Mega events as a pretext for infrastructural development: the case of the All African Games Athletes Village, Alexandra, Johannesburg

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Abstract. The hosting of mega events in the Global South has become a symbol of prestige and national pride. From the hosting of international mega events such as the world cup, to regional events like the Commonwealth Games, developing nations are hosting mega events frequently and on a massive scale. Often used as a justification for this escapade in hosting a mega event is the purposed infrastructural legacy that will remain after the event. From the bid documents of the London Olympics to the Delhi Common Wealth Games, the pretext of infrastructural legacy is cited as a legitimate reason for spending the billions of dollars needed for hosting the event. This paper looks at this justification in the context of the All Africa Games which was hosted in Johannesburg, South Africa in 1999. It examines how the legacy infrastructure from this event has been utilised as a social housing development and how the billions of dollars spent on the infrastructural legacy of the games has been used by local residence of the city. The vast majority of the current residence of the All Africa Games Athletes' Village have little recollection of the Games and do not feel that the housing stock they have received is of significantly better quality than that of other social housing. This points to the contentious claim that developmental infrastructure built through hosting a mega event is of superior quality or brings greater benefit to the end users. That is not to say that hosting a mega event does not have benefits; however, the claim of development through hosting, in the case of Johannesburg, seems disingenuous.

Contents:

1. Introduction

The history of underdevelopment in many countries in the global south has led to a desperate need for infrastructural development (Westaway, 2006). In such places, many urban areas are unable to cope with growing populations and are in a state where crumbling and non-existent infrastructure requires urgent repair and restoration (Nel, John, 2006). In this context, poor governments have to identify priorities in infrastructural developments that lead to projects that add the most value to the end user. Yet despite this urgent need for development with scarce resources, a number of developing nations have chosen to focus their developmental efforts on the infrastructural requirements of hosting mega events (Lenskyj, 2004; Mangan, 2008). From South Africa and Brazil's hosting of the Soccer World Cup, to Mozambique's hosting of the 2011 All African Games and India's 2010 hosting of the Commonwealth Games, developing countries are investing in what appears to be frivolous sporting infrastructure (Shoval, 2002). Although there are a number of benefits for hosting these types of events, from city marketing to tourism, in all the bid documents for the events, urban development and renewal are cited as a prominent justification for the hosts (Roche, 2000). The development of public transport, urban gentrification and post games or legacy housing provision are prominent rationales for developing nations to host a mega sporting event.

This paper aims to explore the extent to which legacy infrastructure is used for its intended purposes by considering the Athletes Village built for the All Africa Games in Johannesburg in 1999.

In South Africa, there is a huge demand for urban infrastructure, from housing to basic services (Tomlinson, 2003). This backlog is further exacerbated by the racial planning of the apartheid government with the most deprived urban areas being dominated by black Africans who were dispossessed by apartheid and continue to be in a tenuous state of poverty (Nel, John, 2006). This legacy has meant that the current South African government has had to embark on a targeted infrastructure development program that has seen the development of in situ service provision and the development of new social housing estates (Rogerson, 1999). These infrastructural developments are a part of addressing the legacy of the past, yet there is also a recognition that the country needs to embark on a process of 'nation building'. This has led to a situation where the government has spent billions of dollars on the provision of housing and basic services as well as billions of dollars on hosting mega sporting events as part of a national building and city branding project (Clark, 2008). There has been much criticism of the latter, where many commentators have stated that the money spent on mega events could have been used to target service backlogs in disadvantaged areas (Burbank et al., 2000; de Moragas et al., 2002). The fact that vast sums of money have been spent on building stadium and sporting infrastructure and not on basic services does not mean that this money has been wasted (Dinces, 2005; Gold, Gold, 2007). Mega events have become a key component of nation building in South Africa and are a tool for marketing the new image of the country (Cornelissen, 2004). This was certainly one of the rationales behind hosting the All Africa Games in 1999. South Africa was clearly stating that the post-

apartheid country was part of Africa (although this is an obvious statement, the apartheid government had an aloof attitude towards the rest of the continent). However, the All African Games did not just build sports infrastructure: the athlete's village for the games was constructed adjacent to the previously racially segregated township of Alexandra in Johannesburg and was lauded as an infrastructural legacy of the event (AAG, 1995).

