et al. 2012; Muller 2015a), there is need to explore the topic further to appreciate the social impacts that mega events

generate. In so doing, this will help this study to see how they affect community experiences. Therefore, the task to identify social impacts remains important to this study.

2.5.1. Amalgamation of Social Impacts and other Impacts

This research explores both positive and negative social impacts. However, it is difficult to completely separate social impacts from economic, cultural, political and environmental impacts. There is consensus amongst other researchers (e.g. Preuss and Solberg 2006; Lorde et al. 2011; Prayag et al. 2013; Misener and Schulenkorf 2016) that social impacts should not be evaluated in isolation; rather, they ought to be evaluated based on their interaction with other impacts, and this research follows this approach. Table 2 presents the amalgamation of social impacts with other impacts.

Table 2 Identifying Complexities in Social Impacts

Nature of Impact	Description	Source (S)
Positive Socio-Economic Impacts	Produce revenues for civic projects, increase employment prospects and stimulate community businesses, inspires locals to develop new services Development of practical housing that can be regenerated for community use post the event.	Jones (2001); Gursoy et al. (2004); Silvestre (2009); Sadd (2012)
Negative Socio-Economic Impacts	Increased traffic, congestion and Pressure on local services, rise in crime rates Misuse of public land, for example, extension of commercialising and branding in fan parks that are meant to benefit the public.	Jones (2001); Gursoy et al. (2004); McGillivray and Frew (2015)
Positive Socio-Cultural Impacts	Growth of community interest/involvement in sport/leisure activities; awareness of local traditions and values; intensification of civic pride and celebratory spirit; opportunity to showcase the host community. Useful development of public land e.g. communal parks where people can come celebrate together on an ongoing basis. Use of mega events to help foster social relations within the community.	Malfas et al. (2004); Horne (2007); Silvestre (2009); Hass (2015)
Negative Socio-Cultural Impacts	Reduced civic pride, overriding of civil freedoms, and commercialisation of community culture. Increase in social disparities, inequalities and propagation of discriminatory and classist behaviour.	Timothy (2011); Haferburg (2011); Gaffney (2014)
Positive Socio-Political Impacts	Govts. utilising mega events as social unity and development tools, govts. employing mega events as opportunities to nation-build, governments using mega events as economic catalyst tools to improve social welfare. Use of mega events as tools to foster important international relations that can help growth of the local.	Cornelissen and Maennig (2010); Maennig and Vierhaus (2016); Li and Nauright (2018)
Negative Socio-Political Impacts	Poor management of community funds and resources by local government, local governments making autonomous decisions without community involvement. Overlooking community desires and complaints, whilst prioritising political agendas.	Cornelissen and Swart (2006); Grix and Lee (2013); Giullianotti et al. (2015a)
Positive Socio-Environmental Impacts or Positive Socio-Physical Impacts	Consideration of the natural environment and wildlife. Improvement of the local environment, construction of environmentally friendly sporting infrastructures, leisure facilities, commercial hubs and park spaces. Implementation of recycling programs, consideration of renewing existing structures as opposed to building new facilities, improvements to existing community transport systems to make them more energy efficient.	Kurtzman and Zauhar (2003); Malfas et al. (2004); Falt (2006); Schmidt (2006); Chappelet (2013)
Negative Socio-Environmental Impacts or Negative Socio-Physical Impacts	Corrosion of natural resources to make way for construction, Deforestation, erosion due to excessive development, rushed development and inappropriate development plans, Environmentally unsustainable facilities and use of materials that cannot be recycled.	Konstantaki and Wickens 2010; Hayes and Karamichas (2011)

Table 2 shows how social impacts combine with other impacts, revealing how this is widely recognised in other mega event studies and is therefore acknowledged in this study. The interaction between social and cultural impacts demonstrates that positive socio-cultural impacts can intensify the spirit of togetherness, and engender community pride (Malfas et al. 2004; Horne 2007; Sivestre 2009; Hass 2015). Similarly, negative socio-cultural impacts can result in the loss of community togetherness or social division (Malfas et al. 2004; Timothy 2011; Haferburg 2011; Gaffney 2014). Therefore, through identifying examples of some of the existing interactions, this study acknowledges the diverse nature of social impacts and recognises the different ways they can influence the community's experience of mega events.

2.5.2. Tangible and Intangible Social Impacts

It is important to avoid an over-simplified appreciation of the nature of social impacts. Therefore, this research acknowledges the existence of tangible and intangible social impacts. Tangible social impacts are those that can positively cause community development through infrastructural development and job creation (Barney et al. 2002; Getz 2005), while intangible social impacts are those that come in the form of social interaction and community pride (Haley et al. 2005). Examples from previous research are indicated in Table 3.

Table 3 Tangible and Intangible Social Impacts

Nature of Impact	Description and example of Mega Event (s)	Source (s)
Tangible Positive Social Impacts	The Barcelona 1992 Olympics and the 2006 Torino Winter Olympics resulted in beneficial infrastructure and leisure facilities, upgraded transport and service systems. The 1994 Lillehammer Winter Olympics resulted in construction of environmentally friendly infrastructure.	Schmidt (2006); Dansero and Mela (2007); Taylor (2012); Scherer and Shi (2016)
	The Atlanta 1996 Olympics resulted in the Turner Field stadium, which was converted to a baseball park, home to the Atlanta Braves baseball team, and has successfully generated lasting jobs.	Alm et al. (2016)
Intangible Positive Social Impacts	The London 2012 Olympics generated civic pride, an atmosphere of celebration and community goodwill. The event helped strengthen community culture, values and traditions. Although sport participation has decreased, there was an initial increase in community participation.	Shipway (2007); Prayag et al. (2013); Lockstone-Binney et al. (2016); Sadd (2018)
	The 2008 Beijing Olympics brought about community exposure. The event gave China a platform to change international perceptions about local way of life.	Xing and Chalip (2009); Li and Nauright (2018)
Tangible negative social impacts	Although the Atlanta 1996 Olympics did generate some long-term jobs, the event like many other mega events, generated some temporary jobs. The London 2012 Olympics resulted in some inadequate employment opportunities, some community members felt the jobs were only beneficial to the wealthy in society, and others felt that they were overlooked.	Baade and Matheson (2002); Timms (2012); Sadd (2012)
	The 2004 Athens Olympics, the 2014 Sochi Olympics resulted in inappropriate development of infrastructure. Some of the stadia is now derelict, and has not been put to use since the end of the event.	Minnaert (2012); Bloor (2014); Manfred (2014); Muller (2015b)
	The London 2012 Olympics, The 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil and the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics brought about gentrification - the increase in housing value resulting in the displacement of lower-income members of the community.	Buendia (2017); Rocha et al. (2017); Watt (2013); Pappalepore and Duignan (2016)
	The 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil and the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics generated social division, and encouraged disparities within the host communities. Those events also influenced protests and demonstrations.	Belisário (2014); Maharaj (2015); Osorio (2016)
Intangible negative social impacts	Although the 2008 Beijing Olympics helped to establish the country internationally, the event brought about damaging commodification of community culture, tradition and heritage.	Zhou and Ap (2009); Gursay et al. (2011)
	Preparation for the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil and the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics contributed to the unpleasant environmental pollution e.g. to the Guanabara Bay area, dirtying the waterways and surrounding environment. To that end, affecting QOL.	Balch (2016)
	The numerous negative experiences from the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics greatly influenced event criticism and resulted in loss of civic pride, changes in social behaviour, attitudes and community values	Levy (2017); Rocha et al. (2017)

As shown in Table 3, mega events can result in positive tangible social impacts, such as the creation of useful leisure facilities, that the community can continue to put to use and come together to enjoy other events, long after the mega event has concluded (Taylor 2012; Scherer and Shi 2016; Alm et al 2016). This form of social impact can benefit and improve the community's wellbeing. Similarly, mega events can result in positive intangible social impacts that can strengthen social identity, cultural values and a deeper sense of mutual engagement and group way of doing things (Hall 1992; Jago and Shaw 1998; Chappelet and Junod 2006). Therefore, the experience of both tangible and intangible social impacts can shape the community's shared experience of a mega event, influencing community support. Overall, social impacts are important because they can cause changes to the group way of life (Waitt 2003; Silvestre 2009). Social impacts can influence community wellbeing, group behaviour and foster a sense of social togetherness and the dynamic of 'being in common' (Lin 2013; Cope et al. 2015). This study acknowledges that looking at the vast range of social impacts, including tangible and intangible social impacts, can help this study to recognise how mega events bring about social togetherness, mutual engagement and a feeling of connectedness through a shared experience. In turn, this might help to foster community support for mega events in Green Point, Cape Town.

2.5.3. Experience of Positive Social Impacts

Notwithstanding the difficulty found in defining social impacts, there is a well-established repository of work that explores the effects of social impacts and the influence they can have on the host community (e.g. Lenskyj 2002; Chalip 2006; Shipway 2007; Balduck et al. 2011; Sadd 2012; Mair and Whitford 2013; Butler and Aicher 2015; Misener and Schulenkorf 2016; Levy 2017). The experience of mega event social impacts plays an important role in fostering community support: positive social impacts can improve cultural understanding, quality of life (QOL), reimagine the community and increase mutual engagement and group unity (Misener and Mason 2006; Ritchie et al. 2009; Heere et al. 2013; Butler and Aicher 2015). QOL is an important element that affects community development, which is often explored in studies concerning the social impacts of mega events (Lee et al. 2011). QOL is defined as the level of wellbeing that an individual or community of people experiences (Kim

et al. 2013; Kaplanidou et al. 2013; Preuss 2015a; Frawley 2016). As a result, the degree of social wellbeing and QOL that people experience during a mega event is of significance because it can influence their individual outlook on mega events. This suggests that those mega events that result in the experience of positive social benefits tend to strengthen community support.

Although Los Angeles remained the only city to bid for the 1984 Olympics after others dropped out, the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics are widely viewed as a turning point in the field of mega events, at a watershed time when mega events were losing reverence (Baade and Matheson 2002; Dwyre 2006). The LA84 Foundation, which aids youth sport programmes, was created because of the event and has been significantly effective over the years, resulting in a variety of lasting positive social impacts such as community reimagining and social togetherness (Whitson 2005; Munoz 2006; Scherer 2011). The community of Los Angeles hosted their first Olympics in 1932, which was followed by the 1984 Olympics that engendered a variety of positive social experiences (e.g. social legacy of the Amateur Athletic Foundation library and museum). According to Dwyre (2006), the effectiveness of Los Angeles 1984 was greatly influenced by community support in the form of local businesspersons and entrepreneurs. The 1984 Olympics helped Los Angeles gain and establish recognition as ‘the capital’ of the world’s popular culture industry and, beyond the social, the host community experienced financial profits from the event (Dyreson and Llewellyn 2008). Nevertheless, it remains important to acknowledge how the event was privately funded. In an online news article, Walker (2014) cites, *“the 1984 Summer Olympics were the first in history not to be sponsored by the government... organisation was headed by local businessman Peter Ueberroth. He organised a committee that functioned more like a corporation...accordingly, the Games would be funded by unprecedented corporate sponsorships, impressive private fundraising and for the first time on US soil, television deals.”* As a result, the support from the community through private businesses gave the event an advantage.

In another online news article, Scherer and Shi (2016) cite, *“in 1984, Los Angeles did something unusual: it hosted the Olympics and turned a profit. The Games generated a surplus of more than \$200 million, something no other host city had done since 1932 – the only other time Los Angeles hosted the Olympics.”* The outcome of the event has

been largely attributed to the support private businesses within the community of Los Angeles gave to the event. The experience of positive outcomes appears to have influenced an on-going sense of positive outlooks toward mega events in the community of Los Angeles. Most recently, after several other communities withdrew their bids for the 2024 and 2028 Olympics, Los Angeles remained one of the few communities willing to host either the 2024 or 2028 Olympics, resulting in Los Angeles being awarded the 2028 Summer Olympics (Capstick 2017). This example suggests a link exists between community support, the outcome of positive benefits and experiences, and the influence on continued community support for mega events.

In another instance, the positive reimagining from the Barcelona 1992 Olympics has continued to benefit Barcelona's experience of mega events (Smith and Fox 2007). The event facilitated the renewal of sporting facilities, transport systems and leisure centres that have remained useful (Brosio et al. 2016). The Barcelona 1992 Olympics resulted in the redevelopment of a two-mile long beachfront and marina, which increased tourism and delivered compound benefits through a variety of socio-economic and socio-cultural impacts over the years (Barra 2012). Prior to the Barcelona 1992 Olympics, the waterfront area was primarily an industrial site and the event helped to bring about and expedite reform and regeneration to the area (Taylor 2012); thereby showing the various ways that the social impacts from the Barcelona 1992 Olympics positively influenced the way of life in this community. The Salt Lake City 2002 Winter Olympics engendered a lasting legacy that has remained beneficial to the community of Utah, attracting international attention to local start-up businesses (Gorrell 2012). The new infrastructure, in particular the airport and train network, has offered the community much needed connections to business influencers such as the Silicon Valley (Gorrell *ibid*). This example shows how the positive social impacts of a mega event can positively influence community experiences.

In another case, like many other mega events, the 2006 Torino Winter Olympics generated both positive and negative impacts. For example, operation of the bobsledding activity affected the surrounding mountain area due to the cooling equipment set up which required some environmentally harmful chemicals to manoeuvre the track (Schmidt 2006). The substances used to operate the refrigerating systems were of concern to the local habitat, fauna and wellbeing of the residents (Falt

2006). However, the positive experiences resulted in useful infrastructure and generated international exposure which has continued to influence the growth of local tourism (Dansero and Mela 2007). For instance, the ice rink in Corso Tazzoli was converted to a public community rink (the only one in the community at the time), the Olympic stadium became home to the Torino Football Club and the ice hockey stadium became a trade and exhibition centre (Dansero and Mela *ibid*). The 2006 Torino Winter Olympics helped to reimage the community and increase tourism, particularly in the metropolitan area (Dansero and Puttilli 2010). Dansero and Puttilli also found that the experience of positive social impacts influenced community views in a positive manner and in following years the community of Torino has supported the hosting of several other events such as the 2009 European Diving tournament and the 2009 European Athletics Indoor Championship.

The London 2012 Olympics set out to bring people together in celebration, and to foster a sense of community spirit and to create a lasting legacy in sport engagement (Shipway 2007; Sadd 2012). However, the London 2012 Olympics were not without fault. Although the event did generate some negative socio-economic impacts (e.g. gentrification), the event has been widely commended for prioritising a legacy of sport participation and bringing about a sense of national pride (Prayag et al. 2013; Hughes 2013; Kim et al. 2015). As reported by Gibson (2012), after the event, there was an immediate sense of increased sport participation which helped to re-establish a feeling of community through group interaction and connectedness through the shared experiences. According to Boardley (2013, p. 252), the event was “*the first Olympics to explicitly promise a legacy in mass sport participation.*” Although there was an initial increase in sport participation, recent studies show that sport engagement has declined over the years (Gibson 2015; Brown et al. 2017). For example, swimming has witnessed a significant drop in the number of adult participants and according to Gibson (2015), reduced national funding has had an influence. Meanwhile, Brown et al. (2017) have found that the sport participation legacy intended for the games has not been maintained over the years.

According to Dickson et al. (2014) the estimated 70 000 volunteers indicated that the community generally held a positive outlook on the London 2012 Olympics and expressed their support through volunteering. The role of the volunteers was highly

valued and they were recognised as a key part of the event (Lockstone-Binney et al. 2016). In addition, the considerable number of volunteers is also evidence to suggest that the event brought about a sense of jubilation and feeling of community through the shared experience (Wilks 2016). In a more recent study on the Game Makers from the London 2012 Olympics, Sadd (2018) found the volunteer experience induced a sense of pride; the respondents spoke of the good feeling related to interacting with people they would normally not have come across. Although Sadd (ibid) found that some of the respondents felt somewhat disheartened for various reasons (e.g. inadequate training, and not being able to put to use their full range of skills), some of those individuals felt that serving their country brought about a feeling of national pride. The examples show how mega events can generate social benefits that last beyond the existence of the event, contributing to positive experiences that shape community views in a positive manner.

2.5.4. Experience of Negative Social Impacts

Despite identifying that mega events can cause positive social impacts such as community togetherness and national reimagining, counterclaims assert that mega events can also cause negative social impacts. For example, poor designation and use of public land, increased social disparities, disruption to community way of life, gentrification and community displacement (Waitt 2003; Silvestre 2009; Ritchie et al. 2009; Balduck et al. 2011; Lamberti et al. 2011; Sadd 2012; Muller 2015a). Negative social impacts can have wide consequences: the experience of marginalisation and displacement of members of the community can result in event criticism, protests and influence reluctance in community support for mega events. Negative social impacts are undesirable and can alter community views of mega events, therefore bringing about a lack of community involvement, cooperation and loss of community support (Gursoy and Kendall 2006; Maennig and Zimbalist 2012a). The experience of gentrification influences increases in housing values, resulting in the displacement of lower-income members of the community (Harrill 2004; Swart and Bob 2012; Preuss 2015b). During the London 2012 Olympics, the Athletes' Village was sold to the Qatari Royal family, causing the cost of living to go up within the London Borough of Newham; thus QOL became unattainable for a portion of the community in

Stratford, causing residents to move out and be replaced by wealthier inhabitants (Kollewe 2011; Giulianotti et al. 2015b). As a result of the experience, some people from Newham criticised the event, which they felt brought about social division and unwelcome changes to standard of living (Bernstock 2016). The experience affected the way those community members look at mega events, thus suggesting altered attitudes toward supporting mega events.

According to Teigland (1999), unnecessary infrastructure was built for the Lillehammer 1994 Winter Olympics in Norway, with the expectation that the stadiums would be reused to the community's benefit. However, despite Lillehammer being a small community of 24 000 residents, two new ice hockey rinks with 11000 seating capacity were constructed (Essex and Chalkley 2004). Over time, the ice rinks have remained impractical and underutilised (Leonardsen 2007). In addition, the event's environmentally friendly approach proved to be costly; "Lillehammer could only scrounge up \$289 million to foot the bill, the oil-rich Norwegian national government ended up bailing out the city with the rest of the \$1 billion in order to avoid national embarrassment" (cited in an online news article by Scherer and Shi 2016). Nevertheless, the Lillehammer 1994 Winter Olympics in Norway was considered effective at large. There had been concern about the socio- environmental impact of the event.

However, *"the 1994 Winter Olympics in Lillehammer, Norway, are now viewed as the first attempt to create a 'green' Olympic Games. Local activists in Lillehammer successfully forced the country's Olympic Organising Committee to make changes based on environmental concerns"* (Schmidt 2006, p. 289). As a result, the infrastructure that was used had to have material that would not cause harm to the locals, the surrounding vegetation and animals (Lesjo 2000). The event brought about a new ethical pillar within the IOC which encourages the hosting of environmentally sustainable events (Schmidt 2006). According to Scherer and Shi (2016), the city of Lillehammer insisted on the use of natural resources and initiated a recycling campaign to assist with the greening of the event.

In another example, the Athens 2004 Olympics were intended to help realise community regeneration and improve upon wellbeing (Preuss 2004; Karkatsoulis et

al. 2005; Kasimati and Dawson 2009). In preparation for the event, there was a great amount of infrastructural development (Kissoudi 2008). However, after the Athens 2004 Olympics concluded, no tenants were secured and the newly built stadiums have remained abandoned (Bloor 2014). Instead, the event resulted in criticism, experiences of marginalisation and social exclusion (Minnaert 2012). Conversely, Hiller and Wanner (2011) observed that the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics created a festive atmosphere that positively influenced the community's overall sense of wellbeing and happiness but Dvorak (2010) found that there were several community-led protests campaigning for civil rights and environmental conservation. Dvorak (ibid) found that activists from local indigenous groups also undertook demonstration against the Olympic presence, blocking the Olympic torches passage, suggesting some people within the community held negative views of the event because they felt the event was disruptive to the environment in their society.

The London 2012 Olympics is viewed as one of the first mega events to sustainably regenerate the host community, introduce a feasible legacy plan and encourage community participation in sport (Preuss 2015b; Butler and Aicher 2015). However, some people felt that the London 2012 Olympics were only beneficial to the wealthy in society (Timms 2012). Those individuals felt that they were overlooked and not considered for employment during the event, and others were displaced to make way for event infrastructure (Sadd 2012). Those negative social impacts increased social division, corrosion of community welfare and poorly affected community views of the event (Liu and Wilson 2014; Giulianotti et al. 2015b). In recent years, there has been a reduced sense of support for mega events, in particular amongst potential host communities from the developed world (Hass 2015; Zimbalist 2016). For instance, Boston (USA) Toronto (Canada) and Hamburg (Germany) recently withdrew their bids to host the 2024 Olympics because of community disapproval (Bull 2016). Figure 1 illustrates how mega events have been attracting fewer bids in recent years.

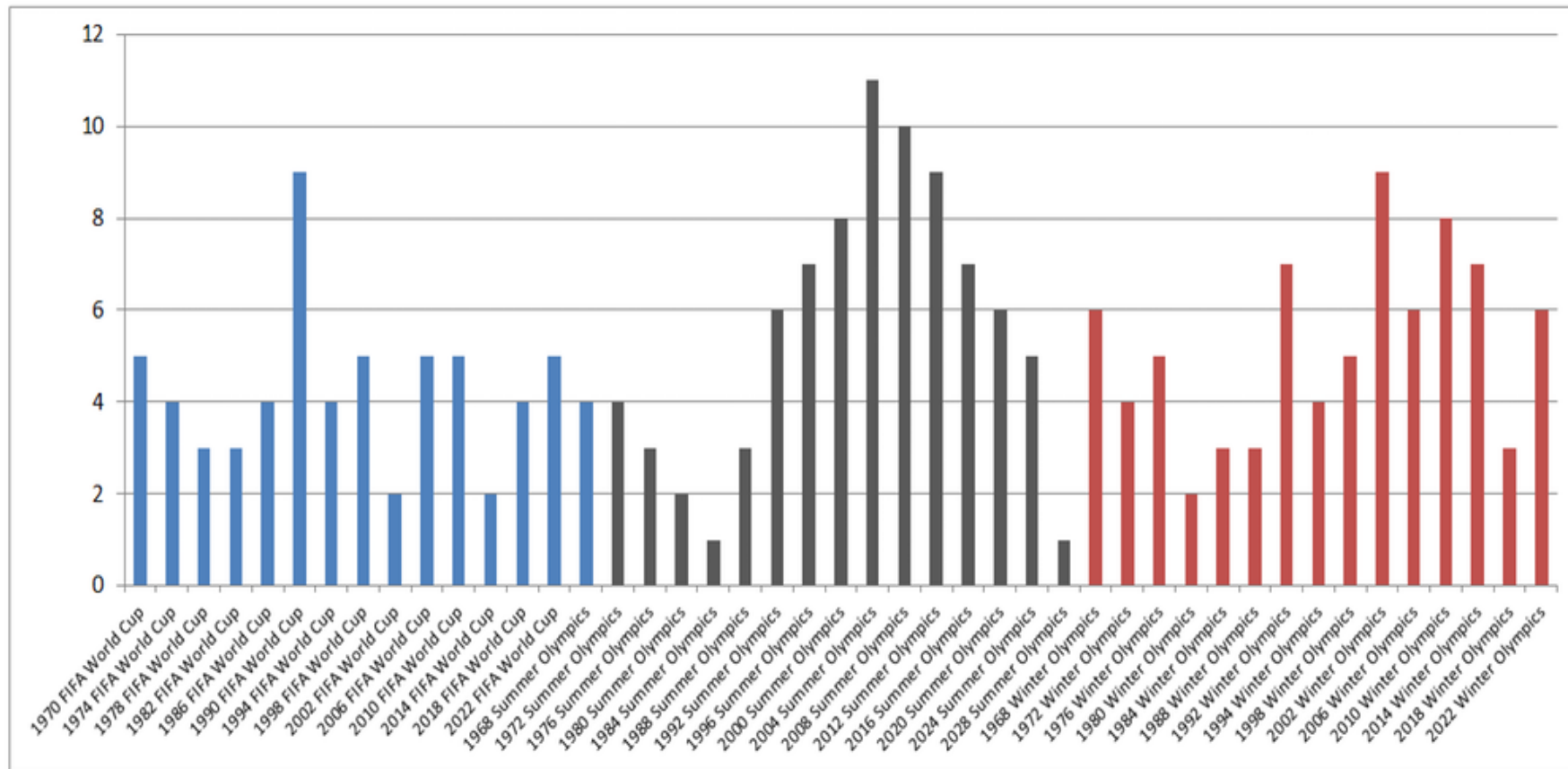


Figure 1 The Number of Applicants for the Olympic Games and FIFA World Cup 1968 - 2028

Source: Varano (2017)

Although the information for 2022 shows increased demand, it is important to note that this is an irregularity because most of the countries withdrew their bids for the 2022 Winter Olympics (Varano 2017). In an online news article, Short (2017) states, *“the 2022 Winter Olympic Games had only two bids – from Beijing and Almaty, Kazakhstan – after Stockholm, Krakow and Oslo withdrew their bids because of lack of public support.”* As a result, the forthcoming 2022 Winter Olympics was awarded to Beijing, China after defeating their only remaining opponent, Almaty, Kazakhstan. While hosting mega events still appears worthwhile to many developing nations, because of the view that it is a desirable experience that can accelerate the development of society, improve the local image and draw international attention (Grix and Lee 2013; Baade and Matheson 2015), some developing nations such as Brazil have begun to observe mega event criticism. For instance, the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Rio Olympics resulted in some negative experiences of community displacement, gentrification, misuse of public funds and poor event management amongst others (Sánchez and Broudehoux 2013; Belisário 2014; Muller 2015b; Buendia 2017; Rocha et al. 2017). Those negative experiences appear to have affected community views of mega events.

Therefore, it appears that the community’s perception of mega events is shaped by their experiences, thus suggesting that community outlooks are significant to the area of community support for mega events. The examples discussed demonstrate how negative experiences contribute to other negative outcomes such as disruptive social conduct, event criticism, protests and strikes. These experiences can, and in some cases, have resulted in a reduced sense of community support therefore exposing a gap in knowledge that this research is exploring, fostering community support for mega events.

2.6. Mega Events in Developing Nations

This study is context based, focusing on South Africa as a developing nation pursuing mega events. This research has identified that mega events present a platform for host communities to benefit from a festive celebration that brings people together and engenders development. In addition, the field of mega events has witnessed rapid

growth in recent years and mega events have become highly contested by both developed and developing nations (Matheson 2012; Ziakas 2015). The change in trends has seen developing nations hosting mega events for the same promise of positive economic, social and political impacts that can affect social growth (Cornelissen 2010; Grix and Lee 2013; Dwyer and Jago 2014; Sadd and Musikavanhu 2018). This is evidenced through the BRICs nations, a group of developing nations with sizeable populations and resources making an effort to harness the potential of mega events to bring about development in society (Joy 2013). The group was fashioned in 2003 and initially consisted of Brazil, Russia, India and China; South Africa was added in 2008 (Koba 2011).

The group has hosted several of the most recent mega events: China the 2008 Beijing Olympics, India the 2010 Commonwealth Games, South Africa the 2010 FIFA World Cup, Russia the Sochi 2014 Winter Olympics, Brazil the 2014 FIFA World Cup and Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics. According to Kurtz-Phelan (2013), the group was formed on the foundation of sharing common democratic and social experiences, mutual values and a joint purpose to advance community development (Maharaj 2015). However, the BRICs nations have been marred by problems with poor governance and socio-economic decline (Foroohar 2015). *“All five are middle-income countries with declining poverty rates but persistently high levels of income inequality”* Babones (2017, p. 1). However, according to Bremmer (2017), Brazil and Russia continue to experience decreased social and financial growth, and South Africa’s GDP has curtailed. In the case of China, the vastness of the country has resulted in many disparities and owing to the country’s enormity, only specific areas in China have experienced technological, economic and social advancement, whilst other parts have trailed behind (Babones 2017).

It is also argued that hosting mega events in developing nations can vary considerably from developed nations (Matheson and Baade 2005). According to Baade and Matheson (2015), the functional expenses of mega events have been steadily increasing over the years, and countries with less significant economies and greater governance issues experience the impact of expenditures at a deeper level. Those

developing countries tend to be less advanced as compared to their developed nation counterparts; they often need to construct new infrastructure as opposed to adapting pre-existing facilities, which requires more resources and incurs more costs (Matheson and Baade 2005; Baade and Matheson 2015). Nevertheless, mega events are also challenging to host for developed nations; however, they can be more difficult to achieve for developing nations (Swart and Bob 2010; Peeters et al. 2014). According to, Alm et al. (2016) those mega events hosted in developing nations tend to result in underutilised stadiums, in part because of the high level of poor governance which are an obstacle to ensuring proper planning for, and utilisation of facilities after the event. In an earlier study, Maharaj (2015) found that the poor event management and ambiguity surrounding the hosting of the 2010 Commonwealth Games in India, and the Sochi 2014 Winter Olympics in Russia, resulted in overspending and imposed displacement of community members to make way for the respective events. Maharaj (ibid) found that those experiences generated problematic long-term impacts that influenced greater inequalities amongst the underprivileged who are relatively less privileged than those community members from developed countries. Arguably, developing nations are beset with more challenging socio-economic, socio-cultural, socio-environmental and socio-political circumstances as compared to developed nations. This could be a significant impediment to governments pursuing mega events in those nations (Black and van der Westhuizen, 2004; Nauright and Schimmel, 2005; Matheson 2006; Zhou and Ap 2009; Dowse 2014; Dowse and Fletcher 2018).

In addition, developing nations tend to have vast social inequalities which can be observed in the great disparities between the affluent and the underprivileged, influencing social division amongst other social issues (Jago et al. 2010; Heere et al. 2013). Generally, the benefits that ensue from those mega events are usually enjoyed by the privileged few (Baade and Matheson 2015). As a result, this establishes that hosting mega events in communities from developing countries can put undue pressure on a community that has limited resources. In addition, it is suggested that the outcomes of mega events could affect those communities in different ways from their developed nation counterparts. Others have also claimed that there is inadequate academic insight into how the impacts produced by mega events can affect community views of those mega events staged in developing nations (see Nauright 2004;

Mowforth and Munt 2008; Cornelissen 2012; Haferburg and Steinbrink 2017). Therefore, with these concerns under consideration, and the on-going pursuit of mega events, it remains of importance to explore community experiences of mega events from the context of developing nations, to see in particular, how those experiences influence community perceptions of mega events and the impact on community support.

However, in recent times, organisations such as FIFA have sought to afford developing nations the same opportunity to host mega events (Vickery 2014). Despite the opportunity, developing nations have experienced some problems in such hosting. For instance, *“Delhi’s intention of bidding for the 2010 Commonwealth Games was to promote growth and development, upgrade infrastructure, stimulate tourism and market the city as a global city destination, all to project India as an emerging economy”* (Maharaj, 2015, p. 986). Nevertheless, India was criticised for the way Dheli prepared for the 2010 Commonwealth Games. According to Bose (2010), although the local organisers felt they had met the required standards, the visitors and official representatives from the Commonwealth Federation felt the local authorities had approached preparations in a casual manner and the readiness of facilities had been rushed (Bose 2010; Toft and Bang 2011). In addition, participants had problems with security and the provision of adequate infrastructure resulting in athletes complaining about the lack of security, insufficient facilities and unclean services (McIntosh and Nicol 2012).

Those experiences appear to have had a negative impact on the outcome of the event, damaging India’s previously stated intention to drive growth and to present India as an ‘emerging economy’. It appears that the outcome of the 2010 Commonwealth Games affected perception of India’s ability to host mega events. In another example, during both the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympic Games, the prevailing state of political affairs and social problems in Rio de Janeiro and other host communities appeared to obstruct the hosts’ ability to stage well organised events (Belisário 2014; Rocha and Barbanti 2015; Rocha et al. 2017). The Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics put pressure on the accessible resources in Rio de Janeiro, ultimately

impacting community experiences and influencing event criticism (Brooks 2016; Izquierdo 2017). As a result, this illustrated how the pre-existing social conditions found in developing nations can make it much more difficult to stage effective mega events; thus revealing some ways that hosting mega events in developing nations can result in negative community experiences that negatively influence community perceptions.

Recently, it has become increasingly difficult to ignore the hostility that some of the prospective host communities display toward mega events (Broudehoux 2012; Lamond and Spracklen 2014; Giulianotti et al. 2015a; Zimbalist 2016). Irrespective of developed or developing, Clark et al. (2016, p. 88) argue, “*the host community can find that the promised legacy is targeted towards more affluent incomers and non-residents.*” For instance, Canada withdrew its bid for the 2022 Commonwealth Games because of reduced support. The prospective host community of Edmonton had negative views of mega events because of the associated costs of staging them (Megaw 2017). As a result, the 2022 Commonwealth Games was awarded to South Africa. However, the community of Durban later gave up the opportunity to host the event due to, amongst other reasons, a lack of funds and poor preparation (Megaw *ibid*). Some prospective communities have raised concerns about the environmental impacts of mega events; Chappelet (2013) discusses the increasing opposition from environmental organisations about the sustainability of mega events that require construction of new skiing facilities that could potentially harm the environment. Most recently, Switzerland withdrew its bid for the 2026 Winter Olympics due to the communities of Davos and St Moritz expressing uneasiness over the possibility of negative social outcomes (Roan 2017).

In the case of developing nations, Phillips (2016), discusses how 275 families out of 800 residing in the Favela area of Barra de Tijuca, Rio de Janeiro, were evicted and their homes destroyed to make way for new construction associated with the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics. Phillips reports how the experiences not only drew criticism from those community members, but also incited violence and deadly demonstrations. In an online article for the Ford Foundation, Osorio (2016) cites, “*90% of the 900*

families living in the low-income community of Vila Autodromo were forcibly relocated to make way for the Olympic Park...more than 2,500 people were killed by the police in Rio since 2009...the communities most affected by this violence are those living in slums.” The effects of negative experiences have appeared to influence event criticism in the example of Brazil, showing how those experiences affected the community and shaped their view of mega events. As a result, it appears that community members from both developed and developing nations are increasingly showing their concern over the possibility of negative experiences associated with hosting mega events. In developed nations, prospective host communities are partaking in referendums, and in the developing nations, community members treated unfairly are protesting to have their voices heard.

Apart from the concerns identified above, South Africa has other social problems. For instance, racial and ethnic disparities steeped within a recent national history of apartheid (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2011). The country only recently went through a period of change from the political institution of apartheid to one of majority rule that favours democracy; therefore, problems associated with segregation are still present (Butler and Aicher 2015). According to Gelb (2003), South Africa is largely classified as a middle-income society; however, the nation exhibits some of the world’s highest proportions of disparity between rich and poor. For the majority whose social wellbeing is poor, this is because of inadequate housing, lack of education, limited jobs and scarcity in basic social benefits (Nhlabathi 2012). Earlier in this chapter, the problems of inequalities in society were discussed. Through the examples of China, India and Russia, Maharaj (2015), Osorio (2016) and Babones (2017) demonstrate how the outcomes of mega events in those developing nations have, to a degree, caused greater inequalities between the privileged and the underprivileged. The public debt and displacements brought about by the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics affected roughly 22, 059 families living in Providencia, a Favela slum that comprises some of the poorest people in Rio de Janeiro (Osorio 2016), thereby suggesting that mega events hosted in countries with wide social disparities often further the inequalities and benefit the few privileged individuals. Moreover, Norgaard (2016) argues that mega events seldom benefit everyone in society, and often the less privileged

community members are affected the most by increased tax rates and dislodgement to make way for event development, amongst other changes to way of life.

However, despite this acknowledgement, Zimbalist (2010) argues that hosting a mega event offers developing nations the unique opportunity to bring people together and benefit from local development. Since the end of apartheid, South Africa has viewed mega events as an opportunity to celebrate togetherness and bring about a sense of community and social unity (Cornelissen 2012). For example, the former president and apartheid revolutionary, Nelson Mandela, saw mega events of the sporting nature as a means of bringing together the people of South Africa (Bob and Potgieter 2013). Byrnes (2013) discusses how rugby was commonly linked with the separation of apartheid. However, the post- apartheid government, as a means of changing the way people formerly interacted, used the 1995 Rugby World Cup to encourage unity and togetherness amongst different people (Nauright 2013). To this end, this study looks at Green Point's experience of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, to see the extent to which a sense of community was realised through the shared experience, and the impact on community outlooks to see the influence on community support.

2.7. Defining Community Support

To establish the context, it is essential to grasp the meaning of community support. This will help interpret community experiences to enable the reader to see the significance of community support for mega events. Although mega events that cause negative experiences are likely to result in event criticism and reduced community support (Ziakas 2015), this will not necessarily withhold governments from bidding for mega events; neither will it determine the development of future mega events. However, this research previously identified examples of governments that have elected to consult the community on their views of mega events through referendums thus revealing a current trend in mega events. In order to pursue hosting mega events, the issue of community support has gained importance to prospective host countries and has proven to be a factor that has prevented some governments from following through with their bids. To that end, this suggests that those governments that have the

community's acceptance and support could see things in a different way that may help to deliver targeted and better outcomes.

The manner in which the community socialises and accommodates the visitors can shape the visitors' perception and impression of the overall event atmosphere (Baloglu and McCleary 1999; Morgan et al. 2002). The community's sense of hospitality can be considered a form of support and can contribute to the overall image of the event and help set the experience apart from others (Gursoy et al. 2017). In an earlier study, Jago et al. (2003) examine community support and they determine that *"to be truly successful, it was felt that there needs to be a sense of excitement and occasion in the local community"* (Jago et al. 2003, p. 8). The study suggests that the host community plays a significant role in supporting mega events through facilitating a festive atmosphere where people can come together in celebration. While a variety of interpretations of community support exist, Jones (2001) and Zhou and Ap (2009) define community support as the level of assistance offered by the community to better the mega event. For instance, support through community goodwill, receptiveness to hosting a mega event and a festive local atmosphere that is welcoming to visitors (Gursoy and Kendall 2006; Horne 2007). Community support is influenced by the host community's outlook on event experiences (Preuss and Solberg 2006; Bull and Lovell 2007; Goodwin and Santilli 2009; Gursoy et al. 2017), suggesting that individuals are motivated to support mega events that they perceive to be worthy experiences. Therefore, the community can help to set apart the experience of that mega event from others.

Nevertheless, there are many different forms of support that the community can offer an event (Getz 2007; Colloredo-Mansfeld 2011; Prayag et al. 2013; Rocha et al. 2017). In some early studies, Crompton and McKay (1997, cited by Jago et al. 2003, p. 8) and Getz (1997, cited by Jago et al. 2003, p. 8) said, *"the success of many events is heavily dependent upon local communities, in that, event patronage is usually dominated by local residents."* This view is telling of the significance of the host community, and reveals one way that the host community offers support to mega

events. Correspondingly, Smith (2008) opines the host community enhances the event by bringing a local aspect to the festivities. For example, during the 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany, Smith-Spark (2006) found that people from the community added value to the event through the way they dressed up, socialised and revelled with visitors, and repeatedly patronised the event raising the ‘feel good’ spirit. Those individuals helped to foster a hospitable atmosphere that was unique to the 2006 FIFA World Cup. Adding to this view, Colloredo-Mansfeld (2011) recognises that the host community’s willingness to lend an event its community features (e.g. culture, traditions, values and beliefs) comprises forms of community support that distinguish the event from others.

Consistent with this view, Prayag et al. (2013) define community support as the host community’s ability to lend an event the uniqueness of their local pride, displaying the individuality of the host community as part of the event’s distinctive qualities. Similarly, Rocha et al. (2017) argue that community support is important for achieving a worthy mega event. They define community support as the hospitable community spirit that welcomes visitors to the event destination. For example, Summers and Pettigrew (2014), reported on how the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games had a great sense of community spirit, morale and camaraderie. They make mention of how local people were smiling and interacting with visitors, experiencing joy, and had a great sense of pride, all of which contributed to a sense of enrichment for the Games. Therefore, this helps to further suggest that community support could be the community spirit of the resident people, realised through a sociable ambience that enables people to mutually engage and interact in a jovial festive experience.

However, this research establishes that negative experiences can also affect community support. The experience of negative impacts can result in disapproving community perceptions of mega events; on the other hand, positive experiences are likely to nurture positive outlooks (Kim and Petrick 2005; Kim et al. 2006; Gursoy and Kendall 2006; Kitnuntaviwat and Tang 2008; Lamberti et al. 2011). For example, Kim and Petrick (2005, p. 26), maintain that “a vendor may foresee socio-economic gains through the mega event by finding a chance to sell his or her products, he or she may show positive attitude towards the event.” This therefore reiterates that

community support for mega events could be dependent on whether members of the community feel the event has been beneficial. However, Gursoy and Kendall (2006, p. 605) argue; “a lack of coordination and cohesion with the host community can turn the planning process into a highly charged political and social exercise.” Although community support is not only necessary during the planning stages alone, this example helps to suggest that mega events that do not have the community’s support can be less effective. Furthermore, Andereck et al. (2005) caution that although a community may largely support mega events, any concerns and apprehensions over the experience of negative social impacts should be taken into consideration. Negative experiences affect how those individuals look at mega events and a sense of community disengagement is most likely to occur thereafter (Kitnuntaviwat and Tang 2008). Therefore, it remains of importance for mega events to make an effort to reduce the outcome of negative impacts. Gaining insight into the effect of community experiences can lessen criticism (Deery et al. 2012; Kim et al. 2015). In addition, it is important for mega event organisers and governments to recognise how negative experiences can affect community views and influence loss of confidence and support from the community (Muller 2015b; Gursoy et al. 2017).

Over time, mega events have consistently relied on support from the community. For instance, the Calgary 1988 Winter Olympics and the Atlanta 1996 Olympics depended upon support from the host community for the effectiveness of the events with the event volunteers and majority of the workforce coming from the community (Haxton 2003). During the Sydney 2000 Olympics, community support was observed to be a priority to the distinctiveness of the event; according to Jago et al. (2003), the locals were generally helpful, cheerful and willing to participate in event activities. The London 2012 Olympics prioritised a legacy of sport participation. Leading up to the event, Shipway (2007) and Ritchie et al. (2009) found that the locals were largely enthusiastic about supporting event related activities, in particular through sport engagement and enhancing appreciation of the multi-cultural and diverse peoples. Studies conducted after the London 2012 Olympics found that the residents’ support had been essential to the positive perception of the event (Prayag et al. 2013; Pappas 2014). The jovial and celebratory atmosphere was considered distinct and the volunteers contributed greatly to the overall worthiness of the event (Kim et al. 2015).

On the other hand, Brownhill et al. (2014) found the host communities from the 2014 World Cup in Brazil felt largely left out from the experience and this resulted in disengagement from the community and affected the 2016 Rio Olympics. During the 2014 FIFA World Cup, the communities held several protests to show their disapproval which was brought about by the experience of poor treatment of the local people, poor community engagement and unsatisfactory justification for event activities (Watts 2014). As a result, this illustrated a scenario whereby the host community's negative experiences had a negative influence on community support and affected the perception of mega events hosted in Brazil.

The host community's outlook toward mega events can influence the attractiveness of that particular mega event and impact their future in that community (Balduck 2011; Nunkoo and Ramkissoon 2011; Nunkoo and Gursoy 2012). Communities are more likely to offer support if they feel that the event could generate benefits that improve their social wellbeing (Kim et al. 2006; Ma and Kaplanidou 2017). As a result, this view helps to reaffirm the position that positive experiences can influence the community's outlook of mega events. This study is of the view that gaining insight into the individual experiences of community members is vital to fostering community support. However, if the experiences of the community are not considered, they are likely to feel hurt, overlooked and undervalued. This can lead to a reduced sense of community support and that can have an undesirable effect that can last long after the event has concluded. The community can help facilitate a hospitable and celebratory environment that separates the event from others, adding significance to the celebration. This research suggests that community support can provide the means to complement a mega event in such a way that improves the outcomes and strengthens the goal of the event. Those governments that seek the community's views on the impact of mega events, and achieve their involvement, could gain insight into the community's experiences. The involvement of the community could result in support to leverage the positive outcomes. Therefore, gaining insight into community experiences could reveal knowledge in helping to discover why communities would support mega events.

2.8. Community as a Mega Event Stakeholder

This section looks at the role of the community as a stakeholder of mega events. This research has thus far identified that mega event impacts can affect the community's way of life and these experiences in turn influence the community's outlook on mega events. This suggests that the individual experiences of community members are significant and can affect the community's willingness to support future mega events. To that end, in this study, the idea of community support for mega events is linked to the community as a key stakeholder group of mega events.

Whilst the discussion on the origins of stakeholder literature is extensive, a comprehensive repository of definitions that clarifies the role of a stakeholder exists (e.g. Freeman 1984; Gray 1989; Donaldson and Preston 1995; Jones and Wicks 1999; Bryson 2004; Friedman and Miles 2002; 2006; Fontaine et al. 2006; Wagner Mainardes et al. 2011; Lau et al. 2017). For example, Freeman (1984, p. 46) asserts; *"a stakeholder is any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organisation's objectives."* Meanwhile, Gray (1989, p. 5) believes that *"stakeholders are the actors with an interest in a common problem or issue and include all individuals, groups, or organisations directly influenced by the actions others take to solve a problem."* Donaldson and Preston (1995) take the approach of looking at the organisation's disposition toward stakeholder groups, recommending organisations to value stakeholders and consider their needs because they are a gateway to realising some of the organisation's goals. Meanwhile, Clarkson (1995, p. 106) suggest, *"stakeholders are persons or groups that have claim or ownership rights, interests in a corporation and its activities, past present and future."* Therefore, this study assumes the position that a stakeholder comprises a collection of people that can affect, or be affected by, the realisation of any organisation's agenda.

However, over the years, understanding of the term stakeholder has been approached from both a stakeholder and organisational point of view, and the multiplicity of perspectives has been without criticism (Wagner Mainardes et al. 2011). For instance, Friedman and Miles (2002) criticise Jones and Wicks' (1999) emphasis on the perspective of the organisation which can put aside consideration of the stakeholder. Friedman and Miles (2002) are critical of the narrow depiction of stakeholders from

the organisational position. They claim that attention to the role of the stakeholder is limited and does not fully recognise the varying nature of stakeholder relationships. They argue that the stakeholder ought to be accounted for in the same way as the organisation. To this end, Friedman and Miles (2006) posit that effective organisations acknowledge the influence that stakeholder groups can hold over the organisation's operations and intended outcomes. Friedman and Miles (2006) maintain that the relationship between stakeholders and organisations should not be observed in exclusion of the other. Therefore, in the same manner, this study also considers the organisational perspective as limited. As a result, this research acknowledges the definition of stakeholder groups offered by Friedman and Miles' (2002; 2006), and accepts the community as a stakeholder that is just as important as the organisation.

In an earlier study, Friedman et al. (2004) extend their understanding of stakeholders and apply it to sport organisations: *“sport organisations, whether as large as the International Olympic Committee (IOC)...have a variety of groups and individuals whose relationships with the organisation are based on certain objectives; each of these stakeholders has differing abilities to achieve its goals”* (Friedman et al. 2004, p. 171). Therefore, suggesting that sporting organisations including FIFA, and governments bidding for mega events, ought to take into consideration the experiences and views of their stakeholders or be in danger of losing their support. Without engaging the support of the community in their role as a stakeholder, the community could realise a position of disappointment and rejection, which can affect the outcome of the event. For example, earlier this research identified ways in which event criticism and protests can have an impact on mega events. In an online article, Copans (2007) quoted the CEO of the 2010 FIFA World Cup soccer Unit, Dan Moyo: *“getting all stakeholders to support the construction of the stadiums being used in the 2010 FIFA World Cup is the key to their successful development. Local communities, stadium authorities... and parties whose businesses or interest may be affected by the World Cup, all need to be working together.”* This suggests that the community of Green Point was considered an important stakeholder of the event. As a result, this study sees community members from Green Point as key stakeholders of mega events hosted in their community, and these individuals can influence the future of mega events hosted in their community.

Stakeholder groups in mega events are wide ranging. For example, Weed (2010, p. 267) cites *“participants, policymakers, providers, host communities or the media.”* Stakeholder groups such as the community, have a substantial role in mega events. Mega events rely on validation and support from their stakeholders (Derrett 2004; Hede 2007). According to Gursoy and Kendall (2006), the responsibility of hosting a mega event is often shared amongst a broad group of stakeholders. For example, governments typically depend on national funds, often sourced through community taxpayer capital, to help fund mega events (Matheson 2006). In the social context, mega events rely greatly on the community to contribute *“...community spirit, help community image...help make the Games a success...help create a better society...are involved in the Games”* (Doherty 2009, p. 195). Tourists travelling for mega events delight in discovering local traditions and cultural norms; they appreciate sharing in the experience of the local way of life (Hung et al. 2016). This study recognises that members of the community have insider knowledge of the local way of life, and their culture and values are community features (Jago et al. 2003; Derrett 2004; Prayag et al. 2013; Pappas 2014; Kim et al. 2015), thus maintaining that the host community as a stakeholder is an indispensable feature of the setting and distinctiveness of mega events.

Although the Sydney 2000 Olympics generated some negative impacts, e.g. mismanagement of public land (Lenskyj 2002), the event’s profile was made better by the sense of community spirit, essence of togetherness and the multicultural feeling the community contributed which helped to distinguish the event (Waite 2003; Chen and Spaans 2009). In the case of the 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany, the sense of patriotism and general morale of the people contributed to the overall spirit of the event (Fong 2006). Meanwhile, the spirit of the host community during the Beijing 2008 Olympics and their sense of togetherness and solidarity had social inferences on the worthiness of the event (Brownell 2012), demonstrating some of the ways that mega event organisations depend on the community to enrich the event. *“For a mega event to be successful, the understanding and participation of all stakeholders in the process is crucial. Therefore, it is important for local governments, policymakers, and organisers to appreciate the level of community support toward the proposed event and to understand the basis of both support and opposition”* (Gursoy and Kendall 2006, p. 606). This research assumes the position that those mega event organisations

that consider the community stakeholder's views produce a more effective event. Therefore, the community plays a significant role in contributing to the worth and uniqueness of a mega event. During a mega event, the host nation's culture, values and way of life are on display, contributing to the characteristic festive atmosphere of the event (Goodwin and Santilli 2009; Colloredo-Mansfeld 2011). As a result, the host community's capacity to lend their community features to a mega event can be viewed as a form of community support and can contribute toward achieving a worthy event.

The scale and scope of mega events comes with significant reliance on a variety of resources from the community, and in return the promise to develop and regenerate (Hall 2009). However, Hall (ibid) contends that some of those outcomes can have a negative impact on the host community which is a stakeholder of the event. The subsequent outcomes of any mega events affect its stakeholders. As a result, in this research, the consideration of stakeholder views is necessary. Mega events can substantially affect and have an emotional impact on a variety of stakeholder groups such as the host community (Knott et al. 2015b). In an earlier study, Hede et al. (2005, p. 39) suggested that "*satisfaction is attitude-like.*" The subsequent outcomes of the mega event can affect stakeholder attitudes; as a result, the consideration of stakeholder views is of significance. This study looks at the community member's attitudes as a means to show how the individuals felt about their experiences, and how these have shaped their view of mega events. The way the individual experiences a mega event can affect their outlook toward mega events in either a positive or a negative manner. For example, Preuss (2015b) identifies that the development of mega events can either benefit the host community through valuable ongoing use of infrastructure etc., or encumber the community through debt repayment. To further illustrate, Kim and Petrick (2005) put forward the case of a merchant from the community that may benefit from the outcomes of a mega event, which can be different to the way a lodger from the community experiences the same event. Kim and Petrick identify that the lodger's rent payment may rise because of changes to the cost of living brought about by the event, whereas, the merchant may benefit from the increased business. In another example, Cooper (2012) discusses the gentrification brought about by the London 2012 Olympics, identifying how the development of new housing was of benefit to the middle class, but the poorer community members were priced out of the new housing prospects.

Nonetheless, Friedman and Miles (2002) and Ryan and Schneider (2003) are of the view that those organisations that show disinterest in their stakeholder's interests are likely to have reduced awareness of their stakeholder's attitudes toward their establishment. Therefore, they overlook the influence of the stakeholder. This suggests a flaw in the organisation. Similarly, Parent and Deephouse (2007) argue that although the characteristics of stakeholder groups are not uniform, it remains important to form a stakeholder relationship. In addition, Waitt (2003) maintains that although how a community views social impacts experienced from mega events may differ for each individual within that stakeholder group, it remains important to explore those views. Likewise, Lenskyj (2014) raises caution about the different experiences that individuals within a stakeholder group can have. Lenskyj (ibid) emphasises that although a large number of people may benefit, the remaining community members could be negatively affected by the outcomes of the same mega event. Although Ziakas (2015) acknowledges that some members within a stakeholder group may inevitably benefit more than others do, he argues that the equal sharing of benefits on the same level for all members of a stakeholder group such as the community remains a difficult and near impossible undertaking. Further, Ziakas (ibid) contends that the community's disposition toward supporting mega events depends upon their perception of them and the impacts they engender; thereby suggesting it is still vital to investigate the individual experiences of community members to see their perspectives, which can enable the fostering of community support for future mega events.

Overall, this research has established that a community is a stakeholder group because of the support they can offer mega events. Putting to one side the idea of support in the economic sense, the community adds social value to the event through the contribution of a hospitable atmosphere for the visitors. A community can support mega event agenda by displaying their local traditions and cultural norms, contributing to the community spirit in ways that can enrich the event's overall image and feel. The community as a stakeholder can enhance the event by setting it apart from other mega events through the spirit of togetherness. This can help to bring a unique character to the event that is exclusive to the location of the community. However, this study

assumes the position that a stakeholder is a collection of people that can affect, or be affected by the realisation of any organisation's agenda. Therefore, the outcomes of mega events can affect the community as a stakeholder of mega events. Those impacts shape the community's view of mega events, which can affect the event through increased community support, or a reduced sense of community support. To that end, to gain better awareness of impacts, organisers and governments bidding for mega events can look at the experiences of the host community to gain awareness of their views, which could enable them to see how these have shaped their view of mega events. In so doing, the outcome of the event can be improved, and the experience of the host community as a key stakeholder of mega events can be enriched, possibly influencing community support. To this end, the perceptions and individual experiences of community members from Green Point are of significance to this study, Green Point is a stakeholder group that can have an influence on the staging of mega events in this community. Equally, mega events impacts can affect the community of Green Point. Therefore, it is of importance to gain insight into the individual experiences of community members of Green Point, to see how these have shaped their view of mega events.

2.9. Previous Mega Event Case Studies

Examining previous studies provides this research the opportunity to appraise host community experiences of past mega events and their influence on community support. To date, numerous studies have researched at length the various impacts that mega events engender (e.g. Jones 2001; Malfas et al. 2004; Jago et al. 2010; Kaplanidou et al. 2013). Several other studies have investigated community perceptions, thoughts and opinions of their experience of mega events (e.g. Lenskyj 1992 and 1994; Waitt 2003; Ohmann et al. 2008; Karadakis and Kaplanidou 2010; Sadd 2012; Hughes 2013; Giulianotti et al. 2015b). Others have investigated social impacts and their influence on community outlooks. Tables 4 and 5 present some examples.

Table 4 Previous Mega Events (1)

Mega Event	Author(s)	Overarching Contributions
The Calgary 1988 Winter Olympic Games	Ritchie and Lyons (1990)	The community of Alberta largely held positive views of the event because of the expectation of benefits and the resultant experience of positive social impacts. The study found that the community delighted in the lasting experiences of community pride, social togetherness, increased tourism, lasting employment opportunities, useful infrastructure and the overall sense of happiness.
The Atlanta 1996 Olympics Games	Mihalik and Simonetta (1999)	Although the community of Georgia experienced some negative social impacts, the findings suggest positive outlooks on mega events increased because the community experienced reimagining and local pride, communal reimagining and international awareness. Their study also found that African - Americans and within the community felt included in society because of the increased job opportunities available to all.
The 2002 FIFA World Cup	Kim and Petrick (2005)	The findings make known how the community of Seoul (South Korea) experienced infrastructure development, engagement in sports and volunteering, increased interest in the local culture and unity was greater than before. These experiences resulted in a positive outlook on mega events.
The 2002 FIFA World Cup	Kim et al. (2006)	The findings in this study suggest that the community of Seoul (South Korea) experienced positive socio-cultural impacts e.g. increased international exposure, conservation and presentation of the local culture and natural heritage sites, and the experiences influenced their outlook on mega events.
The Salt Lake 2002 Winter Olympics	Gursoy and Kendall (2006)	This study found that the experience of a collective decision-making process and increased community participation influenced positive outlooks on mega events in the host community of Utah.
The 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany	Ohman et al. (2008)	This research found that the community members from Munich mostly perceived the experience of community renewal, improved safety and a sense of celebration and jubilation as positive social impacts that positively influenced their perception mega events.
The Beijing 2008 Olympics	Chen and Tian (2015)	The findings indicate that community members from Beijing and Qingdao found the experience of community reimagining; awareness of the local culture and the consideration of sustainable environmental practices as positive, thus influencing positive opinions of mega events.

Table 5 Previous Mega Events (2)

Mega Event	Author(s)	Overarching Contributions
The London 2012 Olympic Games	Sadd (2012)	The study looked at the social legacy impacts experienced by community stakeholders. The findings indicate that some communities felt that they did not benefit from the positive social impacts due to the experience of gentrification. The findings suggest that increased community stakeholder engagement could influence positive lasting social legacies and ultimately, community support.
The London 2012 Olympic Games	Pappas (2014)	The findings suggest the host community had a positive perception of mega events because of their experiences that included increased tourism, engagement in decision-making, international exposure and cultural awareness, engagement in sport and community activities, involvement in volunteering.
The London 2012 Olympic Games	Prayag et al. (2013)	The study establishes the community of East London would support mega events of this nature based on the promise of a lasting legacy of socio-cultural, socio-economic impacts and socio-environmental impacts.
The 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil	Gursoy et al. (2017)	This study found that the experience of trust in the organising committee could significantly influence community outlooks of mega events.
The 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil	Ouyang et al. (2017)	This research suggests community trust in government would greatly sway the community's perception of mega events. In addition, the community's affective attachment to the event was observed to be a most important issue that was significant to their experience.
The Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympic Games	Rocha et al. (2017)	This study reveals how the community of Rio expected the event to generate lasting tourism and environmental legacy for the community, they expected the government and to engage the community in decision-making and these expectations shaped the community's outlooks prior to the event.

The examples in Tables 4 and 5 show the manner in which social impacts can influence community support for mega events. Social impacts can affect the way community members experience mega events, and those experiences shape how the individuals view mega events. To establish the role of social impacts in relation to community support, some of the social impacts from tables 4 and 5 are expanded upon in the following section. The social impacts are as follows:

- Social togetherness and community pride;
- Community involvement;
- Employment opportunities;
- Development of the community;
- Gentrification and marginalisation.

Reference to studies in the past that examined similar issues helps to demonstrate other academics' contributions to knowledge. The evidence helps this research to signpost existing debates, determining the current state of knowledge and the growing interest in community support. This insight will enable the following chapters to develop upon those ideas of social impacts to see how they affect community experiences. More specifically, the insight helps this study define a clear position to argue the significance of exploring people's experiences and the influence on community support, helping to indicate the direction and purpose of the study.

2.9.1. Social Togetherness and Community Pride

This section explores the outcome of social togetherness and community pride. Social togetherness is linked to the idea of group members socially interacting with one another through social and leisure activities that bring about a sense of community and closeness (Cornelissen 2010; Gursoy et al. 2017). Next, community pride in this study relates to how mega events can raise people's spirits, intensifying expressions of community cohesion (Sivestre 2009; Hass 2015). Several examples exist, such as the Sydney 2000 Olympics, the 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany, the Beijing 2008 Olympics, the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics and the London 2012 Olympics.

Prior to hosting the Sydney 2000 Olympics, there were issues of social division rooted in a history of racial and ethnic differences in Australia: the native Aboriginal people felt overlooked and incorrectly stereotyped (Waite 2003). It is also worth noting that this was similar to that which the Aboriginal people found in Canada. Equally, Canada sought to foster unity through hosting the event. Part of Canada's bid for the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics aimed to foster social inclusion of minority groups, such as the aboriginal populace and people living with disabilities (Kaplanidou and Karadakis 2010). Therefore, the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics presented an opportunity to encourage cultural enlightenment and reduce the distance between the different community members (Lorenz 2011). The London 2012 Olympics took the approach of sport engagement toward the idea of building a sense of community. The events leading up to the London 2012 Olympics included development of the 'Target for the Sport and Physical Education Theme legacy,' which was designed to encourage a sense of community through sport participation (Shipway 2007; Griffiths and Armour 2013).

With respect to the 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany, prior to the event, the international community generally regarded the German way of life as 'hard and cold' (Florek et al. 2008). This was mostly because of the historical reputation associated with the Second World War era and the East and West Divide of the Berlin Wall (Anholt Nation Brands Index 2006; Dowse 2011). With this image in consideration, the German Central Tourist Board (DZT) saw the event as an occasion to inspire the idea of a modern, welcoming, open-minded and multicultural society (Cornelissen and Maennig 2010; Florek and Insch 2011; Carroll 2012). In comparison, China had also been affected by the communist image associated with the Cultural Revolution (Xu 2006). The Beijing 2008 Olympics was seen as an opportunity to celebrate 25 years post the Cultural Revolution. Further to this, the event provided a means for China to foster a more equal society in addition to re-establishing the country on an international platform (Xing and Chalip 2009). To give an example, Gursoy et al. (2011)'s study found that the host community of the Beijing Olympics viewed the event as an opportunity that helped to restore local historical sites and advance development.

Turning now to the evidence of social togetherness and community pride, Chalip (2006) found that people's social experiences of the Sydney 2000 Olympics helped encourage a sense of mutual engagement. This brought the different people of Australia together. The involvement of Kathy Freeman – a native Aborigine athlete, became representative of reconciliation and social togetherness (Elder et al. 2006; Heinz Housel 2007). Comparing this outcome with the 2006 FIFA World Cup, it can be seen that the idea of fan parks provided opportunities for people to come together and mutually engage in the experience of the event (Chalip 2006). At that particular time, this encouraged positive views from the community, and the idea of fan parks has since been adopted by other mega events in a bid to create a similar sense of togetherness (Chalip *ibid*; Tichaawa et al. 2015). For the first time in a long-time, a sense of togetherness, connectedness and engaging with others harmoniously was realised across Germany (Westerhoff 2007; Allmers and Maennig 2009). Similarly, Ohman et al. (2008) found that the local people felt the experience of interacting with others helped to unite the diverse ethnic groups, influencing a sense of group ways of doing things across the communities. To encourage community pride, China used slogans (e.g. One World and One Dream), which helped encourage community members to express their sense of pride and to socially interact (Xing and Chalip 2009). In the time leading up to the 2008 Beijing Olympics, Broudehoux (2007) found that the expectation to experience social togetherness and to re-establish international relations caused people to develop positive attitudes toward the event.

Linking back to the Sydney 2000 Olympics, Waitt (2003) established that as the event drew closer, the people's sense of jubilation also intensified and this had a positive impact on community attitudes. However, one key aspect of the study identifies that those feelings of joy were mostly amongst respondents from 'non-English backgrounds.' The study suggests the groups from the 'non-English backgrounds' were mostly excited about the prospect of developing a sense of belonging. Moreover, the study revealed the experience was more significant to those community members that belonged to minority groups who were likely to have felt marginalised prior to the Sydney Olympics. Similarly, VanWynsberghe et al. (2011) found that the Vancouver

2010 Winter Olympics affected cultural enlightenment and heightened social interactions between the different community members. In a post event study undertaken shortly after the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics concluded, Karadakis and Kaplanidou (2012) found that the social legacy of the event increased in the immediate time after the event, suggesting community members felt they had experienced positive social benefits. A closer look at social togetherness reveals how the London 2012 Olympics resulted in some community members feeling side-lined, and this encouraged some negative thoughts about the event. Although the event did influence sport participation and contributed to a sense of social togetherness (Prayag et al. 2013), Sadd (2012) appeared wary of the volunteer legacy. Sadd (ibid) identifies that the criteria in selecting volunteers appeared biased toward the educated class. This insight brings to light how the process of selecting volunteers from the community was partial and based on the background or heritage of the individuals, which put other community members at a disadvantage; therefore, suggesting the experience of togetherness and community pride was compromised.

