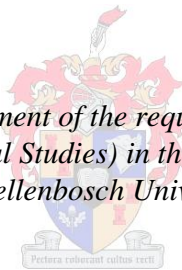


International media portrayals of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™– An analysis of British and American print media, 2004-2010

by
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*Thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts (International Studies) in the Faculty of Political Science
at Stellenbosch University*



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December 2012

Declaration

“By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author hereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third-party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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Abstract

The onset of democracy in South Africa in 1994 was accompanied by the rise in bids for, and the hosting of sports mega-events so as to accomplish national interests and goals. This was done with the purpose of rebranding the South African image to the international community through national and international campaigns that sought to highlight the country's aspirant status as a rainbow nation and its pan-Africanist ideals.

This study investigates how, as host for the 2010 FIFA World Cup™, South Africa was reported on by two international online media newspapers, *The New York Times* (United States of America (USA)) and the *Guardian* (United Kingdom (UK)). The aim is to address an understudied aspect of South Africa's hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ by reflecting systematically on the tone and content of international media portrayals of the event, both before and during the tournament. The study has two focuses. Firstly, it considers the motives for South Africa's bid to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup™. Secondly, it appraises the content and nature of reporting in the two overseas newspapers. The study uses a mix of secondary and primary sources, which include academic journals, books, websites, newspaper articles and government and the FIFA websites.

The findings of this study suggest that the bid to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ was based on the country's positive experience from hosting previous sports mega-events. Additionally, South Africa wanted to showcase its commercial maturity, its development of physical infrastructure, and the presence of human skills. The motives underpinning the bid aimed at dispelling and challenging international misconceptions of the African continent. The novelty of an African country bidding to stage and hosting a sport mega-event such as the FIFA World Cup™ resulted in the country gaining extensive international media coverage from *The New York Times* and the *Guardian*. The qualitative and quantitative content analysis from these two newspapers yielded some commonality and recurrence of words such as: "stadium", "tickets", "vuvuzela", "crime", and "security". The differences between the two newspapers were minimal, supporting the liberal-pluralist theoretical claim that the media acts as an agenda setter, and in line with the Marxist theory of the ideological role of the media.

Media coverage of sports mega-events is important and influential in determining the way in which the host country is branded, and future studies are necessary to address the

understudied aspects of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™. These include, over a longer period, assessment of the event's economic, political, social and other legacies.

Opsomming

Die koms van demokrasie in Suid-Afrika in 1994 het gepaard gegaan met die toename in tenders en die gasheerskap van megasportgebeure om nasionale belange en doelwitte te bereik. Die doel was die herpositionering van die Suid-Afrikaanse beeld in die internasionale gemeenskap deur middel van nasionale en internasionale veldtogte wat daarna gestreef het om die land se reënboognasiebeeld en sy pan-Afrikanistiese ideale te beklemtoon.

Hierdie studie ondersoek hoe Suid-Afrika, as gasheer vir die 2010 FIFA Wêreldbeker, deur twee internasionale aanlynmediakoerante, *The New York Times* (Verenigde State van Amerika) en die *Guardian* (Verenigde Koninkryk) uitgebeeld is. Die doel is om die meer onverkende aspekte van Suid-Afrika se gasheerskap onder oë te neem, en voorts om sistematiese peiling te doen van die toon en inhoud van internasionale media-uitbeeldings van die sport gebeurtenis. Die studie het twee fokuspeunte. Eerstens word ondersoek ingestel na die motiewe van Suid-Afrika se bod om die 2010 FIFA Wêreldbeker aan te bied. Tweedens beoordeel dit die inhoud en aard van verslaggewing in die twee oorsese koerante. Die studie gebruik 'n mengsel van sekondêre en primêre bronne, insluitend akademiese tydskrifte, boeke, webwerwe, koerantberigte en die regering en FIFA se webwerwe.

Die bevindinge van hierdie studie beklemtoon dat die motiewe van Suid-Afrika se bod om die 2010 FIFA Wêreldbeker aan te bied, gegrond was op die bewese positiewe prestasierekord wat die land as gasheer in vorige megasportgebeure opgebou het. Voorts wou Suid-Afrika sy kommersiële volwassenheid, die ontwikkeling van fisiese infrastruktuur, en die teenwoordigheid van menswaardighede ten toon stel. Die motiewe vir die bod was ook daarop gemik om internasionale wanopvattinge oor die Afrika-vasteland uit te daag en uit die weg te ruim. Die ongekendheid van die aanbod van 'n megasportgebeurtenis soos die FIFA Wêreldbeker deur 'n Afrikaland, het daartoe gelei dat die land uitgebreide internasionale mediadekking in *The New York Times* en die *Guardian* geniet het. Die kwalitatiewe en kwantitatiewe inhoudontleding het getoon dat daar 'n mate van gemeenskaplikheid en herhaling van woorde was, soos: “stadium”, “tickets”, “vuvuzela”, “crime” en “security”. Die verskille tussen die twee koerante was minimaal en ondersteun liberaal-pluralistiese teorie wat die media as 'n agenda steller uitwys. Dit ondersteun ook Marxistiese teorie oor die ideologiese rol van die media.

Mediadekking van megasportgebeure is belangrik en invloedryk in die bepaling van die manier waarop die gasheerland as handelsmerk voorgestel word, en toekomstige studies is

nodig om die onderbestudeerde aspekte van die 2010 FIFA Wêreldbeker™ te ontleed. Dit sluit onder andere in, ontleding van die langtermyn ekonomiese, politieke en maatskaplike nalatenskappe van so 'n gebeurtenis.

Acknowledgments

To my supervisor (Prof. S. Cornelissen), thank you for steering me in the right direction and sharing your vast knowledge on this topic. You personify the “super” in supervisor, and I am greatly humbled to have had you play a major role in this manuscript.

My parents (M.A. Moloi-Siga and V.T. Moloi-Siga) and my brother (S. Moloi-Siga), thank you for all the support, encouraging words, and long phone chats about my paper, and understanding throughout this auspicious journey. I am forever grateful for this experience and you being a part of it. I love you.

To my friends: I drew my source of strength from all of you, and highly appreciated the constructive criticism and emotional support you all gave to me.

Moloi, Siga, Mahlatsi, Tubatsi, Lekgolokoe le kotswana ale hlaba kgoho ka lemao ka sebonong ke motho wa Kgetsi sedutla majwe.

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Abbreviations and acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
AP	Associated Press
AWB	Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging
AU	African Union
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
BRT	Bus Rapid Transit
DIRCO	Department of International Cooperation
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IBSA	India, Brazil and South Africa
IMC	International Marketing Council of South Africa
IRB	International Rugby Board
LOC	Local Organising Committee
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
ROI	Returns on Investments
SA	South Africa
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAFA	South African Football Association
SASC	South African Sports Commission
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America

Chapter 1: Introduction and framework for analysis

1. Background review

The Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup™ is seen as the decisive element that popularised football. Binz (2006, cited in Müller 2007) states that the Football World Cup, together with the development of mass media or, more specifically, the sports press in the 1980s, raised levels of global awareness of football. Major events such as the FIFA World Cup™ have also been linked to processes such as nationalism, whereby there is an adoption of flags, songs and symbols (Horne & Manzenreiter 2006), by host nations. Tournaments such as the FIFA World Cup™ have over the centuries seen an increase in their media coverage (Roche 2000), and thus both developing and developed countries are bidding to host such mega-events so as to benefit from the extensive media coverage. Given the media's attraction to sports mega-events, the use of such events is based on economic and ideological ends; inclusively there exists a mutually beneficial relationship between the media, sporting bodies, the state and the corporate world which the host countries can utilise.

The extensive media coverage received by sports mega-events, such as the Football World Cup, can be seen to be beneficial for the African continent in reimagining and rebranding itself. As Ndangam (2002) points out in her paper that; there exists a systematic trend in the media's representation of Africa, and the hosting of events and utilising the media as a tool can assist in challenging and changing certain portrayals of the continent. Michira (2002) attributes this to the power of the media, which often confirms existing stereotypes and/or generalisations about Africa. Through images, expressions, phrases, and words the international media shape the way Africa is viewed internationally. Michira (2002) further states that the continent is depicted as "dependent Africa", with a reputation for poverty, disease and war. In Dowden's view (2008:2) "Africa" is "conjured up in people's minds [as] the Dark Continent, the heart of darkness, a place of horrific savagery and inhumanity". He accuses the international media of creating a false impression of African realities by propagating negative news about the continent in the pursuit of increased sales and profits (Dowden 2008).

Frederikse, Tomaselli and Muller (1989:79) share similar sentiments, stating that “most newspapers’...major concern [is] to make a financial profit”. This is done through “sensationalizing” stories with the aim of attracting readers’ attention through shock tactics (Frederikse et al. 1989). The media are largely responsible for shaping the way in which we see events (Klee 1993), for example, the African continent is constantly depicted in the international media as one homogeneous country, rather than as 54¹ individual countries faced with different problems (Michira 2002; Ndangam 2002; Gordon & Wolpe 1998; etc.).

Given this, sports mega-events attract extensive media coverage, as noted above, and can provide beneficial consequences for the host nation. Utilising the power that such events have in transmitting promotional messages through different forms of the media (Roberts 2004) can be of assistance in changing the ways in which the African continent is framed through news reports, leading to the construction of a positive image (Lepp & Gibson 2011). The promotional opportunities through the media serve as a vehicle for host nations of sports mega-events to rebrand and reimagine themselves, utilising the power of the media to influence the way the nation is represented in the global community and networks.

Horne and Manzenreiter (2006) note that the attraction to sports mega-events is a result of the unprecedented development in the technology of mass communication, which can be said to have “opened up dialogue exchange between state” (Maguire, Jarvie, Mansfield & Bradley 2002). Sports mega-events such as the FIFA World Cup™ have a global audience, with the media playing a pivotal role in framing the tournament and the host nation. For example, in a study conducted by Hammett (2011:63) on the representations in the British media of South Africa and its hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™, it was found that international perceptions of South Africa were influenced by “notions of African primitivism and savagery”. In addition, South Africa’s international image “[was] caught in a bind between exceptionalism and essentialism as evidence in the country’s limited international media coverage [was] framed by a (neo)colonial, conservative agenda focused upon disorder and underdevelopment” (Hammett 2011:63). These consistent portrayals of Africa rely on pre-existing stereotypes communicated by the international print media, and further illustrate the relationship between sports mega-events and the media as framing institutions.

¹ This includes *The New* state of South Sudan that came into being on 9 July 2011.

The hosting of such a global event, FIFA World Cup™, by an African country was intended to change the perceptions of the international community (Jordaan 2007; SA 2010 Bid Book 2003); inter alia through the extensive sports-related media coverage that such tournaments receive (Roche 2000). Ndangam (2002:3) notes that numerous factors are involved in determining what the media covers, such as “a story’s newsworthiness, its interest/importance to the audience, its significance for national interests, as well as the resources available to the media”, which the FIFA World Cup™ serves all these factors.

The 2010 FIFA World Cup™, staged from 11 June 2010 till 11 July 2010, was described in FIFA’s 2010 (2011) *Activity Report* as an impeccably organised event; with the host nation welcoming the world with open arms. Such praise contrasted with prevailing images of Africa as the supposed “dark continent” (Ndangam 2002; Chavis 1998) and showed that South Africa had the capacity to successfully stage this mega-event, given its previous experience of hosting sports mega-events and also the country’s infrastructural and human capabilities.

This thesis focuses on how international print media reported on the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ event. Central to the study, focus is placed on the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ as the main sports mega-event, and how South Africa as the host of the tournament was portrayed by international media, given the motives and rationales for the South African 2010 FIFA World Cup™ bid. In particular, this study examines prevailing and recurring words that emerge from articles in *The New York Times* and the *Guardian* (published in the United Kingdom(UK)), as sources from the international media. Further addressing the understudied aspects of South Africa’s hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™, which is sports mega-events and the media.

1.1. Rationale

Chavis (1998) and many other Afro-optimistic scholars point out that there exists a particular ideation of Africa which is set by the international community. The way in which Africa is portrayed by the international media community should be taken into account in any discussion of South Africa’s role as the host of the FIFA World Cup™ in 2010. This, as cited above, is because sports mega-events such as the FIFA World Cup™ are said to attract extensive media coverage (Roche 2000).

While South Africa was the first African country to stage such a prestigious event, there existed a framework in terms of which the event was reported on. Given this context and the pre-existing ideas about Africa, the main purpose of this study is to look into the ways in which South Africa's hosting of the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup™ on African soil was represented in the media. This is because this is an understudied aspect of South Africa's hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™. It is achieved through understanding the motivations and rationales of the country's bidding to host the tournament, and also through an analysis of the media reports of print news articles accessed online. The newspaper coverage of South Africa's hosting of the World Cup, by *The New York Times* and the *Guardian* in particular, will be examined to see if certain unfavourable ideas or stereotypes of South Africa persisted in their representations of the host country. In the process, recurring words, which can be identified in the reporting of these two papers, will be discussed.

The aim of studying and identifying the prevalent and recurring words, and the framing of the tournament's host country is to add value to the subject/topic which has existing publications, for example Lepp and Gibson (2011) and Hammett (2011), and to furthermore address the understudied aspects of sports mega-events specifically pertaining to the 2010 FIFA World Cup™. This literature addresses the systematic research of media portrayals of sports mega-events in international relations, especially when such events are hosted by a developing country. In order to identify the use of recurring words newspaper articles were sourced through their online sites. The rationale for sourcing the news articles online is because the papers are not readily available in South Africa.

1.2. Problem statement

The following research questions inform the study:

1. What were the motives for the South African bid to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup™?
2. What were the recurring keywords that emerged in newspaper reports on South Africa hosting this sports mega-event?
3. In the light of South Africa's motives for hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup™, how was the country portrayed in the print media?

The study requires an understanding of the context and motivation for South Africa's bid to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup™, and also a content analysis of media reports by the two news sources. Therefore, given the research questions above, it must be pointed out that the final question is the primary research question of this study. The first two questions are secondary research questions, which are intended to validate and support the primary research question.

1.3. Literature review

South Africa's history as a racially polarised society during the period of apartheid (from 1948 to about 1992²) had a considerable effect on domestic sport. The international campaign against the apartheid regime which included sanctions, was evidence of the international community's almost universal opposition to the apartheid regime (Marx 2004). These sanctions came to an end in 1994 when South Africa became a democracy. This serves to highlight the relationship that exists between sport and international relations, noted by Levermore (2004), and the growth in developing countries bidding to host mega-events (Nauright 2004:1326).

In a bid to rebrand its image and regain investor confidence, the country was given the opportunity to host numerous sports mega-events after the advent of democracy in 1994. These included the successful hosting of the 1995 International Rugby Board (IRB) World Cup, the 1996 African Cup of Nations, the 1999 All-Africa Games (Nauright 2004:1326), the 2003 International Cricket Council (ICC) World Cup, and the Indian Premier League (IPL) in 2009. South Africa also experienced unsuccessful bids, such as for the 2006 FIFA Soccer World Cup, where the country was outmanoeuvred by Germany, and another unsuccessful bid for the 2004 Olympic Games, which were set to be held in Cape Town (Nauright 2004). South Africa's bidding to host these sports mega-events illustrated "South Africa's enthusiastic participation in the world economy of sports" (Alegi 2001:1), and its tactic of using the hosting of these mega-events as an integral part of its marketing and rebranding strategy.

The literature mentions that once a nation has hosted one sport mega-event, it aspires to bid and host more and other mega-events (Cornelissen & Swart 2006). South Africa is a case in

² It is important to note that much of the apartheid legislation had been scrapped before 1994.

point, with its successful bid (in May 2004) to host the FIFA World Cup™ in 2010 (Latakomo 2010), and having had hosted previous sports mega-events.

