Tuning the city: Johannesburg and the 2010 World Cup[1]

Ajustando a cidade: Joanesburgo e a Copa do Mundo 2010

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Abstract

This paper is about space, security and control, how their relationship unfolds in the contemporary city, how normative ordering(s) emerge out of the urban 'mess', and specifically how this occurs in the extraordinary spatio-temporal context of the mega-event (ME). Theoretically inspired by contemporary ecological and post-phenomenological strands of geographical research, and empirically grounded on a fieldwork carried out in the city of Johannesburg during the 2010 FIFA World Cup, the paper seeks to think the *urban spatiality* beyond the familiar dichotomies in which it is usually forced,[2] addressing the multiple agglomerations of human and nonhuman, tangible and intangible elements which constitute it. The main purpose is to account for the way the spacing of the World Cup impacts on such *spatiality* or, in other words, for how the *orderings* of the mega-event and that of the city encounter, and with what consequences. This goal is pursued by focusing on discourses, practices and perceptions of safety and security, given the key role they play in the production of urban order and in the implementation of MEs, as well as the paramount significance they assume in the context of post-apartheid South Africa, and particularly in its most troubled metropolis, Johannesburg. I believe that more sophisticated theorisations and less conventional methodologies are needed if we are to grasp the spatial impact of mega-events on the city, whose deeply contextualised and

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[2] E.g. subject/object, human/nonhuman, private/public, individual/society, global/local, panopticon/resistance, order/disorder, abstract/concrete, discourse/materiality and many more.

always unique outcome must be emphasised against the tendency to develop standardised ways to look at it. This paper is a partial move in this direction.

Keywords: Mega-events. Tuning. Security. World Cup.

Resumo

Este artigo é sobre espaço, segurança e controle, sobre como se dá sua relação na cidade contemporânea, sobre como ordenamento(s) normativo(s) emerge(m) a partir da 'confusão' urbana, e especificamente como isso ocor-re em extraordinários contextos espaçotemporais de megaeventos (ME). Inspirado, do ponto de vista teórico, nas vertentes da ecologia contemporânea e pós-fenomenológica da pesquisa geográfica, e baseado empiricamente em um trabalho de campo realizado na cidade de Joanesburgo durante a Copa do Mundo da FIFA em 2010, o artigo procura compreender a espacialidade urbana além das dicotomias comuns normalmente forçadas,[3] ao abordar múltiplas aglomerações humanas e não humanas, de elementos tangíveis e intangíveis que a cons-tituem. O principal objetivo é dar conta da forma como a organização do espaço da Copa do Mundo impõe impactos nessa espacialidade ou, em outras palavras, como se sobrepõem os ordenamentos das cidades e dos megaeventos, e ao custo de quais consequências. Esse objetivo é perseguido a partir do foco nos discursos, práti-cas e percepções sobre segurança, dada sua importância na produção da ordem urbana e na implementação dos MEs, bem como sua significativa relevância no contexto de uma África do Sul pós-apartheid, particularmente em sua metrópole mais problemática, Johanesburgo. Acredito que sejam necessárias teorizações mais sofisticadas e metodologias menos convencionais, se queremos compreender os impacto espacial de megaeventos nas cidades, com ênfase em seus resultados profundamente contextualizados e únicos, evitando a tendência de desenvolver modos padronizados para avaliar essa situação. Este artigo representa um movimento parcial nessa direção.

Palavras-chave: Megaeventos. Tuning*. Segurança. Copa do mundo.*

...you slowly realise that your existence depends on opaque forces that you cannot objectify... (LATOUR, 2004).

Haunted places are the only ones people can live in (CERTEAU, 1984, p. 108).

Contemporary cities are the scene of never-end-ing institutional attempts to colonise the urban tex-ture through logics and practices of privatisation, commercialisation, 'beautification' and securitisa-tion, whose continuous modification of urban space is more or less accepted, resisted or reformulated by its inhabitants. Within this context, MEs such as Olympics and World Cups are 'quasi-ideal' situations to observe processes of urban ordering and control as they emerge at the same time more traumatically (given the concentration, resonance and cost of such events) and more smoothly (that is, less hindered by routinary concerns, opposition, laws).

Mega-events are "international, large-scale [...] collective events", by definition discontinuous to the urban routine (ROCHE, 2000, p. 1). If their spectacu-lar and symbolical significance can be drawn back to past public rituals, today they are a key socio-cul-tural, economical and political occurrence, playing a significant role in strategies of urban re-develop-ment. In fact, MEs could be seen as spatio-temporal instances of the *urban form* of global neo-liberal capitalism (EICK, 2011), fostering privatisation of space, ubiquitous branding, aggressive copyright protections, extraordinary security measures, spe-cial legal provisions and relentless championing of

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[3] E.g. sujeito/objeto, humano/não humano, privado/público, individual/sociedade, global/local, panóptico/resistência, ordem/desordem, abstrato/concreto, discurso/materialidade, e muitos outros.

de-politicised values of multiculturalism and differ-ence. In this sense, MEs are not *exceptional* moments, but rather more or less traumatic *explicitations* of already-existent, though normally less evident, ten-dencies of our times. Thus it is not surprising that they are becoming a key strategy for urban and na-tional re-imagining, re-generation, re-development, especially in the case of so-called emerging countries. As 2010 World Cup Local Organising Committee's CEO Danny Jordaan put it: "2010 has become the benchmark against which everything in South Africa is measured" (CZEGLÉDY, 2009, p. 233).

Such significance is also testified by the ever-growing body of works concerned with the urban impact of MEs. Among them is of particular interest a strand of research analysing MEs vis-à-vis urban se-curitisation through the critical lenses of social con-trol, security and surveillance studies. So far these works have been particularly relevant in criticising the too-often a-critical acceptance of over-securiti-sation during mega-events, emphasising its disrup-tive effects of general rights to privacy, expression, protest, movement, usually tied to the extraordinary measures and legislations set up in the period of the event, and often left in place as unsettling legacy once the event is over.[4] Nonetheless, I believe that their potential has been often limited by a tendency to apply standardised theoretical frameworks to dif-ferent contexts, complemented by a general scarcity of empirical investigations into the actual spatial unfolding of ME securitisation. In particular, three main limits can be mentioned.

First, notwithstanding their relevance in docu-menting ME-related abuses, many works do not of-fer much in terms of theoretical sophistication, other than simply taking certain ideological frameworks (e.g. the 'entrepreneurial city', the 'securitised city' etc.) for granted, and translating them to the context of mega-events. Second, at a more empirical level, what is often lacking is a "more detailed insight into the ways in which people experience and cope with the splintering urban spheres of security on an every-day level" (KLAUSER, 2010, p. 338), so as to compare

it with the ME's interval, as well as a greater atten-tion to the actual impact of ME securitisation *during* the event itself, besides analyses of pre-event secu-rity strategies, planning and abuses (displacements, evictions etc.), or post-event legacies of legal, social and technological over-securitisation. Third, and as a consequence of their often mainly descriptive and theoretically under-developed nature,[5] the tenden-cy has often been merely to transfer patterns of ME-securitisation from one context to another, an even more problematic practice when this occurs along the 'North-South' axis.

Methodologically, this has led to the prioritisation of classical humanist sociological practice, as we saw mainly concerned with the before-and-after phases of the ME, over less conventional post-humanist meth-odologies, also minimising the employment of eth-nographic practice and its crucial role in addressing the event's actual, contingent unfolding.[6]

This paper seeks to address these gaps both theo-retically and empirically, especially emphasising the significance the case of Johannesburg plays in chal-lenging the usual perspectives through which MEs are looked at.