On the other hand, despite much new knowledge about the role of mega events helping to foster social togetherness and community pride, there is an argument that some of those positive social impacts were not leveraged beyond the existence of the respective events. Although some early reports suggested the Sydney 2000 Olympics gave native Australians their “biggest ever stage” (Corder 2000), it appears that in the longer-term, the goal of togetherness has been somewhat unattainable. Central to the event’s theme of reconciliation was the aim to integrate the native Aborigines. However, over the years, Toohey (2008) observed that the Aborigine community felt the sense of community spirit raised and the experience of togetherness was short-lived. Meanwhile, in that short time after the event, Zhou and Ap (2009) assert that some community members from the Beijing 2008 Olympics indicated they tolerated the event; thus, revealing that there were some people who felt detached from the event. Again, Zhou and Ap (ibid) found that the community’s perceptions of social impacts experienced were rather mixed: this was due to their experiences of negative impacts that had an undesirable influence on their attitudes. In addition, Minnaert (2012) argues that the event had limited social impact on the lives of the poorer members of

the community who felt socially excluded from the experience. According to Broudehoux (2012) the Beijing Olympics furthered social inequalities amongst the poor; they did not share the same sense of belonging in the same way as their affluent counterparts. In a post event study, Chalip (2006) initially found that the 2006 FIFA World Cup increased community pride and unity. However, in a comparable way to Zhou and Ap (2009), Kersting (2007) found that those results declined after the event. Kertsing (ibid) reveals that the sense of oneness experienced was particularly strong at the time of the event but lost its intensity afterwards.

A review of literature since the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics concluded shows that the positive change in attitudes were not maintained over time. Evidence from Sullivan's (2014) study suggests not all members of the community shared in the feeling of euphoria or group bonding at the time of the event. Subsequently, Karadakis et al. (2016) also found that community members became more aware and concerned about the social legacy attached to the inclusion of minority groups. It appears that the idea of people coming together and fostering a continued sense of unity was short-lived. In a separate example, Forsyth (2016) discovered that vast amounts of funding initially pledged toward the development of youth programs amongst minority groups was considerably reduced and eventually withdrawn. This caused discontentment and event criticism because community members felt there was a short-term commitment to involving and improving the lives of minority groups. Comparable to the other examples in this section, Vancouver's commitment to hosting a mega event that would bring about a sense of social togetherness did not appear to engender a legacy. Other studies also suggest that disengagement has begun to replace the feeling of togetherness. For instance, several years after the Sydney Olympics, Minnaert (2012) and Rowe (2012) established that marginalisation of the indigenous Aborigines has endured and, in some cases, increased over time. In addition, they found that the sense of QOL that had initially improved has now worsened amongst this group of people. This alternative perspective interrogates whether the event sincerely realised lasting togetherness and questions whether the Aborigines felt they benefited from the event. The debate about integration and togetherness identifies an interesting viewpoint on the Sydney 2000 Olympics' short-term ability to leverage a legacy of community togetherness. As was pointed out earlier, hosting the 2006 FIFA World Cup helped to

portray Germany as socially integrated and friendly and this impacted community views in a positive light. In addition, the opportunity helped to change international perceptions about local ways of life. However, relating back to the example of the Sydney 2000 Olympics, it can be seen that the 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany brought about a similar experience of short-lived togetherness between the locals, which in turn influenced changing attitudes.

Although hosting the events appears to have helped foster a sense of multiculturalism and social integration at the time, more recent studies draw attention to the gradual negative changes in the local way of life. Notwithstanding the temporal element, it is worth noting from the examples that positive social impacts can be vehicles to help bring about a sense of community and feelings of pride through a jovial festive atmosphere. However, this discussion raises questions that direct this research to explore how the short-term legacies affect community attitudes toward mega events over time.

2.9.2. Community Involvement

Following on from the ideas of social togetherness and community pride, this section shows the connection between community involvement and community attitudes as causal to fostering support for mega events. Section 2.8 establishes that host communities are key stakeholders of mega events (Friedman and Miles 2002, 2006; Fontaine et al. 2006; Lau et al. 2017). This study has also established that the host community is a stakeholder of any mega event hosted in their community because of the support it offers the event to realise its goals. In addition, because the community has a vested interest in the benefits of the event, they can be affected by any of the positive or negative impacts that follow. Aside from that, section 2.7 acknowledges that community support is essential to the effectiveness of a mega event. To that end, this study assumes the position that the community as a stakeholder is a collection of people that can affect, or be affected by, the realisation of any mega event's agenda. This study also interprets the idea of community involvement as encompassing the

community's interest in being a part of the event, the decision-making process or the planning of the mega event's outcomes (Gursory and Kendall 2006; Lamberti et al. 2011; Prayag et al. 2013; Scheu and Preuss 2018). Therefore, any impacts generated as a result of community involvement have the potential to affect the attitudes of the host community who are a stakeholder of the event.

One example that illustrates the positive effects of involving a community was the Calgary 1988 Winter Olympics. In a study leading up to the Calgary 1988 Winter Olympics, Ritchie and Aitken (1984) found that community involvement through volunteering helped to influence positive attitudes and this determined greater support for the event. Similarly, through community involvement, Ricquart (1988) established the host community of the Seoul 1988 Olympics had an opportunity to display their local culture. In a study conducted several years after the event had concluded, Gratton and Preuss (2008) identified how community involvement in the Seoul 1988 Olympics resulted in a greater sense of belonging, suggesting the positive impacts lasted beyond the duration of the event. However, not all mega events in the past considered community involvement as a central part of the event's ability to realise its goals. Although the Sydney 2000 Olympics produced some positive experiences, some unpleasant experiences were noted. Several years prior to the Sydney 2000 Olympics, the Ryde City Council had designated some public land for communal leisure and recreational purposes (Lenskyj 2002). However, in preparation for the event, the land became partly private and the municipal Ryde Swimming Centre was demolished to make way for the Olympic Ryde Aquatic Leisure Centre (Lenskyj *ibid*). This resulted in the Ryde Pool Action Group opposing construction of the centre (Owen 2001). According to Lenskyj (2002), the number of pools available reduced and yearly charges to use the facilities were introduced. Different to the Calgary 1988 Winter Olympics and the Seoul 1988 Olympics, the experience produced a negative social impact for the host community. Largely, the community felt left out of decision-making and they took to demonstrating against the shrouded approach to local development (Owen 2001; Lenskyj 2002; Morgan 2003).

Although the host community of the Beijing 2008 Olympics had strongly supported the event in the time leading up to it, in a post event study, Singh and Zhou (2014) found that there was a notable negative change in the host community's attitude toward the event. Amongst the factors attributed to this change, was the lack of community involvement in the planning of the event. This point is sustained by evidence from the Sydney 2000 Olympics, which shows how the community's negative experiences of the Sydney 2000 Olympics accelerated change in community attitudes. Although Cashman (2006) found that the new leisure centre was, at a point, considered a social legacy because of increased facility patronage, O'Brien (2006), Toohey (2008) and Lenskyj (2012) offer evidence to dispute this view. Their respective studies found that the Ryde community members were largely dissatisfied by the changes and felt disconnected from the decision-making process. In a similar way to the Beijing 2008 Olympics, the evidence highlights questions about the long-term legacy outcome of the Sydney 2000 Olympics. The discussion identifies that there was limited community involvement in the decision-making and this resulted in event outcomes that the community did not benefit from.

Nevertheless, this discussion reveals a key issue to be considered which is the temporal effect. The temporal effect unearths some of the challenges that past mega events have encountered in trying to change an impact that was initially negative, or maintain a positive impact generated in the immediate time after the event concluded. Leading up to the London 2012 Olympics, there was a drive to engage community involvement in legacy planning around increasing sport participation and improving social wellbeing (Girginov and Hills 2008). In support, Murray (2012) acknowledged that hosting the event was an opportunity to realise a legacy attached to fostering a sense of togetherness through community engagement and sport participation. Despite this, Davies (2012) uncovered concerns in the way community members were being engaged in decision-making of legacy plans concerning the community. Although there is evidence that shows the positive outcomes of the event (see Prayag et al. 2013), data collected at the time of the event suggests the challenges around involving the community affected the way stakeholders such as the community viewed the event (Davies 2012). From the above, limited community involvement can result in negative

attitudes and over time those negative feelings can persist. Expanding on that idea, Reis et al. (2017) look at the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics. They present the view that there was little to no community engagement in the planning process of the event's sport participation legacy goals, which affected community support of the event.

In this discussion, O'Brien (2006), Toohey (2008), Davies (2012), Lenskyj (2012), Singh and Zhou (2014) and Reis et al. (2017) offer different perspectives of the views presented in the examples of the Calgary 1988 Winter Olympics and the Seoul 1988 Olympics. They highlight how mega events that do not involve community members tend to generate impacts that have a negative effect on the host community's attitudes. Without discounting some of the negative impacts generated by the Calgary 1988 Winter Olympics and the Seoul 1988 Olympics, the events appear to have realised some positive long-term impacts. For instance, Cho and Bairner (2012) conducted a study several years after the Seoul 1988 Olympics and found that the positive socio-cultural impact of the event has had a lasting positive effect. According to Merkel and Kim (2011), this had an enduring effect on the way locals support mega events, influencing the subsequent bids to host the FIFA 2002 World Cup (hosted by S. Korea and Japan) and the Pyeongchang 2018 Winter Olympics. Likewise, many years after concluding the Calgary 1988 Winter Olympics, Hiller (2016) reported that the positive social impacts generated resulted in Calgary considering the option of hosting another mega event, which the community hope will bring about similar benefits. This suggests that, over time, the long-term impacts of both events remained somewhat positive and the experience of community involvement was cherished. Those positive experiences connect to the idea of community support for events that bring about useful benefits. More specifically, this implies increased support for mega events.

2.9.3. Employment Opportunities

Bid books for mega events typically include an objective that cites increased job opportunities which are expected to benefit the host community (Malfas et al. 2004). However, there is a vast body of literature that identifies and considerably criticises

the outcome of short-term social impacts (see Teigland 1999; Silvestre 2009; Jago et al. 2010; Gursoy et al. 2011; Li and McCabe 2013; Rocha and Barbanti 2015; Rapoza 2016). Given the short-lived nature of the event, employment opportunities have often been short-term (Silvestre 2009). In some cases, the employment opportunities have been insufficient because many of those jobs are limited to construction, hospitality services or event operations (Jago et al. 2010).

Now turning to case examples, this section examines a variety of different experiences of employment and how they influenced community views of mega events. Comparable to other mega events, leading up to the Atlanta 1996 Olympics, employment opportunities increased. At the time, those new jobs not only contributed to the economy, but also improved the social status and wellbeing of the community (Vaeth 1998). In the case of the Beijing 2008 Olympics, many people were employed to meet the demands required to prepare for such a large-scale event (Gursoy et al. 2011). Likewise, in the approach to the 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany, the London 2012 Olympics, the Sochi 2014 Winter Olympics, the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil and the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics, there was great expectation for job opportunities and growth of local businesses (Baum and Lockstone 2007; Ritchie et al. 2009; Atkins 2013; Buendia 2017).

Although the Atlanta 1996 Olympics helped the growth of the community, ultimately, an estimated 40% of the jobs created through the Atlanta Olympics were temporary (Baade and Matheson 2002). By the same token, Gursoy et al. (2011) found that the only meaningful increase in employment related to the 2008 Beijing Olympics occurred in the time leading up to the event. In addition, Sampson (2011) found that in the time leading up to the London 2012 Olympics, the event produced numerous employment opportunities for the host community. However, Sampson (ibid) also found that some local businesses were forcibly relocated e.g. in Carpenters Lane. While small local businesses had been identified as the intended beneficiaries of the employment opportunities that would arise from the London 2012 Olympics, after the event, Pappalepore and Duignan (2016) found that some of the small local businesses had been displaced to make way for larger businesses from outside the community.

Although the literature justly considers how the London 2012 Olympics created job opportunities, it should also be said that those opportunities were at the cost of some of the locals. In support of this position, in the context of the Atlanta 1996 Olympics, Yarbrough (2000, p. 109) goes as far as classifying the Atlanta 1996 Olympics as “*a blown opportunity*.” Many of the small local businesses suffered from over forecasting business; as a result, there was plenty of unsold merchandise and under occupied restaurants and hotels (Ratnatunga and Muthaly 2000). Despite these criticisms, Baade and Matheson (2002) found that in the immediate years after the Atlanta 1996 Olympics concluded, the event was still commended for creating employment and influencing development. On the other hand, similar to the Atlanta Olympics, the surge in new companies during the run-up to the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics resulted in over supply (Rapoza 2016). This had a negative effect on some local business owners that had to scale down or close, affecting their sense of wellbeing (Rapoza *ibid*). Again, this highlights some of the concerns surrounding the nature of mega event impacts.

Looking beyond this form of employment, Nedvetskaya (2015) found that although the London 2012 Olympics inspired a willingness to volunteer at the time of the event, the volunteer legacy was not effectively continued in the subsequent years. Supporting this view, Koutrou (2016) argues the longer-term volunteer legacy attached to the London 2012 Olympics suggests the event influenced a short-term increase in participation that could have been better leveraged. Meanwhile, Muller (2013) observed that a few years prior to the Sochi 2014 Winter Olympics, people were uncertain about their feelings towards volunteering for the event. Despite this view, Vetitnev et al. (2018) conducted a study a year before the Sochi 2014 Winter Olympics and found that at this point, volunteers from Sochi were largely anticipating volunteering in the event. The evidence suggests that there was a positive shift in attitudes over time which influenced community members to offer the event support through volunteering. Nevertheless, expanding on the idea of uncertainty, several reports concerning mistreatment of employees surfaced during preparation for the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil and the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics (Atkins 2013; Buendia 2017). According to Rocha and Barbanti (2015) and Rocha et al. (2017), there were complaints about poor compensation and inadequate regulations around working

conditions. It is also important to note the limitations of the 2014 FIFA World Cup had a negative impact on community attitudes towards the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics. Community members viewed the Rio de Janeiro Olympics with scepticism because they were still harbouring feelings of frustration, annoyance and disappointment from the previous event (Rocha et al. 2017). It could be said this was a disappointing legacy engendered by the 2014 FIFA World Cup because at the time of the bid process, this had been viewed as an occasion to reap benefits following one after another (Engerman 2012). However, the community's direct experiences from the 2014 World Cup had already begun to negatively influence community attitudes towards mega events. Having considered the time before the event, it is also reasonable to look at the time after the event. In the time after the Sochi 2014 Winter Olympics, Dickson and Terwiel (2018) uncovered that a greater commitment to volunteering was fostered. Their study suggests a somewhat meaningful volunteer legacy and culture was engendered.

Certainly, there is no shortage of differing opinions on the long-term effect of a mega event's outcome. For instance, Alm et al. (2016) found that the Turner Field stadium (Atlanta 1996 Olympics) was effectively converted into a baseball park that is now home to the Atlanta Braves baseball team. It was earlier discussed how the event produced some jobs that were of a one-off nature, thus benefitting the community for a short and specific period of time. However, adaptation of the Turner Field stadium generated lasting jobs and a leisure and recreational place that people can come together and celebrate on a continuous basis. Although the circumstances surrounding preparation for the London 2012 Olympics resulted in some local businesses being forcibly removed from their community, a look at the 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany shows how an average of 60 000 jobs were generated at the time of the event (Baum and Lockstone 2007). While job opportunities linked to the 2006 FIFA World Cup peaked at the time of the event, after the event, the LOC secured the Bundesliga soccer teams as tenants for their 12 stadiums (Matheson 2012). Similar to the adaptation of the Turner Field stadium from the Atlanta 1996 Olympics, the 2006 FIFA World Cup provided the host community with some on-going job opportunities through continued use of infrastructure and supporting services, thus influencing

positive views of the events on a longer-term basis. Notwithstanding the criticism of negative impacts, the demand for mega events to continue remains largely undiminished (Hartman and Zandberg 2015; Barreda et al. 2017). As it has been demonstrated, a mega event can effectively increase the number of jobs in an area and bring about longer-term influences that can positively affect social wellbeing and social development at large. Studies conducted after periods of time are effective in helping to determine changes over time; they can contribute toward a clearer and broader picture of changing mega event outcomes (Gursoy et al. 2011). More importantly, they enlighten the way those good experiences can change and affect community attitudes, also giving insight into how a positive experience can influence community support for mega events.

2.9.4. Development of the Community

Amongst the many IOC guidelines, nurturing the sustainable development of society is a goal that many host communities aspire to realise through offering support to a mega event (Chappelet 2012). Up to this point, this section has clearly shown how people's experiences can shape a community's view of mega events, influencing community support. It is, however, important to emphasise the changing nature of impacts over time, and their influence on community support. According to Kim et al. (2006), in the time leading up to a mega event there appears to be acceleration in the growth of community cohesion and improvements to wellbeing. This has a significant impact upon community interest in supporting mega events (Jago et al. 2003; Horne 2007; Zhou and Ap 2009; Ziakas 2015; Gursoy et al. 2017). There is also, however, a further point to be considered: how those positive social impacts are not always leveraged to last beyond the time after the event, affecting community attitudes (Gursoy et al. 2011; Chen and Tian 2015; Preuss 2018). Evidence in support of this position can be found in a variety of examples such as the Atlanta 1996 Olympics, the Beijing 2008 Olympics, the London 2012 Olympics, the Sochi 2014 Winter Olympics and the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil amongst others.

As previously mentioned, hosting the London 2012 Olympics presented an opportunity to regenerate the host community of Stratford in the Borough of Newham, East London (Konstantacki and Wickens 2010; Herstein and Berger 2013; Pappalepore and Duignan 2016). The Olympic regeneration plans were considered an adjunct of prime importance to the Thames Gateway Scheme and were expected to bring about socio-economic change (London Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games [LOCOG] 2011; London Thames Gateway Development Corporation [LTGDC] 2011; Olympic Park Legacy Company 2011; Davies 2012; Sadd 2012). Notwithstanding these expectations, regeneration of the Lower Lea Valley did not benefit everyone in the community (Watt 2013). In the time after the event, it became clearer that the less privileged community members had felt most left out and this had a negative impact on their view of mega events (Giulianotti et al. 2015b). It is important, however, not to assume the applicability of a negative legacy to all cases. For instance, according to Mikalik (2000), it could be said that the post-event impact of the Atlanta 1996 Olympics was largely positive. Mikalik (ibid) found that community members generally felt the objective of attracting international awareness was realised, which helped to attract a level of development to the community.

In section 2.6, Maharaj (2015) cautions developing nations against pursuing burdensome developmental projects that can unsettle the community's way of life. Despite this, to be able to prepare for the Sochi 2014 Winter Olympics, Russia embarked on developing their infrastructure (Pellegrino and Hancock 2010). Similar to other events, the developments were intended to improve QOL in the host community of Krasnodar, benefit local athletes and encourage community participation in sport after the event (Price Waterhouse Coopers [PwC] 2011). Nevertheless, the projects resulted in negative socio-economic impacts that brought unfavourable changes to social wellbeing and event criticism (Flyvbjerg and Stewart 2012; Zhemukhov and Orttung 2014). For example, after the event, the transportation system, which was meant to improve the local lifestyle, became too expensive for the host community to maintain, yielding an unsustainable socio-economic legacy (Muller 2015b). According to Muller (ibid), those experiences further unsettled the community's way of life in this developing nation. Similarly, Gursoy et al. (2011)

assert that after the Beijing 2008 Olympics, the community at large felt burdened by the responsibility of supporting the event. Certainly there was substantial criticism, more so because in the run-up to the event, the Beijing 2008 Olympics had presented the opportunity for development and a shift in global affairs (Nye 2004; Xu 2006; Broudehoux 2007).

Owing to Brazil's football culture, which historically generated many socio-economic and socio-cultural benefits for the country, the 2014 FIFA World Cup in was also expected to engender numerous social benefits (Olken 2009; Grix and Lee 2013; Soares e Castro 2013; Gursoy et al. 2015; Levy 2017). Similar, to the London 2012 Olympics, the positive experiences were observed to only benefit a few of the community members from Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, and the less privileged felt most left out (Belisário 2014; Wilson 2014; Brooks 2016). Despite expectations of improvements to QOL through creation of lasting employment, reimagining of the nation and increased tourism, mismanagement of the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil brought about limited development (Gaffney 2014; Maharaj 2015). Instead, the 2014 FIFA World Cup appeared to cause further ethnic and social division, resulting in event criticism (Muller 2015b; Levy 2017). The problems ensued in several community-led demonstrations, suggesting altered community views of mega events (Atkins 2013; Butler and Aicher 2015; Buendia 2017). Again, the outcomes raise questions about impacts on community support in the context of developing nations pursuing mega events. To illustrate, Levy (2017) observed that the experiences generated by the 2014 FIFA World Cup were a contributing factor to community resistance towards supporting the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics. Some of the projects due for completion in time for the FIFA World Cup in 2014 were not concluded and those limitations experienced from the World Cup resulted in the community feeling frustrated (Vickery 2014). Due to the uncertainty, suggestions were made at a point to move the 2016 Olympics to London and use the existing infrastructure from the 2012 Olympics (Gibson 2014). Instead, the International Olympic Committee deemed it unnecessary and those projects became agendas for the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics; further encouraging feelings of uncertainty within the community (Vickery *ibid*; Watts 2015). Nevertheless, it is however important to note the limitations of mega events are not only bound to developing nations. In the case of the London 2012 Olympics, the

longer-term negative outcomes also influenced further problems. For example, increases to cost of living, which mostly affected QOL of the vulnerable in society, have also continued to attract much debate and event criticism (see Sampson 2011; Sadd 2012; Davies 2012; Watt 2013; Hughes 2013; Bernstock 2016; Pappalepore and Duignan 2016).

Each of the outcomes demonstrates that despite what can be termed an initial positive start to development, the negative longer-term impacts have an effect on the community's sense of QOL, causing changes to community attitudes; thereby revealing how reduced appreciation for mega events can take place over time. It can be seen from the above analysis that a change in impacts can be interpreted as betrayal of the community's expectation of development, evoking feelings of anger and disappointment. This evidence gives the idea that changes to community attitudes can also result in reduced community support.

2.9.5. Gentrification and Marginalisation

Thus far, the social impacts discussed exemplify different mega event experiences such as togetherness, community pride, community involvement, employment, and the development of the community; to show the influence of those experiences on community perspectives. This study establishes that the experience of negative impacts can influence the loss of community support. While mega events can generate a variety of positive impacts, over the years, some attempts to regenerate host communities have contributed to event-led gentrification and the marginalisation of some groups in society (Hiller 1999; Hall 2001; Black and Van Der Westhuizen 2004; Silvestre 2009; Cummings 2015; Ziakas 2015; Dawson 2017; Gaffney et al. 2018). Next, this section examines the experience of gentrification and marginalisation to show how those experiences can cause a host community to view mega events in a different light.

At the time of the Atlanta 1996 Olympics, Holsendolph (1995) and French and Disher (1997) found that the Corporation for Olympic Development in Atlanta intended regeneration to filter to community members of all backgrounds. In the previous section, Mikalik (2000) identifies that the Atlanta 1996 Olympics engendered some lasting positive experiences; for example, attracting international awareness, which helped to attract a level of development to the community. It appears that in the longer-term some further enlightenment has emerged. In a later study, Malfas et al. (2004) found that some members of the Atlanta community were driven out to make way for event accommodation during the 1996 Olympics and their social housing was destroyed. Malfas et al. (ibid) argue the event's legacy was marred by the limited ability to accommodate inner-city community members in the longer-term. The knowledge implies that some groups within this society were marginalised as a result of gentrification. In a separate example, Watt (2013) asserts that many members of the community from the London 2012 Olympics experienced displacement. They assert that the most affected members were from the lower class of East London – Newham, who were replaced by a middle class from wealthier communities. Subsequently, the Sochi Olympic Village yielded a legacy of unaffordable housing, which rapidly descended into a state of disrepair as it remained unoccupied (Manfred 2014). According to (Giulianotti et al. 2015b), the experience of gentrification engendered feelings of frustration amongst community members, and the experiences resulted in several protests, suggesting dissatisfaction. Notwithstanding these limitations, problems related to gentrification and the subsequent marginalisation of people has persisted in several situations. Evidence from the time leading up to the FIFA 2014 World Cup and Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics shows that community members from the Avenida das Américas in the Barra da Tijuca community of Brazil were likewise displaced (Silvestre and de Oliveira 2012). The experiences resulted in demonstrations and event criticism (Silvestre and de Oliveira ibid). Again, this insight suggests disappointment.

In looking at the time after the event, and in spite of the Atlanta 1996 Olympics' bid documents indicating strong ambitions to realise equal social sustainability, Minnaert (2012) claims that, in reality, the event engendered further deterioration and marginalisation of inner-city groups. The long-term legacy reveals that some of the

community members felt they did not equally benefit from the event (Minnaert *ibid*). Similarly, Gruneau and Horne's (2016) study of the Beijing 2008 Olympics uncovered evidence to suggest that over time, the outcome of the event has gradually encouraged inward migration from other parts of the country. This has resulted in some community members being displaced. Those individuals have become marginalised from their community due to the new developments that have influenced changes to way of life and cost of living (Gruneau and Horne *ibid*). Turning to the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics, Cummings (2016) found that in the brief time since the event concluded, the Favela community has been imperilled by the changes brought about by gentrification of the area. The demand for new and modern housing has put pressure on the locals, imposing marginalisation on those individuals who have not adapted. While the Atlanta 1996 Olympics brought benefits to the Summerhill neighbourhood, French and Disher (1997) found that other neighbourhoods in the community remained somewhat marginalised, which left many people feeling dissatisfied. It can be seen in the above investigation that in a short time after the event, additional enlightenment can already begin to emerge. Again, despite the Olympic village from the Atlanta 1996 Olympics being effectively adapted to university accommodation after the event, Lohr (2011) identifies that the neighbourhood of Pittsburgh, (situated close to the stadium) was overlooked and remained marginalised many years after the event. The sentiment expressed above agrees with Minnaert's (2012) study and upholds the view that the new accommodation was not to the advantage of the original community members.

The London 2012 Olympics also offers evidence in support of the discussed views. Taks (2014) and Bernstock (2016) offer insight to suggest the London 2012 Olympics made it possible for middle class families to afford housing. However, they also found that many of those families did not belong to this host community prior to the London Olympics. This reveals how some groups in the community experienced gentrification and were subsequently marginalised. Regarding this debate, in a study after the London Olympics, Pappalepore and Duignan (2016, p. 350) found that *"many more respondents described a complete lack of positive impacts...most notably... increasing property prices, which they associated with Games-led gentrification."* In short, the London 2012 Olympics did effect regeneration. However, it was at the cost of some

of the community members who eventually became marginalised because they could no longer afford to live in their neighbourhoods. Having considered how the Atlanta 1996 Olympics initially benefited the Summerhill neighbourhood, Ward's (2013) later study challenges those findings. According to Ward (ibid), the original population of Summerhill steadily shrunk over time from 16000 to an average of 2500, partly because of community displacement due to post event gentrification. Certainly, there is no shortage of evidence to support the view that studies conducted after a period help to clarify and shed light on people's experiences. Having considered some of the time-related effects, it appears of great significance to emphasise the value of time in mega event studies. Through this discussion, the issue of time helps this study to raise the questions of who exactly benefited and for how long. It could be said that studies that are conducted after periods of time have the capacity to explore a range of perspectives to see the development of other experiences that may have occurred over time. The different time points contribute additional insight to see post event experiences that can contribute knowledge to better understand the changes in community attitudes toward supporting mega events.

2.10 Temporal Dimension on the Changing Attitudes to Mega Events

This chapter establishes that mega events engender positive and/or negative social impacts, and those impacts can either be of benefit to members of the community, or they can bring about inconveniences. It can be seen from the above analysis of section 2.9 how the long-standing effects of some mega events positively impacted some communities over time or were of detriment to the local way of life. The discussion helped to enlighten and develop the idea that studies conducted after periods of time can contribute to a broader picture of the changing community attitudes toward mega events. Of central concern therefore to the development of mega events, is how to foster community support. To further understand the role of community support, this section explores the temporal dimension in more detail.

It is important, however, to not overlook the difficulty associated with comprehending a mega event's entire impact by only looking at the immediate effects (see Teigland 1999; Matheson and Baade 2004; Li and McCabe 2013; Bason et al. 2015; Chen and Tian 2015). It could be said that studies conducted after periods of time from the conclusion of the event provide important evidence to guide future policy, improving the outcome of mega events (Teigland 1999). Another angle to this debate suggests an exploration of the long-term legacy could reveal the complexity and changing nature of impacts over time (Ritchie and Smith 1991; Faulkner et al. 2000; Li et al. 2015; Porter and Fletcher 2008; Gursoy et al. 2011; Leopkey and Parent 2017; Preuss 2015, 2018). Notwithstanding such insight, these studies remain largely limited (Li and McCabe 2013). In recognition of this limitation, proponents of this view have responded in several ways. For example, studies by Matheson and Baade (2004) and Bason et al. (2015) suggest that there are even fewer post-event studies that explore the impact of mega events in the context of developing nations. Although knowledge is still mostly limited to the developed nation context, the number of mega events hosted in developing countries has also been significantly less. Despite these observations, a steady growing body of work has been developing over the years e.g. Kidd (1992) – the Montreal 1976 Olympics, Teigland (1999) – the Lillehammer 1994 Winter Olympics, Porter and Fletcher (2008) – the Atlanta 1996 Olympics and Boukas et al. (2013) – Athens 2004 Olympics. Noting the strength of new evidence as presented in section 2.9, there is room to further explore the influences of the temporal dimension. The continued growth of mega events in developing countries necessitates different approaches that can facilitate the collection of knowledge to better understand the way of life in those societies, and the ways mega events affect local life (Cornelissen et al. 2011; Ziakas 2015). To that end, what follows is an account of some previous studies that examine this question about the temporal dimension.

In Ritchie and Smith's (1991) study, *The Impact of a Mega-event on Host Region's awareness: a Longitudinal Study*, they monitor and measure residents' attitudes on the influence of the Calgary 1988 Winter Olympics. Ritchie and Smith define the extent to which awareness levels and perceptions altered at varying times of the event. Although the study initially found intense levels of awareness immediately after the event's conclusion, those levels of awareness appeared to decline. While the study

offers crucial insight into how attitudes can change over a relatively short period of time, suggesting the impact yielded a short-term legacy, the study did not address some of the critical questions to inform the reasons why there was a reduced sense of awareness over time. Their approach was to measure the data and provide quantified indications. However, this appeared somewhat limited in depth and did not provide first-hand stories to enlighten the nuances in people's lived experiences. In a separate example, Solberg and Preuss (2007) also measured the longevity of impacts produced by a number of mega events. Though their study did not seek to explore changing community attitudes, they identified some patterns associated with changes pre and post event and tourism impacts generated by Olympic Games hosted between 1976 and 2000. Again, Solberg and Preuss (*ibid*) determine that in the immediate time, the respective events generated a significant amount of infrastructural and wellbeing benefits. In the longer-term, they continued to generate further tourism related benefits. However, they maintain that although the events generated some lasting benefits, those benefits did not surpass the cost of staging the event, which was an enduring negative impact in the form of event related debt.

In a study measuring long-term resident perceptions of the 2008 Beijing Olympics, Chen and Tian (2015) compared results between two host communities to determine the cost-benefit outcome 41 months after the hosting the Olympics. Drawing from the social exchange theory and social representation theory, they established that perceptions of the Olympics remained comparatively high. Residents were happy because of the improved community pride and sense of enhanced unity. In addition, residents felt international perceptions improved and cultural beliefs and customs were intensified. The study shed light on how the community members at large appreciated the post event impacts. Yet, Chen and Tian (*ibid*) also found that the cost of living post the event was gradually increasing and this was upsetting social wellbeing. They found this experience to be of concern to some residents; it also affected their overall perception of the worthiness of the Beijing 2008 Olympics. They offer a perspective that illustrates changing community attitudes toward a mega event. Their study informs how enduring experiences of an event's impacts can, over time, influence support in one instance and concern in another. Although Chen and Tian's study is in the context of a developing nation and shows how a change in attitudes affects

behaviour over time, their approach is limited to measured conclusions. The study does not show how individual community members see and think about their own lived experiences, or how they find meaning from their social reality. The results do not show how those respondents made sense of their social world and how they describe the detail found in particular experiences.

Nevertheless, the line of thought established in this discussion enables this study to suggest other ways to contribute knowledge which can show the influence of time on community support. Although the discussion provides a sound foundation that enables the development of this study, most of the investigations were quantified and sought to examine legacy over a period of time. In contrast, this study seeks to explore community support through a narrative inquiry of stories from the community of Green Point. This study facilitates a nuanced understanding that is rich in deliberations and reflections, looking at people's experiences between 2010 when the event took place and 2016 when the data was collected. According to McGregor and Holmes (1999), those studies that employ storytelling gain data that has been shaped by people's memories and impressions of events over time. The method offers this study a richly informed approach towards a different understanding of how people's experiences can be impacted by changes over time, and the causal effect on their attitudes. This study is also of the view that research which considers the temporal dimension has the potential to show evolving community feelings about the additional mega event experiences that are accrued some time after the conclusion of the event. The evidence can potentially reveal differences or previously unspecified similarities in knowledge. This awareness can enable mega event authorities to consider new ideas, assisting with the identification of lessons to foster community support for mega events. The contribution of evidence which presents this view could inform alternative perspectives that determine patterns to show the evolution of community attitudes toward supporting mega events over time.

2.11. Summary

This chapter discusses the significance of community support, suggesting that without the support of the host community, mega events could lose value in the future. The chapter discusses definitions of mega events and looks at their development over time, helping to identify them as mostly short-term in nature, considered large in scale, have international attractiveness and can bring about beneficial impacts. In addition, in classifying the different types of mega events that exist e.g. the FIFA World Cup, Olympics, Commonwealth Games, World Fairs, Conventions and World Expositions, it helps establish the context of the 2010 FIFA World Cup as the mega event under investigation in this study. This chapter also looks at current trends, discussing how mega events have increasingly become attractive to developing nations seeking further development such as South Africa, hosts to the 2010 FIFA World Cup. In addition, the research looks at the recent trend of governments consulting community views of mega events through referendums.

The discussion also recognises that mega events generate either long-term or short-term legacies. The outcomes and legacies generated can be defined based on the nature of impacts they produce, ranging from social, economic, environmental and political. The chapter ascertains that mega event impacts sometimes merge into socio-economic, socio-cultural and socio-political amongst others, thus helping to establish the varied nature of mega events impacts and how they affect the community. Although there is a wide range of mega event impacts, this chapter looked at the social impacts of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The chapter explored a variety of social impacts experienced by some past host communities over a period of time. The discussion helped to enlighten this study on the social experiences of community togetherness, national pride and improved wellbeing and QOL. At the same time, the discussion also highlighted the negative social experiences of a reduced sense of QOL, marginalisation, and community displacement. This chapter also established the role of the community as a stakeholder of mega events, recognising that community members from Green Point are stakeholders of mega events hosted in their community, and these individuals can both influence and also be affected by the

outcome of those events. The following chapters explore the context of Green Point, hosts to the second match of the opening day, quarter and semi-final soccer games of the 2010 FIFA World Cup.

Chapter 3. Literature Review

Community Formation

3.1. Introduction

This section provides a review of existing literature on the formation of community. The field of community studies originates from the disciplines of anthropology in that it mostly explores the way in which society operates, and sociology, in that it investigates social behaviour (Bell and Newby 1972; Bell and Newby 2012; Banton 2013). Therefore, because of the varied standpoints in knowledge, the term community has been widely argued as convoluted and shrouded in ambiguity (Colombo et al. 2001; Brent 2004; Lamberti et al. 2011; Mendras and Mihailescu 2013; Blackshaw 2013). Nevertheless, the term requires reviewing before arriving at an agreeable definition to apply to this research. Appreciation of the term community will help this study to inform the link between the theoretical underpinning of community support, the research objectives and the research outcome.

3.2. The term ‘Community’

This study assumes the position that a community is made up of people that live in the same location and share some mutual qualities, experiences and relational bonds. Mutual qualities are those characteristics that can tie people together. For example, empathy, respect, some common interests, shared cultural values, shared stories and experiences, and a common way of doing things (Wellman and Wortley 1990; Wenger 1998; Puddifoot 2003). A vast amount of research on defining a community exists within sociological literature. Earlier studies focused on defining community were based on a sense of belonging to a geographical location (Hollingshead 1948; Hillery 1955; Sarason 1974; Cohen 1985; Davidson and Cotter 1986). For instance, Hollingshead (1948) suggests community could be defined by group solidarity, geographic area and socio-graphic structure. Meanwhile, Sarason (1974) defines

community by a geographic area and a sense of connectedness. However, definitions from the period 1974 to 1989 expand upon this position. Over that period, several authors identified that the contents of community can also be understood through the process of people coming together through shared experiences. For example, Elias (1974), Gusfield (1975) and Williams (1976) believe community is founded on a group of people with a shared bond, or relationships that permit them to approach life experiences in a similar custom. Similarly, Glynn (1981), Bachrach and Zautra (1985) and Christenson et al. (1989) claim community can be a group of individuals that are jointly involved in shaping community involvement and in support of community affairs. In addition, according to Bellah et al. (1985, p. 333), *“a community is a group of people who are socially interdependent, who participate together in discussion and decision-making, and who share certain practices that both define the community and are nurtured by it.”* Therefore, in this period, the idea of community was expanding to include other positions beyond location only.

Throughout the 1990's, the term continued to be defined based on location, including the idea of people being bound together through shared activities and experiences (see Rheingold 1991; Miller 1992; May 1993; Frazer 1999; Wellman 1999). This view of community as established by a sense of location and connectedness followed into the 2000s (see Gieryn 2000; Smith 2001; Kenny 2006; Craig 2007; Laumann and Pappi 2013). For example, Gieryn (2000) argues the importance of place in community studies. Meanwhile, Craig (2007) suggests that interests, location, a shared identity and shared experiences could give people a sense of belonging to a community. Work by Laumann and Pappi (2013) suggests community could also be defined around the existence of individuals that share collective relations over momentous experiences; therefore, revealing how the idea of community brings together several elements such as a sense of location, mutuality and group togetherness.

By tradition, a sense of geographical proximity gives meaning to the idea of community: a community could include members that were once located in one place and may have moved from that place but still have a sense of belonging to that geographical area (Storper 2008). This shows some of the ways the term has become

more intricate. The idea of community as defined by location remained in use throughout the 1990s and 2000s. Yet, at the onset of the 2000s, the idea of community as established by location began to draw criticism. For example, Baumann (2001) argues that place boundaries are becoming increasingly fluid. However, although Kenny (2016) acknowledges there could be a sense of diminishing boundaries, Kenny (ibid) criticises Baumann's (2001) view as overemphasising the deterioration of boundaries and undervaluing the significance of place. Instead, Kenny (2016) maintains that both place and people who share a sense of kinship can establish a notion of a community. This view has been observed in other studies. For example, Wise (2015) and Thulemark (2017) argue that key tenets to defining community can be both location and a sense of belonging, thereby demonstrating how belonging to a unit of people has become increasingly acknowledged alongside the traditional idea of location.

Other views suggest the existence of a community that is founded on relationships that are formed out of deep connections over a unique experience. According to Mills (2004, p. 6), "*community is a term frequently used to imply a high level of consensus.*" This definition suggests that individuals in the community of Green Point could have high levels of accord because of their shared experiences that bound them together. In an online news article Wajid (2006) cites; "*Who am I, where do I belong?*" - raising the question of individuals belonging to something they can identify with. The human need is for a deeper search of identity: belonging to and identifying with a community that an individual can relate to because of shared experiences. Similarly, Marinetto (2003), Beck (2006; 2009) and Kenny (2016) argue the increasing relevance of connectedness to community, as people are becoming more mutually engaged and interconnected in modern society. It has been claimed that a community could be a structure defined by a sense of shared behaviour, mutual life experiences and partaking in the same narration where social networks and relationships amongst people in a particular society are re-established as a priority through different ways (Putnam 2000; 2007).

However, Rovai (2002), Girvan and Newman (2002), Henri and Pudelko (2003), Rheingold (2016) and Wellman and Gulia (2018) interpret this view to look at

community from a virtual perspective. They argue that strong feelings of community can prevail even from a distance. According to Misener and Mason (2009), a community can refer to a group of people that belong to a social network that shares commonalities. Moulaert and Nussbaumer (2005), Schmidt and Cohen (2013) and Huggins and Thompson (2015) suggest that community goes beyond features and geographies, and includes communities of interests - people bound together by shared interests e.g. sociological, governmental and commercial interests. Although this discussion shows how the ideas on community have expanded to include a sense of connectedness or a network of memberships or relations e.g. cyberspace communities, this research is largely interested in investigating whether the shared experience of the 2010 FIFA World Cup brought people together to form a community in Green Point. To this end, the research acknowledges the significance of the location of Green Point alongside the importance of feeling a sense of relationship, unity, and closeness amongst those community members.

This discussion shows some of the ways that the definition of community has developed over time to include other positions that go beyond location. In particular, the discussion demonstrates how the idea of community has developed over the years to embrace location, a sense of connectedness, mutual engagement, shared network and a sense of shared bonds (e.g. Midgley 1986; Young 1986; Chavis and Wandersman 1990; Hughely et al. 1999; Purdue et al. 2000; Taylor 2003; Wegner 2002, Wajid 2006; Bradshaw 2008; Blackshaw 2013). Given this awareness, there are no misgivings that community could refer to a group bound by locality, but could equally include people that share some mutual qualities. For this reason, this research similarly acknowledges the positions of a community of place, mutual qualities, shared experiences and relational bonds. The definitions discussed suggest elements that further the understanding of the term community. They develop this research's awareness of community as defined by location and the ideas of a shared bond through mutual qualities. In addition, the definitions help this research to suggest that a group of interacting people with unities of interest, a shared experience such as a mega event, and a sense of mutual engagement in the group way of doing things can be looked upon as a community. As a result, the definitions denote the idea that community in this study comprises individuals that are located in the same place, and the shared

experience of a mega event can bring people together because of sharing some mutual qualities.

Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that defining the concept community continues to attract a great amount of debate (Salazar 2012; Blackshaw 2013). Some authors have defined the term by location, a sense of shared identity and belonging to something that links them together (Ugolini 1998; Tonks 1999; Reid 1999; Gieryn 2000; Brown et al. 2000; Smith 2001; McLaughlin 2002). For instance identity bound by language (Ugolini 1998), occupation (Tonks 1999), social class (Reid 1999), location or place (Gieryn 2000), shared experiences (Brown et al. 2000; Smith 2001) and a sense of religion (McLaughlin 2002). Defining community by place only has drawn some criticism (see Kunstler 1996; Cooper 1998; Bauman 2001; Bradshaw 2008). Kunstler (1996) and Beck (2009) observe that communities bound by location only could be in danger of alienating other viewpoints. However, as demonstrated, it appears that many studies attempting to define community continue to do so by place. To this end, this study accepts that the term community mostly refers to a set of ethics and beliefs that bear collective relations in a physical location. This study also acknowledges the idea that community can be equally effective when based on some shared mutual qualities that bind individuals together. To this end, this research assumes the position that a community is made up of people that live in the same location and share some mutual qualities, experiences and relational bonds (e.g. socio-cultural values such as Ubuntu values).

3.3. The African Understanding of Community - Ubuntu

The meaning of community has mostly been developed from Eurocentric epistemic views, and widely applied to further understand ways of life within a European community (Amit and Rapport 2002). Equally, the Confucian tradition is commonly applied to understand the Chinese way of life and has its roots founded in Asian beliefs (Lutz 2009). However, in the context of this study, the thinking offered by the Confucian and Platonic-Aristotelian beliefs is limited in providing an understanding of the African way of life. In response, this research offers the Ubuntu belief system

as a means to help make sense of and interpret the context of an African community, thus providing deeper awareness of Green Point. The communal idea found in Ubuntu is in accordance with a communal ontology that is concerned with looking at a group of interacting individuals in a particular location that share some mutual qualities and experiences (Mbigi and Maree 1995; Mnyaka and Motlhabi 2005; Muxe Nkondo 2007). To that end, drawing from the Ubuntu belief system increases the research's enlightenment of place, mutuality and unity as the institution of society.

Ubuntu is located within the notion of a traditional African village or community and its members (Mbigi and Maree 1995). It suggests that, despite race and ethnicity, the community shares a sense of identity through location, values and interests (Deacon 1999; Dalamba 2000). The belief system highlights the idea of people experiencing life together and mutually engaging in the community that they belong to (Tambulasi and Kayuni 2005). In English terms, this unity translates to the idea of togetherness, connectedness and engaging with others harmoniously (De Beer and Brysiewicz 2017). The context of Green Point is important because the community is situated within an African society and is thus a community that characteristically practices Ubuntu values. The term Ubuntu is considered the African form of community orientation. Ubuntu establishes understanding of the African worldview philosophy that states, 'a person is a person through other people' (Mfenyana 1986), and a human being is concerned with the wellbeing of the community (Mnyandu 1997). The origins of Ubuntu are defined as "*the short-form of a widespread Xhosa proverb in Southern Africa; Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu, which means a human being is a human being only through its relationship to other human beings*" (Marx 2002, p. 52). 'Ubuntu' as an unconnected word means humanity, 'Uluntu' is the Xhosa word for community, and 'Umuntu' means person (Muxe Nkondo 2007). Therefore, according to Vervliet (2009), the comparable relationship between Umuntu/person and Uluntu/community remain intrinsic to the African society's way of life, and both words find their origin in the word Ubuntu/humanity. To that end, the Ubuntu view is a way of life, and mutuality and unity are the institution of society (Mnyaka and Motlhabi 2005). As a result, Ubuntu is central to African culture and gives significance to how an African is affixed within community and attached to the other community members because of the uniting values.

The Ubuntu belief system offers principles that help convey understanding of how connectedness informs the way of life in the African culture (Venter 2004). According to Sogolo (1993), Kamwangamalu (1999), Mnyaka and Motlhabi (2005), the term is attached to a sense of belonging to a geographical place, which is the dwelling of the many African communities across the continent. In addition, they affirm that Ubuntu is not only affixed to a location, it is also attached to a sense of belonging and the fostering of kinship with others. The social values are a common theme across Africa. For instance, in Rwanda and Burundi Ubuntu loosely translates to ‘human generosity and humanity.’ In Zimbabwe the term Ubuntu is understood as ‘Hunhu’, which is humanness and the idea of fostering pleasant relations (Sibanda 2014). In South Africa, Ubuntu represents solidarity or mutuality, whereby members of the community located in the same communal townships or suburbs identify with the respective social characteristics of that community (Khoza 2006). According to Le Roux (2000, p. 43), *“interdependence, sensitivity towards others and caring for others are all aspects of Ubuntu as a philosophy of life.”* The Ubuntu way of life is effectively made known throughout the whole life of an African (Gathogo 2008), and according to Vervliet (2009), people find their complete selves within a community; as a result, suggesting that there is a connection between the idea of sharing together the experience of community life and partaking in communal practices.

However, Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998) caution that it is important not to oversimplify Ubuntu values and the diversity that exists. Instead, they recommend consideration of the diverse social groups within African society e.g. within South Africa there are the Xhosa, the Zulu, the Tsonga, the Sotho or the Afrikaner groups. In the same way, Van Binsbergen (2001) draws attention to the dangers of viewing Ubuntu values with a linear and unconditional lens and suggests that they should be viewed as somewhat wide-ranging and compound. Muxe Nkondo (2007) equally cautions that Ubuntu values are not a standard dogma of behaviour; instead Ubuntu is a way of life - ‘a social practice’ within the African community. Although it may be true, Ubuntu values are not code for social behaviour; Mabovula (2011) upholds the importance for Africans to embrace the belief system as a means to inform a communal way of life. Mabovula further argues Ubuntu values are being eroded

through social division and this is influencing the loss of humanity in the wider African society. In agreement, Tambulasi and Kayuni (2005) and McAllister (2009) maintain Ubuntu values inform the rudimentary way of African life within a community, equally encouraging Africans to embrace them as a means of returning to the African way of life that values humanity and community togetherness. To this end, this research acknowledges the complexity of Ubuntu and recognises the diversity of people found across the African communities. This research views Ubuntu as a way of African life within a community, and accepts that Ubuntu informs the values of humanity, community togetherness and kinship that are central to the establishment of an African society.

Ubuntu values in this study are concerned with a sense of shared values, kinship and togetherness that is important to the way community members of Green Point relate and mutually engage. The 2010 FIFA World Cup created an opportunity for the people of Green Point to come together, share in the social experience, and foster a sense of closeness. The views presented in this discussion underscore the need to explore how communities can be bound together over a shared experience such as a mega event. In view of this position, this study assumes not all African cultural communities are the same; however, similarities exist and these are rooted in the Ubuntu way of life that is inherent to being an African. The occasion to share in the experience of hosting mega events could facilitate opportunities for communities such as Green Point to further foster togetherness and mutual engagement amongst its members.

3.4. Theoretical Perspectives on Community

Social science explores social reality in the ways different people see it, reflecting how people's varied views form social behaviour and actions within society (Anderson and Bennet 2003). The use of theory in this research helps shape the researcher's ontology, both what is seen and how it is seen, by interpreting community experiences from the 2010 FIFA World Cup to see how those experiences shape community views, and the influence on community support for mega events. Combined use of Tonnies' ([1887] 1957) *Gemeinschaft*/conceptualisation of community, Turner's (1969) work on

Communitas and Lave and Wenger's (1991) Communities of Practice Concept (CoP) not only guides this research's awareness of community formation through a shared experience, but also informs the rationale for the research design, plan of inquiry, philosophical assumptions and methodology choices. The theories comprise conceptual ideas and propositions that enlighten this research's worldview. In addition, the theory directs the exploration to connect existing views on how a community can be bound together through a shared experience, to see the impact on community outlooks. Subsequently, the research determines the influence of those views on community support thereby developing knowledge within the study.

This study assumes that a community is not solely bound by location, but can be equally effective when established on social values that bind individuals together. Although this chapter identifies and appraises a variety of ways to define community, the term remains frequently approached on the basis of *"emotion-laden bonds or communion"* (Bessant 2015, p. 10), which Taylor (2016, p. 55) also refers to as *"relations of shared emotional bonding."* Yet, the difficulty attached to defining the term community is equally found in the conception of community theoretical ideas, therefore making *"the notion of community frustratingly vague and elusive"* (Selznick 2002, p. 16). Nevertheless, Tyler (2006) argues that the level of complication found in community theories is a consequence of the different ways that the theoretical ideas can be applied across academic disciplines. For example, Grossman et al. (2001, p. 942) look at community in the context of education to see how a *"school community, teacher community or communities of practice"* are formed. In another example, Wallerstein and Duran (2006) explore what makes a community in the context of health to see how elements such as culture and ethnicity influence the functions of a community in community-based participatory research. Although there are many ways to look at community across the different disciplines, Bessant (2015, p. 16) argues, *"community is not a static phenomenon, neither can it be confined to a single understanding of lived (collective) relation."* Therefore, despite the numerous ways to frame community concepts, it remains important for this study to identify theory that guides the way this research looks at community formation in the context of community support for mega events.

Despite the various positions over the years, there is a considerable repository of work that attempts to conceptualise the dynamics of social relations and the makings of community (e.g. Tonnies [1887] 1957; Weber [1921] 1976; Schmalenbach 1922; Plessner 1924; Macpherson 1962; Morgan and Moss 1965; Christenson et al. 1989; Nancy 1991; Blackshaw 2013; Bessant 2015 and 2018). However, Tonnies' ([1887] 1957) seminal work on distinguishing *Gemeinschaft* (communal society) from *Gesellschaft* (associational society) remains significant because it clarifies community formation as connected to social relations and the ideas of kinship, causality and belonging. The theorisation remains widely used and other works have expanded upon community theory largely guided by 'the Tonnies' perspective' of community formation (see Durkheim [1893] 1964; Mitzman 1971; Christenson 1984; Brint 2001; Tyler 2006; May 2011). Although Durkheim ([1893] 1964) and Mitzman (1971) to some extent criticise Tonnies' work as oversimplifying social behaviour, they still credit Tonnies' thought process and ideas as influential in the organisation and explanation of how people come together and foster social relationships to form a community. Other studies that followed also offer broader perspectives to community formation (Parsons 1951 and 1960; Hillery 1955; McMillan and Chavis 1986). For instance, McMillan and Chavis (1986) theorised a sense of community based on sharing similar experiences, a feeling of connectedness, relatedness, a sense of belonging and an innate desire to develop the group. They defined this as a "*sense of community is a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group*" (McMillan and Chavis 1986, p. 9). Nevertheless, Tonnies' ([1887] 1957) work remains ground-breaking and shows originality in pioneering thinking around the establishment of community theory to conceptualise the development of connectedness. His work brings a particular clarity to the idea of people coming together to form a community based on the feeling of togetherness.

3.5. Theoretical Discussion

Other theories were considered during the early stages of this study. However, *Gemeinschaft* (Tonnies [1887] 1957), *Communitas* (Turner 1969) and CoP (Lave and Wenger 1991) are unlike other theories such as the Social Exchange Theory, the Figural Theory, the Theory of Reasoned Action, the Symbolic Interaction Theory

and the Social Representation Theory. The key concepts and reasons for rejecting those previously considered theories are presented in Table 6.

Table 6 Structural Components of Rejected Theories

Theory	Key Concepts	Reason for Rejection
The Social Exchange Theory (see Ap 1992)	The theory places value on explaining the cost-benefit analysis and social exchange between various groups.	Does not inform the process of community togetherness.
The Figurational Theory (see Elias and Dunning 1986)	The theory looks at social interactions as interdependent relations that are continually developing through social bonding.	The Figurational Theory looks at multiple groups and a key principle of the theory explores the interdependencies between multiple networks or social groups.
The Theory of Reasoned Action (see Fishbein and Ajzen 1975)	The theory has a particular emphasis on predicting behavioural intents to understand people's attitudes, suggesting that a person's behaviours is informed by their expectations.	The theory is articulated as a calculated formula and the findings are often presented as statistical outcomes that do not necessarily describe, view closely and interpret the significance of community stories and experiences.
The Symbolic Interaction Theory (see Larsen and Wright 1986)	The theory enlightens social behavior by looking at the interactions between people within society.	The theory is not appropriate because of the significance given to symbols as representations of action. Too much attention is placed on people's interactions by means of symbols.
The Social Representation Theory (see Moscovici 1972; Howarth 2006)	The theory looks at the communal values and practices between members of communities to explain how people within a community communicate their social reality.	The theory is not suitable because it looks at the social psychology of individuals, which places emphasis on images to understand the meaning of what is happening and people's social behavior.

Source: Author (2018)

Although some of the theories presented in Table 6 relate to the wider range of knowledge under consideration, the theories were rejected because they do not provide the right principles or means to explain how mega events can bring people together to form a community. For example, the Figurational Theory that looks at multiple groups is not applicable to the research area under investigation in this study. Different from the Figurational Theory that looks at multiple groups this study explores a single community to see how community support for mega events can be fostered by looking at how individuals living in Green Point were bound together through the shared experience of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The Social Exchange Theory and the Theory of Reasoned Action are often used in studies that predict and prioritise a statistical outcome. This study employs the narrative inquiry approach to gain awareness into the lived experiences of community members from Green Point by exploring the respondents' experiences to interpret their diverse views. Therefore, the Social Exchange Theory and the Theory of Reasoned Action do not offer ease of application to this research. Although the Symbolic Interaction Theory enlightens social behaviour and explores the development of relations between people within society, the significance given to symbols is not in keeping with the aim of this study. In a similar way, the Social Representation Theory inappropriately gives significance to the use of imagery to look at people's interactions in society. To this end, the ideas and principles provide contradictions that do not offer ease of application to help this study understand and interpret community support for mega events. As a result, the most fundamental ideas found in these theories are not ideal and do not maximise this research's potential to develop ideas of different ways of looking at community support. Moreover, some of the principles do not help guide this study to make suitable choices on the research methods for data collection. Therefore, the theoretical concepts of those theories presented in Table 6 are not relevant to this particular study which seeks to explore, understand and interpret community support for mega events.

3.6. Tonnies' Gemeinschaft/ Theory of Community

Causality or connectedness is a necessary part of human mindfulness or consciousness (Tonnies [1887] 1957). Tonnies explains that human consciousness is divided into two concepts: natural will (*wesenwille*) which is related to *Gemeinschaft*, and rational will

(*kuerwille*), which is related to *Gesellschaft*. *Gemeinschaft* is concerned with the closeness of social relations amongst individuals and emphasises the idea of being in common (Tonnies [1887] 1957), whereas *Gesellschaft* refers to social relations founded on ties that are lacking in human emotion or closeness, and these essentially weaken the traditional bonds of kinship because the focus is on individual interest (Tonnies [1887] 1957). Later, Parsons (1951, 1960) expands this view and makes the distinction that *Gemeinschaft* is a somewhat ‘collective orientation,’ whilst *Gesellschaft* is more of ‘self-orientation.’ Despite the differences, Christenson (1984) proposes that the two aspects prescribe an ontological view that interprets a way of life in society. *Gemeinschaft* effectually demonstrates seeing things more in terms of other people - a communal way of life, as opposed to seeing things more in terms of self-interested conduct that neglects relational bonds. Tonnies’ ideas on natural will have great significance to the formation of community, and the contents of causality can be understood in terms of how communal bonds between people are formed. Tonnies’ work establishes the idea of natural will to be a more effective means of interpreting this human behaviour, and helps clarify the feeling of an implicit understanding between humans. Tonnies terms this as ‘*verständnis*,’ the need to show compassion and an understanding of human actions. These properties of natural will emerge notably in *Gemeinschaft*, casting more insight on how natural will can cause people to come together and affect a sense of community. In arguing this claim, Tonnies opines *Gemeinschaft* enlightens the human need for developing caring, social relations. This *feeling* of belonging can be understood as a *sense of community*.

Although Tonnies’ work is wide in range, which can make it difficult to explain it in its expanse, Tonnies’ ([1887] 1957) efforts to define and differentiate the concepts of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* are classical and propose clear sociological theories that are useful to social scientists. In their respective studies over the years, other works (see Weber [1921] 1976; Neuwirth 1969; Cohen 1985, 2002; Furman 1998; Brint 2001; Amit 2002; Arai and Pedlar 2003; Giulianotti Robertson 2012; Baker and Rowe 2014; Bessant 2015; Mathebe 2017) have drawn from Tonnies’ work to help organise the human experience of social life and human relationships. The theory has been useful in shaping understanding of how people come together over a shared experience, fostering a sense of belonging with others, influencing social behaviour,

attitudes and beliefs. For example, Furman (1998, p. 302) states: “*community (Gemeinschaft) may be experienced through kinship, through living in the same neighbourhood, or through gathering with others in community of the mind,*” in this respect, revealing consensus between Gemeinschaft and Ubuntu philosophy. The insight suggests there is an explicit connection between a sense of collective values, mutual qualities, shared experiences and the development of relational bonds in a particular place. In explaining some of the key positions of Gemeinschaft, Brint (2001) articulates; strong relations can emerge from on-going social interactions, which help to build close acquaintance between people. He argues, the fundamental ideas of Gemeinschaft relate to an enduring way of life shared between people that have collective beliefs and customs. In effect, a pattern emerges: Gemeinschaft provides evidence for the basic root of community as centred on the motive of common feelings and the longing for kinship, which appears when people come together. According to Weber [1921] 1976), as different people come together, communities are formed. For example, people from different backgrounds and social circumstances. However, despite the relevance of the theory, Neuwirth (1969) argues for an explanatory theory that does not only acknowledge, but also deliberates on how the differences between people can affect the formation of community. Neuwirth (ibid) opines, because of those distinctions, issues concerning classist behaviour whereby some members assume an elitist position, may arise. In addition, more recent arguments question the ability of Gemeinschaft theory to provide insight into the possibility of discord within the community. For example, through paying attention to the development of social relations, Cohen (1985) and Crow and Allan (1995) make the distinction that fostering relationships is not without its complications. The diversity that exists can result in challenges between different people socialising, however, this can also influence positive changes to society. In another study, Arai and Pedlar (2003) claim that while Gemeinschaft signifies togetherness, mutual values and shared interests; an important criticism is that Tonnies neglects to explore the occasional disagreements or contention that can take place within a community. This brings attention to the possibility of dissonance between people, inferring the formation and experience of community is not always harmonious, and without hostility. In his review of Gemeinschaft, Mathebe (2017) submits, Tonnies’ work offers a sentimentalised theory of what makes a community, and argues for an explanatory theory that accounts for “*community’s darker side*” (2017, p. 46). Earlier, Trompenaars and Hampden-

Turner (1998), Van Binsbergen (2001) and Muxe Nkondo (2007) caution against oversimplifying Ubuntu values and the diversity that exists. Similarly, it appears Neuwirth (1969), Cohen (1985), Crow and Allan (1995), Arai and Pedlar (2003) and Mathebe (2017) are also directing attention to seeing the sense of complexity in *Gemeinschaft*. Their views acknowledge the ideas of togetherness represented in *Gemeinschaft*, but also bring awareness to the challenges of fostering group cohesion.

Chapter 2 discusses how mega events can engender social disparities or marginalisation, which affects the establishment of harmony within a group. There is a sense those disparities; the experience of marginalisation or other negative outcomes run contrary to the idea of nurturing a sense of closeness. Based on Neuwirth (1969), Cohen (1985), Crow and Allan (1995), Arai and Pedlar (2003) and Mathebe's (2017) interpretations, it appears Tonnies' *Gemeinschaft* does not fully acknowledge the significance of people's differences and the emergence of discord that can take place between community members. Their views suggest there is limited explanation to enlighten the differences in ethnicity, such as race. In addition, clarifications on how negative experiences such as marginalisation or social disparities are in direct contrast to the principles of *Gemeinschaft*. Therefore, revealing a gap where further development in knowledge could explore the influence of people's differences on the formation of community, highlighting and including other factors such as the cultural context and racial differences. In addition, a broader approach would focus on identifying how the emergence of disagreement or negative experiences can affect harmony within the community.

Nevertheless, Willmott (1988) points out that although people may have some differences, their commonalities such as faith, profession, partisan ideas, hobbies or recreational activities can be what binds them together. This gives emphasis to how community development can take place as a result of humanity fostered through different people being in *Gemeinschaft* or togetherness with one another. Although the theory's functions have been challenged by some academics, Friedman (1989) and Schulenkorf (2012) maintain in contrast to failing to care for one another (e.g.

segregation induced by apartheid), social meetings (e.g. mega events) can help restore social relations and this attitude is critical to the development of social life. Events bring about a celebration of culture, they have the capacity to impact group relations; and they can make possible the institutionalisation of community/Gemeinschaft (Satterfield et al. 2011; Giulianotti and Brownell 2012; Shilling and Mellor 2014; Filo et al. 2018). This study is of the view that Gemeinschaft strengthens the exploration of togetherness in mega events. Through people's stories of their interactions and the development of causality/connectedness, there is the opportunity to learn about the positive and negative social effect of mega events, and their cultural significance through the eyes of community members. This knowledge can contribute to a different understanding of how relationships fostered through the experience of mega events can be nurtured and humanity and compassion for others sustained, toward the progression of society. The experience of mega events in communities such as Green Point can make available knowledge to grasp how Ubuntu underpins human actions and social behaviour. In effect, helping to demonstrate how mega events can help preserve a sense of Gemeinschaft, group membership and ideas of kinship and humanity.

Generally, Gemeinschaft relationships correspond with the idea of humanity, recognising that people are mindful of their belonging to a particular group; and benevolence, solidarity and care exist despite the group's diversity. According to Brint (2001), the operational spirit of Gemeinschaft is firstly cultural, thus, essential features include people establishing bonds based on their awareness of similar pasts, a like value system and comparable way of life. Through this understanding, a community member in Green Point may find affinity to others because of their shared Ubuntu values and shared experiences such as the 2010 FIFA World Cup, and the effect may influence community support. In the unique context of establishing mutual dependence, Arai and Pedlar (2003) argue the importance of fostering an on-going sense of interaction between people and how this can result in trust, which is a pillar to the institutionalisation of a Gemeinschaft way of life. Over the years, developments in the theory have contributed to an advanced understanding of togetherness. For example, Filo et al. (2013, p. 194) present: "*strong social bonds; social attachments to and involvement in institutions; ritual occasions; perceptions of similarity with*

others; and common beliefs in an idea system, moral order, institution, or group,” as some of the dominant tenets of Gemeinschaft. These thoughts expand the knowledge of the theory to include understanding of the cultural context. As a point of fact, Giulianotti and Robertson (2012) claim, humankind is the theory’s most important principle. Gemeinschaft is “*characterised by tradition, strong group solidarity, cultural homogeneity, and the valuing of deep social relationships*” Giulianotti and Robertson (ibid, p. 218). This is seen in Ubuntu philosophy, which values humanness and the idea that our common humanity matters more than our differences.

