

The N2 gateway project in Cape Town: relocation or forced removal?

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ABSTRACT

In 2010 South Africa has hosted the FIFA World Cup. The costs have been estimated to be more than 2 billion euro. The country welcomed and accommodated over 50.000 football fans and about 27 million spectators around the world followed the cup on TV. The international media have shown the world all good things South Africa has to offer.

It is clear that a mega-event, such as the World Cup, can contribute to the image of the country and to that of the host cities, hence attracting not only tourists but also businesses. Thus, one has to look smart and show its best side to the world. To accomplish this, the government has engaged in a process of 'beautification' of the cities.

This paper aims to show the reverse side of the (football) medal. The N2 gateway project in Cape Town, is presented, by government and media, as a 'flagship' project of the new BNG (Breaking New Ground) strategy, to fight the housing backlog of 400.000 houses in the city. But I will argue that the fast-tracking of the project has to be understood as a beautification strategy to prepare the city for 2010. Massive slum eradication and the construction of 'beautiful formal housing *opportunities*' between the airport and the mother city are becoming a painful reminder of the forced removals under the previous Apartheid regime. With this paper I will show that urban restructuring operations without an honest and open collaboration with the inhabitants are doomed to become an urban nightmare. In this specific case both for the relocated former community of the squatter settlement as well as for the residents in the new development.

Keywords: urban development , beautification processes, Cape Town, South Africa, mega-events

Introduction

In 2010 South Africa hosted the FIFA World Cup. The costs were estimated to be more than 2 billion euro. The country prepared itself to welcome and accommodate numerous visitors during the four weeks the tournament would be held. It was expected that television viewers around the world would outnumber the actual spectators in the stadiums by 1:10.000 (Vecchiatto, 2008). The international media showed the world all good things South Africa had (and still has) to offer.

It is clear that a mega-event, such as the World Cup, can contribute to the image of the country and to that of the host cities (Andranovich, Burbank, & Heying, 2001; Black & Bezanson, 2004; Eisinger, 2000; Hiller, 1998, 2000; Lenskyj, 2002; Matheson & Baade, 2004). Hence, one hopes to attract tourists and businesses alike long after the event has finished. Besides investments in infrastructure, such as stadiums and transportation, the South-African government has also created a broad developmental agenda around the event. Pillay and Bass (2008) point our attention to the fact that the issues which are included in this agenda build on those from the previous Olympic 2004 bid (Swart & Bob, 2004), such as sport programmes for deprived communities and job creation or, interesting within the frame of this paper, the provision of affordable housing (Hiller, 1998, 2000; Pillay & Bass, 2008).

This brings us to the focus of this contribution, namely the N2 gateway project in Cape Town, presented, by government and media, as a 'flagship' project of the new BNG (Breaking New Ground) strategy, to fight the housing backlog of 400 000 houses in the city, and *fast-tracked* within the light of the coming World-Cup. I want to argue that this housing initiative has to be understood as part of the 'beautification process' initiated by the government to prepare the city for 2010. Massive slum eradication and the construction of 'beautiful formal housing *opportunities*' between the airport and the mother city have become a painful reminder of the forced removals under the previous apartheid regime. It is imperative to try and understand how the government did succeed in portraying the need for the clearances along the N2, using two sets of discourses, one with regard to the housing itself and another with regard to 2010. The interplay between both is illustrative for the leverage of discourses.

To validate these statements I will, in a first part, briefly summarise relevant thinking in the international literature about both mega-events and beautification processes. Next the case study is introduced and its geographical location used to explain why precisely this part of the city is being restructured. Next a Foucauldian discourse analysis I used to show how the above mentioned discourses have been used to pursue an 'apartheid-like' strategy, without them being contested in the beginning. In a third part I will discuss some of the effects of this particular beautification process for the *ordinary people*. Finally I will introduce some final concerns.

Mega-events and Beautification Processes

Mega-events: mechanism for poverty alleviation or excuse for beautification of the city?