To do so, the first section sketches the theoreti-cal approach conceptualizing the notion of *urban* and, as a key conceptual tool to address its immanent or-dering, introduces the notion of *atmo-rhythm.* Within this context, also some problematic ways to approach Johannesburg and the urban South in general are dealt with. After a brief *intermezzo* on methodology, the second section explores the city of Johannesburg and the spatiality of its immanent orderings, focus-ing on the way certain urban 'rhythms' and 'atmo-spheres' of security overlap by ordering the city ac-cording to what is defined as the *Joburg Tune.* The final section addresses the *spacing* of the World Cup, as a performative concatenation of people, objects, signs, rules, sounds, media representations and so on, by principally looking at the production of at-mospherically-enclosed Fan Zones, the techniques of policing and the practice of *caring* through volun-teers. It is here, as well as in the conclusion, that the

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[4] See for instance SAMATAS, 2007; EICK, 2011; KLAUSER, 2008; RICHARDS; FUSSEY; SILKE, 2010; BENNETT; HAGGERTY, 2011; BOYLE; HAGGERTY, 2009; ATKINSON; YOUNG, 2002; HAGEMANN, 2010; GIULIANOTTI; KLAUSER, 2009, etc.

[5] There are of course many relevant exceptions, for instance: BOYLE; HAGGERTY, 2009; KLAUSER, 2008; BAJC, 2007, etc.

[6] Among the few ethnographic works addressing this dimension are FREW; McGILLIVRAY, 2008; SCHREIBER; ADANG, 2010; MILLWARD, 2009, focusing on the way events are enacted through promotional and securitarian means, how this impact on fans perceptions and actions, and the way institutions deal with them.

encounter between the city's and ME's spatial order-ings is discussed and made explicit.

The urban

Let us address the urban space as an ontology of moving bodies, human and nonhuman, tangible and intangible: a word uttered on the phone, a code of law, a way of walking, an airstrike, a religious dog-ma, a book, a season, an idea of nation, an impetus of fear, the appearance of police forces on the street, a chant of hooligans from blocks away, graffiti on the wall, CCTVs hovering above, the popular feeling about CCTVs, the expectation of a riot, a job promo-tion, an assault. The urban is a *multiplicity,* an im-manent being-together of *bodies*,[7] a materiality of objects, people, ideas, sounds, noises, expectations, affects: a dynamic and turbulent spatiality which can neither be grasped by cumbersome post-Marx-ist approaches – with their rigidity, excessive pri-oritisation of economic and financial processes and somewhat deterministic nuances – nor by postmod-ern exaltation of flows, disorder and transversality. Urban orderings are neither determined by rigid (su-pra)structures, nor denied by incontrollable flows, but rather emerge out of the common *spacing* of being-together, in all its turbulent, unpredictable, conflictual and nonetheless *ordered* character.

Whilst it is crucial to acknowledge that in the city "no singular logic or unity may be assumed" (AMIN; THRIFT, 2007, p. 150), that should not lead to a "simple displacement of the local by the global, of place by space, of history by simultaneity and flow, of small by big scale", but rather to "a subtle folding together" of such oppositions (AMIN, 2007, p. 103). Order and disorder coexist and overlap in the urban space. The challenge then is to find a way to account consistently for how the urban is *tuned,* i.e. how or-der emerges immanently in the city, without resort-ing to conceptual binary-traps.

This is a key question alimenting the contempo-rary geographical trend of post-human, post-phe-nomenological and ecological approaches, whose urban application was perhaps most convincingly indicated in a groundbreaking work by Amin and Thrift (2002), where a novel way to look at the mo-bilities, flows and relationalities of the city was intro-duced, through a *constructivism* according to which the urban is to be understood as constituted by het-erogeneous concatenations of people, narratives, symbols, spectacles, discourses, mediations, build-ings, objects, fences, laws. As a consequence, urban research becomes a matter of observing the way such concatenations emerge as the 'getting together' of bodies in the contingency of the here-and-now, at the same time keeping in mind that such a contingency is never given nor stable, but continuously exceeded, i.e. dislocated by the multiple potentialities – e.g. the po-tential for a new encounter, an aggression, a phone-call, a deluge and many other more or less expected events – which, even when not unfolding into *actual* occurrences, nonetheless constantly *haunt* and de-stabilise the life in the city.[8]

What is needed then, as Brighenti (2010, p. 37, 70) puts it, is an *ecological phenomenology*, that is, at the same time a "phenomenological sensibility to the here-and-now" and an "ecological sensibility to the prolongation of the here-and-now" towards other space-times. In this way, beyond structuralist strictures and postmodern chaos, a more sophisti-cated understanding of urban processes emerges, one able "to gain and retain a sense of the multiplic-ity, the structuredness and the productiveness of urban life" (LATHAM; McCORMACK, 2004, p. 718), in its performative, affective, relational and over-flowing geographies.

From this theoretical perspective, I suggest that focusing on urban rhythms and atmospheres may prove relevant to account for the production of nor-mative ordering(s) in the vibrating, *common* being-together of urban coexistence.

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[7] 'Body' here is understood in wide, Deleuzian terms: "a body can be anything: it can be an animal, a body of sounds, a mind or idea; it can be a linguistic corpus, a social body, a collectivity" (DELEUZE, 1988, p. 127).

[8] See in this sense Deleuze's (2007) notions of *virtual* and *actual* whose duality overcomes the classical opposition between *pos-sible* and *real*, pointing to a space which "is always real, but not always actual" (DEWSBURY; THRIFT, 2005, p. 89), since it is con-stantly traversed by a virtual field of not-yet actualised potentialities always *haunting*, and thus dislocating, the actuality of the here-and-now.

Atmospheres are affective concatenations of bodies, i.e. "the coming together of people, buildings, technologies and various forms of non-human life in particular geographical settings" (CONRADSON; LATHAM, 2007, p. 238). They are not meta-discursive frames, nor external effects pre-consciously affecting bodies, nor 'illusionary veils' concealing 'power relations': they are the original product of co-existence, i.e. the common *spacing* of our being-together (SLOTERDIJK, 2006). It is through atmospheres, rather than as atomised individuals or as contained (and dissolved) in a homogeneous society, that we literally build-together, relationally, our *communities* and – especially relevant in our security-conscious times – our *co-immunities* (SLOTERDIJK, 2009; ESPOSITO, 2002).

Rhythms are the *wavelengths* according to which the moving, concatenating and overflowing urban circulation of atmospheres is *tuned.* As Amin e Thrift (2002, p. 17) wrote, rhythms are "coordinates through which inhabitants and visitors frame and order the urban experience". More than that, they "integrally consist of a relationship between different places, subjects and events [...] rhythms define *ecologies of coexistence* of heterogeneous elements" (BRIGHENTI, 2010, p. 81, *my emphasis*). The poli-atmospheric mobility of urban space is *tuned* onto rhythmical frequencies: they are the 'music of the city' (LEFEBVRE, 1996, p. 227), but a turbulent one, "a mix of order and disorder – tensed between a gathering (and thus forming a unity) and a distribution (and thus forming a multiplicity)" (ANDERSON; WYLIE, 2009, p. 321).

In other words, urban space is a poly-atmospheric and moving being-together of 'bodies', both enclosed *and* boundless, at the same time turbulent as well as *tuned* to certain wavelengths, as the rhythmical punctuation of bodies and events, or the atmospheric *coming-together* of mutually-affecting bodies. *Atmo-rhythms* are the city's resonant wavelengths, non-representable and yet *felt,* as in the vaporous being-in-an-atmosphere or the syncopated being-in-the-rhythm: being-atmo-rhythmically, as the impersonal *being-tuned* which urban life is.