Through exploring the significance of celebrations, mega events have subsequently come to be understood as a festive experience that can also bring about social attachment (see Giulianotti Robertson 2012; Schulenkorf 2012; Shilling and Mellor 2014; Filo et al. 2018). These experiences can affect camaraderie, unity and pleasant bonds between individuals in a particular place. There are several ways in which the theoretical approach of Gemeinschaft has been useful to other studies. For example, having established the need for mega events that encourage community formation in Australia, Baker and Rowe (2014) use Gemeinschaft to structure their study’s position on what bonds people together: focusing on their similarities as opposed to their differences and the sense of belonging that can emerge. According to Baker and Rowe (ibid), an important issue that has to be considered is how hosting mega events can effectively lessen the cultural distance or the existence of negative relationships. Their findings identify an interesting viewpoint on how the mega event experience can help increase the community feeling, promoting a sense of oneness between an ethnically diverse people. That aspect offers awareness to how Gemeinschaft principles guide enlightenment of the influence mega events can have on people’s changing perceptions. It is clear to see how the celebration can be the experience that relates different individuals – strengthening their common values and shared interests. The principles identified from Gemeinschaft theory establish some key qualities that conceptualise community, providing a base to enlighten how the development of mega events can create a sense of togetherness between people.

As a result, this study relies on Tonnies' ([1887] 1957) understanding of *Gemeinschaft* as the characterisation of community, and the idea of group values and social bonds guide how this study looks at the individual experiences of the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Green Point. The theory helps this study to see whether the experience engendered a sense of social togetherness and if that experience shaped community views in a positive manner, and how that influenced community support. The sense of community can be understood as a feeling of belonging (Christenson 1984; McMillan and Chavis 1986; Terkourafi 2009; May 2011). Tonnies explains this as the acquaintance of others, *"while people may live in the same location, speak a common language, or pursue a mutual interest; a true sense of Gemeinschaft is reflected in the members' collective and conscious sense of belonging together as a group"* (Tonnies 1925, p. 67 – 68). Here, Tonnies' conception of community is observed to acknowledge community as comprised of people that live in the same location, who share some mutual qualities, experiences and relational bonds. Therefore, in its simplistic form, *Gemeinschaft* inspires the idea of communal life found in this study, and the significance of being together through the shared experience of mega events such as the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Similar to the principles found in the Ubuntu belief system, Tonnies' ([1887] 1957, p. 42) conception assumes a *"unity of being,"* which he explains through the *Gemeinschaft* principles that clarify ideas on kinship and closeness of social relations amongst individuals. These ideas are seen in other key works that attempt to shed light on what it means to be a community and the significance of social relations (e.g. Kaufman 1959; Turner 1969; Wellman and Leighton 1979; Cohen 1985 and 2002; Flora et al. 1992; Brint 2001; Bradshaw 2008; Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan 2012).

3.7. Turner's Communitas

Related to Tonnies' *Gemeinschaft* is Turner's (1969) *Communitas* theory. Turner's work is largely concerned with the development of communal beliefs that characterise social groups. Although Turner's work originated from the discipline of anthropology, the theory offers conceptual ideas that help guide researchers to see and think about the grouping of society (Sallnow 1981). The principles give insight into the *"direct,*

immediate, and total confrontation of human identities” Turner (1969, p.13). In addition, they demonstrate the characteristic idea of Communitas as “*common humanity and mortality*” Turner (ibid, p. 110). Central to his idea of Communitas, are the principles of mutual engagement, the idea of people bonding in a particular place, and their shared experiences. Therefore, in order for this study to explain and understand the causes of group formation, it would be suitable to apply Communitas, which is a community theory that highlights various aspects of human societies; their customs, cultures and their development (Brown and Hutton 2013). Key components include the social realities of group practices, cultural values, and group behaviour. In Lagerkvist’s (2014, p.214) study, she introduces this as “*a sense of profound and inspired comradeship.*” As a result shedding more light, and providing rationale to the claim Communitas is about the communion between people; individuals who are bound together because of their unique experiences, people who share in a spirit of familiarity, and share in one another’s activities. The sense of group acquaintance engendered demonstrates how mutual interactions can help foster, and intensify the outcome of Communitas. This process of people looking for significance and connections through fostering camaraderie/mutuality with others, suggests that people nurture a sense of joint fellowship in the experiential quest for Communitas (Olaveson 2001; Franklin 2003; Xin et al. 2013; Lagerkvist 2014). Therefore, the distinct influence of Communitas points to an experience attached to a deep and instinctive sense of belonging that is entrenched in people’s emotions.

Through the original exploration of shared religious ritual experiences, Turner’s work enlightened the development of Communitas. Despite the ritual context, the theory’s contents can be understood in terms of what Balduck et al. (2011, p. 93) call a “*celebration and social camaraderie.*” Although the greater body of his work looks into the importance of rituals and their representation, this study is interested in the explanation of what mutually bonds and relates individuals - a sense of camaraderie. These features of Communitas are useful to social researchers looking at how a sense of togetherness or community can be formed in events. Similar to Tonnies ([1887] 1957), Turner’s (1969) work shows Communitas as associated with an individual’s strong feelings of interest in and concern for the community that they belong to, also

seen in the Ubuntu belief system. Additionally, Turner's (1969) understanding of Communitas connects to the Ubuntu value system. His work originated from the study of an African community, the Ndembu of Zambia, situated in close proximity to South Africa, where the community of Green Point is found. In the same way as in South Africa, the Zambian society's way of life is characterised by the Ubuntu belief system, thus increasing contextual relevance (Mwaanga and Prince 2016). Through his work, Turner establishes that a sense of community can arise from a group of people coming together to collectively share in the pleasure of a common experience. Although Turner's initial conceptualisation of Communitas talks about members of a community coming together to share a common experience through a rite of passage, in this study, this idea can also be taken as people coming together over the shared experience of a mega event. According to Durkheim (1915), when a community comes together and shares an experience, that event brings about a sense of 'collective effervescence,' a joy and excitement that Turner's wife (Turner 2012) claims to derive from a feeling of camaraderie and togetherness within the communal group.

In other works, Olaveson (2001, p.93) puts across the feeling of camaraderie as "*comradeship and common humanity*." By the same token, Beeton (2006, p.4) terms this as "*the very spirit of community*," and Weed et al. (2009, p.39) express this feeling as the "*festival effect*." Explanation of these social interactions have expanded the way researchers develop knowledge and understanding of the significance of shared experiences, to see a community of different people, yet of one mind who share a sense of intimacy and act collectively. As a result, establishing a clear assertion; the process of Communitas shapes the group members' views, feelings, and beliefs; especially concerning their interactions in their social world. Following Turner's death, his wife, Turner (2012) expanded upon the original Communitas ideas, taking into account consideration of life together through shared leisurely experiences such as festivals, music and sporting activities. Turner (2012, p. 43) considers that festivals and sporting activities "*draw people together*" and the result of the social relations and mutual engagement produces a sense of togetherness termed 'Communitas.' To that degree, she states, "*Communitas is togetherness itself*" (Turner 2012, p. 4). Under those circumstances, festive celebrations create an opportunity for communities to

embrace oneness, forge social relations with others and promote a sense of *Communitas* (Morgan 2008). Given the outcome of joy and connectedness, it can be argued that the experience can positively influence the overall outcome of the event (Van Heerden 2009). For this reason, the notion of *Communitas* can help guide researchers to see and interpret how and why the experience of mutual engagement and togetherness produced over a shared experience of a mega event can affect community thoughts and feelings, thus impacting community support. Therefore, this suggests that when people come together and share in a common festive experience like a mega event, a deep sense of closeness and belonging arises. The combined views of Turner (1969) and Turner (2012) on the knowledge of togetherness, community spirit and camaraderie as a result of a shared experience, guide this study to see the idea of a shared festive experience e.g. mega events, as capable of bringing people together to form a community.

Through *Communitas*, research can access understanding of how the experience of togetherness in events happens (Olaveson 2001; Levermore and Millward 2007). The sense of camaraderie and jovial ambiance generated by mega events is a precursor to the feeling of *Communitas* experienced by those partaking, the event patrons and members of the host community. This can influence social change; effecting the transformation of people's values and outlooks to assume different ways of behaving (Garcia 2001; Chalip 2006; Getz 2008; O'Brien and Chalip 2008). Building on from that idea, festive mega events that generate *Communitas* do not only encourage group unity, but raise a sense of pride between people (Hall 1989; Green and Chalip 1998; Solberg and Preuss 2007; Karadakis et al. 2010; Lee et al. 2011; Schulenkorf and Edwards 2012). One aspect that illustrates the feeling of *Communitas* evoked, is the outcome of joy between people. The principles that inform understanding of *Communitas* have been repeatedly applied to other mega event studies (see Garcia 2001; Chalip 2006; Getz 2008; Ritchie et al. 2009; Balduck et al. 2011; Lee et al. 2011; Djaballah et al. 2015; Knott and Swart 2015; Ma and Rotherham 2016). To further understand togetherness in mega events, Getz (2008) explores *Communitas* as a fundamental part of the experience, and suggests this as an antecedent to understanding social behaviour and human action around this phenomenon.

In their study of the 2002 FIFA World Cup (co-hosted by Japan and South Korea), Butler and Aicher (2015) make it evident that the most fundamental impact of the event was the people's experience of a sense of *Communitas*, which helped to enrich local cultural understanding and influence acculturation – the mixing of cultural standards and customs between groups. An interesting viewpoint on their assessment of *Communitas* was the outcome of pleasantness and social understanding between two societies that previously viewed one another with a sense of misgiving. The discussion highlights that a sense of *Communitas* generated through the experience of a mega event encouraged people to overlook previous social differences, or historical rifts to arrive at a place of unity with others. To further understand the role of *Communitas*, Schulenkorf and Edwards (2012) and Knott and Swart (2015) add; the experience of a mega event can help to cultivate meaningful relations where the idea of forming social ties was once questionable (e.g. apartheid history of South Africa). The outcome of *Communitas* can address a number of significant social issues such as nurturing peace and harmony, which may assist a host community to overcome social inequalities and social division, amongst other negative social impacts.

In another example, Knott et al.'s (2015) study provides another line of thought on *Communitas*, their study sought to measure whether the communities of Green Point's attitudes toward the 2010 FIFA World Cup were affected by the national football team's performances. In contrast to this study's narrative ontology, their use of a questionnaire offered a quantitative perspective to illustrate how a number of residents felt the national football team's performances contributed to a sense of unity during the event (43% of the respondents strongly agreed). In another study exploring the 2012 Tour de Taiwan, Ma and Rotherham's (2016) main point of contribution gives insight into the 'feel good' sense of community facilitated through application of *Communitas* principles. However, their study is underpinned by the social exchange theory and the Asian Confucianism philosophical values, as opposed to Ubuntu philosophy that guides this study's exploration of the African context. Although their study identifies the experience of social closeness and culture as important, the cost-benefit analysis of the social exchange theory has certain limitations that withhold it

from fully exploring the nuances found in people's experiences. Nevertheless, the examples are relevant and contribute a base for this study to further develop knowledge around community togetherness in the context of an African society, and the influence on community support.

Although some evidence agrees that mega events with the ability to engender social benefits can influence community views in a positive way, and thus effect community support (see chapter 2 Jago et al. 2003; Gursoy and Kendall 2006; Goodwin and Santilli 2009; Gursoy et al. 2017); not all research shows that mega events can effect a lasting sense of *Communitas*. Despite Kersting's (2007) study establishing the relevance of *Communitas*, the contents of his findings on the 2006 FIFA World Cup (Germany) primarily argue that the feeling of joy and experience of *Communitas* was brief. This consideration offers a different perspective that reflects on the temporal element of the experience of *Communitas*. There is general agreement to Brint's (2001) earlier views on *Gemeinschaft*, and the need to establish an ongoing sense of strong social interactions. Kersting opines the event did not culminate in an enduring sense of togetherness, instead, his longitudinal study finds that the initial increase of 7% in community spirit promptly reduced to 1% following conclusion of the 2006 FIFA World Cup. Equally, Schulenkorf and Edwards (2012) caution those mega events that generate fleeting benefits are faced with the challenge of how to leverage this sense of *Communitas* beyond the existence of the event. An alternative perspective argues that a mega event should not only influence togetherness, but the experience should be leveraged beyond the event (Balduck et al. 2011).

The strength of the above discussion highlights that those mega events that produce *Communitas* have the potential to leverage this on an ongoing basis, and by doing so, they can influence long-term positive outlooks. This can be realised through generating outcomes that continue to bring people together over other celebrations. In this regard, heightening the cultural values of the people and encouraging group interactions; thus nurturing lasting relationships. However, in a study of the 2007 Tour de France hosted in Ghent, Balduck et al.'s (2011) main point of argument establishes the social outcome of the event did not necessarily engender a sense of *Communitas*

between the community members. Through their measurement of the overall perceived cost-benefit impact of the event on residents' attitudes, Baldock et al. (ibid) show that the idea of hosting a mega event does not automatically yield experiences of togetherness. Their study demonstrates that the connection between a mega event and a sense of *Communitas* is somewhat dependent on engendering positive experiences that can influence the residents' attitudes in a favourable manner. Although their findings are quantified, the evidence provides a foundation for this study to assume a different approach and explore the nuances in community stories. To that end, helping this study to contribute insight into how the experience of negative social impacts can influence community views and the impact on community support in the future.

Nevertheless, not all research shows that the inability of a phenomenon to engender a lasting experience of togetherness/*Communitas* is worthless. Despite the different views surrounding *Communitas*, Silverstone (1994, p.21) states: "*communitas; the shared experience, however fragile, momentary and synthetic, of community.*" Silverstone introduces the idea that even though the experience of what mutually bonds and relates individuals may be fleeting, the experience of *Communitas* is still of some value. In a similar way, Bull and Lovell (2007, p.235) opine "*it (communitas) can also be applied to local populations in relation to events where it involves the sense of community, albeit on a temporary basis, that is engendered through community cohesion, unity and participation where the sense of 'unity' refers both to the celebratory 'feel-good factor' and physical mass gathering.*" Again, highlighting how the formation of *Communitas*, even though momentary, can reinforce ideas of kinship and humanity within society in that specific moment and at that particular time. Insight from other studies not only facilitates knowledge organisation, but also helps this study optimise identification of how a shared experience can enlighten understanding of a group's culture and practices. The use of Turner's *Communitas* underpins understanding in a variety of ways to enlighten the process of fostering social relationships, highlighting the significance of mega events that can bring people together in celebration.

The current discussion about *Communitas* identifies an interesting viewpoint on togetherness as a starting point that is relevant to not only understanding, but also advancing thinking around the effect of mega event experiences and how they can conjure closeness and facilitate camaraderie and mutuality between people. Despite the feeling of *Communitas* being intangible and difficult to fully capture (Olaveson 2001), *Communitas* remains central to understanding people's experiences of community. In unpacking *Communitas*, it appears the sense of community is rooted in the knowledge of people bound together by an overriding emotion of unity and acceptance of one another. Turner's (1969) deliberations illustrate how a shared experience can influence an enduring feeling of community, with emphasis on the significance of mutuality and a people that are socially interdependent. Specifically, his work also reveals how the experience can change people's views of their social reality. Direction from this understanding of *Communitas* helps this study explore whether the shared experience of the 2010 FIFA World Cup brought people together to form a community, and the influence on community support for future mega events.

3.8. Lave and Wenger's Communities of Practice Concept

Having established Tonnies' ([1887] 1957) *Gemeinschaft* as concerned with the closeness of social relations amongst individuals, and Turner's (1969) *Communitas* as related to the sense of community that can arise from a group of people coming together to collectively share in the pleasure of a common experience; this section will next consider Lave and Wenger's (1991) CoP concept. The CoP concept refers to the process of how communities are formed as identified by their location, social relationships and human connectedness (Lave and Wenger 1991). These communities are depicted through the group's location, group members' beliefs, customs and values (Lave and Wenger 1991). The theory prioritises the idea of collective practices or shared experiences and considers diversity, which is the inclusion of everyone (Wenger 1998). Therefore although people are not all the same, people within a group share some mutual qualities as humans and for that reason, everyone should be treated with a certain level of dignity and respect. Although CoP originates from the field of organisational studies, education, and anthropology, the concept has gained increasing

acceptance in the discipline of sociology (e.g. Saint-Onge and Wallace 2003; Amin and Roberts 2008; Boehm and Cnaan 2012). It is especially useful in situations where people make sense of their subjective experiences within a group of people, socially interacting and sharing knowledge of a particular development. Drawing on the CoP concept is relevant to the investigation in this research, and helps explore and explain how a community can be bound together through a shared experience.

The CoP concept considers and acknowledges the perspective of location. Wenger (1998, p. 1) upholds the view that an essential characteristic of the “*shared domain of interests*” is people interacting and engaging in shared happenings and experiences. In addition, Wenger (2000, p. 227) discusses the notion of belonging and identifies how “*local interactions, global interactions and engagement*” form part of the different conditions for membership to a community. According to Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger et al. (2002), a traditional sense of CoP is determined by the existence of face-to-face interactions. Wenger (2000, p. 229) refers to “*a tribe around a cave, a medieval guild, a group of nurses in a ward, a street gang, a community of engineers.*” Reference to a tribe around a cave, a group of nurses in a ward and a street gang denotes the idea of belonging to a particular location. For example, Brown and Duguid (2000) found the concept useful for understanding the experiences of Xerox technicians located and interacting in the workplace which led to the creation of the Eureka Database. These groups of people are located in the same place and bound together by their shared mutual qualities and interests. Similar to Lave and Wenger (1991), this study agrees that the idea of location is important to community, and likewise, acknowledges that a sense of mutual qualities such as mutual engagement also function as a means to bind people together.

Earlier in this chapter, other aspects of community formation that exist are discussed such as place communities - geographically bound, communities of interest - shared common characteristics e.g. religion, social network communities - individuals that share a pre-established connectedness e.g. family or co-workers, and virtual communities people that may have never met, but have a common interest (Salazar 2012; Huggins and Thompson 2015). Nevertheless, in this study, it is established that

community can be determined by both location and a sense of connectedness that is dependent on the existence of relational boundaries attached to group interaction and relational closeness. The idea of community and togetherness imply the dynamic of 'being in common' (Nancy 1991; Irwin 2008; Illeris 2013). Membership and boundary are key principles attached to the notion of a sense of community discussed earlier in this chapter (see McMillan and Chavis 1986; Taylor 2003; Blackshaw 2002 and 2013). For instance, Bradshaw (2008 and 2013) repeatedly discusses a sense of camaraderie – derived from Turner's (1969) *Communitas*. The work looks at communal participation and a sense of shared bonds as values that establish a community. Similarly, the context of this research also prioritises the location of Green Point because it is the particular place and setting where the second match of the opening day, quarter and semi-finals of the 2010 FIFA World Cup were hosted and experienced.

3.8.1. The Three Aspects to the Communities of Practice Concept

The three CoP principles - mutual engagement, joint enterprise and shared repertoire - support the process of interpreting perspectives on how communities can be bound together through the shared experience of a mega event, and whether the experience has an influence on community support. The key principles of CoP - mutual engagement, joint enterprise and shared repertoire - as illustrated in figure 2, underpin this research's approach by connecting this study to existing knowledge. They help to direct the research design to interpret the community stories, to see how a community can be formed as a result of shared experiences.

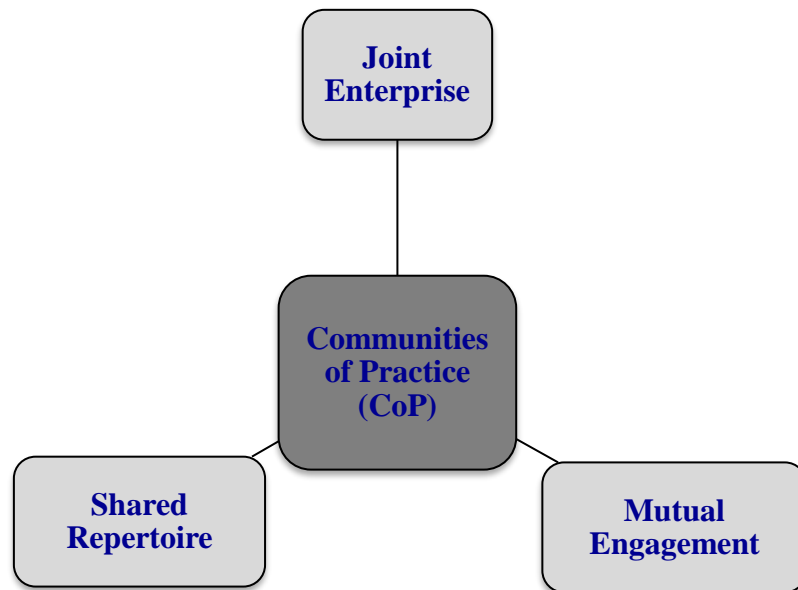


Figure 2 Communities of Practice Principles

Source: Lave and Wenger (1991)

The principle of joint enterprise explores how group members are bound together by an understanding of a common purpose (Lave and Wenger 1991). According to Wenger (2000, p. 229), “*members are bound together by their collectively developed understanding of what their community is about, they hold each other accountable to this sense of joint enterprise.*” In a study of the 1991 World Student Games, Bramwell (1997) found the people from the community of Sheffield’s Don Valley area felt they were bound together through the experience of the event; engendering a sense of joint enterprise to mutually attend to urban and social decay within their society.

The principle of mutual engagement explores group unity to understand group interaction and the idea of connectedness. It refers to the coming together of people in a shared practice or as earlier identified, people living together at a particular location (Wenger 1998). According to Wenger (2000, p. 229), “*members build their*

community through mutual engagement, they interact with one another, establishing norms and relationships of mutuality that reflect these interactions.” Several studies have investigated how shared experiences of mega events can lead to group togetherness and a sense of mutuality (e.g. Chalip 2006; Kersting 2007; Spaaij and Burleson 2016). For instance, Spaaij and Burleson (2016) make known that the Tokyo 1964 Olympics brought about a sense of mutual engagement and social togetherness following the devastation and separation caused by the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In a similar manner, Chalip (2006) discusses the manner in which the shared experience of the Sydney 2000 Olympics brought together people of different social and racial classes; while Kersting (2007) reveals the 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany promoted communal inclusiveness amongst people previously separated by the social injustices of the past world wars and the construction of the Berlin Wall.

Finally, shared repertoire assesses the outcome of mutual engagement - the way of doing things (Wenger and Lave 1991). According to Wenger (2000, p. 229), *“communities produce a shared repertoire of communal resources – languages, routines, sensibilities, artefacts, stories etc.”* In the context of South Africa, the 1995 Rugby World Cup brought people together in a society that had been separated by an apartheid history, engendering a sense of shared repertoire through nurturing a Rainbow Nation (local term for unified nation) based on group values established in the Ubuntu way of life (Nuttall 2006; Bornman 2014). The Sydney 2000 Olympics demonstrated a sense of shared repertoire and Communitas (what binds and relates individuals - a sense of camaraderie see Turner 1969). This was achieved through fostering mutual dependence and togetherness between the Aboriginals and the other ethnic groups over the shared experience of the event, conveying a shared outlook and way of doing things, in particular through group representative - athlete Kathy Freeman (Lenskyj 2002; Morgan 2003). This discussion helps reveal how a sense of mutuality and social togetherness can be fostered through the experience of mega events, therefore establishing links between this research’s considerations of social togetherness experienced through the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Green Point, and existing examples of social togetherness from past mega events. As a result, this suggests that the experience of togetherness as a positive social outcome of mega events can influence support for mega events.

Building on from the principles of *Gemeinschaft* and *Communitas*, essential features of the CoP concept conceptualise the wider process and practice of coming together because of a shared experience, which also enlightens understanding of the local culture through celebration. The emphasis is on the depiction of shared group practices, to see how people behave and act (Stadler et al. 2013). Through sharing in the experience, community members develop a range of personal thoughts and emotions that inform their social behaviour and common way of doing things. Although the experiences are subjective and expose a range of thoughts and emotions, Stevenson (2016) argues that when considered as a collective, those perceptions can reveal common ideas about the experience. *Gemeinschaft* and *Communitas* clarify the role of human experience, social life and the influence on social behaviour, attitudes and beliefs; the CoP concept further develops those ideas to help researchers gain additional understanding of the lives of people in a particular place (e.g. Green Point). Lave and Wenger's (1991) CoP concept contributes another line of thought that assists research to look at people's valued customs and traditions (e.g. Ubuntu) and the effect on group dynamics (mutual engagement), the group's common purpose (joint enterprise), and the group's continued development of social practices and human action (shared repertoires). Overall, the choice of theory strengthens this research's narrative exploration to see what is known and not known about community togetherness as a result of the event, in turn, how the experience can influence community support for mega events. With the support of narrative inquiry, this study is able to look closely, and take note of the nuances in each of the respondent's experiences. This will help to contribute toward a deeper appreciation of community views, revealing diverse thoughts regarding each respondent's feelings toward their particular experience of the mega event to see why they would support mega events.

Chapter 4. Case Study

The 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa

4.1. Hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Green Point

The community of Green Point was host to the second match of the opening day, quarter and semi-final soccer games of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The community is located in Cape Town, South Africa. It is one of 10 communities located within the region of the Atlantic Seaboard, which is one of eight regions within the legislative capital city of Cape Town (Cape Town Tourism 2016). Green Point mostly relies on tourism related activities and is home to the Cape Town Stadium (formerly Green Point Stadium) that was purpose built for the World Cup (Smith 2017). In Green Point, tourism initiatives, including events, contribute considerably to local community development and impart benefits to the rest of South Africa (Saayman 2012). Despite the present-day picturesque image of Green Point, South Africa has a colonial history steeped in political and social tension (Coombes 2003).

Past research argues the importance of image in attracting mega events (Allmers and Maennig 2009; Jago et al. 2010; Florek and Insch 2011; Butler and Aicher 2015; Muller 2015a). For instance, Jago et al. (2010) identify that hosting a mega event relies greatly on public perception of the local image, and a poor image poses a great challenge and threat to the effectiveness of an event. In 1964, both FIFA and the IOC excluded South Africa from partaking and sharing in the experience of mega events due to the political apartheid era (van der Merwe 2007). Apartheid/Apartness in South Africa was institutionalised in 1948. This period of time was characterised by enforced social segregation between racial and ethnic groups (South Africa History 2017). This period saw the marginalisation and exclusion of people based on their look, way of life, heritage and socio-economic standing (Leach 1986). However, by 1990, this structure of imposed discrimination and social separation was overthrown, and in 1991, South Africa was readmitted to the IOC and was able to participate in the 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games (Ibrahim 1991). This made way for the release of Nelson

Rolihlahla Mandela, South Africa's anti-apartheid revolutionary who in 1994 became the first democratically elected President in the post-apartheid era (Byrnes 2013).

The nation was able to bid for and host the 1995 Rugby World Cup, which was considered influential in encouraging the process of mutual engagement and bringing together the diverse social groups in South Africa (Nauright 2004). In addition, the important event of Nelson Mandela re-entering the free world and the country's first democratic elections, helped to begin the process of changing perceptions about the South African way of life (Cornelissen 2008). Nelson Mandela is well regarded for his role in freeing South Africa from racial division and after apartheid he used this influence to urge for equality and social togetherness (Beresford 2013). The end of the apartheid era presented positive social change that influenced community reimagining and integration of the varied ethnic groups across the nation (Cornelissen 2010). The local way of life began to transform and this had a noticeable effect on the general sense of community and Ubuntu in South Africa (Cornelissen *ibid*).

4.2. South Africa's Aspiration for Mega Events

Post the apartheid era, South Africa began to see change in perceptions from both the international community and locally, and those changes appeared to influence South Africa's potential to attract and host mega events such as the 1995 Rugby World (Conway-Smith 2014). In his presidential inauguration speech, Nelson Mandela stated, "never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another" (Nelson Mandela cited in an online Huffington Post article by Warren 2015). Through the years, Nelson Mandela remained an iconic political figure renowned for his long and revolutionary stance against apartheid. He was also the first black president of South Africa and throughout his presidency he continued to reinforce the sentiment of togetherness. He emphasised his belief that mega sporting events have the capacity to effect social change (Doug 2000).

The speech Nelson Mandela gave at the Inaugural Ceremony for the Laureus Lifetime Achievement Award in 2000 has been widely applauded for its influence in advancing

the idea that sporting events have the capacity to bring about social togetherness and mutual engagement (Bolling 2017). Nelson Mandela said, *“Sport has the power to change the world. It has the power to inspire, it has the power to unite people in a way that little else does. It speaks to youth in a language they understand. Sport can create hope, where once there was only despair. It is more powerful than governments in breaking down racial barriers. It laughs in the face of all types of discrimination”* (cited in an online article by Doug 2000). The many speeches of Nelson Mandela were observed to encourage South Africa’s pursuit of mega events of the sporting nature; he saw mega events as a means to help realise social reconciliation and mutual engagement (Das 2013; Peacock 2013). During his retirement, Nelson Mandela continued to lobby for mega events and for South Africa to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup. He hoped that securing the 2010 FIFA World Cup would help to herald 10 years of democracy and to further the agenda of social togetherness (Ndlovu 2010).

The succeeding president, Thabo Mbeki also urged the nation to embrace Ubuntu values (sense of communal solidarity) as part of the National Reconstruction and Development policy, which was part of the national truth and reconciliation goals (Gibson 2005; Muxe Nkondo 2007). As a result, this affirmed the significance of Ubuntu to community formation in South Africa. To this day, the opportunity to host the 1995 Rugby World Cup remains significant to the nation’s development. It marked the beginning of social togetherness across the ethnically and socially divided communities of South Africa, and this was partly achieved through hosting a mega event that encouraged engagement and a sense of community (Price and Dayan 2009). According to Mitchell (2015), the 1995 Rugby World Cup played a significant role in joining together a divided nation. In an online news article, Mitchell (ibid) states, *“rugby, once a white man’s game became the unifier of a once broken, but now proud nation; and it was the 1995 Rugby World Cup that helped pave the way for Nelson Mandela to bring together the Rainbow Nation.”* However, Nel (2015) feels that the opportunity to foster a lasting sense of togetherness was wasted. Nel (ibid) observes that the feelings of togetherness brought about by the 1995 Rugby World Cup were short-lived.

Nevertheless, a National Development Plan was put in place as a continuation of the

National Reconstruction and Development policy. One of the pillars to be achieved by 2030 recommends active pursuit of social unity and equality amongst the socially divided people of South Africa (Alexander 2017). This decree, alongside Nelson Mandela's petitions for mega events, and the social togetherness outcomes of the 1995 Rugby World Cup, ensued in the embodiment of various slogans for the 2010 FIFA World Cup campaign. The National Tourism Ministry took on the slogans 'South Africa; It is Possible,' and the 'Ke Nako! Campaign,' a Sotho saying that means 'It Is Time;' aimed to help celebrate and acknowledge the African people's idea of kinship (Cornelissen and Maennig 2010). Other campaigns used the saying 'Simunye,' which is the Zulu word for 'we are one.' Another popular mantra was 'Rainbow Nation,' which remains a widely used term to capture the multicultural characteristic and diversity of the South African people (Kellerman 2014). Use of this mantra was also aimed to help foster a sense of community and oneness (Kellerman *ibid*). The Chief Organiser of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, Danny Jordaan was quoted stating, *"just 20 years ago we were a society entrenched on a racial basis by law, black and white could never sit together in stadiums...They were told over many years, you are inferior, you cannot do these things because of our history"* (cited in Smith 2010). This speech gives insight into the significance of hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the expectations of togetherness and kinship, which are central to the African culture and way of life. The 2010 FIFA World Cup offered the country a chance to achieve a sense of community which could help to overcome the social problems associated with the country's apartheid past (Cornelissen 2007; Kaplanidou 2012; Molloy and Chetty 2015). Therefore, the opportunity to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup presented a means for South Africa to once again, attempt to foster social togetherness.

4.3. South Africa's Strive for Image Restoration

Despite South Africa's emergence onto the international scene, the country only emerged from the apartheid era in 1994; therefore social problems associated with segregation remain (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2011; Maharaj 2015; Butler and Aicher 2015). For instance, in Green Point and the neighbouring community of Athlone, issues of

social division continued between the white Africans, black and coloured Africans (Shreffler 2010). Coloured is the term used for mixed race people in Southern Africa. Coloured people are often considered a mix of African, European, East Asian and or South Indian (Kolade 2016). Notwithstanding South Africa's persistent quest to develop, the on-going issue of social division allowed for poverty, social and racial prejudice, and the encroachment of xenophobia (Nhlabathi 2012). Post the apartheid era, South Africa became home to many African nationals that had naturalised and made South Africa home and this influenced hostility and prejudiced attacks commonly termed xenophobic attacks (Tati 2008). The incidents of harassment, dislodgment of people and violent attacks were broadly reported in the media increasing concern for the outcome of the event (Kelly 2010). As a result, the approaching 2010 FIFA World Cup was expected to change the hostile environment and encourage social unity (Pillay and Bass 2008; Attwood 2010; Bob and Potgieter 2013).

Owing to the social problems, South Africa was adamant in its desire to create a positive image in the international community (Gibson 2010). The 2010 FIFA World Cup was expected not only to shed light on the local way of life, but to also clarify the way of life on the continent of Africa (Bond 2010; Alm 2012). Nonetheless, some critics appeared determined to bring negative attention to social affairs in South Africa. For instance, South Africa's state of readiness was constantly questioned and doubts were cast over the nation's capacity to host a mega event of this magnitude (Austin 2009). There was far-reaching uncertainty concerning the first mega event of this nature to be hosted in a developing nation. Knott (2010) highlighted that many doubted South Africa's capacity to stage a distinctive cultural experience that could attract mass popular appeal, international significance and a worthy outcome comparable to past mega events. The international media also gave the impression that Africa was not well appointed to host the FIFA World Cup. There was general anxiety about the social division in South Africa and concerns over safety and security (Swart and Bob 2010).

In an online news article, Gibson (2010) cites some of the unpleasant headlines: *"visiting fans would be taking their lives into their hands... FIFA would be forced to*

turn to a plan B...warned of a 'machete race war' on the streets of South Africa." Further to the media concerns, Ngonyama (2010) found that social advocates, labour establishments and Non-Governmental Organisations shared similar feelings of suspicion. Nevertheless, for a long time, the African way of life has been associated with a social reputation of poverty. The African continent has long since been associated with a misleading image of a backward continent (Sahn and Stifel 2000). Prior to the 2010 FIFA World Cup, South Africa was also troubled by the image of the apartheid era (Biney 2013). Overall, the general perceptions previously held about African host communities such as Green Point were largely undesirable and had influenced a negative perception that informed misconceptions about the local way of life and cultural practices (Tukamushaba et al. 2016).

In the year that South Africa was banned from the IOC and FIFA, Tokyo hosted the 1964 Olympics. The occasion was largely viewed as a turning point for both Japan and mega events in general (Abel 2012). Not only was the 1964 Olympics the first mega event of its nature hosted in Asia, the event helped to change Tokyo's image from war-torn to a peaceful people (Martin 2013). The event was viewed as a means to achieve social progression after the destruction caused by the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the grief Japan had brought about across Asia during the Second World War (Odoven 2013). Tokyo had been determined to change the wartime perceptions and to realise one of the Olympic objectives, to bring people together in a peaceful celebration (Spaaij and Burleson 2016). Therefore, the 1964 Olympics were viewed as a vehicle to help change people's thoughts about Japan, and to regain entry to the international stage. The people of Tokyo were observed to celebrate harmoniously cultivating group pride (Droubie 2008). In addition, Aizawa et al. (2018) conducted a study that found how the Tokyo 1964 Olympics helped to encourage sport participation at the time and affected a long-term legacy of sport involvement amongst that population that can still be observed in their elder years. Although this is an older example for exploring the benefits of mega events, the event appeared to realise unity and a sense of community in spite of times past. Therefore, it remains a good example from which to draw lessons.

Similar to the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, the 2020 Tokyo Olympics is intending to bring about a turning point in the hosting of mega events. The government is hoping to stage a technological, sustainable event that not only adds value to the event, but also ensures the host community is happy with the experience and benefits (Harada 2017; Wallin 2018); although, at present, many of the expectations linked to the Tokyo 2020 Olympics appear to be associated to the anticipation of economic benefit (e.g. Osada et al. 2016; Sullivan and Leeds 2016) the expectation of social benefits is perceptible. For example, Girginov et al. (2015) conducted a study that looks at Tokyo's intentions to use the 2020 Olympics to draw attention to the growing local Higher Education services. Through the anticipated growth of Olympic research strategies at university level, the host community hopes to enrich the skills of local researchers, *"integrating teaching with research and wider community engagement to multiply the positive effects for students, staff and institutions"* Girginov et al. (2015, p. 6). This suggests development of people's lives through education on a personal and national level. Nevertheless, Suzuki et al. (2016) conducted a study that reported on the displacement of vulnerable community members, making known that event preparation had influenced discomfort and unhappiness amongst those affected by the negative experiences. Simultaneously, Kassens-Noor and Fukushima (2016) and Jensen (2016) found that the 2020 Olympic organisers and the government want to help advance social transformation and environmental awareness through use of environmentally friendly technology. Their study suggests that the outcomes are expected to enhance the event and to modernise the lifestyle of the locals.

In a similar example to South Africa, prior to Australia hosting the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games, Squires (2000) noted that the international community had mixed views about the Aborigines. The image of the Aborigines was incorrectly associated with primitive behaviour (Squires *ibid*). However, hosting the Sydney 2000 Olympics helped to change perceptions about the Aboriginal way of life, bringing people together and revealing the rich culture of a harmonious and diverse people (Gilbert 2014). Therefore, the prospect of hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup presented South Africa with similar expectations. South Africa remained resolute and hoped that hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup would unite people and change perceptions about the local way of life (Kersting 2007). For this reason, the 2010 FIFA World Cup

became labelled as ‘Africa’s Time’, ‘Africa’s moment’, and ‘Africa’s turn’ (Lebese 2014).

The 2006 World Cup hosted by Germany helped to bring about social benefits across the various host communities. For example, in the host community of Munich, Ohmann et al. (2008) found that the community members largely viewed the urban regeneration as a positive experience. In addition, those community members felt they experienced a strong sense of community and togetherness between the multicultural people that reside in Munich. The country embraced the slogans ‘You are Germany’/‘Du bist Deutschland,’ and a strong sense of national identity and unity was observed between the people (Kersting 2007). Germany effectively used the 2006 FIFA World Cup to change perceptions from one associated with social injustices from the World War II and Berlin Wall eras (Carroll 2012). In the context of a developing nation, China used the 2008 Beijing Olympics to help change the negative perceptions associated with the Cultural Revolution. The Communist leader Mao Zedong had used the Cultural Revolution to purposefully detach the country from the international community (Xu 2006). China also used slogans such as ‘One World’ and ‘One Dream’ to demonstrate the desire to redeem itself internationally and to foster unity amongst the socially divided locals (Xing and Chalip 2009).

According to Rocha et al. (2017), how the host community is perceived has the ability to influence the outcome of the mega event. Rendering to this understanding, Pike (2002) and Fredline (2005), opine that a connection exists between image and a country’s ability to attract development. For instance, the effects of the world war and the Berlin Wall continued to affect Germany for many years as the history of the country appeared to influence the way people perceived the German society (Carroll 2012). One of the goals behind Germany hosting the 2006 FIFA World Cup was to assist national reimagining and bring people together following the German Reunification in 1990 that was attached to the fall of the Berlin Wall (Anholt et al. 2008; Dowse 2011). In another example, England has always been regarded as an advanced, cosmopolitan and powerful country and this image was, in part, useful in securing the London 2012 Olympics (Anholt and Roper 2011). Nevertheless, despite

redevelopment efforts, dilapidation seemed to endure in some communities such as East London (Oakley 2013). To that end, England pursued the 2012 Olympics to help re-establish the image of the host community - East London, and to encourage a sense of community through sport engagement (Shipway 2007; Griffiths and Armour 2013). The examples show how those two mega events were intended to be of social benefit to the host community, demonstrating how mega events can help the development of society.

Prior to the 2010 FIFA World Cup, South Africa anticipated experiencing many positive social benefits, amongst them, the opportunity for people to come together in celebration and to experience a sense of Ubuntu (Swart and Bob 2010; Bob and Potgieter 2013). The expectations were strengthened by initiatives such as the Football for Hope programme envisioned by FIFA, promising a social legacy through the development of academies where people could come together because of the event (Hall 2012; Swart and Bob 2012). Ngonyama cites a speech by former president Kgalema Motlanthe which identifies the aims of hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup: *“We are confident that working together, we will host the best FIFA World Cup ever. As a nation, let us welcome the world to our country, demonstrating the friendly hospitality for which we are well known...the South African government has instituted a well-coordinated campaign aimed at rallying public support for the World Cup”* (former president Motlanthe cited in Ngonyama 2010, p. 168). This speech identifies that the 2010 FIFA World Cup was an opportunity for people to come together and rebuild the nation, display the local culture, gain international recognition and achieve social reconciliation.

In another speech, former president Motlanthe disclosed several legacy points the 2010 FIFA World Cup was hoping to realise across the various host communities. Amongst the legacy points were, *“peace and nation building; football support and development...culture and heritage”* (former President Motlanthe cited in Nkemngu 2012, p. 2). Within Green Point, the City of Cape Town (CoCT) was responsible for organising the event alongside FIFA. Through the Director of Operations, it was made known that amongst other aspirations, hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Green

Point was intended to help bring together the multicultural people and to celebrate the diversity found in the culture of the community (Allen 2013). In an interview during the World Cup, former president Zuma said, *“I think the tournament is going extremely well and we are very happy...you just have to see the reaction of the people...”* (Former president Zuma cited by Fédération Internationale de Football Association [FIFA] 2010). Therefore, this suggests that, on both a national and local level, the event was expected to bring about a sense of celebration, togetherness and participation in sporting activities.

4.4. Hosting the World Cup in Green Point

The above section establishes how important it was for South Africa to host a mega event that would bring development to society and encourage the diverse local people to come together in celebration. Although the national government was ultimately responsible for the choice of venues and identifying the location of the host communities, FIFA officials had a role in directing the decisions (Swart and Bob 2004). Figure 3 illustrates the location of the communities that eventually hosted the event, including the community of Green Point located in Cape Town.

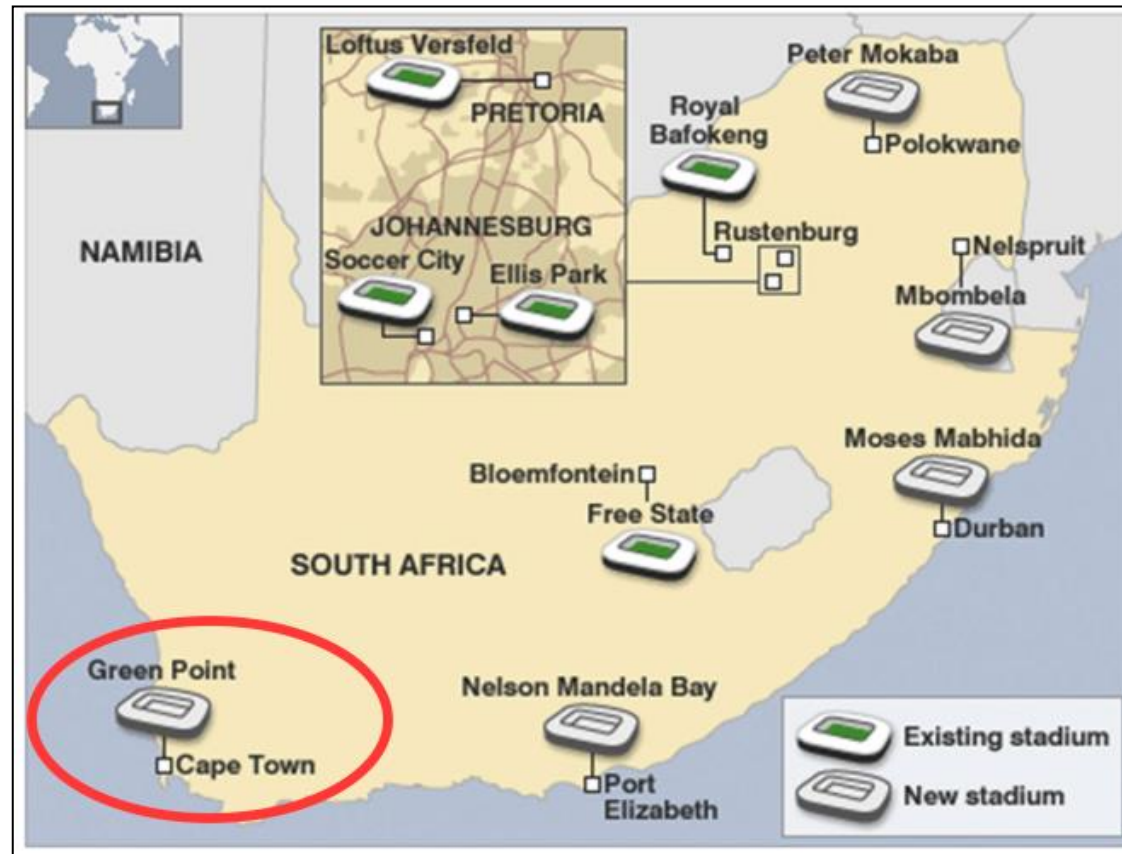


Figure 3 South African Stadiums for the 2010 FIFA World Cup

Source: Austin (2009)

Leading up to the event, there was considerable debate over which community would host the World Cup in the city of Cape Town. The mayor at the time, Helen Zille, lobbied for additional use of pre-existing infrastructure in the neighbouring community of Newlands, which is known for hosting sporting events such as rugby (Alegi 2008). The Provincial Government of the Western Cape and the City of Cape Town, who were the local organisers, also put forward the neighbouring community of Athlone (van der Merwe 2007). At the time of inspection, FIFA officials approved pre-existing infrastructure at the Newlands Rugby Stadium and it was considered that some of the matches would be hosted in neighbouring Athlone (Swart and Bob 2012). However, in a turn of events after the bid process, plans to host some of the matches in Athlone were changed and Green Point became the single host (Cornelissen and Maennig 2010; Molloy and Chetty 2015). According to Murray (2007) and Johnson (2016), the change in decision to host the event in Green Point was influenced by FIFA. Nevertheless, expectations remained that the event would produce social benefits such as social togetherness and a celebration of the diversity found within Green Point (Molefe 2014).

4.5. Summary

This chapter discusses the case example of South Africa, examining the history and current state of affairs to see the significance and worth of hosting mega events in the community of Green Point, Cape Town. This chapter provides background to the context of Green Point, hosts of the second match of the opening day, quarter and semi-final soccer games of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The chapter discusses the relevance of the apartheid era to South Africa's pursuit of mega events, making known why the experience of social togetherness in a multicultural society was of significance. In addition, this enlightens the research on the influence of culture (Ubuntu) and its relevance to South African society.

Chapter 5. Methodology

5.1. Introduction

This study assumes the position that a community is made up of a collection of people that live in the same location and share some mutual qualities, experiences and relational bonds. The people's sense of togetherness and belonging to a social group is vital for building community relations (Christenson 1984; McMillan and Chavis 1986; Bradshaw 2008; Huggins and Thompson 2015). Looking at community experiences gives insight into the respondents' thoughts and feelings, to see whether the shared experience of mega events can bring people together to form a community. This awareness contributes to the community's outlook on mega events and the impact on community support. Therefore, insight into community attitudes is crucial to fostering support for future mega events. This chapter provides a methodical account of the approaches used to examine the individual experiences of community members of Green Point, to see how these have shaped their view of mega events. The epistemological and ontological positions inform the choice of suitable methodology that this research uses to explore and interpret the community's experiences. An understanding of the epistemology and ontology not only adds rigour, but also helps this study establish a set of belief systems (Crotty 1998; Lincoln et al. 2011; Jackson 2013). The chapter begins by examining the chosen philosophical position and research approaches employed in this study. This is followed by describing the methods adopted and a critical discussion about ethics and the limitations of this study. Overall, the methodology in this study serves as an assessment tool to ensure the processes employed reflect trustworthiness, credibility and authenticity (Kallet 2004; Jones et al. 2012).

The explanatory principles found in the guiding theories (Gemeinschaft, Communitas and CoP) influence the choice of explorative methods followed. The theory guides how this research organises and makes sense of the data collected, guiding the process of identifying differences, similarities, and limitations in the theoretical assumptions made. These components are crucial for generating new knowledge and contributing to the academic understanding of community experiences, community formation and

community support. This study also follows the interpretivist approach, a method of inquiry that is interested in the manner to which people narrate, interpret and make sense of lived experiences in their social world (Kim 2016). Tonnies' ([1887] 1957) *Gemeinschaft* theory contributes the idea of causality/connectedness that is reliant on the feeling of an implicit understanding between humans (*verständnis*). Whilst, Weber ([1921] 1976) and Platt (1985) offer the interpretivist approach, a methodological framework that helps to achieve understanding of social reality (*verstehen*), assisting the researcher to explore people's realities and experiences. Although, Tonnies' ([1887] 1957) understanding of community mostly guides this study's ideas on community formation, the interpretivist approach helps this study to explore community stories to see the social behavior of people coming together over a shared experience. This is crucial to establish the significance of community formation to see how those experiences have affected community support for mega events.

5.1.1. Research Approach

Research paradigms consist of philosophical assumptions; they are the basic set of beliefs that consist of an ontological and epistemological stance (Creswell 2007; Silverman 2011). The ontology focuses on the nature of reality, which in this study assumes a relativist stance that questions the different way of thinking of the world and emphasises the varied interpretations of the world (Brulde 2005; Willig 2008). The epistemology is concerned with the nature of knowledge, the manner to which people understand the surrounding world (Chen et al. 2011). The relativist epistemological view in this study is subjective and holds the position that 'unadulterated experiences' do not exist, rather experience is diverse in its nature. Adopting this worldview as a set of beliefs compels this research to focus on narrative interpretation of social experiences as the starting point for developing knowledge about community support. Adopting this set of beliefs as the philosophical assumptions also informs this study's research design and shapes the methodological approach. In addition, it influences the manner of inquiry to explore and interpret community experiences to see how community support might be fostered for future mega events.

5.1.2. Interpretivism

The interpretivist approach helps this study to explore the respondents' experiences of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Interpretivism emerged as a response to positivism in an attempt to achieve understanding of social reality (verstehen) in contrast to the action of explaining physical phenomenon (erklaren) (Weber [1921] 1976; Platt 1985; Schwandt 2003). The philosophy of interpretivism looks for culturally derived interpretations of the social life world (e.g. Ubuntu values within the African society), and suggests people form personal views through social interactions with others in the surrounding world (Prasad 2005). The adoption of an interpretivist position also helped to highlight the narrative inquiry approach as a method to collect data in this study. According to Kim (2016, p. 11), "*the narrative approach uses stories to understand the meaning of human action and experiences through interpretation.*" Not only is the approach known to be flexible, but also, narrative inquiry is also open to the idea of multiple interpretations of human experiences (Padgett 2016). Owing to this understanding, the interpretivist approach is most applicable to this research because of the emphasis placed on exploring the respondents' experiences. The approach enables this research to look at the community's thoughts and attitudes related to coming together over the shared experience of the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Green Point.

Interpretivism is associated with inductive research (Mertens 2014) and assists this study to contribute a timeline towards enabling community support for future mega events. The inductive process places importance on gleaning insight from the data, to see the respondents' views on their particular experiences to help the generation of new knowledge (Mayoux 2001). Many other academics have in the past adopted the qualitative approach. For instance, Ohmann et al.'s (2008) study of the 2006 FIFA World Cup; Lamberti et al.'s (2011) study of the Shanghai World Expo; Sadd's (2012) study of the London 2012 Olympics; Hughes' (2013) study of the London 2012 Olympics and Paralympics. These studies interpret the experiences that shaped those community members' views of mega events. As a result, qualitative methods are also useful in this study, helping to show the individual experiences of community members of Green Point, to see how these have shaped their view of mega events, to see the influence on community support.

Although a relativist ontological position is established in this research, the researcher acknowledges slight tendencies of deductive reasoning. While qualitative research usually assumes an inductive approach, *“fieldwork methods are sometimes thought to be radically inductive...it is true that specific categories for observation are not determined in advance of entering the field...it is also true that the researcher always identifies conceptual issues of research interest before entering the field setting. In fieldwork, induction and deduction are in constant dialogue”* (Erickson 1986, p. 121). Meanwhile, Hanson et al. (2011) establish, “deductive reasoning also has a place in qualitative research; what is discovered may be verified or countered by going back to the data.” In addition, Holloway and Brown (2012, p. 18) identify, *“qualitative research is in its initial stages at least inductive...of course researchers have their own particular knowledge bases and cannot simply set them aside...sometimes researchers use deduction when theoretical ideas are developed.”* It is important to appreciate as shown above; this research was not informed by a hypothesised position. However, the researcher began the research process by conducting a literature review to become familiar with related literature in the field. This gave the researcher insight into what is known about community support for mega events, to see what is not known. Under those circumstances, the literature review helped to prepare the research’s conceptual and theoretical underpinning, for the purpose of preparing the narrative inquiry process to collect the respondents’ stories. Therefore, all things considered, the researcher at times engaged deductive reasoning.

5.2. Qualitative Approach

Qualitative methods permit research to explore and interpret the respondents’ experiences, which other research methods struggle to capture (Pettus 2001). Qualitative methods are not statistically presented and do not prioritise quantities (Diefenbach 2009). According to Corbin and Strauss (2008), qualitative methods have been criticised for being vague and difficult to present. Nevertheless, there are problems that quantitative methods cannot fulfil (Riessman 2008). Qualitative methods are appropriate for research that explores people’s experiences, which enables the researcher to look at complex social behaviour in detail (Kim 2016). This helps the

researcher to gain access to the nuances found in people's experiences. Social impacts as they exist in the wider literature of mega events have been discussed in chapter 2.

Over the years, other mega event studies have employed the qualitative approach, finding it useful in interpreting experiences of mega events (e.g. Lenskyj 1992 and 1994; Waitt 2003; Ohmann et al. 2008; Karadakis and Kaplanidou 2010; Sadd 2012; Hughes 2013; Giulianotti et al. 2015). Lenskyj's (1992; 1994)'s respective reviews of the Toronto bid for the 1996 Olympics and Sydney's bid for 2000 Olympics, reveal the effectiveness of qualitative approaches in uncovering diverse views regarding community feelings toward mega event impacts. Similarly, Waitt (2003) used qualitative interviews to inspect community feelings and attitudes about their experiences of social impacts from the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games. In the same manner, Ohmann et al. (2008) employed face-to-face interviews to gather community perceptions and attitudes toward the 2006 FIFA World Cup. For a similar purpose, Karadakis and Kaplanidou (2010) used the qualitative approach to see individual views attached to the experience of social interactions during the 2004 Athens Olympics. In addition, Sadd (2012), Hughes (2013) and Giulianotti et al. (2015) in their respective studies of the London 2012 Olympics, look at community attitudes, feelings and perceptions related to the experience of the event. To that end, this study similarly employs the qualitative approach. A qualitative approach remains most suitable to this study, helping to reveal the community of Green Point's wide-ranging attitudes toward their experience of the 2010 FIFA World Cup.

5.2.1. Narrative Inquiry

Narrative inquiry is a qualitative research approach that enables the researcher to investigate the stories people recount (Creswell 2007). The approach helps bring understanding to how people represent their experiences (Riessman 2008). Other methods of qualitative research such as structured and semi structured interviews come in the form of question and answer formats, where the researcher controls the direction of the conversation (Connelly and Clandinin 2000; Holloway and Jefferson 2008). Unlike qualitative interviews, narrative inquiry is approached as an open-ended conversation. Using narrative inquiry enables the researcher to simply pose a question

related to the central topic under investigation, and this prompts the respondent to tell their story. To that end, the responsibility of defining the course of the story told is essentially left to the respondent (Tamboukou 2008). As a result, the researcher does not impose themselves onto the process, with the exception of follow up questions to encourage further conversation. Prior to gaining relevance in social research, narrative inquiry established its origins in other disciplines such as education, health and the humanities. The method was typically used as a means to study people's stories and the way their experiences affect their perceptions of a particular event (Connelly and Clandinin 1990). Narratives can shape and increase mindfulness, and also effect people's knowledge and understanding of a specific social experience (Jovchelovitch and Bauer 2000; Clandinin 2006; Andrews et al. 2008). As a result, use of narratives appears to have regained impetus in recent times. In addition to narrative inquiry growing in esteem as a data collection method, it has more specifically been used in social research. However, most of the research appears to be from the developed nation context (see Mishler 1995; Connelly and Clandinin 2000; Clandinin 2006; Riessman 2008; Andrews et al. 2013; Kim 2016). As a consequence, revealing an opportunity for this study to adopt the approach to make a methodological contribution that offers different insight into social reality, one fixed in the context of a mega event experience that took place in a developing nation.

In this study, narrative inquiry helps the exploration of community stories to recapitulate the various perspectives found in the community's lived experiences of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. This study interprets the individual experiences of community members of Green Point, revealing their feelings to see how these have shaped their view of mega events. The approach recognises that people are naturally storytellers and have a longing to communicate their experiences (Leavy 2009; Andrews et al. 2008; Andrews et al. 2013). Storytelling in this study not only helps the researcher to access the respondents' thoughts, but also provides a means for members of the community to bring order to their recollections and narrate their views on their experiences. The use of narratives in this study allows the researcher to search the value of the recollection to the respondent. In addition, the researcher is able to give priority to the exploration of the layers found in the individual stories, their structure and content. As a result, creating an opportunity for the researcher to make a connection between the

respondents' message and sense in the spoken words through data analysis and interpretation (Riessman 1993, 2002, 2008). To that end, establishing narrative as an epistemic view that facilitates access to understand the latent content of peoples lived experiences (Connelly and Clandinin 2000).

To appreciate people's told experiences, this study follows Dewey's (1938) view of experience. According to Horh (2013, p. 25) The Deweyan view "*is based on the interaction between the human being and the world. It takes all sides of human existence, it's being in the world, as the methodological point of departure.*" In relation to that position, Clandinin (2006, p. 44) opines, "*A Deweyan view of experience is central to narrative inquiry methodology.*" Both positions help this study to establish a connection between the idea of experience and narrative inquiry as a research method that is primarily concerned with exploring and interpreting people's feelings, perceptions and their sense of social behaviour, human action and the meanings they assign to life events. Drawing understanding from Dewey (1938) helps this study increase clarity of thought about narrative inquiry, facilitating access to a unique appreciation of the different, yet detailed perspectives the respondents held as influenced by their individual experiences during the World Cup. Narratives are present in the day-to-day life, humans engage in narratives to represent, describe and give personal accounts of their experiences (Connelly and Clandinin 2000; Abbott 2002). Narratives also play a part in shaping the way people see, question and understand their social world (Bauer 1996). Humans have the ability to not only see their social world in the present time, but also the capacity to appreciate the sense of what happened before and how those experiences could influence the future. According to Abbott (2002), this is the human ability of looking for the story in the experience, and considering the preceding events that shaped or influenced that occurrence.

Narrative storytelling is diverse in nature, it has been associated with the idea of recounting an experience that can either be historical or folkloric in nature; storytelling that is cinematic, has an element of drama or an adventure that is factual. Although ranging in form, storytelling has the capacity to awaken memory, evoke emotion and draw attention to a person's expressive recollection of something no longer in the

present (Mishler 1995). Narrative inquiry helps research to seize the temporal aspects of experiences, taking into consideration how these can change over time (Clandinin and Connelly 2000); thus enlightening research of the nuances found in how people can change outlooks over time. Therefore, putting to the forefront a key component of narratives, which is the idea of time. “*Narrative is the principle way in which our species organises its understanding of time... allowing events themselves to create the order of time*” (Abbott 2002, p. 3-4). The narrative approach skillfully highlights the respondents’ ability to go back and forth between multitudes of different experiences, entrenched in different times. As a result, creating an opportunity to enlighten the meaningful extent of a particular experience according to the sequential presentation of events, and the corresponding priority assigned by the narrator. Narrations offer detail that is profound and reflective, they bring up individual experiences with emphasis on the sequence of events and actions (Jovchelovitch and Bauer 2000).

In addition to the temporal effect, the location of the experience is of value. Clandinin and Connelly (2000) opine that narrative inquiry can help researchers to capture and appreciate the relevance found between the cultural context and people’s experiences. In this study, this insight is of particular significance considering how the Ubuntu belief system is rooted in Green Point, which is the social world of the respondents. This research also seeks to discover whether the shared experience of a mega event can bring people together to form a community. According to Clandinin (2006), Narrative inquiry does not only enable people to organise their thoughts and to make sense of the meaning of their lived experiences, through storytelling their shared experiences, people are able to feel a sense of closeness, produced through narrating aspects of their shared communal life. As a result, underscoring the diverse nature of narrative storytelling, which has been associated with the idea of recounting an experience that can either be historical or folkloric in nature, storytelling that is cinematic and has an element of drama, or an adventure that is factual. Although ranging in form, storytelling has the capacity to awaken memory, evoke emotion and draw attention to a particular place and time, revealing a person’s expressive recollection of something no longer in the present (Mishler 1995). Therefore, adopting the narrative inquiry approach enables this research to shape the study in a way that sees and thinks about the social reality of the respondent. To that end, helping this research to reveal a variety of meanings attached

to particular occurrences, and facilitating understanding and enlightenment of that social behaviour and human action experienced.

Nevertheless, narrative inquiry is not without difficulty. The process of data collection and arranging separate meetings with the respondents can be viewed as cumbersome, however, narrative inquiry places value on the setting of the place where the story is retold (Jovchelovitch and Bauer 2000). The researcher is recommended to put thought into the choice of location where the researcher will meet with the respondents; this can help to awaken the respondent's memory of the time and place during the experience (Jovchelovitch and Bauer *ibid*). Due to the lengthily and in-depth nature of narratives, the researcher is often confronted by plenty of data and countless angles of which to tell the stories from. As a result, presenting the researcher with limitless choices on how to make meaningful sense of the respondents' stories (Connelly and Clandinin 2000; Reissman 2002). To that end, researchers are cautioned: the process of conducting narrative inquiry can be demanding and overwhelming. According to Andrews et al. (2008), the researcher is often faced with many decisions and questions concerning what to do with all the data collected, how to tell and capture the essence of the story. Mahoney (2007); Agee (2009); Mosselson (2010) and Kim (2016) and are of the view that the researcher has to constantly engage reflexivity to check their own position, ensuring their personal thoughts and views do not influence the data collection and do not affect and reflect in the subsequent interpretation of the stories.

Although it can be argued, the exact start or end to the story told can be difficult to define, and the absence of questions means the researcher cannot influence the data collected, themes or subject area under discussion (Andrews et al. 2008). Holloway and Jefferson (2008) are of the view that stories have a sequential plot with a beginning, middle and end, which helps to clarify the account in a way that it becomes more understandable. This gives way to collecting and representing data that is a more authentic interpretation of the respondents' views and first-hand lived experience. This can be of benefit of the researcher who is seeking to gain rich, in-depth data. The respondents are in a position to volunteer insight into experiences that were not previously known, helping the researcher to see close detail and make sense of

something new. This can be helpful to this study, influencing data collection that is diverse in nature. While the length of the stories can vary and the degree to which the respondents articulate their experiences differs, the differences in each story carry rich insight into what happened before, during and after the occurrence of phenomena (Polkinghorne 1988; Jovchelovitch and Bauer 2000; Reissman 2002; Squire 2005). In this instance, it is the experience of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Each story narrated will have a different plot structure, timeline, sequence of actions, exactitude of the 'what, where, when and how,' tension and turning point. Their separate accounts will disclose the time, place, action and motivation behind the action. To that end, the richness of each story is found in the meaning the individual respondent attaches to the social interactions and human behaviour encountered during the event.