If we talk about the FIFA World Cup as being a mega-event, we first need to provide a definition for these events. Goldblatt (1997, p. 2) speaks about 'special events' and defines them as *"unique moment(s) in time celebrated with ceremony and ritual to satisfy specific needs"*. For Getz (1997) *"events are transient, and every event is a unique blending of its duration, setting, management and people"* (Getz, 1997, p. 4). It thus becomes clear that mega-events, such as the 2010 World Cup, are *one time occasions*, they create a specific ambiance, which is context specific, but which is also influenced by the sort of rituals performed, the duration of the event and the people participating in it. A growing body of literature is emerging around the notion of mega-events and most of the work comes from scholars active in tourism research. Mega-events are evaluated as *spectacular* opportunities for cities, or countries hosting them. These *one time occasions* are used as catalysts for image creation (Getz, 1991, 1997; Kotler, Haider, & Rein, 1993; Mules & Faulkner, 1996) and civic boosterism (Andranovich et al., 2001; Getz, 1991; Mihalik & Simonetta, 1998). Mihalik & Simonetta (1998, p.9) argue that these events *"are powerful opportunities for image enhancement with national and international visitors and at the same time create pride for the local citizenry"*. The 1992 Olympics in Barcelona are exemplar. The aspect of community pride has been captured under a variety of names (Carlsen, 2002), such as the *halo effect* (Hall, 1992) or the *showcase* (Fredline & Faulkner, 1998, p. 187) and *feel-good effect* (Allen, O'Toole, McDonnell, & Harris, 1999). Getz (1999, p. 22) has argued that these effects can possibly prolong the expected economical and social effects, long after the actual event has taken place, additionally enthusiasm for future events and volunteerism might present itself. The impacts that might follow out of a mega-events have been primarily looked at from a economical perspective, although it is clear that impacts and benefits might arise in numerous sectors, eg. environmental impacts, political and cultural impacts, but also social impacts and impacts on the urban structure (eg. urban renewal projects). The discourses that arise around these consequences of hosting an event are often framed using the *"legacy"* terminology. We can observe that when talking about the possible legacy an event might leave, the overall focus is on the positive effects and not on possible negative outcomes. Ritchie (2000, p. 156) emphasises that this legacy doesn't necessarily need to be physical (eg. infrastructures, ..) it can also be intangible: *"Regardless of the actual form that a legacy may take, the idea underlying legacy creation is that it represents something of substance that will enhance the long-term well-being or lifestyle of destination residents in a very substantial manner—preferably in a way that reflects the values of the local population"*. It is precisely this legacy that government, media, and lobby groups exploit to get public approval. Pagano and Bowman (1995) have shown how the uniqueness of these events is used, by governments, as a justification for redistributing funds. Resources are being allocated in such a way that the hoped for prospective economical gains and competitive advantages are maximized.

In its bid for hosting the 2010 World Cup, South Africa paid serious attention to the legacy the Cup would leave behind. A comprehensive development agenda, based on the Olympic bid for 2004, was put together. Besides building new stadiums or upgrading

old ones, an engagement was taken to initiate sport programmes in deprived neighbourhoods. Programmes have been set up, which will improve medical services and develop community art centres, amongst several other initiatives. They are seen as catalysts for poverty alleviation and opportunities to undo the urban segregation of the past (Cornelissen, 2004, 2007; Republic of South Africa, 2008; Swart & Bob, 2004).

The tournament is being regarded as a catalyst for poverty alleviation and an opportunity to undo the urban segregation of the past (Cornelissen, 2004, 2007; Swart & Bob, 2004). Cornelissen (2004, p. 1297) highlights the potential political power of hosting the soccer tournament. Historically soccer was played mainly by the 'black' population groups, as compared to eg. cricket or rugby, which are regarded as 'white' sports. Consequently she argues that by placing the focus on soccer, some sort of mental connection is realised, as with the World Cup another attempt is made to undo the wrongs of the past. Or according to Cornelissen "*the soccer bid would be led by the 'historically dispossessed' in South African society*" (2004, p. 1297). Compared to the Olympic bid it is clear that the soccer bid had some major rhetorical advantages (Cornelissen, 2004).

Getz (2008) calls for more research on the social impact of mega-events and some research on the relation between relocation of residents and mega-events is ongoing (eg. (Smith, 2008; Smith & Himmelfarb, 2007)), Androvich et al. (2001), after their study of three American cities bidding for the Olympics, concluded that public interest was not necessarily guaranteed and they raised concerns regarding citizens' participation in all three cases. Eisinger (2000), amongst others, is critical about the allocation of resources to sport temples when the money could be used to fight deprivation. I also want to stress that deeper insight in these processes is needed. Confronting this with the explicit focus on development issues in the South African bid for the World Cup, alerts us to be vigilant for a the possible mismatch between the government's projected image of a more inclusive and prosper society as a result of 2010 and the actual reality on the ground. The claim that mega-events, such as the Cup in South Africa, should be seen as a mechanism for poverty alleviation has been heavily criticised in the international literature. Matheson & Baade (2004) question the allocation of resources, as an increased spending on infrastructure means that cuts have to be made in other areas and as Whitson (2004, pp. 1227-1228) accurately argues this results in affecting those "*who were least likely to enjoy benefits from the mega-events (or even to attend them): the urban poor, ...*". In several cases, as with the Olympics in Sydney and even in Barcelona, job creation has been rather temporary and focused on low-paid employment opportunities (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006; Lenskyj, 2002). Hagn & Maennig (2008) clearly illustrate how the soccer World Cup in Germany in 1974 was unable to generate any positive employment effects in the medium to long-term. Additionally Lenskyj (2002) emphasised that the Sydney Olympics exacerbated the existing housing gap and that homelessness and housing problems intensified. As Hiller (1998) already pointed out, there are undeniable effects of residential polarisation. This residential relocation basically has two causes. The first one being a change in property values in areas or neighbourhoods near new stadiums, a second one being a conscious relocation of people to other areas to clear ground for developments directly related to the upcoming event.

The literature review has brought some issues to the fore that are relevant for the question this paper addresses. First it made clear that the research on mega-events

focuses on economical impacts and on tourism, while research of the social effects and the consequences of urban renewal strategies (conducted in the light of the events) is underrepresented. Secondly it has illustrated that often a *legacy* discourse is used to obtain public approval for allocating resources to sport infrastructure, etc. And thirdly, documentation of mega-events as catalysts for poverty alleviation was absent.

Additionally I want to add that mega-events might be used as *excuses* for urban developments, which might otherwise be publicly contested. If we want to understand the importance of mega-events as a justification for beautification processes, we first need to elaborate over the meaning of these beautification processes.