Latham and McCormack (2004, p. 718-719) underline the "pressing need to increase the sophistication of the conceptual and empirical tools employed to think through the materiality of the urban" at the same time "provid[ing] a way to holding on to expressive excessiveness of the urban". The notion of atmo-rhythm is meant to provide an answer to such a demand, and that should become clear in the following pages, as the theoretical conceptualisations are tested through empirical contextualisation.

Johannesburg

The necessity to overcome urban studies' 'fixation with the binary' (PIETERSE, 2006, p. 300) is even more pressing when dealing with a city like Johannesburg, which by definition escapes stereotypical academic modes of thinking, usually framed according to the Western urban form.

Let us for instance see how Michael Watts (2005, p. 190), criticising a piece by Nuttall and Mbembe (2004), describes the metropolis:

> a particular sort of hybrid of urban involution [...] weak citizenship, and limited governmentality [to] the extent to which a Foucauldian reading of Johannesburg – a rendering of the city and its subjects visible and regulated – is inadequate even within the circumference of Africa's most modern metropolis.

What here is taken for granted is an equivalence between the notions of order and regulation and those of institutionalisation and formality, with the corollary of finding only disorder, precariousness and unpredictability where a strong institutional presence – in the form of law, policing, social state and so on – appears to be lacking.[9]

Contrary to that, I above-discussed how visibilities, regulations and orderings could be said to emerge out of the urban fabric, as result of heterogeneous concatenations of different bodies which come to be organised in dispositifs in which the direct role, or even presence, of institutions is not to be taken for granted.

Thus Matshikiza's (2008, p. 222) claim, that "no one has really been able to wrestle Johannesburg

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9 Hence the neat counter-critique of Mbembe and Nuttal (2005, p. 195-196), according to whom Watts "takes the metropolitan form as something that can be organised in advance and whose complexities can be settled or decided by the application of more or less mechanical ideological beliefs onto a reality that is fundamentally elusive".

into any kind of civilised order", should be only accepted if we link the formula 'civilised order' to its Western origin: that Johannesburg has never achieved – and probably never will – such an order is true: that, however, does not imply that Johannesburg is just a 'disorderly city' (MURRAY, 2008). In the city order and disorder intersect in specific atmo-rhythms, which cannot be evaluated according to an urban evolutionary chart going from sheers chaos to 'civilised' order.

When Alan Smart (2001, p. 31) suggests that "we need to pay more attention to areas in which control seems to be conspicuously absent, where neglect is more apparent than surveillance'", Watts (2005, p. 185) adds "neglect, but also incapacity, incompetence, and inability". This is not the point. Smart's observation should be instead assumed as a call for developing "ways of seeing and engaging urban spaces that are characterized simultaneously by regularity and provisionality" (SIMONE, 2004, p. 408). Take for instance Simone's analysis of Johannesburg inner city, where regularities appear to emerge out of multiple negotiations with the environment, from a capacity to interpret and improvise, rather than strict compliance to institutional rules (SIMONE, 2004, p. 358). Surely open and flexible, these are orderings nonetheless, rhythmically organising the urban experience. Let us quote him fully:

> it is important to emphasize that these flexible configurations are pursued not in some essential contrast to non-African urban priorities or values but as specific routes to a kind of stability and regularity that non-African cities have historically attempted to realize [...] a conjunction of heterogeneous activities [...] capable of generating social compositions across a range of singular capacities and needs (both enacted and virtual) and which attempts to derive maximal outcomes from a minimal set of elements (SIMONE, 2004, p. 410-411).

This approach is all the more important as regards issues of social control and security. In fact, in (usually negative) accounts of urban securitisation, the opposition between panoptical surveillance and institutional control and, on the other hand, disordered everyday life, is often taken for granted. The corollary is a narrative of over-securitisation according to which the increase of institutional control unavoidably leads to freedom-reduction, as if freedom only resided in disorder, or informality necessarily lacked of order, or indeed security and freedom could only be mutually excluding.

This narrative misses the fact that formal and informal practices intersect and re-configure the way the city is experienced in different, often unexpected ways. Security and liberty, freedom and self-regulation, order and disorder are in constant interplay, enacted and re-enacted in contingent assemblages which static dichotomies cannot account for.

As mentioned above, topical is the case of mega-events, where the increase in social control and spatial securitisation is always framed as necessarily oppressive for the citizens. To be sure, this could often be the case. However, and especially *vis-à-vis* urban South, a blind transposition of worn-out equivalences – as the usual pre-supposition that any technological, legal and sociological 'security legacies' of a ME are necessarily negative – should be avoided. What if, for instance, 'enduring legacies' of ME-securitisation would not produce an oppressive rise of self-regulatory behaviour, but rather allow for its relaxation?

Cities are not flat surfaces on which abstract forms can be a-critically drawn. Every large-scale urban *re-tuning,* as is the case of MEs, unavoidably interacts, overlaps and conflicts with the city's pre-existent atmo-rhythms. Therefore, rather than merely translating the pattern of ME-securitisation from, say, Germany 2006 to South Africa 2010, what is needed is an investigation of the interactions and conflicts between the atmo-rhythms of Johannesburg and their *re-tuning* in the context of the 2010 World Cup.

This will require, first, to address the way the city is already *tuned* in atmo-rhythmical concatenations of visibilities, discourses and practices of safety and security; second, to explore how its ME-related *re-tuning* occurs.

Method

> Our duty as geographers is simply to make space for the deforming force of alterity, and to open up a space to the differential currents of dissimilation, disjointure, and dissemination (DOEL, 1999, p. 198).

The unavoidable partiality of any act of research advises against claims of exhaustiveness or gener-

alisability. Such a desire for certainty conceals the fact that the complexity of events always exceeds, ontologically, our capacity to know them, sanctioning the impossibility of any attempt to encapsulate reality into a definite set of certainty (LAW, 2004, p. 9). Urban research should thus be premised on a situated and responsible acknowledgement of one's being always-already co-immersed in the urban spatiality.

In its form, this paper sought to produce a "writing and theorising that tries to stick with something becoming atmospheric [...] approaching the thing that is happening by attuning to it" (STEWART, 2011, p. 444-450). Particularly fitting to such a purpose, due to its undeniable 'immersive' qualities, the methodology was based on a 'participant observation' performed in relevant location across Johannesburg. Just as writing and theorising about it, also 'observing' the urban *tuning* requires a specific attitude: 'participant observation' neither means "glancing intently at", like Lefebvre from his Cartesian window,[10] nor "just glancing around", like a Baudelairean flaneur (CASEY, 2007, p. 91). Instead, it requires the researcher to become a 'research tool', a sort of 'radio receiver' constantly *attuning* to – and thus accounting for – the frequencies of the urban and the way s/he is *tuned* by them (LAW, 2004, p. 117). Observation and self-observation must therefore constantly overlap.