This paper thus examines the hosting of this mega event as a pretext for urban development. The paper consists of ten sections, the first two of which explore how mega events are linked to urban development and local economic development. Section four looks at the legacy infrastructure of the All African games hosted in Johannesburg. The presentation of research methodology in section five is followed by the presentation and discussion of the perceptions and attitudes of the current residence of the village in sections six, seven and eight. This includes the residence of the village, this will include the residence perceptions of the village as it currently stands; the building standards of the houses and the post-event governance and management of the village. The paper closes with section nine, an examination of whether the infrastructural legacy and current uses of the village are a valid justification for the vast costs of hosting the event.

2.   Urban development
through Mega Events

Urban development in the global south should have poverty alleviation as its core premise (Beauregard, 1993; Pillay, Bass, 2008). Within the context of hosting a mega event, this takes on a weighted meaning, as the need to develop urban infrastructure to host the event is often paralleled by the need to develop urban infrastructure for the poor. The infrastructural requirements of hosting a mega event are often not the same as those needed for a developing city. Vast stadium and tourist infrastructure can seem a waste of resources when basic services are lacking (Pillay, Bass, 2008).

A mega event is overwhelmingly large and infrequent; this is due to the nature of the event which is both occasional and international. While many countries in Africa might host local and regional sporting events, the All African Games and the Confederation of African Football Cup are by definition the only two mega events hosted for the continent. Based on Getz (1989) hierarchy of events, the mega event is the most technically difficult and fiscally demanding event to host. However, these mega spectacles bring most exposure to international fans and corporate sponsorship. With regard to marketing, attracting tourists and global viewership, the mega event is the most desirable type of sporting event to host (Smith, 2005).

The justifications for spending resources on mega events vary, yet there seems to be a significant trend where development activities and strategies are written into modern bid documents. These include economic development, infrastructural legacies and community involvement (Gold, Gold, 2011). This can be seen in many a host city, where sporting infrastructure has become abandoned and obsolete after the event (Getz, 1989). The hosting of the Olympics in Athens has certainly proved a case in point, where large parts of the Olympic park have been abandoned and the infrastructure is no longer used. However, this was pre-empted by the London Olympics, who in their bid document, put out that they would dismantle some of the infrastructure built for the event so as not to be left with unneeded and wanted sporting venues (Kissoudi, 2008).

Many of the benefits of hosting a mega event are not fiscal and measurable, and include increased positive exposure to international audiences, an increase in capacity of IT and other services, and social integration and cohesion (which is sorely needed in South Africa). Justification for a mega event becomes more obscure with some tangible statistics, like the number of attending tourists and increases in tax revenue, given equal merit to other effects, such as city marketing and national pride (Cornelissen, 2004). Political symbolism can become the most important driving force behind hosting the event. This can be tied to the additional economic benefits of huge budget spent on infrastructure and the measurable job creation and economic income generated.

Urban development from mega events does not then always focus on improving the livelihoods of local communities but becomes a top down implementation of gentrification that focuses on global

branding and symbolism (Lenskyj, 2004; Mangan, 2008). The mega event infrastructure is linked to gentrification and has the potential to make places appealing to the wealthy and to push poorer communities out to make way for the global sporting elite (Shoval, 2002). Global sporting events are not designed to cater for underdeveloped urban systems, and any new infrastructure developed for a mega event has to be shrewdly placed and integrated into the city in order to bring benefit to the urban poor (Andranovich et al, 2001).

South Africa's hosting of mega events, which include rugby, cricket and soccer world cups, has not overtly benefitted the urban poor (Pillay, Bass, 2008). The sporting and transport infrastructure has been world class and utilised by the cities wealth after the event. This has also been the case internationally, where legacy infrastructure has not necessarily brought benefit to the city after the event or at worst, has become unused and derelict, as has much of the infrastructure form the Athens Olympics (Preuss, 2000; Brown, 2004). For this reason, national sporting committees such as FIFA and the Olympics have been pushing to make mega event infrastructure benefit poor communities. Part of the reason for the awarding of the 2012 Olympics to London was the regeneration of a derelict part of the city (Essex, Chalkley, 2007). Yet despite the claims that mega event infrastructure will benefit the urban poor, it is optimistic to think that a mega event will boost economic development (Campbell, Marshall, 2000; Burbank et al., 2001).