Beautification processes

Over time, and still today, tabula rasa approaches of deprived neighbourhoods are regarded as being a quick and easy solution for city redevelopment. As long ago as the 1960s by Jane Jacobs (1961) these ideas were criticised and contested. Today, in third world cities in particular, refuge is still sought in modernistic planning principles. Davis speaks of the *Haussmannisation* of third world cities, as populations are being removed on a large scale in order to re-develop entire parts of a city, so as to realise economic profits and, at the same time, enhance social control (Davis, 2006, pp. 95-102). Haussmann was the architect/planner responsible for the redevelopment of the France capital during the 1860s. To realise the broad and spacious boulevards characterising the present image of Paris, massive neighbourhood clearances were organised and the people inhabiting them forcibly removed.

In our present day society, these massive and forced relocations are mostly happening in Southern countries. From Dakar and Manila during the seventies to Myanmar in 1996, where an hallucinating 16% of the urban population was moved to low quality shelters in the periphery to make room for fancy hotels and golf courses to attract tourists and businessmen. From Rio where the military regime, with the help of USAID cleared the city of its slums and favelas in order to beautify the upper class areas, to Seoul and Beijing where the Olympics were the excuse for massive neighbourhood clearances and the relocation of more than 300 000 people (Barke, Escasany, & O'Hare, 2001; Broudehoux, 2004; Davis, 2006; Skidmore, 2002; Taschen).

These *Hausmanisation* tactics are used especially in the run-up to international events, putting the specific country or city in the global spotlights (Davis, 2006). I will validate this statement using some prominent examples. When Nigeria got its independence in 1960, big celebration ceremonies were held, for which princess Alexandra, acting as Counsellor of State for the UK, visited the country. The newly elected government found it necessary to make sure the princess wasn't confronted with any of the Lagos slum's on her way from the airport to the party venues (Davis, 2006; Omiyi, 1995, p. 48). During the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines, Imelda Marcos's visions for a 'beautiful' city a the host for the 1974 Miss Universe Pageant and the IMF-World Bank meeting in 1976 resulted in more than 160 000 squatters being moved to the fringes of Manilla (Berner, 2000, p. 559; Davis, 2006, p. 104; Drakakis-Smith, 2000, p. 28). And while China received a great deal of international critique in the media on its relocation strategies for the Beijing Olympics, it needs to be stressed that the (modern) Olympics have a history of being a cause for slum clearances. In 1936, the Nazi's 'cleaned' the Berlin Olympic area

of its homeless people and slum dwellers, and urban renewals also occurred for the games in Mexico City, Athens and Barcelona. Davis brings to our attention that the reallocations for the games in Seoul were of such a scale that a Catholic NGO stated that *"South Korea vied with South Africa as 'the country in which evictions by force is most brutal and inhuman'"* (Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1988, p. 56, quoted in Davis, 2006, p. 106).

All these examples illustrate that prestigious (international) events are being used as justifications for city redevelopments, literally pushing the poor aside.

City governments have become increasingly engaged in remodelling their places for a *"visitors class"*, the needs of the residents have gone out of sight. This observation has some major consequences, as this new visitors class, upon its arrival needs nice upmarket hotels, preferably with enough parking space and situated near clean and safe public transport facilities. They have to be able to eat out in expensive restaurants in fancy neighbourhoods, and of course there has to be enough police protection, so that all of their actions can take place in a safe environment (Eisinger, 2000, pp. 318, 323). It is clear that huge investments are needed to make these ideas a reality. The allocation of public resources to these events and the related needs, such as public transport or neighbourhood renewal means that cuts have to be made in sectors which are indeed less prestigious, but which might answer the need of the local residents (Eisinger, 2000). As I will show in the findings, the same things happened in Cape Town.

We need to ask ourselves how government and stakeholders succeed in raising enough popular consensus *"to help wealthy investors construct entertainment facilities for well-off visitors who produce few payoffs for residents"* instead of *"using its scarce resources to build infrastructure, fund youth recreation programs, subsidize homeless shelters, or enrich the schools"* (Eisinger, 2000, p. 331). Part of the answer lies in the (political) power of discourses, and that is to what I turn now.

On the Power of Discourses

In 'The Archaeology of Knowledge' (1972) Foucault shows that *"discourses", in the form in which they can be heard or read, are not, as one might expect, a mere intersection of things and words: an obscure web of things, and a manifest, visible, coloured chain of words*". He argues that the task we should set for ourselves *"consists of not - of no longer treating discourses as groups of signs (signifying elements referring to contents or representations) but as practices that **systematically form the objects of which they speak**"* (emphasis added). Thus, through the use of language, meaning is attached to social phenomena, but these phenomena are not merely being described, since through the discourse, significant meanings are attached to them. Because of this, discourse also reproduces the social phenomena it is *"talking about"*. This is precisely what is happening with the discourse around the coming 2010 World Cup and is illustrated below.