As a means of recording and reflecting on the observation I employed memory, notebooks, pictures and videos. To complement these outputs, I carried out about 50 'vox pop' interviews with randomly selected people (from fans to security guards). With respect to in-depth interviews, this technique was deemed more appropriate, as Frew and McGillivray (2008, p. 188) suggest, in order to capture the fleeting 'festival atmosphere' of the city and the way it overlaps with the practices and perceptions of security. Furthermore, I analysed various documents (online and offline safety tips, fan guides, media reports, various promotional, informative and legal FIFA material, etc.) – selected through a "convenience sampling approach" (ATKINSON; YOUNG, 2002, p. 58), i.e. according to their relevance to the research – forming

the assemblage of official and unofficial, public and private texts through which the discourse of safety and security is produced in the city. The purpose was not simply to understand how people "think and experience", but rather to explore "'how meaning is produced and sustained in-the-moment" (DUFFY et al., 2011, p. 19), out of the getting-together of different bodies in atmo-rhythmical streams, by means of attuning to "the latent potentiality in a situation" (THRIFT, 2011, p. 19). For this reason, rather than subjecting those texts to exhaustive content analysis, they were joined in the 'method assemblage' constituted by the various research outputs – observations, notes, pictures, interpretations, documents, interviews – which, constantly re-shuffled in a feedback-loop between personal account, self-introspection and analytical interpretation, allowed enough flexibility and complexity to account for the immanent *tuning* of the city.[11]

The Joburg Tune

> *Back in my country everybody was telling me I was crazy to come here, I would have been killed.*[12]

China Miéville's novel *The city and the city* is set in two overlapping cities, *Beszel* and *Ul Qoma.* Although there are 'total' areas, belonging 'only' to *Beszel* or *Ul Qoma*, for the most part the cities are 'crosshatched', sharing the same overlapping buildings, streets, parks. *Seeing* the other city however, is illegal: the citizens have learned to *unsee* the other city's human and non-human bodies, and violations are promptly addressed by a mysterious entity called *Breach*. Visitors, as we may imagine, have a hard time. Visa procedures are long and tough, and include a mandatory training as well as an exam with theoretical and practical role-play parts. This assures that visitors "would know, at least in outline, key signifiers of architecture, clothing, alphabet and manner, outlaw colours and gestures, obligatory details [...] distinguishing *Beszel* and *Ul Qoma*, and their citizens" (MIEVILLE, 2009,

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[10] Lefebvre (1996, p. 224) famously indicated the window as privileged spot from which to grasp the rhythms of the city.

[11] Method Assemblage, according to Law (2004, p. 84), is "the crafting or bundling of relations [...] into three parts: (a) whatever is in-here or *present*; (b) whatever is absent but also *manifest in its absence*; and (c) whatever is *Other* because, while it is necessary to presence, it is not or cannot be made manifest".

[12] Visitor from Singapore interviewed by the researcher, in 17 June 2010.

p. 76). Although they would be unable, after such a short course, to "have metabolized the deep predis-coursive instinct for our borders that Besz and Ul Qomans have, to have picked up the real rudiments of unseeing" (MIEVILLE, 2009, p. 93), they would be supposed to act as they had, expected to comply to strict decorum, pretending not to see, though unable to actually unsee, the other, crosshatched city.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

Going to Johannesburg is to become attuned to an atmosphere of alertness where one dwells already before touching the South African ground. Discourses of panic and danger, media-ted and anecdotal reports of violence, statistical evidences: all these elements form an assemblage of crime-ridden South Africa which does not work only at the representative level, but 'carries an affective charge', *alerting* bodies, pro-ducing a "distributed space of expectancy existing as a diffuse field of potential" (McCORMACK, 2008, p. 423). The country's most notorious town already awaits visitors as a 'menacing monster',[13] its atmo-sphere of potential danger constantly haunting one's being-in-Joburg. At the same time, just like a visitor of Beszel, *attuning* to the syncopated rhythm of the city means to undergo a 'training' through the tide of overlapping narratives, practices, advices, official and unofficial 'safety tips', rules of seeing and unsee-ing, which striate the urban multiplicity.

What I call the *Joburg Tune* (JT) is an atmo-rhythm of attention, interpretation, anxiety and syncopation, a wavelength shaping (though not determining) the way the city is experienced.

The *Joburg Tune* emerges as a getting together of human and nonhuman, tangible and intangible bod-ies, both in the situated here-and-now, as well as in its multiple spatio-temporal prolongations. It is made out of extensions – e.g. the distances between bod-ies, their density, the levels of light and darkness, etc. – and intensities – i.e. affects and affections, for in-stance fear, safety, suspicion, mistrust – *held together*

in a peculiar rhythm. Certain ways of saying, seeing, walking the city intersect, overlap and crystallise, constituting the atmo-geography of Johannesburg. In this way our being-in-the-city becomes attuned to the city's *common spacing,* unstably *immunised* by its *tune.* Let us describe how this occurs through three entry-points.

You have to rhythmise yourself

In the urban spatiality sensibilities and materi-alities overlap in a continual, resonating movement, out of which a *tune* emerges, and through which cer-tain 'subjectivities' crystallise (ANDERSON; WYLIE, 2009, p. 325-327): how is one supposed to *act*, to be *actor* in the city? The key condition is *confidence,* as obsessively reminded by everyone and most elo-quently stated by a policeman: "never look disori-entated, always look *confident* [...] you don't have to seem that you don't know where to go [...] you have to *rhythmise yourself*".[14] 'Try not to look like a tourist', of course. There is more than a Goffmanesque inter-action-order at work here: neither simply subjects consciously choosing to inter-act in a certain way, nor only a set of rules we rationally decide to follow, but rather a sort of 'menace mood', that is, an atmosphere of menace whereby our being-in-Joburg is constant-ly, affectively reformulated into an effervescent alert-ness which 'holds' bodies in tension, and from which we cannot simply opt out but instead, like a diver in the water, we have to inhabit by attuning to it, by showing *confidence*, whilst being *suspicious*.[15]

Develop an awareness of what people in the street around you are doing

Not only a matter of self-attunement, the JT thus most importantly shapes the way in which the city is *interpreted* and *sensed,* not as a mere meta-discursive frame filtering out a subject's perception, but as an

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[13] As in Mpe's (2002, p. 3) novel, where well before arriving the protagonist, for the stories he heard, "already knew that Hillbrow [a notorious neighbourhood] was a menacing monster".

[14] Policeman, interviewed by the researcher, in 14 June 2010.

[15] Brighenti (2006, p. 54) employs this term when reflecting on the indeterminate character of negative sanctions, whose "*indeter-minacy* actually serves the effectiveness of the menace. What really counts in menace, therefore, is not the specific link between behaviour and sanction, but primarily the redefinition of the situation of the menaced, what we might call the '*menace mood*'". See also Anderson (2006, p. 746) for a similar interpretation of the notion of hope.

atmosphere where the *sensing* and the *sensed* blur, since the *agency* is not within individuals – either consciously or pre-consciously – but in the atmospheric *concatenation* itself: "not only an imagined space [but] also a space of affective materiality actualised through the ongoing movement of bodies" (McCORMACK, 2008, p. 426). This is what is enacted by the constellation of formal and informal advises, warnings, clues, tips. Since from the start – "be particularly aware at airports and transport hubs: you'll be most vulnerable when you first arrive" (FOOTBALL SUPORTERS' FEDERATION, 2010, p. 22) – a 'constant state of preparedness' is produced (SIMONE, 2004, p. 424). The advice to develop "an awareness of what people in the street around you are doing" (McCREA; PINCHUCK; REID; SALTER, 2002, p. 82) is complemented by discouraging the interaction with, and trust for, others: "be aware of your surrounding" pairs with "don't let strangers get too close to you – especially people in groups" (FIFA, 2010, p. 44). The advice is "don't walk alone" and at the same time "beware of anyone asking you for help" (COJ, 2010b): "It may sound harsh, but ignore anyone stopping you in the street and asking you to, say, sponsor them for a scholarship or other such good cause, and never give cash to anyone begging" (FSF, 2010, p. 23).