South Africa's bid for the World Cup was built on the idea of giving Africa an opportunity to host a sports mega-event of the magnitude of the FIFA World Cup™, as mentioned by former President Thabo Mbeki (2003) and also noted in the South African (SA) 2010 Bid Book (2003). The country's winning bid was also based on South Africa's technical ability to deliver a unique World Cup, its record of having hosted other sports mega-events (SA 2010 Bid Book 2003; Lepp & Gibson 2011) and its staging of iconic national events such as the Comrades Marathon. This demonstrated the country's well-developed sporting infrastructure and human resource capacity and capabilities, making the country a positive candidate to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup™. In addition, political, economic, social, and symbolic motives helped to give legitimacy to South Africa's bid to host the tournament. These factors, cited in Chapter 3, served as the aim of rebranding South Africa's image, and that of Africa.

Hosting the FIFA World Cup™, by any nation, is a symbol of international acceptance and demonstrates that a country has the necessary infrastructure and socio-political and economic strength to stage an event of such magnitude. The literature on such mega-events highlights the importance of a country's successful bid to host such events, and also the economic and infrastructural significance of these events. The literature suggests that hosting these events can be a progressive and a liberating phenomenon that opens "up the potential for greater human contact, dialogue, and friendship" (Maguire et al. 2002:52). Cornelissen and Swart (2006:108) point out that once a country has broken into the international arena by hosting a mega-event, it is likely to want to host other mega-events.

Host nations exploit the promotional opportunities offered by mega-events to rebrand themselves and influence the way in which the nation is represented to the global community. In order to achieve this rebranding, host nations utilise the international media to market themselves, as a global audience exists (Roche 2000). This media coverage has beneficial consequences for the host country or nation: the power that mega-events have to transmit promotional messages in various media is considerable, and has the potential to leverage long-term benefits for the host (Cornelissen, Bob & Swart 2011b). This demonstrates the important relationship between these mega events and the media that promote them. In her

study of the bidding and planning of the FIFA World Cup™(s) in both Germany and South Africa, Kachkova (2008:10) comments as follows:

The media can thus be argued to play a considerable part in affecting how states come to be viewed globally when they attempt to host major sporting events, and one can even go further to argue that the inequalities inherent in the international political economy are thereby perpetuated.

Kachkova (2008:10)

For the purpose of this study, it must be pointed out that analysing news media outlets published by countries such as Britain and the United States of America is because these countries have historically enjoyed a political and economic advantage over their developing counterparts, such as countries in Africa. Additionally, both have a “reputation for dedicated foreign news coverage” (Ndangam 2002:9). The UK on the one hand, has had historical ties with South Africa and furthermore it has the advantage of its centrality in particular to the world sports landscape.

1.4. Significance of the study

This case study allows for the contribution of new research to an already existing literature and affords an additional viewpoint, namely, the relation between the print media and sports mega-events. Given this relationship, the significance of this study is to address an understudied aspect of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™.

The literature that provided the material for this study is written in a more immediate way rather than the literature one finds in traditional academic journals. Some of the articles do not have a theoretical basis in media studies to justify their claims regarding representations of the African continent in the international media. This study contributes to our knowledge of the international media’s influence by identifying particular frames commonly found in the journalistic rhetoric regarding South Africa.

1.5. Research methodology

This study is based on both quantitative and qualitative content analysis and examination of media reports in *The New York Times* and the *Guardian* regarding South Africa’s performance as the host of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™. By keeping to the time period of

May 2004 to December 2010, it can then be stated that this study's time dimension can be considered to be a longitudinal study, as it looks into potential changes in the portrayals of South Africa as the host of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™.

The use of secondary sources and information from books, academic journals, discussion papers, and online newspaper articles provided the academic literature required for this study. In addition, information was obtained from the FIFA website and from South African government websites. All of which aid in tackling the research questions posed.

This study is empirical in nature, and draws its material from two print national dailies, which were accessed online, published in the United States and the United Kingdom, *The New York Times* and the *Guardian* respectively. These English newspapers represent different readerships, but both provide dedicated news coverage in the quality press. Their readership profiles, according to Tomlinson, Bass and Bassett (2011:42), consist of “influential, sophisticated global citizens”. This is because of their perceived authoritative nature and their ability to influence economic decisions. The reporting of these two newspapers, which were accessed online, on the 2010 FIFA World Cup™, is central to this study, and form as the unit of analysis.

According to the World Association of Newspapers (on World Press Trends for 2007 (2006)), the online readership of *The New York Times* is much greater than that of other dailies in the United States, as illustrated in Table 1.1 in the Appendix. The *Guardian* on the other hand, owned by the Scott Trust, regards itself as a “brand leader” in the British press. This illustrates the dominance of both dailies in marketing themselves to the global community.

Content analysis is used to give insight into the portrayal of South Africa as the host of the World Cup in these two newspapers. This is used in conjunction with media studies' theory of framing, specifically issue specific framing. This theory can be described as the repetition and reinforcement of particular words and/or images that refer to some ideas and not others. Given this theory and methodology, recurring words in the newspaper articles will be identified. A review of these words is conducted in depth in Chapter 4.

1.5.1. Quantitative and qualitative analysis

In view of the topic and argument of this thesis, it can be stated that the study undertaken to address the research questions is both qualitative and quantitative. Content analysis permits both qualitative and quantitative studies. It should be noted that quantitative analysis seeks to gain a better understanding of the words that occur in the texts through numerical results, such as percentages of instances. This allows for a small margin of error when highlighting the frequency of prevalent terms within the texts. The objective of most quantitative analyses, according to Wesley (2009), is to produce widely-applicable results by generating generalisable findings based on a wide range of cases. In contrast, qualitative analyses provide a high degree of validity (Ulin, Robinson & Tolley 2005). Thus the aim of a qualitative study is to “shed intense light on a specific context” (Wesley 2009:4).

1.5.2. Content analysis

Content analysis can be explained as the examination of a text which goes beyond an intuitive interpretation by giving a better grasp of the encoded meaning of the said text. This analysis is seen as a systematic and objective method of describing the manifest or surface content of a text (Grossberg, Wartella & Whiney 1998; Barrat 1986; Babbie & Mouton 2007). Grossberg et al. (1998:156) state that in its usual form, “content analysis begins by defining a set of categories to describe the various elements of the content of the text. Next, the analysis counts the instances of each category that appear in the text”.

Reinard (2008) notes that the aim of content analysis is to promote both description and explanation, and to conduct research over time. Its rationale is that it determines the presence of certain words or concepts within texts or sets of texts and analyses these findings and patterns; and can thus be linked with the theory of framing.

Like any other approach, content analysis has its weaknesses (limitations) and strengths (advantages). According to Kracauer (1953:631) this research method is “frequently obliged to isolate and process the more intricate characteristics of a sample; and whenever this happens it runs the risk of treating them inadequately”. Furthermore, there are limitations that cannot be resolved by content analysis. This method is susceptible to the effects of research biases, and these, in turn, can affect decisions made in the collection, analysis, and interpretation of data. The potential of content analysis is often limited by the fact that it can

only report on specific elements in a text, meaning that it often yields categorical data and can sometimes result in an analysis that can be biased. Although this has considerable descriptive, classificatory, and identificatory power, it may be less sensitive to subtleties in communications than in data obtained from higher-order scales or from other research methods (Kolbe & Burnett 1991). The elements of reliability³ and validity⁴ in content analysis are weighed against these disadvantages, and are measurable through the application of sampling and coding techniques.

On the other hand, Babbie and Mouton (2007:393) point out that unobtrusiveness is an advantage of content analysis “as it seldom has any effect on the subject that is being studied”. Additionally, the ability to provide an overview of a familiar terrain, and bring to the fore “patterns that were previously concealed, and the scientific rigour of its procedures” (Barrat 1986:106) are among the advantages of content analysis.

Both the qualitative and quantitative traditions can be explained through the content analysis approach (Wesley 2009:11), and this is the methodology utilised in this thesis. Wesley states that:

All reading of texts is qualitative, even when certain characteristics of a text are later converted into numbers. By the same token, qualitative analyses are not entirely divorced from quantitative concepts like frequency or intensity.

(Wesley 2009:11)

Therefore the qualitative and quantitative approaches are not mutually exclusive. In light of this, the content analysis of *The New York Times* and the *Guardian* in this study codes textual information into numerical form in order to achieve a statistical measurement of the findings of the study through the use of Microsoft Excel Programme. Through qualitative content analysis, framing theory is used to explain the quantitative findings; this will assist in unravelling “the ‘latent’ aspects of [the] communication” (Wesley 2009:12) provided by the two media sources under study, which are available online

³ To check for reliability, different sets of coders will code the same content the same way if they are coded the second time round (Grossberg, Wartella & Whiney, 1998).

⁴ Reinard (2008:320) conceptualises validity as “a question of whether the measures really identify the variables alleged. Sometimes, however, validity issues involve whether the revealed data actually include measures of what is claimed. The issues are reduced to whether the data are valid representations of reported variables”.

1.6. Limitations and delimitations of the study

1.6.1. Limitations

The topic of this thesis can be seen as challenging, given the use of a specific time frame, May 2004 - December 2010, placing a limit on the depth of the study. There were numerous issues that may not have been addressed in this thesis due to this constraint, and the following listed below.

Firstly, a comparative study of previous FIFA World Cup™(s) hosted by developing countries, such as the one held in South Korea and Japan in 2002 could have assisted in analysing the similarities and differences between the two tournaments (South Korea and Japan, and South Africa).

Secondly, addressing the post-World Cup (one year later) analysis could have given further clarity on the way in which the international media continued to portray South Africa. This would aid the research in showing the sustainability in the change in portrayals.

Third, two international newspapers, both accessed online, provided the material for this study, and empirical content analysis is used in the discussion of these online articles. A limitation in this regard is that a subscription is required to access parts of *The New York Times*. It is therefore possible that the findings may be incomplete. To overcome this limitation for further studies would be to subscribe to the news source so as to have full access to the articles.

Four, other international print news media sources, which can also be accessed online, such as French and/or German newspapers, could have been used for this study but ones comprehension of these languages is limited. This explains the choice of two English newspapers for the purpose of this study. Further studies could be undertaken and the research improved by looking at international media sources in other languages. This could provide a different viewpoint of international perceptions of Africa and, in particular, of South Africa's ability to stage the FIFA World Cup™.

Finally, the lack of academic sources published on the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ and the media hindered in a more wide-ranging study, as only a few papers were published analysing the media and the 2010 FIFA World Cup™. However, this did not derail the study as

literature on mega-events and media studies was observed, and further applied these two to the case of South Africa as the host of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™.

1.6.2. Delimitations

These constraints explain the decision not to look at the reporting of other international newspapers⁵ on the World Cup, although this would have been valuable, and would have resulted in a more reliable and more in-depth study. Inclusively the restrictions and boundaries of the study are discussed.

The concept of discourse analysis was set as a delimitation of this thesis because, given the research questions posed, content analysis is more appropriate. Discourse analysis is considered a qualitative type of analysis only which relates to the scrutiny of language, semiotics. However, discourse analysis would have enhanced this study, and provided greater theoretical depth, given that the language utilised in the newspaper articles would be further analysed.

1.7. Thesis structure

The first chapter provides the background review, the problem statement, the rationale, and the literature review, and places the understudied aspects of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ as the significance of this study, given the relationship between the print media and sports mega-events. This chapter also presents an outline of the research design and methodology for this study.

Chapter 2 draws on two kinds of literature, namely that relating to media studies and the reporting of sports mega-events. The chapter discusses the literature relating to such mega-events, and looks at what leads nations to bid to host these kinds of events. The relation between mega-events and the media is then linked to theories of international political economy. These theories of Marxism and liberal-pluralist are applied to the concept of mega-events, as reported in the media. A second body of literature in this chapter focuses on the theoretical framework of media studies, and on discussions of framing theory.

⁵ This is mentioned in the limitations.

Chapter 3 provides information regarding the background of South Africa's 2010 FIFA World Cup™ bid. The chapter begins by giving a brief historical overview of sport in South Africa. It looks at the impact of sports sanctions and boycotts during the apartheid era, and at the subsequent hosting of mega-events in the post-apartheid era. This overview provides a context for understanding South Africa's motives and rationales for the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ bid. By assessing the country's aims and objectives for hosting the World Cup, and its effect on the South African political economy, this chapter questions the uniqueness of this event and provides a critique of the "African World Cup", and further addresses the legacies of the tournament.

Chapter 4 presents findings from the content analysis of *The New York Times* and the *Guardian* to identify the frames that emerge from the newspaper reports and the frequency of recurring key words in the reports. This analysis is conducted on articles that pertain to the hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ by South Africa. Articles are analysed within a specific time frame (between May 2004 and December 2010); this enables a more effective evaluation of the content provided by these two newspapers. The chapter discusses the research methodology used (i.e. gathering information from the articles and identifying the frequency of selected words and their sub-themes). It then offers a discussion of the keywords identified. The discussion is divided into two sections, which look at articles published by *The New York Times* and the *Guardian* respectively.

Finally, Chapter 5 revisits the research questions and discusses the main findings of the study. This chapter further highlights the theory applied in the study, and notes areas of future research in the field of mega-events and the media.

Chapter 2: Literature review and theoretical analysis

2. Introduction

Sports mega-events were once seen as events staged mainly by developed countries, but they are now increasingly being sought after by both developing and developed nations. These “hallmark”⁶ events, as cited by Lepp and Gibson (2011:4), are seen as a way of achieving socio-economic benefits through infrastructural development and foreign direct investments. As a result sports mega-events such as the FIFA World Cup™ are becoming increasingly attractive to nation states across the world.

Their extensive media coverage is what makes sports mega-events so attractive to the host countries that take advantage of this to rebrand their images through destination marketing. This chapter thus examines the literature on the coverage of these sports mega-events in the media. It focuses on two bodies of literature, namely that which looks at the treatment in the media of these mega-events, and that which looks more generally at media studies.

The aim of this chapter is to survey the relevant literature, and further examine the association between the media and these global sporting events. The motivation for hosting these events will be discussed in the light of the literature on this subject. It highlights the role the media play in the promotion of such events and in rebranding the host country. This may then be linked with theories of international political economy, such as liberal pluralism and Marxist theories.

The literature on media studies provides a theoretical background for the analysis and informs the methodology of this study, which is specifically related to Chapter 4. Within the field of media studies there are numerous theoretical models that explain the behaviour of producers and consumers of the media. This section addresses these issues, and highlights the importance of framing theory for this study.

⁶ Lepp and Gibson (2011:4) cite a definition of hallmark events provided by Ritchie (1984) as “major one-time or recurring events of limited duration, developed primarily to enhance the awareness, appeal, and profitability of a...destination in the short term and/or long term. Such events rely on their uniqueness, status or timely significance to create interest or create attraction”.

2.1. Sports mega-events

Maharaj (2011) views sport as a powerful emerging tool for economic development. He further notes that sport has played a role in the rise of powerful geographical forces. These potential outcomes (rise in power), noted by Maharaj (2011), serve as symbolic attachments to a city, country or nation that hosts any sports mega-event. As a result governments that bid to host mega-events justify their bids “on the grounds of the long-term macroeconomic and sectoral gains” the events bring (Cornelissen et al. 2011b:307).

Such events have important elements in the orientation of nations in the global society (Horne & Manzenreiter 2006); as they symbolise international acceptance, and demonstrate that a country has the necessary infrastructure, socio-political and economic resources to host events of such magnitude. Some studies argue that sport can be viewed as a progressive and liberating phenomenon, opening up for dialogue exchange between states (Maguire et al. 2002). Thus Cornelissen and Swart (2006:108) point out that once a country has broken into the international arena by hosting a sporting mega-event, there will be an increased desire to host other sports mega-events in the future.