Implementing infrastructural development as a legacy of a mega event is laced with politics, institutional deadlines and specific uses that do not plague other development projects. It is also often unclear whether the choice of sites for mega event infrastructural development reflects a genuine desire for urban renewal or whether these sites are selected to strengthen the bid (which often has an urban renewal clause). It is thus important to note that although many mega events use urban renewal as a central rationale for hosting the games (as has been the case in the bids for the London Olympic Games; Vancouver Olympic Games; South African World Cup; Rio de Janeiro Olympics), the neo-liberal nature of mega events and the vast resources spent on the event do not point to them being developmental activities (Lenskyj, 2000; Bamossy,

Stephens, 2003; Dyreson, Llewellyn, 2008; Chappelet, 2008; Shaw, 2008; Gold and Gold, 2011). Nevertheless, urban renewal is often portrayed as central to the mega event process (Senn, 1999; Deccio, Baloglu, 2002).

3.   Local economic development and urban renewal

Mega events have long been linked to urban renewal and local economic development. A number of post-industrial cities sought to find solutions to declining investment and depopulation. These cities, most often in the global north, set the path for utilising sporting events to garner marketing and tourist to their city. The Olympic Games in Barcelona in 1992 was a catalyst for development in a declining city. The games set a precedent for using mega events as a tool for investment and marketing, and saw an immediate increase in investment and tourism in the city. This success prompted Sydney to host the Olympics in 2004, with not only Sydney but the whole of Australia looking to the games to boost tourism and be used strategically to promote the country. The successful use of mega events to promote development initiatives has prompted many other countries to consider the huge capital outlay for hosting these events.

Many cities in post-apartheid South Africa saw a major decline in investment in the city centre (Rogerson, 1999). White flight and the subsequent move of retail and commercial opportunity left many CBD's with abandoned and derelict buildings, following on from the LED tradition in deindustrialised cities in Europe and America. Many municipalities in South Africa developed and implemented LED renewal strategies. Most notably in Johannesburg, a number of key development initiatives and so called improvement districts were identified and developed. One of the most significant in terms of funding and location was the Newtown precinct on the west of the city centre. This LED project saw the development of social housing, upgrade of public spaces and removal of squatters from the area to develop a cultural precinct. The relative success of the development, with the revitalisation of the Theatre district and renovation of museums, led to the project being hailed as a success.

Subsequently, many cities in South Africa have embraced the tool of local development to develop local infrastructure and gentrify decaying areas. LED has been a key feature of the current local government planning dispensation, with integrated development plans and spatial development plans being a key of building local economies. LED as a tool for development has been a central component of the Johannesburg Metro municipality, and LED projects have been implemented in priority areas. The city centre has seen its fair share of these projects; however, in many residential areas designated for black Africans under apartheid, LED has been the mechanism for infrastructure development.

This focus on local development has been criticised for the inability to be used in municipalities that do not have the human resources and capacity to orchestrate such a sophisticated project. However, many of the LED projects in major cities like Johannesburg have been successful.

This success has brought a plethora of LED projects outside of the city centre in Johannesburg, the emphasis being on the development of areas designated for black Africans only under apartheid. These residential areas were given very little infrastructure under the apartheid regime and lacked many amenities. One of the most obvious is the Alexandra Township. This previously segregated area is adjacent to the city financial district and is over-populated and underdeveloped. A number of development projects have been implemented to address the lack of infrastructure, from the development of additional schools and hospitals to the creation of new parks (Kotze, Mathola, 2012). However, the most significant need for this area is the development of new housing stock.

Urban renewal, although often described by policy makers as pro-poor, often does not lead to marginalized communities benefiting from development programmes. There is a natural bias towards both pro-growth and pro-business practices which have the capacity to recognise and utilise the opportunities of the urban renewal process (Peck, Tickell, 2002; Rogerson, 2006, van Donk et al., 2008). Although it is certainly possible for marginalised communities to benefit from development programs, the development activity is often focused on neo-liberal advancement, and the objective of poverty alleviation is an ad hoc outcome (Rogerson, 2006).