Attuning to this *suspicious mood* means to occupy the subject-position of the attentive interpreter, scanning the space for menace and trickery.[16] A position incidentally shared along socio-economical lines: the constant awareness of the visitors scanning the environment for trouble is somewhat mirrored by the immigrants' "need for maintaining hyperawareness of their surroundings […] constantly on the lookout for police officers" (SIMONE, 2004, p. 416). The key condition here is *alertness.* In post-9/11 if-you-see-you-report Western societies we have become accustomed to slightly dystopian depiction of a sociality characterised by what Lianos and Douglas (2000, p. 267) termed *dangerisation* – i.e. the tendency "to perceive and analyse the world through categories of menace". If in many metropolises of the North, notwithstanding academic paranoia, such atmosphere often results diluted, it is undeniably thicker in the context Johannesburg, where it weights more explicitly over bodies as a set of potential – always on the brink of being actualised – dangers.

Wherever you go, don't go to Bree[17]

The third feature of the JT is the peculiar rhythm it imposes on the movement of bodies. The logic is: 'plan your route in advance'. No country for *flaneurs.* Walking in the city is supposed to be a highly structured, pre-arranged experience, a point-to-point endeavour to be performed quickly and self-confidently, zigzagging through its many no-go and better-not-to-go areas: pre-planning, no asking, no phoning, no map-checking.[18] Walking itself is deemed a sort of enterprise – "Get advice from your hotel prior to *embarking* on foot"[19] –, to be avoided if possible.[20] Moreover, public transport, particularly the notorious old Toyota 13-seater *taxies*, is usually advised against, especially at night. The key condition here is *(co)immunisation.* Moving in the city has a pre-planned, motorised and privatised rhythm centred on cars, whose movement is as much tuned into a state of alertness: drive smoothly through the city, "Fasten your seatbelt, lock your door and only leave your window open about 5 cm [...] Be aware of you surrounding when you stop at a robot or stop street".[21] As Hentschel (2010, p. 181) puts it: "everyone becomes a route planner in the dense traffic of crime and disorder".

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[16] "Watch out for staged mishaps – like someone bumping into you or spilling a drink – this could be a ploy to divert your attention and steal your bag and passport" (REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, 2010).

[17] Young Afrikaner living in a gated community, interviewed by the researcher – Bree Street is one of the longest and busiest street in Johannesburg's CBD (City Business District), certainly not a war-zone as my interlocutor seemed to imply. The mapping of dangerous areas around the city obviously changes depending on who is doing the mapping.

[18] "Plan your route beforehand [...] Do not stop to ask for directions or check your map on the street" (GAUTENG TOURISM AUTHORITY, 2011); "Do not walk around talking on your mobile phone in the street" (REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, 2010).

[19] KWAZULU-NATAL, 2010. My emphasis.

[20] "Most social activity [...] tend to be done at malls around town, reached by car or taxi [...] most city centres – or Central Business Districts – are deserted after business hours, aren't really worth seeing, and can be dangerous" (FSF, 2010, p. 22).

[21] KWAZULU-NATAL, 2010 – 'Robot' is South African slang for traffic-light.

What is often described as a post-Apartheid patchwork of malls and townships, gated communities and Business Districts, insufficient transport systems and huge highways, is also a poli-atmospheric kaleidoscope of danger and safety, where atmo-rhythms of intersecting sensibilities and materialities are shaped by a change of light, a smart dress, a cop uniform, the increasing or decreasing density of people. The *Joburg Tune* is characterised by a syncopated rhythm of point-to-point movement, of speeds and slownesses, moving fast, minimising the stops, then to relax in atmospherically-enclosed interiors, a rhythm of cars and malls and cautious, attentive walking. A double rhythm, that is, like the two rhythms Prior (2011, p. 209) distinguishes in London, i.e. the 'turbulent rhythm of the metropolis' and the 'quiet rhythm of civic humanism [...] and professional control' of the National Gallery. This syncopation continuously traverses, constituting – and constituted by – the atmospheres of alertness and scanning, suspicion and mistrust overlapping in Johannesburg. As in Caldeira's Sao Paulo, where crime and violence are everyday dealt with through "narratives and practices [which] impose partitions, build up walls, delineate and enclose spaces, establish distances, segregate, differentiate, impose prohibitions, multiply rules of avoidance and exclusion, and restrict movement. In short, they simplify and enclose the world" (CALDEIRA , 2001, p. 20); the JT is the ordering of a 'disorderly city', not merely resulting from top-down institutional action but rather emerging out of the getting-together of different narratives, bodies and spaces.

As was noted above, in our postholistic world, "immunity and integrity are not to be gained from the submission to a larger whole, but must be achieved as the outcome of a personal effort of seclusion" (KLAUSER, 2010, p. 12). This effort never occurs in a vacuum, but always in a relationality of (human/nonhuman, tangible/intangible) bodies: its outcome is always an immunological assemblage, a *co*-immunity. This is even more evident in the destabilised post-apartheid space, where the *Joburg Tune* works as a *co-immunising* concatenation of humans, performances, spaces, objects, which allows for traversing the dangerous space of the city through a routinised, bubbled-up experience. In other words, the JT has an essential immunological significance, i.e. it is a modality of inhabiting-the-city by 'generating redundancy' (SLOTERDIJK, 2006, p. 461), and thus producing an atmo-rhythmical *space of exception* within the city, whereby bodies are *included,* i.e. concatenated in a certain way, and *excluded,* i.e. prevented from correlating otherwise.[22] This is an atmo-rhythm whose "different timings and spacings *produc[e] the ordinary*" (AMIN; THRIFT, 2002, p. 103), differentiating it from – as well as constituting – the un-usual, the extra-ordinary, the dangerous.

The JT can certainly be oppressive, not only as result of the anxiety it generates, but also because of the layer of responsibility it secretes: non-compliance to the code, being out-of-sync, is perceived as an unacceptable irresponsibility to the point of 'deserving' the crime. Hence: 'do not become a crime victim'.[23] Walking in some areas of the notorious CBD (City Business District) means having to constantly negotiate between the contingency of here-and-now, with all its encounters, details, occurrences, and the ever-present potentiality of danger. Transgressing the *tune* equates to performing a 'breach', which often triggers a sort of *response* from the city itself. As in complex system theory, according to which the systems "can be said to 'sense' the differences in their environment that trigger self-organising processes" (BONTA; PROTEVI, 2004, p. 35), also the city could be said to *respond* to transgressions, both actualising danger (anecdotal and statistical evidences of violence are everywhere), as well as preventing it from occurring, through a sort of *caring response* whereby the out-of-sync individual is 're-immunised'.[24]

It is now time to describe and discuss the way the moving and affective, i.e. atmo-rhythmical *spacing* of the World Cup 'acted upon' the JT.

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[22] On the inclusive/exclusive character of the state of exception, see AGAMBEN, 1998, p. 18.

[23] This sign often seen in the London Underground perfectly summarises the concept.

[24] I experienced this *caring response* (different from the '*armed response*' signs, threateningly hanging outside the walls in the houses of residential neighbourhoods) in the form of unprompted help by random passers-by, taxi drivers, volunteers, all willing to help by informing, advising and even escorting me whether my actions appeared as out-of-tune, or my presence in a certain area out-of-place, and thus potentially in danger.