However, literature on mega-events asserts that such sporting proceedings are not categorised under one type of grouping. Gratton, Dobson and Shibli (2000:20), and Ritchie (1984) note the different categories of such events. They place these events in the following categories, depending on their economic spin-offs. (i) Events that attract an international audience are considered to be Type A mega-events. Examples of type A tournaments are the Olympics and the FIFA World Cup™. (ii) The Rugby World Cup, on the other hand, is considered to be a Type B event, because not all nations participate in type B tournaments and it attracts a smaller international audience (as compared to type A sports mega-events). (iii) Type C events include events such as the World Badminton Championships; occur irregularly as compared to type B counterpart. (iv) Finally Type D events include only national championships which are on a very small scale. Hosting one of these types of event demonstrates a country’s infrastructural and socio-economic capacity and potential to the international community.

The literature on sports mega-events highlights the importance of a country’s bid to host such events and stresses the economic and infrastructural significance of these events, especially

Type A tournaments. According to Roche (2000:1), sports mega-events can be viewed as “large-scale cultural events, which have a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance”. This is because such events have the potential to attract extensive media coverage, providing beneficial consequences for the host country. Roberts (2004) shares the same sentiments, and stresses the power that sports mega-events have in transmitting promotional messages through various forms of media. However, Cornelissen (2010:132) argues that mega-events, although regarded as “boosters, as major, egalitarian festivals celebrating the purity of sports, [are] in truth skewed and protected in their proprietorship”. She further states that this is because they are “driven by neo-mercantilist impulses, and the ambitions of a global class for whom the commercial stakes are very high”.

Mega-events, which are organised by national governments and international non-governmental organisations, have become increasingly sought after by states, as mentioned above. In the past these have mainly been developed countries, but this has changed, with a growing number of developing states bidding for such events (Cornelissen 2004b). This is a recent phenomenon because before 1980 the hosting of a mega-event was seen as a financial burden for the host country (Loots 2006; Lepp & Gibson 2011), and this deterred developing countries from bidding to host events of such magnitude. Examples of events that were regarded as imposing a financial burden were the 1972 Olympics in Munich and the 1976 Olympics in Montreal.

It is imperative then to highlight that there are direct and indirect economic spin-offs for the host nation and such events are not seen as requiring massive investment. With anticipated high returns on investments (ROIs) for the host country, the hosting of mega-events has become more attractive for developing nations. While the host nation may not expect a direct dollar-for-dollar ROI, as is the case in developing countries, they do expect long-term economic benefits to accrue in relation to investments in tourism and business (Bob, Swart & Cornelissen 2008). If returns on investments are taken into consideration, there is a view that the hosting of such events may result in urban regeneration, economic growth, improved transportation, cultural facilities, and greater global recognition and prestige (Chalkley & Essex 1999).

The literature related to these mega-events shows how these events function and “how they leverage their associated opportunities” (Horne & Manzenreiter 2006:120). Sports mega-

events are seen as significant as they have both economic and social benefits for the host city and attract international media coverage (Bob et al 2008), as noted previously. Horne and Manzenreiter (2006:3) point to three reasons for the growing attraction of sports mega-events for potential host countries. (i) Due to unprecedented developments in the technology of mass communication, there has been a surge in the global audience for sports mega-events. (ii) They have witnessed the “formation of a sport-media-business alliance”. This alliance results in vast global exposure for these events. Particular companies may become official sponsors of the event. (iii) The hosting of mega-events are “valuable promotional opportunities” for the host nation.

Given these promotional opportunities, host nations utilise sports mega-events as vehicles to rebrand themselves and use their marketing power to influence how the nation is represented to the global community. Rebranding by host nations contributes to urban regeneration and tourism development (Desai & Vahed 2010; Horne & Manzenreiter 2006). In addition, the adoption of a tourism strategy by the host nation is an opportunity for it to market itself and “showcase the uniqueness of [the] local communities” (Campbell & Phago 2008:26). The more intangible consequence of such events is that they have the potential to bring large groups of people together in celebration of the event. However, there are also critiques of these events and the opportunities they present. For example, Cornelissen and Swart (2006:108) state that although there is developmentalist agenda for the hosting of mega-events:

Sports mega-events are generally initiated and driven by cadres of societal elites and are aimed at satisfying developmental goals or ambitions around projections, competitiveness or growth targets. In the planning, implementation and execution of events, however, social and other imprints are left that can have enduring impacts on the society.

(Cornelissen & Swart 2006:108)

This is to say that in spite of the benefits of hosting mega-events, there is little impact on existing social inequalities as the decision-making process is controlled by a social elite (consisting mainly of the host government and institutional bodies). These imprints can be attributed to the “fantasy of underestimated costs, overestimated revenues, underestimated environmental impacts and over-valued economic development effects” (Horne & Manzenreiter 2006:10). Horne and Manzenreiter (2006) add that the main axis of interest in

sports mega-events has shifted from their political use to their value in economic terms. During the hosting of these mega-events security issues are likely to come to the fore, which can place the host nation's credibility with regard to safety in question. Mega-events also have the potential to enhance the soft-power of the host nation specifically in cases where a developing nation is the host.

However, the spin-offs that accompany mega-events are significant. These include the development of local sport, and bringing about social and economic benefits for local communities. In this way, host nations can use such events to promote government policies (Hall 1994). Because of their unifying potential, sports mega-events such as the FIFA World Cup™ are seen as “top priorit(ies)” (Ngonyama 2010:177) by nations across the globe, including African nations. Black and Van der Westhuizen (2004) believe that mega-events help with identity building and signalling, and with marketing, development, political liberalisation and the promotion of human rights – all of which are much needed in the African continent.

2.1.1. Mega-events and the media

Having highlighted the role that mega-events can play (especially for developing countries), the role of the media in promoting these events must be emphasised. The media function in a number of ways. (i) The media can be used to control or reduce conflict. (ii) However, the media can also celebrate conflicts in the bid to increase sales when covering conflicts. (iii) The media can furthermore be a biased participant that either defends or attacks the status quo. (iv) The media can also act as a third party “watchdog” that provides feedback to the public on local or international problems. (v) Also it acts as gatekeeper by setting agendas, filtering issues, and accentuating particular positions to maintain a balance of views (Putnam 2002).

Additionally, Cohen (1973) mentions that the media are responsible for promoting “moral panics”, identifying scapegoats, and acting as a guide to social control. The terms “amplification”, “sensationalisation”, and “polarisation” have been used to describe the tendency of the media to exaggerate phenomena, increase the newsworthiness of an event, and mobilise society against a supposed threat. However, one should add that “the news

media do not provide a mirror image of the world, they are only actively involved in creating news and constructing a version of what is happening in the real world” (Barrat 1986:100).

Taking into consideration the roles described by Putnam (2002), there is a likelihood that sports mega-events will be used for economic and ideological ends, and for image creation through the mutually beneficial relationships that exist between the media, sporting bodies, the state, and the corporate world. The media coverage of sporting events benefits the host country or nation by transmitting promotional messages that assist in the image construction of the host nation. Nauright (2004) highlights the increased investment by media corporations in their coverage on sports mega-events.

The three points made by Horne and Manzenreiter (2006:3), in explaining why countries would want to host mega-events, illustrate that bidding nations have taken into consideration the growth in technologies of mass communication which have resulted in a surge in the global audience for such events. This gives the host nation “valuable promotional opportunities” for rebranding itself and communicating its capabilities. Additionally, the media attention received by the host nation before the tournament is said to set the leverage for long-term benefits that the host will incur Cornelissen et al. (2011b:310).

In the studies conducted by Roche (2000) the scale of an event governs the extent of media interest: for mega-events such as the Football World Cup there exists a global audience. Horne and Manzenreiter (2002:196) point out that resources must be made available for communications systems and enormous media centres. The amounts paid by national broadcasting systems to televise these events provide ample evidence of the cost of hosting such events. All this illustrates the attention such events get from the media. Tomlinson, Bass and Pillay (2009:5) further highlight that FIFA sponsors solutions that go beyond the scope of “traditional media” and this can help promote a brand on a global scale.

The mediatisation⁷ of mega-events, such as the FIFA World Cup™, has the power to transform ordinary places into “host cities” (Horne & Manzenreiter 2002:196), thus attracting

⁷ Cornelissen (2010: 136) states that “mediatisation refers to the process by which the expansion and the penetration of the media in social and economic spheres leads to a situation where the media starts to gain an increasingly prominent semiotic function in the construction of societal values. With reference to sports mega-events, sport mediatisation refers to the enhanced role of the media in the production and circulation of event imagery and symbols and hence the construction and diffusion of meanings of these events”.

millions of spectators who will not necessarily experience the “live action”. Nauright (2004:1326) refers to all this as the “sport-media-tourism complex”; in other words, sports mega-events focus enormous media interest on the host city, “which, it is hoped, will translate into an influx of capital through tourism and new investments”. In the study conducted by Lepp and Gibson (2011), they state that the hosting of a sports mega-event has more of a positive effect on the image of the country than that which is negative. This they account to the media attention that a host country generates, for example, Lepp and Gibson (2011:4) cite the study conducted by Kim and Morrison (2005) which found the progression of South Korea as a tourist destination due to the media exposure the country received as host of the 2002 FIFA World Cup™.

2.1.1.1. International political economy approaches

Noting that “sporting events have become integral components of [the] global political economy” (Nauright 2004:1326), Nauright (2004) further notes that the production shift which has resulted in an “expanding focus in the developed world on the ‘branding’, ‘theming’ and consumption of image and lifestyle”. Sports mega-events are influenced by the international political economy (IPE) and thus the media interest in these events can be explained by sampling and applying some of the theories of international political economy. The theories applied in this instance are the: liberal-pluralism, and Marxism theories.

The Marxist approach to the media which views society as being of class domination, concerns itself with the general theory of ideology, which according to Bennett (1982:31) is through looking at the “role played by ideological institutions in the process whereby existing relations of class domination are reproduced and perpetuated, or to the contrary, challenged and overthrown”. Chandler (2000) echoes similar sentiments, noting that the media (serving as the ideological institution in this case) “relay interpretive frameworks consonant with the interests of the dominant class and media audiences”. This domination is a product of several centuries of development (Nauright 2004:1328). Chandler (2000) further points out that the strengths of the Marxist media analysis can be viewed through the focus on ideology, which in itself exposes “whose reality we are being offered in a media text”. He further highlights that through the Marxist perspective our attention is focused on issues of political and economic interests in the mass media and “highlight the social inequalities in media representation”. Through his ‘media-sport complex’ analysis, Maguire (2008:3), views that in more recent times global sports events have come to serve as “vehicles for the expression of

ideologies that are transnational in character”. Thus, through the media, as noted by Nauright (2004:1328), sports mega-events can “provide opportunities to challenge dominant social structures” and ideologies.

On the other hand, a non-Marxist theory (according to Chandler 2000; Bennett 1982; Gurevitch, Bennett, Curran & Woollacott 1982; McQuail 1987), which has an approach to mass media is the theory of liberal-pluralism. This theory focuses on international institutions (the media in this context) as agenda setters which further acts as catalysts or mediator for cooperation. Furthermore, institutions can control the volume and the types of information that are available to participants. These institutions can be labelled as the media, and “function as a ‘fourth estate’” (Bennett 1982:31). This is based on the importance the media play in constituting information that is independent of the government (Bennett 1982). In terms of mega-events, it can be stated that through the lens of liberal-pluralists the media thus set the agenda through transmitting information to members of society about the event in its entirety as an independent estate of government.

The application and linkage of mega-events and media to the approaches of international political economy assist in creating an understanding of the positioning of the above theories. As stated by Nauright (2004:1325) “over the years media corporations have invested in unprecedented levels in sporting coverage”. This can be attributed to the “global culture display by the media” of mega-events such as the FIFA World Cup™ (Nauright 2004:1325). It should also be reinforced that the media portray mega-events in certain images, and the high consumption of mediated events creates the opportunity of such portrayals and also not forgetting the opportunity for the host nation to re-brand itself.

2.2. Media studies: Framing theory

The media do not simply report on mega-events, they also frame and interpret how these events, and the countries that stage them, are viewed both internally and on a global stage (Maguire 2011:682). This study situates itself within the perspectives provided by the framing theory, which also serves as the theoretical methodology used in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

2.2.1. Framing theory

Seen as an extension of agenda setting (McCombs, Shaw & Weaver 1997), framing theory is one of the most vital concepts in media studies. The media are the primary framing institution and dramatically influence the way in which we view current events and issues. This theory is used in this thesis because it provides guidance to both the investigation of media content and the study of the relationship between media and the public (De Vreese 2005). The concept of framing originally appeared in Goffman's work (1974), in which he stated that the manner in which a message is organised has an effect on the thought and actions that follow. As Goffman (1974:21) points out, "We actively classify and organise our life experiences to make sense of them. These schemata of interpretation are called "frames" and enable us to locate, perceive, identify and label".

According to Entman (1993) and Scheufele (1999), framing theory argues that in focusing the audience's attention on particular news events, the media place the audience within a specific field of meaning. The view set forth by Entman in his earlier writings (1991) is that by providing, repeating and reinforcing particular words and images (that refer to some ideas and not others), news frames work to make certain ideas more salient in a text than others. This suggests that framing is the organisation and presentation of the news by the media; the audience in turn interprets what it receives from the media in the form of social meanings. Entman (1991) further notes that news narratives contain news frames, which encourage those perceiving and thinking about events to develop particular understandings of them. Keywords, concepts, metaphors and visual images all help to constitute news frames, and these can be detected by "analysing for particular words and images which appear in a narrative conveying thematically consonant meanings across media and across time" (Entman 1991:7).

Chong and Druckman (2007) assert that scholars track frames in order to identify trends, compare coverage across media outlets and examine variations across types of media. Although uniform standards for measurement do not exist, Chong and Druckman (2007) provide steps for the production of frames as the most compelling studies. Firstly, an "issue or event is identified" (Entman 2004:23-24). Secondly, if the goal is to understand how frames affect public opinion, the researcher needs to isolate a specific attitude. Thirdly, an initial set of frames for an issue is identified inductively to create a coding system. Fourthly,

once an initial set of frames has been identified, the next step is to select sources for content analysis. When frames are placed in communication, given the measured standards above, there is an effect on the behaviour and attitudes of the audience.

Framing has four main purposes in the context of media research, namely, to classify problems, detect discourses, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies. Given these purposes, it is evident that frames influence the manner in which events are portrayed, not only to tell its audience what to think, but also how to think. This is to say that framing leads the audience to accept one meaning rather than another. Tversky and Kahneman (1981) theorise that framed information can be encoded as either positive or negative, and that this encoding determines which portion of a psychophysical value function would contribute to their perception of the worth of the information.

Having been traced back to roots in both psychology and sociology (Pan & Kosicki 1993), numerous frames have been identified by scholars. What follows is an explanation of issue-specific frames, which is the type of framing most relevant to this thesis.

2.2.1.1. Issue-specific frames

It is necessary to understand when and why different frames are at work. For example, there are studies of media frames that are content based. According to De Vreese (2005), this applies to news frames. Within news frames it is found that certain frames apply only to specific topics or events. Made salient in the media, such frames may be labelled issue-specific frames.

An issue-specific approach to the study of news frames allows for reflection on the level of specificity and the details that are relevant to the event or issue under investigation. Issue-specific frames may capture particular aspects of selection, organisation and elaboration that are present in news coverage and pertain specifically to a well-defined issue. This can be viewed as an advantage. However, Hertog and McLeod (2001) and De Vreede, Peter and Semetko (2001) point out that there is an inherent disadvantage as well. They suggest that the high degree of issue-sensitivity makes analyses drawing on issue-specific frames difficult to generalise, compare and use as empirical evidence for theory building. The absence of comparability has led to researchers “easily finding evidence for what they are looking for” and contributes to “one of the most frustrating tendencies in the study of frames and framing,

[namely] the tendency for scholars to generate a unique set of frames for every study” (Hertog & McLeod 2001:150-151).