Foucault's interest in discourse is obvious. The relationship with power and knowledge is clear, because if we are cautious about the discourses present in a society, we are able to understand the relationships between the actors and the *regimes of truth* that are produced. Every society has its own regimes of truth. Norms, values and

discourses that are considered to be the legitimate ones, and which organise and normalise society. These are articulated by those who are regarded as being authorised to do so. Thus, discourse is able to (re)produce power relationships. It is with this knowledge that we can understand why, in the context of the N2 gateway project, the deprived are unable to significantly change their positions. To do so, a much deeper/structural change is needed, or as Foucault phrases it: *"It is not a matter of emancipating truth from every system of power (which would be a chimera, for truth is already power) but of detaching the power of truth from the forms of hegemony, social, economic and cultural, within which it operates at present time"* (Foucault, 1980b, p. 133).

This paper is grounded in the knowledge that by working from a rigidly framed definition of discourse, analysis will not be useful. Instead discourse analysis is approached as a way to understand why people are talking (or acting) about certain matters in a specific way. What is their motivation for doing so, are there hidden assumptions that influence their thinking, which are then reflected in their speech? I partly follow Macleod's approach, relying on both Foucault's and Parker's notions of discourse (Macleod, 2002, p. 21), but I emphasise that a discourse is more than mere text; it is also the gestures that accompany it, or it can be the act that is a consequence of the discourse itself. Accordingly, I strongly adhere to Foucault's notion that a discourse is a practice that systematically forms the object of which it speaks.

The use of dichotomies is another, discourse related, issue that requires our attention. The ways in which the different systems of dichotomies work together and interact are highly complex, and one doesn't merely enforce the other. Especially feminist thinkers (Asante, 1980; Brittan & Maynard, 1984; Chodorow, 1978; Collins, 1986; Derrida, 1976, 1978; Hooks, 1984; Macleod & Durrheim, 2002), along with many others, highlighted that a dualistic order is systematically present in all factors of domination. Derrida has also pointed to the use of dichotomies in Western thinking, whereby a concept's meaning is also established through the meanings that are placed upon its 'counterpart' (Derrida, 1976, 1978; Macleod, 2002). Hooks (1984) claimed that thinking in a binary manner is typical for all systems of domination in Western society. Talking in dichotomies always relates a person or a subject to another person or subject, and, as such, creates a hierarchical/oppositional relationship. Moreover, the two parts of the dichotomy are not complementary but divergent, and in an unstable relationship. This is only resolved by the subordination of one half of the pair to the other, e.g. the male dominates the female (Collins, 1986, pp. S19-S20)

An interesting illustration of the power of dichotomies for public discourses has been made by Hart (2002), when she analysed how, and under which conditions, the ANC leadership has set sail on a neo-liberal course in order to achieve integration into the global economy. She accurately summarizes the elements which influenced the change from a socialist position to neo-liberalism, and suggests that the use of dichotomies by the popular media and politicians, has influenced the speed with which neo-liberalism was adopted in South Africa. The choices that governments make also influence the housing sector, and in South Africa, the promise of *one million new houses within five years*, was eventually pursued using free-market strategies.

With regard to the N2 gateway development on the one hand and the World Cup on the other hand, government is using public discourses to pursue their goals, as will be

illustrated in the findings section of this paper. First, however, I will introduce the case in what follows.

The N2 Gateway Project

Historical Context

South Africa's complex and contemporary society is rooted in the country's successive periods of colonisation, during which the main trains of thought that would go on to shape the country's appearance, both metaphorically as well as physically, were established. But in 1948, the National Party (NP) came into power and 'apartheid' became the guiding political principle. The scale and ruthlessness of segregation policies reached previously unknown heights. This meant a complete separation of the different population groups on every intra-personal level. To accomplish this, leaders used undemocratic and racist laws, some of which were already in existence ('Natives Land Act', 'Natives Trust and Land Act', 'Natives (Urban Areas) Act'), whereas others were introduced, for example, the 'Population Registration Act' and the 'Prohibition of Mixed Marriage Act'.

The 'Groups Areas Act' (1950) was of particular importance to the issue of urban planning because it confined the different population groups to specific areas. The consequences were disastrous: city neighbourhoods were completely segregated, or were even demolished, with their inhabitants being forced to move. The partition of the state was a cornerstone of the government's policy to assure white supremacy (Christopher, 2001; Coleman, 1998). The spatial organisation of the country, as well as that of the cities, was being used as a weapon: the urban areas were shaped by an elite, who thanks to distance and accessibility, succeeded in superimposing, and even reinforcing, the social and political power structures into a physical reality. Urban planners drew up schemes comprising the 'ideal apartheid city', and taking their geographical circumstances into account, local authorities had to make every effort to follow this model. The so-called 'White area' were situated as close as possible to the Central Business District (CBD), and were separated from the other 'zones' by the use of natural barriers, which were reinforced with infra-structural barriers (e.g. railroads) where necessary. Everything possible was done to see to it that people did not have to cross into the 'areas' populated by the 'others'. Furthermore, the notion that the different race groups may have different needs in respect of building, site, and site development' was accepted (as can be seen in the Durban City Council's Technical Subcommittee report, 1951, cited in Western, 1996, p. 88). In reality, what this actually meant was that the 'Black' and 'Coloured' populations weren't afforded the same space as their White neighbours, and that their houses were not of the same quality. The apartheid era clearly illustrated Bourdieu's (1999) views on space and accessibility: moving the socially weak to the edge of the city resulted in a spatial image which was a reflection of the social and political power structures.