The place and role of theory in narrative inquiry continues to attract debate (Josselson Lieblich 2003; Hollingsworth and Dybdahl 2007). Connelly and Clandinin (2000) and Kim (2008; 2016) maintain that the use of narrative research that is not underpinned by theory is somewhat insufficient and lacks a sense of authority. Therefore, suggesting that the absence of theory in narrative research is comparable to paucity in thoroughness of academic rigour. It is important to restate that the guiding theories (Gemeinschaft, Communitas and the CoP Concept) helped to direct this study on what is known and not known, what is seen, and how it is seen in relation to the community's experiences of social togetherness. The conceptual ideas on community formation helped guide this study's primary data collection. The theory assisted this study with the process of reasoning, helping the researcher to inspect the data for patterns, thus edifying the data presentation and evaluation of the findings (Bal 1997). As a result, theory in this research assisted in shaping the researcher's ontology to see social reality and the different ways that people perceive and experience life. Examining the community's experiences helped to provide insight to see how community support might be fostered for future mega events. Chapter 2 discusses some recent referendums against mega events, which indicate a reduced sense of community support. Therefore, revealing the need for different approaches such as narrative inquiry to look at the problem of community support. Narrative studies are shaped by the interpretive paradigm that seeks to interpret the lived experiences of individuals towards a better understanding of the social world (Denzin and Lincoln 1994; Denzin and Lincoln 2011). The in-depth

exploratory nature of the narrative inquiry approach is most useful in unpicking the respondents' experiences (Riessman 2008). Storytelling helps this study to develop sensitivity toward capturing the full depiction of the respondents' implicit and explicit views of their experiences.

5.3. Steps to Collecting Narrative Stories

The unstructured approach to narrative inquiry encourages the respondent to narrate stories concerning their experience from their perspective. According to Kim (2016, p. 170), *"more useful questions are the open-ended, descriptive, structural, and contrast questions with which you can get to the interviewee's emotional level because they encourage more thoughtful and personally meaningful answers."* Following the unstructured nature of narrative stories enabled the researcher to ask a single open-ended question. The researcher did not interrupt the storytelling because the goal was to listen to the story, with the exception of probing questions to encourage further storytelling (see appendix 6). A strength of using the narrative approach lies in the researcher's ability to encourage respondents to share their stories to reveal their perspective of the experience to see the significance of those particular experiences (Sparkes and Smith 2014). The respondents had significant control over the storytelling, which helped the storytelling to remain natural. This was to the benefit of the researcher who was able to gather unsolicited information that would have otherwise difficult to access.

Pilot studies serve to project and improve upon the data collection design; however, the process of collecting stories does not require predetermined ideas and no two narrative stories can be duplicated (Gill et al. 2008). This research did not carry out a pilot study; a pilot study would have frustrated the nature of narrative stories that leave the dynamics in the hands of the respondent. Kim (2016, p. 161) asserts, *"we reach a point of saturation when new interview data does not yield any new knowledge but merely confirm with what has been found in existing data."* Yet O'Reilly and Parker (2012) argue that at any time there can be new insights disclosed by respondents. Therefore,

suggesting that data saturation is not always realised. Nevertheless, the researcher acknowledges this observation. However, the researcher recognises that conducting a pilot in this study could have resulted in data saturation sufficient for an in-depth analysis at this preliminary stage. As a result, it was not necessary to carry out a pilot study.

5.4. Rigour in Approach

To attend to issues of academic rigour, coherence and trustworthiness; this research followed a set of rules. The rules helped with demonstrating trustworthiness, authenticity and credibility (Creswell 1998; Strauss and Corbin 2008). In addition, supported the accuracy and coherence in the interpretations presented, helping to uphold rigour of this narrative study (Holloway 1997; Holloway et al. 2010; Holloway and Brown 2012; Loh 2013). Various terminology have been suggested over the years, offering research using qualitative approaches a variety of means to help ensure rigour. For instance, Guba (1981), Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Guba and Lincoln (1989) put forward dependability, confirmability, credibility, and transferability as strategies for realising trustworthiness. Whilst Creswell proposed “*prolonged engagement, triangulation, peer review, negative case analysis, clarifying researcher bias, member checks, thick descriptions, and external audits*” (Creswell 1998, p. 201-203), Holloway and Brown also suggested “*reflexivity, contextualisation, prolonged engagement, thick descriptions, audit trails, member checks and triangulation*” (Holloway and Brown 2012, p. 99-100). Nevertheless, qualitative studies do not need to apply all the strategies (Creswell 1998). At a minimum, qualitative studies should employ at least two of any of the strategies to demonstrate use of some quality standard (Holloway and Brown 2012). Therefore, this study selected the following approaches to maintain rigour; credibility, reflexivity, clarification of researcher bias, audit trails, member checks, and transferability and thick descriptions.

This research provided in-depth and thorough descriptions of the steps and strategies employed to collect the data. This helped to strengthen credibility of the data collection process and guided the data analysis and interpretation (Shenton 2004). The researcher made certain that the respondents under consideration were given the chance to decline

participation in the study; this gave the respondents' assurance of the processes undertaken in the field. As a result, only reliable respondents agreed to participate. The researcher built rapport with the selected respondents through maintaining communication, nurturing the relationships and showing keen interest in what the respondents' would share. According to Poston-Anderson and Edwards (1993), it is important to nurture familiarity with the culture and customs of the respondents from early on. Fortunately, the researcher is from Southern Africa and has previously lived in South Africa. Therefore, the researcher has an inherent understanding of the culture and Ubuntu values, which helped to establish familiarity and ease the process of fostering relations.

According to Dervin (1993), it is the researcher's responsibility to reassure the respondents of their anonymity. To remove doubt, the respondents were emailed a copy of the participant information sheet (see appendix 5) that clearly stated that the respondents' anonymity would be upheld throughout. Upon meeting in person, the researcher provided a hardcopy of the participant information sheet, reminding the respondents and assuring their anonymity. Confirming anonymity put each respondent's mind at ease, helping him or her to feel secure and easing the process of storytelling without fear of being recognised. In addition, each respondent was reassured that there were no correct or incorrect responses; they were free to tell the story from their personal viewpoint. The respondents were also motivated to remain honest and frank in their responses, this helped to increase credibility of the stories. To assure the respondents and to increase their confidence in speaking, the researcher ensured that each respondent was aware of how interesting and fascinating their individual experience was. Upholding these various strategies helped this study to demonstrate a sincere representation and interpretation of the community's experiences of the 2010 FIFA World Cup.

Engaging reflexivity as an instrument to improve the representation of the study is an expected practice in qualitative research (Pillow 2003; Denzin and Lincoln 2011). Narrative researchers are continually encouraged to engage in the process of "*mirroring of the self*" (Foley 2002, p. 472). Reflexivity in this study required the researcher to constantly make sense of the events retold by the respondents; it was the researcher's responsibility to inspect every step or action at a deeper level. Researchers

are advised to make field notes and keep a fieldwork journal that captures the researcher's personal reflections, thoughts and ideas (Mahoney 2007). In this study, to demonstrate reflexivity, the researcher kept a field journal and project journal, recording field notes of the researcher's thoughts, comments, questions and any ideas on possible discoveries as they occurred (see appendices 1, 2 and 3). The field diary and project journal provided a record of the documented description of events as they occurred. The field diary and journal provided a way for the researcher to remain conscientious, making sure details were not forgotten and ensuring that the narrative inquiry procedures were upheld. In the data analysis stages of this study, the researcher used the field diary and project journal to gain perspective and increase clarity on the findings, thus strengthening the results of this study and assisting in upholding rigour in both the field and data analysis stages. Being in reflection gave the researcher the ability to think and question things (Finlay 2011). Engaging in reflexivity gave the researcher the opportunity to critically assess and evaluate their thought process. Keeping a journal helped to monitor and record the researcher's reflections and reflexive thoughts throughout the data analysis process.

The American Education Research Association ([AERA] 2009) ethics for humanities research caution that no researcher is void of bias, the possibility of a researcher's perspective influencing decisions made should be acknowledged. For this reason, implicit bias is acknowledged. The researcher had some knowledge of the social world having lived in South Africa a year prior to the 2010 FIFA World Cup. This could have unintentionally affected the way that the researcher looked at the respondents' experiences, affecting and the researcher's choices and actions in the field. Nevertheless, it remained important to avoid researcher bias, as this would affect the overall credibility of the data. To do so, the researcher undertook to clarify their own bias by ensuring that they did not prime the respondents through use of any indicative language that would unethically influence the information shared. The researcher made sure not to guide direction of the stories narrated. Instead, the researcher's role was to accurately listen to, and record the stories. The researcher also made notes and began the initial interpretations of those stories.

The researcher closely followed Creswell and Miller (2000) and Goodson and Gill's (2011) recommendations to carefully observe the narrative technique, asking one question at the beginning of the dialogue, and to only interrupt for the purpose of asking prompt questions to generate further data. As a result, the researcher was able to remain sensitive to truthfully listening to the storytelling, paying attention to the sequence and manner that the story was retold. As previously mentioned, the researcher recorded all the narratives and kept a journal and field notes that continually allowed the researcher to think in reflection about the experience. This helped the researcher to consider how her personal values and beliefs may have influenced the study, thus helping the researcher to identify ways to avoid bias. Closely following the prescribed research methods for qualitative explorations permits the researcher to engage in truthful interpretations (Hendry 2010). A coherent study that is rigorous in its approach, accurately upholds the multiple views narrated by the respondents, reliably upholding the multiple ways that the data can be read and interpreted in the most accurate way possible (Kim 2016).

The audit trail allows for reasoning and thoughts to be mapped out, determining whether the study's findings are trustworthy (Carcary 2009). An effective audit trail can at any moment demonstrate the raw data, data reduction procedures, data synthesis and reconstruction, methodological notes or memos and the researcher's reflexive thoughts (Lincoln and Guba 1985). The researcher kept an audit trail, documenting and chronicling the various processes undertaken in collecting and interpreting the narrative stories. This helped to further enhance trustworthiness in the processes engaged. As discussed before, the stories were recorded and the field diary (appendix 1) acted as an audit trail to trace and log the activities undertaken. During the data analysis, the software Nvivo was used, helping to manually organise and store the thematic analysis processes that were followed (see appendix 11 for examples of Nvivo extracts). Alongside this software, the project journal helped to authenticate strategies employed (appendix 12). The systematic approach of Nvivo enabled this researcher to clearly trace and record the steps undertaken to reach the final presentation of stories. Storing the project journal on Nvivo eased the researcher's ability to return to the notes and continually update the information. The software was a trustworthy method, which helped the study to uphold the merits of this research's interpretive inquiries. In the interest of providing a coherent line of inquiry, the study followed a thematic

framework analysis approach (Braun and Clarke 2006). This helped to present consistent and systematic patterns showing the classifications between experiences and attitudes. The approach was useful to this study because it assisted the interpretation of the stories in a meaningful manner.

Member checking is a process often employed in qualitative research to improve the accuracy and credibility of the closing interpretations (Guba and Lincoln 1989; Shenton 2004; Holloway and Brown 2012). After completing the data analysis process, the researcher used the member checking technique as criteria to check the quality of the interpretations. Some of the respondents were contacted again, they were asked to read over their transcripts and the interpretations to ensure that the final stories and conclusions were correct. The respondents' feedback helped to corroborate accuracy of the representations. An example is referred to in appendix 17. This step also helped to assure confirmability of the data. According to Miles and Huberman (1994) and Ellis (2007a), confirmability is a standard used by qualitative researchers to achieve trustworthiness of data; it also assists with reducing researcher bias. To this end, the researcher earlier acknowledges prior knowledge of the society under investigation, identifying the ways that she ensured her personal beliefs and views did not influenced the stories narrated. This study sought to gain assurance from the respondents to help establish that the respondents' stories were informed by and emerged from their own words. In so doing, the researcher was able to show that the final interpretations did materialise from the respondents' stories, and were not informed by the researcher's opinions. In addition, those respondents that read over and double-checked the data for accuracy, assisted in confirming the reliability of the data, which they felt was still recognisable and represented their experiences.

In qualitative research, the idea of transferability is concerned with the point to which the findings can be transferred to another study, a different context or a different situation (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Merriam 1998; 2014). In the following sections, the researcher provides detailed and thick descriptions of how she went about investigating the community experiences found in this study. In addition, the researcher also explains

some of the challenges encountered during the data collection process. The study goes into detail about the protocol undertaken to gain approval for data collection, the steps taken to gain ethical clearance from the researcher's university and the university she was affiliated to whilst in the field. The researcher provides insight into the data collection schedule, discussing the length of time spent in the field. The researcher accounts the techniques used to manage time and scheduling of the meetings with the respondents; describing the location of the meetings, the length of each meeting and how dialogue was initiated. The researcher also explains the processes employed to establish the sample size and the challenges experienced in securing the respondents, and details to how gatekeepers were used to secure more respondents. As a result, providing other academics detailed insight and traceable steps that can be repeated in other studies. In so doing, the researcher makes apparent the experiences encountered in the study, and helps other researchers to duplicate those same steps and relate their own experiences to this investigation.

5.5. Ethical Considerations

It was important for this research to observe ethical integrity throughout the data collection process, also maintaining confidentiality and anonymity of the respondents. It is advisable to follow the ethical guidelines of the institution that the researcher is affiliated to (Johnson and Altheide 2002; Ellis 2007b; Holloway et al. 2010; Holloway and Brown 2012). For this research, approval was obtained from the Bournemouth University Ethics committee (see appendix 4). Thereafter, it was the ethical responsibility of the researcher to avoid breaching Bournemouth University's code of ethics and to preserve the confidentiality agreement with the respondents.

The researcher also contacted the South African embassy to gain approval and insight into the correct protocol for data collection in Green Point, Cape Town. The researcher had to gain affiliation with a local university. Through assistance from one of the researcher's supervisors, contact was established with a lecturer from the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) in Green Point. Through CPUT, the researcher was granted access to the university as a visiting scholar, which also enabled the researcher to gain local ethical clearance that was pertinent to data collection in

South Africa. To gain authorisation for local data collection, the researcher was requested to submit a research proposal to CPUT. Thereafter, the researcher was asked to present the approved ethics checklist from Bournemouth University along with the participant information sheet and participant agreement form (see appendix 5). Following the CPUT assessment process, the researcher became listed as a visiting student. Thereafter, the local ethics was approved. In addition, the researcher was given access to university resources and granted attendance to a conference that CPUT was hosting during time in the field (see appendix 4).

5.5.1. Ethics on being an Insider in the Cultural Context

During data collection, the researcher sought to respect any cultural disparities, language boundaries and literacy levels amongst other community norms. It was the researcher's responsibility to uphold behavioural integrity and maintain trustworthiness. According to Bonner and Tolhurst (2002), the advantages of being an insider are a natural appreciation of the culture and society being explored, and the ability to ascertain familiarity with the respondents, therefore encouraging the telling of truth. *"This insider view is necessary for qualitative researchers to gain an understanding of the participants' culture and setting and the sense they make of it"* (Holloway and Brown 2012, p. 20). It is important to acknowledge the researcher's Southern African heritage. In addition, the researcher lived in South Africa in the year leading up to the event. Therefore, the researcher is considered an insider because of the cultural context. Being from Southern Africa, the researcher shares similar cultural practices with the respondents.

Belonging to the African society meant the researcher had the advantage of inherent understanding of Ubuntu values and cultural practices. As a result, this researcher could be viewed as being of the same order, because of the personal experiences of living within, and belonging to the African society. The researcher had to remain mindful of researcher bias, and ensure that their insider status did not unethically influence the information that the respondents would share. Although South Africa is made up of some different tribal groups to those found in the researcher's native Zimbabwe, the researcher's understanding of the local cultural values influenced her interactions with

the respondents. The researcher did not experience hostility or unkindness. The researcher naturally related to the culture and was able to empathise with the respondents, and had knowledge of how to approach dialogue. However, the researcher did find it somewhat challenging to gain access to different ethnic groups. Therefore, the respondents do not evenly reflect the diversity in Green Point, and South Africa at large. All the same, the researcher was still able to collect stories from a diverse group.

This aspect helped the researcher to facilitate trustworthy relations with the respondents, and permitted the researcher to probe deeper into their stories. As a result, the respondents came across relaxed; they spoke freely and easily made contact with the researcher because of the sense of familiarity and trust established. Due to the level of familiarity established, the researcher was able collect the stories in a comfortable environment. Most of the stories were collected over a meal or a coffee, enabling dialogue to occur in a calm and natural manner. The researcher's first-hand knowledge of the society helped to ease natural and polite conversation at the beginning of each meeting, allowing the respondents to become comfortable and open up about their experiences. The sense of trust fostered resulted in the respondents laughing freely and joking during the narratives. This possibly resulted in the respondents sharing stories that they may not have otherwise shared. Fostering these relations and a sense of confidence assisted the study at the member checking stage; the respondents remained friendly and open to being contacted again.

5.6. Data Collection

Employing the narrative inquiry approach helps this study to interpret the community's individual views of their experiences, providing insight to see how community support could be fostered for future mega events. The method ensures the analysis of the actions and happenings told in the stories, helping to "*capture the richness and nuances of meaning in human affairs*" Polkinghorne (1995, p. 11). The following section describes how the data was collected.

5.6.1. Sample Composition

As identified before, this study assumes the position that a community is made up of people that live in the same location and share some mutual qualities, experiences and relational bonds. The people's sense of mutuality, attachment and belonging to a social group is vital to community support for mega events (Theodori 2004; Goodwin and Santilli 2009; Hung et al. 2011). As a result, the source of the sample composition concentrated on the community of Green Point that was host to the opening day, quarter and semi-final soccer games of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The respondents selected were members of the community of Green Point. The sample composition was based on purposive sampling, a technique that permits the researcher to thoughtfully select representative samples (Patton 1990). Members of the community hosting an event are often the individuals most concerned and affected by the event (Knott et al. 2015a). To this end, by virtue of belonging to the community of Green Point, those individuals were directly affected by the positive and negative outcomes of the event. Therefore, members from the community of Green Point are considered key stakeholders of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Those individuals match the selection criteria and were considered eligible respondents because of their first-hand experience of the event that would help this study to gain insight into their outlook on mega events. Table 7 establishes a criterion and provides further justification for decisions undertaken to identify suitable respondents for the sample composition.

Table 7 Criterion for Respondents Selection

	Inclusion Criteria	Exclusion Criteria
1	Respondents had to be members of the community of Green Point and lived in Green Point during the event.	The respondent is not a member of Green Point Community, and did not live there during the event.
2	The respondents are long-established community residents, people that have lived in Green Point permanently or on a long-term basis and also lived there during the event, with event derived experiences based on attendance, or some level of involvement with the 2010 FIFA World Cup.	The respondent has been living in Green Point for a limited period, and cannot articulate any experience from having attended or been involved in the 2010 FIFA World Cup.
3	This research has conducted narrative stories with respondents that can recount personal experiences of their thoughts and feelings about the 2010 FIFA World Cup.	
4	The age of the respondents was also important, the criteria was set according to the legal working age in South Africa (18 – 65 years).	The respondent is a minor, or was a minor at the time of the event (legal age 18 years) The respondent is above the age of 65 and is considered an older person who requires special permission to engage.
5	It was of importance that individuals were representative of both male and female genders so that the data would not isolate views that could be different based on gender influence.	
6	A sample composition characteristic of a diverse ethnic background, varied educational background and dissimilar occupations.	

Source: Author (2018)

Each respondent was chosen based on his or her first-hand experience and involvement with the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The experiences of members of the community can differ dependent upon the socio-demographic characteristics of each individual, which can have an influence on how they look at things (Waitt 2003). However, it is important to note that although the researcher would have liked to hear the stories of members of the community living across the entirety of Green Point, the researcher was mostly able to speak to people living in the residential areas. Approaching urban dwellings would have put the researcher at risk because Cape Town has considerable crime issues and this was not feasible. This is acknowledged as a limitation of the research, but in reality, it proved to be unsafe to pursue this line of inquiry. Nevertheless, the sample comprised of respondents with diverse socio-demographic profiles, to help represent the different people found within the community of Green Point. This included people of different genders, ages, social standing, sexual orientation and diverse ethnic backgrounds.

This study recognises that the respondents' stories and perspectives could differ based on age. For example, a particular experience could hold more significance to a younger respondent as opposed to an older respondent. Therefore, the eligibility criteria also took into consideration a diverse age range. The eligibility criterion included members of the community that represented the age bracket 18 to 65 years. This bracket is characterised by the working age. Further to this, the majority of the population in Cape Town (69.6%) is between 18 and 65 years old. whilst 5.5% accounts for those people above 65 years and the remaining 24.8% represents those below the age of 18 (Statistics South Africa 2011). Individuals below the age of 18 were excluded because they did not meet the legal age requirements. Following the evidence provided by Statistics South Africa (2011), any individuals above the age of 65 is accounted for as retired. Collecting data from the retired population would have required special ethical clearance, which would take into account the possible social vulnerabilities of this older age group (Sula 2016). The researcher did not have ethical permission to collect stories from this group; as a result, they were also excluded on that basis. It is important to make the reader aware that at the time of data collection in September 2016, it had been 6 years since the 2010 FIFA World Cup had been hosted. Therefore, the age bracket is set according to the respondents' ages in 2010. This research also took into consideration education levels. The degree to which respondents are educated can

influence their outlooks. This can influence how they understand the data collection process, how they articulate themselves, and their ability to explain and describe experiences (Polkinghorne 2005). This study considered respondents with the minimum of matriculation, which is the term used for a high school certificate in South Africa. Those respondents were able to describe, explain and provide clarity to their lived experiences without too much difficulty. Tables 8 and 9 give further information on the sample composition of the respondents. However, to maintain integrity, specific details have been omitted.

Table 8 Respondents' Socio Demographics (1)

Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Ethnicity	Education	Length of Residency	Occupation
1. Andrew	50s	Male	White	Postgraduate Degree	Since birth	Committee Member of Green Point Neighbourhood watch.
2. Brenda	50s	Female	Black	Diploma	Since birth	Crèche owner that looked after children of restaurant employees during World Cup.
3. Florence	40s	Female	Black	Matriculation	15 years +	Hotel Barrister/Waitress at a 5* Hotel close to the Stadium.
4. Jackson	60s	Male	White	Doctorate	Since birth	Member of Green Point Ratepayers Association and Green Point Association.
5. Jacob	50s	Male	Coloured or Mixed Race	Matriculation	Since birth	Hotel Manager at one of the hotels that hosted the FIFA delegation.
6. Jane	30s	Female	Black	Postgraduate Degree	15 years +	Commentary assistant in broadcasting team of the World Cup matches in Green Point.
7. Jessica	20s	Female	Black	Postgraduate Degree	Since birth	Social Development Consultant for a local NGO.
8. Karoline	50s	Female	White	Diploma	Since birth	Committee member of Green Point Community Events Association.
9. Kristen	20s	Female	Black	Undergraduate Degree	Since birth	Recruitment Agent during World Cup.

Source: Author (2018)

Table 9 Respondents' Socio Demographics (2)

10. Laura	40s	Female	Black	Undergraduate Degree	Since birth	English Teacher to foreigners working with FIFA.
11. Mary	50s	Female	Black	Undergraduate Degree	Since birth	Owner of transportation business during the World Cup.
12. Tessa	30s	Female	Black	Postgraduate Degree	15 years +	Event Marketing Research Assistant at a local University.
13. Tilda	30s	Female	Black	Postgraduate Degree	15 years +	FIFA Volunteer in the Protocol Department.
14. Timothy	30s	Male	Black	Undergraduate Degree	Since birth	FIFA Volunteer in Information, Technology and Telecommunications.
15. Tom	30s	Male	Black	Postgraduate Degree	15 years +	Provided financial leverage for members of the community of Green Point starting businesses concerned the World Cup.
16. Ursula	30s	Female	Black	Postgraduate Degree		Lawyer in Competition Department responsible for fining corrupt companies during World Cup.
17. Valerie	20s	Female	Black	Postgraduate Degree	Since birth	Community Member, at the time was a student displaced from student accommodation.

Source: Author (2018)

The respondents are all members of the community of Green Point, and the table details socio-demographic information on the gender, age, educational background, ethnicity and occupation of the respondents. These individuals were Green Point residents and had constant interaction with the World Cup.

5.7. Collecting Data in the Field

The researcher travelled to Green Point, Cape Town on the 19th of September 2016 and returned on the 9th of October 2016. The time in the field took into account the envisioned sample size and lengthily, time-consuming nature of narratives. The time set aside to collect data also put into consideration the possibility of follow-up narratives and any unexpected changes. For instance, this could be a problem concerning availability of the respondents and or the possibility of withdrawals. However, this did not deter the study; any problems encountered were swiftly resolved whilst in the field. In another example, the flexible schedule was useful when the researcher encountered problems with dropout or no show respondents. The extra time in the timetable became advantageous, and made it possible for the researcher to source further respondents, and schedule new meetings.

According to Andrews et al. (2008), a smaller sample size enables researchers collecting narrative stories to gather data that is rich and in-depth. Further to this, Mason (2010) suggests that a small sample size permits the researcher ample time for nurturing close relationships, which can be helpful to gaining knowledge from the respondents. Therefore, a small sample size was forthright in accessing insightful data in this study. The desired initial sample size for the data collection was set between fifteen to twenty respondents; ultimately, the sample size was settled at seventeen. A small sample size would enable the researcher plenty of time to ask exploratory why, what and how questions (Yin 2003). The investigative and in-depth nature of narrative stories permits the researcher to access far-reaching data from a small sample (Polkinghorne 1989; Holloway 1997; Carson et al. 2001; Andrews et al. 2008). In addition, this approach can yield vast data from a single narrative story because no two stories are duplicates (Yin 2003; Mason 2010). Therefore, helping the researcher to collect detailed information. The sample size identified in this study is similar to

comparable studies carried out in previous works. For example, in a study exploring the Sydney 2000 Olympics, O'Brien (2006) used the qualitative methods to collect data from twenty-two respondents. In a study looking at the 2008 Beijing Olympics, Xing and Chalip (2009) collected qualitative data from twelve respondents. In a study looking at volunteer experiences from the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa, Human and Van Graan (2013) collected data from five respondents. Meanwhile, Waardenburg et al. (2015) collected narrative stories from fifteen respondents to investigate legacy experiences from the FIFA 2010 World Cup in the host community of Alexandra Township (Johannesburg).

Due to the narrative inquiry nature of this study, it is important to recognise that the study did not seek to establish any measurable links between the stories collected and the subsequent interpretations (Diefenbach 2009). As earlier identified, the researcher is from Southern Africa and lived in Durban, another city within the country. This proved beneficial during the process of establishing a sample group. Some of the researcher's previous associates became gatekeepers to their wider network of acquaintances in Cape Town. When accessing a sample has been difficult, gatekeepers are those individuals that can help the researcher to gain entrance to a particular group of people to collect data (Saunders et al. 2003). The term gatekeeper refers to an individual with the capacity to allow or limit a researcher's right to contact respondents in a particular research setting (Saunders 2006). According to McFadyen and Rankin (2016, p. 82) *"gatekeeping is a common phenomenon in social research studies; it is a complex on-going process that has a powerful impact on the extent to which a research study is successful."* The gatekeepers in this study helped to recommend other potential respondents that matched the research criteria.

It is of importance to also identify that the researcher had a personal contact that had lived in Cape Town for several years, in the neighbouring community of Claremont. During that period, the contact had fostered relations with local residents, who had a wider network of associates from the community of Green Point. Those individuals also acted as gatekeepers to their wider networks, helping the researcher to establish a starting point. Although the researcher used her wider contacts to initiate the process of

sourcing gatekeepers, it is important for this research to clarify any possible selection bias. The researcher ensured that the contacts simply acted as gatekeepers, giving access to people who would be able to meet the inclusion criteria. The gatekeepers did not in any way influence the stories collected and they did not take part in any of the storytelling. They simply provided access to their network. With regard to the final selection of respondents, the researcher had no prior connections or relationships established with those individuals. However, a limitation was that the wider network of most of the gatekeepers was often from the same ethnic background. This resulted in a majority of respondents with a similar background. Although the sample size included a variety of ethnicities, they were not evenly reflected. Nevertheless, prior to travel the researcher had managed to secure twelve of the desired respondents, sourced through the above-mentioned network. The researcher distributed participant information sheets (appendix 5) to the initial sample size of twelve respondents via email, although the final sample size consisted of seventeen community members.

The researcher had confirmed meeting times with the respondents in advance. However, upon arrival, four respondents did not follow through on their commitment and became unavailable for a variety of reasons. This loss resulted in complications and a significant shortfall from the envisioned fifteen to twenty respondents. Nevertheless, during the first few days in the field the researcher visited the CPUT campus and began making acquaintances with fellow researchers. The researcher also attended a local conference organised by the aforementioned University. Through these opportunities, the researcher was able to gain access to fellow academics that became gatekeepers and helped to give access to a further seven respondents. It was the hope of the researcher that recommendations to other community members would help to increase the number of respondents. The technique of gaining recommendations from gatekeepers is a widely used tool in social sciences, employed in circumstances where the researcher encounters difficulty-gaining respondents. In addition, the available sample size also recruits and refers the researcher to further respondents from their associates (Middleton et al. 2014). The researcher did secure further respondents through this process, using the existing respondents to recommend and engage further respondents along the way. For example, two of the respondents recommended contacts from their personal network, and through this process, a further three respondents were secured.

Overall, the researcher was able to gain an additional ten respondents whilst in the field through use of gatekeeping and the recommendations from other respondents. To achieve this, the researcher gave the gatekeepers instructions concerning the selection criteria, helping to ease the process of identifying suitable respondents. This resulted in eighteen respondents. However, the last addition ultimately cancelled for unknown reasons on the last day of data collection, leaving seventeen stories collected.

5.7.1. The Storytelling Process

On most days, the researcher met with one respondent in the morning and another in the afternoon to allow ample time for storytelling or delays in getting started. This arrangement also enabled the researcher to have time to reflect on the data collected and make initial field notes and reflections. In the days prior to each meeting, the researcher would contact the particular respondent twice to confirm date, time and location. Most of the encounters were held in coffee shops or a casual restaurant. The choice of location was left to the respondent; this was intended to give the respondent a sense of control over the process. The coffee shop and restaurant environment provided a safe and comfortable setting that was conducive to storytelling, but in a quiet environment where the recordings were not affected by noise. It also appeared that midweek days worked to the advantage of the researcher because most of the refectories used were peaceful outside of busy lunch hours. In addition, to avoid interruption from restaurant staff, food orders were placed prior to starting the storytelling. Upon meeting the respondent in the agreed upon location, the researcher would begin with introductions and then initiate small talk to encourage relaxation and facilitate easing into the storytelling process.

Before beginning the storytelling, the researcher would recapitulate details found in the participant information sheet (appendix 5) to give the respondent a chance to raise any questions and answer, or clarify any queries that the respondent had. This also gave the researcher the opportunity to outline their personal responsibility in the study, also making clear the respondents' role in the research. Although this information was

indicated in the information sheet, it was important to reiterate it in person to ensure that the respondents understood everything. In particular, restating that the dialogue would be recorded, and highlighting the voluntary and anonymous nature of participation was important. It appeared that restating this information and the idea of upholding strict confidentiality made the respondents more relaxed. Thereafter, the researcher would provide the respondent with a participant agreement form (appendix 5) reaffirming information about personal data protection and notifying the respondent of the researcher's responsibility to uphold ethical behaviour; both the researcher and the respondent signed this form. This was to acknowledge that both parties had read, understood and approved the contents of the document.

The stories were recorded on a small handheld recorder, and an iPhone recorder was used as a backup. As mentioned earlier, the ambience in most of the chosen venues was rather quiet. To that end, there was minimal background noise in the recordings, which made audios audible when the researcher replayed the recordings. The recordings were not only sources of evidence but also provided a safe repository, the recordings provided backup memory that could be referred to, and revisited at later stages in the data analysis. In addition to safekeeping, recording allowed the researcher to be engaged in the moment, as opposed to being preoccupied with taking minutes of the encounter. This allowed both the researcher and respondent to relax. All the same, the researcher discreetly logged events and made some small notes during the storytelling (see appendix 1 for an extract of field notes and thoughts). The notes acted as reminders, which the researcher used as a point of reference to prompt further the stories. Use of prompts did not only aid continuation of the storytelling, this affirmed the respondent that the researcher was indeed interested, listening and engaged in their story. This was to make the respondent feel valued, and realise that the researcher was not only concerned with recording, which could have made the researcher come across as disinterested or indifferent to the respondents' experiences.

The notes taken were not only used during the storytelling, but also at later stages for the purpose of reflection and analysis. According to LeCompte and Schensul (1999)

and Pope et al. (2000), data analysis can already begin whilst the researcher is still immersed in the field. The subtle note making during the storytelling permitted the researcher to begin early data analysis whilst still in Green Point. The researcher logged patterns in the data, and made notes on any emerging topics that required further development, identifying any areas to fine-tune and improve upon during any later follow-ups. This proved to be to the advantage of the researcher upon return from the field. The notes helped to remind the researcher into recalling key patterns and themes, which eventually became significant findings in this study. In-between the scheduling of meetings, the researcher used some of this ‘free’ time to attend to data analysis tasks such as listening to the recordings again, transcribing of transcripts, theme identification across repeated patterns, line by line reading and further note making (see appendix 1 and 2). This allowed the researcher to immediately make notes on personal thoughts and reflections of the narratives, and to identify if follow-ups where necessary.

5.8. Thematic Analysis

After the data collection period, the researcher left the field and began the verbatim transcription of the stories from the recordings. An example of a transcribed script is found in appendix 14. This stage was followed by a thematic analysis of the data. According to Kim (2016), a thematic analysis helps to identify significant themes in the data as they develop. The process of analysing the stories relied on some inductive reasoning to avoid fitting the data into already established assumptions and prior conceptualisations, which emerged in the literature (Braun and Clarke 2006). Presenting the findings in a thematic framework provided a clear trail of the rich knowledge found in the findings (Nowell et al. 2017). It is important to emphasise that the researcher did not set out with preconceived responses, themes or topics of discussion. Instead, the study relied on the analysis that the researcher made from interpreting the narrative stories. This enabled the researcher to begin identifying the patterns and themes presented in the findings chapters 6 to 9. Within thematic analysis, there are several framework approaches. These are widely used to assist with the interpretive process. For instance, Ritchie and Spencer’s (1994) framework approach, Miles and Huberman’s (1994) framework for qualitative data analysis, Attride-

Stirling's (2001) framework approach and Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis framework. While there are multiple approaches, Ritchie and Spencer's was ultimately most relevant to this study. Nevertheless, the approaches are all quite similar in the way that they provide a structure for analysing the data. This study followed the Ritchie and Spencer's (1994) framework approach of data classification, familiarisation and interpretation to interpret what was told in narrative stories and develop themes from those insights. Previous studies also followed the Ritchie and Spencer approach (e.g. Waitt 2003 – the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games; Mhanna 2016 - the London 2012 Olympics) and found the framework suitable for their respective explorations of community perceptions of mega events.

5.8.1. Ritchie and Spencer's Framework Approach

Following the Ritchie and Spencer approach helped the researcher to begin classifying connections within the data, which brought to light a wide range of experiences, helping to reveal the respondents' individual feelings. This approach also helped this study uphold rigour, coherence and credibility because it provided a clear audit trail of the methods followed in the theming phase. As agreed by Waitt (2003) and Mhanna (2016), adopting this framework was beneficial for examining mega events because it was transparent, methodical and facilitated a flexible tool of interpreting data. Following the thematic analysis by Ritchie and Spencer (1994) assisted the researcher to capture the rich data and reduce the verbatim transcripts to precise data that gave insight into the outlooks of the different respondents. This helped the researcher to manage the vast data, and sort the emerging themes and patterns. The five phases to the Ritchie and Spencer Approach are illustrated in figure 4, they provide clear linear progression that is systematic, intelligible and allows for different descriptive aspects of the data to be illuminated (Ritchie and Spencer 1994; Ritchie and Lewis 2003).

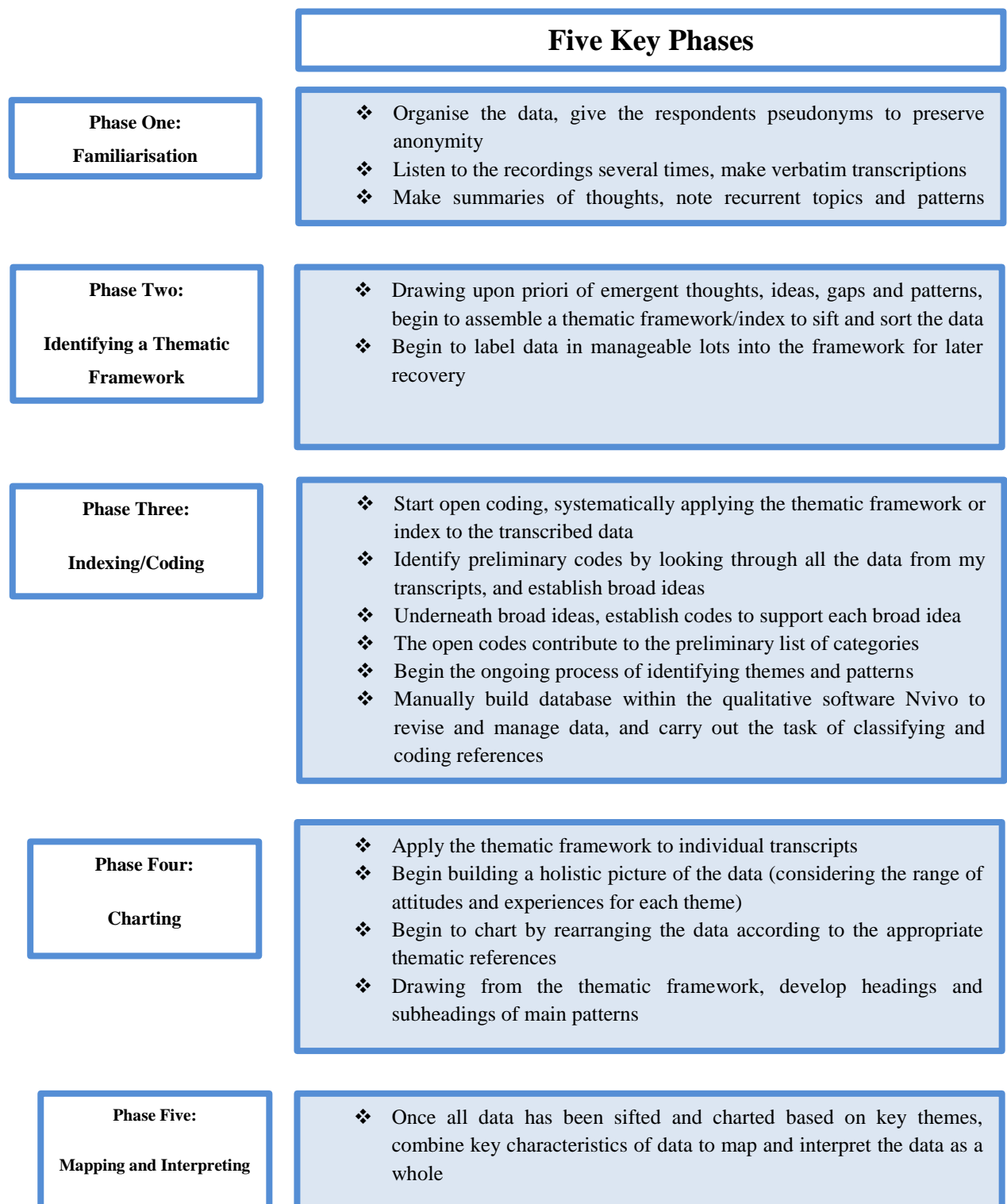


Figure 4 Ritchie and Spencer's 5 Phases Framework

Source: Adapted from Ritchie and Spencer (1994)

Phase 1: Familiarisation

Phase 1 began by organising the data, assigning each transcript with a number. This helped to manage the data so the transcripts could be easily retrievable. The respondents were also given pseudonyms to preserve their anonymity, while maintaining a human element to the data. The researcher listened to the recordings several times, helping to ensure accuracy of the verbatim transcripts. The transcripts were stored and backed up to ensure safeguarding. Thereafter, the researcher began the process of familiarisation through immersing in the data. This step enabled the researcher to gain deep insight into particular topics to become comfortable with the data. This extensive insight and depth of familiarity proved helpful at later stages where the researcher had to make important decisions about selecting the most significant themes. The researcher was continuously engaged in re-listening to the recordings and rereading the transcripts to gain an on-going appreciation of how all the information was to fit into the bigger picture. This helped the researcher to gain a sense of relating the insights to the idea of community support for mega events under investigation. During the transcribing process, summaries of the researcher's thoughts were also logged into the journal function of the qualitative software Nvivo, and memorandums (memos) were assigned to the transcripts. The summaries and memos consisted of ideas concerning recurrent topics, and it is here that the field notes made during the data collection period were included and became useful (see appendix 1). In doing this, the researcher was able to start registering and identifying possible gaps, ambiguities and patterns. This also helped the researcher to note down any of the respondents' views that may have been taken for granted in the initial stages of data analysis. This process enabled the researcher to question the patterns emerging and to think about why the respondents said what they said about their experiences. The memorandums enabled the researcher to again, question the emerging patterns and to question any surprising outcomes. This enabled the researcher to think about how the data collected could be put together to tell the story of community views and their influence on support for mega events.

Phase 2: Identifying a Thematic Framework

Phase 2 involved analysing the raw data from the transcripts resulted in the initial coding of emergent patterns and themes as described by the respondents. At this point, Ritchie and Spencer (1994) recommend the researcher to begin to assemble a thematic framework/index to sift and sort the data. To accomplish this task, the researcher used the previously logged thoughts from the notes made during fieldwork. At this point, the researcher began the process of open coding, creating a preliminary set of open codes. At the time, those codes read as follows; one - Meaning of hosting a mega event; two - Managing Expectations; three - Social Impact of event; four -Behavioural changes within the society; five -Views towards exposure. Those codes established the five broad ideas recommended by the Ritchie and Spencer Framework. The preliminary codes were data driven and took three days of going back and forth within the data to get a framework structured. This involved combing through the data to find any common ideas, concepts and topics that could be used to generate themes. The ideas were also partly informed by the research's aim, objectives, and the guiding theory (Tonnie's [1887] 1957 *Gemeinschaft*; Turner's 1969 *Communitas*; Lave and Wenger's 1991 CoP Concept). In addition, the questions that emerged whilst collecting the narrative stories also helped to shape those broad ideas. The field notes, the author's reflective and reflexive thoughts also helped to shape the codes (figure 5 shows extracts, appendix 7 provides further insight). The researcher was searching for repetition, key words or phrases; trying to find out what was going on during the 2010 FIFA World Cup, what the people experienced and the significance found in what they were saying; and whether those statements had underlying value that would have been otherwise taken for granted. Figure 6 shows some of those ideas concerning community views on exposure; social interactions, community togetherness and concerns about the event outcome were already coming into view.

Name	Description	Sources	References
Views towards exposure	This node will store the respondents' views on the effect of exposure within their society	2	5
Turnaround for most stereotypes associated with Africa	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt that the event helped clear misconceptions about Africa	3	3
Spotlight on Green Point	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt that the event brought good exposure to their community, their culture, values and way of life gained international exposure	4	6
Acknowledgement of local Culture	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt that the event resulted in international acceptance and respect for their culture	0	0
We have arrived		2	4
Behavioural Changes within the Society	This node will store the respondents' opinions of how they felt about the changes in social interaction within their community	4	9
Social interactions	This node is concerned with the how the respondents experienced togetherness during the event. This node is also concerned with how the respondents felt the spirit of togetherness was short lived and lasted for the duration of the event	5	13
Rainbow Nation experience	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt the spirit of oneness was genuine and authentic during the event. Racial segregation did not matter	4	8
Kinship within society	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt they belonged to one group with a shared behaviour based on common culture, values etc. that distinguishes them from others.	5	15
Sentiment of togetherness		6	22
Managing expectations	This node will store the respondents' emotions attached to expectations of hosting the mega event, from both before the event, during the event and after the event	5	20
Perceived concerns over event organisation	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt about the planning of the event (choice in location etc.)	3	4

Figure 5 Assembling a Thematic Framework

Source: Author (2018)

Safety concerns		Nodes\\Social Impact of Event\\Impact on Quality of Life\\Safety concerns	2
Sense of discouragement	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt let down by the event and used, the event benefited the visitors. the locals were the machinery	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event\\Short lived excitement\\Sense of discouragement	4
Sense of Hope		Nodes\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event\\Emotions Experienced\\Sense of Hope	4
Sense of Hope		Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event\\Emotions Experienced\\Sense of Hope	5
Sense of Loss	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt disappointed in the event	Nodes\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event\\Sense of Loss	4
Sense of Loss	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt disappointed in the event	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event\\Sense of Loss	5
Sense of mutuality and social harmony	This node is concerned with how the respondents expected to feel communal support, cooperation and a mutual happiness	Nodes\\Managing expectations\\Sense of mutuality and social harmony	4
Sense of mutuality and solidarity	This node is concerned with the respondents feelings over communal support, cooperation, solidarity and equality	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing\\Managing expectations\\Sense of mutuality and solidarity	7
Sentiment of togetherness		Nodes\\Behavioural Changes within the Society\\Social interactions\\Sentiment of togetherness	6

Social Impact of Event	This node will store the respondents' feelings of the social impacts of the event, both positive and negative feelings	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing\\Social Impact of Event	7
Social Impact of Event	This node will store the respondents' feelings of the social impacts of the event, both positive and negative feelings	Nodes\\Social Impact of Event	6
Social inclusiveness	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt and observed barriers to inclusive social change, the changes did not benefit all	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing\\Managing expectations\\Social inclusiveness	7
Social Inequalities		Nodes\\Social Impact of Event\\Impact on Quality of Life\\Social Inequalities	2
Social interactions	This node is concerned with the how the respondents experienced togetherness during the event. This node is also concerned with how the respondents felt the spirit of togetherness was short lived and lasted for the duration of the event	Nodes\\Behavioural Changes within the Society\\Social interactions	5
Solidarity		Nodes\\Managing expectations\\Sense of mutuality and social harmony\\Solidarity	6
Spotlight on Green Point	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt that the event brought good exposure to their community, their culture, values and way of life gained international exposure	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing\\Views towards exposure\\Spotlight on Green Point	4
Spotlight on Green Point	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt that the event brought good exposure to their community, their culture, values and way of life gained international exposure	Nodes\\Views towards exposure\\Spotlight on Green Point	4
Temporary benefits		Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing\\Social Impact of Event\\Impact on Quality of Life\\Temporary benefits	2

Figure 6 Version 1 of the Code Book

Source: Author (2018)

Phase 3: Indexing or Coding

Phase 3 involved starting the process of open coding as recommended by Ritchie and Spencer. The researcher began to systematically apply the thematic framework/index to the transcribed data. In so doing, the researcher was able to start identifying the preliminary or provisional codes by looking through all the data from the transcripts. The process was repeated several times. Figure 6 (above) shows extracts from Version 1 of the Codebook, and appendix 8 shows an example of the extended Version. Appendices 9 and 10 further illustrate the coding and charting process as it evolved. Open codes were developed to support each one of the earlier mentioned broad ideas and the open codes contributed to the preliminary list of categories. In some of the code labels, the researcher assigned the exact words used by the respondents in their stories. In other code labels, the researcher abridged phrases and statements to come up with a label that was telling of the original idea, concept, or topic. These codes show information that repeatedly materialised from the narratives, and this eventually influenced the final set of themes. Initially, there were too many codes, and to sort them, the researcher assigned colours and an example of the initial colour codes is in appendix 11. In addition, to reduce the broad ideas, the researcher assigned hierarchy to the codes; this helped to filter down the codes. The researcher also assigned descriptions to the codes, making it easy to locate and place the data at a later stage as the codes were continually evolving and changing. This was helpful at the final stages because the researcher was able to connect the codes to discover the final themes across the dataset. As can be seen in figure 6, a variety of the respondents' perceptions of their experiences revealed a variety of feelings ranging from hope to discouragement. Their experiences of mutuality, togetherness and marginalisation were beginning to show up in the coding process. Nevertheless, the process remained on-going, and other code booklets were generated as the researcher continually re-coded and updated ideas. This helped to refine and develop the data, improving upon the classification of categories for the final presentation of themes.

By following Ritchie and Spencer's recommendations to manually build a database within the qualitative software Nvivo, the researcher created a database. This was useful in documenting an audit trail of the processes undertaken. The initial codes noted in

appendices 9 and 10 were also transferred to Nvivo for ease of accessibility and continued use. Appendix 11 shows extracts of some of the evolving coding at this stage. The descriptive function assisted the data to be displayed in a systematic presentation, permitting key expressions to be abridged using the respondent's own words (in-vivo codes). Those in-vivo codes were later adapted into the coding process displayed in appendix 11. As a result, this research was able to concisely identify themes through data reporting and synthesis of information in vertical codes of abridged data and horizontal case outputs. The intersections between the codes and cases helped to mark clear contrasts within the data. Therefore enabling further synthesis of information, and the recording of recurrent themes and the assignment of hierarchy. The intersections in the data provided interesting discoveries and prompted the researcher to continue refining and filtering themes to check for consistency in patterns. Overall, the interpretive process was meaningful in developing thematic ideas that provided this study awareness of the respondents' experiences.

At large, the organised format of the Nvivo software allowed the researcher to distinctively identify and structure relationships within the data. The software also assisted with management and access of data in one secure place. The software proved to be a methodical way for the researcher to create, save, revise and manage the data on an on-going basis. As a result, the researcher was able to carry out the task of classifying and coding references in a systematic manner, forming codes from revisiting the data. The researcher also made notes in the manually built memo section, which became the project journal as reflected in appendix 12. At this stage, Ritchie and Spencer (1994), Yin (2003) Braun and Clarke (2006) advice active linking of the emerging data back to the study's guiding theory and to the research aim and objectives. The researcher would continually refer back to the research aim and the objectives, helping the researcher to link emerging themes and patterns found in the data. As can be observed in this section, the developing themes found in the stories relate to existing ideas of community formation found in the guiding theory. The emerging data here begins to reveal the community's views on social interactions, community togetherness and a sense of mutuality. This process helped to underscore and connect emerging data to existing views on how a community can be bound together over a shared experience. Theory in this research helped to shape the researcher's ontology, both what was seen and how it is seen, helping to interpret community stories to enable the researcher to

see how those experiences shaped the community's views, to see their influence on community support for mega events. In addition, the emerging themes were also beginning to reveal connections with previous research. Some of the emerging patterns were beginning to indicate a variety of positive and negative experiences that were similar and in some cases, contrasting to those examples reviewed in chapter 2. This was helpful in revealing useful knowledge to see how the respondents' individual experiences were influencing their views of mega events.

Phase 4: Charting

Phase 4 consisted of further data analysis and synthesis to chart the codes previously discussed. This allowed the researcher to formulate the respondents' previously indexed and coded experiences of the 2010 FIFA World Cup into abridged texts and thoughts. This process assisted the researcher to discover links between the codes, categorising central ideas that appeared most significant in the data. The key defining concepts that began to emerge are reflected in appendix 11. The project journal in appendix 12 gives further provides insight into the various times that the researcher revisited the data, giving insight into the daily tasks and any challenges or discoveries that arose in each day. The dates recorded in the project journal show how the data analysis processes extended over several months. This resulted in a number of changes in the themes, principally for the reason that each time the researcher returned to the data; new ideas surfaced and re-evaluations were made. This resulted in some thought patterns becoming clearer and taking priority over some of the initially formulated themes.

Phase 5: Mapping and Interpreting

In Phase 5 Ritchie and Spencer (1994) recommend producing interim structures to allow deeper acquaintance with the data. As a result, this study framed the developing patterns into the word maps presented in appendix 13. The visual word maps detail the key emerging ideas that enabled the researcher to increase fluency with the data. Therefore, facilitating a suitable process for the chosen interpretations that are presented in the findings and discussions chapters to follow.

5.9. Summary

This chapter outlined the methodology behind exploring the individual experiences of community members of Green Point, to help this study see how those experiences have shaped their view of mega events, and the impact on community support. A relativist epistemological and ontological stance was established, helping the researcher to recognise that experience is diverse in its nature and the exploration of the nature of reality can result in a variety of views. In addition, the study assumed an interpretivist approach that acknowledges people form personal and subjective views and feelings through interacting with the surrounding world. By following the narrative inquiry, the researcher was able to collect in-depth stories that gave abundant insight into their individual experiences of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The methods adopted provided a means for the respondents bring order to their recollections, helping them to narrate their feelings, whilst exposing their attitudes and views of mega events. These methods permitted the researcher to collect unsolicited information that enhanced the quality and contribution of the research. The data was analysed thematically using the Ritchie and Spencer Framework. This approach was helpful in defining concepts, mapping data, and creating typologies through classification and sorting of attitudes, behaviours, and motives. The approach provided systematic steps that helped the researcher to revise and refine the emerging ideas; which was helpful in identifying the final set of themes presented in the following chapters.

Chapter 6. Findings

6.1. An Introduction to the Findings

The findings in the following chapter are presented by way of themes, revealing the respondents' different feelings, attitudes and opinions of mega events. The discussions highlight how the different respondents shared feelings about a similar experience, as opposed to an isolated experience. Emerging from the data were a number of themes, and they are as follows:

1. Togetherness
2. Significance of Ubuntu Culture
3. Social Division and Marginalisation
4. Quality of Life

Several methods of analysing narrative data exist, for example Labov's (1972) six-step model, Mishler's (1995) models of narrative analysis and Polkinghorne's (1995) analysis of narratives. This research follows Labov's (1972) six-step approach of recapitulating the told story. Over the years, other studies have found the approach most useful in linking the narrative to the meaning and action found in the individual experiences of the respondents (see Mishler 1986; 1995; Riessman 2008; Kim 2016). Firstly, Labov's (1972) six-step approach recommends the researcher presents an abstract or summary to the story; this is followed by the orientation, which is awareness of who, what, when and where. This offers insight into the setting of the place where the experience happened. Thereafter, the complicating action follows which introduces the plot of the story or sequence of events to help the reader see what happened. This enables the evaluation stage to follow where the researcher appraises the different points of view narrated to draw a conclusion. This helps the researcher to identify the resolution or outcome of the story told. Finally, the coda or epilogue to the story is introduced, helping bring sense to the ending of the story. To that end, following Labov (1972) assists this study to analyse the narrated stories, helping to reveal the individual attitudes, thoughts and feelings that shaped the respondents' views of the 2010 FIFA World Cup (Kim 2016).

6.2. Theme 1: Togetherness

This chapter gives insight into the respondents' recollections of how they felt bound together during the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The stories interpreted and discussed help this research to address the second objective, which is to investigate whether the shared experience of mega events can bring people together to form a community. To understand the role of togetherness in mega events, Chapter 2 discusses some previous events that influenced the experience of oneness, e.g. the 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany and the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games. As pointed out in Chapter 4, former President Nelson Mandela repeatedly talked about his views on mega 'sport' events; he continually stated that mega events have the potential to bring people together in South Africa, to help engender a sense of community (Doug 2000; Conway-Smith 2014; Warren 2015). Figure 7 illustrates a timeline for taking into account changing attitudes to the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Green Point over time.

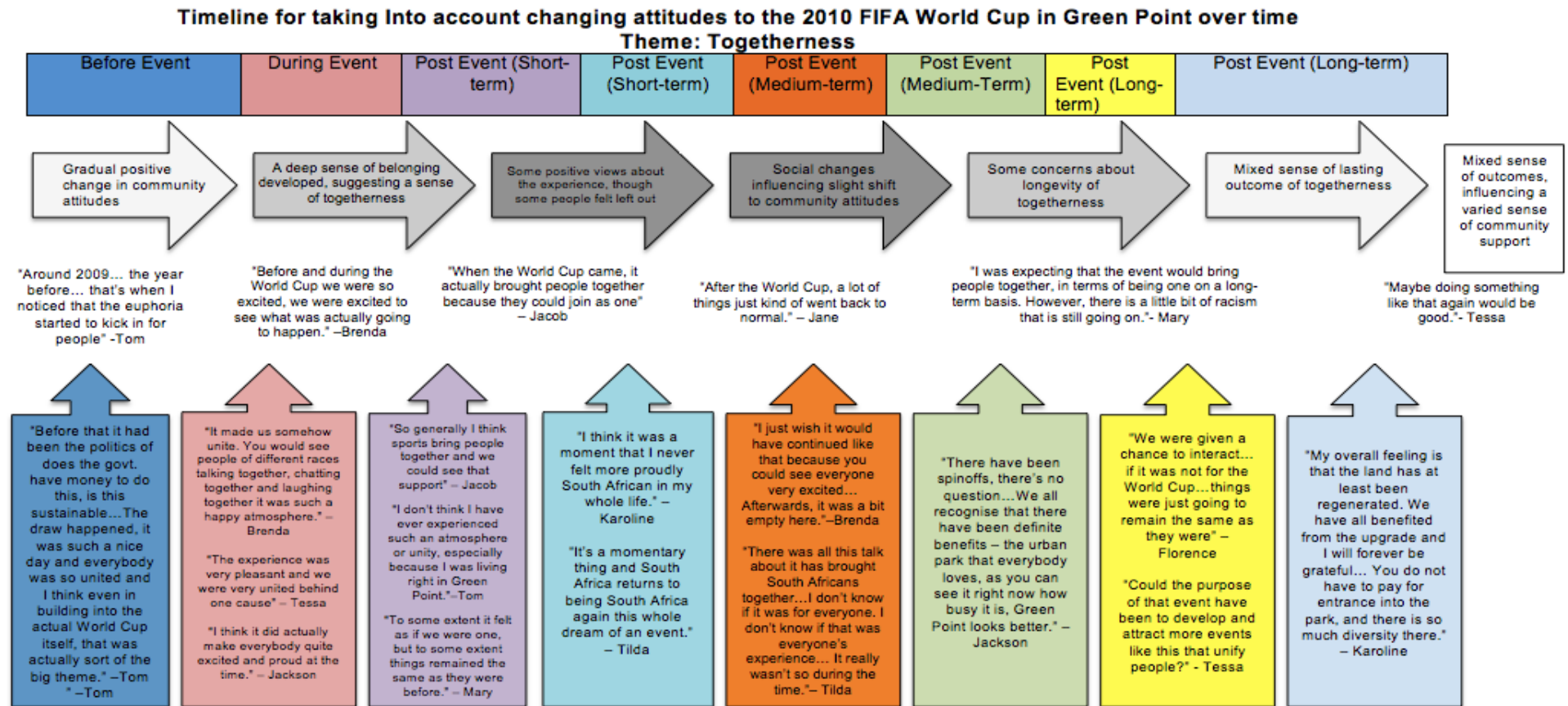


Figure 7 Changing Attitudes to Mega Events Over Time. Theme: Togetherness

Source: Author (2018)

The timeline in figure 7 is informed by the stories interpreted in this chapter. The knowledge is presented over a period that goes from the time before the event, to 2016 when the data was collected. Use of a timeline helps to illuminate the detail found in the respondents' subjective experiences, charting their different feelings and changing attitudes. The sentiments expressed in the quotations, embody the views of community members such as Tom who worked for a finance company during the World Cup. The interpretation of his story gives insight into the time leading up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup:

"I think in around 2009, that's when they did the Confederations Cup which is the one that happens just before the World Cup – the year before with the previous winners and the Euro winners – and the Asian cup winners. So there was the Confederations Cup and the World Cup draw and I remember it was done in Longstreet, where they blocked off Longstreet and they put big screens and it was quite nice and that's when I noticed that the euphoria started to kick in for people. Before that it had been the politics of does the govt. have money to do this, is this sustainable are we just saying yes to FIFA's wishes etc.? And then you know the draw happened, it was such a nice day and everybody was so united and I think even in building into the actual World Cup itself, that was actually sort of the big theme, I always say I don't think I have ever experienced such an atmosphere or unity, especially because I was living right in Green Point...So there was euphoria, there was just this happiness." – Tom

Tom's story makes the reader aware of some concerns that existed prior to the event. Nevertheless, the plot in Tom's story swiftly changes in the second sentence from a seemingly apprehensive outlook to the experience of unity; thus revealing a gradual positive change in community attitudes. To demonstrate this further, Florence's views on the 2010 FIFA World Cup illustrate this sense of community. Florence was an employee at a luxury hotel located within the vicinity of the Cape Town (formerly Green Point) Stadium:

"We were given a chance to interact, to meet new people...we were given a great chance to meet a lot of people and to interact with them, to see their views as well, to chat with them... I could see that if it was not for the World Cup...things were just going to remain the same as they were." – Florence

From both accounts, the evidence of togetherness can be seen. In time leading up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup, and during the event, there appears then to be acceleration in the feeling of togetherness. This suggests the event was helping to raise the collective orientation of Tonnie's ([1887] 1957) Gemeinschaft during this time. This theory explains the principles of causality or connectedness as a necessary part of human

mindfulness or consciousness. Tom and Florence's respective expressions inform ideas of a communal way of life, demonstrating how communal bonds between people are were gradually formed in Green Point as a result of the event. It appears the 2010 FIFA World Cup facilitated an experience that caused people to come together and effect a sense of community, enabling people to show compassion and understanding of one another's human actions, which Tonnies terms this as *verstandnis*. From a social wellbeing point of view, Jacob who was a hotel manager at a luxury hotel during the World Cup in Green Point says:

"When the World Cup came, it actually brought people together because they could join as one...I 100% think that this event boosted the social standing of the community, you know sports bring people together... everyone supported South Africa together, so generally I think sports bring people together and we could see that support..." – Jacob

In referring to the community's social wellbeing, Jacob articulates his thoughts on people feeling bonded together and mutually engaging in the community in which they have a sense of belonging. Tom, Florence and Jacob's stories are seen to affirm the principle of mutual engagement found in CoP. More specifically, enlightening the reader about group interactions and the feeling of connectedness and unity that occurred in this location, at this particular time. As enlightened by the principles of joint enterprise and shared repertoires in the CoP concept, the emphasis in Jacob's story is on the depiction of this experience and the influence on the group's common purpose, their social behaviour, attitudes and the continued development of social life in Green Point. The three stories show the general belief that the 2010 FIFA World Cup facilitated an experience that resulted in the development of social relations in Green Point. This connects to Tonnies' ([1887] 1957) existing views on how a community can be bound together through a shared experience. Florence sheds light on the notion of closeness as associated with social relations, kinship, causality and belonging. Moreover, the strength of Jacob's story reveals the idea of community support.

Notwithstanding such positivity, past studies demonstrate the popularity of mega events can sometimes be diminished in the time leading up to the event. Of central concern to the development of the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics were the negative attitudes of community members. In section 2.9, some studies (e.g. Rapoza 2016; Buendia 2017;

Levy 2017; Rocha et al. 2017) illustrate how community views were mostly influenced by their previous negative experiences from the 2014 FIFA World Cup, and the closer the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics became, the more community members criticised their experiences. Contrary to this example, in the time leading up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup, Tom's story informs how there was uncertainty influenced by socio-political circumstance. However, unlike the experiences in Brazil, Tom's account shows how the community's sense of uneasiness changed over time. Although his account initially demonstrates how people at first harboured some concerns, the significance of this story clarifies how the community's attitudes developed over time. In addition, with the support of the guiding theory, it is noticeable that a sense of community can be formed through people being in the same location, bound together by their mutual qualities, shared experiences and relational bonds. Central to Turner's (1969) *Communitas* is the idea of camaraderie; Tom gives insight into the experience of communion between people, showing how people became bound together because of this unique experience.

Tom, Florence and Jacob's stories demonstrate dominance of positive feelings in the time leading up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup, suggesting the event was effective in changing community attitudes. In particular, Florence's choice of words reveals the extent to which those social interactions influenced her views of mega events. As noted in previous mega events e.g. 2006 FIFA World Cup, the dynamics of group engagement and the phenomena of people associating together are seen to influence a sense of connectedness. Section 3.8.1 discusses the principle of shared repertoire in the CoP concept (Lave and Wenger 1991). This principle assesses the outcome of mutual engagement. In both stories, one aspect that illustrates the practice of sharing a life experience, and how this bound people together can be identified as people socially relating. It is evident the sense of community emerged from the different people coming together through the joy of sharing the experience of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Chapter three discusses the development of community theory, and according to Turner (2012), festive celebrations create an opportunity for communities to foster a sense of *Communitas*; the festive celebration helps community members to embrace oneness. By the same token, Tom and Jacob express the significance of this shared experience with a variety of people from their community, who were of one mind because of their collective experience of *Communitas* in Green Point. Although in a different social

context, the 1964 Tokyo Olympics also helped to foster social togetherness at the time of the event. Similar to South Africa's experience of apartheid, Japan had been affected by social problems caused by the world war (Droubie 2008; Martin 2013; Spaaij and Burleson 2016). Similarly, at the time Germany hosted the 2006 FIFA World Cup, a sense of unity emerged in a society previously troubled by social problems from the world war era and the East and West division of the Berlin Wall (Florek et al. 2008; Dowse 2011). Again, demonstrating how the experience of hosting a mega event can help to engender a feeling of togetherness, particularly in societies with social problems.