2.3. Conclusion

The heightened media interest in sports programming over the past twenty years cannot be simply explained by a sudden global growth of interest in sport. Horne and Manzenreiter (2002:211) cite the increasing commercial pressures on television companies, the cost benefits of sports vis-à-vis other TV shows (drama, documentaries, etc.) and the development of new, and competing media – video, cable, satellite, digital, internet, mobile phones – all of which have been responsible for the interest in relatively low-cost ways of attracting or maintaining global audiences.

This chapter took account of the literature on sports mega-events and the media, and outlined an analytical framework based on the theories of international political economy. The literature on media studies highlighted framing theory and its role in the way the media influence audiences which is the basis of the empirical study conducted in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

Curran and Seaton (2003:334) conclude that “the media have an authoritative relationship with their audience.” This is said to be a relationship of “dependence and trust and it provides the media with potentially an independent power base in society and one that may have become more powerful recently”. Therefore, the linkage between sports mega-events and media is clearly important and is illustrated by this chapter.

Chapter 3: South Africa's first FIFA World Cup™ Final

Sport is probably the most effective means of communication in the modern world, bypassing the verbal and written communication and reaching directly out to billions of people worldwide.

(Nelson Mandela, quoted in Beck 2004:77)

3. Introduction

Sport in South Africa has been used, mainly since the demise of apartheid, as the means of communicating South Africa's capabilities to the global community and rebranding itself. The awarding and hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ by South Africa, served as an opportunity for the host country to showcase these capabilities.

This chapter notes that South Africa's bid to host the World Cup was underpinned in part by South Africa challenging the view of the continent as predominantly struggling and non-modern (Cornelissen 2004b), and the country's proven track record of successfully staging sports mega-events in the past. Further, the chapter provides a brief overview of South Africa's role in sports mega-events, and also of its bid for the 2006 FIFA World Cup™. Chapter 3 addresses South Africa's bid for the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ and the motivations for its bid.

In addition, this section of the thesis considers the argument that South Africa wanted to project this as a bid to host an "African World Cup". It can, however, be argued that by positioning itself in this way, South Africa was in fact aiming to extend its influence in Africa. Finally, the long-term effects (legacies) of hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ are considered in order to establish whether Africa is able to alter negative perceptions of the continent by hosting such sports mega-events.

3.1. Historical background of sports during apartheid

The motivation for and background of South Africa's bid to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ should be seen in the context of the country's sports history. The imposition of

apartheid (1948 to about 1992), particularly in sport, resulted in sanctions being introduced against the racial organisation of South African sport.

Levermore (2004) discusses the relationship between sport and international relations. One example of this close relationship is the introduction of sporting sanctions against the apartheid state. South Africa's exclusion from international sport and sporting bodies reflected "the international community's contempt for the government's policies" (Marx 2004:10). Such sanctions were an indication of the almost universal opposition to apartheid.

3.1.1. Post-apartheid mega-events

Since emerging from a racially polarised system of governance, South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs has attempted to promote a positive image in the post-apartheid era, one which serves the national interest of the country (Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) 2011).

The post-apartheid government recognised that hosting sports mega-events would help to promote new and favourable images of the country and the continent. South Africa's active participation in the bidding process for such events resulted in the successful hosting of the 1995 International Rugby Board (IRB) World Cup. This was followed by hosting the African Cup of Nations in 1996, the All-African Games in 1999, the 2003 Cricket World Cup, and the Indian Premier League (IPL) in 2009. All these events demonstrated optimism on South Africa's part regarding its capacity to host events of international magnitude.

The hosting of such events signalled South Africa's re-inclusion in and acceptance by the global community (Marx 2004). "South Africa's enthusiastic participation in the world economy of sport" (Alegi 2001:1) made it possible to create a new image and identity for the country (Campbell & Phago 2008).

Through the use of "sports diplomacy" South Africa was able to market itself by successfully hosting sports mega-events. In the process institutional structures such as the South African Sports Commission (SASC) was established in 2000. Its task was to coordinate the country's bids to host sports mega-events. In addition, the International Marketing Council of South Africa (IMC) was established in 2002. It sought to establish a positive and compelling image of South Africa through its "Brand South Africa" initiative.

It thus became clear that, through its use of institutional structures such as the ones noted above and also not forgetting the Department of Tourism, the post-apartheid South African government was intent on using the hosting of major events as a marketing platform to change the image of the country. These institutions also demonstrated the country's infrastructural capacity and organisational capabilities to its international counterparts.

The successful hosting of the previously mentioned mega-events led to South Africa's bid to host even bigger event, for example internationally acclaimed mega-events such as the 2004 Olympic Games (Cape Town was the bid city) and the 2006 FIFA World Cup™. Although both bids were unsuccessful, they did not deter the country from bidding to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup™, with a successful outcome.

3.2. South Africa's bid for 2006 FIFA World Cup™

FIFA's welcoming of South Africa back into its ranks at the end of the apartheid era meant that South Africa could qualify to host a Soccer World Cup. South Africa's football governing body, the South African Football Association (SAFA), announced its intention to bid for the 2006 FIFA World Cup™ in 1997, and put itself forward as a host candidate (Griffiths 2000).

Hosting the 2006 FIFA World Cup™ would provide South Africa with developmental opportunities, and would attract foreign investment (Maharaj 2011), which South Africa needed if it were to grow economically, especially given the historical legacy of international sanctions against the country.

FIFA's attitude to the 2006 World Cup, on the other hand, was based on the premise that "it [South Africa] was the best qualified country in Africa" (Desai & Vahed 2010:155), given the country's past experience of staging sports mega-events. It was claimed that South Africa would represent all of Africa in hosting the FIFA World Cup™ – reference was made to the notion of a pan-Africanist World Cup (Desai & Vahed 2010).

In its bid to host the 2006 FIFA World Cup™, South Africa was competing against other African countries such as Morocco, Ghana, Egypt and Nigeria. However, towards the end of the bidding process some African states withdrew their bids in the interest of providing a

stronger, united African bid. This left South Africa facing Germany in the final round of voting.

The result of the final stage of voting transpired into a controversial win by Germany narrowly defeating South Africa by one vote. The awarding of the 2006 FIFA World Cup™ to Germany gave rise to much criticism, and led FIFA to restructure its voting system. This restructuring led to the rotational policy, introduced by FIFA, which meant that each football confederation would be granted an equal opportunity to host the football World Cup. Cornelissen (2004b:1299) argues that the new rotational policy had its origins in “South Africa’s misfortune [for] the 2006 [tournament], [and] could be seen as an early diplomatic triumph for [South Africa]”. However, Latakomo (2010) points out that although this was an opportunity for Africa (and more specifically South Africa) to host the World Cup, “some European[s]...still [preferred] a North African country” as host of the World Cup because of the closeness of the destinations to Europe.

3.3. South Africa’s bid for 2010 FIFA World Cup™

The successful [hosting] of the FIFA World Cup™ in Africa will provide a powerful, irresistible momentum to [the] African Renaissance. ...We want, on behalf of our continent, to stage an event that will send ripples of confidence from Cape to Cairo – an event that will create social and economic opportunities throughout Africa. We want to ensure that one day, historians will reflect upon the 2010 World Cup as a moment when Africa stood tall and resolutely turned the tide on centuries of poverty and conflict. We want to show that Africa’s time has come.

(President Thabo Mbeki 2003)

Defeat to Germany in its bid for the 2006 FIFA World Cup™ did not deter South Africa from bidding for the 2010 FIFA World Cup™. Given the go-ahead by SAFA and the South African government to begin with preparations for “Mission 2010 FIFA World Cup™” (Latakomo 2010:172), saw the 2010 Local Organising Committee (LOC) gear itself up too. This determination illustrated the belief that South Africa was ready, and that “Africa’s time [had] come” (Thabo Mbeki 2003).

With its African competition limited mainly to North African countries, namely Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt and Libya, South Africa saw itself as being in an advantageous position in its bid for the 2010 FIFA World Cup™. This could be attributed to the fact that its 2010 bid built on its 2006 bid networks that the country had created, and on the 2006 bid theme, “It’s time for Africa”. This theme highlighted the idea of Africa’s arrival (McCullough 1999), and provided a crucial rationale for the bid.

Under the leadership of Danny Jordaan, CEO of the South Africa World Cup Bid committee, Molefi Oliphant, President of SAFA, Irvin Khoza, Chairman of the South Africa World Cup Bid committee, and the stewardship of then President Thabo Mbeki, the announcement of the winning bid in Zurich on 15 May 2004 meant that South Africa became the first African country to win hosting rights for a FIFA World Cup™ final. All of South Africa’s Nobel Peace laureates were present (Nelson Mandela, F.W. de Klerk and Desmond Tutu) at the announcement of the winning bid. Their support and presence throughout the bidding process was a further trump card for the South African bid team. The awarding of the World Cup to South Africa was described as a great “victory” for the African continent (Desai & Vahed 2010:154). It heightened the expectations surrounding the event and underlined the potential benefit that would accrue to South Africa and the rest of the continent. However, before South Africa could blow the whistle to mark the beginning of Africa’s first World Cup, a practice run took place through the staging of the 2009 Confederations Cup, which served as a dress rehearsal testing South Africa’s readiness to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup™. The event was staged in four cities (Johannesburg, Pretoria, Bloemfontein, and Rustenburg) without any serious problems (Alegi 2010), and was further applauded by FIFA President Joseph Blatter as a sign of South Africa’s readiness to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup™.

The 2010 FIFA World Cup™ comprised 64 matches and 32 teams, and featured six African teams, including the host nation. It lasted for a full months (11 June 2010 to 11 July 2010) and took place in nine host cities: Bloemfontein, Pretoria, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, Nelspruit, Rustenburg, Polokwane, and Durban. At the end of the tournament FIFA President Joseph Blatter gave the host country a near perfect score of 9 out of 10 for hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ (Maharaj 2011).

3.3.1. Motivations for hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup™

South Africa's bid to host the World Cup was underpinned by certain motivations and rationales, which were pointed out in the SA 2010 Bid Book found through the *Mail & Guardian* (South African version) website (2003). According to the SA 2010 Bid Book (2003), the hosting of previous sports mega-events (as noted earlier in the chapter) provided a proven positive track record of South Africa's experience in hosting sports mega-events thus making the country "capable, efficient and a reliable host" (SA 2010 Bid Book 2003:7). Additionally, the bid to host the tournament pointed out the country's commercial maturity, development of physical infrastructure and the human skills availability. With these attributes highlighted, South Africa's bid committee indicated that it had the confidence and backing of the international business community, with companies such as BMW, Adidas and Anglo America offering financial support towards the country's bid and hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ (SA 2010 Bid Book 2003:6). The bid also aimed at dispelling and challenging misconceptions of the continent (Cornelissen 2004a), it shaped the distinctly pan-African bid, which was further enhanced during the tournament "by the slogan 'Ke Nako: Celebrate Africa's Humanity'" (Cornelissen et al. 2011b:314). In a letter to FIFA President Joseph Blatter, Molefi Oliphant noted the aspirations of South Africa rebranding itself through showcasing that South Africa could excel on a global stage (SA 2010 Bid Book 2003).

As mentioned in Chapter 2, once a country has broken into the international arena by hosting a mega-event, it further leads to the ambition to host other mega-events (Cornelissen & Swart 2006:108). South Africa provides such an example, having hosted the IRB in 1994, and a number of other sports mega-events. This aspiration is linked to the South African government's desire to rebrand the country as one that promotes pan-Africanism.

The following section highlights the economic, social, political, and symbolic motivations for South Africa's bid to host the football World Cup.

3.3.1.1. Economic

Having won the right to host the 2010 FIFA finals, South Africa affirmed that it was indeed capable of hosting an event of such magnitude and could "veil African dependence on Europe" (Müller 2007:37).

The benefit of the World Cup for tourism, infrastructural development and employment was the economic premise for South Africa's hosting of the World Cup. The World Cup would be a catalyst for economic growth and generate income and employment opportunities for South Africans, as noted in the projections made by Grant Thornton (2010). Hosting this tournament would also offer South Africa the prospect of increased foreign capital investment, and thus heightening international and domestic economic confidence in the host country (SA 2010 Bid Book 2003).

3.3.1.2. Social

Building on the rhetoric of giving Africa its opportunity, the hosting of the World Cup on African soil provided assistance to dispel negative portrayals of the continent (Cornelissen 2004a), especially the perception that "Africa could never upstage any competition from the developing world" (Makgabo 2006:5). Desai and Vahed (2010:155) point out that the "broad rationale [for hosting the World Cup in Africa provided] a boost to South Africa specifically and more generally to the Africa Renaissance agenda, heralding the growing unity of the continent in its quest to escape the quagmire of poverty".

The social motives included a pan-Africanist developmental front through the use of soccer. The African Legacy Programme, for example, highlighted South Africa's social commitment to its African role, with the support of the African Union (AU), and affirmed its commitment to making the World Cup an African tournament. African member states were urged to develop national programmes to implement the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ Legacy Programme. The aim of this Programme was to:

- (i) support the realisation of the African Renaissance objectives, including programmes of the African Union (AU) such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development [NEPAD];
- (ii) ensure maximum and effective African participation in the 2010 FIFA World Cup™;
- (iii) strengthen, develop and advance African football; and
- (iv) improve Africa's global image and combat Afro-pessimism.

(Donaldson 2004, in Maharaj 2011:52)

3.3.1.3. Political

Given the country's political and social past, and the fact that no World Cup had ever been staged in Africa, South Africa sought to challenge FIFA to demonstrate its (FIFA's) commitment to the principles of fairness and equality by awarding the World Cup to an African country. After the award of the bid South Africa's political landscape changed when President Thabo Mbeki was "recalled" by the African National Congress (ANC) in September 2008. However, newly appointed President Kgalema Motlanthe swiftly assured FIFA of South Africa's commitment to host the best World Cup ever (Desai & Vahed 2010). This illustrated South Africa's political stability and gave sponsors and spectators an assurance that the country was ready.

3.3.1.4. Symbolism

In pursuit of a strategy of identity and image promotion, South Africa sought to forge a new all-inclusive African identity that would appeal to the international community by shifting from its "rainbow nation" nationalism to a more Africanist position during the bidding process. Symbolic appeals to African unity were further strengthened by the ideology of the "African Renaissance", associated with Thabo Mbeki. According to Alegi (2010:129) African renaissance is "the belief that modernity and globalization, combined with African culture heritage, can be harnessed to reinvigorate the continent economically and politically".

This philosophy sought to portray the continent's successes and achievements in a favourable light and also to advance the pan-Africanist cause. The acceptance of South Africa's bid also reminded Africa and the global community that there exists an African success story, thus countering persisting negative perceptions of the continent. The words: an "African World Cup" and "unity", were continually echoed by South Africa's political leaders. The then KwaZulu-Natal Premier, Sbu Ndebele, reverberated these sentiments when he declared: "As host of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™, South Africa stands not as a country alone, but rather as a representative of Africa, and as a part of the Africa family of nations" (quoted in Latakomo 2010:182). The official poster (image 3.1 in the appendix) of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ which was revealed at the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ preliminary draw in Durban (South Africa 2007:4) serves as the symbolic "relationship between football and Africa. ...It reflect[ed] the positive impact the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ will have on Africa".