Urban housing policy in South Africa has always been closely related to securing and controlling African labourers as a workforce (Maylam, 1990; Parnell, 1994). At the beginning of the 1900s, the numbers of Africans in the cities were relatively low, and

both they and the regions could autonomously handle 'African urbanisation' as they wished. The mining cities in the North, such as Kimberly and Johannesburg, opted to group the African workers in closed compounds, thereby enabling their employers to keep a tight rein on them. In Cape Town, African urbanisation was predominantly shaped by two factors, namely the arrival of large numbers of Africans to work as unskilled labourers at the docks, and who were initially housed in closed compounds, and the outbreak of the Bubonic Plague in 1901. Unlike in the mining cities, the call for segregation did not emanate from the employers, but from the city's middle-class inhabitants. The local government took the decision to house the African workforce at a separate location. Ndabeni was the first in a series of such places, which were always located on the fringes of the expanding city. After Ndabeni, successively, came Langa (1920-1930), Nyanga, Gugulethu and Khayelitsha.

Being one of the oldest townships in Cape Town the community of Langa is a deeply anchored and strong one. Social networks and ties have developed over time and the area actually constitutes of 4 sub areas, of which the squatter section is one. Children, initially living in their parents' houses wanted to stay in the area when they had families of their own, which is not surprising given the fact that they could depend on long established social networks and the townships location near the Cape Town CBD. As such they started to build their own shacks adjacent to the existing township.

The Housing Struggle in South Africa and Cape Town

One of the promises made by the democratically elected government in 1994 was that they would provide 1 million new houses within the following five years. Responsibility for this task was placed upon the 'National Department of Housing', which was also in charge of the formulation of an 'Urban Development Strategy' (Huchzermeyer, 2003). In 1997, they presented their 'Urban Development Framework' in which they stated that future urban settlements should be *"...spatially and socio-economically integrated, free of racial and gender discrimination and segregation and enabling people to make residential and employment choices to pursue their ideals"* (National Department of Housing, 1997). This clearly highlighted their good intentions: urban planning has to enable spatial and social integration. Yet when we look at the reality today, we have to conclude that these goals were not met. Even worse, the use of certain policy instruments resulted in segregation being supported, and even intensified. The realisation of the vast amount of houses happens mostly (80%) with a 'project linked subsidy mechanism'. This meant that a fixed amount was provided for each unit constructed, which then became the property of the applicant for the subsidy. The funds provided had to cover not only the construction itself, but also the purchase of the land and the necessary infrastructure. Because of the pressure they were under to provide the new units, the local authorities worked with private developers. It must be made clear, however, that these developers not only played the 'free market game' (profit maximisation), but also tried to meet two significant demands, namely the sheer number of houses they were expected to build, and the financial-economic realities. To have any chance of success, the developers needed to find sites that were not only large enough but were also reasonably priced. This resulted in the selection of a number of locations on the periphery of the city. Accordingly, the elite's residential security was safeguarded by the realisation of 'social housing projects' on cheap sites on the outskirts, and by the

provision of huge numbers of units at one time (Huchzermeyer, 2003; Kühne, 2003). As a result, it must be concluded that this mechanism of subsidies helped to sustain, and even reinforce, the existing patterns of segregation.

In 2004, the government launched a new initiative called 'Breaking New Ground' (BNG), which was a 'Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements'. The main purpose of the plan was to move the focus of the housing policy away from the mere delivery of vast numbers of houses, towards creating sustainable human settlements, defined as *"well-managed entities in which economic growth and social development are in balance with the carrying capacity of the natural systems on which they depend for their existence and result in sustainable development, wealth creation, poverty alleviation and equity"* (Department of Housing, 2004). It is interesting to observe that one of the ideas was to approach housing, not merely as a basic need, but also as an instrument for job creation and for the development of sustainable human settlements. A greater role is reserved for local government, on the basis that municipalities should take responsibility for housing programmes.

The N2 Gateway

To illustrate the intentions behind the BNG scheme, pilot projects were set up around the country, with the "N2 Gateway" probably being the most significant. On a 10km strip of land, between the city and the airport, newly developed rental flats have been built, and in the following phase, terraced family houses will be constructed. In order to provide these 22.000 housing units, massive slum clearance was necessary (Rust, 2006).