Although the idea of community during the 2010 FIFA World Cup consisted of people forming relational bonds over a shared experience, others contest the nature of the experience. For instance, Tilda opines:

“The World Cup thing, it is such a polarising thing, I feel so polarised within myself, because in as much as I think it was a wonderful experience, and there was all this talk about it has brought South Africans together and people can get along you know; the trouble with that is I don't know if it was for everyone. I don't know if that was everyone's experience you know, and from what I have heard and observed, it really wasn't so during the time, I was on a super high...people were enjoying and all of sudden it was so safe; but was it really? It was almost as if, like that whole situation when you put a bandage on a wound, and it's a momentary thing and South Africa returns to being South Africa again this whole dream of an event.” – Tilda

As demonstrated in figure 7, one aspect of this story shows how Tilda is facing a moral dilemma. She acknowledges the event brought about a sense of togetherness, but also identifies how everyone did not share the experience; suggesting others were left out. This critique highlights a singular cause of loss of community support. In addition, the changing perspective in Tilda's story presents the temporal aspect, showing the experience of togetherness was short-lived. Although the interactive nature of mega events tends to foster a sense of community, everyone did not feel the act of kinship that is found in the experience of Ubuntu. Chapter 2 shows how social exclusion of community members can influence event criticism, protests and in some cases, a reluctance to support mega events. For instance, in post event studies of the Atlanta 1996 Olympic, it appears that some inner-city community members felt overlooked (Minnaert 2012). Those negative experiences, over time, influenced a gradual change

in community views (Ward 2013). Tilda's story raises questions about what it is about mega events that can inspire both togetherness and ostracism. She also questions why the experience was fleeting, intimating those experiences was almost insincere because they did not last beyond the event. The sentiment expressed in Tilda's story, embodies some of the views that Mary had:

"I was expecting that the event would bring people together, in terms of being one on a long-term basis. However, there is a little bit of racism that is still going on but it is like an underground thing, and um most of the white people still look down upon the black people. But I thought the World Cup would change their perception...So to some extent it felt as if we were one, but to some extent things remained the same as they were before." - Mary

Notwithstanding the positive experiences of Tom, Florence and Jacob, both Tilda and Mary question the experience of togetherness. The focus in Tilda and Mary's stories interrogates whether the feeling of togetherness took place in its entirety. This appears to contrast what Tonnies' ([1887] 1957) *Gemeinschaft*, Turner's (1969) *Communitas* and Lave and Wenger's (1991) CoP concept says about conceptualisation of community, this development illustrates how the experience of community was partial. It appears Mary's experience has influenced her to develop opposing views to the idea of hosting mega events for the outcome of togetherness. She identifies how during the event, there was limited change to social behaviour. At the time of data collection, her story suggests she felt there was a growing sense of disconnectedness in Green Point. To that end, revealing a sense of dissatisfaction with the outcome of togetherness in Green Point.

This counter argument is supported by evidence from Tessa who worked as a Research Assistant at a local university. She introduces another angle to this discussion and queries to what extent mega events foster togetherness:

"I'm so curious to know what it is about this kind of event that pulls people together so intensely. Moreover, it is very interesting how much or how strong a draw factor the soccer World Cup was... So it actually makes me wonder that could the purpose of that event have been to develop and attract more events like this that unify people? Because the experience was very pleasant and we were very united behind one cause. So maybe doing something like that again would be good, it makes me kind of wonder, could the purpose of this be to unify everyone and do away with a lot of the violence that is rising now?" - Tessa

Through this story, Tessa scrutinises the extent to which the experience of togetherness occurred, demonstrating how the positive experience influenced her attitude to see mega events as worthy. Tessa's story identifies the experience was somewhat of a defining moment, she makes known how the event created a celebration that displayed great capacity to bring people together. However, her story also gives important insight into how the social interactions in Green Point have begun to negatively change. Tessa's rhetorical questions direct attention to interrogating the value of mega events. It is interesting to note that she queries whether her community needs to host other mega events to foster this sense of togetherness again. Whilst the discussion in the preceding paragraphs, in particular Tom's narration of his experience in the time before and during the event, the contents of Mary and Tessa's stories give insight into the time after the event, and ultimately demonstrate the inherent concerns of experiencing a fleeting sense of togetherness and the effects on community attitudes. This is consistent with Ratnatunga and Muthaly (2000) and Baade and Matheson (2002) who question the longevity of mega event social impacts, citing some individuals benefit on a one-off basis, and do so for a short and specific period.

Following the discussion in the preceding paragraph, Jane who worked as a volunteer for FIFA at Green Point (now Cape Town) Stadium, also queries the longevity of togetherness:

"After the World Cup, a lot of things just kind of went back to normal. I missed the night life and seeing people out together, I missed seeing people not being scared, you know in South Africa sometimes walking outside especially at night you feel kind of nervous because of the things that do happen, I mean I have been robbed at gunpoint before so I am very much wary of these things. But during the World Cup, it felt like everyone was just friends." – Jane

Although Jane acknowledges the event brought people together at the time, her story draws attention to some of the longer-term changes in the local way of life. Jane appears to have conviction that the experience of togetherness did not last beyond the duration of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. To further understand the changes, she gives insight into what appears to be the accelerated loss of Ubuntu spirit. The examples she cites show a lack of kinship and harmony have gradually developed amongst some people within the society. Whilst some studies exploring the Sydney 2000 Olympics show how the feeling of togetherness intensified in the time leading up to the event (see Waitt's 2003), other studies that were conducted after periods of time provide evidence the suggests

in the longer term, the feeling of togetherness were not maintained (see Heinz Housel 2007; Toohey 2008; Minnaert 2010; Minnaert 2012). The juxtaposition in Jane's story relates to this example. Tilda effectively highlights two experiences that occurred one after the other but with contrasting effects, illustrating how the experience of togetherness was short-lived, and how the outcome appears to have ultimately affected the events' ability to leverage a lasting legacy of togetherness. This introduces another angle in this theme; the evidence shows that community attitudes can change at distinct stages of the mega event experience. Introducing a similar view, Brenda who operated a crèche during the World Cup states:

“Before and during the World Cup we were so excited, we were excited to see what was actually going to happen. It was an experience I will never forget... It was always very busy and the people were very happy, you would always hear people singing, people taking, it made us somehow unite. You could see people of different races talking together, chatting together and laughing together it was such a happy atmosphere, I just wish it would have continued like that because you would see everyone very excited... Even the love itself, it made us feel united. Afterwards, it was a bit empty here...”—Brenda

Brenda talks of enjoying a fleeting sense of community. The interpretation in figure 7 shows her changing views over time. Her story makes it known that the experience was a momentary revival of community, and soon after which, the sense of unity and camaraderie passed. In Chapter 3, Schulenkorf and Edwards (2012) caution against those mega events that generate fleeting experiences of togetherness, identifying that those mega events are faced with the challenge of how to leverage *Communitas* beyond the existence of the event. Nevertheless, Jane and Brenda's main point of argument is how the 2010 FIFA World Cup did not engender a lasting sense of oneness. In Chapter 4 Labuschagne (2008) and Cornelissen (2010) discuss how the 1995 Rugby World Cup fostered a sense of togetherness across South Africa at the time of the event. This was a valued outcome in a society with serious problems of social division, segregation and marginalisation of others. However, owing to the short-term impact of experiencing togetherness (Nel 2015), social problems e.g. marginalisation and xenophobia began to re-emerge after the 1995 Rugby World Cup. In short, the experience was not sustained beyond the event. Chapter 2 also discusses this temporal aspect of mega events. Several studies argue the importance of studies that can give insight into the impact of mega events after periods of time from the conclusion of the event (Ritchie and Smith 1991;

Teigland 1999; Faulkner et al. 2000 Gursoy et al. 2011; Leopkey and Parent 2017; Preuss 2015, 2018).

There is also, however, a further point to be considered, as can be seen in figure 7, from Jackson who was a former member of Green Point Ratepayers Association and Green Point Association, his story offers an alternative perspective:

“I think it did actually make everybody quite excited and proud at the time... there have been spinoffs, there’s no question. Look at this park its lovely, and the planting along Green Point Park it is great, and I think it has revived a sparkle, an edge and liveliness to Green Point, I think the event contributed to the uplifting of Green Point as an area... I would say that, we all recognise that there have been definite benefits – the urban park that everybody loves, as you can see it right now how busy it is, Green Point looks better... I personally love the idea that people can come and use the new facilities here, I love the fact that the park can accommodate people who do not obviously have the money to go to some place they have to pay for, but they can come and have a party in this park. When I was coming in, I saw people hosting many birthday parties. Not everyone can afford glamorous parties, so they can come here and it’s wonderful.” – Jackson

In spite of Tessa, Jane and Brenda’s experiences that give insight into some of the negative outcomes, Jackson’s account illustrates the longevity of togetherness experienced as a result of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The plot to Jackson’s story is strengthened by his sense of joy in identifying how the event produced a sense of community during the event, and how this has continued to benefit Green Point after periods of time. His story shows how events bring about an enduring sense of cultural celebration, impacting group relations and the group’s sense of Ubuntu. To that end, making it possible for the institutionalisation of community/Gemeinschaft and reinforcement of Ubuntu spirit. Building on from Jackson’s story, Karoline who was a committee member in a community based events association in Green Point states:

“I think we got so caught up in the emotions of the event, I can’t even begin to tell you. I think it was a moment that I never felt more proudly South African in my whole life.... it was almost up there with the Mandela moment when we won the 1995 Rugby World Cup... I loved every second of it... even if I wasn’t supporting a team, I was down in the streets and people were happy... Streets were full of people, it was so wonderful and it was such a nice atmosphere... I never watched a game of football in my life and I became a brand new football expert and it was amazing, I loved it so much, I was absolutely involved... My overall feeling is that the land has at least been regenerated. We have all benefited from the upgrade and I will forever be grateful for that... and we do have a lovely park (Green Point Park)...It is fantastic that you do not have to

pay for entrance into the park, and there is so much diversity there. Even the bio-diversity park has interesting stuff. And we have a Saturday morning park run there.” – Karoline

As portrayed in figure 7, Karoline’s story reveals a deep sense of emotional attached to the experience of social togetherness in Green Point. She appears to feel this was a positive outcome of the event, and cites how the 2010 FIFA World Cup achieved this. Connecting Jackson and Karoline’s stories to the application of Communitas principles, the on-going experience of togetherness in the park spaces is helping to cultivate some meaningful relations that have lasted beyond the event. To better understand the significance of harmony and acceptance of one another, in Chapter 3, Turner (1969) discusses how sharing a festive experience together can result in a sense of Communitas, which is concerned with what mutually bonds and relates individuals - a sense of camaraderie. This sentiment is recognised in both Jackson and Karoline’s story, where the festivity of the 2010 FIFA World Cup drew people together, and the result of the social relations and mutual engagement have produced an ongoing sense of Communitas. In effect, the festive atmosphere of the event did not only generate Communitas, but also encouraged group unity and raised a sense of pride.

Karoline’s narrative makes reference to the 1995 Rugby World Cup, which was also a time, place and experience that engendered feelings of social attachment. This sense of oneness is important to South Africa: the 1995 Rugby World Cup was influential in encouraging social togetherness and Karoline asserts that hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup also brought togetherness in this diverse society. In a different context, the experience of the Sydney 2000 Olympics, at the time helped people from the different cultures across Australia to come together over the shared experience (Chalip 2006; Elder et al. 2006). However, Karoline shows this endured beyond the time of the event. Another difference that Karoline’s story enlightens is how the parks are a space that everyone can come together and use at no cost. This is unlike the Sydney 2000 Olympics that facilitated construction of the Olympic Ryde Aquatic Leisure Centre on public land, and introduced yearly charges to use the facilities (Lenskyj 2002). Similar to Karoline, the plot in Jackson’s story is also concerned with how the event produced a place where people can gather to experience togetherness on an on-going basis. Jackson’s account demonstrates how the parks have helped to preserve a sense of

Gemeinschaft, kinship and humanity in Green Point. The insight from this story provides important evidence of togetherness, and how this is being fostered beyond the duration of the event. Several conclusions emerge from this story: Jackson felt the event uplifted his community and gave him a sense of pride, the 2010 FIFA World Cup did engender a sense of togetherness for some people, and a legacy of recreational places where people have continued to experience togetherness was realised (the Green Point Park and Biodiversity Garden where the dialogue is taking place -see Appendix 16, to exemplify the outcome of the regeneration that he is talking about).

Previous research discussed in Chapter 2 identifies that mega event legacy is related to the realisation of positive outcomes on a long-term basis (Preuss 2007b; Mangan 2008; Davies 2012; Mair and Whitford 2013; Preuss 2015b). Here, Jackson and Karoline seem to be of the view that the 2010 FIFA World Cup significantly helped Green Point to realise lasting community regeneration. Their stories also give insight into how people continually come together in celebration in the park spaces. It appears people are continually interacting, which at the time of data collection, was helping to influence pleasantness; enriching the local culture and improving social understanding between people. Again, chapter 3 discusses Lave and Wenger's (1991) CoP concept, establishing how the concept helps to inform conceptualisation of community formation through a shared experience. In particular, the principle of shared repertoire - as illustrated in Figure 2 in section 3.8.1. The principle strengthens this study's understanding of how different people can foster a sense of mutual dependence and togetherness, conveying a shared outlook and way of doing things. Both accounts show this in how the community has continued to develop socially, demonstrating their human action - their shared repertoires, through continued use of the parks as a place to come together.

6.2.1. Summary

This chapter set out to investigate whether the shared experience of mega events can bring people together to form a community. Although the views of the respondents were mixed as to whether the event did bring about a lasting sense of togetherness, or

not; it is clear to see that mega events can create a turning point in the way people socially interact in society. Drawing from theory (Gemeinschaft, Communitas and CoP) also helps this chapter to illuminate the process of community formation. In this chapter, the principles guide the interpretation of the respondents' stories, to see how a community can be formed as a result of shared experiences. This research acknowledges that although people are not all the same, some of the stories presented demonstrate how people within a group can share some mutual qualities, experiences and relational bonds. The CoP concept prioritises the idea of collective practices or shared experiences and considers diversity, which is the inclusion of everyone (Lave and Wenger 1991). The stories reveal the different ways in which people can interact in a particular place and form relational bonds with others as they share together the experience of a mega event. They show that the community of Green Point benefited from the experience and this appears to have positively influenced many of the respondents' views of mega events. Their insight helps to uphold the view that mega events can bind people together in a particular place, helping people to form relational bonds through their mutual qualities and through a shared experience. In addition, the stories suggest that the positive experiences engendered by mega events can have an influence on community support for mega events.

Despite the general understanding that mega events facilitate a means to foster togetherness, the longevity of the social impacts has attracted debate in this theme. It is important to acknowledge how in the long-term, the dearth of togetherness can influence the emergence of disunity; thus, questioning the value attached to mega events. The guiding theory - Gemeinschaft, Communitas and the CoP concept do not entirely consider the development of discordant social behaviour over time, in which an individual may see the process of togetherness as flawed. The respondents' stories have shown that time is a main factor that has an impact upon community attitudes. To be more precise, the evidence has shown that the guiding theory does not account for, and is not applicable in cases where people's experiences of togetherness change after a while. Based on the respondents' diverse views, it may be considered that mega events are not a very practical way to foster togetherness within a community on a long-term basis because the experience is not always sustainable. Due to the inability of some mega events to establish prolonged close relations, the relationships fostered are thus

weak, and after some time they dissolve. More specifically, it seems that the lack of enduring transformation can influence a change in attitude toward a decreased sense of appreciation for mega events, and therefore suggesting reduced support.

Yet on the other hand, some relationships appeared to endure, and this feeling of closeness was sustained, thus fostering a longer-term sense of relationship. At the time of data collection, those positive outcomes were helping to create an on-going positive legacy of togetherness. Despite the contrasting views, it is clear the respondents' individual experiences seem to have shaped their attitudes toward mega events, which is perceived in their sense of pride and excitement or inquisitiveness, or disappointment. The comparison of changes in community attitudes in the build up to the event, during the event and after the event suggests that although togetherness was experienced at different stages of the event, this was not entirely sustainable at all times. Nevertheless, this study suggests that the sense of community resulting from mega events has been effective in improving some aspects of togetherness in Green Point. It can generally be concluded that looking at the different experiences over a period of time may be beneficial to gaining clarity on how mega events socially impact people and influence changes to social behaviour and human actions. The following chapter builds upon the evidence thus far presented and explores the significance of Ubuntu in the shared experiences of the community.

7. Theme 2: Significance of Ubuntu Culture

So far, the stories in Chapters 6 have focused on telling the respondents' individual experiences of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, showing how those experiences helped to shape community outlooks on mega events. Although some respondents demonstrate how the experience of togetherness did not last beyond a certain period, the narratives thus far reveal examples of the community's shared experiences e.g. togetherness in one place, a sense of camaraderie and harmony. The outcome shows a sense of veneration and respect to the mutual qualities between people, and their sense of kinship (i.e. a sense of Ubuntu). The many references to social togetherness suggest social harmony, kinship and inclusion of everyone. Ubuntu, which is considered the African form of community orientation, also prioritises these elements. One of the principles that define the term community is a sense of togetherness in a particular place (see Kenny 2006; Craig 2007; Laumann and Pappi 2013). Chapter 3 established that this research assumes the position that a community is made up of people that live in the same location and share some mutual qualities, experiences and relational bonds; establishing a community is not only bound by place, but also considers socio-cultural values e.g. Ubuntu values. This, therefore, shows how community can be shaped through a shared experience that brings people together in a particular place, influencing the formation of relation bonds. In turn, this shows how the individual experiences of a sense of community can shape an individual's view of mega events. In South Africa, Ubuntu is representative of this idea of togetherness, which explores group unity in the African context (Khoza 2006; Mnyaka and Motlhabi 2005; Muxe Nkondo 2007). Following on from the previous chapter, the stories presented in figure 8, which are also discussed in this chapter, reveal the respondents' feelings about the event's positive socio-cultural impact.

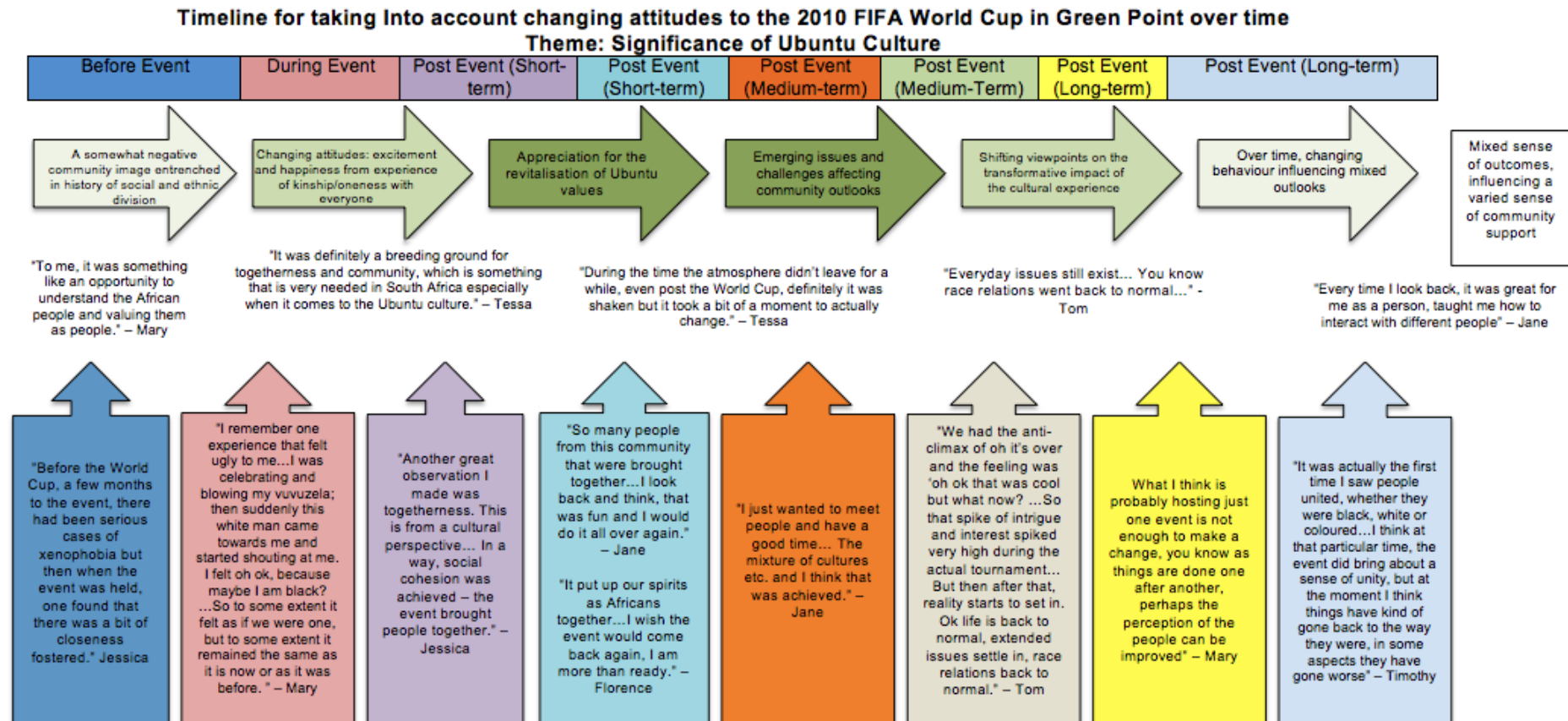


Figure 8 Changing Attitudes to Mega Events Over Time. Theme: The Significance of Ubuntu Culture

Source: Author (2018)

The stories presented in figure 8 give insight into the perceived value of the event's transformative impact from a community viewpoint. The figure enlightens the reader on the development of cultural perspectives and the influence on community formation. In addition, revitalisation of local culture, strengthening of traditions, and the validation of Ubuntu appear to have optimised the outcome of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Therefore, this chapter seeks to address the third objective, to explore the significance of Ubuntu in the shared experiences of the community. To be able to understand the time leading up to the event, Jessica who worked as a Social Development Consultant for a local NGO, sheds light on the social issues (e.g. xenophobia as discussed in Chapter 4) that existed between the diverse people in Green Point. However, an important angle to her story enlightens the emergence of Ubuntu as prominent to the development of social interactions between people during the 2010 FIFA World Cup:

“Another great observation I made was togetherness. This is from a cultural perspective because again, before the World Cup, a few months to the event, there had been serious cases of xenophobia but then when the event was held, one found that there was a bit of closeness fostered from the event being held here... I observed that you would actually have all sorts of people supporting together...there was a bit more unity between South Africans... I think it says a lot about the impact an event can have. The social cohesion observed through the 2010 World Cup and how it seemed to reconcile and unite people in that moment. The event improved people's different relations together...this was a major highlight and most people will remember that point... There were fan parks and the general atmosphere was good, so I suppose in a way, social cohesion was achieved – the event brought people together and the atmosphere created was for everyone to enjoy even if you were underprivileged. People were getting together and actually interacting, and I believe it was only because of the event that was happening...” – Jessica

Although the onset of xenophobia had brought about social division across community members of Green Point (Nhlabathi 2012), the point Jessica makes in this extract suggests that during the time of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, cultural values (Ubuntu) underpinned human actions and social behaviour in Green Point. The idea of shaping togetherness with consideration of the Ubuntu context is apparent. The experience facilitated an atmosphere where community members from Green Point could foster belonging with one another, influencing positive changes to their social behaviour, collective beliefs and group customs. Again, Jane's story identifies an interesting viewpoint on the idea of a cultural experience, and its transformative impact to bridge social problems and build a sense of community:

“I just wanted to meet people and have a good time... the mixture of cultures etc. and I think that was achieved... and because the games were happening in South Africa, it brought everyone together... From my personal experience, every time I look back, it was great for me as a person, taught me how to interact with different people, I was thrown together with a whole bunch of people... The opportunity of the World Cup mostly represented camaraderie, and through this work experience I met so many people, there were so many people from this community that were brought together because of these work opportunities created through the event...I look back and think, that was fun and I would do it all over again.” – Jane

Jane who worked as a volunteer for FIFA at Green Point (now Cape Town) Stadium felt the event offered an opportunity for people to interact and foster a feeling of kinship and humanity, which are the underpinnings of the Ubuntu belief system. As illustrated in figure 8, the sentiment expressed in both Jessica and Jane’s stories reveals how the 2010 FIFA World Cup influenced a sense of multiculturalism that was socially inclusive. In Jessica’s evaluation, she identifies that experiencing the 2010 FIFA World Cup in a sense, brought about changes to the way people were interacting. An important assertion emerges in Jessica’s story, and that is the emphasis she places on people developing common interests, rather than focusing on their differences. Similarly, the strength of Jane’s account not only reveals a great amount of excitement and happiness; the story shows how people were experiencing life together and mutually engaging in the community that they belong to. The understanding of Ubuntu in Chapter 3 enlightens the process of togetherness as informed by Ubuntu values. The two stories present accounts that facilitate consideration of the African form of community orientation, which serves as a means to demonstrate how ‘a person is a person through other people’ (Mfenyana 1986). In relation to the theory, Turner’s (1969) *Communitas* expounds on this sense of camaraderie and explains that this is what mutually bonds and relates individuals. In Ubuntu terms, Turner’s (1969) understanding of *Communitas* helps to explain a person’s concern for the community that they belong to. This understanding helps to establish the connection between Jessica’s enlightenment of culture, and Jane’s insight into a feeling of camaraderie, illustrating the value of culture and the influence on togetherness.

These views on cultural values are seen to have improved the sense of togetherness, which amplified the festivity of the event at the time. This interpretation is in agreement

with the discussion in Chapter 2, which identifies a community's features (e.g. culture, traditions, values and traditions) can distinguish an event, and increase its worth (see Shipway 2007; Colloredo-Mansfeld 2011; Prayag et al. 2013; Prayag et al. 2013; Lockstone-Binney et al. 2016). Drawing upon this understanding, Florence's experience helps this study to make the connection between the experience of Ubuntu and camaraderie as told by Jessica and Jane. Most importantly, Florence's story gives insight into how she would support future mega events, and this provides a turning point to the enlightenment provided in figure 8. In addition, Florence's insight shows a change in the group way of doing things in Green Point:

"It put up our spirits as Africans together... it put us on a certain level we have never been on. It was perfect. I wish the event would come back again, I am more than ready." – Florence

An interesting viewpoint is how Florence feels she could interact with other members of the community different from herself. According to Durkheim (1915), when a community comes together and shares an experience, that event brings about a sense of 'collective effervescence.' This is noted in Florence's story through the joy and excitement that she informs came from feeling a sense of camaraderie and togetherness within the communal group. Florence's story helps this study to further examine the characteristics of community spirit, comparatively assessing the changes in Green Point to see how positive socio-cultural impacts can affect community attitudes. Although this account was narrated 6 years after the event came to an end, the passion suggests the experience influenced some enduring positive attitudes. On closer inspection, it can be seen that despite the individual differences between Jessica, Jane and Florence, they all had a common foundation – their Ubuntu culture. In addition, they belong to a common place – Green Point, and they shared a common experience (the 2010 FIFA World Cup), which can be interpreted as joint enterprise from the CoP concept Lave and Wenger (1991). Evidence of the cultural aspect of mega events has been discussed in past studies. For example, Kim and Petrick (2005) found that interest in local culture was intensified during the 2002 FIFA World Cup host by South Korea and Japan. The stories presented thus far make a connection to Kim and Petrick's (ibid) findings, showing the importance of the cultural dimensions that can be found in a mega event experience.

The discussion in Chapter 4 details some of the ambitions attached to hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup; identifying that one of the goals was to bring people together and rebuild the nation as one (Ndlovu 2010; Das 2013). Amongst other drives, such as to realise a sense of community, some of the former Presidents urged South Africans to embrace the Ubuntu values as part of national policies e.g. the National Reconstruction and Development policy (Mnyaka and Motlhabi 2005; Muxe Nkondo 2007). Elsewhere, discussions on the implementation of the National Development Plan in the newly independent South Africa identify the principle of togetherness through the event slogans such as ‘the Ke Nako! Campaign,’ a Sotho saying that means ‘it’s time.’ This was aimed at celebrating the African idea of humanity (Cornelissen and Maennig 2010). Also, the idea of realising a ‘Rainbow Nation,’ which is a widely used term to capture the multicultural characteristics of South Africa (Kellerman 2014) was relevant. Jessica, Jane and Florence’s experiences provide evidence to suggest the 2010 FIFA World Cup realised some of those goals.

Although Tessa’s story tells the reader of the compelling nature of the 2010 FIFA World Cup experience, Tessa’s story also highlights concerns attached the longevity of Communitas, and sense of Ubuntu that was fostered through the event:

“It was definitely a breeding ground for togetherness and community, which is something that is very needed in South Africa especially when it comes to the Ubuntu culture... there was no differentiation between people, people were just very relaxed, we were all there for the same cause, the same purpose... it actually brought upon that ability to unite... And even as you were walking through the streets, there was a very different air. The atmosphere in Green Point was just electric... It was interesting in particular to observe how events bring people together...from a holistic perspective, it was ridiculously positive, it was an attempt to make and facilitate a rainbow nation. That one event was certainly a very strong foundation and stood very strongly on the institution of the rainbow nation, and definitely showed us that South Africa is capable of standing together... During the time the atmosphere didn’t leave for a while, even post the World Cup, definitely it was shaken but it took a bit of a moment to actually change.” – Tessa

On one hand, by referring to the term Ubuntu, Tessa clarifies how the 2010 FIFA World Cup contributed to Green Point through socio-cultural impacts. She makes known how the feeling of kinship helped to eliminate those attitudes that had brought about division in the society. To this end, she helps to demonstrate how the event in part, realised some

of its objectives (mentioned in the preceding paragraph). Nevertheless, her story also reveals how the experiences of community pride and feeling of being in harmony with others began to fade after some time. Markedly, this insight provides yet another turning point to the evidence presented in figure 8. In effect, her story points to the limitations attached to the experience of socio-cultural impacts, and how they can affect a community. Although it is clear the experience had an enduring impact on Tessa's profound recollection, her story brings into view how those changes were not long lasting to the point of causing longer-term changes. Similar to the other respondents, Tessa found value in experiencing the 2010 FIFA World Cup. However, the difference is she makes known how after some time; the intensity found in the initial experience began to wane. This provides evidence in support of the discussion in section 2.9, which considers the difficulty in leveraging positive impacts to last beyond the existence of the event, remains a growing problem. Timothy's account explores the transformative impact of Ubuntu during and after the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Green Point, thus showing how the event's legacy influenced the longer-term view of the event:

"I think for me it was actually the first time I saw people united, whether they were black, white or coloured, the event was something that really brought people together. I think at that particular time, the event did bring about a sense of unity, but at the moment I think things have kind of gone back to the way they were, in some aspects they have gone worse because now there's issues of racial issues, and prejudice is springing up... It makes me feel worried, I think, it definitely is worrisome, where are we going as a nation? I think this racial issue is still a very tender issue, and very delicate concept and thing to talk about."
 – Timothy

Like the other respondents, Timothy initially details the experience of causality and the bonds of kinship, identifying how there was closeness of social relations amongst individuals. However, his story turns the critique to further consider the angle introduced by Tessa, expounding on the short-term nature of the experience of Ubuntu. Again, this is in contradistinction to the earlier stories of Jessica, Jane and Florence. However, the plot here directly confronts how the development of negative impacts has contributed to the corrosion of social togetherness in Green Point. In this manner, providing opposing views that are also illuminated in figure 8 to show how the experience of Ubuntu and togetherness was not without its critics. At the time of data collection, the sentiment expressed in Timothy's story pointed to the lack of humanity and compassion that had begun to settle between community members of Green Point. This suggests the weakening of togetherness in Green Point. To further understand the

enduring impact on community outlooks; the theme turns to Tom's story, which again enlightens the reader of a fleeting experience:

So we had the initial issues that people had with the World Cup... we had the anti-climax of oh it's over and the feeling was 'oh ok that was cool but what now?' And everyday issues still exist you know...and all these underlying South African social issues. You know race relations went back to normal...So that spike of intrigue and interest spiked very high during the actual tournament, it was fun times, you are meeting people, it was just fun. But then after that, reality starts to set in, ok life is back to normal, extended issues settle in, race relations back to normal." - Tom

Similar to Tessa and Timothy, this perspective demonstrates the erosion of the traditional values that had bonded people together during the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The evidence suggests that the loss of humanity – an underlying principle in the African form of community orientation found in Ubuntu, can cause damage to social togetherness. The strength of Tessa, Timothy and Tom's stories help to expose the temporal dimension as significant to the leveraging of benefits, and the influence on legacy and community attitudes. It could also be said that the evidence suggests a reduced sense of community support. The discussion in Chapter 2 explores how a long-term legacy can help to influence positive attitudes to mega events over periods of time (see Li et al. 2015; Porter and Fletcher 2008; Gursoy et al. 2011; Leopkey and Parent 2017; Preuss 2015, 2018). Of equal importance, these stories provide further knowledge to demonstrate how positive impacts can change to negative over time. This critique implies a gradual change in community attitudes, illustrating how negative community attitudes can also emerge over time. It can be seen from the above analysis, there are limitations to the community theory discussed in Chapter 3 -Tonnies' ([1887] 1957) *Gemeinschaft*, Turner's (1969) *Communitas* and Lave and Wenger's (1991) *CoP* concept. The bonds from shared experiences that inform the connections between people and underpin the idea of community can gradually disintegrate due to a reduced sense of compassion for one another in society. This counter argument points to how the outcome of togetherness, and the cultural meaning of a mega event experience can unfavourably change the fabric of community, which is not accounted for in the theory. Without discounting the strengths of the theory guiding this study, it is important however not to assume the applicability of theory in all cases. The interpretation of the evidence provided in this section introduces different views also identified in figure 8,

helping to show the drawbacks and or limitations that can arise in the process of community formation.

Returning to Tessa's experience, she introduces another cultural distinction that was unique to the experience of the 2010 FIFA World Cup:

"I think that the vuvuzela element was also something that could be argued as climatic because it comes with territory and so definitely when you are in South Africa its part of the culture and atmosphere down here." – Tessa

Tessa gives insight into the local way of celebrating through the use of the vuvuzela, which is an African sounding horn. Through this story, the reader can appreciate aspects of cultural nuances that Tessa felt distinguished the experience of the 2010 FIFA World Cup from other mega events. In section 2.7 it is discussed that the host community's community features (e.g. culture, traditions, values and beliefs) inform experiences that distinguish the event from others (Colloredo-Mansfeld 2011). This is noted here as Tessa's story helps to comparatively assess the socio-cultural impacts that she felt contributed to the value of the event. Jessica's perspective further expounds on the idea of the vuvuzela as culturally significant to the experience of togetherness in Green Point:

"The non-Africans had a problem with the vuvuzela. But to me, when you are in Rome you do as the Romans do. It was a bit of a problem in my opinion, they were often heard saying no these Africans are using these vuvuzelas and damaging ears and what not, but thing is, use of the vuvuzela is part of our culture, part of who we are and not just in South Africa. If you watch football matches from other African countries you will see that the use of the vuvuzela as support instruments is normal. So in my opinion, to then have foreigners dictate how exactly we should be celebrating in our own environment was a concern for me." – Jessica

Specific reference to cultural artefacts such as the vuvuzela characterises a sense of jamboree for the local people. Although Jessica's story raises the problems that other people from outside of Green Point had with the way locals were celebrating, reference to the vuvuzela allows Jessica to redirect focus on the local people's culture. This supports Tessa's narration, showing relevance of the local customs and their contribution to social behaviour that brings people together in Green Point. Most importantly, similar to Tessa; Jessica's story reveals the 2010 FIFA World Cup was an opportunity to celebrate the local way of doing things. Both respondents seem to feel that customary use of the vuvuzela is connected to the group behaviour that informs the

characteristics and social values that underpin relational bonds of people that live in Green Point.

Having considered these two views, Mary's story contributes an angle that questions to what degree a sense of kinship and humanity was engendered through the cultural experience:

"To me, it was something like an opportunity to understand the African people and valuing them as people...During the event, amongst the supporters we did feel like one though we had different backgrounds...But I remember one experience that felt ugly to me, when I was celebrating, um I think it was Ghana that had scored so I was celebrating and blowing my vuvuzela; then suddenly this white man came towards me and started shouting at me. I felt oh ok, because maybe I am black? Perhaps that's why he is shouting at me? So to some extent it felt as if we were one, but to some extent it remained the same as it is now or as it was before. What I think is probably hosting just one event is not enough to make a change, you know as things are done one after another, perhaps the perception of the people can be improved" – Mary

Similar to Tessa and Jessica, it is immediately noticeable that the experience of different cultures coexisting and socialising in the same space, and at the same time during the 2010 FIFA World Cup was of significance to Mary. In addition, Mary acknowledges the experience of unity as influenced by culture, which is similar to the many of the stories in this chapter. However, she also identifies how some people did not express feelings of kinship, implying a lack of harmony, which is similar to Timothy and Tom. However, Timothy and Tom's narratives tell the story of how togetherness began to disintegrate after some time. Meanwhile, the strength in Mary's story gives insight into the time during the event, and how this issue was already present at that time. Through this account, Mary sheds light to see how revitalisation of community values was somewhat limited in some scenarios. In Chapter 3, Deacon (1999) and Dalamba (2000) suggest that Ubuntu could be viewed as an inherent feature of African way of life. They assert that despite the existence of different races and ethnicities, an African community shares a sense of identity through location, values and interests. However, the argument presented in Mary's experience is contrary to those views, the lack of compassion she experienced goes against the principles of kinship and humanity that establish Ubuntu. It is important to highlight that in Chapter 3, Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998), Van Binsbergen (2001) and Muxe Nkondo (2007) caution against the extent to which Ubuntu values are considered as a standard social practice within the African community. Considering South Africa's apartheid history, the insight presented in

Tom, Timothy and Mary's accounts suggest that the differences in people's backgrounds continue to be a barrier to the way some people socially interact in Green Point. Therefore, revealing how Ubuntu values were not code for social behaviour to everyone in society at the time of the event and post the event.

More specifically, the three stories help to highlight the cultural differences between mega events hosted in distinct parts of the world. Overall, the respondents' narratives introduce insight that brings a different understanding of celebration as influenced by culture, contributing to a broader view of mega event socio-cultural impact. Chapter 2 identifies that there are different forms of support that the community can offer an event. For instance, Getz (2007) identifies that the distinctiveness of the host community's spirit can enhance the event experience. In the same way, the host community's sense of celebration is also a form of community support (Ritchie and Crouch 2003; Goodwin and Santilli 2009; Colloredo-Mansfeld 2011; Prayag et al. 2013; Rocha et al. 2017). Although this form of celebration was different to that experienced in previous mega events, Tessa and Jessica's stories make known the community's unique cultural features, which they felt added to the distinctiveness of the 2010 FIFA World Cup celebratory atmosphere. Once again, the CoP concept is useful in helping make sense of the two views, guiding the interpretation of how Tessa, Jessica and Mary experienced the coming together of different people through sharing their culture. This is reflected in the principle of shared repertoire in CoP, enabling an interpretation of the local way of doing things, to see what bonded and related individuals during this experience.

7.1. Summary

This chapter shows how the shared experience of mega events can contribute to society through cultural awareness. The evidence highlights insight to address the third objective: to explore the significance of Ubuntu in the shared experiences of the community. The shared experiences appeared to inform the revitalisation of Ubuntu values found in the community's spirit. This in turn influenced validation of the different people found in the community, resulting in a deeper feeling of togetherness. The stories provide insight into the significance of local culture in community

formation, also enlightening the reader about the many ways people bonded and related in the community of Green Point. In this manner, guidance from the Ubuntu belief system helped this research to interpret the African understanding of community. The respondents' stories at large show that despite race and ethnicity; people can come together and find value in sharing a sense of kinship in the community they belong to. Through reference to cultural artefacts such as the vuvuzela, some of the respondents showed how the event influenced expansion of the local cultural perspective. This helped to build community pride, and the cultural representation of local people rooted in the African way of doing things.

This gave people a sense of affinity to one another and had an impact on community building. In this study, experience of the Ubuntu values helped clarify understanding of how connectedness informs the way of life in the African culture. The stories helped to show this sense of Ubuntu in action, also informing the process of *Gemeinschaft*, *Communitas* and the CoP concept. Therefore, demonstrating how the 2010 FIFA World Cup brought about a sense of camaraderie, pride and awareness of Ubuntu in this place. It can also be said that this strengthened the relevance of place in community formation. The impact of those interactions on behavioural changes was largely positive, particularly at the time of the event. This appears to have influenced the development of positive attitudes toward mega events, suggesting increased community support, especially at that time. However, it is important not to overlook the number of diverse ways the respondents recalled their individual experiences. Some community members felt that everyone did not experience acceptance from some of their fellow community members during the event. Other respondents felt that the worth that was attached to community practices during the time of the event has diminished over time. In a way suggesting community support has somewhat reduced amongst those respondents. Several conclusions emerge; suggesting that the issues and challenges related to socio-cultural impacts can affect people's perceptions of an experience at varying times of the experience.

8. Theme 3: Social Division and Marginalisation

The stories interpreted and presented in this chapter seek to address the first objective, to examine the individual experiences of community members of Green Point and how these have shaped their view of mega events. In chapter 2, this research examines several communities that had some serious issues of social division, and marginalised individuals prior to hosting a mega event. Spaaij and Burleson (2016) introduce one aspect, which illustrates how at the time of the Tokyo 1964 Olympics, the event brought about a sense of social togetherness. Given the history of Tokyo at the time, this outcome helped to bridge the destruction and separation caused by the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Although more recent studies question the social legacy of togetherness generated through the Sydney 2000 Olympics (e.g. Minnaert 2012; Rowe 2012), studies at the time of the event suggest there was a sense of oneness realised. At the time, the event appeared to nurture the growth of unity, encouraging a sense of belonging especially previously marginalised groups (Corder 2000; Waitt 2003). In another instance, Carroll (2012) highlights how the 2006 World Cup hosted by Germany helped to foster a sense of community following social injustices from the World War II and Berlin Wall eras. Learning from those studies establishes how hosting a mega event can raise a spirit of community to overcome social division. As identified in Chapter 4, the unique opportunity to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup was also expected to bring together various people creating an atmosphere of inclusion for all. The stories presented in figure 9 help to identify the different consequences of staging the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Green Point. It is clear that the ideas of celebrating together, and the general uplifting of Green Point were of importance to the community members.

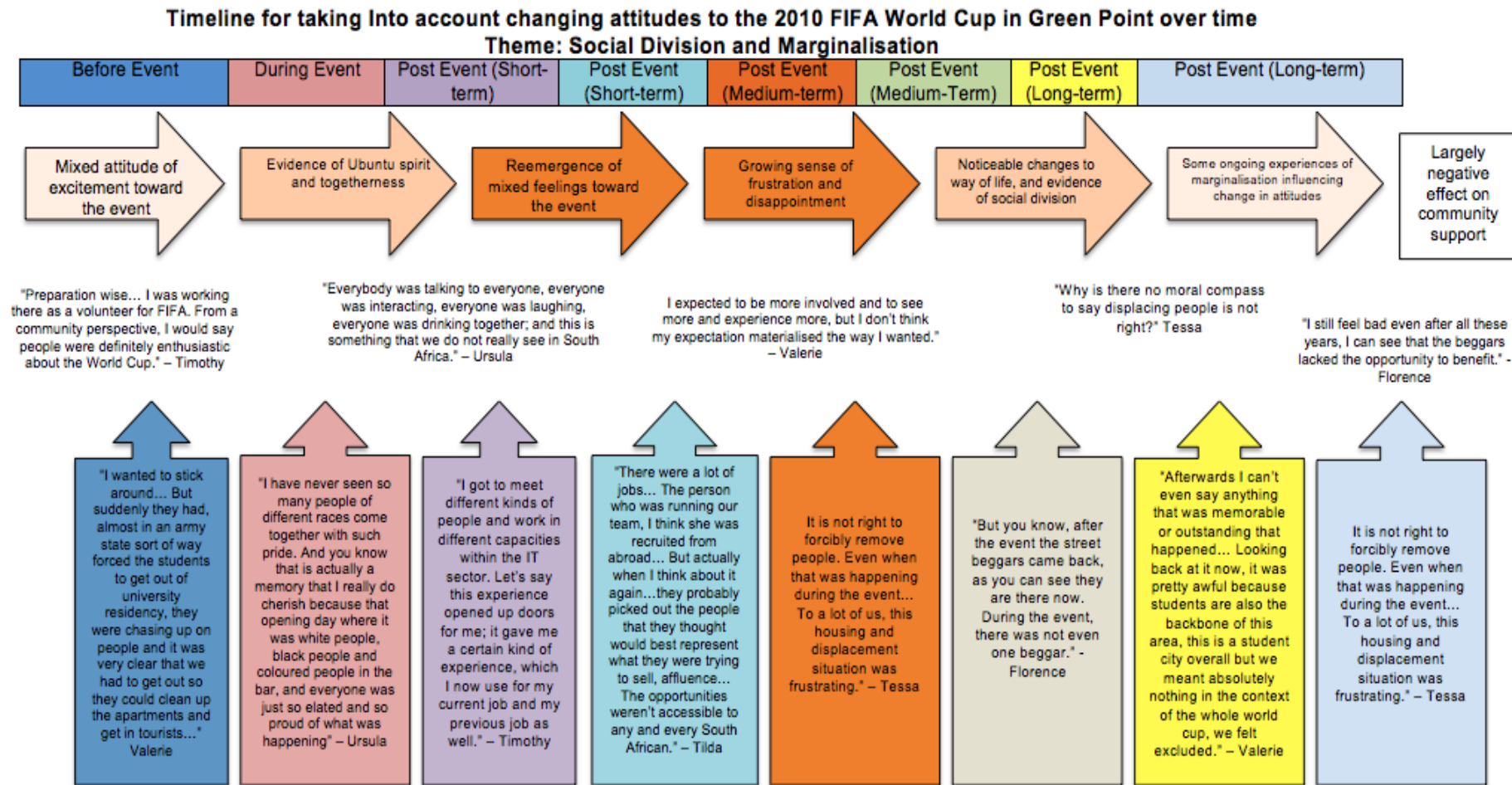


Figure 9 Changing Attitudes to Mega Events Over Time (Social Division and Marginalisation)

Author (2018)

As can be seen in figure 9, the respondents were hopeful that the 2010 FIFA World Cup would generate a variety of social impacts to benefit the community beyond the existence of the event. Agreeing with the examples cited in the preceding paragraph, Ursula's story informs the experience of social togetherness in Green Point:

"There was a togetherness, I mean South Africa is a much divided society – racially, ethnically and culturally - I mean there's a lot of division here! However, one thing about the World Cup, when I say the vibe was good, I mean that everybody was talking to everyone, everyone was interacting, everyone was laughing, everyone was drinking together; and this is something that we do not really see in South Africa. It was a case where I could be joking with a white Afrikaner man standing next to me, which under normal circumstances would not happen you know. I was at one of the bars and it was South Africa playing first...I have never seen so many people of different races come together with such pride. And you know that is actually a memory that I really do cherish because that opening day where it was white people, black people and coloured people in the bar, and everyone was just so elated and so proud of what was happening." – Ursula

Ursula's story implies that the 2010 FIFA World Cup brought about the revitalisation of Ubuntu, through the bonding that took place at the time. Ursula articulates that the 2010 FIFA World Cup brought about a sense of inclusion to those community members that were previously marginalised because of their background. The sentiment expressed in the quotation, embodies the view that mega events are effective vehicles that help to foster a sense of community between different ethnic and racial groups. However, a counter argument is supported by evidence from Valerie's experience of that time leading up to, and during the event:

"Afterwards I can't even say anything that was memorable or outstanding that happened, I can't say what the after effects were...As a student, I didn't want to go home on the first day that university was over, I wanted to stick around and live and have fun before going back to my parent's; it was always a thing for us university student to stick around a few more weeks after the last exam; but suddenly they had, almost in an army state sort of way forced the students to get out of university residency, they were chasing up on people and it was very clear that we had to get out so they could clean up the apartments and get in tourists... So not only were we kicked out, but also we were kicked out earlier than our contracts stipulated. I was annoyed from a practical perspective, at the time I was like who what am I going to do now, looking back at it now, it was pretty awful because students are also the backbone of this area, this is a student city overall but we meant absolutely nothing in the context of the whole world cup, we felt excluded. To be honest, I assumed that I would feel more part of the World Cup though I didn't care about the soccer, my anticipation was not soccer based, and it was more about the vibe and soccer atmosphere. I

expected to be more involved and to see more and experience more, but I don't think my expectation materialised the way I wanted.” – Valerie

In contrast to what has been said by Ursula, Valerie's critique unfortunately implies the extent to which togetherness occurred was limited. Valerie's account raises questions that enlighten the reader about the displacement of some community members to make way for the event. Whilst the discussion in Chapter 4 enlightens the reader about the apartheid era in South Africa, and the subsequent marginalisation of minority groups, one aspect in Ursula's story shows a sense of oneness was realised during the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Owing to this understanding, the issue of displacement in Valerie's story points to the graveness of the negative social impacts experienced. Chapter 2 establishes how those negative social impacts from past mega events incited social division. For example, despite realising some positive outcomes, the Atlanta 1996 Olympics engendered further social division through marginalisation of inner city community members (Minnaert 2012). In another example, the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil and the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics also caused social division, which resulted in further inequalities between community members (Belisário 2014; Rocha et al. 2017). In the case of Brazil, the outcome of those experiences influenced protests and demonstrations (Osorio 2016). In this study, Valerie's story is evidence of event criticism. What is more, the effects of marginalisation clearly depict Valerie's sense of disappointment. It can be seen how this experience affected her outlook of mega events.

Following on from this evidence, Tilda's story identifies how the 2010 FIFA World Cup caused further ethnic and social segregation between community members:

“When we first learnt that the World Cup was going to come to South Africa, a lot of tourism based companies and a lot of work agencies started to recruit people... There were a lot of jobs for everyone, people were actively recruiting and a lot of people were being paid a lot of money for that... Being part of FIFA was for me, a good opportunity, being a volunteer... It was good and the team I worked with was also really good. The person who was running our team, I think she was recruited from abroad; I don't think she was South African. But we had a team that was diverse, and a lot of local people surprisingly enough were part of the team; but actually when I think about it again, I would say the proportion of people in the Protocol volunteer team was largely skewed toward that South African who is educated, has a certain level of education. Of course it is necessary but this is a reflection of a certain calibre. So it turned out that there were just a lot of coloured people and white people working because the coloured are fairer skinned. So they probably picked out the people that they

thought would best represent what they were trying to sell, affluence. Another thing that they would do was the recruitment drives were at universities through word of mouth, so again I would say it reinforced the existing inequalities in a sense. I don't think that even in those jobs, the opportunities weren't accessible to any and every South African.” – Tilda

In the first instance, Tilda's story is similar to Ursula's in the way she acknowledges the development of social relations during the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Tilda identifies how the event created plenty of employment opportunities for locals, thus revealing some social benefits of the event. However, the focus of the plot changes to criticise what she felt was the marginalisation of minority groups in the selection processes of the event's volunteers. In agreement with Sadd (2012) who identified the criteria in selecting volunteers for the London 2012 Olympics was somewhat partial toward the educated class, Tilda feels the criteria in selecting volunteers for the 2010 FIFA World Cup was also partial toward particular ethnic groups of a certain social class. Timothy further unpacks these issues:

“Preparation wise I got more involved in that area because I was working there as a volunteer for FIFA. From a community perspective, I would say people were definitely enthusiastic about the World Cup. So eventually it was um, it was voluntary right, they didn't mention any reimbursement or payments, though eventually they paid us a daily fee, which was quite substantial, and they also provided food and transport especially for the late hours. So though it was quite a worthwhile experience, I think their technique was a way of weeding people out. I got to meet different kinds of people and work in different capacities within the IT sector. Let's say this experience opened up doors for me; it gave me a certain kind of experience, which I now use for my current job and my previous job as well....” - Timothy

As can be seen in figure 9, both Tilda and Timothy benefited from volunteering for FIFA. Interpreting the benefits, Timothy articulates how he gained certain skills, which have continued to benefit him over the years. This insight shows how the event added much value to the longer-term social wellbeing of some community members. However, of central concern to Timothy was the procedure of recruiting and rewarding volunteers. In agreement with Tilda, he suggests the selection process marginalised certain people from the community. To that end, it can be seen how some individuals were left out from the volunteering opportunity. The conflicting emotions enable the reader to see both sides of the argument concerning how mega events can generate social benefits on hand, but also influence negative impacts at the cost of other community members. The insight from both Tilda and Timothy provides evidence for

marginalisation of community members based on ethnicity, race, and social class and or level of education.

Tessa's story refers to existing inequalities at the time of data collection. As illustrated in figure 9, the effects of the social division depict a growing sense of frustration within Green Point. Similar to Timothy and Tilda, Tessa identifies the longer-term impacts of the event:

“So this developed area is almost like a barrier. So you see that there is housing on the frontline but as you travel back there, you will still find townships upon townships so it's almost like a façade is being placed for the appearance of this community, as opposed to how things are actually happening. I almost want to say, isn't it actually illegal to remove vagrants, what if I want to have my home here and have concluded that this is where I want to be? It is not right to forcibly remove people. Even when that was happening during the event...why is there no moral compass to say displacing people is not right? More so because it is a World Cup, is it not actually an accelerator to correct the things that people are actually trying to hide? To a lot of us, this housing and displacement situation was frustrating.” – Tessa

Tessa's account contributes some insight into the role of time and reveals some of the long-lasting negative effects of the event on the host community's attitudes. Again, in a similar way to Timothy and Tilda, she presents contrasting experiences. On one hand essential features of her story acknowledge community development. On the other, she includes the perspective of those who are still experiencing the consequences of the displacement furthered by the outcome event. Past studies on mega events discuss the displacement of community members to make way for the event. For example, some community members from Stratford in the borough of Newham were displaced to make way for event infrastructure during the London 2012 Olympics (Sadd 2012; Watt 2013; Taks 2014; Bernstock 2016). Although this is not a new occurrence, of concern is how this experience exists in a number of situations from different contexts. These accounts also reveal how such experiences can result in mixed feelings and inconsistent attitudes toward supporting mega events. Nevertheless, talk of exclusion and marginalisation suggest disappointment and a sense of feeling undervalued. Therefore, offering evidence to illustrate how the experience influenced some changes to the community members' attitudes. Linking back to Valerie's story, the temporal aspects found in both Valerie story and Tessa's story are particularly effective. They reveal how after some

years, the event continued to produce further impacts that are causing other negative experiences long after the event concluded. Moreover, the evidence highlights the issue of displacement and marginalisation as a growing problem. Florence offers another account that presents paradoxical aspects that relate to the previously presented accounts:

“But you know, after the event the street beggars came back, as you can see they are there now. During the event, there was not even one beggar, I felt so bad because those people wanted to benefit from the event too but where they were put away. I hear they were given food and so on (silence and long pause) but they were not used to being locked inside a fence, so I felt bad. Nevertheless, in another way it was a good thing so we could give a good impression to the visitors. I felt bad but it was to the advantage of the event (sighs). I still feel bad even after all these years, I can see that the beggars lacked the opportunity to benefit, they still need some help and they are accumulating in numbers now.”
- Florence

Similar to Tessa, Florence questions how the event’s legacy influenced weakening of community ties and values, going against the idea of Ubuntu, which promotes a sense of kinship. In the same way as Valerie’s story, Florence shows how staging the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Green Point came with certain limitations. In a way, Florence felt two emotions: happiness and sadness at the same time. Her experience demonstrates mixed feelings, wavering between two courses of action. The critique in her story agrees with the frustration and disappointment evident in the other respondents’ stories, brought by the displacement and marginalisation of some community members in Green Point. In contrast to what Tonnies’ ([1887] 1957) Gemeinschaft theory says about togetherness; some people were treated as if they were less than important. Therefore, revealing limitations to the realisation of community in Green Point. Again, the stories presented challenge the conclusions drawn by Turner (1969). For instance, Tessa and Florence show that the connection between the people was not causal to producing a sense of belonging in most circumstances. Again, for the same reasons, the CoP concept’s ideas of mutual engagement, joint enterprise and shared repertoire as discussed in Section 3.8, are limited in explaining how some members of this community were marginalised. The stories presented here advance the reader’s perspective to see how the varied social experiences resulted in marginalisation and social division, which affected QOL of particular social groups in this society.

8.1. Summary

The stories interpreted and presented in this chapter help this research to address the first objective: to examine the individual experiences of community members of Green Point and how these have shaped their view of mega events. The respondents' stories reveal the extent to which their experiences of social division and marginalisation influenced their changing views of mega events. The insight offers both sides to the positive and negative narrative of what happened, when it happened, where it happened and gives awareness of the longer-term impact of the FIFA 2010 World Cup. The temporal aspect introduces a distinct perspective that shows how the experience of togetherness was somewhat transitory for some members of the community. This suggested a weakened sense of community, and it is clear the experiences contributed to those community members' changing attitudes. Although the preceding themes have shown how a mega event can bring about a spirited celebration that also effects a sense of community support, this theme shows how some mega events can precipitate reduced community support. Despite the expectations surrounding the 2010 FIFA World Cup, the data in this chapter shows how some individuals did not benefit from an improved sense of togetherness, revitalisation of Ubuntu values, QOL or social wellbeing. After all these years, the particular experiences in this chapter appear to have shaped the respondents' views of mega events in a negative manner. Although Chapter 4 establishes that hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup was an opportunity to foster togetherness and revive Ubuntu values across South Africa, the evidence provided in this chapter shows the reappearance of social division and marginalisation of others. This experience also appears to have influenced a sense of discontentment, which seems to have brought about a reduced sense of community support.

9. Theme 4: Quality of Life

The previous chapter established that the outcome of marginalisation and social division influenced a change in community attitudes, in a largely negative manner over time. This theme also seeks to address the first objective: to examine the individual experiences of community members of Green Point, and how these have shaped their view of mega events. The discussion in Chapter 2 established QOL is an important element that affects community development (Cornelissen and Maennig 2010; Konstantacki and Wickens 2010; Chappelet 2012). The extent to which people experience social wellbeing and QOL is of importance, it can influence their attitudes toward mega events. Although Chapter 2 identifies some of the different ways mega events can bring about an enriched sense of QOL, Chapter 6 largely demonstrates how the mega event experience can generate an intangible ‘feel good’ experience. This can enable a spirited celebration, which avails the opportunity for people to foster social relations. Further to this, Chapter 7 also shows how the 2010 FIFA World Cup experience facilitated better cultural awareness, thus enhancing wellbeing. However, Chapter 8 mostly offers a contrary explanation, which introduces an equally significant aspect of marginalisation and social division. Outlined in the respondents’ stories, it is quite evident that those experiences influenced a sense of discontentment, which seems to have brought about a reduced sense of community support. The stories in figure 10 illustrate how a sense of QOL can be attained through the experience of a mega event.

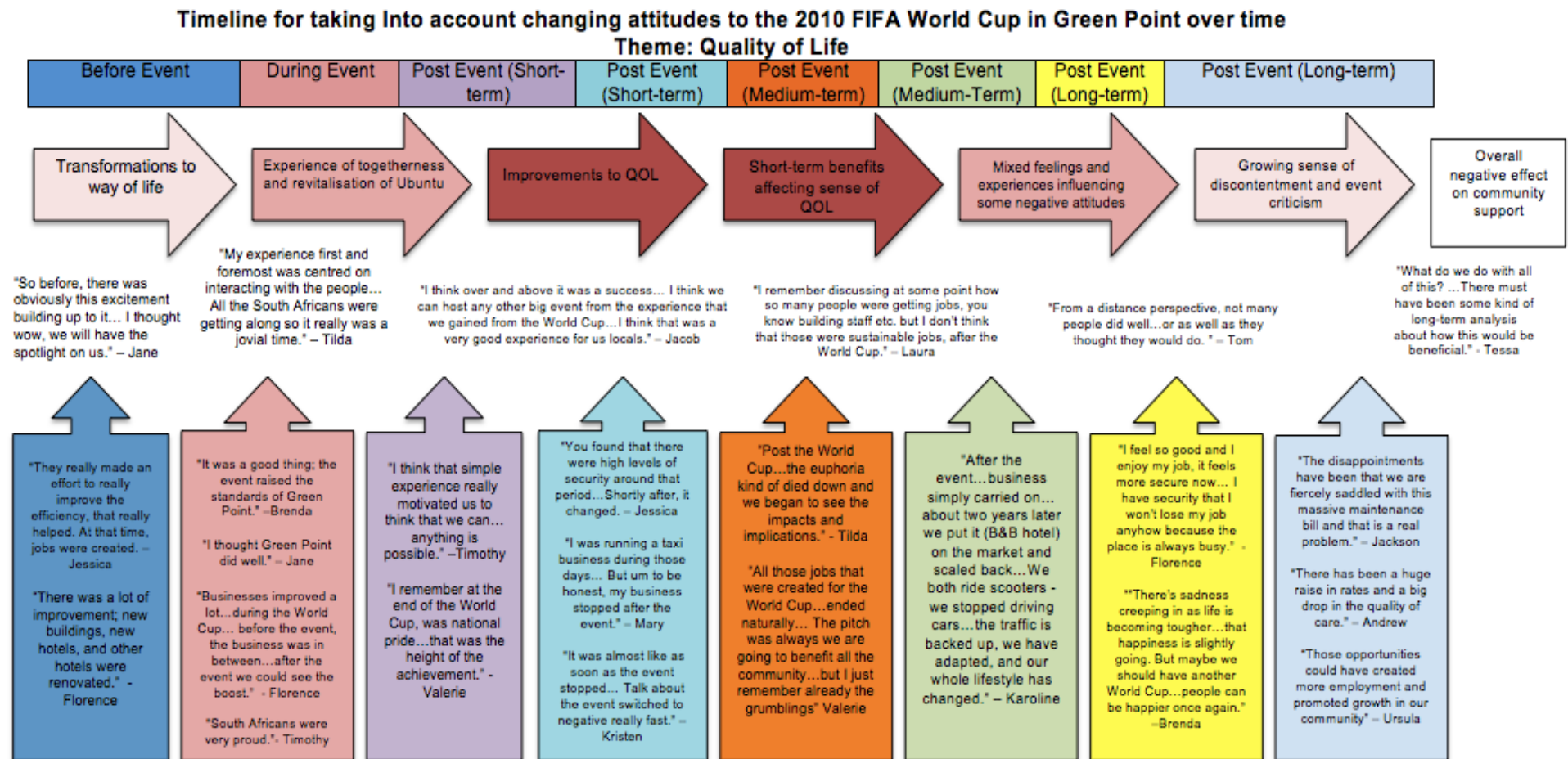


Figure 10 Changing Attitudes to Mega Events Over Time (Quality of Life)

Author (2018)

As illustrated in figure 10, the respondents' stories depict how the event impacted QOL in Green Point. The insight helps to explain how the 2010 FIFA World Cup contributed to life in Green Point through provision of shared experiences, revitalisation of Ubuntu traditions, building of community pride and the introduction of worthwhile jobs/businesses and upskilling opportunities. The stories in figure 10 also help the reader to understand a variety of issues and challenges related to fostering longer-term impacts. This insight helps to enlighten how those experiences affected the host community through increased cost of living, short-term jobs, traffic congestion and corrosion of community welfare. Like some of the views presented in Chapter 8, those experiences resulted in criticism of the event. In addition, it can be seen from the evidence how this poorly affected the community's view of mega events.