It can thus be stated that South Africa's bid for the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ revolved around four main advantages, as identified by Makgabo (2006) and Maharaj (2011). Firstly, there existed a commercial environment which would maximise revenues. Secondly, there were adequate services to provide for the needs of participating teams and fans. Thirdly, South Africa had already demonstrated that it had the world-class infrastructure needed to host mega-events. Fourthly, the event would leave behind a lasting legacy for South Africa and the continent, and this would be a way of building national pride and unity. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2011:401-402) added that the World Cup was used "to announce and project South Africa's presence in global governance". The intention, according to Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2011:401-402), was to bring about a "paradigm shift in Western perceptions of Africa" by promoting the African Renaissance agenda.

Thus "the 2010 World Cup became a massive project designed to enhance the status of South Africa and its place in the global market by promoting 'Brand South Africa', and by creating an image of the country as modern, technologically advanced, democratic, business- and tourist-friendly destination" (Alegi 2010:129).

3.4. The African Dream

South Africa is regarded as an emerging middle-order power (de Coning 2006; Solomon 2003), and this can be said to have been reinforced by its recent inclusion in the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) group of nations. Inclusively, the country's active membership of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), its role in a multilateral partnership involving India, Brazil and South Africa (IBSA), and also its involvement in conflict resolution on the African continent (de Coning 2006), all signify the country's active participation and leadership role on the continent and in the global arena. The country has global aspirations, but of course these initiatives are closely tied in with South Africa's own long-term national self-interest (Department of International Relations and Cooperation 2003).

Given the above roles South Africa has in the international relations community compared to its African counterparts, the country was in a relatively strong position on the continent and this reinforced its claim to represent Africa in the global sporting community by hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup™. It pursued a strategy of identity and image promotion by forging an

all-inclusive identity that would appeal to the international community and revising its “rainbow nation” strategy in favour of a pan-Africanist strategy during its bid to host the World Cup (SA 2010 Bid Book 2003).

The critique below serves a basis for considering whether the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ could be regarded as an “African World Cup”. This is an issue that merits further discussion, beyond its brief mention in this study.

3.4.1. Was it an African event?

The literature under review is critical of claims that the World Cup was an “African World Cup”. In his Master’s thesis Müller (2007) highlights that South Africa’s success of receiving the first African host rights of the FIFA World Cup™ was largely of symbolic value for the continent. Additionally, Tomlinson et al. (2011:39) argue that the way in which the South African government presented the hosting of the World Cup on African soil was in fact a charade, which mainly highlighted the economic gains that the continent would receive from hosting the World Cup on African soil. This economic rationale was overstated.

Desai and Vahed (2010) point out that the commercial benefits brought about by the World Cup would not necessarily have long-term effects. The infrastructure was only geared towards the hosting of the World Cup, and was not related to longer-term legacy development. Furthermore, if, as was stated, the World Cup was a platform to confront the continuing underdevelopment of Africa, then the role of FIFA had to be challenged, and the South African LOC failed to do this.

Ngonyama (2010:169) expressed similar sentiments, describing the World Cup as an “elitist World Cup” that saw the misdirection of billions of rands. The economic reality of the international football system was that it reflected neo-imperialist practices by the European football industry, and South Africa was willing to subordinate itself to FIFA’s institutional power. Cornelissen (2010) and Hyde (2010:1) both agree that the South African case demonstrates how “FIFA...trump[s] constitutional rights, cementing the organisation’s status as a sort of travel oligarchy, enjoying all the benefits of power with none of the disadvantages, like having to be remotely accountable”.

In the study conducted by Desai and Vahed (2010:156-158) they critique the claims of other writers, and examine some key issues regarding the World Cup. They question whether the “World Cup mark[ed] Africa’s turn or the turn on Africa?” The xenophobic attacks on African immigrants, mainly Zimbabweans, in South Africa in May 2008 raised questions about the image of “African humanity”⁸ portrayed by the host in their bid for the 2010 FIFA World Cup™.

In addition to the critique provided by Desai and Vahed (2010), Grant Thornton (2010) points out that in the “African World Cup” fewer than 2% of ticket holders were African. This low percentage was attributed to three factors: “First, the high cost of ticket sales; second, difficulties in obtaining a South African visa by other African nationalities; and third, purchases could only be done online” (Maharaj 2011:53). These factors resulted in the exclusion of many Africans from the 2010 FIFA World Cup™.

Having highlighted these critiques of the hosting of the “African World Cup” by South Africa, a few positive points do need to be made. For example, in asserting its African image through its hosting of the World Cup, South Africa had to display its “Africanness” to the FIFA governing body, while also having to re-affirm its African commitment and identity at home and to other Africans. This was achieved through the symbolism of African unity and promoted by the pan-Africanist ideology of the “African Renaissance”. The African Legacy Programme also illustrated South Africa’s commitment to its African role.

3.5. After the final whistle

3.5.1. Africa’s place in sports mega-events

Research into mega-events, as highlighted by Horne and Manzenreiter (2006:17), provides insight into the dynamics of consumer societies. These dynamics are seen in trends towards globalisation, and increased commodification in the long term. Cornelissen et al. (2011a:305) highlight that the hosting of the World Cup on African soil was to leave behind the legacies⁹ of “countering Afro-pessimism and encouraging investment in the continent”.

⁸ Which in isiZulu and isiXhosa is called ubuntu.

⁹ Legacies in the context of sport mega-events can be defined through the conceptualisation given by Preuss (2001:211, quoted in Cornelissen et al. 2011:308) as “irrespective of the time of production and space, legacy is all unplanned and planned, positive and negative, tangible and intangible structures created for and by a sport event that remain longer than the event itself”.

South Africa's successful bid to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ enabled South Africa and the continent to bid for other sports mega-events. However, the outcome of any future successful hosting is not guaranteed; the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ in South Africa enables one to gauge where the continent's hopes to host such events in the future are headed. This could be achieved by looking at the legacies left by the hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ by South Africa.

3.5.2. Political economy of South (Africa)

The hosting of the first-ever FIFA World Cup™ on African soil challenged the existing political economy of sport and international relations. The socio-economic spin-offs of staging an event of such magnitude are difficult to predict at present as it has only been a few years since the final whistle marking the end of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ has blown.

Gratton, Shibli and Coleman (2006:42) point out that the hosting of sporting events should not only be evaluated in terms of their immediate impact, but also their potential long-term economic benefits. These include newly constructed event facilities and infrastructure, urban revival, enhanced international reputation, increased tourism, improved public welfare, additional employment and increased inward investment. These long-term benefits should serve society as a whole. Alegi (2010:131) states the importance of evaluating the long-term impact of these events: he suggests that they are “unlikely to turn a financial profit due to spiralling costs”. In addition, economic projections are often overoptimistic, and the fallout from the global recession is likely to make itself felt.

However, a growing scholarly body critiques the highlighting of economic spin-offs as the main legacy of mega-events. Cornelissen et al. (2011b) cite literature by Crompton 1995; Cashman 2006; Preuss 2007; and Matheson 2008. Consequently, the legacies and their spin-offs from the World Cup are more likely to be intangible and unquantifiable, including brief feelings of pride and unity and improved images of Africa and Africans. This can be illustrated by Figure 3.1 below, which Cornelissen et al. (2011b:311) adapted from Swart (2008) and Matheson (2008) illustrating the legacies that are prevalent in sports mega-events. Cornelissen et al. (2011b) argue that legacies are not all positive and can be inclusive of negative legacies, thus the figure below highlights both positive and negative aspects that can be identified when assessing the legacies of sports mega-events.

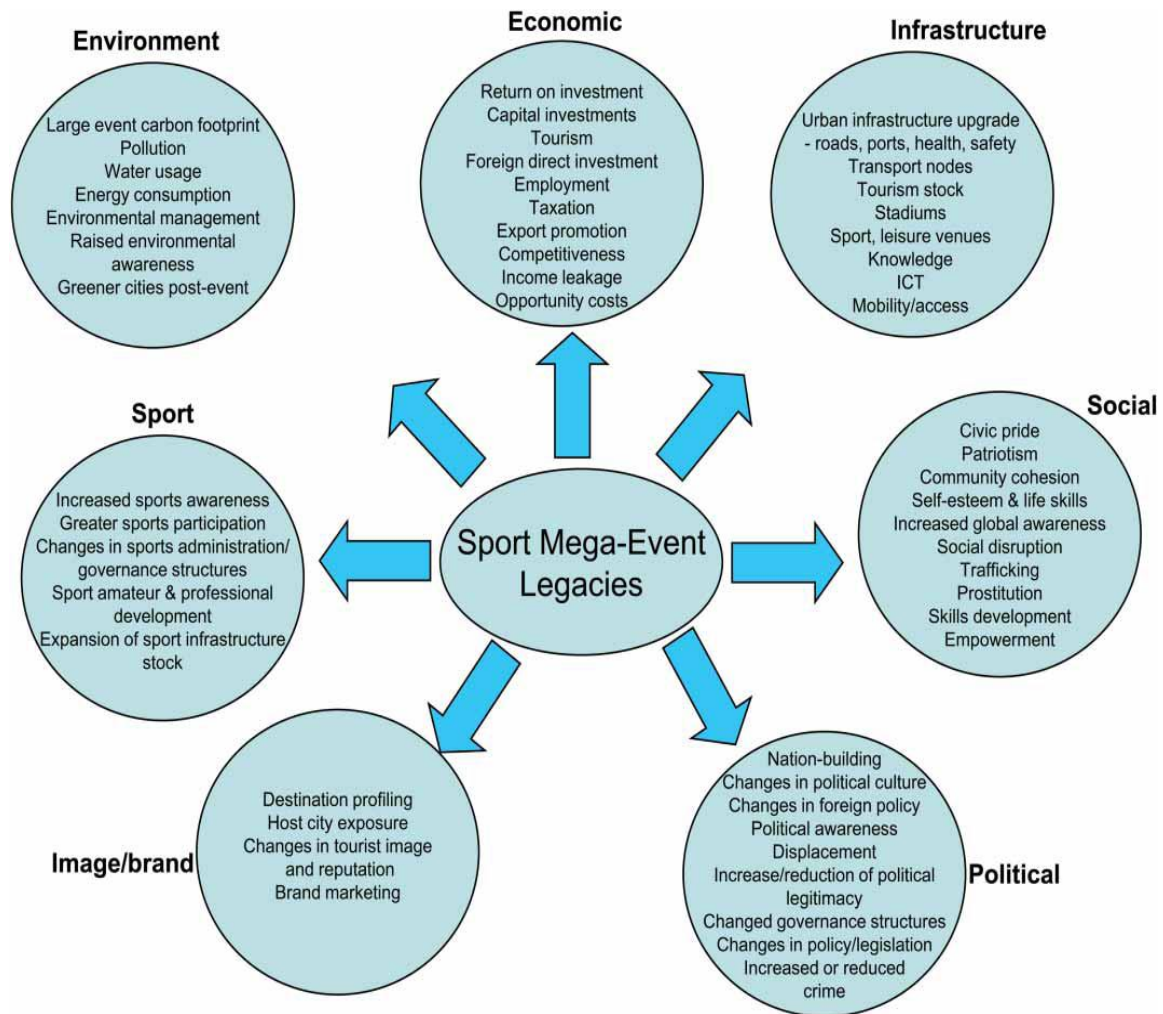


Figure 3.1: Sports mega-event legacies
Source: Cornelissen et al. (2011b:311)

As noted above, projected economic spin-offs can be overly optimistic and this was the case with South Africa’s hosting of the tournament. Projections were made about growth in employment, tourism and visitors and additional revenue to the country (Grant Thornton 2010). However, as noted by Cornelissen et al. (2011b:309), these long-term macroeconomic projections, which “should be evaluated for at least 20 years after the event”, are uncertain at this point.

Infrastructural investments are important legacy issues. According to Cornelissen et al. (2011b), the sustainability of such investments in the long-term could lead to social and economic benefits. The newly built and renovated stadiums for the World Cup were a strategy by the South African government to leave “behind a lasting legacy for local communities” (Cornelissen et al. 2011b:313). Roads, public transportation as other

infrastructural upgrades and development have also left behind a positive legacy for local communities.

Socio-economic, political and sports development legacies can be seen in the establishment of programmes such as the African Legacy Programme, noted earlier in the chapter. Such programmes built on the pan-Africanist front that the South African government wanted to portray. However, such programmes, which sought to uphold the socio-economic, political, and sports development legacies of the World Cup “were short lived” (Cornelissen et al. 2011b:314).

Finally Cornelissen et al. (2011b) address the environmental legacies of the World Cup. They state that mega-events have a negative effect on the environment. According to Cornelissen et al. (2011b:315) the 2010 soccer tournament left the largest carbon footprint, and this was attributed to the “geographical distance from the central World Cup spectator markets”.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the hosting of one mega-event leads to the desire to host more such events – as was the case with South Africa’s ambitions to host the 2020 Olympics in Durban. However, it needs careful consideration, specifically regarding the evaluation of the legacies incurred by the staging of the previous event. It should also be remembered that it will take at least 20 years to see the long-term results of staging a mega-event.

3.6. Conclusion

A major event such as the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ became the force for redefining international relations, as a result of the willingness to treat Africa as an equal partner in the football world and in the world of Type A sports mega-events. This symbolic meaning contradicted stereotypes and negative images of the continent and affirmed its ability to host Type A events.

Given the positioning of South Africa in the global community and the positive outlook on the country’s economic conditions and policy transformations, South Africa seemed attractive to the rest of the global community when compared to its African counterparts to host a FIFA World Cup™. South Africa’s bid process for both the 2006 and the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ was designed not only to promote the rebranding and re-imaging of South

Africa through its pan-African ideology and 'Brand South Africa' initiative, but also to assert the country's ability to host a FIFA soccer World Cup. This helped to change perceptions of the country and the continent, increasing confidence in the country's potential.

This chapter illustrated that the underlying motivation for the South African government's bid to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ was derived from notions of self-belief and efficiency (Tomlinson et al. 2011).

Highlighting the socio-economic impact of the FIFA World Cup™ requires a long-term perspective and further research, especially since it has only been a few years since the staging of Africa's first-ever World Cup. In the meantime studies can be conducted that look into the experience of other host nations, to see if South Africa and the continent are likely to face similar consequences.

By effectively hosting the World Cup, South Africa sought to promote a positive image of South Africa and Africa and combat Afro-pessimism regarding the country and continent's capabilities.

Chapter 4: Methodology and Findings

4. Introduction

The hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ Final by South Africa received a great deal of attention in the international press. *The New York Times* and the *Guardian* (UK) were among the news media outlets that reported on the tournament. The purpose of Chapter 4 is to take note of the frequency in words (keywords) that were prominent in articles covering the World Cup, and to examine how the use of these words influenced the way in which South Africa's hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ was portrayed by these two media outlets.

The following key questions will be addressed: (i) How was South Africa portrayed in these two print news sources? (ii) What were the keywords that emerged in the articles, and what were their frequency of repetition? This chapter illustrates that the media do not simply report on sports mega-events, such as the FIFA World Cup™; they also frame and interpret how the tournament is viewed both nationally and internationally (Maguire 2011:681).

The chapter first highlights the research design and methodology used to respond to the research questions. The next section identifies the significant keywords in the two news sources, and estimates their frequency. The conclusion is based on the findings of the keywords and their framing in the two newspapers, which are available and have been accessed online, and comments on the portrayal of South Africa in these two international media sources.

4.1. Research methodology and approach

This thesis consists of both qualitative and quantitative content analysis. The chosen methodology is appropriate for the study in that the goal is to observe and evaluate patterns in the coverage of the 2010 FIFA World™ Cup, which was hosted in South Africa.

For an evaluation of the content of World Cup coverage, the frequency of recurring words in articles in the two newspapers will be examined. These recurring words are defined as keywords. The framing and context of these keywords will also be discussed. These quantitative and qualitative content analyses are aimed at identifying patterns within the text

of the articles. However, “the discovery of these patterns takes place at different points in the research process, and [is] achieved through very different means” (Wesley 2009:13).