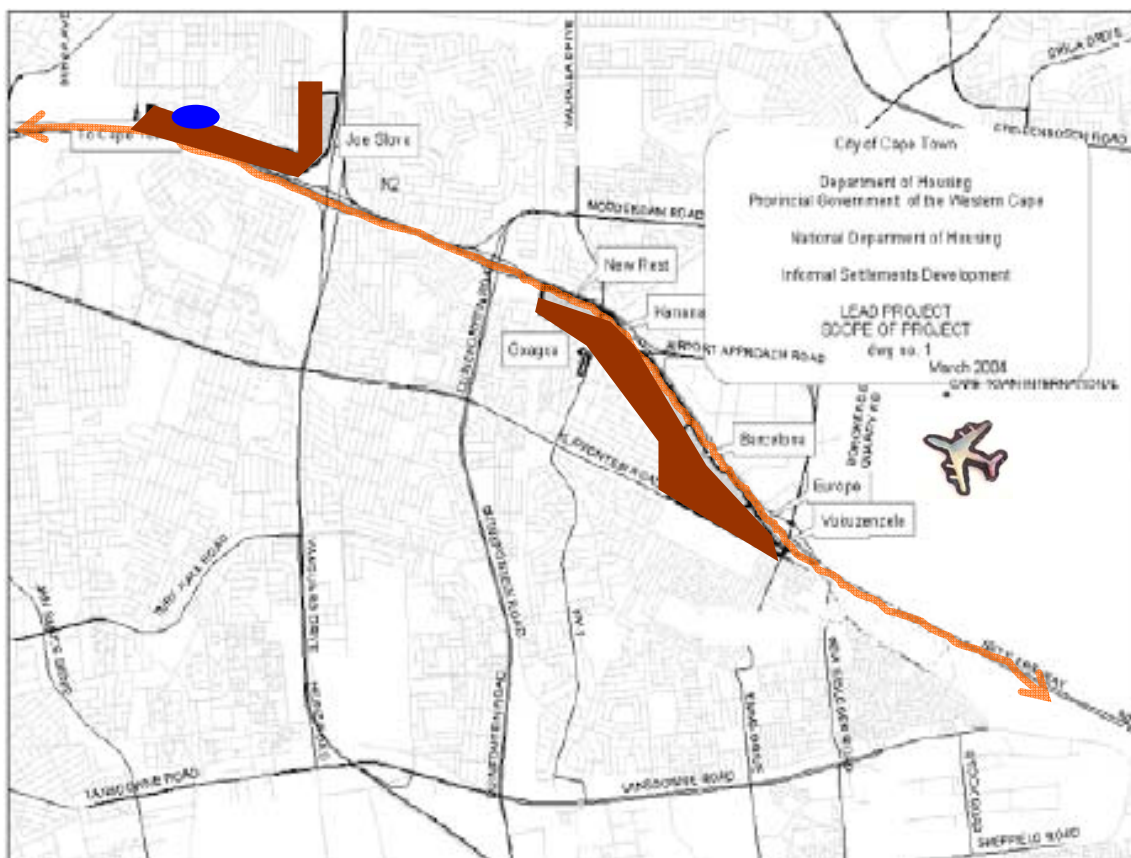
It is interesting to note that the selection of the N2 Gateway as a flagship project for the BNG concurred with the acceptance of the South African bid for the 2010 World Cup by the FIFA. From the start government and media succeeded in drawing all attention to the importance of 2010 and as shown above the mega-event served as a catalyst for civic boosterism (Andranovich et al., 2001; Getz, 1991; Mihalik & Simonetta, 1998). For quite a long time there was a public belief that the redevelopment of the squatter strip along the N2 would re-house the initial inhabitants of Langa (*Briefing Document for the N2 Gateway Project*, 2004; Khan, 2004). Alas, the planned housing along the N2, and more specifically the Joe Slovo section where I conducted my interviews, is comprised of rental accommodation and so-called 'gap housing'¹ and most of the original inhabitants have been moved to areas, such as Delft, at the edge of the city (Smit, Macgregor, & Mgwatyu, 2007). Although initially the people from Langa were excited when they learned about the planned development and the fact that the N2 project would be fast tracked in the light of the World Cup, people had hope that they would finally receive government subsidised housing, for which most of them were on a waiting list. When the true nature behind the project eventually became apparent to the people, angry squatters from Langa blocked the N2 during the week of the 17th September of 2007.

¹ In the South-African housing situation "gap" housing refers to housing for a particular section of people in need of a house who are "too rich" to get a subsidies house and "too poor" to access a bank loan. In 2004 this considered people with an income between R2500 and R7500 a month (Gardner, 2004a). For a more elaborate report on this situation I refer to Gardner, D. (2004). *Sharpening the Focus: A New Look at South Africa's Housing Strategy*. Paper presented at the Housing Finance Resource Programme (Gardner, 2004b)

They hoped that their demands and protests would be heard (Chance, 2008; de Vos, 2008a, 2008b; Khan, 2004).

Figure 1 shows the settlements that are targeted by the N2 Gateway project, They are all located adjacent to the N2 motorway, which connects Cape Town International airport to the centre of the city. The main reason that is given to prioritise these areas is because apparently they are very deprived areas with high levels of unemployment, unsuitable living conditions, with poor connections to water, energy and sanitary facilities. But additionally the same government source states that: *"This project is also prioritised by the City of Cape Town and other spheres in light of its high visibility on the gateway corridor linking Cape Town International Airport with the City"* (Briefing Document for the N2 Gateway Project, 2004). First of all, other areas in the city of Cape Town are at least equally deprived and secondly, the second reason for the prioritisation of the selected areas is already an indication that the underlying assumption of this contribution, namely the interconnection between the 2010 World Cup and the developments along the N2 is not a figment of one's imagination.

Figure 1 Location of the targeted settlements for the N2 Gateway project (*Briefing Document for the N2 Gateway Project, 2004; Khan, 2004*)



So let me know clarify this (bold) statement in the following analysis, which will focus specifically on the power of political/public discourses and on the effects of the entire development on the ground.