Nevertheless, looking to the evidence in this chapter, Jacob feels that hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup helped to increase awareness of life in Green Point:

"To see all the international players come to this location, it was very good and I think over and above it was a success because of the journalist propaganda, they had not foreseen that South Africa would make it and host this event successfully. I think we can host any other big event from the experience that we gained from the World Cup...I think that was a very good experience for us locals. The event made me feel that the whole world can see now that all that they see on the news is not exactly what is in reality... it was a success, the journalist and their propaganda had not foreseen that South Africa would make it and host this event successfully. I think we can host any other big event from the experience that we gained from the World Cup." – Jacob

Jacob appears to feel the experience helped to change perceptions about the local way of life and cultural values; thus improving QOL. In this story, the 2010 FIFA World Cup appears to have had a positive impact on Jacob's way of life, and views. The repeated use of confirmatory language suggests that Jacob is willing to support future mega events. The focus on personal feelings allows Jacob to communicate a deep sense of personal pride, giving attention to the idea that he appreciates mega events because of the impact on his sense of wellbeing. Section 2.9 examines a range of social impacts and their influence on community experiences and the effect on community support. For instance, the experience of a multicultural society during the Sydney 2000 Olympics resulted in a positive change in community attitudes, changing perceptions of mega events at the time (Corder 2000; Waite 2003). According to Chalip (2006), during that period, the 2000 Sydney Olympics helped to cast light on, and create

awareness of the Aboriginal way of life. As a result, offering insight into the rich local culture. In a comparable way, Jacob's story inspects how the 2010 FIFA World Cup improved QOL and also informed expansion of cultural perspectives about the South African people. In agreement, Jane states:

"So before, there was obviously this excitement building up to it, so for me it was more about the event coming to Africa as opposed to coming to South Africa. So I thought wow, we will have the spotlight on us, and not just the usual story of poverty you know? I thought Green Point did well... wow South Africa did well." – Jane

However, based on Jacob and Jane's stories it could be said that the 2010 FIFA World Cup was more effective in this instance. The analysis in section 2.9 highlights how some of the positive social impacts related to the Sydney 2000 Olympics were not leveraged to engender a legacy (Minnaert 2012). On the other hand, the above stories were collected 6 years after the 2010 FIFA World Cup had concluded. At the time of data collection, both Jacob and Jane still felt the exposure generated from hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup gave way to an improved sense of social wellbeing. Different to the longer-term evidence from the Sydney 2000 Olympics, Jacob and Jane still felt the 2010 FIFA World Cup enabled transformation of way of life, improving social wellbeing. In this instance, the experience appears to have effected appreciation for mega events. Although in Chapter 4 Sahn and Stifel (2000) and Biney (2013) identify that the idea of poverty and a backward way of life has commonly been associated with the African continent, Jacob and Jane's experiences individually bring attention to this subject, which they appear to challenge. Again in Chapter 4, Lebesse (2014) identifies that the opportunity to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup carried the expectation of 'Africa's Time', 'Africa's moment', and 'Africa's turn.' The sense of contentment found in realising this is noted in both Jacob and Jane's experiences, and after 6 years the enduring positive impact on their attitudes is still evident. Comparing with the Sydney 2000 Olympics, Jane's use of a rhetorical question effectively refocuses thinking to consider the sentimental value of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. This highlights the cultural significance of the experience, thus drawing attention to Ubuntu as a way of life.

Previous research discusses that mega events can have a positive emotional impact and result in communal praise, which is likely to gather community support (Kim et al. 2006; Gursoy and Kendall 2006; Kitnuntaviwat and Tang 2008; Lamberti et al. 2011).

According to Jones (2001) and Zhou and Ap (2009), community support can be the level of assistance offered by the community to better the event. In addition, Colloredo-Mansfeld (2011), Prayag et al. (2013) and Rocha et al. (2017) describe community support as the host community's ability to lend an event the uniqueness of their local pride and the opportunity for an event to showcase individuality of the host community as part of the event's distinctive qualities. The insightful views offered in Timothy's story underscore the positive positions established by Jacob and Jane:

"People were very excited; everyone was talking about the World Cup and being the first World Cup in Africa and South Africans were very proud about that. It was really amazing... no one ever thought that the World Cup would be held in Africa, so look it has and it happened in Africa. So I think that simple experience really motivated us to think that we can, we can do something, and anything is possible." –Timothy

Compared to the previous two accounts, Timothy's story further convinces the reader about the community spirit that emerged through the celebrations. Again, it appears the influence of the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Green Point was of equal importance to Timothy's sense of wellbeing. In Chapter 3 Giulianotti and Robertson's (2012) claim that humankind is the most important principle in Gemeinschaft, and Timothy's story accentuates this view. These claims of how the event produced an enduring sense of triumph, and the influence on community attitudes are closely examined in Florence's story:

"Before that I could see that there was a great improvement in South Africa...In preparation for the World Cup, there was a lot of improvement; new buildings, new hotels, and other hotels were renovated in order to take care of the tourists that were going to come to this country to watch the matches. Even business in general improved a lot, most businesses improved a lot because of the influx of people in South Africa during the World Cup... You know before the event, the business was in between, not so good not so bad, but after the event we could see the boost, it was very busy even at work it was busy, we saw a lot more people, we had to boost our stocks even the sales went up so we enjoyed it... So now, since 2010 up to now there is a great change at work, the whole area, before there were no renovations or nice upgrades to attract customers, but because it was done for World Cup, the customers now like our area more than before because it looks much nicer. I feel so good and I enjoy my job, it feels more secure now. It is now on-going, and that place is ever busy and I have security that I won't lose my job anyhow because the place is always busy." - Florence

Jane, Jacob and Timothy's stories establish that the 2010 FIFA World Cup improved their sense of QOL. Florence builds upon their stories, providing further aspects that

enlighten wellbeing in Green Point. Additional value in Florence's story can be found in the way she identifies changes over time – giving insight into the transformation from before the event, up until the present time (when the data was collected). Previous research identifies that mega events are opportunities for communities to revive local pride, bring transformation, display the host community and establish a strong cultural presence (Roche 2000). Through both Timothy and Florence's stories, the reader is able to see how for the most part, the event brought positive development, revealing a sense of joy. Elsewhere, Malfas et al. (2004), Horne (2007), Chappelet (2012), Heere et al. (2013) and Martin and Barth (2013) suggest that effective mega events can help foster national pride and a sense of jubilation. The stories thus far presented show the significant impact that improvements to wellbeing can have on an individual's outlook of mega events. A closer look at Florence's story shows how the impacts that took place over the years as depicted in figure 10, are a significant contribution to knowledge about the temporal dimension of the mega event experience. Through a discussion of the Atlanta 1996 Olympics, section 2.9 demonstrates how some community members benefited on a one-off basis from the employment opportunities created. That example reveals the short-term effects to QOL that a mega event can cause. On the contrary, to capture the longer-term benefits of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, Florence articulates how better off because of her secure and longstanding job. Different to the 1996 Atlanta Olympics example, Florence's story contributes to a broader picture of how appreciation for a mega event can intensify over time. This evidence furthers understanding of how community support toward mega events can be fostered beyond the passing occurrence of the event.

Although these examples provide positive insight, not all research shows the positive influence of mega events on QOL. Chapter 2 presents some evidence to demonstrate the way mega events can negatively affect QOL. For instance, Balch (2016) discusses how the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil and the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics affected wellbeing of the Guanabara Bay community because of the considerable pollution brought about by the events. In agreement, Brenda's story shows how the 2010 FIFA World Cup not only affected her sense of QOL, but also impacted her view of mega events:

“Before the World Cup, Green Point used to be just like any home, we were leading a normal life but when you know that visitors are coming, preparations have to be made; the same applied to the World Cup here. There were some renovations that were being done in preparation for the World Cup...This sort of created employment, more employment than before and this was for the residents. In terms of the living standards for us, they continued to go up, becoming better and better to such an extent that even today there are still so many renovations that are happening around us. It was a good thing; the event raised the standards of Green Point in general...But now with the economic hardships going on, it is like some people are not happy anymore, especially the locals. They feel that the foreigners are now exceeding them and are taking their opportunities so that happiness is somehow slowly dying away. There’s sadness creeping in as life is becoming tougher for some people, yeah that happiness is slightly going. But maybe we should have another World Cup...people can be happier once again.” –Brenda

As a starting point, Brenda’s story canvases the time before the event to show the excitement people had in anticipation of the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Green Point. She follows this by explaining the changes that later took place, identifying the groundwork and demonstrating to an extent, some of the immediate and long-term benefits gained from hosting the event. However, as the plot unfolds, she offers additional insight to show how the local way of life has gradually changed in an unfavourable manner, and how this is now causing the community distress. Whether mega events generate benefits that attract community support continues to be a matter of debate. Although evidence from the closing sentence to Brenda’s story implies the popularity of mega events remains high, the overall conclusions drawn by Brenda establish a connection to Tom’s sense of disappointment:

“From a distance perspective, not many people did well, I’m talking about the microcosm of the industry that I was involved in, not many people did well or as well as they thought they would do financially from the World Cup. So if I give an example from the restaurant industry, we had so many clients, like we had a few upmarket restaurant clients, those guys couldn’t, like they added extra dishes to their menu like international dishes, they added stock, more waiters etc., but it was eventually loss making, it didn’t take off. My observation especially from a business perspective, a lot of companies sort of overestimated World Cup business. And I know the restaurant industry for instance because I worked with them facilitating loans, they overestimated the type of clientele that was coming. It was not a lot of people who wanted to be in a swanky restaurant sipping on champagne, it was a lot of pubs and that was popular, places where people could go before the game and make noise and no one tells them to keep it down. So you found that a lot of upmarket places didn’t do so well from the event as they thought they would.” – Tom

In the first instance, Tom provides a similar point to Brenda; he feels that in spite of the expected benefits attached to the 2010 FIFA World Cup, the event was unhelpful in improving QOL for community members in Green Point. However, different to the story Brenda tells, the evidence Tom presents highlights how the negative consequences of the event were already apparent at the time of the event. This is similar to the Atlanta 1996 Olympics where leading up to the event; employment opportunities appeared to increase and contributed to new jobs (Vaeth 1998). However, Tom uniquely identifies that during the 2010 FIFA World Cup, many of the businesses had already become unsustainable. Not only is this different to past evidence such as the Atlanta Olympics, it contradicts Florence's experience. Although Baade and Matheson (2002) found that 40% of the jobs related to the Atlanta Olympics were for a short duration, Vaeth (1998) found that the jobs still contributed to socio-economic development and momentarily improved the community's sense of wellbeing. Despite this, it can be seen from Brenda's story that the inability to generate lasting benefits is not appreciated in the long-term because of the negative impact on wellbeing. It is evident how this has affected Brenda's views; the worth she previously attached to mega events appears to have altered. Although this study has demonstrated how mega events can raise people's spirits, intensify Ubuntu values and community pride, this story makes known how some community members are now harbouring negative attitudes as influenced by their experiences over time. In Chapter 3 Cohen (1985) and Crow and Allan (1995) claim that fostering relationships is not without its complications, and this can be seen in Tom's experience. The uniqueness in Tom's angle also makes known how the business/employment opportunities during an event appeared to do more harm than good. As illustrated in figure 10, Mary details further limitations, ascertaining how the short-term nature of the business opportunities had an undesirable effect on wellbeing:

"It was quite a good feeling to think that South Africa would be hosting the 2010 World Cup. It was good in the sense that witnessing the event itself was good to us and also having it here in South Africa in an African country was a good feeling. We had big expectations about 2010... I remember I was running a taxi business during those days and it was good for me because we had extra cash in our pockets because of the high demand for transportation because of people that went to watch soccer... But um to be honest, my business stopped after the event because there was a flood in the market because of competition; there were a lot of new entrants... so that is how I lost the business and was squeezed out of the market by new competitors." – Mary

Different to Tom, Mary starts her story by giving the reader context to some of the benefits she experienced during the 2010 FIFA World Cup. This helps her praise the impact of the spirited atmosphere on social wellbeing. She identifies the specific ways in which the job opportunities at the time positively impacted her social wellbeing. Although Mary establishes how those benefits changed, her praise helps to identify the short and specific period of time those benefits endured. Again, this differs to Tom who from the onset embraces a more cynical attitude and instead, shows the experience of negative impacts throughout his story. Comparable to Mary, Laura's story begins by giving insight into how the 2010 FIFA World Cup generated employment opportunities.

"I just remember discussing at some point how so many people were getting jobs, you know building staff etc. but I don't think that those were sustainable jobs, after the World Cup, then what? There was nothing else for all those people to do. But for that moment it was beneficial for a lot of families and a lot of people got employment, especially people who are in manual kind of jobs because there was a lot of construction going on around, and a lot of renovation of infrastructure so I think that was a good period for people who do manual kind of jobs, I think it was a good time for them; but I don't know what they did afterwards." – Laura

Laura distinguishes that the members of the community were relatively content with getting some jobs that temporarily improved QOL as opposed to none. Similar to Mary's her story also recognises how those benefits did not last beyond the event. In Mary's story, the shifting plot toward the end of the account reveals the uncertainty of short-term opportunities. Both stories reveal the way short-term impacts can influence community members to criticise mega events. Mary and Laura give insight into a different angle: they recognise that the members of the community were somewhat gratified with the experience of short-term enrichment to QOL, as opposed to none at all. This is contrast to the 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany, which produced lasting, and useful employment opportunities. A look at Tom, Mary and Laura's stories shows how QOL at different stages of the event was unattainable for a portion of the community. Although some community members initially experienced improvement, the insight shows how for the some people, it was limited. Another similarity reveals there was little consideration of how the employment opportunities would be leveraged to benefit people during, and beyond the existence of the event. Therefore, suggesting poor planning around the longer-term legacy of the 2010 FIFA World Cup.

All the same, the sentimental sense in Mary's story suggests that she still desires to experience those benefits again. This suggests that although the benefits were fleeting, she still sees the worth and value of mega events. This is unlike Tom who feels the job opportunities were of little benefit. He seems to see little value in hosting mega events. Laura acknowledges how mega events can be of limited benefit. Parallel to the other community members' stories of a fleeting sense of wellbeing, the experience of short-term jobs has left Laura feeling discouraged and disappointed. Her story suggests she is indifferent about the mega event experience. Whilst past research recognises that mega events have increased in popularity, especially amongst developing nations (Lamberti et al. 2011; Baade and Matheson 2015), these stories disclose the impact of negative experiences on the lives of communities from the context of developing nations. In a comparative manner, past studies have also questioned the effectiveness of mega events in enriching social wellbeing of the host community. The social interactions realised during the Sydney 2000 Olympics resulted in improved wellbeing at the time (Waite 2003). However, other studies have since found contrasting evidence. For instance, Toohey (2008) and Lenskyj (2012) established that QOL in the Ryde community was compromised due to misuse of public land and marginalisation of minority groups. These negative longer-term social impacts caused disappointment. In addition, people began to question the value of hosting the Sydney 2000 Olympics suggesting changes in community attitudes (Lenskyj 2012). Over time, the continuance of those experiences looked to influence social division and discontentment. Turning to Valerie's experience of the social changes brought about by the 2010 FIFA World Cup, she is also questioning the value of the event:

"The national government's pitch at a local level was always: 'this is going to bring in jobs, it's going to bring in money...' I just remember, as soon as the World Cup ended, to be honest the big press and media attention was huge. I just remember all those jobs that were created for the World Cup, they all ended naturally... The pitch was always we are going to benefit all the community in terms of all the money coming in, but I just remember already the grumblings and of course the comparatives of how much was spent to accommodate the World Cup versus how much we actually benefited, and did the costs really justify the extent that the people went to? So what I remember at the end of the World Cup, was national pride, the fact that you know, we did it, and the world never thought that we could... So that was the height of the achievement... But aside from that, I don't remember anything really great being said in terms of how we have improved or developed. You know, I do not recall any of that type of press... Almost in a sort of the other side of the coin, the government sort of used that a lot when the questions of what did we achieve started being asked.

That was always sort of the rhetoric 'we did it, we proved that we could, we are a world country now etc. etc.' I remember that was the politicians' first thing that they would say publicly when questioned... So only looking back at it now, it was mostly used as a defence... But when you think about it, what does that mean? If you want to innumerate that, how would you?" Valerie

Like the other respondents, Valerie identifies the changes that the 2010 FIFA World Cup effected on way of life in Green Point. Valerie's story uncovers the depth of expectation attached to the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Different to Jacob, Jane Timothy and Florence; Valerie's story discloses what appears to be a fleeting sense of enjoyment and community pride, which she feels was mostly experienced during the event. However, it can also be seen that a greater sense of dissatisfaction ensued, which Valerie points out settled in almost immediately after the conclusion of the event. It could also be said that Valerie's appraisal of the 2010 FIFA World Cup relates to the criticism of the Sydney 2000 Olympics. Karoline, adds a further point to be considered, giving evidence that presents how life began to change in an unsatisfactory manner after the event:

"So we began to let out rooms when our daughter moved out and we made good pocket money, it wasn't arduous. The night that the fixtures were announced, by the next morning we were booked up, it was absolutely amazing; we were just completely booked up in a couple of hours... After the event we carried on, we carried on doing what we always did so the business simply carried on... about two years later we put it on the market and scaled back, but we still have a spare room in our house and we Air BnB now, so we still have it in us, that hosting thing, that spirit of hospitality...In terms of property and gentrification, what we did is we just scaled down; we sold our Bed and Breakfast hotel, after the hotel became too big and the rates kept going up. So we just scaled right down and also moved to a much smaller home, our rates have gone up and there are people in family homes and other people that may be renting and can no longer afford. I don't know if it's fair but the area has changed and circumstances have changed, so I guess sometimes you have to move." - Karoline

Similar to Mary's approach, Karoline initially gives context to how she benefited. Therefore, enlightening the reader on how she operated a thriving Bed and Breakfast business because of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Notwithstanding the positives, she follows this by articulating the precise ways growth of the business was affected in the few years after the event. In effect, Karoline exposes the debate about mega event legacies and their temporary positive impact on the host community. Of central concern to Brenda, Mary, Laura, Valerie and Karoline is the idea of short-lived benefits. The respondents articulate their experiences in a number of ways. For instance, Valerie's

focus is on how people's expectations were not met. The insight from Valerie's story enlightens the reader of some of the immediate changes that took place after the event concluded. Karoline's focus is on the changes she had to make, highlighting the adjustments to her lifestyle because of the event. As can be seen in figure 10, Mary and Karoline give insight into some of the negative changes that began to settle in at varying points in time after the event. In the face of such outcomes, the community members responded in ways that demonstrate how the positive impacts of a mega event can wear off and ensue in event criticism. Jessica's account makes evident how over the 6 years since the 2010 FIFA World Cup concluded; the short-term nature of positive impacts have affected her outlook of the event from positive to negative:

"The one thing I can say I observed was there was quite a lot of structural development that happened, up until the time of the World Cup was hosted and even afterwards...You would find that roads were being surfaced and paved, the transport system was upgraded...They really made an effort to really improve the efficiency, that really helped, and obviously at that time, jobs were created because of the need for people to be involved with helping the structuring and construction etc. Also in terms of security, especially I think, as we got closer to the World Cup, there was a lot that went on with security partly because South Africa is known for its high levels of crime. So you found that there were high levels of security around that period when the World Cup happened. Shortly after, it changed. – Jessica

A greater part of the above extract canvases the positive social impacts engendered leading up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup. In so doing, identifying the ways the event helped to advance QOL in Green Point at the time. Those elements of the story connect to Jacob, Jane, Timothy and Florence, whose accounts in the earlier discussion were largely positive. However, while such positives must not be discounted, they were in comparison small, when compared to the other respondents that gave greater insight into the negative impacts the event had on QOL. Despite initially praising the experience, in the closing sentence Jessica is seen to point to the event's limitations with respect to the time after the event. The sentiment expressed is similar to Brenda, Mary, Laura, Valerie and Karoline's stories; Jessica makes the reader aware of how quick the changes were after the event came to an end. In an example from the literature, Rapoza (2016) found that shortly after the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics, impacts that began as positive promptly changed to negative because of an inability to generate a sustainable legacy. In a comparable manner, Tilda initially gives insight into how the experience of positive social interactions and the celebratory atmosphere of the 2010

FIFA World Cup improved QOL during the 2010 FIFA World Cup. However, she too, swiftly changes her standpoint and informs the reader that the positive social impacts were short-lived:

“My experience first and foremost was centred on interacting with the people... All the South Africans were getting along so it really was a jovial time...I can't think of any distinct negatives during the event... post the World Cup because the euphoria kind of died down and we began to see the impacts and implications of having the world cup... but after all was said and done, the euphoria came to an end and the stage came down, so it started to make me think about and dig into the experiences that the other locals had and why did we have to build a stadium that was going to be a sitting duck when we could have refurbished Athlone stadium. Many of the locals could have benefited from better roads, better infrastructure and access to My-Citi the bus route... So just the disparities and discrepancies in that... there were big arguments about it between the locals as well as the city council... So I just started to see the flip side of the event, and just to realise that yeah, things were now tough...I don't think there is much community interaction with the stadium, I certainly haven't had a lot of interaction apart from two or three soccer games that I have gone to watch after that, so I guess life has moved on.” - Tilda

Both Jessica and Tilda explore the concept of legacy and its relevance to the 2010 FIFA World Cup. They question the purpose of mega events, giving insight into the idea that the event was somewhat of a show that did not engender a lasting social legacy. These juxtapositions serve to direct attention to the different settings found in the two experiences, highlighting Jessica and Tilda's worries about the longer-term changes to way of life. In particular, Tilda expresses that the event did not impart social benefits to the wider community and communicates feelings of frustration and disappointment. Different to the Atlanta 1996 Olympics where the Turner Field stadium is now home to the Atlanta Braves baseball team (Alm et al. 2016), and the 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany that resulted in the Bundesliga soccer teams assuming tenancy of the 12 stadiums (Matheson 2012), the Cape Town Stadium appears to have become a burden to the community. Tilda recognises the inability to leverage use of the stadium to benefit Green Point beyond the event. This appears to have affected her attitude, resulting in criticism of the event in similar ways to the other respondents. Similarly, a thought-provoking interplay transpires in Tessa's story as she goes back and forth between her experience during the FIFA 2010 World Cup, and the experiences that followed after the event:

“What do we do with all of this? So the post event era now, well certainly for me becomes the effect of having had this world cup, yes it had its benefits, and

there was definitely a lot of reaping from the tourists that actually came in and the money that we spent whilst they were here, and that had a very positive boost. However, it is definitely questionable, I am curious about the effect that those tourists had, I mean there must have been some form of a ripple effect because they came and saw and experienced South Africa. There must have been some kind of long-term analysis about how this would be beneficial for those people that I speak for. Logically thinking, there must have been some kind of analysis that showed if we host this World Cup there must be some kind of benefit that will supersede the cost that we are actually incurring to build all these things and to facilitate this event, that this will actually go on to benefit these people.” - Tessa

By revealing the positive outcomes of the event at the time, similar to Jacob, Jane, Timothy and Florence, Tessa establishes the benefits gained. This approach helps her to later reveal inconsistencies in leveraging those opportunities to effect continued benefits. Brenda, Mary, Laura, Valerie, Karoline, Jessica, Tilda and Tessa’s experiences are noted elsewhere in past literature. For instance, Toohey (2008) found that after the Sydney 2000 Olympics, the Olympic Park remained underutilised. In another example, after the Sochi 2014 Winter Olympics, the Olympic Village also remained largely unoccupied (Manfred 2014). Chapter 2 discusses how members of the community draw from their experiences to reflect on the importance, and purpose of hosting and supporting mega events (see Baumeister and Vohs 2002). Here, the respondents’ experiences uncover how the varied nature of impacts generated at varying time points of the mega event experience can result in changeable community attitudes. The festive celebrations initially brought about the experience of building social relations, which improved wellbeing at the time. However, as can be seen in figure 10, the experiences were mostly brief. The ensuing negative experiences shaped Valerie, Karoline, Jessica, Tilda and Tessa’s views of mega events negatively. It appears that the inconsistency left each respondent feeling uncertain about the purpose of mega events. Again, suggesting a reduced sense of support for mega events.

While Chapter 2 canvases literature that questions whether mega events deliver on their promise of social benefits (Ziakas 2015; Maharaj 2015; Ma and Kaplanidou 2017), the critique in these stories unfortunately imply mega events struggle to leverage positive legacies in the long-term. The manner in which Valerie, Karoline, Jessica, Tilda and Tessa retell their experiences exposes their mixed feelings. Although they seem proud of the developments brought to Green Point, the respondents appear frustrated by the

changes that have affected their social wellbeing. The approach of telling the opposing experiences draws attention to the contrast in the outcomes mega events can engender. This helps to emphasise the conflicting effect that both positive and negative outcomes can have on a community's outlooks. These stories uphold the debates some past studies have put forward about the ability of mega events to leverage long-lasting legacies (e.g. Ratnatunga and Muthaly 2000; Gaffney 2014; Hass 2015; Zimbalist 2016; Gursoy et al. 2017; Rocha et al. 2017). For example, the review in Section 2.9 depicts how the Atlanta 1996 Olympics added much pressure to social wellbeing in the long-term (Ratnatunga and Muthaly 2000). Similarly, appreciation for the Beijing 2008 Olympics began to gradually reduce after a period. According to Gursoy et al. (2011), community members felt burdened by the financial responsibility, which after some time affected their sense of wellbeing. Therefore, helping this study to establish a pattern in the way the short-term benefits of mega events have repeatedly appeared across several mega events. In this study, it appears several years later; the respondents are still searching for event's worth. The rich detail in the stories presented here brings to light another side of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. As can be seen in figure 10, the respondents' stories effectively provide a timescale, which illustrates and articulates the changing community attitudes over time. In addition, the strength of the stories exposes the event's shortcomings around legacy planning of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Therefore, providing a reference point to interpret the effect on community support for mega events.

In the following extract, Karoline again introduces another line of thought to the changes that took place over time:

“We are quite lucky because we live within walking distance to the stores, and we both ride scooters - we stopped driving cars because you just can't move, I mean the traffic is backed up, we have adapted, and our whole lifestyle has changed... Green Point probably has some of the highest growth and upsurge in value of property than any other areas in Cape Town. However, it has also attracted developers. What is happening is that we have many developers who would not have given a look in our area before and now they are saying wow we want to move here. I do not know if you have seen along the main road (Karoline refers to the main road leading to the Green Point Stadium). There is massive developments going up... Well I mean just my overall feeling is that the land has at least been regenerated and Green Point Park has been created and people are utilising it. It is so nice to go for a walk and see people feeling safe and comfortable to walk in there and this was not happening before.” - Karoline

Adding to her previous account, in this story she provides further evidence to make it known how over time, activities like mega events can bring negative changes to people's daily lives. Karoline's stories consist of a twofold, well thought-out perspective that offers insight into the complexities found in experiencing both negative and positive event impacts. In so doing, the story effectively helps this study to make a comparison between the contrasting experiences of social impacts. Karoline talks about property development, which she feels attracted people from outside the community. In Chapter 2, Roberts (2004) and Horne and Manzenreiter (2006) assert that prospective host communities are attracted by the expectation of social benefits that have the ability to transform way of life, improving social wellbeing and QOL. Jacob, Jane, Timothy and Florence's stories highlight some of the specific transformations that Green Point has benefited from. To a degree, the above analysis of Karoline's story articulates some of the positive transformative capacity of mega events. Connecting to Tom's story, the insights on the benefits are not sustained. Instead, Tom's story connects to the negative aspects highlighted by Karoline. The influence of gentrification and the detriment to the community sense of wellbeing is evident:

"The World Cup intensified gentrification, its now even beyond affluent, it's now a foreign thing, and a lot of Europeans have moved here and bought accommodation since the World Cup. So you will find that in Green Point, for a lot of those locals, they will have to move out of Green Point because those are really unaffordable properties now. But for guys with British pounds, guys with US dollars... and comparing to where the ZAR rand is now...it's a good destination to buy property and the locals really cannot compete. So the World Cup probably intensified the attraction. People came, even the so called hooligans would have come and seen wow this is quite nice, I can get a beachfront property for say 1 million ZAR rand or 2 million ZAR rand. This is like a 1 bedroom, which no one in the context of Cape Town itself, being an employee earning ZAR rand would pay because it just does not make economic sense. And a lot of people are buying property for Airbnb purposes so that is sort of how it has unravelled." -Tom

This interpretation of lifestyle changes has not been without its critics. For example, Tom's account enlightens the reader of the negative changes that community members of Green Point have had to endure because of the international attention brought about by the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Tom and Karoline's stories isolate a number of issues surrounding the lifestyle changes community members have had to make over time to adapt to different way of life. This point is also sustained by the work of Sampson (2011), Kollwe (2011), Sadd (2012), Watt (2013) and Giulianotti et al. (2015b). They

illuminate how the London 2012 Olympics attracted non-community members - middle-class families to the East London area, displacing the original community members who largely belonged to lower income households. Evidence in support of Tom's position about foreigners influencing gentrification can be found in the literature. That London 2012 Olympics in a similar way attracted foreign property investors, such as the Qatari Royal family, who influenced an increase in the cost of living in Stratford (Kollewe 2011). According to Giulianotti et al. (2015b), the effects pushed out some community members. The key differences between the outcomes had a direct influence on Karoline and Tom's attitudes toward mega events. Karoline's story to a degree highlights how attracting international attention can bring about positive influences. However, the nuances in her story focus on the negative, to show how QOL has been affected in the longer-term. In Tom's story it is clear how those experiences corroded community welfare and influenced criticism of the event. This appears to have had a much broader effect on the idea of community support.

The opening remarks to Jessica's story shows how the idea of reduced community support for mega events has become of concern:

"I do not think there was ever a full breakdown to the average person of what the benefits of the World Cup were ... There was so much focus on the idea that we are going to host the World Cup. It is going to benefit us a lot but at this point, I do not think the average person can actually pin point the benefits for themselves... My concerns are around the poorer people, the follow through afterwards. I do not think the poorer people would really be aware of the long-term social impacts of the event. It was good that the World Cup was held but there are people that still stay in shacks, so what are the benefits that they got apart from the fact the roads were cleaned and the transport was improved. I mean that is a plus. But then what else after that? People were still out of jobs, unemployment is still high, but at the time that the bid was made, they gave this impression that there would be jobs and the economy was going to grow – which it did at the time, but it is about the long-term. Also because we are an African country so we are more vulnerable, I do not have any statistics about this but am aware of this." – Jessica

Notwithstanding the insight from Jessica's earlier account, this story further discloses the sense of scepticism and wariness over the value of the mega event experience. Building on from the experiences of Tom, Brenda, Mary, Laura, Valerie, Karoline, Jessica, Tilda and Tessa; it is clear that Jessica's perception of mega events leading up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup had also been influenced by the expectation of

improvements to social welfare. However, she reveals this outlook was called into question by her first-hand experience of temporary improvements. Her eventual criticism suggests reduced support for mega events, upholding the position that negative experiences can discourage community members from supporting for future mega events. Chapter 2 discusses the occurrence of referendums in prospective host communities, which have influenced the withdrawal of some bids due to a lack of community support. Turning to Kristen's perspective, her story demonstrates the effects of negative experiences on community outlooks:

"Afterwards, um, in terms of the event it was almost like as soon as the event stopped, everyone started thinking. Talk about the event switched to negative really fast, maybe because people were no longer pushing products...was the stadium too expensive, and was all the upgrading too expensive? All these people came and left just like that, and you know talk got negative, shame. I think when the government promoted it and justified all this spending on the event, I think people got in their minds that they were going to get so much more than they did, and I know some people got a lot more than others out of the event, but I just felt mixed feelings." – Kristen

Similar to Jessica, her account mostly consists of event criticism and a general sense of scepticism. Kristen's story is focused on the time after the event, and the value in her criticism of the World Cup puts forward how a lack of confidence in mega events can quickly ensue. In one of the earlier stories, Jessica states: *"Shortly after, it changed."* This statement connects to Kristen's account, both stories give examples of the short-lived positive changes to way of life in Green Point. The undertones in Kristen's story suggest a reluctance to support mega events developed in the community. Experiences like this connect to the discussion in Chapter 2 in relation to the occurrence of community referendums against mega events. In addition, Kristen's story helps to identify how some people benefited more than others did. This makes known how in some instances, the experience of the 2010 FIFA World Cup influenced group division as opposed to a sense of togetherness and Ubuntu that is explained through this study's guiding theory. The discontentment expressed through community behaviour at the end of a mega event is not the only evidence of the negative changes that mega events produce. Community members such as Ursula expose the continuing problems six years after the event:

"For me, the World Cup after a month or two became a very distant memory. It became alive for me again last year when I was working in a competition law department in the context of the fines that were being imposed on construction companies. We were trying to defend companies likes Gradient, Rock and Trunk

(real name of companies changed for ethical purposes) for their alleged participation in collusive tendering. That is when I actually realised that there was a completely corrupt circle at the time. One of the issues that came up in our interactions with the competition commissions was how unfair the whole process had been. Not only for the other small to medium construction companies who would have otherwise gotten those tenders, but also how unfair it actually was to the people because of the wasted resources...Those opportunities could have created more employment and promoted growth in our community but also they didn't... I think one of our clients recently got fined ZAR 20 million (Roughly £1,130,000.00) and obviously they argued that the fine would have debilitated their company but for a huge company like that, that fine is not even a fraction of how much they actually made out of that collusion during the World Cup..." – Ursula

Ursula's story shows how negative impacts can also emerge several years after a mega event has concluded. Given the current debate with regards to the temporal aspect of mega events, one of the strengths in Ursula's story is the provision of evidence to identify a clear time period when things began to change. The distinction in Ursula's account points to how the event became a distant memory in such a short space of time, suggesting the experience was transient. Again, this connects to one of Jessica's earlier statements: *"Shortly after, it changed."* Meanwhile, in an earlier account, Karoline states: *"about two years later."* As illustrated in figure 10, this particular evidence points to the changes that took place in medium-term after the event had concluded. In a like manner, Andrew's criticism of the event also points to a particular period:

"My experience after the World Cup in the past few years, since then the general sort of diligence around the authorities has diminished and deteriorated a lot and we have now got a lot of problems. There has been a huge raise in rates and a big drop in the quality of care that the city is taking over the residents surrounding the stadium precinct. The other main concerns are the traffic and lack of management around Green Point community and the lack of care by the city to manage the influx of traffic in the area. We feel like it would be a start if some of the money and profits that the organisers and city council collected from this enormous event went back into community management, community law enforcement and litter control. This area was developed because of the stadium and that development has in turn sparked a certain amount of negative activity - crime, beggars etc. and the city has not taken adequate response to that activity, and have not taken responsibility to manage the problems." – Andrew

Andrew's protests show how over time, the event's negative impacts became more apparent. The evidence highlights how the outcomes have had an enduring burdensome effect on QOL in Green Point. Similarly, the strength in Jackson's story gives insight into the frustrations that took place time before the event:

“Don’t know if you know the background of how the event came to Green Point, it was quite controversial at the time. Our Mayor at the time – Helen Zille, felt that we should do this as economically as possible and try to motivate for the event to be done in Newlands rather than Green Point, and for the Newlands stadium to be updated. However, Sepp Blatter insisted that the event should be held here in Green Point...initially the community was very against the event altogether. In fact there was a big community movement and demonstration against having it here in Green Point... The disappointments have been that we are fiercely saddled with this massive maintenance bill and that is a real problem. Our worry is that there will be further erosion and commercialisation of public open space... There was the taxes raised to pay for these developments but we are happy to do that you know if it stops there, but now the city is talking about commercialising the fields next-door to the stadium and commercialising this park area and that is really our problem, the perpetuation of this. Then the city promises us that they will find an anchor tenant. They were absolutely sure that they will find an anchor tenant to run this place and I think that they thought that rugby would come here, but rugby has a proud tradition of being at Newlands stadium. I’ll give an example, you can’t take away cricket from Lord’s Cricket Grounds, you can’t take tennis away from Wimbledon...” – Jackson

Although lengthy, Jackson’s story gives insight into the experiences that took place concerning the decision-making process to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Green Point. Chapter 4 identifies that Green Point is reliant on tourism related activities, including the hosting of events. Furthermore, the discussion establishes the Cape Town Stadium (formerly Green Point Stadium) was purpose built for the World Cup with the intention to benefit the community in the longer-term. However, in this extract, Jackson reveals a legacy of an underutilised stadium that continues to cause feelings of antagonism. This insight relates to Andrew’s frustrations of the disruption to way of life (traffic congestion, increased crime rates etc.) because of the stadium. The accounts from Ursula, Andrew and Jackson give insight into the feelings that can influence change to community attitudes and bring about loss of community support. Having discussed in Chapter 2 how poor event management can be a huge hindrance to the development of society (see Olken 2009), Ursula’s account exposes various ways the experience compromised attainment of QOL in Green Point over the years. Linking to previous stories, this account demonstrates specific effects on community outlooks; the experiences agitated Ursula, resulting in her grim opinion of mega events. This evidence is in support of data from the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil and the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics. According to Belisário (2014) and Buendia (2017) both events influenced a loss of community support brought about by mismanagement of event outcomes. However, different to the more recently concluded 2014 FIFA World Cup

in Brazil and the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics, Ursula, Andrew and Jackson expose how over a 6-year period, the effects gradually became worse. As a result, making it clearer how with time, some members of the community can develop negative attitudes.

Chapter 2 discusses the Beijing Olympics and the Sochi 2014 Winter Olympics, identifying how the host communities of those events also felt burdened by the outcomes (Gursoy et al. 2011; Maharaj 2015). In Green Point, Andrew makes it clear to see how the negative social impacts have influenced changes to social behaviour, bringing about a diminished sense of QOL. Although *Gemeinschaft*, *Communitas*, and *CoP* prioritise the idea of community, Andrew's story suggests that the quality of his social interactions has since reduced. This points to how social bonds have weakened in the time since the event concluded. Further to this, the frustration in Jackson's story conveys a sense of conflict. The issues surrounding problems such as commercialisation of public land near the stadium have left Jackson feeling let down, changing the way he looks at mega events. In Chapter 2, this study explores some motives for community support, arguing that mega events are increasingly losing community support (Prayag et al. 2013; Ziakas 2015; Gursoy et al. 2017). As can be seen in figure 10, drawing on the respondents' stories guides this study to a better understanding of community support. This study offers evidence to chart changes as they occurred in either the time before, the time during, and or the time after the event: short-term, medium term and longer-term. The development of a timeline has noticeable advantages that can enable researchers of mega event legacies to identify ways to leverage better event outcomes that last beyond the duration of the event.

9.1. Summary

This chapter sought to address the first objective: to examine the individual experiences of community members of Green Point, and how these have shaped their view of mega events. Over the years since the 2010 FIFA World Cup came to an end, it is evident that the disappointing experiences continue to attract criticism. The variety found in the positive and negative experiences, and the impact on QOL show the different attitudes

community members have developed toward the development of mega events. The general criticism of the 2010 FIFA World Cup exposes dissatisfaction between community members. In some cases, those feelings appear to have deepened over time. Although the event influenced some positive changes to QOL, in some instances, the 2010 FIFA World Cup unsuccessfully leveraged those benefits beyond a particular period of time. Comparable to other stories presented in the other themes, the respondents feel that the community could have benefited more from planning that considered the longer-term perspective. Overall, as can be seen in figure 10, the improvements to QOL were limited. In some accounts, the event's limited ability to leverage longer-term impacts has influenced a sense of disengagement and reduced community support. Charting those various experiences provides this study with different timelines that contribute to a well-rounded appreciation of changing attitudes: the time before, the time during, and the time after the event: short-term, medium term and longer-term. This theme ultimately supports the idea that exploring community stories after lengths of time can avail broader, more reflective and richer experiences to appreciate a different understanding of community support for mega events.

Chapter 10. Fostering Community Support for Mega Events

10.1. Introduction

This study takes the definition of community to comprise people that live in the same location, sharing some mutual qualities, experiences and relational bonds. The stories in this study have revealed that community members of Green Point experienced a wide range of both positive and negative social impacts during the 2010 FIFA World Cup. To understand the effect on community support, this chapter looks at evidence of community formation, to see how the celebration helped to bring people together. Thereafter, this chapter explores evidence for Ubuntu as integral to community formation. In so doing, this provides a unique way to see how the mega event experience can affect community attitudes in the long-term, and the influence on community support. Drawing from the guiding theory, which also connects to the Ubuntu value system, this section progresses existing theory to combine the idea of togetherness to account for Ubuntu and the various forms of community support. The strength of the approach establishes the premise to present a timeline for considering the changing attitudes to mega events over time. The comparative assessment over time discloses the different positive and negative social impacts and how they can affect a host community. Lastly, this chapter suggests a more comprehensive approach to defining community support, including both positions of community formation, a) location and b) mutual qualities.

10.2. Evidence for Community Formation

Having analysed and interpreted the primary data in the previous chapters, this section offers evidence for community formation, revitalisation of Ubuntu and the transformative ability of the 2010 FIFA World Cup to improve QOL in Green Point. The data shows that at the time of the event, the experience largely helped to bring people together in Green Point, to celebrate and develop as a community. In addition, this opportunity enabled people to foster social interactions, influencing some of the

respondents' views in a positive way. The interpretation of these experiences over a period suggests positive outlooks and some community support for mega events. It is, however, important to note the limitations of the experience of togetherness. The short-term nature of some of the social interactions resulted in several criticisms. This point is also sustained by evidence that uncovers how some community members were left out, revealing disappointment and some changes in community attitudes over time.

10.2.1 Ubuntu as Integral to Community Formation in Green Point

It is clear to see from the data that the experience of a mega event can contribute to the formation of relational bonds, easing the process of mutual engagement and *Communitas*. According to Brint (2001) and Filo et al. (2013) the operational spirit of *Gemeinschaft* is firstly cultural. Connecting to Ubuntu, which explains humanity and community formation in African society (Muxe Nkondo 2007), the experience of *Gemeinschaft* through the 2010 FIFA World Cup gave people from Green Point the chance to embrace a spirited sense of togetherness. It is important to emphasis the strengths of a mega event's ability to bring people together, and how this shared experience can inspire engagement of community cultural values. Chapter 3 identifies that the meaning of community has mostly been developed from Eurocentric epistemic views (Amit and Rapport 2002). For this reason, this study put forward the Ubuntu belief system to help make sense of and interpret the context of an African community. Mbigi and Maree (1995) focus on the idea of Ubuntu as located within the notion of a community and its members. By the same token, Tambulasi and Kayuni (2005) argue that the belief system highlights the idea of people experiencing life together and mutually engaging in the community that they belong to.

Owing to this discussion, the knowledge collected in this study shows that community members from Green Point valued experiencing togetherness and a sense of community, which past research understands as the principle of humanity in the African belief system of Ubuntu (see Muxe Nkondo 2007; Vervliet 2009; Sibanda 2014). Moreover, Giulianotti and Robertson (2012) emphasise that the idea of humanity is of

central importance to Tonnies' ([1887] 1957) *Gemeinschaft* because of its depiction of group camaraderie, cultural values and the appreciation of togetherness. This spirited sense of togetherness is a common thread throughout the themes; the respondents valued their shared experiences, social interactions and the opportunity to mutually engage. The community members from this society interpreted this feeling as the African spirit that the 2010 FIFA World Cup helped to revitalise. There is also, however, a further point to be considered.

The marginalisation of individuals in the community, the experience of social division and inequalities amongst people belonging to the same community also influenced feelings of frustration and disappointment. The application of Ubuntu principles suggests any issues embedded in the negative social experience of a mega event create disharmony within a community. This, in turn, affects all aspects of the community's way of life, group relations and ultimately, the African spirit of Ubuntu. Of central concern to the experience of the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Green Point were the negative experiences and how they influenced mixed feelings. This inclined some of the respondents to look at mega events with a sense of uncertainty. The emergence of criticism and opposing attitudes suggests that negative experiences over time can influence negative outlooks and the loss of community support. While such disappointments must not be discounted, what is important is that mega events can contribute to community formation. Although the outcome of negative experiences continues to be a matter of debate, evidence of Ubuntu as integral to community formation provides mega event organisers information to be able to understand a different way that the mega event experience can affect community attitudes in the long-term and the influence on community support.

10.3. Theory Development

Each of the above-discussed positions makes an important contribution, offering evidence that is to be linked to existing theory. Tonnies' ([1887] 1957) *Gemeinschaft*, Turner's (1969) *Communitas* and Lave and Wenger's (1991) CoP concept guide this

research, offering a set of assumptions that explain how a community is founded on the premise of relationships that are formed out of deep connections over a unique experience. As discussed in Chapter 3, *Gemeinschaft* is concerned with the closeness of social relations amongst individuals and emphasises the idea of being in common (Tonnie [1887] 1957). Meanwhile, Turner's work is largely concerned with the development of communal beliefs that characterise social groups. Central to the idea of *Communitas* are the principles of mutual engagement, people bonding in a place, and their shared experiences. Key components include the social realities of group practices, cultural values, and group behaviour, which connect to the Ubuntu value system. Essential features of Turner's theorisation of *Communitas* also relate to Lave and Wenger's (1991) CoP concept. The CoP concept conceptualises the wider process and practice of coming together through a shared experience. Lave and Wenger (1991) contribute explanations that explore people's traditional values and practices (e.g. Ubuntu) and the effect on mutual engagement, the group's common purpose or joint enterprise, and the group's continued development of social practices and human action (shared repertoires). Figure 11 illustrates how the theory underpinning this study explains the phenomena of people coming together through this idea of a shared experience.

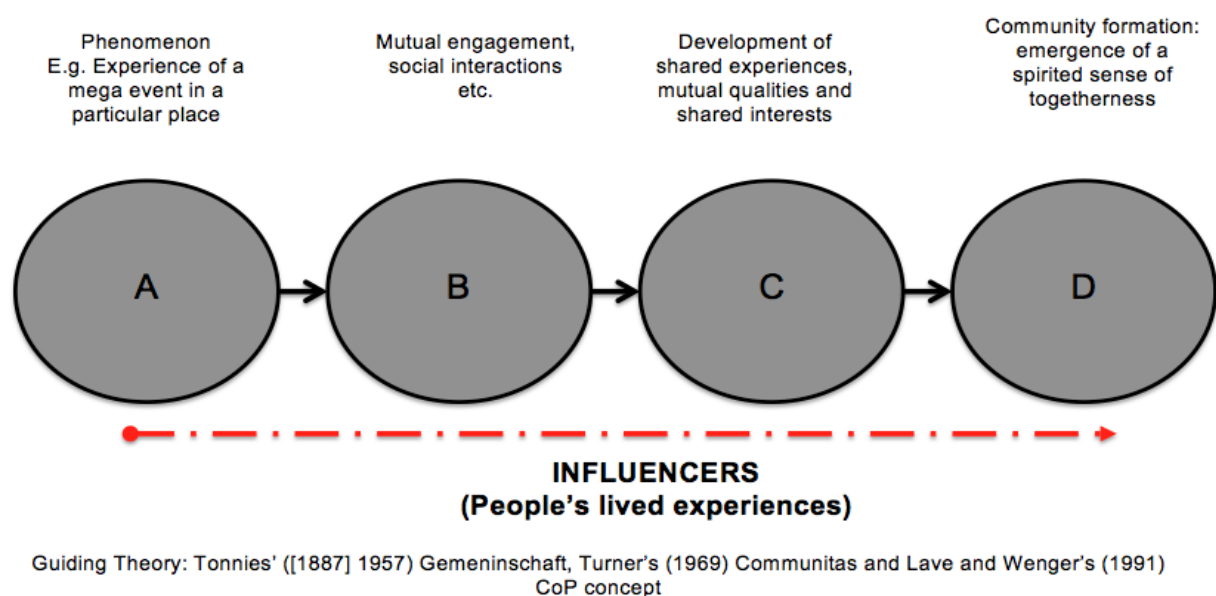


Figure 11 Condensation of Guiding Theory

Author (2018)

Drawing from the guiding theory, figure 11 suggests phenomena, such as the experience of a mega event, can influence people to come together, share an experience and form relational bonds. In turn, the mutual qualities and shared interests that are fostered, enlighten the process of community formation. The theory has not only helped this study to analyse, but also to challenge and contribute knowledge to address the limitations found in the existing theoretical principles. In Chapter 3, Cohen (1985) and Crow and Allan (1995) make the distinction that fostering relationships is not without its complications, and this can be seen in the outcomes of this study. Again, in Chapter 3, Arai and Pedlar (2003) and Mathebe (2017) claim that while *Gemeinschaft* signifies togetherness, mutual values and shared interests, an important criticism is that the theory does not pay attention to the occasional disparities or conflict that can arise within a community; thereby exposing some of the guiding theory's limitations. *Gemeinschaft* is limited in offering principles that explain the discord that can emerge between people within society. The findings in this study provide evidence to show how the process of community formation is not always harmonious and without difficulty. The contribution in figure 12 offers an unusual way to explore, identify and analyse the assumptions stated in *Gemeinschaft*, *Communitas* and *CoP* concept as applied to the outcome of togetherness through a mega event experience.

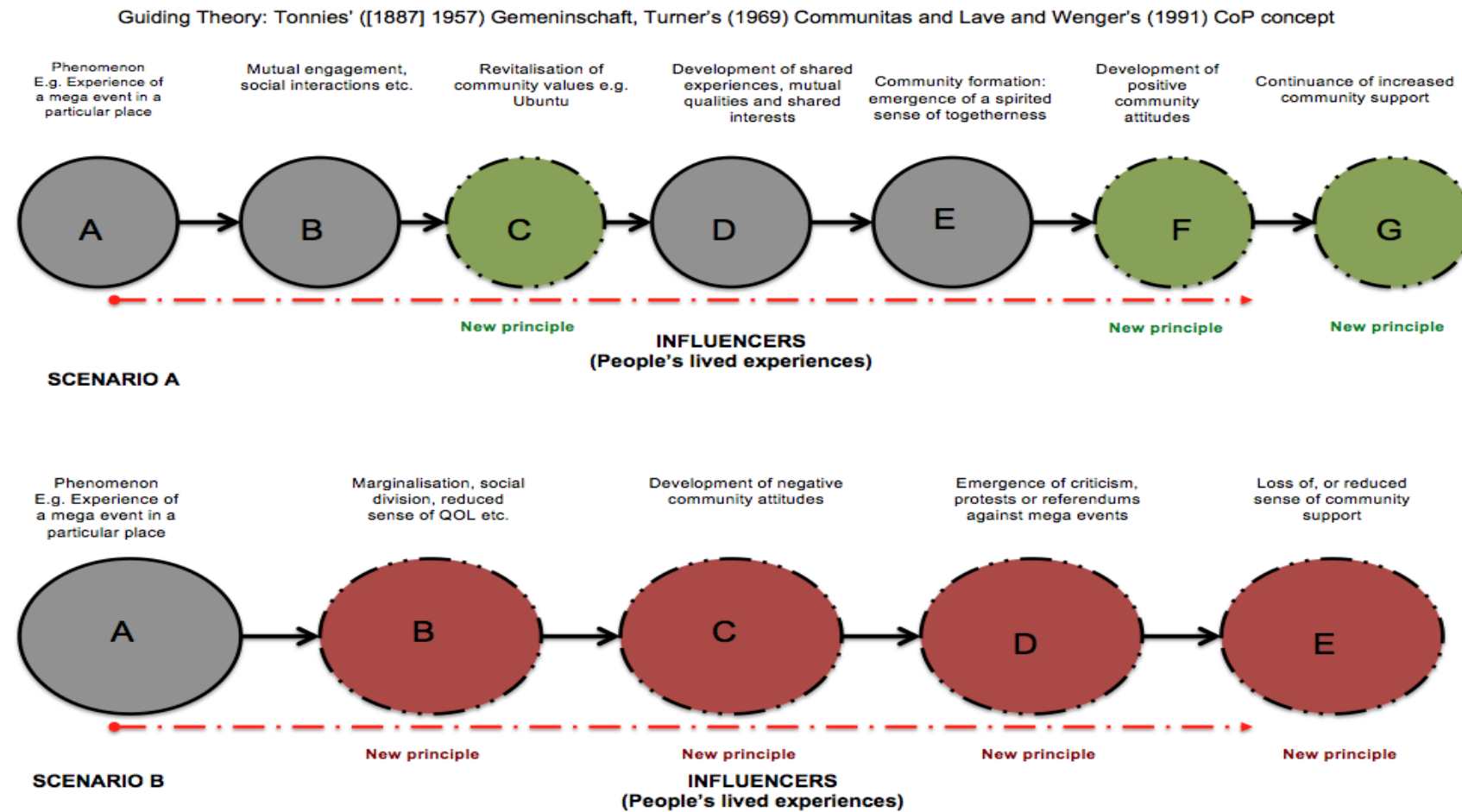


Figure 12 Community Formation in the context of a Mega event experience

Author (2018)

Figure 12 charts this study's contribution to theory as guided by Tonnies' ([1887] 1957) *Gemeinschaft*, Turner's (1969) *Communitas* and Lave and Wenger's (1991) CoP concept. The insight develops logic that combines the idea of togetherness and the social relations that emerge from the experience of mega events. The above paragraph establishes that the conditions presented in figure 11 are somewhat limited. The variables do not account for Ubuntu or the outcome of community support for mega events. In addition, the theory does not explain the outcome of social division or a reduced sense of community support for mega events as it relates to community formation. Figure 12 expands upon the theory to introduce two scenarios in the context of mega events. Consistent with figure 11, the first scenario considers the outcome of togetherness as a result of people's positive shared experiences. Taking this a step further, this study expounds on this aspect of the theory to account for the long-term fostering of togetherness. The data shows a lasting sense of togetherness can be realised on a long-term basis through people interacting repeatedly in recreational spaces developed because of the event. In the case of Green Point, respondents talk of the Green Point Park, the Biodiversity Park and the V&A Waterfront Shopping Complex as outcomes that followed on from the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Through some of the stories discussed in the findings' chapters, it is clear to see how these spaces have continued to have an impact on the on-going experience of Ubuntu and togetherness. Looking to the second scenario, this aspect shows how those mega events that do not foster a sense of togetherness can result in negative experiences that go against the idea of community and Ubuntu. The second scenario in figure 12 attends to the limitation in the guiding theory, acknowledging the possibility of contention as group behaviour that can result in social division and marginalisation of others; which ultimately affects QOL. To that end, expanding upon existing theory facilitates consideration of the possibility of marginalisation and other negative experiences that can affect community support. In acknowledging the threat of disagreement or negative experiences that can affect harmony within the community, this study offers the view that people's commonalities such as their Ubuntu values can be what bind them together.

Linking back to existing theory, the key components of Turner's (1969) *Communitas* include the social realities of group practices, cultural values, and group behaviour. Turning to the data, respondents interpreted this feeling as a sense of deep camaraderie;

enlightening the research to see Ubuntu values as central to the communion between people with a unique shared experience. Lave and Wenger's (1991) CoP concept further develops those ideas assisting this research to appreciate how the experience enabled the respondents to value their traditional customs (e.g. Ubuntu). The value added by this contribution highlights community support as an outcome of feeling togetherness/a sense of community/Ubuntu realised through the experience of a mega event. The 'new principles' as identified in figure 12, demonstrate the value of the recommended additional variables. Identification of Ubuntu's links to *Communitas*, *Gemeinschaft*, and CoP concept help to map the contribution to existing theory, offering a more modern idea of the term community. The broader approach embraced in this study addresses the research gap, developing knowledge to see how embracing Ubuntu values can enable different people to foster a sense of community through sharing an experience such as a mega event. Interpretation of the knowledge in figure 12 can be useful to see the significance of Ubuntu as an outcome of mega events in South Africa. This way, people's experiences of mega events can be taken into consideration and leveraged to meet the community's desired outcomes beyond the existence of the event. Drawing from the 'new principles' can guide mega event organisers to be better informed about the plans supporting their event development.

10.4. A Timeline For Taking Into Account The Changing Attitudes To Mega Events Over Time

Having identified how the mega event experience can bring people together and generate experiences that build a sense of community to foster community support, the focus now turns to consider a community's changing attitudes to mega events over time. This section presents evidence to address the final objective: to identify the changing attitudes to mega events over time, and the influence on community support. The discussion in section 2.9 identifies that there is a dearth of knowledge that shows the impact of the temporal dimension on changing attitudes. Evidence from this study embodies the view that mismanagement of long-term impacts can affect people's experiences which, in turn, can be detrimental to fostering community support. As the data in figures 7, 8, 9 and 10 illustrate, the exploration of changing attitudes gives

insight into the significance of leveraging the experience of togetherness, Ubuntu and other social impacts that bring about improvements to QOL beyond the duration of the event. Linking back to the themes, producing worthwhile shared experiences can enable the formation of community, revitalise local traditions that influence development of society, whilst shaping community pride and improving QOL.

Ultimately, this can influence community support for mega events. It can be seen through the data analysis that the experience facilitated a means for some community members to foster closeness with one another and developed social wellbeing. Through this unique experience, those respondents were able to show kindness and compassion to one another, helping them to uphold their sense of community values. Despite some of the criticisms, and the short-term impacts experienced, the spirit of Ubuntu remained largely untarnished. At the various stages of the experience, people were bound together in ways that strengthened the community's sense of humanity as encouraged by the Ubuntu belief system. As the data in themes 6, 7, 8 and 9 has shown, an equally significant aspect of community support is people's attitudes toward the mega event experience. Whilst considering the value of fostering community support, it is important to note the influence of time on the way people view their experiences. Figure 13 (Proponents and Opponents of Community Support Framework) succinctly articulates the key insights gathered from figures 7, 8, 9 and 10 to demonstrate the mega event experience over time.

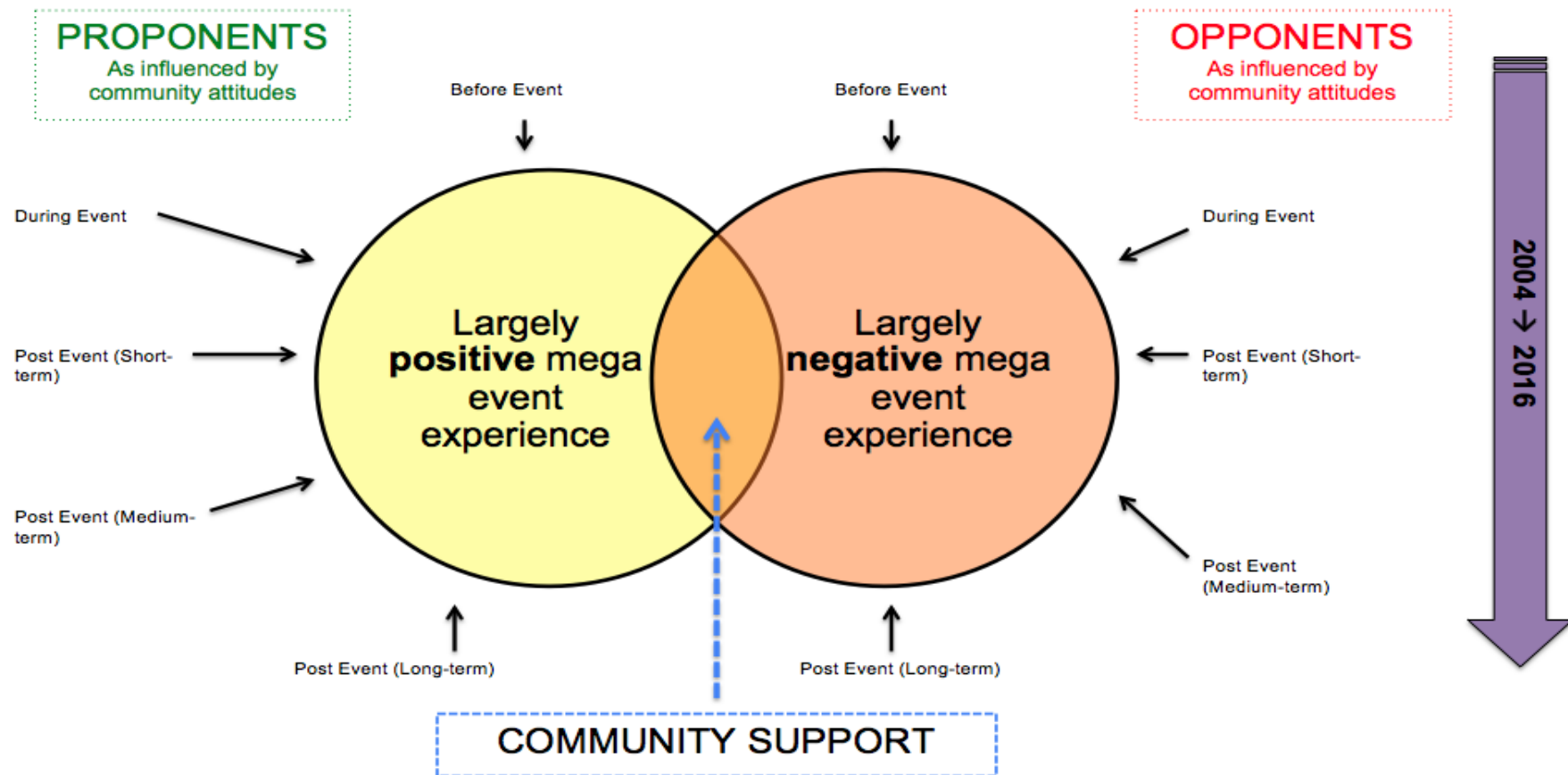


Figure 13 Proponents and Opponents of Community Support Framework

Author (2018)

Figure 13 shows how changes in community attitudes can influence community support as indicated through either the proponents or opponents. Alongside figure 13, table 10 provides some abridged data from the timelines presented in figures 7, 8, 9 and 10 in the findings' chapters. This information provides support to clarify the proponents and opponents presented in figure 13, charting each stage of the mega event experience, considering changing attitudes over time. As can be seen in figure 13, with support from the themes and information in table 10, those community members that maintained positive attitudes over time are considered proponents of the development of mega events. Owing to their largely positive experiences, those community members are likely to provide support in the future. In contrast, the opponents of the mega event experience have responded in a few ways that suggest a reduced sense of community support. This can be seen from the criticism in the themes and from the information in table 10.

The intersection of positive and negative experiences includes those community members who are proponents and or opponents of mega events. The relationship between the proponents and opponents as illustrated in the intersection of figure 13 is where the knowledge of people's experiences mixes to reveal whether the community would support the development of mega events or not. In this study, the timeline is defined by the time before the 2010 FIFA World Cup, up till 2016 when the data was collected. Although the respondents do not state a decisive starting point to define the time prior to the event, this timeline is estimated based on the twelve-year period from when the bid was awarded in 2004 to the data collection. In addition, some of the respondents' stories provide evidence in support of this timeline, also offering insights that give awareness of their future concerns. The following extracts provide data that refers to the bid process of the 2010 FIFA World Cup:

"I think that the moment we got selected was just so exciting, it was almost up there with the Mandela moment when we won the 1995 Rugby World Cup. It was amazing, I will remember that night we got elected forever (excited and giddy), I remember I was like my goodness, us, little old South Africa, who would have thought?" - Karoline

"But I think there should be more responsibility on the part of these people bidding for and running these big events to make sure that there is long-term use and long-term legacy from them, absolutely." – Jackson

“At the time that the bid was made, they gave this impression that there would be jobs and the economy was going to grow – which it did at the time, but it’s about the long-term.” – Jessica

*“So I think maybe they were overly ambitious with the stadium, but then again did they have a choice? **Like after they won the bid to host the World Cup**, obviously they needed the space for the World Cup, I don’t know if they could have built something smaller at the same standard, because I wonder how much they use just to maintain the stadium.” - Laura*

Table 10 Key Research Findings

Before Event (Positive/ Proponents)	Before Event (Negative/ Opponents)	During Event (Positive/ Proponents)	During Event (Negative/ Opponents)	Post Event (Short-term) (Positive/ Proponents)	Post Event (Short-term) (Negative/ Opponents)	Post Event (Medium-term) (Positive/ Proponents)	Post Event (Medium-term) (Negative/ Opponents)	Post Event (Long-term) (Positive/ Proponents)	Post Event (Long-term) (Negative/ Opponents)
“To me, it was something like an opportunity to understand the African people and valuing them as people.” – Mary	“I wanted to stick around... But suddenly they had, almost in an army state sort of way forced the students to get out of university residency, they were chasing up on people and it was very clear that we had to get out so they could clean up the apartments and get in tourists...” Valerie	“My experience first and foremost was centred on interacting with the people... All the South Africans were getting along so it really was a jovial time.” – Tilda	“So to some extent it felt as if we were one, but to some extent it remained the same as it is now or as it was before.” – Mary	“I remember at the end of the World Cup, was national pride...that was the height of the achievement.” - Valerie	“It was almost like as soon as the event stopped... Talk about the event switched to negative really fast.” – Kristen	“I feel so good and I enjoy my job, it feels more secure now... I have security that I won’t lose my job anyhow because the place is always busy.” - Florence	I expected to be more involved and to see more and experience more, but I don’t think my expectation materialised the way I wanted.” – Valerie	“I feel so good and I enjoy my job, it feels more secure now... I have security that I won’t lose my job anyhow because the place is always busy.” - Florence	“I was expecting that the event would bring people together, in terms of being one on a long-term basis. However, there is a little bit of racism that is still going on.”- Mary
“So before, there was obviously this excitement building up to it... I thought wow, we will have the spotlight on us.” – Jane		“I have never seen so many people of different races come together with such pride...that is actually a memory that I really do cherish because that opening day where it was white people, black people and coloured people in	“To some extent it felt as if we were one, but to some extent things remained the same as they were before.” – Mary	“So many people from this community that were brought together...I look back and think, that was fun and I would do it all over again.” – Jane	“Oh ok that was cool but what now? ...So that spike of intrigue and interest spiked very high during the actual tournament... But then after that, reality starts to set in. Ok life is back to normal, extended	“During the time the atmosphere didn’t leave for a while, even post the World Cup, definitely it was shaken but it took a bit of a moment to actually	“There was all this talk about it has brought South Africans together...I don’t know if it was for everyone. I don’t know if that was everyone’s experience... It really wasn’t so	Every time I look back, it was great for me as a person, taught me how to interact with different people” – Jane	“Those opportunities could have created more employment and promoted growth in our community” – Ursula

		the bar, and everyone was just so elated and so proud of what was happening” – Ursula			issues settle in, race relations back to normal.” – Tom	change.” – Tessa	during the time.” – Tilda		
“Before the World Cup, a few months to the event, there had been serious cases of xenophobia but then when the event was held, one found that there was a bit of closeness fostered.” Jessica		“It was definitely a breeding ground for togetherness and community, which is something that is very needed in South Africa especially when it comes to the Ubuntu culture.” – Tessa	“It’s a momentary thing and South Africa returns to being South Africa again this whole dream of an event.” – Tilda	“It put up our spirits as Africans together...I wish the event would come back again, I am more than ready.” – Florence	“But you know, after the event the street beggars came back, as you can see they are there now. During the event, there was not even one beggar.” - Florence			“My overall feeling is that the land has at least been regenerated. We have all benefited from the upgrade and I will forever be grateful... You do not have to pay for entrance into the park, and there is so much diversity there.” – Karoline	“Why is there no moral compass to say displacing people is not right?” Tessa
“Around 2009... the year before... that’s when I noticed that the euphoria started to kick in for people” -Tom		“It made us somehow unite. You would see people of different races talking together, chatting together and laughing together it was such a happy atmosphere.” – Brenda			“After the World Cup, a lot of things just kind of went back to normal.” – Jane			“There’s no question... We all recognise that there have been definite benefits – the urban park that everybody loves, as you can see it right now how busy it is, Green Point looks better.” – Jackson	“Everyday issues still exist... You know race relations went back to normal...” - Tom

Author (2018)

Consistent with this research's themes, the information presented in table 10 underlines a variety of issues and challenges related to the experience of mega events. The comparative assessment over time discloses the different positive and negative social impacts and how they can affect a host community. The implications from the combined knowledge of the themes, figure 13 and table 10 suggest that in the time before the event, community members tend to be anxious, curious, expectant, excited and optimistic. People generally look forward to the social benefits of the event and the possibility of positive changes to their way of life. During the time of the event, community members at large appear to have a favourable, impassioned and spirited sense of support for mega events. The evidence clarifies that during the mega event, a strong sense of community can develop. In the context of Green Point, Ubuntu values were revitalised, expanding perspectives on the local way of doing things. This time is also the height of euphoria; this aspect of people's feelings suggests strong, positive community views of mega events.