This scenario has played itself out in South Africa in a number of urban renewal projects, where urban renewal has raised property prices and driven the existing poor community from the area (Gunter, 2005). The obvious bias towards urban renewal as a pro-business activity is justified through claims that it will raise the tax base and increase revenue that will in turn benefit the poor. Claims that poverty alleviation is a central component of urban renewal does not ring true as business interests, gentrification and infrastructure upgrades do not necessarily enhance the lives of local communities (Campbell, Marshall, 2000).

The political rhetoric around the alleviation of poverty and urban renewal can lead to a situation where urban renewal cannot be justified without a direct link and benefit for the urban poor (Cashdan, 1998). This has created a disingenuous policy environment where urban renewal that promotes broad economic growth and gentrification to the detriment of local residence, although to the benefit to the city at large, can only be justified if it claims to aid these same residences. This situation is misguided as the rhetoric of poverty alleviation is being layered over the need for urban growth and with neither receiving the necessary focus, leading to a hybrid policy that is not best suited for either poverty alleviation or business development (Rogerson, 1999; Roy, 2005).

Thus, with mega event urban renewal projects that claim to address poverty alleviation, it is vital that the political justification for the development is not distorted with reference to unrealistic goals (Pieterse, 1998). The All Africa Games hosted in Johannesburg are a case in point: heralded by many as a mechanism for poverty alleviation, an urban renewal project in the Alexandra Township had billions of dollars spent in building an athletes' village and improving the facility. This urban renewal project was set out as a pro-poor development project that would bring social and economic benefit to the local community (Winkler, 2009).

4. The All African Games

The All African Games are organised by the associate members of the Association of National Ol-

ympic Committees of Africa (ANOCA). From the inception of a Pan African sporting tournament, unity and peace on the African continent were envisioned, the first such games being called the 'Peace Games' in 1928. The games have since evolved into the current version of the event where the 53 nations of ANOCA meet every five years to compete in 16 sporting codes. The games usually bring together 2500 athletes (ANOCA, 2011). Since the inception of the current All African games, ten tournaments have been hosted with the 2015 games in Brazzaville in the DRC marking the 50th tournament. On the continent, the All African Games are held between Olympic events and are the pinnacle of many sporting codes and the qualifying event for many sports for the Olympics.

In 1999 South Africa hosted the All African Games. This was the reintroduction of the country to the rest of Africa after the apartheid period and in many ways a statement by the new government that South Africa was again a part of Africa (AAG, 1995). The games were hosted by the city of Johannesburg which invested half a billion dollars into this mega event. The city of Johannesburg is the financial capital of South and Southern Africa and as an apartheid planned city, was well placed to benefit from the positive infrastructure and image the AAG would provide.

The vast majority of this investment was spent on building a new stadium for the games; however, twenty million dollars were spent on building the athletes' village in the Alexandra Township in Johannesburg (AAG, 1997). The location of the athletes' village was one of considerable controversy, with the village located in a poor suburb of the city (an area that had been classified for black Africans only under apartheid). The athletes' village was set to be built on a derelict stretch of land adjacent to one of the poorest and most deprived areas in the city. Although centrally located, it was cited in the newspaper as unsafe for the athletes, especially if they left the secure confines of the village at night (BBC News, 1999).

The entire premise for building the village in the chosen location was to have the housing units built for the athletes used as low-cost housing after the event. This was a central part of the justification for hosting the event; an infrastructural legacy from the All Africa Games would be high-quality

housing stock to be converted into low-cost housing (AAG, 1995).

This housing stock was sorely needed as at the time Johannesburg had a housing shortage of one million houses and any new housing would immediately be allocated to prospective residence. There was, however, much criticism of the hosting of this mega event when there was such a large-scale backlog of housing. The dire need for housing and additional infrastructure across the city could have benefited from the millions of dollars spent on hosting the event (Hiller, 2003; Pillay, Bass, 2008; Bénit-Gbaffou, 2009). In a developing country such as South Africa, there is a need for tangible justification of hosting an expensive sporting extravaganza, yet despite the obvious cost implications, mega events, including the Johannesburg All Africa Games, continue to use urban renewal as a positive spin-off of hosting (Pillay, Bass, 2008). There is no indication that the AAG development was the catalyst for development in Alexandra, subsequently, the area has had significant investment and urban renewal programmes that have not been linked to a mega event (Kotze, Mathola, 2012). This does not seem the case when looking at the bid document for the AAG, where the development of Alexandra is intrinsically linked to the AAG athletes' village (AAG, 1995). This linking of urban development and gentrification to a mega event undermines the role that the state should play in developing adequate infrastructure by implying that only with the prestige of hosting an international event will a nation invest in specific urban renewal and without it there cannot be rapid targeted development. This is not the last time this scenario has occurred most recently with the London Olympics (Newman, 2007) and the Rio de Janeiro Olympic (Tomlinson, 2010) bid which both pointed to developing derelict parts of the city that would not be developed without hosting the event.