Analysis and Findings

Public discourses paving the way for smooth interventions

To start this analysis let us first contemplate on the meaning of the phrase 'N2 gateway project'. Looking in the Oxford English dictionary we find that a *gateway* is "*a structure built at or over a gate, for ornament or defence*". As such we can claim that the project that will be developed along the N2 will serve as an ornament, adding grace and beauty to the entrance (or gate) of the city, an entrance which, without doubt, is formed by the airport and the highway, as these are the first elements visitors, arriving in the "Mother City", will be confronted with. It thus seem that given the location or position of the selected neighbourhoods and their extreme "*visibility*", as mentioned above, the pace of the redevelopments, are to be understood within the context of the coming FIFA World Cup.

Additionally we need to understand how public opinion was influenced by government and stakeholders. And this brings us to the discourses that have been used when talking about the N2 gateway development at the one hand and the World Cup on the other.

During the time I was conducting fieldwork for my PhD research in 2005 and 2007, the developments along the N2 intrigued me and in the margins of my own research about the relation between urban planning, social housing and social capital, I also started to research the N2 Gateway project. I am grateful to numerous people, active in local and provincial government or in housing companies, as they provided me with the necessary information. They also arranged that I could interview some of the residents in the Joe Slovo part of the development.

The N2 gateway clearly was a very sensitive project and had become a "political football" (Smit et al., 2007) to the different levels of government (state, provincial, metropolitan), creating enormous backlogs and delays. Apparently, political gain was more important than alleviating the suffering of the people. Critical voices were openly contesting the project and they all casted aspersions on the "*Vanity project*" of housing minister Sisulu, who, despites all critique, court cases and protests from the Joe Slovo residents, kept her foot down and continued with the project still calling it a flagship development and pioneer project for future housing developments in South Africa. As Legassick (2008) clearly showed the minister is not taking her responsibilities with regard to both the people who were evicted and the new residents of the rental flats. He states that: "*Minister Sisulu did not meet either of these communities, and issued replies only through the media, disdainful of their complaints. As a result, she now has the blood of women and children on her hands. By refusing to meet them, she is acting like a coward. In addition she and her messenger MEC Richard Dyantyi (who has said that removal to Delft is "necessary") are behaving like old apartheid ministers trying to engage in forced removals*". Although this might sound very boldly I think Legassick touches a sore spot here, as indeed no consultations or negotiations are, or have been, brought up (Chance, 2008; de Vos, 2008a, 2008b; Department of Housing, 2008; Legassick, 2008; Smit et al., 2007).

As de Vos (2008) argued government created a negative image around the squatter society of Joe Slovo: "*By repeating over and over that the Joe Slovo residence are living*

unlawfully on the land, the judgment seems to suggest that they are criminals who are thus less deserving of concern, compassion and respect"(de Vos, 2008a). They are being accused of unlawfully occupying the land, of being unwilling and even dumb not to see that they are actually moving up the social ladder, as we can make out of the words of the minister of housing: *"A pilot project is not measured by numbers alone, but even by this measure the N2 Gateway is starting to stand tall. We have built 4500 temporary relocation units, halfway houses, as it were, between informal settlements and dignified homes [...]"* (Speech by LN Sisulu Minister of Housing at the Occasion of the Budget Vote 2008/9 for the Department of Housing, 2008). But the choice to host the FIFA World Cup does also have an impact on the social housing sector in a substantial way. The evolution of the budget allocation for the sectors sport and recreation, transport and housing in the uprun to 2010 coincidentally illustrates that the housing budget looses out while those for sport and recreation goes through the roof in the run up to the 2010 *"goal"*?² This observation is a clear illustration of the points made by Whitson (2004) and Eisinger (2000).

Concerning 2010, an overall enthusiastic and positive discourse is used, as is illustrated in the following quotes. The first one comes from a government's publication with which they want to excite people for the coming event: *"Part of the way in which government will ensure the World Cup contributes to the country's growth and development goals is by making sure that hosting the tournament brings opportunities that can be accessed by South Africans, in a way that will empower those who were systematically excluded from participation in the economy under apartheid"* (Republic of South Africa, n.a., p. 5). This is just one of the many examples of how the government wants to link only positive elements to 2010. In another publication they interview people who are working for the contractors building or upgrading stadiums. Quotes like *"This is my first job since I finished school and I am so proud of myself"* (Republic of South Africa, 2007) serve as an example of how the World Cup will be beneficial for everyone, especially the poorest.

Thus, I want to conclude that the elite in society are benefiting from the discourse created around 2010, far more than the poor communities do. Let's bring the remark made about the judge with the Porsche by de Vos (2008) back to mind. And let us additionally look at another quote from the *South Africa is ready!* publication: *"One of the biggest impacts from hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup will come from the phenomenal marketing and communication opportunity it offers to positively project South Africa and Africa to the world, to build pride, to enable African solidarity and to foster a climate that contributes to growth and development"* (Republic of South Africa, n.a., p. 26). I think we are coming closer to the true legacy 2010 will leave behind, and although I risk of sounding cynical, the phenomenal marketing and the positive image South Africa wants to show the world will be beneficial for economic growth an (economic) development, thus serving the already better off. As such it is not surprising that indeed the *image* is an important factor and when all the international media arrive in Cape Town in 2010 one might prefer to show the redeveloped N2 (although only from afar) rather than the shabby shacks

² Expenditure on Budget Vote Outcomes (based on the National Budget Reviews of 2001, 2005 and 2008, accessed on 21.07.2008 <http://www.treasury.gov.za/documents/national%20budget/default.aspx>)

Before drawing some final conclusions let us now take a look at the effects of the project on the ground. Are people really better off (what government wants us to believe) or is their deprivation getting worse? I will address this question in the next section.