Bubbling you up: the World Cup tune

When on Friday in Mary Fitzgerald Square the speaker called the 'Vuvuzela moment' and everybody started to blow the horn [...] *it was beautiful*.[25]

Issues of safety and security have a key role in shaping the psycho-geography of South Africa. As already noted, they are assuming increasing relevance also in the study of MEs' urban impact, especially in the post-9/11 World. Usually, however, ME-securitisation appears as a contingent matter: terrorism in London 2012, hooliganism in Germany '06, political protest in Beijing '08 – i.e. event-specific threats triggering event-specific responses. In the case of South Africa, the source of trouble is instead an ordinary issue: crime. More than spectacular anti-terrorism measures, implementing security at the 2010 World Cup first of all means dealing with an everyday problem in an extraordinary spatio-temporal context: securing the World Cup is not simply a matter of possible disruptions to the event – it is indeed its main narrative. Vida Bajc (2007, p. 1671) notes that the "bringing about of public security through a meta-ritual legitimates surveillance practices of the state security apparatus and normalizes the social order it creates", generating a sort of pedagogy of security and thus a de-sensitisation to over-control (BOYLE; HAGGERTY, 2009, p. 264). If this argument is usually employed critically in the North, it needs to be reworked in the context of South Africa, where the effort to assure and communicate security neither sit uncomfortably with the 'festive atmosphere' of the event, nor risk to over-militarise it (HORN; BREETZKE, 2009, p. 21), but is actually meant to be a constitutive part of the World Cup atmosphere: not merely a safe atmosphere, but an atmosphere of safety. Hence the 'legacy of safety' in South Africa is not feared as a potentially Orwellian outcome, but actually auspicated as a chance to breach the everyday experience of violence in the city (i.e. to relax from the oppressive JT), as well as the crime-ridden international image of the country, towards a 'new-found sense of safety'.[26] If a World Cup could fit this ambitious purpose, is another matter.

Anderson and Holden (2008, p. 155) note that a ME, since its bid-winning *advent,* discloses "a topologically complex space-time of the non-yet", a *fateful moment* which engenders a discontinuity between different space-times, as the here-and-now is pitted against potentially alternative imaginaries within an uncertain space of 'maximum turbulence' full of promises and risks (JANSSON, 2005, p. 1677). In this context, urban orderings are destabilised and *open* to a potential reformulation by "an act of establishing new relations that disclose a point of contingency within a present space-time" (ANDERSON, 2006, p. 746). The radical potential of MEs lies in this possibility to produce new cartographies, new ways of being-in-common which would challenge the status quo. However, the socio-economical success of the ME itself lies in controlling the uncontrollable, i.e. in normalising the *turbulence* of the event, capturing the immanent *desires* it unleashes within a temporal continuity and spatial coherence which would allow control, predictability and capitalisation. It is in the delicate balance between international visibility and internal matters, social and economical concerns, national and FIFA interests, that this atmo-rhythmical re-calibration occurs.

The way a World Cup is tuned responds to this purpose. I indicate three main strategies – volunteers' *caring,* police *visibility* and FIFA *zoning* – through which the unstable relations and intensities agitated by the *advent* of the World Cup have been sought to be re-calibrated during the event itself.

Caring for you

In this time, we need good South Africans. Let them just for four weeks be good. Just for four weeks [...] *Let us forget our own problems for a moment and make other people at home in our country*.[27]

If welcoming the visitors was intended as a patriotic mission for every South African, for the thousands

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[25] Thandeka, young woman from Hillbrow, interviewed by the researcher.

[26] As Craig Urquhart (2008) put it, "perhaps crime-weary South Africans can look forward to a new-found sense of safety. It's one of the most important legacies the World Cup is likely to leave with us".

[27] "President Jacob Zuma has urged South Africans to 'be good' during the 2010 Fifa Soccer World Cup" (ZUMA..., 2010).

World Cup volunteers it was an official duty, corresponding to a clear ME-strategy to 'mobilise' people, generating public acceptance and friendly atmosphere (HAGEMANN, 2010, p. 728). The various 'city ambassadors', 'information officers', 'goodwill tourist ambassadors', 'match-day marshals' and so on had the role "to give advice to spectators, point them in the right direction, hand out information pamphlets, such as 'Safety Tips to Prevent Crime' and generally to be a friendly welcoming presence on the streets of host cities and at airports and other points-of-arrival" (MINNAAR; JAARSVELD, 2010, p. 32). Besides giving information, they complemented police's role in producing symbolical security, by providing actual security – i.e. orienting people, sedating tensions etc. (SHEARING; STENNING, 1984). How did their role intersect with the JT?

One aspect striking World Cup visitors was the volunteers' readiness to re-act when some-body looked 'out-of-sync'. Besides observing such occurrences, I also experimented myself, purposively seeking, *à la* Garfinkel (1967), to 'breach' the *tune.* Whether I would be standing isolated from the crowd, perplexed, disorientated and unsure, it would be matter of minutes to be approached by a volunteer's kind 'you seem lost, where do you need to go?' When instead I would insist in seeking off-key activities, such as walking out of Fan Parks alone at night, I would be either discouraged or even escorted to my destination.[28] These are of course normal, if slightly over-zealous practices of event volunteering. What is interesting, however, is the way they match contradictorily the *Joburg Tune.* On the one hand, volunteers were challenging its atmosphere of suspicion ('do not trust anyone', '*ignore anyone'*), by showing a friendly and trustworthy readiness to help. On the other, however, by constantly stressing their 'official trustworthiness', sanctioned by their uniform, *vis-à-vis* un-official people, whose help instead was to be mistrusted, they were reminding of their own exceptionality vis-à-vis 'normal' people, and thus the exceptionality of the World Cup atmosphere vis-à-vis the everyday reality of the JT.[29] Likewise, whilst volunteers' *caring* decreased individuals' responsibility vis-à-vis security – and thus

the compliance with the paranoid gaze of the JT –, this effect was counterbalanced by their constant reference to the dangers of the city – supposedly to be avoided through their help.

Therefore, the presence of the volunteers, besides "providing the human face for what otherwise might seem as overly policed city" (ROBERTS, 2010, p. 1493), in the end reasserted the atmo-rhythm of the city, functioning as a visible, uniform-ed and institutionalised *caring response* of the city vis-à-vis the out-of-sync individual.

Police visibility

> The police system is not simply an unseen seeing eye; it also exercises an exemplary visibility through its own visibility [using] uniforms to create and stabilise a certain definition of contextual situations (BRIGHENTI, 2010, p. 154).

In Johannesburg, policing was ubiquitous in all its different forms, local, metropolitan, national, custom police, the army. If the World Cup was meant to produce an image of safety and routine normality through non-routinary means, the 'over-policing' was a key factor which indeed got the full praise of the majority of the people I talked with. Contrary to an all-too-easy tendency to draw the quick equivalence between increased police presence, over-militarisation and negative public perception, in this context policing was not simply about forbidding and restricting, but also played an important role in *allowing* for certain behaviours and *producing* spaces in which urban 'brushing of shoulders' between strangers could occur. Note: this is not to downplay the repressive role occasionally played by police – although often merely in compliance with draconian FIFA by-laws. These crucial aspects however are not addressed in this paper, rather concerned with the role of police as 'spatio-visual' accessory producing safe and secure spaces through its own visibility (HENTSCHEL, 2010, p. 148), *de facto enabling* the World Cup experience as a newly-found ability to go *out of tune.*

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[28] See *supra note* 23.

[29] For instance in Cape Town, where volunteers' uniform was not sparkling yellow and immediately evident as in Johannesburg, their *reassuring* role was less evident, and they were often mistrusted and avoided by visitors, as my interviews confirmed. The paranoid gaze of the *Tune* only relaxes when official clothes are in plain view.