With this emphasis on development in the hosting of the AAG, this study aims to look at how this rationale has impacted the specific everyday use of the athletes' village after the event. The need for housing in the Alexandra Township is obvious and the development of the village was heralded as a path forward for housing provision in the area (Kotze, Mathola, 2012). There were claims from the developers that the village housing would

be of higher standard than standard social housing stock and that the amenities built for the village would provide adequate school and health facilities once converted after the event (AAG, 1999). In essence, the bid document justified hosting the games by promising high quality housing that cost more than would be the case for standard social housing and would be a lasting legacy for the Township that would simply not have been possible if the event had not happen. The Games were justified by the potential for housing development and urban renewal, twelve years on it is now possible to examine whether the athletes' village has indeed become a bastion of social housing and infrastructural provision described by the bid.

5. Methodology and structure of respondents

The All African Games athletes village was built in the Alexandra Township, located 12 km northeast of central Johannesburg (where the games took place). The township is, divided into four sections, as seen in Fig. 1, the older sections of the area are Tswe'tla and old Alexandra, the most deprived and informal of the areas, while the newer developed areas are the East Bank and Tsutsumani. Tsutsumani (also known as the Far East Bank) was where the athletes' village was developed.
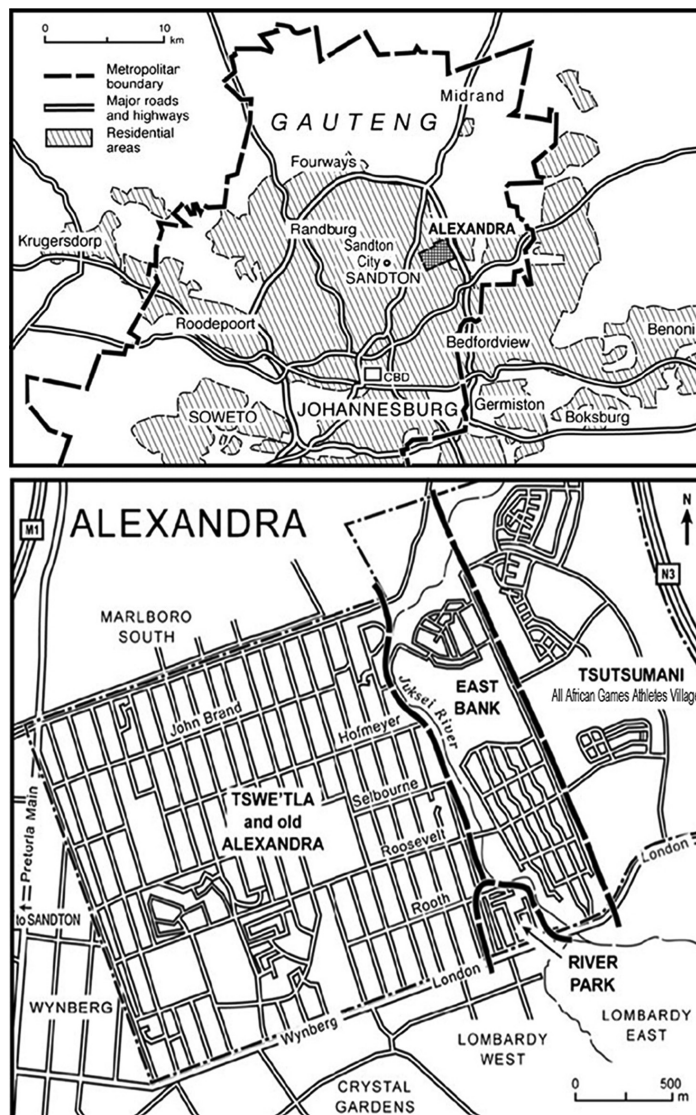