The Effects of the Beautification

Above I have used a discourse analysis to illustrate the relation between the N2 gateway project and the FIFA World Cup. Now let us focus on the effects of the development along the N2.

The Joe Slovo phase 1, where I was able to conduct 11 in-depth interviews in 2007, is comprised entirely of rental flats, which accommodate those who are not poor enough to be eligible for a housing subsidy, but who don't have enough capital to apply for a loan. One might, therefore, think that the project offers a solution to a gap in housing policy, but this is simplistic. Those who are currently renting these flats are unable to save because of the amount of rent they have to pay, as it was indicated to me by the respondents. Furthermore, a reduction (due to saving) or a loss of income would mean that they are unable keep up with their rent and would run the risk of being evicted.

When driving along the N2, the views of the Joe Slovo project are promising, and it appears to be a clean and airy development. But although the patios between the buildings are appealing, the flats themselves are far too small. They consist of two rooms and a small bathroom, and have two entrances, which, for the interviewees, meant they feared an increased risk of burglary. As there are only two rooms, one is used as kitchen/dining/living room while the other serves as a bedroom. While the RPD (Reconstruction and Development) houses, provided by government, can be extended, this is absolutely not the case for the flats. Two of the interviewees have sent their children to live with grandparents because there is not enough space. Most of the respondents complained about the quality of the flats and the fact that they receive no responses to their complaints. The development is actually some sort of gated community as it is completely fenced off from its surroundings.

Figure 4 The original squatter settlement compared to the new rental accommodation



To be able to start construction, the squatters' settlements had to be cleared and people had to move. They were relocated to so-called TRAs (temporary relocation areas) near Delft and other remote areas in the Cape Flats. A study by the DAG3 (Smit et al., 2007) highlighted that many of those living in the TRAs have already started to improve their dwellings because they do not expect to be moving soon even though 63% of respondents said that they are unhappy living in the TRA. One of the DAG study's key findings was about the impact of the re-location on families' livelihoods. Previously, when they lived in Langa, job opportunities were near-by and thus transportation costs were lower. The DAG study also concluded (again) that a top-down approach, without consultation, can not expect great support from the households involved. Furthermore, the TRAs have been developed from a single sector viewpoint, resulting in a better infrastructure than in the squatter settlements, but meaning that the broader social and economic impact of the relocation is ignored.

Thus the beautification process along the N2 has effect, both on its new residents and those who were forcibly removed to the TRAs in Delft. While the new residents in the flats are unhappy with the quality and size of the houses as well as with safety measurements, the life of the people in the TRAs is described by several sources as staying in almost concentration camp like areas, related to the Foucauldian notions of a Panopticon space, realising an ever present controlling gaze and trying to impose *a particular conduct on a particular human multiplicity*" (Deleuze, 2006 (1988), p. 29; Foucault, 1980a, pp. 151-152). The so-called houses are nothing more than four walls and a roof, without electricity. Showers and toilet facilities have to be shared and water is only provided through communal taps (Chance, 2008; Smit et al., 2007). de Vos (2008) critiqued the ruling of Judge President John Hlophe regarding the forced eviction of

20.000 poor from the Joe Slovo settlement: *“Before the law they have once again become invisible. They are not treated as individual human beings with feelings and needs but merely as a problem to be dealt with. What we need are more judges who really wrestle with the very difficult issues presented by gentrification of informal settlements and the real hurt and pain of forced removals. [...] Perhaps this is too much to ask of a judge who might experience this informal settlement on the N2 as an eyesore and a stumbling block to progress - even as he speeds to his wine farm in his shiny Porsche”* (de Vos, 2008a).

I believe de Vos touches a crucial point here. The elite in our societies prefer to keep the undesired at a safe distance. Bourdieu (1999) has already made clear that space is being manipulated by a small elite, who have enough power (thanks to the accumulation of the different forms of capital) to do so, and in a way that only serves to reinforce their position in society. They use distance and accessibility, elements which are strengthened by the inertia of physical space (Peleman, 2000: 336-337). The opportunities that individuals have are largely defined by the specificities (e.g. the availability of schools and jobs) of the place in which they grow up and reside (Bourdieu, 1999). We thus can, no, we must ask ourselves what the future holds for the children growing up in these TRAs?

The N2 Gateway: a new relocation strategy or truly Breaking New Ground?

The last question brings us to the first element I want to address in this conclusion, namely about the role of the intellectual. Furedi (2006) has clearly emphasised that *“being an intellectual requires social engagement”* as such I adhere to Blommaert’s (2007) suggestion that maybe our task, as intellectuals, should be to see the linkages between diverse elements, to hold a broader view and to translate the voice of marginalised groups through analysing and questioning existing power relations. And that is precisely what I have tried to do with this paper.

I hope to have shown how mega-events, such as the World Cup are influencing urban developments of which the social outcomes are highly disputable. Although one might argue that beside the coinciding of both there is no hard evidence to proof a true interrelation between the fast-tracking of the N2 development and the acceptance of the South Africa bid for the FIFA world cup, I have shown that a public discourse is used to enable a non-democratic urban development taking place, very much resembling of its apartheid’s pre-descending forced evictions.

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