This was coupled by what was generally noted – differently from the aggressive and highly-criticised stance of 2006 World Cup's German police (e.g. SCHREIBER; ADANG, 2010) – as a peculiarly *soft approach* to policing, polite, non-threatening and laidback to the point of being criticised as 'too bland' by Western observers.[30] To be sure, it is possible and perhaps correct to frame this approach as part of a wider neo-liberal shift of social control towards greater permissibility *vis-à-vis* low-level transgressions, complemented by swift reactions towards those challenging the politico-economical significance of the event. This point, to some extent explored by Frew and McGillivray (2008) in Germany 2006, was certainly confirmed by the rapidity with which as innocuous acts as anti-racism leafleting were dealt with inside Fan Parks.[31]

These considerations notwithstanding, what is of main concern here is the role played by the police vis-à-vis the production of a legacy of safety. Arguably, it is dubious how extraordinary measures of security, besides guaranteeing a short term safety, could actually turn this out into a *legacy* which would challenge, rather than instead reinforce and, again, further institutionalise, the *Joburg Tune.* As the event-related over-policing disappears, also the event-related 'sense of safety' seems destined to wane, unless an effort to capitalise on both the short-term increase in urban safety and police reputation – which the strategic coupling of higher police visibility *and* 'softer' approach has produced – is enacted. In fact, from the deprived no-go areas of Hillbrow and Joubert Park to the rich suburbs of Sandton and Rosebank, everybody I had the chance to talk with was eager to stress the relevance such a police presence, as well as its newly 'focused' and 'vigilant' attitude, meant to them.[32]

Promisingly, this seems to be the official intention. In fact, a post-event report on the 'possible legacies' of the event stresses the necessity to:

> Build on the good reputation that JMPD [Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department] has achieved during the event with respect to public perceptions of Joburg as being a safe city. This requires that JMPD enhance visibility, especially in the Inner City and at night (COJ, 2010a, p. 91).

Only accurate and long-term post-WC researches could possibly provide an answer to that.

Fan zoning

> There is now a concerted attempt to re-engineer the experience of cities [...] to create a new set of 'experience' commodities which are, in effect, the spaces themselves (AMIN; THRIFT, 2002, p. 124-125).

Public Viewing Areas (Fan Parks, Fan Fests or Fan Zones) have been officially implemented since Germany 2006, with the stated purpose of providing "a safe, convenient and convivial alternative to being at the stadium",[33] maintaining the latter's 'look and feel' within a "safe and secure atmosphere".[34] They allow FIFA to translate MEs from the stadium to the city, diffusing the "Authentic FIFA World Cup Atmosphere [with a distinctive] FIFA look and feel"[35] on urban space, whilst making the latter as securitised and branded as a stadium (HAGEMANN, 2010, p. 725).

Together with demarcated, more or less secured and branded streets (Fan Walks or Fan Miles), Fan Parks constitute a disembedded and fortified network channelling urban flows, aimed at 're-capturing'

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[30] See for instance David Crary. *World Cup Security Raises Concerns.* Available at: <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2010/06/13/world-cup-security-raises_n_610593.html>. Access in: 10 mar. 2010.

[31] I personally assisted to an arrest for leafleting, based on a rather loose interpretation of the FIFA stadium code of conduct (art 4.e,5.6.e), and whose reconstruction by one of the victims can be found here: http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs/default.asp?2,40,5,2089

[32] For instance a Jo'burg City Safety Programme's manager noted how the World Cup compelled different police departments to act together, coordinated, thus stimulating a tactical – besides technical and technological – improvement (interviewed by the researcher).

[33] Lesley de Reuck, 2010 Director Operations for Cape Town. Available at: http://www.capetownpartnership.co.za/cape-town-fifa-fan-fest-construction-begins-grand-parade-to-be-transformed-into-entertainment-meca/v>. Access in: 10 mar. 2010.

[34] FIFA Fan Fest Information Pack (FIFA, 2008b).

[35] FIFA Fan Fest for the 2010 FIFA World Cup South Africa. Frequently asked questions (FIFA, 2008a).

the *desires* unleashed by the *advent* of the ME within a controlled spatialisation. In other words, *fan zoning* is part of a social control strategy aimed to deal with crowds of ticketless fans by channelling their affective 'effervescence' into a controlled space where "by being 'coached' and 'cared for' [they] would be less likely to engage in deviant behaviour" (FREW; McGILLIVRAY, 2008, p. 186), and which, through the implementation of special techniques, technologies and regulations, would assume a precise normative value (KLAUSER, 2008, p. 70). This 'controlled decontrolling' (ELIAS; DUNNING, 1986) is allowed by an atmospherically-enclosed, bubbled-up spatialisation, enforced by technologies (from fences to CCTVs), policed by private and public guards and secured by FIFA by-laws, allowing for the sterilisation of space from any frictions – unwanted communication, sounds, brands, smells etc. – which could *poison* the atmosphere, so as to produce a urban space 'free and clear' from any tangible and intangible disruption: a crystallised, securitised and branded atmospheres of festivity and control, an Event in which no *events* – i.e. unpredictable occurrences – must occur.[36]

Fan zoning is a dispositif for the production of what Lefebvre (1991, 2004) indicated as the key devices for the spatiotemporal dominance of capitalism: *abstract space* and *linear rhythm.*[37] It differentiates and hierarchises urban space into homogeneous micro-geographies which share same (by)laws, atmospheres (the FIFA 'look and feel') and strict security and brand-protection provisions. It also produces a 'linear and quantified social rhythm' (BUTLER, 2008, p. 281), syncopated by repeated *initiations* at the gates (corporeal and bag searches, seizures of any food, drink and unwanted brand etc.) and *relaxation* once inside the fenced, securitised and CCTV-monitored areas, where other sets of choreographed repetitions (blowing the Vuvuzela, waving the flag, cheering when prompted by the speaker etc.) intersect with commercial transactions (food, drinks, gadgets etc.). In this sense, *fan zoning* could be seen as the culmination of a long process of segregation,

standardisation and commercialisation of fandom (BALE, 2001), allowing for fully enacting the security-entertainment complex of neoliberal capitalism on urban space.

What an excessively critical reading could miss, however, is that *fan zoning* is not a given, it is not simply the outcome of certain narratives, legal provisions, technological settings, economical targets. Nor it is only an *abstract* form, to be applied and assessed a-critically regardless on the context in which it is implanted. It is instead an assemblage emerging from the performative contingency of the event, out of a urban space which is not blank, but already traversed and shaped by atmo-rhythms. Thus, it is with respect to these immanent tunings that *fan zoning* should be assessed. Although it is difficult to deny the fact that "FIFA's attempts to implement a security and surveillance assemblage is to be understood as a means to enhance profit" (EICK, 2011, p. 88), at the same time, when this model is applied to different context, the outcomes do not necessarily match the instrumental purposes. For instance alternative readings, underlying its potential to reformulate urban spacing, may hint at the role of *fan zoning* in producing a 'spatial capital', re-inserting the 'publicness' into South African public spaces, often lacking that due to low levels of security, mutual attachment and shared responsibility (HAFERBURG; GOLKA; SELTER, 2009, p. 177-178). Besides this perhaps excessive optimism, what such an approach suggests is a possibility to look at *fan zoning* beyond the merely instrumental capitalist pattern, that is, not as an unavoidably doomed top-down strategy, but rather in its always contingent and performative *enactment,* whose outcome is dependent on the atmo-rhythmical substrate on which it occurs, and always to some extent unique.