Fig. 1. Spatial layout of Alexandra Township

Source: Kotze, Mathola, 2012

The Athletes' Village consists of 1803 housing units with a mix of freestanding and semi-detached housing. This study seeks to examine the condition of the current residents in the village and how they perceive the environment now when it is simply a suburb of the township (AAG, 1999). This was done by conducting a survey of households in April 2012 using questionnaires, examining the spatial environment of the Far East Bank. The MaCorr Inc (2009) sample size calculator was used to determine the number of subjects required for the research. With the use of the calculator, a sample size of 234 was determined with a confidence level of 95% and a confidence interval of 17,8% (O'Leary, 2004). The sample group was randomly selected and drawn wholly from the residents of the All African Games Village. Of these participants, 41% were home owners in the area, 47% rented their accommodation, and 12% lived in back yard shacks, with 56% male and 44% female and an employment rate of 63%. The interviews took place over a period of three weeks in November 2011, with questionnaires administered door to door by the researcher. Residences were selected by numbering all the dwellings in the village and using a random number generator to select the 234 dwellings to be interviewed. If a resident chose not to be involved in the interview or was not present on two attempts, a new number was selected from the random sample. The questionnaire was divided into three sections with residence asked to comment on their perception of the physical infrastructure and the economic potential of the village.

6.   Housing legacy of the All Africa Games Village

The All African Games Athletes' Village construction in 1998 claimed to be making quality housing stock that would be used by athletes but subsequently converted to social housing after the event (AAG, 1995). This has subsequently taken place and the housing stock was converted post event and assigned to individuals who were registered on the national housing list. Yet despite the claims of quality and upliftment, there is a very low satisfaction level with the housing quality in the area. Only 41%

of respondents stated that they were happy with the housing quality of the village, and of the remaining respondents, 62% cited poor build quality as one of the main issue and 38% stated that the village housing was too small and cramped. Thus, despite the claim of the organisers that the All Athletes' Village would be of high standard due to the initial use, there is much dissatisfaction with the final housing product.

The construction of the village for the games could have been the reason for the small size of dwellings. An athletes' village does not have the same spatial requirements as a housing complex and dwelling units do not need to take into account family size and growing wealth of individuals. Small dwellings to accommodate two or three athletes would be poorly configured to accommodate a growing family. This need for larger developments is seen in Fig. 2, where a significant amount of enlargement of dwellings in the village has taken place, with 32% of properties having been enlarged since 1999.

What is noteworthy is that the spread of dwelling enlargements is spread uniformly across the village, pointing to a general need for the original dwelling to be bigger. Further, a number of the enlargements were for a garage (19%), which in itself is not surprising as an athletes' village would not have a need for this type of construction. It does, however, demonstrate that at the time of construction, the priorities were for the event rather than the legacy use of the infrastructure. In this case, the focus on developing athletes' accommodation that caters for short term adult needs has led to the neglect of the necessities of family social housing.

Further, the amount and nature of the construction taking place indicate that the Far East Bank and the athletes' village are attracting individuals who may not be in desperate need of social housing. Some 35% of current residents have not lived in the village for more than five years, while an additional 20% have not lived in the area for more than eight years. These individuals did not acquire the housing as socially allocated dwellings but rather in free market transfer of property (including renting).

Thus, the Athletes' Village built for social housing seems to be moving towards becoming standard housing stock – this was certainly not the vision