The analysis of the newspaper articles and the keywords takes the form of a longitudinal study focusing on the period from May 2004 up until December 2010. In addition, this exploratory study seeks to answer the “what” aspects addressed in the given time frame. Through exploring the keywords that emerged in the analysis of the news sources, the portrayal of South Africa by *The New York Times* and the *Guardian* as the announced host of the 2010 FIFA World™ Cup will be highlighted and discussed.

Seen as a systematic and objective method of identifying themes, content analysis is the examination and analysis of a text; it goes beyond an intuitive interpretation by giving a better grasp of the encoded meanings of the said text. Content analysis is used in this study to determine the presence of prevalent recurring keywords or concepts within a text or sets of texts, and helps to provide an analysis of the patterns in these texts.

Critical analysis of the two newspapers involved multiple readings of the articles in question. In this way, prominent keywords and their frequencies were identified. The identified keywords were highlighted and manually recorded. Once this was completed, the highlighted words were sorted into the Microsoft Office Excel programme and tallied. The findings were then ordered into the highest to the lowest occurring frequencies, with reference to the ten most prevalent words.

With the tallying terms such as “the 1994 Rugby World Cup” and “the 2009 Confederations Cup” were frequently mentioned in the newspaper, and could be placed in the category or sub-theme of *sports mega-events previously hosted by South Africa*. *Infrastructure*, *hospitality*, and *transportation* serve as other sub-themes. These sub-themes illustrate the frequency of the occurrence of keywords such as “stadiums” and “roads”, “accommodation” (or “hotels”) and “buses” in the articles.

Political, social, and economic stability, unity, electricity, and diseases are sub-themes that also emerged; some of the keywords and their framing could be categorised in this way. Words which frequently appeared in the two newspapers, and can be categorised into these

sub-themes, were “nation-building”, “unemployment”, “xenophobia”, “HIV/AIDS”, “global recession”, “jobs”, and “power outages” (or “electricity”), to name a few.

Keywords such as “rape”, “carjacking”, and “murder” can be placed under the sub-theme of *crime*. These keywords were found in articles reporting on the state of criminal activity in South Africa. *Safety of spectators and visitors* is another sub-theme that related to and was framed by the issue of protection of visitors and spectators against crime. Noted keywords for this sub-theme were “police”, “threat” and “attack”.

Other sub-themes related to the environmental impact of the World Cup, and to FIFA as an institution. Keywords relating to South Africa as the host of the 2010 FIFA World™ Cup included “carbon emission”, “World Cup Court”, the “vuvuzela”, “traffic”, “challenges” and “perceptions”. Table 4.1 in the appendix gives a visual summation of these sub-themes and some of the keywords.

The rationale for these sub-themes is that they enable the coding and categorisation required for this study, and help to define the terminology used. The implication of this is that instead of simply helping to identify the relevant terms, the sub-themes conceptualise the keywords into specific and more explainable terminology, thus assisting in the reliability and validity of the study. In addition, the application of framing theory reinforces the saliency of the themes identified in the reviewed newspapers, thus illustrating the manner in which South Africa was portrayed by *The New York Times* and the *Guardian*.

These keywords illustrate the importance of the relationship between mega-events and related issues and their framing in the media. As noted in Chapter 3, this can be linked to the way in which mega-events are related to image creation. It also shows the relationship between the media, sport, the state, and the corporate world.

The extensive media coverage of sports mega-events means that the media have the power, as mentioned in Chapter 2, to either defend or attack the status quo of the host country. It also allows the media to play the role of gatekeeper by setting agendas, filtering issues, and highlighting particular issues (Putnam 2002).

The analysis covers print media coverage of the World Cup by *The New York Times* and the *Guardian*, which are accessed online. The use of online searches, according to Hachten and Scotton (2007), has transformed the way in which people gather information and access global news. As English publications, these two online accessed newspapers represent different readerships, but both provide dedicated news coverage and are regarded as part of the quality press. Both publications gave priority to coverage of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™; and both have a “reputation for dedicated foreign news coverage amongst the British and American quality press” (Ndangam 2002:9). In order to identify the relevant articles, sentences such as “2010 South African World Cup”, “2010 FIFA World Cup™” and “South Africa host of FIFA World Cup™” were used in newspapers online searches. Some articles that included the above search words were not relevant to the study, and were not taken into consideration, as they did not cover the scope of this thesis and in most instances only focused on the football matches or teams.

The findings of the study are set out below and discussed in depth. These findings serve to answer the main research questions of this chapter and also illustrate the debate about South Africa’s hosting of sports mega-events as this played itself out in media outlets in the United States and Britain.

4.2. Prevalent keywords

The findings of this study draw on a data sample of 185 (N=185) newspaper articles, from both *The New York Times* and the *Guardian* (UK). These were articles from sports reporters, special correspondents, experts associated with the tournament, columnists and editors. Having provided an overview of the sub-themes and some of the related keywords, it can be stated that the framing of the keywords within these articles revealed whether their use was positive, negative and/or neutral (i.e. factual).

The analysis revealed that there were some similarities in the frequency of keywords in the two news sources. This can be attributed to technological developments and the dominance of news agencies¹⁰, such as Reuters and Associated Press (AP), as niche distributors of news regarding the World Cup. This resulted in similarities in the global flow of news through particular publications.

¹⁰ Boyd-Barrett (1998:18) defines news agencies as organisations whose main *raison d’être* is to gather and sell news throughout the world for the benefit of “retail” media, such as newspapers.

This section, with the aid of Table 4.2 and Figure 4.1 below, highlights the most frequently recurring keywords in both papers combined. This is achieved by comparing the use of these keywords before the World Cup (May 2004 – May 2010), during and after the World Cup (June 2010 – December 2010).

Table 4.2 Total values of prevalent keywords in both *The New York Times* and the *Guardian*

Keywords	Frequency	Total
Stadium(s)	348	
Tickets	160	
Vuvuzela	128	
Crime	114	
Security	88	
Poor (Poverty)	68	
Transportation	59	
Police	55	
Tourist/Tourism	54	
HIV/AIDS	51	
		1125

Table 4.2 above and Figure 4.1 below illustrate frequency of occurrence of keywords that were identified in the both *The New York Times* and the *Guardian*. A total of 185 articles were analysed, selected according to their relevance for this study. The keywords that occurred most frequently were “stadium”, “ticket”, “vuvuzela”, “crime”, “security”, “poverty”, “transportation”, “tourism”, “police”, and “HIV/AIDS”. Table 4.2 gives an illustration of the total values in table format, whereas Figure 4.1 provides a pie chart illustration of the findings from both online newspapers.

Table 4.2 shows that the keyword “stadium” (appearing 348 times) gained the most mention in both newspapers. “Match tickets” (162), “the vuvuzela” (128) and “crime” (114) were keywords that occurred over one hundred times each.

An in-depth explanation of both the graphic and the tabular illustrations is provided after Figure 4.1, as well as further discussion of the keywords in articles before and after the 2010 FIFA World Cup™.

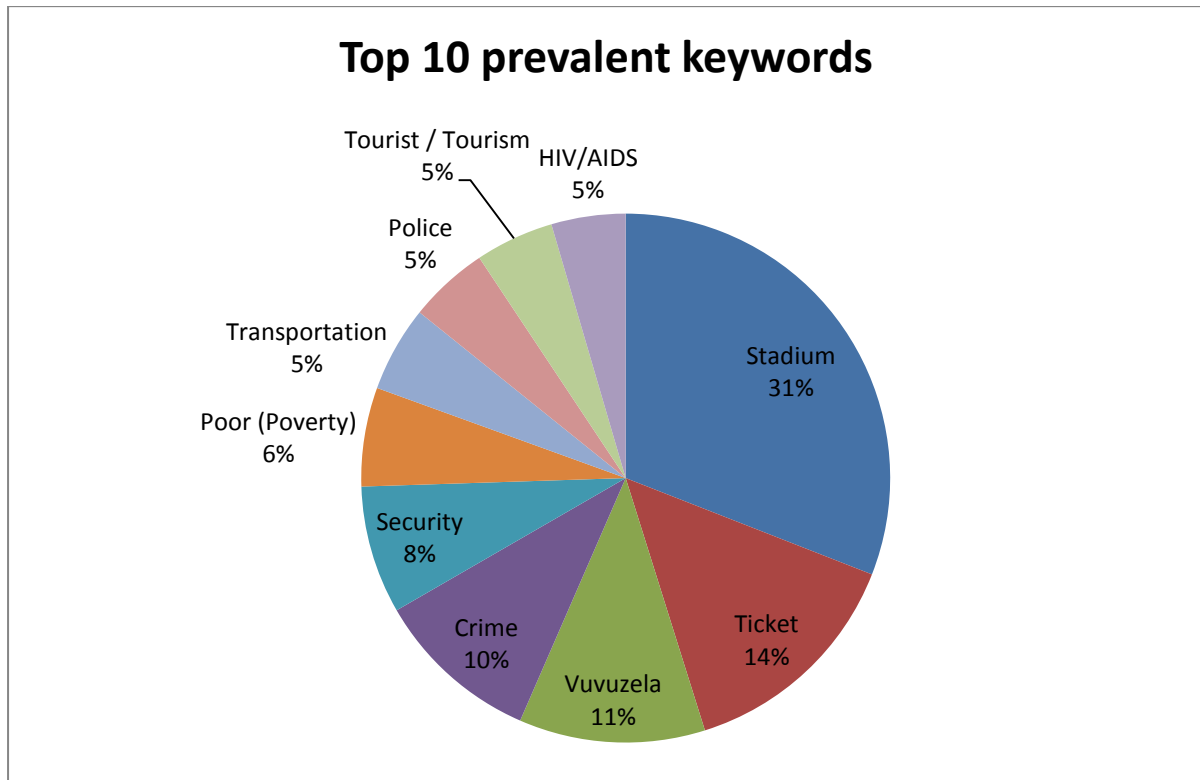


Figure 4.1: Percentages of recurring keywords from articles in *The New York Times* and the *Guardian* (UK)

The capacity of South Africa to organise an international event of such magnitude was questioned and reported on in both news sources. Figure 4.1 shows that 31 per cent of the articles used the word “stadium”, with the term being mentioned 348 times. Articles prior to the World Cup mentioned the word 155 times, framing the term in the context of speculating that South Africa was behind schedule with the building and/or reconstruction of some of the stadiums. The articles highlighted that remodelling and building of stadiums were plagued by the constant occurrence of protests and strikes by construction workers, threatening the completion of the stadiums on schedule. Post-World Cup, the prevalence of the word increased to 193 times. This keyword was now also framed through highlighting South Africa’s ability to build world-class stadiums on time.

Tickets to the World Cup tournament also received much attention. The word “ticket” appeared 160 times in articles in both newspapers, representing 14 per cent of the top ten most frequently occurring keywords. The term was mentioned 82 times during the build-up to the World Cup. During this period, a number of articles addressed concern at the low levels of ticket sales among Africans. This was as a result of tickets being available on the internet, which many Africans cannot gain access to. The framing of the term persisted during and after the World Cup, but there was a slight decrease in the frequency of use of the word. Low ticket sales led to many seats being empty on match days, a source of much concern for FIFA – and this was mentioned in newspaper reports.

The horn-shaped instrument, the vuvuzela, made its appearance (and sound) in the stadiums, and this was mentioned 128 times in the news articles. This instrument became a symbolic icon of South Africa and its hosting of the World Cup, with this being highlighted in post-World Cup articles. Prior to and during the tournament the vuvuzela was mainly framed by disapproval from the soccer players and international broadcasters, based on its piercing noise. This disapproval persisted throughout the tournament, but after the World Cup the instrument was acknowledged as being a unique part of South Africa’s football culture, giving the “African World Cup” an identity.

The 2008 xenophobic attacks on foreigners, mainly on Zimbabwean and Mozambique nationals, and the murder of right-wing leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Eugène Terre’Blanche, were incidents that heightened the focus on crime and security. These two keywords (“crime” and “security”) appeared 114 and 88 times respectively in the two newspapers. Accounting for 10 and 8 per cent of the top ten words, the terms “crime” and “security” often occurred prior to the World Cup. Emphasis was placed on South Africa’s high crime rate as a cause for concern for travellers through the use of emotive framing of these words, such as the mention that “an average of about 50 murders occur every day”.

After the World Cup, there was a decrease in mention of the word “crime”; this decrease can be associated with the frequent use of the words “security” and “police”. Both these keywords (“security” and “police”) appeared less often in pre-World Cup reports, but more often in post-World Cup reports. This may be based on the fact that the keywords were framed by concerns regarding the safety of spectators and visitors coming to South Africa for the World Cup. Emotive words such as “attack”, “hijack”, “rape” and “murder” framed and

emphasised these security concerns. However, the post-World Cup articles highlighted the increased police presence and visibility during the World Cup and the determination to ensure the safety of spectators and visitors. The role of the police was significant in ensuring the smooth running of the 2010 FIFA World™ Cup. Appearing 55 times, the word “police” was framed as a signifier of the effort made to ensure the safety of visitors and spectators attending the tournament.

Keywords such as “poverty” (or “poor”), “transportation”, “tourist” (or “tourism”), and “HIV/AIDS” occurred less often. The words “poverty” or “poor” appeared 68 times in the articles, highlighting socio-economic deficiencies and the low living standards of many South Africans. Accounting for only 6 per cent of the top 10 regularly occurring words, “poverty” was framed as something that prevented most South Africans from attending matches at the stadiums: match tickets were unaffordable and not readily available. This keyword was mentioned more often during the post-World Cup period.

“Transportation” was a recurring term, appearing 59 times in both news sources. Pre-World Cup articles noted that South Africa’s transportation system was ill-equipped to cope with the high volumes of spectators and visitors coming to the World Cup, in comparison to the efficient public transportation systems provided by previous World Cup hosts such as Germany and South Korea. Although it only accounted for 5 per cent of the most frequently used keywords, the word “transport” was framed in a more favourable manner during and after the tournament. This was achieved by articles noting the improvement in South Africa’s transportation system with the introduction of the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system and an increase in available public transport, such as that provided by trains. There was a decrease in the use of the keyword in the post-World Cup period.

With the increase in the number of tourists visiting South Africa, articles used the word “tourist” (or “tourism”) 54 times, illustrating the increased attractiveness of South Africa as a tourist destination as a result of its hosting of the World Cup. With a 5 percentage occurrence in the newspapers, the mention of the word increased during and after the tournament. Finally, South Africa’s high rate of HIV/AIDS was prominent in news articles. “HIV/AIDS” appeared 51 times in both news sources, highlighting South Africa’s lack of success in reducing the number of HIV/AIDS-related cases. In both pre- and post-World Cup articles,

this keyword was framed in a way that highlighted the country's lack of success in combating the epidemic.

4.2.1. Frequency of terminology in *The New York Times*

Having highlighted the prevalent keywords and the issue-specific framing of South Africa hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ tournament by *The New York Times* and the *Guardian*, the following two sections provide a brief overview of the use of the identified terms in each of the newspapers separately.

From a total of 112 articles analysed in *The New York Times* (on <http://www.nytimes.com>), the following words occurred most often: “stadium”; “vuvuzela”; “crime”; “ticket”; “security”; “HIV/AIDS”; “poor” (or “poverty”); “power” (or “Electricity outage”); “Confederations Cup”; and “Zimbabwean”. The frequencies of these keywords varied according to whether the reports occurred in pre- or post-World Cup periods.

Table 4.3 shows the absolute values of the frequency of the keywords in *The New York Times*, and the variation in the frequency of the keywords. This table illustration is followed by a percentage pie chart representation and an explanation of both graphical illustrations.