In the short-term after the event, there seems to be a general sense of appreciation for mega events, however, the first signs of dissatisfaction are also discernible. This aspect shows another line of thought to the abrupt ending of some positive experiences. In the immediate time after the end of the event, some community members still uphold favourable attitudes as influenced by the on-going positive experiences. However, an interesting viewpoint on shifting attitudes and social behaviours also begins to emerge. Although some evidence highlights that, generally, people remain content currently, the first signs of social disengagement and event criticism begin to emerge. It also becomes clear at that during the event some people were marginalised, thus influencing feelings of not belonging. In the medium-term after the event, community members give the impression of mixed feelings of appreciation. Further to this, a general uneasiness about supporting mega events begins to settle in for some. At this stage, some of the benefits initially experienced are continuing to change, influencing some community members to notice shifts in group behaviour, suggesting fragmentation of togetherness. The changes from positive to negative over time are observed to affect a steady decline in community support. Looking to the long-term, the mega event's longer-term impacts appear to begin influencing a greater sense of disapproval and cynicism. Although some community members can still identify with

the feeling of social togetherness at this time, this stage of the event demonstrates the greatest shift in the level of community support for mega events. Of equal importance, this stage marks the onset of behavioural precursors that suggest some deeper negative attitudes toward mega events. Although some community members continue to strongly believe the event realised a worthy legacy at large, the growing alternative perspectives reveal frustration at the short-lived impacts, and a sense of doubt over the worthiness of the experience.

As the data has shown, over time those that were initially proponents and held positive views can become opponents of the mega event experience. This critique unfortunately implies that short-term or changeable impacts are not welcome and/or desirable, and their impact on community attitudes can influence loss of community support. In the context of Green Point, there appears to be an overall acceleration of reduced community support for mega events. This interpretation stems from the respondents' experiences that expose a weakening sense of togetherness, diminished value for traditional beliefs such as Ubuntu, experience of marginalisation, the emergence of social division and a reduced sense of QOL over time. Those social changes have in part incited criticism of the mega event experience, which some community members suggest has become undesirable because they feel mega events bring disruption to their way of life. Therefore, of central concern to the development of mega events is the idea of community support, which the data has shown remains a growing problem.

Whilst this is true, some of the data also shows there certainly is no shortage of disagreement with this position. The information presented in table 10 underscores a variety of positive outcomes related to the experience of mega events. Table 1 in Chapter 2 puts forward Roche's (2000, p. 1) definition of mega events: "*mega events are best understood as large-scale, cultural (including commercial and sporting) events, which have a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance.*" Elsewhere, Matheson and Baade (2005), Horne (2007) and Knott et al. (2017) contend mega events have become popular because of their universal appeal, grandiose nature and capacity to engender lasting legacies that offer the host

community an opportunity to unite in celebration, generate international exposure and develop the locale. Despite the criticisms, the data shows the popularity of mega events has remained high for some community members of Green Point. Consistent with the above literature, some of the respondents appear willing to support future mega events because of their continued experiences of togetherness, revitalisation of traditional values such as Ubuntu, transformation of community and long-term improvements to QOL.

Although the findings are specific to the context of Green Point and the 2010 FIFA World Cup, the evidence can be useful elsewhere. Notwithstanding this limitation, the study suggests that academics, governments, organising bodies and policymakers who are tasked with researching and bidding for mega events in other countries with similar circumstances and cultural settings can find this insight useful. In addition, this study establishes that Ubuntu values are a common theme across Africa; therefore, the findings may also be useful to other African communities seeking to host mega events. In summary, the notion of Ubuntu is about togetherness and this study provides evidence to show that the mega event experience has the capacity to engender Ubuntu on a long-term basis. The knowledge can help to leverage lasting legacy outcomes. Looking to the future, developing mega events with the view of Ubuntu as integral to community formation can affect positive attitudes towards supporting mega events.

10.5. Defining Mega Events – A Critique

The section suggests a more comprehensive approach to defining community support would include both positions of community formation, a) location and b) mutual qualities. Drawing on the discussion from the literature and the key research findings presented in this study, the researcher found that consideration of future research ought to reflect the idea of community support as embedded in mega events. The discussion in Chapter 2 establishes community support could be:

- The way the community welcomes and accommodates visitors - their sense of hospitality;

- The way the community socialises with visitors;
- The festive atmosphere facilitated by the host community, where people can come together in celebration;
- The assistance the host community can offer to better the mega event e.g. community goodwill;
- The way the host community enhances the event by bringing a local aspect to the festivities;
- The way the host community lends mega event its community features e.g. culture, traditions, values and beliefs.

(See Baloglu and McCleary 1999; Jones 2001; Morgan et al. 2002; Jago et al. 2003; Gursoy and Kendall 2006; Horne 2007; Smith 2008; Zhou and Ap 2009; Colloredo-Mansfeld 2011; Gursoy et al. 2017).

As suggested in Chapter 2, the effectiveness of mega events depends upon support from their stakeholders (Derrett 2004; Hede 2007). This study has established that the host community of a mega event is a key stakeholder group of any mega event hosted in its community. In addition, Ryan and Schneider (2003), Friedman et al. (2004) and Friedman and Miles (2002; 2006) opine that sporting organisations including FIFA, and governments bidding for mega events, ought to take into consideration the experiences and views of their stakeholders or be in danger of losing their support. Without engaging the support of the community in their role as a stakeholder, the community could realise a position of disappointment and rejection, which can affect the outcome of the event.

Having reviewed evidence from the findings, a link has developed between the idea of community support and the future of mega events. The data shows the influence of community support of mega events. For example, in Chapter 6 Tessa states: *“So maybe doing something like that again would be good.”* In Chapter 7 Jane states: *“I look back and think, that was fun and I would do it all over again.”* The respondents’ respective experiences of the 2010 FIFA World Cup left them feeling supportive of hosting future mega events. Notwithstanding the criticism, this pattern of support for mega events, because of positive experiences, repeatedly emerges in the diverse experiences

presented and interpreted in the themes. Those stories reveal positive experiences centred upon people with some shared mutual qualities that lived in the same place and came together to share in the unique experience of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Those individuals appear to be of the view that the event created an occasion for them to celebrate the uniqueness of their cultural Ubuntu values, and gave them a chance to foster relational bonds and social togetherness. For these reasons, they would support mega events in the future.

Whilst the data reveals patterns of community support, which is important to the future of mega events, the data also gives insight into the idea of community resistance, making known that not everyone was in support of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Throughout Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9, some of the experiences give some insight into how some community members opposed the hosting of the event in Green Point. Further to this, other stories demonstrate some mixed feelings toward supporting mega events. The respondents' concern over mega events, and some of their negative experiences indicates strong feelings of disappointment, frustration and distrust of mega events. This evidence gives emphasis to the significance of community support.

The distinctiveness of community support in this study is underscored by the idea of community formation that can be realised through mega events. The discussion on Tonnies' ([1887] 1957) *Gemeinschaft* distinguishes an ontological view that interprets the closeness of social relations amongst individuals and collective orientation in a particular place as a way of life in society. The focus in Turner's (1969) *Communitas* theory is embedded in the principles of mutual engagement, the idea of people with shared cultural values bonding in a particular place, and their shared experiences. Whilst the key principles of CoP - mutual engagement, joint enterprise and shared repertoire - as illustrated in figure 2 (section 3.8.1), direct the research to interpret the community stories, to see how a community can be formed as a result of shared experiences between people living together at a particular location (Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998). The interpretation of Ubuntu in Chapter 3 enlightens the spirit of a community as guiding principles to humanity in African society (Muxe Nkondo 2007; Vervliet 2009). Some of the respondents' stories also indicate the importance of place, the process of togetherness as informed by Ubuntu values. In Chapter 7 Jane

states: *“I just wanted to meet people and have a good time... the mixture of cultures etc. and I think that was achieved... and because the games were happening in South Africa, it brought everyone together.”* Meanwhile, Tessa states: *“It was definitely a breeding ground for togetherness and community, which is something that is very needed in South Africa especially when it comes to the Ubuntu culture,”* and Florence: *“It put up our spirits as Africans together.”* To these respondents, the cultural aspect and ‘locality’ of the experience was of circumstantial significance to the shared experience in this place, at that specific time. The theoretical perspectives on community formation are seen to underpin this research’s findings by connecting this study to existing knowledge. These are all significant considerations of community support found within the research, directing the research to view community support as embedded in mega events.

Although past definitions of community are mostly informed by either place or mutual qualities /shared experiences/shared interests (see Cohen 1985; Rheingold 1991; Purdue et al. 2000; Puddifoot 2003; Blackshaw 2013; Huggins and Thompson 2015), the exploration of community support in this study unexpectedly found there is an overlap between the two positions. Based on the research findings, the study suggests a more comprehensive approach to defining community support would include both positions of community formation, a) location and b) mutual qualities. With the support of the guiding theory, the findings of this research show that community support can develop through people being in the same location, bound together by their mutual qualities, sharing a mega event experience and forming relational bonds. In this proposed definition, there are three key points that are fundamental to the conceptualisation of community support for mega events. These are:

1. A community is made up of people that live in the same place and share some mutual qualities;
2. The value found in diverse people coming together to share in a unique experience such as a mega event; and
3. The significance of cultural values that help to inform relational bonds (e.g. Ubuntu).

The evidence from this study reveals how the experience of a mega event can shape the views of individuals in a community and foster community support for future mega events. As a result, this study puts forward another way to defining community support for mega events.

10.6. Summary

This chapter presented the key research findings and some recommendations and suggestions to improve future mega events. The chapter addressed the final objective, to identify the changing attitudes to mega events over time, and the influence on community support. More broadly, this study highlights the role of time in knowledge development of mega events. The contribution of a timeline has helped to show that by classification, the impacts related to QOL, social division and marginalisation had an overall negative effect on community support in Green Point. Nevertheless, a comprehensive look at the findings shows that over time, togetherness and the significance of Ubuntu had a generally positive effect on community support in Green Point. Nevertheless, by classification, the experience of positive social benefits from the 2010 FIFA World Cup was mostly short-lived. To that end, the worthiness of the experience has gradually become weakened over time. This study shows insight that covers a projected period of twelve years, which accounts for the time South Africa was awarded the event in 2004 up to data collection in 2016. Therefore, offering evidence for the on-going experiences engendered by aspects of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, to see how community attitudes have changed. It can be said that there has been a gradual sense of reduced community support in Green Point. The findings in this study are by no means final; but they offer various insights into the long-term effect of a mega event. The study demonstrates that although the immediate benefits of the 2010 FIFA World Cup helped to foster the process of togetherness as informed by Ubuntu values, the difficulty in leveraging some of the positive experiences into a legacy resulted in a sense of disappointment. The data shows that the settling in of this aspect to the mega event experience has not only been frustrating to community members but has also damaged the image of mega events. At the time of data

collection, it appears some of the community attitudes were becoming indifferent to the idea of supporting mega events. Lastly, the chapter also presented a critical analysis of defining mega events, which allowed the researcher to present some considerations that were found to be of value to this study. The critique suggested other considerations for future definitions of community support as embedded in mega events. The researcher suggested a more comprehensive approach to defining community support would include both positions of community formation, a) location and b) mutual qualities.

Chapter 11. Conclusion

11.1. Introduction

This purpose of this chapter is to summarise the key aspects of the study and to draw the conclusions of the research. This research sought to explore, understand and interpret community support for mega events in Cape Town, South Africa. This chapter addresses each of the objectives set in Chapter one, and this is followed by a summary of the research's contribution to knowledge, considerations for future research, identification of research limitations and the author's personal reflection on the journey to undertake a doctoral thesis.

11.2. Objective 1. To examine the individual experiences of community members of Green Point, and how these have shaped their view of mega events

To address the first objective, this study collected stories from seventeen respondents who are community members of Green Point and had first-hand experiences of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. This research establishes that community support is essential to the future of mega events. Insight into those respondents' stories provided evidence to help determine how an individual's long-term experience of a mega event can shape community views over time. Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9 presented a selection of stories from the respondents' experiences and using the narrative inquiry approach, the researcher recapitulated their varied individual perspectives.

The respondents brought to order their recollections, revealing how in the time leading up to the event, community members were generally anxious, curious and expectant. Their stories reveal a sense of excitement and optimism. During the time of the event, it appears the spirited sense of togetherness and revival of Ubuntu values inspired people to mutually engage, which influenced joy and encouraged positive attitudes towards mega events. This is evident in the way that many of the respondents

praise the 2010 FIFA World Cup for generating benefits that changed their way of life for the better. The evidence of Ubuntu and the impassioned feeling of joy in sharing an experience together, clarifies that during a mega event, a strong sense of community can develop which also encourages positive attitudes toward mega events. The stories show a particular attitude of delight and satisfaction. The short-term period after the event reveals insight to suggest the positive experiences were fleeting for many. Although some respondents still recalled appreciation for the experience, the first signs of disappointment and concern began to surface. In the medium to long-term, the emergence of other negative impacts appear to have brought about the experience of social division, marginalisation and reduced QOL; resulting in a greater shift in community attitudes. Although there is still evidence of some positive experiences, the evidence at large indicates mixed feelings and a sense of disappointment and frustration. The event criticism suggests disapproval and deepening negative attitudes toward mega events. Contrary to past studies that yielded a questionable legacy of infrastructure and recreational facilities, some of the respondents felt that the development of the Green Point Park and Biodiversity Park, gave them a place to continually come together and share in the sense of community after the event concluded. For example, the 1994 Lillehammer Winter Olympics left behind a legacy of unnecessary infrastructure which drew criticism – (Teigland 1999), the 2000 Sydney Olympics converted public land to commercial use, building infrastructure that the community could not use free of charge, also stirring complaints (Cashman 2006; Toohey 2008) and the Athens 2004 Olympics was unable to secure tenants for the newly developed infrastructure, also drawing criticism (Minnaert 2012; Bloor 2014).

Building on from this evidence, of great concern is how some of the respondents described the 2010 FIFA World Cup experience as something that undesirably changed their way of life. Looking to the longer-term, the experience at large appears heavy on the negative experiences. The respondents' choice of words and criticism indicates their disapproving attitude toward mega events. This is similar to other studies in the past. The Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics resulted in protests against the Olympic presence because of the environmental disruption that the event brought, which were to the disapproval of some community members (Dvorak 2010). The

London 2012 Olympics influenced marginalisation and community member displacement because of gentrification which attracted discontentment (Timms 2012; Giulianotti 2015b). The Sochi 2014 Winter Olympics, the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil and the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics were marred by poor event management, experiences of marginalisation and displacement which affected community views (Muller 2015b; Buendia 2017). Therefore, the observation of positive social legacy, such as useful recreational spaces can influence praise of mega events. The recreational spaces have remained beneficial over the years making way for positive experiences.

In looking at the influence of social impacts over a period, the evidence suggests the time during the event is the height of positive experiences. This, in turn, demonstrates how experiences during that time shape people's views to reveal more positive attitudes towards mega events. Whilst mega events do bring people together, the continued experience of negative impacts is observed to influence acceleration in growth of negative views, which are problematic with regard to fostering community support. The findings help this research to contribute another way to see how short-term positive impacts can result in long-term negative experiences that affect the way members of a community look at mega events. The uniqueness of this research establishes the experience of Ubuntu through mega events can help to bring people together in a particular place, to celebrate their cultural values and develop together as a community. The cultural aspect can lend a favourable environment for people to come together and form relational bonds, shaping their view of mega events in a positive way. Those individual experiences appear to enable community support for future mega events. Meanwhile, the experience of negative impacts such as social division and marginalisation can affect QOL over time, and induce feelings of frustration, disappointment, uncertainty and disheartenment, which can influence loss of community support.

11.3. Objective 2. To investigate whether the shared experience of mega events can bring people together to form a community

This study also set out to investigate community formation because of mega events. The second objective slightly shifts the focus to investigate how mega events can result in a sense of community. Chapter 4 discusses the apartheid history of South Africa and the nation's journey to hosting mega events. This research acknowledges South Africa's societal problems such as social division, inequalities and classist issues across its diverse communities. Hosting the 1995 Rugby World Cup helped to build a sense of community and fostered a sense of togetherness at the time (Nauright 2004). However, the experience of togetherness was short-lived (Nel 2015). To that end, the 2010 FIFA World Cup was expected to bring people together and engender that sense of community again (Cornelissen and Maennig 2010; Ndlovu 2010; Molloy and Chetty 2015).

At the time of the event, the 2010 FIFA World Cup added to the development of this society through providing a festive and celebratory environment that enabled people to become acquainted, foster closeness and build a sense of kinship. In Chapter 3, this research looked at the idea of community and found that a community could be realised between people that live in the same location and share mutual qualities, and share a feeling of belonging and familiarity with others (McMillan and Chavis 1986). Regarding the idea of mattering to others, the shared experience of the 2010 FIFA World Cup gave community members from Green Point a chance to engage and truly see others. In Chapter 6 the respondents shared how they felt a sense of belonging and familiarity with others. Through those stories, the reader is made aware of how the event gave them a chance to talk to and socialise with other people from their community. The respondents made it known that the event facilitated interaction amongst the diverse people of Green Point, which was a unique experience. The stories made it apparent that experiencing a sense of connectedness shaped those community members' views of mega events in a positive way. Tonnies' ([1887] 1957) *Gemeinschaft* is founded on this idea of connectedness and closeness of social relations amongst individuals. The theory suggests that when people interact and form

relational bonds, the formation of community happens. Turner's (1969) *Communitas* also establishes that individuals can form strong feelings of togetherness and that group bonding can result from shared experiences. The 2010 FIFA World Cup did bring people together and those people felt bound to one another through the shared experience. This idea of being bound together is also relevant to the CoP concept principles (Lave and Wenger 1991). The concept expounds on the thoughts around what bonds and relates individuals. Turner's (1969) *Communitas*, and Lave and Wenger's (1991) CoP refer to this feeling as a sense of *Camaraderie*. Given the historical context of the case example in this study, it appears that the experience of social togetherness and the realisation of a sense of community were most important. This experience influenced the respondents' generally favourable disposition toward mega events.

Nevertheless, in Chapter 8 the experience of displacement is brought up through Valerie, Tessa and Florence's stories, and this research recognises how the experience goes against the idea of *camaraderie* mentioned in the guiding theory. It shows unkindness, estrangement and ill will toward others. This insight exposes how everyone did not experience togetherness during the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Having established this, the respondents' stories bring to light a different perspective that presents the temporal aspect. This insight shows how the experience of togetherness was fleeting for some community members, influencing a sense of hostility toward mega events. To that end, making the shift in community attitudes clearer. Nevertheless, despite the negative experiences, several of the respondents indicated that they felt the purpose of mega events was for people to meet and get to know each other better. This is a significant outcome and is very encouraging because it shows that mega events can go beyond simply influencing people to meet. Rather, mega events can also influence people to get to know each other forming relational bonds. It suggests the outcome of a deeper connection and sense of relatedness between people that can endure beyond the encounters during the event. Therefore, this study's findings help establish *Gemeinschaft*, *Communitas* and the CoP concept as central to the process of togetherness through the shared experience of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. People were able to find "*common humanity and mortality*," principles that Turner (1969, p.13) establishes as core to the understanding of *Communitas*. This

interpretation also connects to the Ubuntu principle of relational bonds as informed by humanity (Mnyaka and Motlhabi 2005). The emphasis on the depiction of shared group practices connects to the CoP concept, helping to see how people's behaviour at the time influenced development of a common way of doing things. Again, relating to Gemeinschaft's articulation of strong relations that emerge from on-going social interactions. The relationships that developed between people gave significance to the experience of Ubuntu, highlighting how connectedness was informing way of life in this African society. Again, disclosing how some of the respondents felt affixed to the other community members because of the uniting values found in the experience of humanity/Ubuntu, which Muxe Nkondo (2007) also translates to the Xhosa word for community.

11.4. Objective 3. To explore the significance of Ubuntu in the shared experiences of the community

Effectively this objective is a subset of the one above. Ubuntu is not only significant to this research's context of Green Point, but it helps this study to establish that experiencing Ubuntu was influential to community formation during the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Chapter 3 discusses Ubuntu and identifies that the belief system is situated within the African institution of society. The philosophy sheds light on the African way of life and the idea of people experiencing life together; sharing a sense of kinship in the community they belong to (Mfenyana 1986; Mbigi and Mare 1995; Tambulasi and Kayuni 2005; Mnyaka and Motlhabi 2005). Therefore, in the African world-view, Ubuntu informs the values that establish the notion of community. The significance is shown throughout the themes, and particularly the respondents' stories in Chapter 7. At the time of the event, the respondents viewed the event as a celebration that brought people together, and eased their ability to engage with others harmoniously. This promoted their sense of togetherness, camaraderie and Ubuntu. Although the data shows that after some time, the intensity of the initial experience began to diminish, some of the community members' still felt the spirit of Ubuntu endured. As a result, the unique opportunity to experience Ubuntu during the 2010 FIFA World Cup

appeared to influence community attitudes to view the mega event experience in a favourable light.

Chapter 4 discusses the background to South Africa and finds that after the apartheid era, policies were put in place with the view of nurturing Ubuntu values (Gibson 2005; Muxe Nkondo 2007). The discussion shows how the different Presidents over time felt that festive celebrations such as mega events could be used to help the diverse people across South Africa's communities to come together (Cornelissen 2010; Swart and Bob 2010). Looking at both the 1995 Rugby World Cup, and the 2010 FIFA World Cup shows that fostering group solidarity through the shared experience of a mega event is possible. Although data shows that both events had trouble leveraging a long-lasting experience, South Africa was able to attain a sense of Ubuntu and realise national reconciliation goals for that time. The stories in this study show the importance of Ubuntu as central to the African way of life within the community of Green Point. Those stories reveal how the cultural aspect can provide a setting suitable for people to come together in a particular location, and form relational bonds, shaping their view of mega events in a positive way. The discoveries demonstrate that embedding the culture of the local community can contribute to what makes the mega event experience special. As a result of the respondents' stories, this study can establish that mega events have the capacity to influence a sense of community. They provide a chance for people to nurture kinship and unity, principles that underpin Ubuntu values. Through the respondents showing awareness of mutuality and compassion for others, a sense of QOL and wellbeing was realised.

Relating this evidence to Butler and Aicher's (2015) study of the 2002 FIFA World Cup (co-hosted by Japan and South Korea), the respondents in this study also made it clear that their most noteworthy experience was that of togetherness. In both studies, the experience helped to enrich local cultural understanding and influence the mixing of traditions and customs between groups. Through the 2010 FIFA World Cup, a sense of community was formed in Green Point. In this manner, revealing new evidence between Gemeinschaft, Communitas, CoP concept and Ubuntu's philosophy on kinship and humanity as core factors to community formation. Although past research

(see Mbigi and Maree 1995) establishes Ubuntu as located within the notion of an African community and its members, this research offers Ubuntu as a means to guide the process of togetherness not only in African societies, but also the world at large. A look at current research trends shows a growing interest in the Ubuntu belief system as it applies to management process across various disciplines (see Holtbrügge 2013; West 2014; Tauetsile 2016; Woermann and Engelbrecht 2017), thus highlighting the increasing acceptance of Ubuntu as a belief system that can guide the formation of community in society. The outcome of Ubuntu can help to address social issues such as nurturing togetherness, mutual engagement and group harmony. In this study, albeit for a period of time, the community members at large felt they were able to set aside their social differences to experience closeness.

11.5. Objective 4. To identify the changing attitudes to mega events over time, and the influence on community support.

Continued research of mega events is important to their development (Getz 2008; and Preuss 2015a). According to Muller (2015b), Getz and Page (2016) Gursoy et al. (2017), the contribution of new and different ways to look at mega event impacts can help to strengthen their popularity and effectiveness in the future. The final objective of this study is to identify the changing attitudes to mega events over time, and the influence on community support. Through Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9, this study offered several timelines (figures 7, 8, 9 and 10) that considered the impact of time on changing attitudes to mega events, and the influence on community support. The timelines offer knowledge to see how quickly and at different time points, some positive impacts can change to negative. At the time of data collection, the growing sense of negative attitudes show how a reduced sense of QOL was affecting local way of life. The information in the timelines reveals how in the short-term, problems can begin to emerge almost immediately. Therefore, demonstrating the limited ability of some mega events such as the 2010 FIFA World Cup, to leverage a positive experience beyond the duration of an event. As can be seen from the data analysis, the outcome of momentary benefits raises questions and induces mixed feelings about mega event legacies. It can also be seen that as more time passes, some previous negative

experiences intensify (e.g. social division), whilst other negative impacts such as gentrification, also emerge. Despite this, it appears the community's reverence of the Ubuntu/togetherness experience remains intact, and most significant. Although in some instances, the experience of Ubuntu/togetherness was short-lived, the data shows it had a lasting emotional effect on those who experienced it. The psychological effect appears to have helped community members to look past previous issues of social division and come together.

Discussions in Chapter 2 raise awareness of negative experiences from mega events which this study recognises, over time, can affect community support (Lamond and Spracklen 2014; Giulianotti et al. 2015a; Zimbalist 2016). Chapter 2 also acknowledges the recent referendums against mega events which are an indicator of loss of community support. To that end, this research offers a framework in figure 13, which establishes the criticality of community support to the development of mega events. The data is charted along a timeline of roughly twelve years, showing people's views leading up to, during and after the event. The temporal aspect in figure 13 introduces a unique perspective that shows the degree to which the rather short-lived experience of a mega event can affect people's attitudes in the long-term. Applying knowledge derived from the themes to the framework in figure 13 illustrates how over time, some of the community members that were initially proponents of the mega event experience, became opponents due to the fleeting nature of the experience. In addition, owing to the growing criticism of mega events, as can be seen in the context of developing nations such as Brazil (Rocha and Barbanti 2015; Rocha et al. (2017); charting the diverse experiences provides this study with different timelines that contribute to the appreciation of people's changing attitudes as defined by the time. Awareness into the time before, the time during, and the time after the event: the short-term, medium term and longer-term, offers insight into the damaging longer-term impact that changing experiences can have on the idea of community support. Despite some of the criticisms, drawing from theory (Gemeinschaft, Communitas and CoP concept) helps to illuminate the process of community formation as a key social impact that can bring about improvements to community way of life, beyond the duration of the event. Considering changing attitudes over time, the respondents' views on Ubuntu remained largely untarnished. The experience of Ubuntu looked to shape favourable

community attitudes towards mega events. Over the 6 years since the event concluded, the restoration of the V&A Waterfront shopping complex, development of the Green Point Park and the Biodiversity Park have helped to sustain the feeling of Ubuntu/togetherness. This in turn, has uplifted social wellbeing and enriched QOL, positively shaping community attitudes on an on-going basis.

Although some of the recommendations are specific to the case example of Green Point, the overall ideas established in the timelines (figures 7, 8, 9 and 10) and in figure 13, provide guidance to mega event organisers, policymakers, governing bodies and researchers who are looking for ways to increase community support. The case example of Green Point helped to illustrate the relevance of these ideas. As discussed by Matheson (2012) and Ziakas (2015), the field of mega events has developed rapidly over the years, also drawing the attention of developing nations. This research has not uncovered all the possible reasons for community support of mega events. However, the timeline contributes approaches that can be of use to mega event authorities. The insight provides support to build awareness of the varied views of individuals in a community, to see how over time, their experiences have shaped their attitudes to mega events. Under those circumstances, this gives them the opportunity to recognise ways to foster community support.

11.6. Contribution to Knowledge

The research makes a theoretical, methodological and practical contribution. The previous section discusses the contribution of a timeline that takes into account the changing attitudes to mega events. As identified, the timeline establishes the impact of the temporal dimension on changing attitudes, and the influence on community support. In addition to the timelines, figure 13 with support of table 10 presents as a sequence of events that illustrate some of the factors that can cause changing attitudes to mega events over time. This information is not only useful to the development of mega events in Green Point, the insight could help to further understand the role of the temporal dimension in the legacy planning of other mega events. Further to the

knowledge offered in the timeline, this research consolidates current literature from mega events and draws from community formation theory to produce key findings and suggestions that could enable community support for mega events. Throughout the development of the study, consistent overlaps appeared between the idea of location and of shared mutual qualities as key tenets of community formation. The new community support definition was an unexpected outcome, but became noticeable in various guises throughout the study. The review of past literature on mega events in Chapter 2 demonstrated mega events as capable of strengthening cultural values and encouraging a sense of mutual engagement and togetherness. In addition, the discussion in Chapter 2 also revealed the idea of mega events as bound to place. The review and analysis of past literature on the topic of community formation helped to reveal the significance of both positions: place and mutual qualities. This was also noticeable in the guiding theory that emphasised both positions. The discussion of South Africa as the location of the 2010 FIFA World Cup also revealed the country's desire to pursue hosting mega events; in particular, those mega events that could bring about the experience of togetherness and promote mutual qualities such as Ubuntu values across the host communities. The findings chapters repeatedly showed how important the experience of social togetherness and Ubuntu was, in the specific location of Green Point. The stories provided evidence that connected the discoveries to a sense of kinship and humanity found in the Ubuntu belief system, showing how the setting of a mega event can help the formation of relational bonds.

Most of the respondents repeatedly talked about belonging to a place and mutually sharing in the joy of a common experience that evokes the spirit of togetherness, which this study translates to Ubuntu. The idea that community formation could take place in a particular location through the shared experience of a mega event also began to repeatedly appear. The feelings shared by many of the respondents revealed how the experience engendered a sense of community support. For example, in Chapter 6, some of the respondents made known that they would lend their support to future mega events because of the rich experiences they had in this particular location. Those stories gave emphasis to the view that the experience of community can have a noteworthy impact on community support. In a similar way, past literature showed that positive views of mega events could result in community support (see Kim et al.

2006; Gursoy and Kendall 2006; Kitnuntaviwat and Tang 2008; Lamberti et al. 2011). The positive emotions experienced by the respondents brought about praise as shown in most of the stories. Many of the stories indicated support for similar experiences in the future, suggesting those experiences had an influence on community support for mega events. Therefore, the idea of a definition concerning community support for mega events that considers both place and mutual qualities gradually became prominent. The development of this study became evidence for the need of a definition that advances the conceptualisation of community support of mega events which takes into account both aspects to community formation (location and mutual qualities).

11.6.1. Theoretical Contribution

This research used Tonnie's ([1887] 1957) *Gemeinschaft*, Turner's (1969) *Communitas* and Lave and Wenger's (1991) *CoP* to help establish how mega events are a way for people to interact, build social relations and foster a sense of camaraderie and community. The theoretical positions offered through *Gemeinschaft*, *Communitas* and *CoP* concept facilitate this study's understanding of community. The discussion in Chapter 3 identified some shortcomings in the existing theory, suggesting the theory does not account for the possibility of group conflict (see Cohen 1985; Crow and Allan 1995; Arai and Pedlar 2003; Mathebe 2017). However, to investigate whether the shared experience of mega events can bring people together to form a community, in chapter 10 this study contributes figure 12, which communicates ideas founded on togetherness and the social relationships that can emerge from the experience of mega events. The outcome of this study offers demonstration to account for the conflict, differences and inequalities that may arise in the process of community formation. The development of theory shows how marginalisation and social division can affect QOL. In addition, the data shows the subsequent outcome of a reduced sense of community support for mega events as it relates to community formation.

Relating back to the findings, a key factor from the positive experiences includes how people valued the shared experience of their cultural practices and group togetherness.

The respondents articulated a feeling of Ubuntu, which connects to Tonnies' ([1887] 1957) categorisation of the social ties that develop between people as they come together. Again, relating to Turner's (1969) ideas of *Communitas* and the mutual belief and camaraderie that can emerge between people spending time and sharing experiences together. This point is also sustained by the principles found in the CoP concept (Lave and Wenger (1991), enlightening the research to see how groups of people can mutually engage, and be connected through their shared experiences and group practices. This study further elaborates and extends the theory to account for the fostering of togetherness, which the data shows can be achieved on a long-term basis through people interacting repeatedly (in recreational spaces such as Green Point Park), as an outcome that follows on from mega events. In this manner, community members build relationships that enable them to view their Ubuntu values as central to their unity - what binds them together on a long-term basis. In acknowledging the possibility of disagreement/conflict or negative experiences that can affect harmony within the community, this study is of the view that people's commonalities such as their Ubuntu values, can be what binds them together. What emerges from the data is evidence for the development of a strong sense of community, which suggests that Ubuntu plays an integral role in the mediating of social problems and group conflict. Whilst the possibility of disagreement or negative experiences must not be discounted, this study assumes that people's commonality such as their Ubuntu values, is a key factor to community formation. The data shows evidence of Ubuntu in action and highlights the short, medium and long-term significance of this experience, supporting the idea that negative experiences can be reduced or minimalised. This outcome might help strengthen community practices, affecting wellbeing and engagement outcomes in a positive manner. This evidence helps to challenge the outcome of negative experiences, identifying how positive experiences can help to foster community support.

The evidence provided in this study takes a broad view of community formation which advances the existing ideas on community support. This research offers an additional way of defining community support that includes both positions of community formation, a) location and b) mutual qualities. In the definition put forward, the evidence points to three key elements to foster community support:

1. Firstly, a community is made up of people that live in the same place and share some mutual qualities;
2. Secondly, the value found in diverse people coming together to share in a unique experience such as a mega event;
3. Thirdly, the significance of cultural values that help to inform relational bonds (e.g. Ubuntu).

The proposed definition helps to establish location and mutual qualities (e.g. shared experiences and relational bonds) as important. In addition, the evidence points to how the experience of a mega event can shape the views of individuals in a community and foster community support for future mega events.

In addition to the definition, this research offers a timeline that takes into account the changing attitudes to mega events over time, and the influence on community support. The purpose of the timeline is to guide mega event organisers, policymakers, researchers and governing bodies with insight and evidence on how to foster community support. The knowledge was underpinned by the guiding theory and drew from the stories presented in this study. The insight offered can be of guidance to a wide range of mega events, helping focus awareness on the diverse, and changing attitudes of community members over time.

The ideas offer additional constructs to the community theoretical ideas established by Tonnies ([1887] 1957), Turner (1969) and Lave and Wenger (1991). For example, formation of community through mega events, significance of culture (e.g. Ubuntu), awareness of people's feelings about social interactions and insight into social behaviour that goes against community formation.

Use of the case example of the 2010 FIFA World Cup hosted in Green Point helped to explain the complex relationships and ideas on community experiences and community views of mega events thereby assisting this study to contribute a different way of looking at how those experiences and views influence human behaviour to support mega events. The exploration of the community members' experiences strongly reveals the significance of togetherness, camaraderie and a sense of

community. Those findings strengthen the principle of *Gemeinschaft* and the ideas of causality/connectedness and togetherness developed by Tonnies ([1887] 1957). They also support the development of *Communitas*, and the insight into group bonding and shared experiences as explained by Turner (1969). Lastly, they reinforce the conceptual ideas of collective practices or shared experiences in Lave and Wenger's (1991) key principles of mutual engagement, joint enterprise and shared repertoire as shown in figure 2 section 3.8.1. However, this study extends community formation theory to explain community support as an outcome of the shared mega event experience. Therefore, this insight contributes additional theoretical explanations that go further than current research on community formation and enlightens the field of mega events and the question of community support. Overall, this study indicates how the experiences of togetherness, camaraderie and a sense of community contribute to studies on community formation and mega events and show how and why community members may support mega events.

11.6.2. Methodological Contribution

This study uses an alternative approach to the data collection of previous studies. The study has methodological value through use of the narrative inquiry approach, which enhanced the depth and capacity to reveal differences in social behaviour and outlooks toward mega events. Although qualitative methods are sometimes criticised for being vague, there are problems that quantitative methods cannot fulfil (Riessman 2008; Kim 2016). This is the case with exploring community support. The narrative inquiry approach yielded generous data and offered the research insight that would have been otherwise problematic with alternative methods. The qualitative method of narrative inquiry was useful in exploring the various ways that people experienced the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the detail of how they understood those experiences.

The unstructured nature of narrative inquiry also helped this study to avoid influence from predetermined ideas, and because the researcher used a single question to prompt the storytelling process, the respondents took charge of the stories that they told. As a

result, facilitating a means for this research to collect detailed stories which also enabled access to complex subject matters that would have been otherwise challenging to capture through predetermined questions or surveys. Narrative inquiry helped this study to explore the respondents' lived experiences, contributing knowledge about the influence of community formation in Green Point on community support. The relevance of the narrative inquiry approach permitted the research to capture the full depiction of the respondents' views, to see their attitude toward supporting mega events. In addition, because people's attitudes vary at different times, the opportunity for community members to retell their experiences through storytelling helped to bring to light those recollections, and contribute insight into the long-term influence on community support. As a result, through this approach, this study has contributed a different understanding of community support. This provided evidence that was used to model the timeline presented in Chapter 10. To that end, this study was able to contribute recommendations and evaluative criteria to guide mega event organisers, policymakers, researchers and governing bodies with insight and evidence on how to foster community support.

11.6.3. Contribution to Practice

This study contributes useful knowledge to governments bidding for mega events and mega event organising bodies such as FIFA, the IOC and Commonwealth Games Federation. It gives recommendations and suggestions that could enable community support for future mega events. The findings contribute an understanding of community perceptions of mega events, revealing ways to foster community support. The respondents' post event attitudes toward the 2010 FIFA World Cup were largely influenced by recollection and the changing conditions of the social impacts over time. This had an effect on the respondents' recollection of their individual experiences, which were initially mostly positive. The stories offer insight to see how appreciation and support of the mega event experience is most prominent in the time leading up to the event, during the event and in the immediate period after the event has concluded. On the other hand, as the inconveniences of the event begin to settle in, the temporary nature of some of the benefits become more obvious. Subsequently, people's positive

outlooks also begin to fade away, affecting appreciation for mega events which in turn causes reduced support. The evidence in this study is useful to the development of policy around the issue of community support for upcoming mega events, e.g. the 2022 Beijing Winter Olympics, the Paris 2024 Olympics and the Los Angeles 2028 Olympics. This research establishes that community members with a favourable outlook of mega events are more likely to support mega events, whilst those individuals with negative perceptions are more likely to criticise and not support mega events. Mega events have become popular to both developed and developing nations and they are increasingly being hosted for their potential to generate social benefits for the host community (Cornelissen 2010; Grix and Lee 2013; Baade and Matheson 2015; Gursoy et al. 2017).

Although, mega events have gained popularity the world over, this study establishes that the development of negative experiences over time affects the way community members look at them. This has resulted in some referendums against bids for mega events, protests and event criticism (Gursoy and Kendall 2006; Minnaert 2012; Maennig and Zimbalist 2012a; Sánchez and Broudehoux 2013; Muller 2015b; Rocha et al. 2017), therefore, showing altered community perceptions of mega events and reduced support. This research undertook to explore community support for mega events in Green Point, Cape Town. Through the case example of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, this research contributes an understanding of how positive experiences such as fostering a sense of community are of great significance to community members. Those positive experiences play a role in shaping the community's cheerful perception of mega events. In addition, mega events are a great way for people to interact, build relational bonds and foster a sense of camaraderie and community. Those mega events that give people the opportunity to nurture their mutual qualities, which are those characteristics that can tie people together, provide a chance for community members to nurture kinship and unity, principles that are of value to the Ubuntu way of life. Therefore, this contributes the awareness of embedding the culture of the local community to help distinguish the mega event experience. However, this research also contributes insight into how negative experiences such as marginalisation also play a significant role in shaping a detrimental perception of mega events. They affect how community members look at mega events and over time, this builds a sense of

disinterest in supporting them. To this end, it is important for mega event organisers to consider this research's insight into how the community of Green Point experienced the 2010 FIFA World Cup. In the wider context of mega event studies, the knowledge can help mega event organisers to see other ways of fostering community support which is vital to the future of mega events.

11.7. Research Strengths and Limitations

It may be considered a weakness that the community stories were collected 6 years after the 2010 FIFA World Cup concluded. However, this was to the benefit of this study. The researcher was able to gain insight into the respondents' retrospective feelings about their experience and in addition, gaining insight into their pensive thoughts that show how those views have evolved over time. The way that the respondents narrated their stories made it apparent to the researcher that, in hindsight, some experiences made more sense after a period. As a result, the respondents' appeared to have a clearer understanding of why things happened the way they did. They were able to organise their thoughts on their varied experiences of the 2010 FIFA World Cup before, during and after the event. This enriched the data and enabled the researcher to identify patterns in the way that the respondents' talked about their experience at the time of the event, and how they see it now. Nevertheless, in future studies, the researcher will also consider exploring recently concluded events to see if community members' experiences influence their perceptions in a different way.

The scope of this research focused on one community although multiple communities hosted the 2010 FIFA World Cup across South Africa and this may also be considered a limitation. In addition, this study focused on the case example of South Africa, which is from a developing nation context. In Chapter 5, the issue of transferability is discussed, identifying that the scope of the research does not limit transferability of the research's outcomes. The findings of this study can be applied to communities from a different context and to other mega events which are not the FIFA World Cup. The researcher provided rich descriptions of the steps taken to collect the data, helping

other researchers to repeat the same steps. The presentation, description and discussion of the findings were done in a manner that would make it straightforward for other researchers to follow the steps and strategies engaged in this study. Further to this, in spite of the context, location and culture, this study was able to draw similarities between the findings presented in this work and those found in other examples used in past studies. Although this study also looks at the negative experiences of mega events, which go against community formation and the idea of community support, looking into those negative experiences strengthened the findings to show how some mega events can influence loss of community support.

11.8. Considerations for Future Research

Several avenues for future research arise out of this study. This study looked at one community as a case example, therefore creating the opportunity to conduct future research of other communities. The opportunity provides the chance to gather further perspectives and evidence of community experiences in a new context to expand upon the findings of community support in this study. Another area for future research could be a study that is a comparison of event experiences in communities from developing nations and communities from developed nations to see if there are similarities or differences in the way those communities experience mega events and the subsequent nature of community support. This study also found that the development of negative experiences over time tend to influence a sense of disinterest amongst community members, resulting in reduced support for mega events. This research has charted those changes in community outlooks, and has established that community perceptions change from positive to negative because of lived experiences. Future research could expand upon the Doxey Irridex “Irritation” Index (Doxey 1975), which is a tourism theory that looks at the changing emotional reactions of a host community as tourism increases, adapting it to mega events and community support.

In the context of mega events in South Africa, the knowledge is also beneficial in view of the nation’s enduring quest to host other mega events e.g. the forfeited 2022 Durban Commonwealth Games and the unsuccessful 2023 Rugby World Cup campaign

(Austin 2017; Muller 2017). The opportunity to conduct more research in this area will build upon this study's understanding of community support to benefit future mega events in South Africa. In addition, building upon the particular finding on the significance of Ubuntu could yield interesting results when compared with other studies with a different cultural background e.g. mega events hosted in China. The Confucian tradition is commonly applied to understand Chinese way of life (Lutz 2009). Therefore, it could be interesting to see the significance of Asian beliefs in the mega event experience. Overall, insight from different communities and their experiences of mega events can add to the development of mega events. This can contribute to policies and other research in the area of mega events, helping mega event organisers, policymakers, researchers and governing bodies to foster community support for future mega events. In addition, it would help them to develop mega events that are more meaningful and beneficial to the host community.

11.9. Conclusion to the Thesis

The aim of the study was to explore, understand and interpret community support for mega events in Cape Town, South Africa. This study has given an account of the reasons for the need to foster community support for mega events. This study has argued that community support can help to make mega events more effective in the future. The research set out to investigate the development of mega events over time to help establish the significance of community support. Although mega events vary in nature, scope, size, scale and duration, they tend to engender a variety of both positive and negative outcomes. The study recognised that the varied nature of mega event impacts, and how they affect the individual experiences of community members over time, shapes their attitudes to mega events. This research contributed knowledge to the various ways community formation could be realised in the context of mega events, revealing Ubuntu as significant. The respondents' stories offered insight into some experiences that contributed evidence to understand the formation of relational bonds and the process of togetherness between people because of mega events. Their stories established that embedding the culture of the local community can contribute to what makes the mega event distinct. The findings helped this research to contribute

to literature, another way to defining community support that would include both positions of community formation, a) location and b) mutual qualities. This contribution of new and different ways to look at mega events could help to enhance their effectiveness in the future. Finally, the contribution of timeline offered a means to take into account the changing attitudes to mega events over time. This approach can be useful to mega event authorities that are seeking to make better decisions, engage the community, self-reflect and enlighten issues concerning community support.

11.10. Author's Personal Reflections

Finding a subject area was a straightforward process. I had always been advised that you should take into consideration a subject area that you are passionate about or have real interest in. During my undergraduate studies in Switzerland, I studied events and hospitality and developed an interest in mega events. My interest further developed after taking a work placement in South Africa during the second year of my undergraduate degree. Coincidentally this was the year leading up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Whilst in Durban South Africa, I had first-hand experience of seeing many of the developments and preparations around the event. I personally felt the excitement and keenness for the first FIFA World Cup on African soil. I observed construction of the new airport, roads were upgraded and social and leisure facilities were improved to make the host community of Durban more attractive. I worked as an events supervisor at a local hotel which hosted several conferences where government delegates gathered to plan for the event. This gave me a special feeling of being close to those in charge of bringing this event to Africa, and further ignited my desire to know more about the process of hosting mega events, the benefits and to what cost the pursuit of mega events would affect the community. Through local television and newspapers, I was aware of the promises made to the communities. I saw how my friends and other people from the community of Durban prepared to welcome the event with great excitement and anticipation of benefits. Nevertheless, I also experienced changes to my lifestyle. The cost of living increased, people took to protesting about the construction of the Moses Mabhida Stadium. I also observed for

myself the construction workers go on several strikes. The bus station (bus/taxi rank in South Africa) that I used regularly was demolished, and this resulted in lifestyle changes that were not welcome. I knew of the displacement of community members and I was aware of the protests that ensued because of the various social problems.

These personal experiences motivated me to pursue a master's degree in Events Management. I began my studies in 2012, the same year that England hosted the London 2012 Olympics. Again, I witnessed the excitement building up towards the event. However, this time around, it was from the perspective of a developed nation. Those experiences influenced the choice of my master's dissertation topic "A comparison of event impacts between Zimbabwe and the UK," which has now been published. During the course of my master's degree, Brazil hosted the 2014 FIFA World Cup. Once again, it was of great interest to me as I had lived in Brazil during 2005 and 2006, witnessing and experiencing the economic boom and social changes in Brazil at the time. At the time, former President Lula da Silva was at the beginning of his presidential term and I was aware of all the ambitious promises that were being made to the people of Brazil. Therefore, it was of great interest for me to follow the development of both the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the Rio de Janeiro 2016 World Cup. My experience working in hotels that held a variety of events such as Stoke Park Hotel, hosts to the annual Boodles Tennis Challenge, and living in a number of communities that hosted mega events helped to shape the pathway that I am on now. Being an African woman, I instinctively desired to explore the development of mega events on my continent. That is how I chose South Africa because I lived there at a crucial time, and it is the only African country with experience of hosting different mega events.

After my master's degree, I realised I wanted to pursue further studies in mega events. One of my current supervisors was my master's dissertation supervisor at the time and I approached her with my ideas and she encouraged me to apply for one of the Bournemouth University Scholarships, which I was awarded in November 2014 to start in January 2015. I was fortunate enough to have the opportunity to select both my supervisors; in hindsight, it was one of the best decisions I have made on this

journey. Undertaking a PhD has been one of the most difficult experiences I have had in my life. I cried many tears, felt so lonely and even sought professional counselling at a point. I considered quitting on so many occasions, especially after I struggled with my transfer report. However, those experiences revealed in me a determination I never knew I had. The more challenges I encountered, the more I wanted to prove to myself and those around me that I could overcome these difficulties. My life changed in so many ways: I had several personal problems, I lost some important family members, and I chose not to travel home and to focus on my studies. In retrospect, it was very stressful because I had not anticipated such setbacks during my studies.

Nevertheless, data collection turned out to be one of the most exciting parts of my PhD journey. The stories I collected revived my passion for research and affirmed the relevance of the topic I was working on. For example, whilst in the field, I visited the V&A Waterfront Shopping Complex, Green Point Park and the Biodiversity Park on many occasions. I witnessed the parks being used for community parties. On one occasion, I was invited by some members of the community to join in their festivities, even though they were strangers to me. This not only helped me feel at ease, but the experience gave me first-hand insight into the sense of community in Green Point. During those experiences, I observed the process of community in action. Different people were hosting their individual events but still mutually engaging with other people in the Parks. On the visits to the V&A Waterfront Shopping Complex, I felt the strong sense of community and culture, the many markets and arts and crafts exhibitions proudly showcased local artefacts. The dancers and live performers in their traditional wear and dances helped to bring out the feeling of Ubuntu culture in Green Point. The Parks are now regularly used as walking/cycling paths, outdoor events e.g. community barbeques, birthday parties and general festivities, children's playground and picnic spaces. The V&A Waterfront Shopping Complex has restaurant spaces, clothing shops and is used to exhibit community arts and crafts. It is also home to some local market stalls. The space is regularly used for pop up events such as live shows, music festivals, art and cultural exhibitions and performances.

Looking back, I would not change anything about my experience. I grew significantly and acquired a tremendous amount of research skills during the past three and a half years. Although I was disappointed by my lack of progress during some points of the journey, I knew my research topic was interesting and my supervisors supported my vision and encouraged me to keep persevering. I developed the skills to tackle research problems which helped me to approach an interdisciplinary investigation that combined community studies and mega events. I had to self-teach and improve upon my knowledge of some of the sociology concepts that I eventually used in this study, which developed my self-motivation skills, creative capacity and thinking skills. Pursuing my studies on the timeline of a scholarship has been difficult. However, I learnt to manage my time and approach my doctorate as if it was a full time job so I could become more effective in my day-to-day work. I have emerged on the other side feeling more knowledgeable, and having made many good friends who will no doubt be great academic associates in the future. I have also gained great mentors in both my supervisors, and an invaluable skillset to progress my career in academia.

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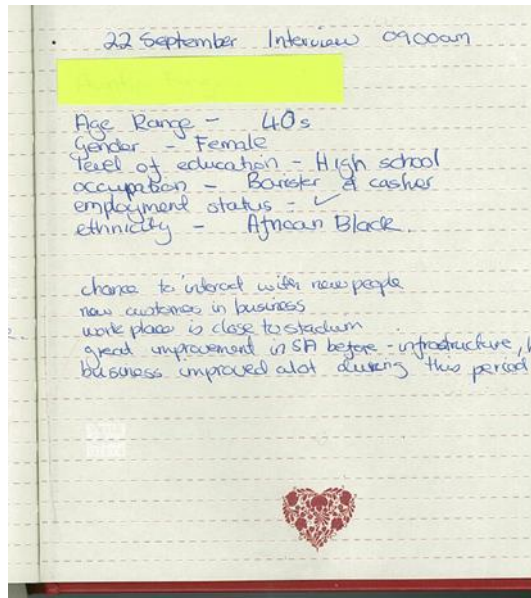
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Appendices

Appendix 1 Extract of Field Notes and Thoughts

Diary Selection of Field Notes



Appendix 2 Abridged Summary of Field Notes

- Mostly Excited
- International exposure
- Significance of first African country to host a mega event
- Pride
- Togetherness/ camaraderie/ solidarity of locals, unity/ social interactions
- Celebratory atmosphere, excitement and feeling of euphoria
- Vagrants/ homeless people
- Community displacement
- Employment opportunities/ Job satisfaction/ concerns over temporary opportunities
- Community development and regeneration
- The unison of all people that was represented through the adornment of different team regalia in harmony with each other irrespective of nationality/background
- Cost of living increased
- Living standards have improved
- Encouraged to participate and get more involved in soccer
- Hope for the future
- Significance of Bafana Bafana (SA team) winning the opening match
- Noise pollution from events hosted in stadium
- Traffic congestion/Poor roads remain despite some upgrading
- Overcrowding of community making it difficult to move about
- Safety/Crime concerns since event ended
- Concerns about sustainability and long-term legacy of the event
- Privilege/ Social disparities between different groups of people
- Ineffective facilities – hosting wrong type of events, not attracting major events
- Stadia an affliction to quality of life
- Concerns over increased tax to cover costs
- Xenophobic attacks, racial segregation
- Employment opportunities/ Job satisfaction/ concerns over temporary opportunities

- Job payment concerns
- Job opportunities appeared classist, the event jobs were offered to people that were already comfortable, and not the needy
- FIFA volunteer/employee experience
- Increased security during event
- Concerns over whether the WC show the reality of the average South African
- Concern over realization of benefits by all, whether the poorer people realized any benefits – trickledown effect
- Opposition towards stadium being built, Community Protests
- Concerns about location of Stadium being appropriate – the area was public land not fit for commercial use, why not locate stadium in areas that needed restoration
- Event temporarily brought people together
- Community development and regeneration

Appendix 3 Field Journal Excerpts

Thursday 22nd September 2016

All the respondents today discussed how the event brought the people of Green Point together into one community that had shared the experience of the 2010 WC. They all explained that this sense of community was founded on a shared a sense of pride from the accomplishment of hosting a mega event. They felt a sense of pride in being internationally recognized and applauded, and the satisfaction of the different races (white, black and coloured/mixed race) coming together, uniting over Ubuntu values and sharing a common aspiration and idea of cultural celebration. However, they also discussed that after the event, the local government that was responsible for organising the event used the local press to continue to drive home the idea that hosting the event had brought people together. In addition, the idea that the event had fostered local pride and had helped gain international accreditation. However, it also made evident through the various narrations that this euphoria and sense of togetherness did not last too long after the event was over.

The people began questioning whether event costs were justifiable and whether the event would yield a sustainable legacy (e.g. through job creation, infrastructure and the trickledown effect of regeneration to the townships). They felt that these desires were not addressed, instead those responsible for organising the event (local government, municipality) appeared to ignore the people's requests and instead kept reminding and over emphasising the achievements to the point that the achievements (togetherness, pride and jubilation) began to lose significance. The respondents made it apparent that the government used the achievements of togetherness, pride and exposure as an excuse to justify the subsequent negative impacts, such as short-term jobs, inadaptable infrastructure and the other social problems that began emerging almost immediately after the event. Drawing from the experiences narrated, it appears that the government's inability to address the event's negative impacts, shortcomings, and ineffectiveness to deliver on the promises of long-term social legacies (useful infrastructure, long-term jobs, economic security, safety, sustainable environment and widespread regeneration and development); eventually became the reasons that some of the noteworthy positive social impacts became short lived.

The narratives reveal how the people became restless as they began to realise that many of the positive impacts achieved were short lived. It comes across that many of the negative impacts were long-term. Those experiences resulted in protests, acts of xenophobia, reemergence of classism, elitism and racism - negative social impacts that the event had appeared to overcome through the achievement of positive impacts - togetherness and social unity. The increase in negative social impacts almost immediately began to erode away at the achievement of togetherness, social unity, local pride and the sense of we did it, and this is evidenced through the stories of the respondents 6 years after the event came to an end. One could say the event was an architect of its own downfall. The negative social impacts that ensued caused the positive social impacts to degenerate, and this was through the local government and municipality's failure to effect the positive long-term social legacies that had been promised to the host community, and failing to assume responsibility and tackle the social issues emerging in the community.

Friday 23rd September 2016

The event appears to have encouraged issues such as crime, vagrant behaviour, prostitution and drug dealing. Further to this, post the WC, Green Point became a much more attractive location affiliated with a higher standard of living and generally expensive lifestyle; therefore as the community experienced gentrification, and attracted social problems such as more homeless people, increased crime, drug dealing and prostitution. Some of the respondents today gave insight into the drug dealing and prostitution prior to the event, and made known that are no longer a major concern. However, it is interesting to realise that the policies introduced around the event were not necessarily responsible for clearing out the problems. One of the respondents discusses her experience with various women's organisations' that came together to resolve the problem around prostitution and drugs.

Saturday 24th September 2016

The event facilitated extensive community development and urban regeneration, this extended to the construction of new roads and upgrading of transport systems to cope with the pressure during the event. However, it appears from the community experiences that the traffic problems in Green Point have become worse for some, and better for others. Nevertheless, upon close inspection of the socio-background of the respondents today, it appears that the individuals using public transport received the most benefits; they have plenty of buses, trains and taxis for their use. However, the respondents that appear to use private transport appear to have grievances as the roads have become more congested due to the increase in public transport, especially on days that there are events in Green Point. It also appears that during the redevelopment of the city, the council mostly paid attention to the main roads and walkways close to the location of the stadium, however, overlooked renovation of the small inroads and lanes in the heart of the residential areas. These lanes have become an attraction to the increasing number of vagrants increasing community safety concerns, and during peak event hours, event goers appear to use the lanes for parking, therefore increasing noise and litter concerns amongst the community members.

Sunday 25th September 2016

The issues raised by the respondents today are concerning the use of the stadium and the attached public space and commercialisation of the area are indicative of a local council that did not consider implementation of policies that ensured a long-term social legacy for the Community. The experiences narrated by the respondents are mostly indicative of a community that is somewhat frustrated by the affliction of the negative socio-economic, socio-environmental, socio-political, socio-cultural legacy that has ensued 6 years after the event. The respondents express their feelings of concern and lack of community engagement during the bid phase, planning stages and aftermath of the event; it appears that the community members share the sentiment that if they had been listened to, the community of Green Point would have prevented or lessened some of the social problems troubling the community now.

Through the narratives, it is understood that the complaints and demonstrations from the community eventually resulted in the formation of various community

representative associations during and after the event. These associations have remained independent of the local council and serve as a voice for the community, facilitating enforced community involvement and engagement in the decision-making process, they headed community engagement initiatives whose main priority was to minimise negative social impacts and guarantee attainment of benefits for the community from the World Cup. Some of the stories collected also reflect views from community members that belong to some of those associations: the Green Point Rate Payers Association, the Green Point Neighborhood Watch Association and the Green Point Community Events Association.

Appendix 4 Ethics Approval



Research Ethics Checklist

Reference Id	12089
Status	Approved
Date Approved	25/07/2016

Researcher Details

Name	Rutendo Musikavanhu
School	School of Tourism
Status	Postgraduate Research (MRes, MPhil, PhD, DProf, DEng)



Cape Peninsula
University of Technology

REC 5

Cape Peninsula University of Technology
Ethical Considerations for Questionnaires and Interviews
Faculty of Business

Tick One Box:

- ☐ Staff Project
☐ Contract Project
☒ Postgraduate Project (Masters and Doctoral level)
☐ Undergraduate Project (ND & BTech level)

Title of Project: Fostering Community Support for Mega Events: A narrative inquiry of stories and experiences in the context of Cape Town, South Africa

Name of researcher(s) Rutendo Roselyn Musikavanhu

Name of Supervisor(s) (if appropriate) Professor Adele Ladkin, Dr Debbie Sadd

		YES	NO	N/A
1	Will you describe the main experimental procedures to participants in advance, so that they are informed about what to expect?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2.	Will you tell participants that their participation is voluntary?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3.	Will you obtain written consent for participation?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4.	If the research is observational, will you ask participants for their consent to being observed?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: 13 September 2016 17:21
To: Rutendo Musikavanhu (i. [REDACTED])
Cc: [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: ETHICS FEEDBACK - RUTENDO ROSELYN MUSIKANAVHU

Hi Rutendo

Thanks for this. I would say you should go ahead as the ethics has been approved (even though they just wanted to see some form of consent). Will you be joining us at the TESA conference next week? I will be busy there most of the week. But let me know when you are available and I can introduce you to the librarian on our campus and show you some work space you can use if you need.

Kind regards,

[REDACTED]
Senior Lecturer, [REDACTED]
Cape Peninsula University of Technology

Appendix 5 Participant Information Sheet, Participant Agreement Form

Participant Information Sheet

Title of the Research Project:

Fostering Community Support for Mega Events: A narrative inquiry of stories and experiences in the context of Cape Town, South Africa

Invitation to Participate in this Research

You are invited to take part in this research project that explores community support of mega events e.g. FIFA 2010 World Cup. Prior to making the decision of participating, it is necessary that you understand the purpose and procedures involved in the research. This document has been prepared for your convenience, please read the presented information carefully. Please feel free to discuss with others should you wish, if you have any questions, I am available for clarification. For ethical purposes, all participants will be 18 years of age or above.

What is the Purpose of the Research Project?

Mega events (e.g. FIFA World Cup, Olympics) have steadily gained importance and popularity over the last three decades and research has found value in gaining an understanding of mega event impacts on community support. This research is towards a PhD qualification in Tourism Studies to be completed over a 3-year full-time period.

Why have you been chosen?

You have been selected as a key respondent in this research because of your insightful knowledge and unique experiences of the FIFA 2010 World Cup. In accordance with the research requirements, up to 10 other participants will be approached in a similar manner to participate in separate interviews.

Do I have to take part?

Participating in this research study is entirely voluntary; participants will be able to withdraw up to the point of anonymisation (when personal data is no longer

identifiable). If you wish to continue with the process, this participant information sheet is for you to keep and you will be asked to sign a participant agreement form.

What will taking part involve?

The researcher will interview the respondents that agree to participate, liberally discussing their experiences of the FIFA 2010 World Cup. All participants will be interviewed individually and the duration of the interview is dependent upon the respondent's narration. It is expected that interviews could be up to an hour and a half long, and where necessary, breaks will be taken. The interviews will be recorded for the purpose of revisiting the data during the transcription phase and all data relating to this study will be stored on a BU password protected secure network. It is important that respondents note that no travel expenses will be provided for participating in this research. However, the researcher will make necessary arrangement to avoid inconveniences. To schedule the interview, communication will be between the researcher and the individual respondent to agree on a convenient date and time.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

There is no risk associated with this research. The process of interviewing will take some of your time only.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

This work is expected to provide unique insight into understanding the development of mega events and community support of mega events within South Africa.

Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential? What will happen to the results of the research project?

This process will remain strictly confidential. To maintain trustworthy and anonymity, no personal information will be published or revealed at any point. For confidentiality purposes, all data relating to this study will be stored on Bournemouth University password protected network or drive and will be deleted after 5 years. You may not be able to obtain a copy of the results conducted in this research as this is purely for academic purposes towards the award of a doctoral degree. The final thesis containing nameless data will be available online through the university and will be publicly available.