set out by the bid documents for the games (AAG, 1995). The village was to be social housing stock that would accommodate the poor local communi-ty. Yet, the majority of individuals are not from the area and have a higher average income ($420) than that of the remainder of Alexandra ($180).
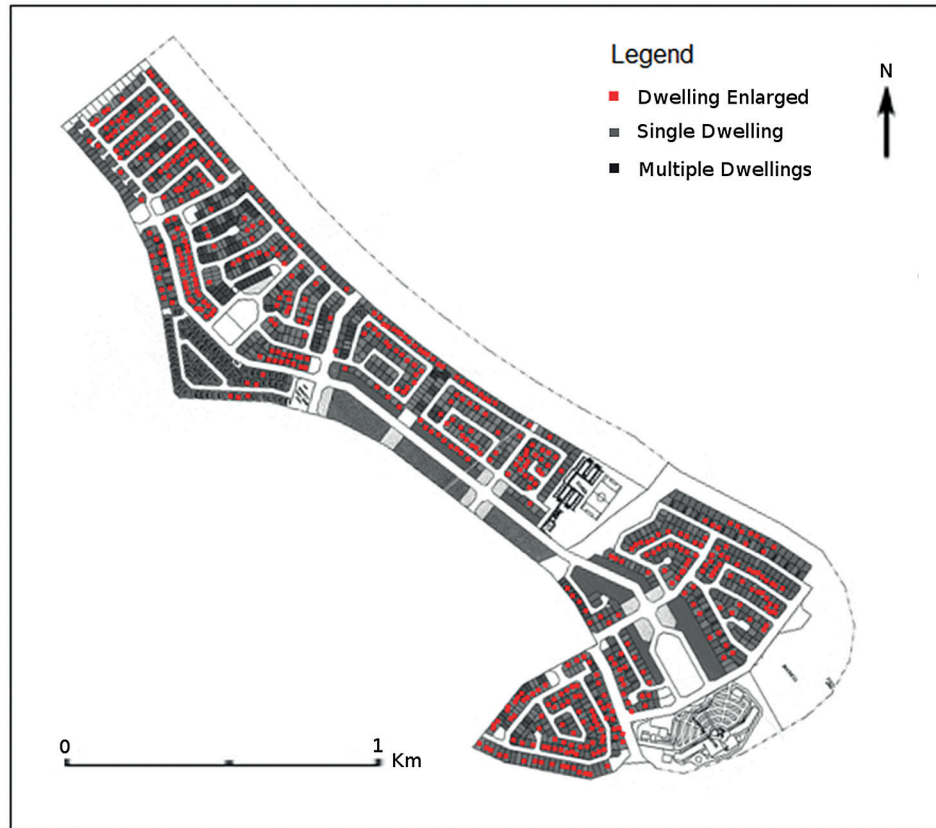

Fig. 2. Dwellings that have been extended and enlarged from the initial construction

Source: Author's compilation, based on field survey

This situation could happen in any social hous-ing development and points to the higher standard of infrastructure associated with this development. However, as far as developing a social housing set-tlement that catered for the urban poor in Alex-andra, as the organisers of the all Africa games claimed, the village has failed as the poor find themselves outside of this relatively prosperous en-clave of Alexandra.

7. Infrastructural environment

The Village construction promised sufficient basic infrastructure for the area of the city that had been neglected in the past. The requirements for an ad-ditional 1,803 houses were a primary school, a clin-ic and a shopping precinct. These were developed along with the dwelling units and converted into community facilities after the event. However, the current residents cite huge pressure on both the physical and social infrastructure of the area. Many of the respondents claimed the local school and clinic which were designed to service only the vil-lage are both oversubscribed. This is due to the huge shortage of these services in the rest of Alexandra and the overspill from other areas. This brings into question the vast amounts of money spent on the hosting of the mega event. 62% of respondents with children stated their child did not attend a school in the area as they were oversubscribed, while 59% stated it was very difficult to get to see a health pro-fessional at the clinic as it was too busy.

The pressure on social services points to the need to construct these services in Alexandra, so the construction of the athletes' village next to a poor, deprived suburb has to be noted. Many cities try and 'clear out' the poor before international mega events and aim at presenting a city that is wealthy and clean. The All African Games in Johannesburg did not try to hide the poverty from the participants and placed them in an area that desperately needed the post-games infrastructure.

However, with the 3 billion dollars spent on the games, additional and much needed basic infrastructure could have been developed. The games used ad hoc urban development to justify hosting the event. Yet urban development should be a noble cause unto itself, and mega events should not need a catalyst to instigate it; with mega events this catalyst is a very expensive endeavour.

As far as the environment of the village is concerned, 78% of residents claim that the physical environment is deteriorating and unpleasant, citing poor plumbing (34%), erosion of roads and walk ways (27%), lack of maintenance of public spaces (25%), and uncollected litter (14%) as the most significant blights to the village. Although maintaining the area after the event was certainly not on the hosts agenda, the village is showing signs of urban blight after 12 years of urban development that should be of concern to local authorities.

The village was heralded as a utopian social housing project that would uplift the lives of local Alexandra residents; without sufficient support, this area of Alexandra is only slightly better off than older areas of the township and the urban development that took place due to the All Africa Games has been eroded due to the focused nature of the investment for the mega event. Post-event, there has been poor contingency planning for the upkeep of the area.