Table 4.3 Absolute values of keywords in *The New York Times*

Keywords	Pre-World Cup	Post-World Cup	Total frequency
Stadium(s)	31	52	83
Vuvuzela	2	52	54
Crime	30	17	47
Ticket(s)	30	12	42
Security	24	12	38
HIV/AIDS	11	29	37
Poor (Poverty)	8	23	31
Power (outage/electricity)	15	16	31
Confederations Cup	24	5	29
Zimbabwe(an)	15	7	22
			414

Table 4.3 illustrates that reports about South Africa's infrastructural development for the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ often used the keyword "stadium(s)". The term "stadium(s)" was mentioned 83 times in the articles reviewed. Table 4.3 illustrates that the word appeared more frequently in the post-World Cup period. Prior to the tournament, articles reported that the newly built stadiums were unlikely to benefit ordinary South Africans, given their location and the difficulty of accessing them. The word was framed mainly by highlighting the new stadiums being built and those being remodelled. The scheduled completion of the stadiums was threatened by striking construction workers, and this was noted in most of the articles that reported on the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ (e.g. Cowell 2009; Associated Press 2008; and Bell 2008a). In the article by Bell (2008b) it was stated that "South Africa has come under increasing scrutiny and criticism over construction of new stadiums". This applied particularly to the Mbombela stadium in Nelspruit and the Green Point stadium in Cape Town (Associated Press 2007). These articles also referred to the mounting cost of building the stadiums (Bell 2009c, and Bearak 2010a). The post-World Cup reports by *The New York Times* also referred to the specific issue of budgets being exceeded (Bearak 2010b). In addition to this, the newspaper expressed a concern regarding the future use of the World Cup

stadiums (legacy of the stadiums), with the potential of turning into “white elephants” proving to be an economic liability in the future (Hughes 2010). Although framing of the keywords was similar in post-World Cup reports, acknowledgment was more often made of South Africa’s ability to deliver world-class stadiums with architectural flair.

In preparation for the 2010 FIFA World™ Cup, the stadiums were used to stage the 2009 Confederations Cup. Newspaper articles reported on the 2009 tournament 29 times, which means only a 7 per cent report rate on the use of the stadiums for the Confederations Cup. This tournament was mentioned most often during the pre-World Cup preparation stages and framed as a practice run to showcase South Africa’s preparedness to host the World Cup in 2010. The articles drew attention to the poor attendance of these matches by soccer fans (Longman 2009b; Marcus 2009), and expressed concern about attendance for the 2010 FIFA World Cup™. In addition, concerns about security and the park-and-ride transportation system for match days were highlighted (Longman 2009c). However, Longman (2009c) noted that the Confederations Cup was well run and well organised, despite some of the glitches mentioned.

During the Confederations Cup in 2009 *The New York Times* reported on the disapproval of the vuvuzela by soccer players, fans and some international broadcasters. This disapproval (*The New York Times* 2010) continued throughout the 2010 FIFA World Cup™, with the “vuvuzela” being mentioned 54 times – a 13 per cent report rate. Although reports often mentioned that it was accepted by foreign visitors, it was acknowledged that the horn-shaped instrument was part of South Africa’s football culture, and played a role in expressing the “joy and self-esteem of the nation” (Bearak 2010b). The vuvuzela was mentioned more frequently in the post-World Cup period than in the pre-World Cup period.

The high frequency of the words “crime” and “security” reflected concerns about the stability of the country and its ability to host the World Cup. These two words appeared 47 and 32 times respectively in the online newspaper, and highlighted concerns for the safety of visitors and spectators. These keywords occurred most often during the pre-World Cup period, and less often in the post-World Cup period. The newspapers constantly mentioned South Africa’s high crime rate, given that there was “an average of 50 murders a day” (Longman 2009c; Marcus 2009; Zeller 2007). Mention was also made of the xenophobic attacks, mainly on Zimbabweans, both prior to and after the World Cup (Dugger 2009). This was a further

example of the way issues of crime and security were framed by the news media. Attacks on migrants (often Zimbabweans) were cited 22 times, mainly in articles published prior to the World Cup (in 2009); post-World Cup articles noted the 2008 crimes against foreign African immigrants, but also reported on the possibility of further attacks occurring on foreigners after the World Cup.

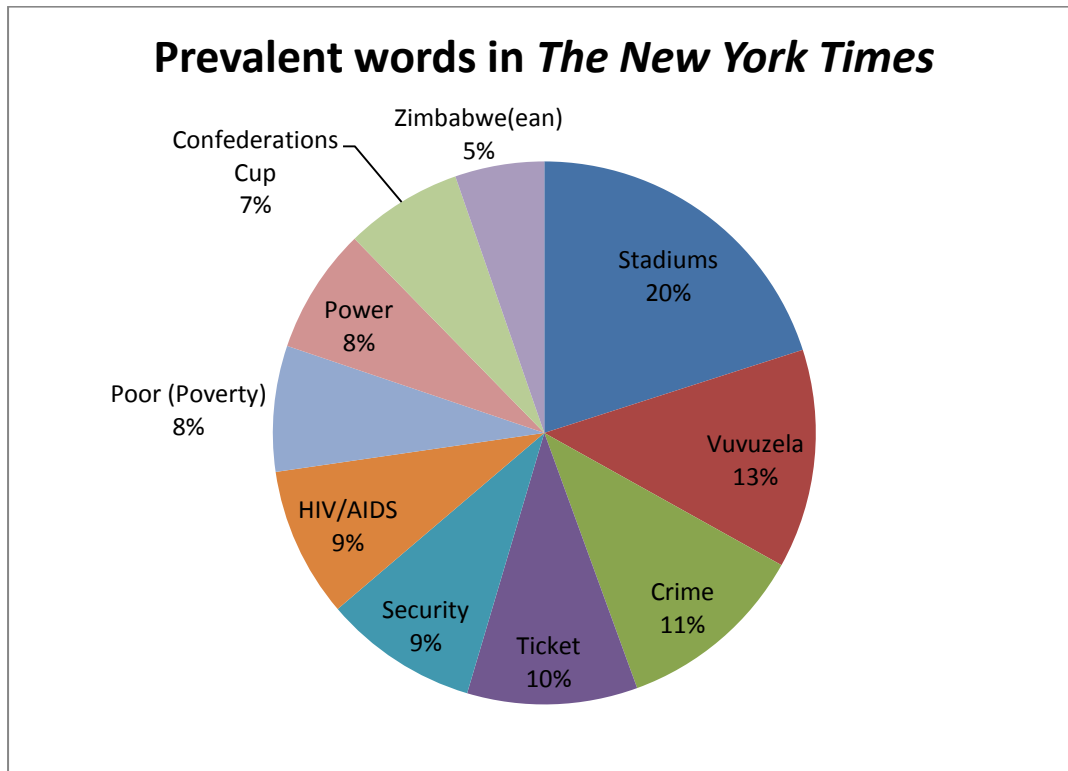


Figure 4.2: Top 10 keywords identified in *The New York Times*

Figure 4.2 above depicts a 10 per cent mention of ticket purchases for World Cup matches. The word “ticket” was mentioned 42 times in the newspaper. This was usually framed in the context of the sale of match tickets. *The New York Times* highlighted the high proportion of tickets purchased by foreigners (Bell 2009) and the low levels of ticket purchases by Africans. This was despite the fact that ticket prices were lowered for local fans (Associated Press 2007) to ensure that even the poorest fans could attend the tournament (Vecsey 2008).

South Africa’s role in the fight against HIV/AIDS was framed by *The New York Times* as a cause for concern. This term (“HIV/AIDS”) appeared 37 times in articles pertaining to South

Africa as host of the World Cup, with a 9 per cent mention of the top recurring keywords. Table 4.3 shows that the word was mentioned more often during the post-World Cup period than in the pre-World Cup period. Associated with HIV/AIDS was the keyword “poverty” (or “poor”); this was framed by highlighting the country’s social instability and the lack of an effective effort to address the plight of the poor (*The New York Times* 2010). This keyword appeared 31 times in *The New York Times*, mostly in post-World Cup reports.

Finally, the persistent electricity power failures/outages had the potential to affect South Africa’s ability to successfully host the World Cup. *The New York Times* reported on the power outages, which plunged different parts of the country into darkness. This had the potential to disrupt World Cup matches with pre-World Cup articles pointing out that this could also slow down the development of the necessary infrastructure for the World Cup. As noted by Nixon (2010), these energy and electricity disruptions “brought unwanted attention to South Africa”. Electricity outages were also a cause for concern during post-World, as they had the possibility to disrupt matches.

4.2.2. Frequency of terminology in the *Guardian* (United Kingdom)

A total of 73 articles from <http://www.guardian.co.uk> were analysed for their content. The following words were frequently cited: “stadium”, “ticket”, “vuvuzela”, “crime”, “security”, “police”, “transportation”, “tourist”(or “tourism”), “poverty”, and “infrastructure”. The pie chart in Figure 4.3 and Table 4.4 below provide a graphical and word-count explanation of the content of articles in which South Africa was framed as the host of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™. Prevalent keywords from the *Guardian* were noted.

Table 4.4 Absolute values of terminology in the *Guardian*

Keywords	Pre-World Cup	Post-World Cup	Total frequency
Stadium(s)	124	141	265
Ticket(s)	52	66	118
Vuvuzela	19	55	74
Crime	45	22	67
Security	12	38	50
Police	16	28	44
Transportation	23	17	40
Tourist/Tourism	15	23	38
Poor (Poverty)	18	19	37
Infrastructure	21	7	28
			761

The words “stadium” and “infrastructure” appeared 265 and 28 times respectively. The *Guardian* framed over-budget expenditure on the renovation and building of stadiums – this was mainly directed at the construction of the Green Point stadium in Cape Town. As portrayed in Table 4.4, the frequency of these terms increased in post-World Cup articles. Furthermore, the reporting on infrastructure and excess expenditure on the stadiums raised questions about the long-term viability of these facilities: would they turn out to be “white elephants” after the World Cup? However, the reports also emphasised their uniqueness and beauty. Concerns regarding infrastructure, such as the building of roads and the renovation of airports, were frequently mentioned prior to the tournament and framed in the same way as reports on the stadiums. Figure 4.3 below illustrates that 35 per cent of the articles reported on the development of stadiums and 4 per cent on related infrastructure.

News articles on the ticketing problems, which resulted in numerous World Cup matches having empty seats (Gibson 2010b), which pointed to South Africa’s inability to attract locals to the matches. The word “ticket” appeared 118 times in the articles studied. Given the high levels of inequality in South Africa, it is not surprising that many locals could not afford even

the subsidised match tickets (Williams 2010). The word increased in frequency from pre- to post-World Cup articles.

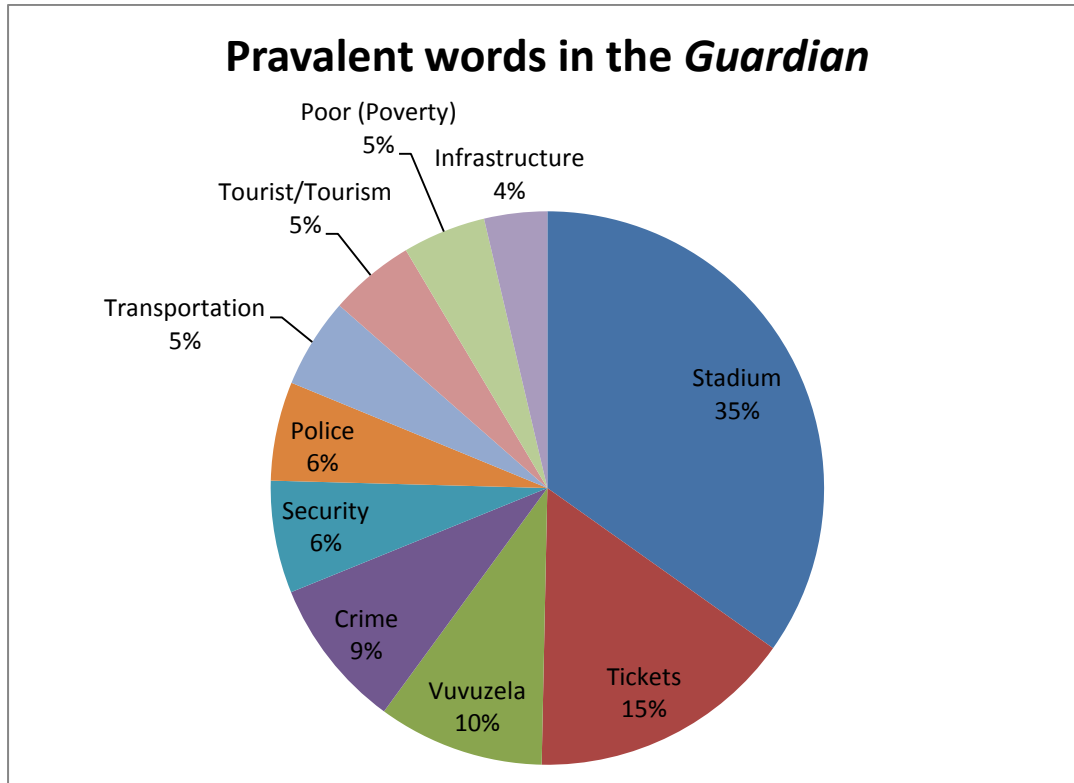


Figure 4.3: Top 10 keywords identified in the *Guardian* (UK)

As was the case with *The New York Times*, the vuvuzela was the subject of much disapproval in the *Guardian* throughout the World Cup. The word “vuvuzela” was mentioned 74 times, which represent 15 per cent of the most frequently mentioned keywords in the articles studied. It was framed as not being accepted by foreign visitors, but as a part of South African football culture and as synonymous with the African World Cup (Gibson 2010b). The frequency of this term increased significantly in post-World Cup articles. However, it should be noted that this keyword began to occur during reporting on the 2009 Confederations Cup. Commenting on the dissatisfaction on the noise created by the instrument, Smith (2009) stated that the World Cup would be deemed the “noisiest World Cup ever”. Although the newspaper reported on negative reactions to the vuvuzela, it also noted the jubilation that South Africans expressed when blowing the horn-like instrument in the streets and at matches (2009). This helped to give the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ its unique African taste.

In Figure 4.3 keywords such as “police”, “crime”, and “security” accounted for 9 and 6 per cent of most frequently repeated words in the *Guardian*. The murder of Eugène Terre’Blanche in April 2010 (Smith 2010a), and also the threat of xenophobic attacks, sparked concerns regarding crime and security, and these concerns framed the use of these keywords. The “police” were mentioned 44 times in the articles, whereas “crime” and “security” were mentioned 67 and 50 times respectively. References to the police were framed by concerns regarding the safety and security of visitors and spectators. For example, prior to the World Cup, reports emphasised the growth in the size of the police force and their increased visibility during the tournament (Rice 2007). This was reported on in a positive light: reference was made to the quick response of the police to disruptions, such as the strikes by volunteers during the World Cup (Smith 2010c). Table 4.4 illustrates that the word “crime” decreased in frequency from pre- to post-World Cup articles, presumably as a result of the increased police presence. Additionally, prior to the tournament the newspaper made constant mention of the high rate of violent crime in the host country (Smith & McGregor 2004; Harding 2006). The presence of the police led to a reduction in criminal activities, and this can serve as an explanation for the reduced mention of the word “crime” in post-World Cup articles. Security concerns were framed by South Africa’s high crime rate and concerns for the safety of foreign tourists. The term “security” appeared more frequently in post-tournament articles.

Keywords such as “transportation” accounted for only 5 per cent of the most prevalent keywords. The *Guardian* framed the word through references to South Africa’s relatively undeveloped transportation system; which it noted would be a stumbling block during the tournament. “Transportation” occurred 40 times in the relevant articles and was frequently mentioned prior to the tournament, as illustrated in Table 4.4.