This is especially valid as regards questions of safety and security, and it is worth concluding by briefly pinpointing some differences between the *fan zoning* in Johannesburg and in the previous World Cup, which show the flaws which a blind application of the model of over-securitisation in different

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[36] See 2010 FIFA World Cup South Africa By-Laws.

[37] According to Lefebvre, the production of abstract space by capitalist logic is performed through a process of fragmentation, homogenisation and hierarchisation of space. This means that the spaces are separated (in functional and/or security terms), standardised and, finally, hierarchised, and this makes space exploitable (see LEFEBVRE, 1991, p. 229-292). Tied to abstract space is the production of a linear, quantifiable time which "like space [...] divides itself onto lots and parcels", thus becoming, again, exchangeable and exploitable (LEFEBVRE, 2004, p. 74).

contexts entails.[38] To do so, I refer to the compelling ethnography of Germany '06 Fan Parks performed by Frew and McGillivray (2008).

Whilst in Germany Fan Parks were said to be "creating the impression of practices of freedom" through spatial divisions, *enacting* "ideal-type sport fan" subjectivities, thereby avoiding unruly (hooligan) behaviour whilst allowing for 'accepted transgressions' (FREW; McGILLIVRAY, 2008, p. 191-192) – in Johannesburg they played a key immunological function in carving out 'safe spaces' to shelter and relax fans from self-disciplining *tuning* of the city: in Johannesburg Fan Parks were not dispositifs of a strategy aimed at protecting the city from the 'unruly' fans, they rather had the purpose of protecting the fan from the 'dangerous' city. Security played a key 'experiential value' in Fan Parks, whose 'off-world quality' seemed to lie in their offering an experience of liberation from the urban *alertness*, rather than generating hyper-experiences of enjoyment from city's working routine (FREW; McGILLIVRAY, 2008, p. 189): a joyful atmosphere of safety. Whereas in Germany Fan Zones provided "micro-level resistance to the everyday banality of work" (MALBON, 1998, p. 280 apud FREW; McGILLIVRAY, 2008, p. 183), in Johannesburg they allowed for micro-resistance to the everyday anxiety of the JT, in this sense mirroring the role of South African malls where, as Vries notes (2004, p. 301, 303), "you can walk around without any worries [...] an antidote to Apartheid, a place where people blend and can forget about the past and current anxieties".

Therefore, also the *fan zoning* in Johannesburg played a contradictory role vis-à-vis the JT. On the one hand, it permitted to breach the JT, allowing certain agencies, otherwise 'restricted' in the city, to be expressed, by producing an immunological atmosphere of safety. On the other hand, however, it reinforced the JT, by proposing an even more compartmentalised urban experience, a syncopated rhythm of bubble-to-bubble movement[39] – 'ensure that you walk along the demarcated pedestrian routes' – and a further spatialisation of atmospherically-protected 'fun' were to relax from the oppressiveness of the

outside. In the end, *fan zoning* worked simultaneously as a temporary 'antidote' for, as well as a re-assertion of, JT's syncopated atmo-rhythm of anxiety and relaxation.

Conclusion

A qualification must be made. I am perfectly aware of, and agree in criticising, the notorious role played by mega-events in displacing people, cleaning up public spaces from undesirables, curbing local business by advantaging aggressive corporation branding, increasing and legalising hitherto illegal social control measures through special legislation, and generally smoothening the process of privatisation, commodification and securitisation of public space. In fact, many witnesses, activists, papers and books have been doing an outstanding work in denouncing these issues. While acknowledging these works, this paper is not concerned in rehearsing their arguments yet another time. Instead it is interested in proposing a different way to look at urban spatiality and urban ordering, and thus to how, through this angle, an alternative look at mega-events' urban impact could emerge.

Whereas the question of over-commercialisation is quite unlikely to leave room for both 'alternative' and not naive perspectives on the overwhelming role FIFA plays in bullying the host nations into *de facto* allowing for extraordinary and undemocratic privatisation, commodification and brand-protection to be put in place – issues of safety and security lend for potentially alternative analysis, provided that we avoid to position ourselves on one side of the security/freedom dichotomy. Therefore, in this paper I attempted to displace this (and other) dichotomies altogether. I also refused to take for granted the linear narrative of the 'ME's over-securitisation' model, as well as to simply translate standardised analysis of ME-securitisation from one country to another. Instead, I decided to describe the ordering of a city and that of a mega-event, and look at the way their atmo-rhythms intersect and overlap.

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[38] Other interesting comparative analyses, such as that between the *fan zoning* in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town, or between official FIFA fan parks and non-FIFA Public Viewing Areas (PVAs), cannot be addressed here for lack of space.

[39] In UK Premier League bubble matches are "games where ALL away fans must travel on designated transport from a specific pick up point and no independent travel is allowed and tickets are handed out en route" (BRUNSKILL, 2010).

During the World Cup, the JT's atmosphere of alertness, anxiety and distrust has been sought to be defused through celebratory narratives of multicultural joy [the Rainbow Nation], police high-visibility and great effort in 'welcoming' the visitors. This, however, has rested on a hyper-immunological spatialisation, consisting in the production of atmospherically-enclosed areas through physical, legal and techno-securitarian boundaries, which widened and crystallised the atmo-rhythmical slow-tempo of malls onto a wider urban space

By producing, enclosing and patrolling an atmosphere of fun and safety, the World Cup rested on the same pre-channelled rhythms and fragmented atmospheres characterising the key *notes* of the Joburg Tune: *alertness* and *immunity*. The conflictuality of the city, grounded in the deep-seated mistrust and anxiety wafting on the public space, was not directly challenged but officially denied and practically confined, if only for a month, outside the World Cup zoning. Thus, during the World Cup, the *atmo-rhythm* of Johannesburg, rather than challenged, was indeed *institutionalised*, in the *caring response* of volunteers, the *therapeutic* security of visible policing, and the physical, legal and branded boundaries of the *fan zoning*.

We should thus conclude that the normative spacing of the mega-event *adapted to,* rather than contrasting, the pulsating immanence of the JT, recalibrating its frequency to the securitarian and commercial needs of the FIFA 'look and feel'.

This, however, must not lead to a common mistake, i.e. that of "explain[ing] away the eventfulness of events by referring them back to a set of [pre-existing] conditions" (ANDERSON; HOLDEN, 2008, p. 143). In fact, besides mirroring the JT, the ME also opened potentially emancipatory lines of flight. As the logics of enclosure of malls was re-asserted by FIFA fan zones, other non-FIFA Fan Parks offered similar opportunities to get-together, within lower levels of discipline, control and branding. Although the question cannot be addressed here, the potential of Fan Parks beyond the FIFA-controlled ones must be taken into account in future mega-event strategies and analyses. Likewise, the spilling over the city of police presence made possible for people to walk through areas of the city for the first time, thus allowing for partially challenging taken-for-granted psycho-geographical assumptions, an aspect which

could be promisingly capitalised to foster a re-formulation of public space beyond the oppressiveness of the JT. Finally, although it is disputable whether the World Cup has succeeded in producing a 'new-found sense of safety' for the inhabitants, it certainly managed to offer such a sense to the visitors, positively surprised by the non-coincidence between the extraordinary depiction of crime-ridden South Africa to which they have been exposed, and their actual experience.

This is why, whereas the inability to challenge the JT, and its potentially oppressive effects, should inspire future strategies and analyses of ME's spacing, this negative vision must not impede to explore, and possibly let unfold, the potentialities which the ME's eventfulness always produces.

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