8. Location of the Village

The need for urban development in Alexandra was undeniable. This deprived area of Johannesburg desperately needed intervention to prevent it from descending further into urban decay. Table 1 shows the participants' response to the question: what is the best thing about living in the Far East Bank?

Table 1. Best things about living in the Far East bank

Transport Links	Community	Cheap Housing	Better Infrastructure
56%	23%	11%	10%

Source: Author's compilation based on survey

The central location is a key finding as 56% of participants cited access to transport routes. This location for social housing is highly desirable in Johannesburg where many of the current social housing developments are on the fringe of the city. The second reason cited for living in the Far East Bank was the sense of community (23%). This shows the design of the village that fosters a sense of community and openness that other social housing projects may not take into account. The developers of the project had a specific mandate for the athletes that translates well into a desirable housing suburb. This, however, came at a cost with the construction price of a Village dwelling 43% higher than that of a typical social house at the time.

The hosting of the mega event and the planning of the village did have a positive impact on the layout and pattern of the area, and this has to be factored into the liveability of the area. Without the hosting of the games, this area may still not have been developed, yet the aesthetics and layout of the area may not have been considered as efficiently as they were. The need for effective design and layout of social housing cannot, however, only be developed through the impetus of mega events. There has to be a more systematic mechanism for infrastructural development that is not linked to mega events as a catalyst for urban renewal.

9. The All African Games legacy

The hosting of the 1999 all African Games can be justified as an attempt to prove that post-apartheid South Africa was indeed open to Africa. This justification could be seen as sufficient in itself and any development spin-off as a bonus. In this case, however, a central justification for hosting the games was the plan to build the Athletes' Village in Alexandra (AAG, 1995). This is the case with many mega

events, where the real reason for hosting the event is justified in terms of proposed urban renewal.

The economic and brand-building legacy of the All African Games in Johannesburg is long forgotten. The games were not a huge global milestone and South Africa received few foreign visitors because of them. The one tangible legacy is the converted athletes' village. Within the village, only 43% of residents know what the housing was developed for the event and all the residence who participated in the questionnaire felt that hosting mega events was too expensive for the country, even though they directly benefited from a mega legacy programme. Part of this legacy of the games has been the creation of a community in Alexandra that did not exist before the event: these individuals are on average wealthier and more likely to be employed than other Alexandra residence. However, the cost implications for this legacy are significant, with the huge amounts of money spent not necessarily justifiable in a semi-developed country. The legacy of the games must be viewed in the light of the fact that, despite the development of the village, Alexandra is still one of the most deprived and degraded areas of Johannesburg, and the All African Games has not left much of a legacy to counter that fact.

10. Conclusion

The global south and Africa in particular are often cited as not hosting enough global mega events (Hiller, 2003). This is often due to the perceived lack of capacity, yet there is still a consensus that for a mega event to be truly global it needs to be hosted sometimes in the global south. In order for a developing country to justify the expense of hosting an event, the infrastructural needs and development legacy of the event are often cited (Cashman, 1999). Urban renewal and development become a pretext for hosting mega events. The All African Games hosted in Johannesburg in 1999 were a case in point. The games cost half a billion dollars and one of the most prominent justifications for hosting was the development of the athletes' village which was to be built in the deprived area of Alexandra. The village provided much needed social housing and services to the area of the Far East Bank. Yet,

despite the depiction of a utopian urban renewal of the area, twelve years on, the athletes' village is only slightly less deprived than the remainder of Alexandra. Thus, the justification of hosting the event has to be called into question. It should not be the case that urban development and upliftment can only happen if accompanied by a mega event, but this often seems to be implied when the bidding for such events takes place (de Moragas et al., 2002). The pure costs of hosting these events cannot justify the final legacy, and in the case of the All African Games Village, the lack of contingency planning has led to the area becoming run down after the event . Hosting of a mega event should be done as a transparent exercise that brings a country prestige, marketing and a small increase in tourists. The infrastructural legacy of the event cannot be a justification as the cost implications are far too high to consider these developments value for money (Essex, Chalkley, 1998). The 1999 All Africa Games were a statement by South Africa that they were a post-apartheid African nation – the legacy is its commitment to investment and diplomacy in Africa, not a small village in a deprived area of the city.

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