What type of information will be sought from me and why is the collection of this information relevant for achieving the research project's objectives?

Your age bracket, gender, ethnicity and community of origin will be required; this will be in accordance with the authentication process of data collection outlined in the research proposal. Further to this, the information will assist in putting some of your responses in context. The interview process requires that you recount your FIFA 2010 World Cup experiences; this information will assist in achieving the research objectives.

Will I be recorded, and how will the recorded media be used?

The audio recordings made during the interviews will solely be used for data analysis. No other use will be made of them without your written permission, and no one outside the project will be allowed access to the original recordings. Audio recordings will be deleted after transcription.

Who is organising/funding the research?

This research is funded by Bournemouth University Faculty of Management Executive Dean's Scholarship.

Contact for further information

For more information, I can be reached on:

Rutendo Musikavanhu

Faculty of Management Bournemouth University, Dorset House, Talbot Campus

Fern Barrow, Poole, BH12 5BB

rmusikavanhu@bournemouth.ac.uk

The Research Supervisory Team:

Professor Adele Ladkin

aladkin@bournemouth.ac.uk

Dr. Debbie Sadd

dsadd@bournemouth.ac.uk

Conclusively, I take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation of you taking your time to read through this information sheet. Hopefully, you will accept to partake in this research process.

Participant Agreement Form

Research Title: Fostering Community Support for Mega Events: A narrative inquiry of stories and experiences in the context of Cape Town, South Africa

Name and Position of Researcher: Rutendo Musikavanhu, PhD Researcher

Contact Details of Researcher: rmusikavanhu@bournemouth.ac.uk

Name of Supervisors: Professor Adele Ladkin and Dr Debbie Sadd

Contact Details of Supervisors: Please email the researcher for supervisors contact details

I confirm that I have read and understood the participant information sheet for the above research project.	Yes/No
I confirm that I have had the opportunity to ask questions	Yes/No
I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I fall within the age limits permitted to participate in this research (18 years of age or above)	Yes/No
I understand that I am free to withdraw up to the point where the data are processed and become anonymous, so my identity cannot be determined in the result/findings of this research project	Yes/No
During the interview or questionnaire survey, I am free to withdraw without giving reason and without there being any negative consequences	Yes/No
Should I wish not to answer any particular question(s), I am free to decline	Yes/No
I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my	Yes/No

name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the outputs that result from the research	
<p>I agree to have the interview recorded for data transcription purposes.</p> <p>(Recordings of interviews will be deleted after transcription. All other data relating to this Study will be stored on a BU password protected secure network for 5 years after which it will be deleted).</p>	Yes/No
I agree to take part in the above research project	Yes/No

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Name of Researcher

Date

Signature

Appendix 6 Narrative Storytelling Prompt Questions

Question to prompt story-telling process:

I am collecting lived experiences for a research project that I am doing. Please could you tell me your experiences of the FIFA 2010 World Cup, your experiences during the preparation season, your experiences during the event and your experiences after the event? Take your time. We have got as much time as you need for this and we can start wherever you like. I will listen first, I will not interrupt, and I may take a couple of notes that I will ask you questions about later, please take the time that you need and as I said I will not interrupt you. So can you tell me story, the events and experiences that have been important to you up till now?

Examples of some of the Prompt/follow-up questions asked:

What were your hopes, desires, and feelings about...?

Who were the people...?

What were the factors involved in...?

Can you tell me more about the environment...?

Can you describe in more detail the location where this took place...?

How did this experience make you feel...?

Can you tell me more about that experience...?

Appendix 7 Assembling a Thematic Framework, Indexing

Name	Description	Sources	References
Views towards exposure	This node will store the respondents' views on the effect of exposure within their society	2	5
Turnaround for most stereotypes associated with Africa	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt that the event helped clear misconceptions about Africa	3	3
Spotlight on Green Point	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt that the event brought good exposure to their community, their culture, values and way of life gained international exposure	4	6
Acknowledgement of local Culture	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt that the event resulted in international acceptance and respect for their culture	0	0
We have arrived		2	4
Behavioural Changes within the Society	This node will store the respondents' opinions of how they felt about the changes in social interaction within their community	4	9
Social interactions	This node is concerned with the how the respondents experienced togetherness during the event. This node is also concerned with how the respondents felt the spirit of togetherness was short lived and lasted for the duration of the event	5	13
Rainbow Nation experience	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt the spirit of oneness was genuine and authentic during the event. Racial segregation did not matter	4	8
Kinship within society	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt they belonged to one group with a shared behaviour based on common culture, values etc. that distinguishes them from others.	5	15
Sentiment of togetherness		6	22
Managing expectations	This node will store the respondents' emotions attached to expectations of hosting the mega event, from both before the event, during the event and after the event	5	20
Perceived concerns over event organisation	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt about the planning of the event (choice in location etc.)	3	4
Difficulties in achieving legacy		3	4
Sense of mutuality and social harmony	This node is concerned with how the respondents expected to feel communal support, cooperation and a mutual happiness	4	5
Solidarity		6	10
Equality		6	10
Rebuilding togetherness	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt the event helped rebuild a sense of togetherness that had been lost after the 1995 Rugby WC	5	11
Exciting experience		5	13
Humanity		6	16
Uneven distribution of benefits		5	7
Adjustment to event outcomes	This node is concerned with how the respondents coped with the event social impacts, both positive and negative	3	10
Meaning of employment opportunities		5	14
Event preparation		4	11

Barriers to inclusiveness	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt and observed barriers to inclusive social change, the changes did not benefit all	6	13
Expectations	This node is concerned with how the respondents expected the event to deliver once in a life time opportunities that would engender positive and lasting change	5	17
Rewarding Experience		5	13
Memorable Experience		4	15
Social Impact of Event	This node will store the respondents' feelings of the social impacts of the event, both positive and negative feelings	6	23
Traffic		1	2
Protests		1	2
Concerns over hosting the event	This node is concerned with the respondents feelings over how the event was justified	3	8
Anxiety over achieving long-term social benefits		1	3
Underutilised infrastructure		2	5
Event a Liability		2	6
Noise		3	8
Attitudes towards social development	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt about the varied social changes occurring in their society as a result of the event	5	12
Inadequate urban renewal		0	0
Frustration over social disparities		4	7
Disappointment in Government and Event Organisers		3	13
Community law enforcement		2	12
Impact on Quality of Life	This node is concerned with how the respondents' lives were affected by the event	6	19
Community law enforcement		0	0
Improved transport systems		1	1
Social Inequalities		2	4
Hardship		2	4
Service deterioration		1	5
Improved services and recreational spaces		3	5
Safety concerns		2	9
Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event	This node will store both negative and positive attitudes about hosting mega events in Green Point, this is the community where the respondents live	6	37
Broke barriers to stereotypical views	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt that hosting the event broke international barriers and perceptions	0	0
Perceived Attitudes	This node is concerned with the attitudes that the respondents observed and professed	3	3
Perception of contentment		1	2

Feelings of accomplishment		3	7
Adjusting to the Event Developments	This node is concerned with how the respondents coped with the event developments	3	4
Abrupt end to excitement over event	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt and observed a curt end to the event, the experience was short lived	4	5
Community undertaking municipal responsibilities	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt a sense of immediate anxiety because of the abrupt end to the event that left the community burdened with the responsibility of debt	2	4
Lack of accountability		2	7
Felt let down	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt let down by the event and used, the event benefited the visitors. the locals were the machinery	4	16
Key takeaway experience		6	6
Emotions Experienced	This node is concerned with the emotions that the respondents observed such as pride, hope	4	8
Pride		4	8
Sense of Hope		4	8
Jubilation		4	9
Sense of Loss	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt disappointed in the event	4	10
Noteworthy impacts and changes		5	12

Appendix 8 Extended Version 1 Code Book

16/03/2017 12:24

Version 1 Code Book 10,11 March

Name	Description	Hierarchical Name	Number Of Sources Coded
Abrupt end to excitement over event	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt and observed a curt end to the event, the experience was short lived	Nodes\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event\\Abrupt end to excitement over event	4
Accountability concerns		Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling thematic framework, indexing\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event\\Short lived excitement\\Accountability concerns	2
Acknowledgement of local Culture	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt that the event resulted in international acceptance and respect for their culture	Nodes\\Views towards exposure\\Spotlight on Green Point\\Acknowledgement of local Culture	0
Adjusting to the Event Developments	This node is concerned with how the respondents coped with the event developments	Nodes\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event\\Adjusting to the Event Developments	3
Adjustment development	This node is concerned with how the respondents coped with the event developments	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling thematic framework, indexing\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event\\Adjustment to development	3
Adjustment to event outcomes	This node is concerned with how the respondents coped with the event social impacts, both positive and negative	Nodes\\Managing expectations\\Adjustment to event outcomes	3
Adjustment to event outcomes	This node is concerned with how the respondents coped with the event social impacts, both positive and negative	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling thematic framework, indexing\\Managing expectations\\Adjustment to event outcomes	3
Anxiety over achieving long-term social benefits		Nodes\\Social Impact of Event\\Concerns over hosting the event\\Anxiety over achieving long-term social benefits	1
Associated stereotypical views	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt that hosting the event broke international barriers and perceptions	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling thematic framework, indexing\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event\\Associated stereotypical views	0
Attitudes towards social development	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt about the varied social changes occurring in their society as a result of the event	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling thematic framework, indexing\\Social Impact of Event\\Attitudes towards social development	5
Attitudes towards social development	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt about the varied social changes occurring in their society as a result of the event	Nodes\\Social Impact of Event\\Attitudes towards social development	5
Barriers to inclusiveness	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt and observed barriers to inclusive social change, the changes did not benefit all	Nodes\\Managing expectations\\Barriers to inclusiveness	6

Behaviour within the Society	This node will store the respondents' opinions of how they felt about the changes in social interaction within their community	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing\\Behaviour within the Society	5
Behavioural Changes within the Society	This node will store the respondents' opinions of how they felt about the changes in social interaction within their community	Nodes\\Behavioural Changes within the Society	4

Reports\\Version 1 Code Book 10,11 March

Page 1 of 8
16/03/2017 12:24

Name	Description	Hierarchical Name	Number Of Sources Coded
Broke barriers to stereotypical views	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt that hosting the event broke international barriers and perceptions	Nodes\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event\\Broke barriers to stereotypical views	0
Community enforcement	law	Nodes\\Social Impact of Event\\Impact on Quality of Life\\Community law enforcement	0
Community enforcement	law	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing\\Social Impact of Event\\Community law enforcement	2
Community enforcement	law	Nodes\\Social Impact of Event\\Community law enforcement	2
Community undertaking municipal responsibilities	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt a sense of immediate anxiety because of the abrupt end to the event that left the community burdened with the responsibility of debt	Nodes\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event\\Abrupt end to excitement over event\\Community undertaking municipal responsibilities	2
Community undertaking ownership	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt a sense of immediate anxiety because of the abrupt end to the event that left the community burdened with the responsibility of debt	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event\\Short lived excitement\\Community undertaking ownership	2
Concerns over hosting the event	This node is concerned with the respondents' feelings over how the event was justified	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing\\Social Impact of Event\\Concerns over hosting the event	3
Concerns over hosting the event	This node is concerned with the respondents' feelings over how the event was justified	Nodes\\Social Impact of Event\\Concerns over hosting the event	3
Difficulties in achieving legacy		Nodes\\Managing expectations\\Perceived concerns over event organisation\\Difficulties in achieving legacy	3
Disappointment in Government and Event Organisers		Nodes\\Social Impact of Event\\Attitudes towards social development\\Disappointment in Government and Event Organisers	3
Emotions Experienced	This node is concerned with the emotions that the respondents observed such as pride, hope	Nodes\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event\\Emotions Experienced	4

Emotions Experienced	This node is concerned with the emotions that the respondents observed such as pride, hope	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a5 thematic framework, indexing\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event\\Emotions Experienced
Equality		Nodes\\Managing expectations\\Sense6 of mutuality and social harmony\\Equality
Event a Liability		Nodes\\Social Impact of2 Event\\Concerns over hosting the event\\Event a Liability
Event accomplishments		Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a4 thematic framework, indexing\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event\\Social attitudes\\Event accomplishments
Event preparation		Nodes\\Managing expectations\\Event5 preparation

Reports\\Version 1 Code Book 10,11 March

Page 2 of 8
16/03/2017 12:24

Name	Description	Hierarchical Name	Number Of Sources Coded
Event preparation		Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a4 thematic framework, indexing\\Managing expectations\\Event preparation	
Exciting experience		Nodes\\Managing expectations\\Sense5 of mutuality and social harmony\\Exciting experience	
Exciting experience		Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a5 thematic framework, indexing\\Managing expectations\\Sense of mutuality and solidarity\\Exciting experience	
Expectations	This node is concerned with how the respondents expected the event to deliver once in a life time opportunities that would engender positive and lasting change	Nodes\\Managing expectations\\Expectations	5
Expectations	This node is concerned with how the respondents expected the event to deliver once in a life time opportunities that would engender positive and lasting change	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a5 thematic framework, indexing\\Managing expectations\\Expectations	
Feelings of accomplishment		Nodes\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega3 Event\\Perceived Attitudes\\Feelings of accomplishment	
Felt let down	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt let down by the event and used, the event benefited the visitors. the locals were the machinery	Nodes\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega4 Event\\Abrupt end to excitement over the event\\Felt let down	
Frustration over social disparities		Nodes\\Social Impact of4 Event\\Attitudes towards social development\\Frustration over social disparities	
Hardship		Nodes\\Social Impact of Event\\Impact2 on Quality of Life\\Hardship	

Humanity		Nodes\\Managing expectations\\Sense of mutuality and social harmony\\Humanity
Humanity	This node is concerned with how the respondents views over the idea of rainbow nation, a sense of kinship and Ubuntu values	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing\\Managing expectations\\Sense of mutuality and solidarity\\Humanity
Impact on Quality of Life	This node is concerned with how the respondents' lives were affected by the event	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing\\Social Impact of Event\\Impact on Quality of Life
Impact on Quality of Life	This node is concerned with how the respondents' lives were affected by the event	Nodes\\Social Impact of Event\\Impact on Quality of Life
Improved services and recreational spaces		Nodes\\Social Impact of Event\\Impact on Quality of Life\\Improved services and recreational spaces
Improved transport systems		Nodes\\Social Impact of Event\\Impact on Quality of Life\\Improved transport systems
Inadequate urban renewal		Nodes\\Social Impact of Event\\Attitudes towards social development\\Inadequate urban renewal

Reports\\Version 1 Code Book 10,11 March

Page 3 of 8
16/03/2017 12:24

Name	Description	Hierarchical Name	Number Of Sources Coded
Jubilation		Nodes\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event\\Emotions Experienced\\Jubilation	4
Jubilation		Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event\\Emotions Experienced\\Jubilation	4
Key take away experiences	This node is concerned with the experiences that the respondents were most noteworthy	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event\\Key take away experiences	6
Key takeaway experience		Nodes\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event\\Key takeaway experience	6
Kinship within society	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt they belonged to one the group with a shared behaviour based on common culture, values etc. that distinguishes them from others.	Nodes\\Behavioural Changes within Society\\Social interactions\\Kinship within society	0
Lack of accountability		Nodes\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event\\Abrupt end to excitement over event\\Lack of accountability	2
Legacy concerns		Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing\\Managing expectations\\Perceived concerns\\Legacy concerns	4

Managing expectations	This node will store the respondents' emotions attached to expectations of hosting the mega event, from both before the event, during the event and after the event	Nodes\\Managing expectations	5
Managing expectations	This node will store the respondents' emotions attached to expectations of hosting the mega event, from both before the event, during the event and after the event	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing\\Managing expectations	a5
Meaning of employment opportunities		Nodes\\Managing expectations\\Adjustment to event outcomes\\Meaning of employment opportunities	5
Meaning of employment opportunities		Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing\\Managing expectations\\Adjustment to event outcomes\\Meaning of employment opportunities	a6
Meaning of Hosting Mega Event	aThis node will store both negative and positive attitudes about hosting mega events in Green Point, this is the community where the respondents live	Nodes\\Meaning of Hosting a MegaEvent	a6
Meaning of Hosting Mega Event	aThis node will store both negative and positive attitudes about hosting megathematic events in Green Point, this is the community where the respondents live	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing\\Meaning of Hosting a MegaEvent	a7
Memorable Experience		Nodes\\Managing expectations\\Expectations\\Memorable Experience	4

Reports\\Version 1 Code Book 10,11 March

Page 4 of 8
16/03/2017 12:24

Name	Description	Hierarchical Name	Number Sources Coded	Of
Memorable Experience		Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing\\Managing expectations\\Expectations\\Memorable Experience	a4	
Noise		Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing\\Social Impact of Event\\Noise	a3	
Noise		Nodes\\Social Impact of Event\\Noise	3	
Noteworthy impacts and changes		Nodes\\Meaning of Hosting a MegaEvent\\Noteworthy impacts and changes	5	
Noteworthy impacts and changes		Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing\\Meaning of Hosting a MegaEvent\\Noteworthy impacts and changes	a6	

Perception of contentment		Nodes\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega1 Event\\Perceived Attitudes\\Perception of contentment
Perceived Attitudes	This node is concerned with the attitudes that the respondents observed and professed	Nodes\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega3 Event\\Perceived Attitudes
Perceived concerns	This node is concerned with how respondents felt about the planning of the event (choice in location etc.)	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a3 thematic framework, indexing\\Managing expectations\\Perceived concerns
Perceived concerns over event organisation	This node is concerned with how respondents felt about the planning of the event (choice in location etc.)	Nodes\\Managing 3 expectations\\Perceived concerns over event organisation
Pride		Nodes\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega4 Event\\Emotions Experienced\\Pride
Pride		Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a4 thematic framework, indexing\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event\\Emotions Experienced\\Pride
Protests		Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a1 thematic framework, indexing\\Social Impact of Event\\Protests
Protests		Nodes\\Social Impact of1 Event\\Protests
Rainbow experience	NationThis node is concerned with how respondents felt the spirit of onenessthe was genuine and authentic during theinteractions\\Rainbow Nation event. Racial segregation did notexperience matter	Nodes\\Behavioural Changes within0 Society\\Social
Rebuilding the Rainbow Nation	This node is concerned with how respondents felt the event helpedthematic framework, rebuild a sense of togetherness thatindexing\\Managing had been lost after the 1995 Rugbyexpectations\\Sense of mutuality and solidarity\\Rebuilding the Rainbow Nation	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a6 thematic framework, indexing\\Managing expectations\\Sense of mutuality and solidarity\\Rebuilding the Rainbow Nation
Rebuilding togetherness	This node is concerned with how respondents felt the event helpedof mutuality and social rebuild a sense of togetherness thatharmony\\Rebuilding togetherness had been lost after the 1995 Rugby WC	Nodes\\Managing expectations\\Sense5 of mutuality and social harmony\\Rebuilding togetherness

Name	Description	Hierarchical Name	Number Sources Coded	Of
Rewarding Experience		Nodes\\Managing expectations\\Expectations\\Rewarding Experience	5	
Rewarding Experience		Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a6 thematic framework, indexing\\Managing expectations\\Expectations\\Rewarding Experience		

Safety concerns		Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a3 thematic framework, indexing\\Social Impact of Event\\Impact on Quality of Life\\Safety concerns
Safety concerns		Nodes\\Social Impact of Event\\Impact2 on Quality of Life\\Safety concerns
Sense of discouragement	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt let down by the event and used, the event benefited the visitors. the locals were the machinery	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a4 thematic framework, indexing\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event\\Short lived excitement\\Sense of discouragement
Sense of Hope		Nodes\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega4 Event\\Emotions Experienced\\Sense of Hope
Sense of Hope		Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a5 thematic framework, indexing\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event\\Emotions Experienced\\Sense of Hope
Sense of Loss	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt disappointed in the event	Nodes\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega4 Event\\Sense of Loss
Sense of Loss	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt disappointed in the event	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a5 thematic framework, indexing\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event\\Sense of Loss
Sense of mutuality and social harmony	This node is concerned with how the respondents expected to feel of mutuality and social harmony communal support, cooperation and a mutual happiness	Nodes\\Managing expectations\\Sense4 of mutuality and social harmony
Sense of mutuality and solidarity	This node is concerned with the respondents feelings over communal support, cooperation, solidarity and equality	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a7 thematic framework, indexing\\Managing expectations\\Sense of mutuality and solidarity
Sentiment of togetherness		Nodes\\Behavioural Changes within6 the Society\\Social interactions\\Sentiment of togetherness
Service deterioration		Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a3 thematic framework, indexing\\Social Impact of Event\\Impact on Quality of Life\\Service deterioration
Service deterioration		Nodes\\Social Impact of Event\\Impact1 on Quality of Life\\Service deterioration
Service facilities and recreational spaces		Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a5 thematic framework, indexing\\Social Impact of Event\\Impact on Quality of Life\\Service facilities and recreational spaces

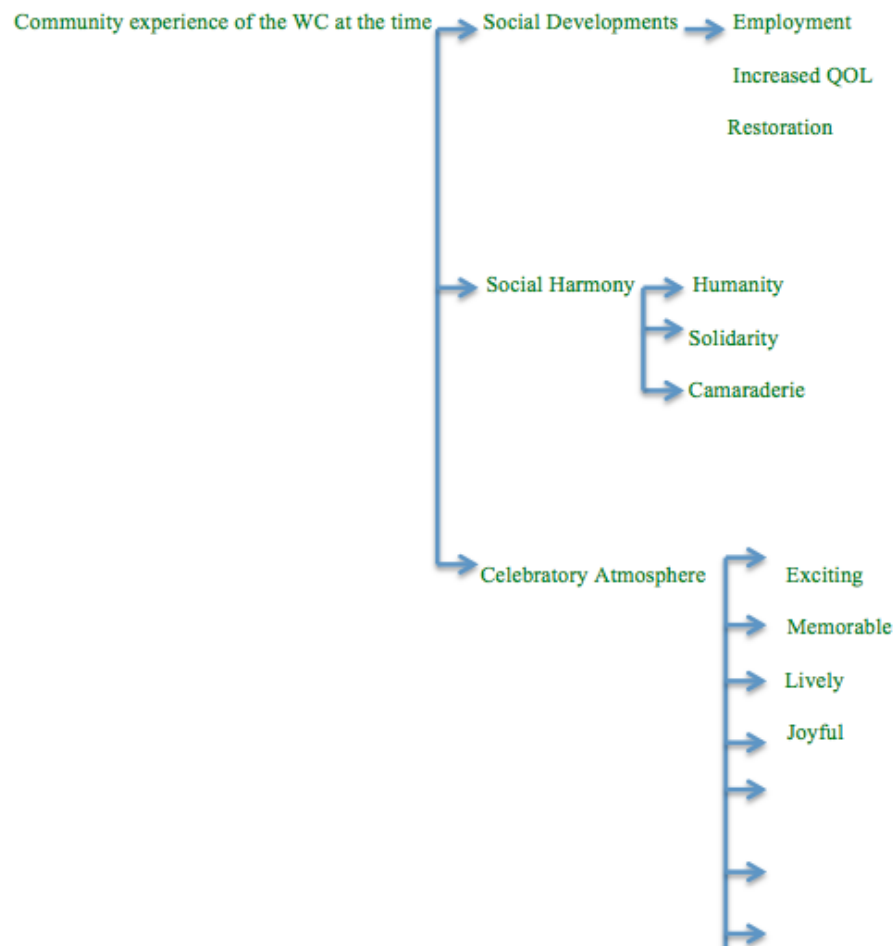
Name	Description	Hierarchical Name	Number Sources Coded	Of
------	-------------	-------------------	-------------------------	----

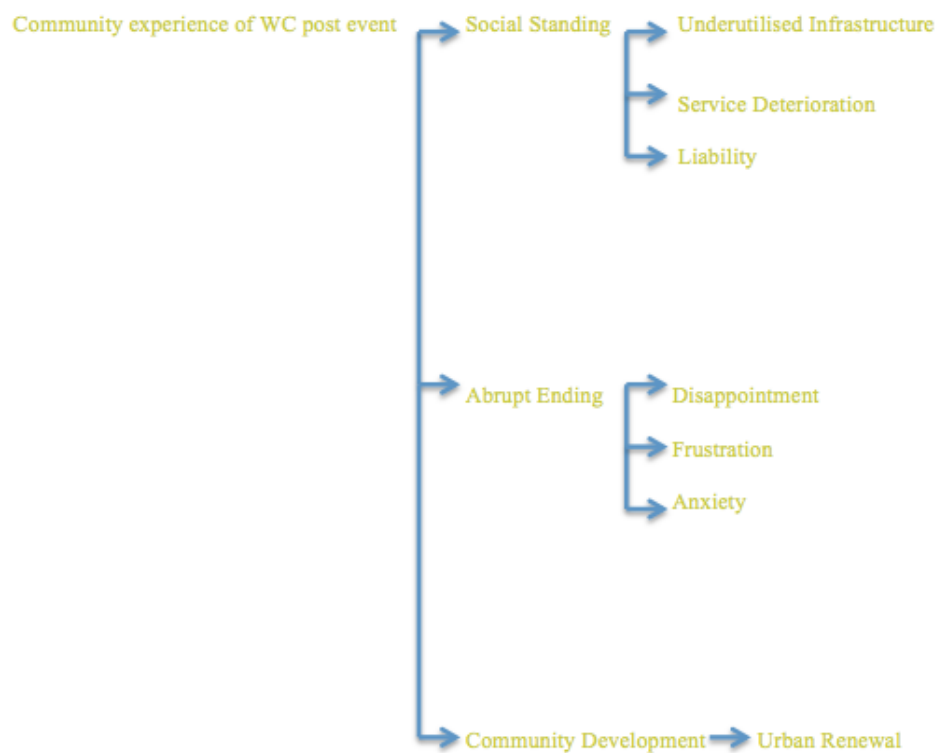
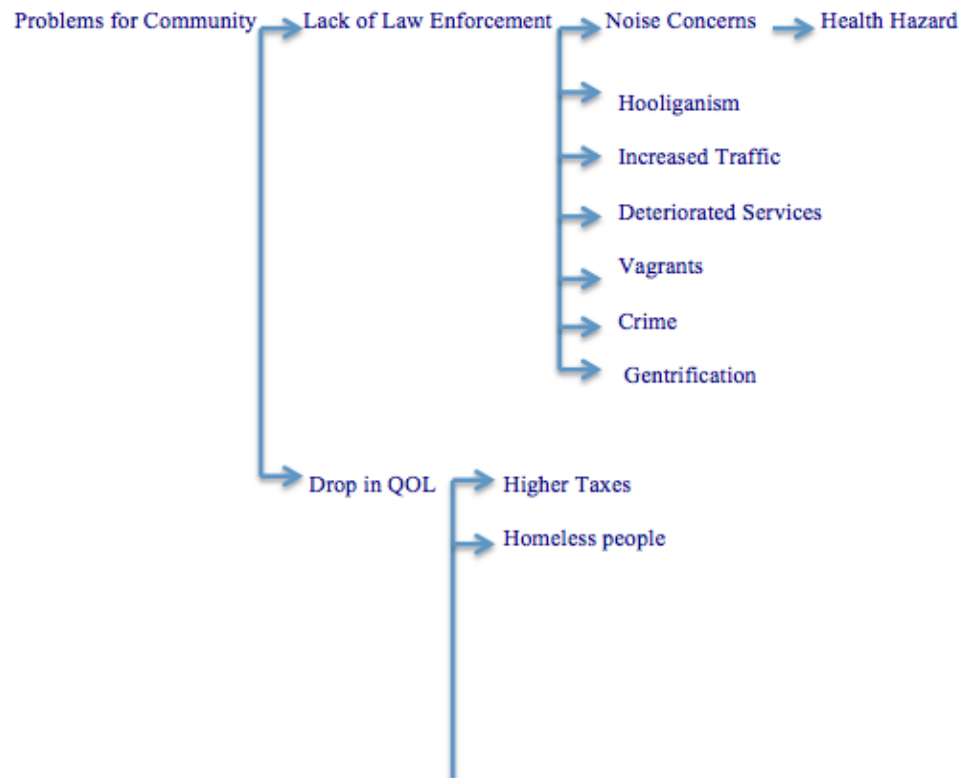
Shift in stereotypical views	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt that the event helped clear misconceptions about Africa towards exposure	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a3 thematic framework, indexing\\Views towards exposure\\Shift in stereotypical views
Short lived excitement	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt and observed a curttthematic end to the event, the experience was short lived	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a4 thematic framework, indexing\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event\\Short lived excitement
Social attitudes	This node is concerned with the attitudes that the respondents observed and professed	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a3 thematic framework, indexing\\Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event\\Social attitudes
Social Impact of Event	This node will store the respondents' feelings of the social impacts of the event, both positive and negative feelings	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a7 thematic framework, indexing\\Social Impact of Event
Social Impact of Event	This node will store the respondents' feelings of the social impacts of the event, both positive and negative feelings	Nodes\\Social Impact of Event 6
Social inclusiveness	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt and observed barriers to inclusive social change, the changes did not benefit all	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a7 thematic framework, indexing\\Managing expectations\\Social inclusiveness
Social Inequalities		Nodes\\Social Impact of Event\\Impact2 on Quality of Life\\Social Inequalities
Social interactions	This node is concerned with the how the respondents experienced togetherness during the event. This node is also concerned with how the respondents felt the spirit of togetherness was short lived and lasted for the duration of the event	Nodes\\Behavioural Changes within5 the Society\\Social interactions
Solidarity		Nodes\\Managing expectations\\Sense6 of mutuality and social harmony\\Solidarity
Spotlight on Green Point	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt that the event brought good exposure to their community, their culture, values and way of life gained international exposure	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a4 thematic framework, indexing\\Views towards exposure\\Spotlight on Green Point
Spotlight on Green Point	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt that the event brought good exposure to their community, their culture, values and way of life gained international exposure	Nodes\\Views towards4 exposure\\Spotlight on Green Point
Temporary benefits		Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a2 thematic framework, indexing\\Social Impact of Event\\Impact on Quality of Life\\Temporary benefits
Traffic		Nodes\\Social Impact of Event\\Traffic1
Turnaround for most stereotypes associated with Africa	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt that the event helped clear misconceptions about Africa stereotypes associated with Africa	Nodes\\Views towards3 exposure\\Turnaround for most stereotypes associated with Africa

Name	Description	Hierarchical Name	Number Of Sources Coded
Underutilised infrastructure		Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing\\Social Impact of Event\\Concerns over hosting the event\\Underutilised infrastructure	2
Underutilised infrastructure		Nodes\\Social Impact of Event\\Concerns over hosting the event\\Underutilised infrastructure	2
Uneven distribution of benefits		Nodes\\Managing expectations\\Uneven distribution of benefits	5
Uneven distribution of benefits		Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing\\Managing expectations\\Uneven distribution of benefits	5
Views towards exposure	This node will store the respondents' views on the effect of exposure within their society	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing\\Views towards exposure	2
Views towards exposure	This node will store the respondents' views on the effect of exposure within their society	Nodes\\Views towards exposure	2
We have arrived		Nodes\\Views towards exposure\\Spotlight on Green Point\\We have arrived	2
We have arrived	This node is concerned with how the respondents feel that South Africa has arrived on the international stage	Nodes\\Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing\\Views towards exposure\\Spotlight on Green Point\\We have arrived	2

Appendix 9 Preliminary Links between initial ideas and patterns in Data

*WC = World Cup





Appendix 10 Preliminary Coding Framework

1. Broad Idea →	Attitudes	Expectations	Apprehensions	Opinions	Complaints	Achievements
2. Code →	Managing magnitude of Hosting a Mega Event	Coping with Expectation of Event Legacy	Social Standing	Reactions towards Social Behavioural Changes	Reactions towards Poor Event Forecasting	Views towards Exposure
	Coping with the Event Developments	Adjustment to Event Outcomes	Abrupt Ending	Excitement towards Novel Experience	Concerns over Event Justification	Significance of Communal Pride
		Social Developments	Community Development		Lack of Law Enforcement	
		Social Harmony			Drop in QOL	
		Celebratory Atmosphere				
3. Category →	Pride	Accord	Underutilised Infrastructure	One-sided	Unnecessary	Exposure
	Hope	Equalities	Service Deterioration	Fleeting	Overcrowded	Development
		Quality of Life	Liability	Enjoyable	Inadaptable	Solidarity
		Legacy	Disappointment	Gratifying	Divisive	Enthralling
		Entertaining	Frustration	Useful	Burden	Optimism
		Employment	Anxiety		Noise Concerns	
		Restoration	Urban Renewal		Hooliganism	
		Solidarity			Increased Traffic	
		Humanity			Vagrants	
		Camaraderie			Crime	
		Exciting			Higher Taxes	

		Memorable			Homeless people	
		Lively				
		Joyful				
4. Sub-Theme →		Community experience of the WC at the time	Community experience of WC post event		Problems for Community	

Appendix 11 Nvivo extracts of the Evolving Coding and Charting Process

Community Support Data (NVivo 11).nvp - NVivo Pro

Look for: Search In: Nodes Find Now Clear Advanced Find

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By
Managing expectations	0	0	07/03/2017 15:18	R R	07/03/2017 15:26	R R
Social Impact of Event	0	0	07/03/2017 15:23	R R	07/03/2017 15:26	R R
Impact on Quality of Life	0	0	08/03/2017 15:06	R R	08/03/2017 15:06	R R
Behavioural Changes within the Society	0	0	07/03/2017 15:29	R R	08/03/2017 13:42	R R
Views towards exposure	0	0	07/03/2017 15:36	R R	07/03/2017 15:36	R R
Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event	1	2	07/03/2017 15:09	R R	07/03/2017 15:26	R R
Adjusting to the Event Developments	0	0	08/03/2017 14:58	R R	08/03/2017 15:03	R R
Emotions Experienced	0	0	08/03/2017 15:00	R R	08/03/2017 15:01	R R
Perceived Attitudes	0	0	08/03/2017 15:03	R R	08/03/2017 15:03	R R

Coding and Charting Extract 1

The screenshot displays the Nvivo Pro software interface. The top menu bar includes options like CREATE, DATA, ANALYZE, QUERY, EXPLORE, LAYOUT, and VIEW. Below the menu is a toolbar with various icons for editing and analysis. The main window shows a list of nodes under the 'Nodes' tab. The nodes are organized into a hierarchical structure, with some nodes expanded to show sub-nodes. The table below represents the data shown in the screenshot.

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By
Managing expectations	0	0	07/03/2017 15:18	RR	07/03/2017 15:26	RR
Perceived concerns over event organisation	0	0	08/03/2017 15:23	RR	08/03/2017 15:27	RR
Difficulties in achieving legacy	0	0	08/03/2017 15:57	RR	08/03/2017 15:57	RR
Adjustment to event outcomes	0	0	08/03/2017 15:28	RR	08/03/2017 15:28	RR
Limited employment opportunities	0	0	08/03/2017 15:58	RR	08/03/2017 15:58	RR
Barriers to inclusive social change	0	0	08/03/2017 15:48	RR	08/03/2017 15:48	RR
Sense of mutuality and social harmony	0	0	08/03/2017 15:52	RR	08/03/2017 15:52	RR
Solidarity	0	0	08/03/2017 15:53	RR	08/03/2017 15:53	RR
Equality	0	0	08/03/2017 15:53	RR	08/03/2017 15:53	RR
Rebuilding togetherness	0	0	08/03/2017 15:55	RR	08/03/2017 15:55	RR
Compelling experience	0	0	08/03/2017 15:56	RR	08/03/2017 15:56	RR
Humanity	0	0	08/03/2017 16:15	RR	08/03/2017 16:15	RR
Expectation of extraordinary benefits	0	0	08/03/2017 16:00	RR	08/03/2017 16:00	RR
Memorable Experience	0	0	08/03/2017 16:16	RR	08/03/2017 16:16	RR
Rewarding Experience	0	0	08/03/2017 16:17	RR	08/03/2017 16:17	RR
Social Impact of Event	0	0	07/03/2017 15:23	RR	07/03/2017 15:26	RR
Impact on Quality of Life	0	0	08/03/2017 15:06	RR	08/03/2017 15:06	RR
Service deterioration	0	0	08/03/2017 15:31	RR	08/03/2017 15:31	RR
Community overcrowding	0	0	09/03/2017 10:24	RR	09/03/2017 10:24	RR
Improved transport systems	0	0	09/03/2017 10:25	RR	09/03/2017 10:25	RR
Advanced service facilities	0	0	09/03/2017 10:25	RR	09/03/2017 10:25	RR
Social Division	0	0	09/03/2017 10:25	RR	09/03/2017 10:25	RR
Safety concerns	0	0	09/03/2017 10:26	RR	09/03/2017 10:26	RR
Concerns over hosting the event	0	0	08/03/2017 15:20	RR	08/03/2017 15:21	RR
Underutilised infrastructure	0	0	08/03/2017 15:31	RR	08/03/2017 15:31	RR
Event a Liability	0	0	08/03/2017 15:32	RR	08/03/2017 15:32	RR
Anxiety over achieving long-term social benefits	0	0	08/03/2017 15:34	RR	08/03/2017 15:34	RR
Attitudes towards social development	0	0	08/03/2017 15:29	RR	08/03/2017 15:29	RR
Frustration over social disparities	0	0	08/03/2017 15:33	RR	08/03/2017 15:33	RR
Inadequate urban renewal	0	0	08/03/2017 15:35	RR	08/03/2017 15:35	RR
Perceptions of Government and Local Communities	0	0	08/03/2017 15:37	RR	08/03/2017 15:37	RR

Coding and Charting Extract 2

DATA ANALYZE QUERY EXPLORE LAYOUT VIEW

Properties Edit Paste Cut Copy Merge Format Paragraph Styles

Look for Search In Phase 2 - Assem Find Now

Phase 2 - Assembling a thematic framework, indexing

Name	Sources	Referen	Description
Behavioural C	0	0	This node will store the respondents' opinions of
Managing ex	0	0	This node will store the respondents' emotions a
Meaning of H	1	2	This node will store both negative and positive a
Abrupt en	0	0	This node is concerned with how the respondent
Adjusting	0	0	This node is concerned with how the respondent
Broke bar	0	0	This node is concerned with how the respondent
Emotions	0	0	This node is concerned with the emotions that th
Huge loss	1	1	This node is concerned with how the respondent
Percieved	0	0	This node is concerned with the attitudes that th
Social Impact	0	0	This node will store the respondents' feelings of
Views toward	0	0	This node will store the respondents' views on th

Drag selection here to code to a new node

There's a spoke to complaint is below 2 how loud i

Coding and Charting Extract 3

Name	Description	Sources	References
Adjustment to event develop	This node will store the respondents' opinions of how they felt about the changes in social interactions and event development within their community	8	30
Stereotypes, exposure and im	This node will store the respondents' views on the effect of exposure within their society and also how the respondents felt that the event brought good exposure to their community, their culture, values and	15	39
Mutually shared experience	This node will store the respondents' emotions attached to social inclusiveness, feelings over communal support, cooperation, solidarity and equality	16	79
Event preparation			
Expectations	This node is concerned with how the respondents expected the event to deliver once in a life time opportunities that would engender positive and lasting change	13	31
Rebuilding a rainbow nati	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt the event helped rebuild a sense of togetherness that had been lost after the 1995 Rugby WC. This node is also concerned with how the respondents vi	16	45
Event Legacy	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt about the long term effects of the event, the associated benefits, burdens and the distribution of benefits	16	68
Social Impact of Event	This node will store the respondents' feelings of the social impacts of the event, both positive and negative feelings	16	52
Attitudes towards hosting	This node is concerned with the respondents feelings over how the event was justified, how the respondents felt about the varied social changes occurring in their society as a result of the event, reflecting h	17	81
Impact on Quality of Life	This node is concerned with how the respondents' lives were affected by the event, their feelings towards community law enforcement	17	85
Short-lived	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt and observed a curt end to the event, the experience was short lived	17	99
Service facilities and r		15	38
Meaning of Hosting a Mega E	This node will store both negative and positive attitudes about hosting mega events in Green Point, this is the community where the respondents live	17	54
Key take away experience	This node is concerned with the experiences that the respondents felt were most noteworthy	17	90
Event concerns	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt disappointed and felt let down by the event and used, the event benefited the visitors, the locals were the machinery	17	34
Community undertak	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt a sense of immediate anxiety because of the abrupt end to the event that left the community burdened with the responsibility of debt	15	62
Accountability	This node is concerned with the respondents feelings over responsibility for event outcomes	5	13
Event Accomplishments	This node is concerned with the respondents feelings of noteworthy impacts, positive benefits, and rewarding and memorable experiences	10	24
Experiences	This node is concerned with the emotions that the respondents observed such as pride, hope and excitement	16	72
		16	79

Coding and Charting Extract 4

Name	Description	Sources	References
Community attitude toward Mega Events, Stereotypes, exposure and image	This node will store the respondents' views on the effect of exposure within their society and also how the respondents felt that the event brought good exposure to th	15	40
Typicating the World Cup as the vehicle for progression	This node is concerned with the way the respondents viewed the event as a tool to socially advance the community	13	32
Remaking Green Point	This node is concerned with the respondents feelings toward the redevelopment of their community, the respondents reflections of the changes that have taken place	17	39
Reflections on hosting the FFA 2010 World Cup, 6 years behind the exper	This node is concerned with the respondents feelings over how the event was justified, how the respondents felt about the varied social changes occurring in their socie	17	108
Expectations, feelings of hope and promise	This node is concerned with how the respondents expected the event to deliver once in a life time opportunities that would engender positive and lasting change	16	123
A mutually shared experience	This node will store the respondents' emotions attached to social inclusiveness, feelings over communal support, cooperation, solidarity and equality	16	79
Rebuilding a rainbow nation	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt the event helped rebuild a sense of togetherness that had been lost after the 1995 Rugby WC. This node is also c	12	27
Fulfillment, a collective legacy	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt about the long term effects of the event, the associated benefits, burdens and the distribution of benefits	16	92
Beneficiaries, the stories behind the social changes	This respondent is concerned with how the event impacted lives within the community	17	177
Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event, an African society perspective	This node will store both negative and positive attitudes about hosting mega events in Green Point, this is the community where the respondents live	17	94
Community ownership, taking charge of the situation	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt a sense of immediate anxiety because of the abrupt end to the event that left the community burdened with the r	5	13
Accountability	This node is concerned with the respondents feelings over responsibility for event outcomes	10	25
A sense of concern	This node is concerned with how the respondents felt disappointed and felt let down by the event and used, the event benefited the visitors, the locals were the machin	15	63
Significance of event, the decisive moments	This node is concerned with the experiences that the respondents felt were most noteworthy, the key recollections,	17	105

Coding and Charting Extract 5

Appendix 12 Project Journal

Project Journal Entry 1

Today I set up my Nvivo and began the process of open coding; I created the preliminary set of open codes: 1. meaning of hosting a mega event 2. Managing Expectations 3. Social Impact of event 4. Behavioural changes within the society 5. Views towards exposure. This priori codes established the 5 broad ideas discussed in phase 3 of the Ritchie and Spencer Framework under the topic of Indexing/Coding. I gathered these ideas from the research theory, research question aim/objectives, questions from collecting the narrative stories and my field notes (reflective and reflexive thoughts).

Date: 07/02/2017 13:50

Project Journal Entry 2

Between the 8th and 9th of February, I finished setting up the initial codes, these codes were all data driven. I combed through the data to find any common ideas, concepts and topics that I could use to generate themes. I was searching for repetition, key words/phrases, I was trying to find out what was going on, what were the people experiencing, the meaning in what they were saying and whether the statements had underlying meaning that is otherwise taken for granted. Analysis of the raw data from the transcripts resulted in the initial coding of emergent patterns and themes as described by the respondents. In some of the code labels, I used the exact words used by the respondents in their narratives; in some of the code labels I abridged phrases and statements to come up with a brief meaningful label that is indicative of the idea/concept/topic that underpins the eventual theme. I decided to assign hierarchy to the codes, from broad codes to filter down codes. I now have many codes, and to sort them, I have assigned colours and I have also printed a set of the initial codes so I can refer to it at a later stage because I know that the codes will continue to evolve and

change. I will continue to closely read the data over and over again to refine the ideas/topics/concepts. At the final stages, I will undertake to connect the codes to discover the final themes across the data set.

Date: 07/03/2017 14:47

Project Journal Entry 3

Today I have been rereading the data, and in phase two I have begun to apply new codes to my initial set of codes because more topics are becoming apparent as I continued rereading the transcripts.

Date: 10/03/2017 10:28

Project Journal Entry 4

In the past few days I have been coding from the transcripts, Up to now I have completed 6 transcripts. I have realised that the process is time consuming and detailed. The more I read, the more codes I come up with, and the more I change the wording in the code labels. I am also getting more immersed in the data, and memories from the field keep returning to my mind and I am more reflective about what I am reading as I remember how each respondent narrated their story and the emotions attached to the storytelling. As I code, I am also developing ideas of how I develop my final set of themes and which patterns seem more important or unique over others. I am thinking about what I have covered in the literature and the underpinning theory, and how this relates to the data and I am getting many ideas of how to present my findings discussion and the contributions from my research. The process may be tedious but I am enjoying being immersed in these stories, and the process of finding meaning is exciting.

Date: 15/03/2017 15:07

Project Journal Entry 5

The process of rereading transcripts and coding has resulted in me undertaking to merge some of the labels because there appears to be too many overlapping patterns. In so doing, there will be less confusion with the final set of themes. These changes are reflected in phase 2. I think that the emerging patterns make more sense this way and I am able to better manage my data. I have saved a pdf copy of the initial code book report so I can retrace my initial ideas, I will also save a pdf copy of the new labels assigned after today's exercise of merging ideas. I will continue to do this as my thinking evolves and changes, this will serve as an audit trail of my thoughts.

Date: 16/03/2017 11:32

Project Journal Entry 6

Today I continued to read through the transcripts and code, I changed a few code labels but overall I am gaining a deeper appreciation of what the main contributions could be and it appears to be in the direction of the idea of bringing people together and instilling hope and fostering humanity within society.

Date: 20/03/2017 15:44

Project Journal Entry 7

Today I continued with my coding, I also made further adjustments to code labels and synthesised some of the codes and merged them into one code. I have produced a code book to document the changes made today so there is an audit trail that reflects changes from the last code booklet produced on the 16th of March. I also think one of the

themes resonating with the data is "the role of community in fostering togetherness between the government and event organisers" It will be interesting to see whether this idea will remain at the end of the coding process.

Date: 21/03/2017 13:35

Project Journal Entry 8

Over the past weeks, I finished the coding process and began to analyse the data. At that stage, I had 5 broad ideas and I undertook to make the labels more precise and exact, I also abridged the 5 broad ideas to remain with 3 main ideas which are the key themes in this study. These were chosen on the basis of novelty, these themes represent ideas that have not been reflected in the literature or have not been explored from the context of this study, and therefore they are most interesting and will provide a different, yet novel contribution to this study. The other themes have either been abridged into the 3 main themes or have been discarded because the data repeats what already exists in past research. I have settled on three themes: A Mutually Shared Experience, Meaning of hosting a Mega Event: An African Society Perspective and Community Attitude toward Mega Events: Stereotypes, Exposure and Image. Each node had several child nodes and sibling nodes, however; upon revisiting the data, I found that some of the meanings in the children and sibling nodes were either repetitive or overlapped each other. Therefore, in an attempt to reduce the data and synthesise the information; I followed the recommendations of Ritchie and Spencer and abridged the sibling nodes into the child nodes, and deduced the child nodes for each theme to 3 or 4. I thought this would make the data more manageable, however; the process is still open to further deduction. For instance, the theme: Meaning of hosting a Mega Event: An African Society Perspective now has 4 child nodes, and in the data analysis these are considered subthemes, and are as follows: 1. Significance of hosting a mega event: the decisive moments. 2. A Sense of Concern 3. Accountability 4. Community Ownership: Taking Charge

For the theme: A Mutually Shared Experience: 1. Beneficiaries: The Stories behind the social Changes 2. Fulfilment: A Collective Legacy 3. Rebuilding a Rainbow Nation.

For the theme: Community Attitude toward Mega Events: Stereotypes, Exposure and Image: 1. Reflections on hosting the FIFA 2010 World Cup: 6 Years in Reflection 2. Reimagining Green Point 3. Expectations: Feelings of hope and promise 4. Typecasting the World Cup as vehicle for Progression.

I began with analysis the theme: A Mutually Shared Experience, however, I quickly realised that the themes and subthemes were still too broad and there was way too much data and too many overlaps, so I undertook to reduce and synthesise the data again to remain with the main theme and the subthemes of: Rebuilding a Rainbow Nation and revised the other two and abridged them into one subtheme: Mutually Fulfilling?

Date: 18/04/2017 10:53

Project Journal Entry 9

Today, after a month on working on the data analysis and interpretation, I have revisited the data and the themes. After realising that some of the data is repeating what has been found in other studies, I realised that I had to further synthesise my data so that I present only the original findings in the context of my research topic. This will help me to focus on interpreting only the meaningful findings that will result in a different contribution of data. The themes have been revised as follows:

Theme 1 Meaning of Hosting a Mega Event: An African perspective.

Subtheme 1.1 Rebuilding a Rainbow Nation

Theme 2 Stereotypes

Theme 2.1 Reimagining Through Hosting the World Cup

3. Accountability

3.1 Community Ownership

Date: 17/05/2017 14:48

Project Journal Entry 10

Today I undertook to further synthesise the 'Stereotypes' theme to combine different information found within the data to help make the point of Stereotypes. I hope that through this process I will be able to interpret the data into meaningful knowledge that gives insight into the stereotypes associated with hosting the FIFA 2010 World Cup, and what this meant to the community of Green point.

Date: 05/06/2017 14:04

Project Journal Entry 11

Today I revisited the sub theme: Reimagining through hosting the World Cup, I further combed through the data to find only those quotes that appear to hold meaning under this theme. Through further synthesising this data, I have a clearer idea of how to present and communicate the interpretations from the respondents' stories. Today I will also begin to write-up chapter 6 - which is founded in theme 2.

Date: 06/06/2017 10:17

Project Journal Entry 12

Between the 12th of July and today (17th), I have returned to my data to further synthesise and inspect the data for the third theme: Accountability, and the sub-theme: Community ownership. After great deliberation, I was faced with the decision to also present the concerns of residents of Green Point. The first two themes presented the positive social benefits experienced, therefore those two themes interpreted why the

community members would support mega events. However, this theme presents some of the negative social impacts experienced. The theme presents the residents perspectives on who was/is accountable for engendering lasting mega event legacies that are beneficial to the host community. The theme presents how the respondents feel that some of the positive social benefits experienced are beginning to wane, and the community has felt a sense of ownership to preserve wellbeing and QOL. Some of the stories present reflections on the community assuming ownership, where they see themselves taking on the responsibility to ensure that the positive social impacts that were experienced last beyond the experience of the World Cup.

Date: 17/07/2017 12:11

Appendix 13 Visual Maps of the key Emerging Ideas





Appendix 14 Example of Verbatim Transcript

Jacob's Story

I am collecting lived experiences for a research project that I am doing. Please could you tell me your experiences of the FIFA 2010 World Cup, your experiences during the event preparation season, your experiences during the event and your experiences after the event? Take your time. We have as much time as you need for this and start wherever you like. I'll listen first, I won't interrupt and I may take a couple of notes that I'll ask you questions about later, please take the time that you need and as I said I won't interrupt you.

Q1. So can you tell me your positive and negative experiences, the events and experiences that have been important to you up until now?

Therefore, if I can just say my background is that I was quite involved in the ratepayer's organization in the community, when our ward councilor realized that we got the 2010 World Cup and that Green Point might be involved, he got us to form a ratepayers association. Therefore, my experience leading up to the World Cup was mainly that, so our main concerns and we were quite concerned about the event. In addition, our concerns were mainly two things; the first thing was the expense the city would have to incur in everything that would have to be built – the stadium etc. Whether the city could afford it in light of its other priorities and in light of the fact that, we are a city with poor people and few ratepayers and there is a great need to spend our money very carefully. The second concern was that it would involve the Green Point Common, which is public open space and we were concerned that the city would not respect the Green Point public open space and would lead to abuse of the Green Point Common. That was sort of the lead up and we were very concerned about keeping the area green, so we were very involved in working with the city in ensuring that, essentially in motivating for planting for trees, for the greening of the area and specifically for the urban park. The Mayor, - do not know if you know the background of how the event came to Green Point, it was quite controversial at the time. Our Mayor at the time – Helen Zille, felt that we should do this as economically as possible and

try to motivate for the event to be done in Newlands rather than Green Point, and for the Newlands stadium to be updated but Sepp Blatter insisted that the event should be held here in Green Point. Um and um, we in fact, so initially the community was very against the event altogether, and in fact, there was a big community movement and demonstration against having it here in Green Point – not against having the World Cup, but against having it on the Green Point Common. In fact, we understand that a lot of law was sidelined and bypassed in order to get the event here; it was illegal what was done. We eventually had a big meeting with the mayor, and she appealed to us to support the event and told us she had done her very best to get it at Newlands and there was just no way, she said that Sepp Blatter said we would not get a semi and qtr. final unless we held it here. If we wanted to hold the event in Newlands, he would stop us from getting the event. Therefore, there was a lot of anger, and a lot of suspicion and frustration and concern about the expense. And then, we worked quite closely with the city in trying to plan with them, we had landscape architects on our committee, so it was a lot of work just trying to make sure that what was done was as gentle to the park and respected the public space as much as possible. That experience was also quite frustrating because the officials essentially sidelined us, we spent a lot of time planning but they put us to the side and ignored much of what we said. We did achieve some things, in terms of specifically planting the trees along the roads, so anticipation of the World Cup, I would say that we were mainly concerned about these aspects, rather than getting excited that our commune was getting this international event, I would say.

[Q2. Can you please explain to me in more detail your experiences and concerns of the hosting the event in Green Point?](#)

I think it was probably important to the whole World Cup, because Cape Town being the geographically attractive city that it is, and iconic city, I think would have been a great tragedy if Cape Town had not been involved and if Cape Town had not introduced itself to the World in that way. I think Cape Town is, perhaps it is one of the most significant of South African cities. I think it was important for this city to feel part of it and perhaps because the political balance was quite delicate at the time because at the time the Mayor and Parliamentarian Helen Zille was part of the DA party, and um the rest of the country was ANC. Therefore, there was a lot of political

pressure on her. also not to be seen to be a difficult elitist white woman that is opposing what is good for the country, so there were all these political things going out. Therefore, I think that is how we saw it, so the World Cup itself was exciting. We all had little socks on our car mirrors and there were events happening and so it was very exciting and everyone found it exciting and there was a lot of pride that we carried it off well, that it was a success and it was not a failure. I think it did actually make everybody quite excited and proud at the time, and I would say subsequently um, it has been disappointing. Anyway, look there have been spinoffs, there is no question. But look at this park its lovely (Green Point Park and Biodiversity Garden), and the planting along Green Park it's great, and I think it has revived a sparkle and an edge and liveliness to the strip of restaurants in Green Point, I think the event has contributed to the uplifting of Green Point as an area. The disappointments have been fiercely that we are saddled with this massive maintenance bill. That is a real problem in a city that we should be helping the poor and poor areas and we are paying millions each year. I think its R50 million yearly for running the stadium, that is enormous. They say that when the stadium needs physical maintained they say it will double. They say it costs R50 million a year to maintain, that is what I have heard, I do not know how much of it is urban rumour but I have that on reasonable authority and I have seen it in documentary evidence. So that's a big problem, they call it a multipurpose stadium but it's not a multipurpose stadium, it's not fit for an Olympic Games for instance, you can't run athletics in it, it's too small, it's really only for rugby or soccer. That is a problem for it to be sitting there, and the city made all these promises of how they would get anchor tenants and they would run it so well and that just has not materialised. A big concern to us as ratepayers because now follow-on from the event is the city is now making moves to change the legislation on the Green Point Common that keeps the Common a public open space, in order to divide the common off and sells to fund the stadium. So we will be losing public open space, so they are having the areas of the Common that are left, rezoned in order to continue the ongoing running and maintenance of the Common because the funds were redirected to the development of the stadium, and that's a significant worry to us.

Certainly, the people that I come in touch with, and the ratepayers association that I am involved with, we accept that the stadium has to be commercially viable. We would be happy to know it is booked, it is there and if it can be used in creative ways to

become commercially viable and if it can fund itself, it is fine. Um the problem is that it cannot, it just is not commercially viable and the city keeps saying they will make a plan but no, and the city is not good at business so our concern remains that bit of public space (stadium and precinct). We are happy with and it is something that is there for the city, for events for the city so if it could somehow work and be self-sufficient we would have no problem. Our worry is that there will be further erosion and commercialization of public open space and the area that the city is looking at is the Common and public open space around the stadium. That we object to very strongly. We feel that we have paid a price, there is no question and there was inconvenience to the local area. There was the taxes raised to pay for these developments but we are happy to do that you know. If it stops there but now, the city is talking about commercialising the fields next-door to the stadium and commercialising this park area and that is really our problem, the perpetuation of this. Also the fact that the city sort of sells it as if they will do this fantastic business idea, but we as the residents know that everything that they do is a financial disaster. They say we are going to develop these fields, we will build buildings on them and make more money, but we know better, we know that they will actually lose more money. Therefore, we feel that they should recognize that they are not good at business, have their hands off, and are honest about it. As you should know, they have also talked about demolition of the stadium, and that is like a taboo, what we feel is that they should give us the budget and let us know the exact figures that the stadium costs per year. Ask us as ratepayers if we are happy with the figures – yes or no- then at least we know it's honest and above board, they shouldn't hide it behind other costs and hide the true source of the money. Then the citizens of Cape Town can actually say we are not prepared to pay that, demolish the stadium and lets rather spend the money on Khayelitsha or Gugulethu or wherever we need it.

I feel that the city politicians were very disingenuous by calling it a multipurpose stadium, so I feel it is tragic that they didn't make the stadium adaptable to accommodate other events like the Olympics, and Sepp Blatter I mean who does he think he is?! In addition, apparently, as I understand, Sepp Blatter said no, the stadium could not be made big enough to host future Olympics because it will not be nice enough to watch the current World Cup. There is plenty of earth around the stadium. Can we compromise a little bit in order to leave this city with a legacy, and a stadium

that it can actually use? I think they just raped this city, they did not take into account that if they upgraded Newlands, it would have saved us Rand 4 billion, which could have been spent on the community, and on uplifting which Africa so desperately needs. He does not even take into account building a stadium, which the city can use; I mean who does he think he is! Comes here in a helicopter, flies around and says, “Oh I’ll build it there” and everyone must just jump to this person. Then the city promises us that they will find an anchor tenant, they were sure that they would find an anchor tenant to run this place. I think that they thought that rugby would come here, but rugby has a proud tradition of being at Newlands stadium. I will give an example; you cannot take away cricket from Lord’s Cricket Grounds. You cannot take tennis away from Wimbledon; you can even build the most magnificent courts anywhere you want. Wimbledon is the traditional place, just as Newlands is our traditional place for rugby and cricket and rugby and cricket have refused to come, oh what a surprise huh. Therefore, those are the financial disappointments, and we want to live in a city that looks after everyone that has money and improves everyone to get better houses and better education where people can uplift themselves, but here we are spending money to maintain a white elephant that gets used to host one off events, it is crazy.

Anyway so that’s the financial side, in terms of the aftermath, I would say that, we all recognize that there have been definite benefits – the urban park that everybody loves, as you can see it right now how busy it is. Green Point looks better; there was creation of awareness of South Africa as a tourist destination. I think it was not quite, what was promised in terms of how much tourism we would get, but there has bit quite a bit of a spinoff. However, I do not think there has been long-term job creation and long-term uplifting of people in terms of job creation. I would say the other thing is that Green Point residents do have to live with, this has become the playground, everybody who wants to do any event comes here now, and that does have quite an impact on the peace of the area. One does not want to be too sort of precious and selfish, but if you live in an area and you are woken on Sunday morning at 0630am and you have people talking over loud halos. It happens not just one weekend, but it happens repeatedly. It gets a bit much, people are now finding it hard, there is a natural ‘bowl’ up the hill here and sound carries unbelievably well, and you can hear everything they are saying. That has been a source of some unhappiness as well, specifically the use of loud halos over the weekend. Everybody says we are hosting our event once a year, but there are

50 different companies hosting an event once a year so that is every weekend in a year and that has been a negative consequence.

For those sort of events I would hope that Green Point would welcome people, it's not Green Point's stadium, its Cape Town's stadium and we as Green Point community members can say it's ours and you don't have any rights to it because it's in our backyard; the citizens of Cape Town have rights to the Green Point Common. I personally love the idea that people can come and use the new facilities here. I love the fact that the park can accommodate people, who do not obviously have the money to go to some place they have to pay for, but they can come and have a party in this park. When I was coming in, I saw people hosting many birthday parties hosting birthday parties. Not everyone can afford glamorous parties, so they can come here and it is wonderful, I would like to just see the park enlarge, which I would really love. However, I think there should be more responsibility on the part of these people bidding for and running these big events to make sure that there is long-term use and long-term legacy from them, absolutely.

I would have loved to see one of two things, for me the first prize would have been to host the event in a new area like the Cape Flats by Athlone, which is a central area. The community there can be uplifted. Second prize would have been the cheaper option, which former Mayor Helen Zille wanted which was to upgrade the preexisting Newlands stadium. Anyway, it is not what happened. Newlands is beautiful, ok the Cape Flats are not so beautiful but they could have created a beautiful stadium and redeveloped the community, they would have left a lasting legacy, whereas here they have left Green Point with an account to pay off essentially. Unfortunately, the political situation was just too vulnerable, but on the positive side there are have been some positives, we are sitting in this park for instance. Before the World Cup, our city council said to us that Green Point Common must just be bought off because if we have a park. Capetonians would just increase the crime levels, there would be litter and it would be disgusting and we said, "no how can you assume that, if you maintain it and make it attractive, people will use the area well," and here's an example – this park. What I would love to see is for the council to recognize this, make the park bigger, we have wonderful wetland; I would love them to make a wetland park so children can learn and appreciate wetlands. When we were talking about the park,

essentially the park was a tradeoff that was the deal, Helen Zille said to us “look here, if you allow us to build the stadium in Green Point, I will make sure that the people will get a world-class urban park.” We said yeah right, sure you will, anyway and then they said the stadium must fund the maintenance of the urban park but the stadium can’t even fund itself, so yeah it’s all tax payers money. Anyway, as far as I am concerned these greener areas are great and everyone is welcome to use the facilities. We need more, the city says we should commercialise this valuable land. However, we said to them what is the most valuable land in the world - central park in Manhattan; it is the most expensive land. Look London has Hyde Park, and if we tried to commercialise any part of Central park you would be in big trouble; so why are we trying to destroy what we now have, as an iconic city, we should have more park area. The city is under financial pressure; therefore, they want to sell off public area. The stadium has become a problem and puts them under more pressure therefore they have got to find the money and their solution is to sell off the public recreational space and that’s our big battle at the moment really (sighs and drifts off, signaling the end).

Appendix 15 Victoria and Wharf Waterfront Shopping Complex

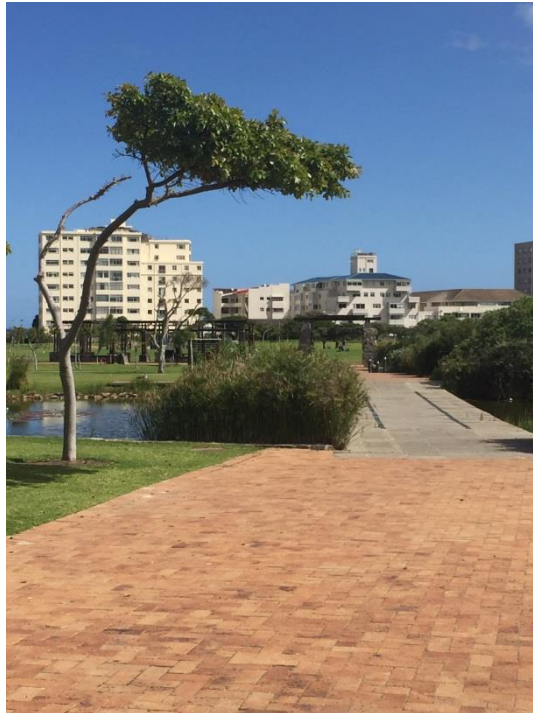


Source: Adams (2016)

Appendix 16 Green Point Park and Biodiversity Garden



Cape Town/Green Point Stadium in the distance



New Business Park in the distance





School excursions in the Park

Source: Author (2016)

Appendix 17 Example of Member Checked Story