External economic influences such as the global recession had a negative influence on the attendance of foreign tourists. The term “tourist” or “tourism” appeared 38 times in the reports on South Africa as host of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™. Figure 4.3 shows a 5 per cent frequency of this word (among the top ten keywords), with an increase in frequency from pre- to post-World Cup articles. The paper highlighted South Africa as a “sought-after tourist destination” (Smith & McGregor 2004; Smith 2010d) with the potential to attract a lot of tourists during the World Cup, thereby enhancing the economy.

As was the case with *The New York Times*, the word “poverty” (or “poor”) occurred slightly less frequently, with a total of 37 mentions. This keyword was framed by the situation of those living in poverty in a country that was nevertheless hosting a sports mega-event. Table 4.4 illustrates that the word occurred less frequently between the two stages of reporting on the World Cup.

4.3. Findings and discussion

After conducting both a qualitative and a quantitative analysis of *The New York Times* and the *Guardian*, the occurrence of the most common keywords illustrates that there was a commonality in news reporting by these two news sources. In the sample of N=185 articles; “stadium”, “tickets”, “vuvuzela”, “crime” and “security” were the most commonly occurring keywords in both newspapers. This commonality can be explained by the power of the media to transmit promotional messages about sports mega-events (Roberts 2004).

In addition, technological developments and the dominance of the major news agencies, such as Reuters and Associated Press (AP), as niche distributors of news result in similarities in the news that is transmitted globally. Such news agencies, according to Shrivastava (2007:1), have been “indivisible wholesalers” of news and information to other media in the global news system. Given this commonality in the coverage of this event by these two online accessed newspapers, and the similarities in the occurrence of keywords in *The New York Times* and the *Guardian*, one can agree with Paterson (2006) that there is limited diversity in news reporting. This is because news agencies such as Reuters and AP “manufacture a distinctive and homogenous ideological view of the world” (Skinner, Compton & Gasher 2005:152).

Individual analysis of the newspapers in this study shows that *The New York Times* was critical in its portrayal of the host country. The paper sought to change its rhetoric from pre- to post-World Cup articles, as illustrated in Table 4.3. However, during the period under study, news articles generally portrayed a pessimistic view of South Africa, but there were also factual and informative reports on South Africa’s hosting of this international event.

The *Guardian*’s portrayal of South Africa as the first African host of the FIFA World Cup™ tended to be pessimistic. In the pre-World Cup period it conducted interviews with locals

who seemingly echoed the same pessimistic expectations. For example, an article by Mark Sweney (2006) reported that Neil Watson, an insurance broker from Cape Town who is the founder and national coordinator of a tourism website, warned tourists about the high levels of crime in South Africa. However, it must be pointed out that there were also neutral informative articles that reported in a factual and objective way on some of the relevant issues. These articles mainly appeared in post-World Cup reports, illustrating a change in the way in which the host country was viewed. What is not illustrated in Table 4.4 is the increased mention of the legacy of the World Cup. This keyword (“legacy”) was mostly mentioned in the *Guardian* in post-World Cup articles, and highlighted the importance of taking into consideration the legacy that the World Cup would leave behind in South Africa.

While noting both the differences and the similarities in the coverage of the World Cup by these two newspapers, it can be stated that there was a change in discourse of the newspapers from the pre- to the post-World Cup periods. This change is illustrated in the Tables 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4, which highlight this shift in the portrayal of South Africa by the two newspapers. This shift was from a generally negative view of South Africa as World Cup host to a more favourable view. In pre-World Cup articles there was a high frequency of keywords such as “crime”, “stadium” and “ticketing”, and these were framed in the context of doubts about South Africa’s ability to successfully host the tournament. However, post-World Cup articles were usually informative and factual, tending to be optimistic of South Africa as the host of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ final.

Additionally, reports in both news sources increased in frequency during the tournament, partly as a result of this shift to a more positive portrayal of the host country.

As noted in Chapter 2, sports mega-events symbolise international acceptance of the host country, and illustrate that a country has the necessary infrastructure and socio-political and economic strength to stage events of such magnitude (Horne & Manzenreiter 2006). The changes in the content of reports in the two newspapers emphasise South Africa’s importance as the first African nation to host the FIFA World Cup™.

4.4. Conclusion

Chapter 4 provided an account of this study's findings through a discussion of the research design and methodology. An answer to the research questions posed in the study was provided through content analysis and the identification of recurring words and their sub-themes in articles in *The New York Times* and the *Guardian*.

Many of these articles questioned South Africa's capacity to host an event of such magnitude. During this period both newspapers cast doubt on South Africa's capacity to do this through the use of framing and recurring keywords, such as "stadium", "ticket", "vuvuzela", "crime" and "security". The frequency of these keywords and the way in which they were framed played an important role in determining the way in which the host country was represented.

Although doubts persisted in reports through 2010, the intervention of Danny Jordaan tried to dispel some of these doubts, and the media began to represent South Africa in a more neutral or objective way. For example, Roger Diski (2010) portrayed the townships of both Cape Town and Johannesburg as well developed and worth visiting. These kinds of article turned away from highlighting poverty and social instability, and helped to counteract the earlier, more negative reports.

Given that sports mega-events attract great media attention, serving as a critical component for the success or failure of such tournaments, and given the analysis of the content of reports in the two news sources, one can infer that in general, in pre-event reporting South Africa was framed as being incapable of staging an event of such magnitude as the FIFA World Cup™. However, in post-World cup articles doubts about South Africa's capacity to stage the tournament had largely disappeared. This illustrates a change in the content of these newspapers, and might have changed the way in which South Africa was viewed by an international audience.

Chapter 5: Discussion and conclusion

5. Introduction

This thesis has discussed numerous aspects of the media's representation of sports mega-events, and more specifically the portrayal of South Africa as host of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™. It has highlighted the importance of the media, specifically print news outlets which were accessed online, in framing the news, and its role in creating a “buzz” or “hype” around such events.

This chapter provides a discussion of the conclusion and main findings of this thesis. It will be done by referring back to the research questions posed in Chapter 1.

5.1. Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study was to investigate the portrayal of South Africa by two international newspapers, namely *The New York Times* and the *Guardian* (UK), as the first African country to host a FIFA World Cup™ Final. A particular context informed the reporting of these two newspapers. This context influenced the way the host country set about its motivations and rationales in an attempt to change stereotypical portrayals of the African continent and South Africa.

5.2. Findings: Addressing the research questions

These were the research questions highlighted in Chapter 1:

- 1. What were the motives for the South African bid to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup™?**

With its emergence in 1994 from a racially polarised system of governance to a democratic system of governance, South Africa recognised that the hosting of sports mega-events would assist in its readmission into and acceptance by the global community (Marx 2004). South Africa sought to do this by hosting numerous sports mega-events, most notably the 1994 IRB Rugby World Cup and the 1996 African Cup of Nations. These events served as an illustration of “South Africa's enthusiastic participation in the world economy of sport”

(Alegi 2001:1), and enabled South Africa to create a new image and identity for itself (Campbell & Phago 2008).

It has been noted that a nation attracts increased recognition and admiration through its hosting of sports mega-events. By staging such events it enters the arena of the world economy of sport. It was noted in Chapter 3 that this was the case for South Africa and its bid to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup™. The chapter also highlighted South Africa's motives for hosting the World Cup. This was seen as an opportunity for the country to rebrand itself as an advocate of pan-Africanism, through pursuing a strategy of enhancing African unity, identity and image promotion through its' bid to host the World Cup. It aimed to demonstrate its ability to host the event, and transmit this to a global audience. It was hoped that a common interest in soccer would promote a pan-Africanist developmental front, drawing on the African Legacy Programme and the African Renaissance ideology.

As a way in which to rebrand itself, South Africa regarded the hosting of the FIFA World Cup™ as a catalyst for economic growth, tourism, infrastructural development and employment. It would enhance the social and economic development of the country. By building on the rhetoric of giving Africa an opportunity, the hosting of the World Cup on African soil provided an opportunity to dispel negative portrayals of the continent, especially the perception that "Africa could never upstage any competition from the developing world", such as the FIFA Football World Cup (Makgabo 2006:5).

The 2010 World Cup became a massive project designed to enhance the status of the nation-state and market "Brand South Africa" to a global audience, thereby promoting the image of the country as modern, technologically advanced, democratic, business-friendly and a tourist destination.

(Alegi 2010:129)

2. What were the recurring keywords that emerged in newspaper reports on South Africa hosting this sports mega-event?

The 2010 FIFA World Cup™ received much media attention. In Chapter 4 the content analysis of two international newspapers, *The New York Times* and the *Guardian*, resulted in the identification of recurring keywords in reports on the hosting of the World Cup by South Africa.

In all, 185 articles (N=185) were analysed, and the commonality of recurring keywords in these two publications illustrated their reliance on international news agencies for their material. These common keywords included: “stadium”, “ticket”, “vuvuzela”, “crime”, “security”, “poverty”, “transportation”, “tourism”, “police”, and “HIV/AIDS”. These similarities can be attributed to the global nature of international news coverage of specific events by the leading news agencies, such as Reuters and Associated Press (AP), which function as niche distributors of news.

An analysis of the particular newspapers, showed that “poor” (or “poverty”), “power” (“electricity outages”), “Confederations Cup”, and “Zimbabwe(an)” were words that often occurred in *The New York Times*. In the *Guardian*: the following keywords occurred most frequently: “transportation”, “tourist/tourism”, “poverty” and “infrastructure. This illustrates the differences between the reporting in these two newspapers.

3. In the light of South Africa’s motives for hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup™, how was the country in fact portrayed in the media?

The research drew on a data sample of N=185 newspaper articles from *The New York Times* and the *Guardian*. These were articles written by sports reporters, special correspondents, experts associated with the tournament, columnists and news editors. The recurring words, which were identified, highlighted the way in which South Africa was portrayed by these two international media sources.

The qualitative and quantitative analysis of *The New York Times* and the *Guardian* show that the way in which South Africa was portrayed changed over time. For example, pre-World Cup articles mainly raised concerns about the domestic stability and organisational capabilities of South Africa, and questioned the country’s readiness to host the tournament. An increasing number of articles published during the 2010 tournament saw *The New York Times* and the *Guardian* continuing to question South Africa’s ability to stage an event of such magnitude. However, there were signs of a change in the way the host country was reported on by these two news outlets. Finally, post-World Cup articles by the newspapers reported in a more neutral and factual way, and noted positive achievements in terms of the infrastructural and organisational capabilities of the host country.

The initial framing and portrayal of South Africa as being incapable of staging an event of the magnitude of the FIFA World Cup™ changed through the three phases noted above. In the end, South Africa silenced the critics and pessimists, and managed to rebrand itself in the international media.

5.3. Discussion

5.3.1. Implications of South (Africa) as the host of a mega-event

It was pointed out that South Africa was actively trying to boost its “soft power” by bidding to stage the 2010 FIFA World Cup™. In this way South Africa placed itself at the forefront of Africa’s rebranding marketing campaign.

However, it is worth noting the question raised by Desai and Vahed (2010:156-158), namely whether the “World Cup mark[ed] Africa’s turn or the turn on Africa”? Desai and Vahed (2010) argue that infrastructural and economic preparations for the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ were not necessarily geared towards their long-term effect, or towards legacy development, but rather towards the tournament only.

It should be noted that through the skilful use of the media, South Africa managed to counter the misconceptions and negative portrayals of the country and the continent, and change the way in which the country and the continent were framed. The successful hosting of the World Cup on African soil placed the continent in the global sporting arena, pointing out that the media do indeed cover sports mega-events extensively. This suggests that image promotion through the role of media in sports mega-events has been and still is a priority for South Africa. Lepp and Gibson (2011) cite the study conducted by Smith (2006), Hede (2005), and Kim and Morrison (2005) as evidence of this. It is stated that the dynamic process of utilising the media through staging sporting events began with the hosting of the 1994 IRB Rugby World Cup, and “since then, SA has been reimagining through sports” (Lepp & Gibson 2011:16). Therefore sports-related media have played a positive role in the development of South Africa (Lepp & Gibson 2011).

5.3.2. Theory linkage

The approaches of international political economy and that of the framing theory addressed in Chapter 2 provided insight for the analysis of this thesis. For example, the Marxist approach concerning itself with the theory of ideology notes that in the media “existing relations of class domination [through persisting ideologies] are reproduced and perpetuated, or to the contrary, challenged and overthrown” (Bennett 1982). This is in line with the hosting of the World Cup by an African continent, whereby certain ideologies, over time, were formulated by the media about Africa. However, through the hosting of the FIFA tournament, South Africa sought to challenge and change the existing ideologies. Nauright (2004:1328) further asserts this, by stating that through the staging of sports mega-events dominant social structures and ideologies can be upended.

The liberal-pluralist theory on the other hand, labels the media as the “fourth estate”, based on the media constituting information that is independent from the government (Bennett 1982). The theory views the media as agenda setter, which is noted to be an extension of the framing theory in Chapter 2. The findings verify the role of the media’s reporting on the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ tournament as an agenda setter; this can be based on the extensive media coverage that the host country (South Africa) received. For example, the two newspapers set the agenda of South Africa’s infrastructure pre- and post-World Cup. Given the analysis in Chapter 4 of the way in which the articles changed their reporting style on the tournament, it can be stated that the media as an agenda setter can be an agent of change in the way they portray their news.

5.3.3. Recommendations for further and future studies

Maguire (2011:682) mentions that future countries bidding to host sports mega-events should take into account the role of the media, and the relation that exists between sport and international relations. He suggests that on “this basis a more reflective state policy towards sport and mega events might be developed”. As has been noted by Tomlinson et al. (2011), the successful hosting of the World Cup shifted the way in which South Africa is perceived internationally, especially in terms of its ability to deliver on a global platform. Developing countries can utilise the significant relationship that exists between mega-events and the media to boost their national images globally and to transform the way in which they are portrayed in the international media.

It will take some time before a full assessment can be made of the economic, social, political and heritage benefits that have been gained by hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™. In addition, further studies need to be done on the relationship between mega-events and the media, so as to add to the already existing available literature. For example, given the specific time frame of the study, May 2004 - December 2010, a further study could be done analysing a broader time frame; one which looks at post-2010 articles on South Africa. This should give further clarity on the way in which the international media continued to portray South Africa.

Furthermore, a comparative study looking at previous FIFA World Cups™ by developing countries, such as the one held in South Korea and Japan in 2002, could add value to existing literature. Such a comparative study would assist in analysing the two tournaments (South Africa, and South Korea and Japan) and analyse the way in which the media portrayed the events on two continents that are both considered to be developing countries. Also, future studies could consider analysing other international news media sources, such as French and German newspapers. Further studies could be undertaken and the research improved by looking at international media sources in other languages. This should provide a different viewpoint of international perceptions of Africa and, in particular, South Africa's ability to stage the FIFA World Cup™. All these examples form aspects that were not addressed in this thesis, and could be taken up for further consideration when undertaking such analyses.

5.4. Conclusion

The importance of a study like this becomes apparent when one considers the country's growing involvement in the hosting of sports mega-events, and the central role that this plays in the country's foreign policy.

The content analysis of the *Guardian* and *The New York Times* in this study outlined the claims and counterclaims made in these two media outlets. The study also highlighted the way in which the tournament was framed and interpreted internally and globally. Many doubted that the infrastructure would be ready in time and that the country could manage hosting the event. The risks to South Africa's image were many, but despite these fears and doubts, the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ was a technical success; South Africa was given a rating of 9 out of 10 by FIFA President Sepp Blatter (Maharaj 2011:59).

The legacies of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™, as noted and cited in Chapter 3, have not yet been achieved as such evaluations should be studied in at least 20 years after the hosting of the tournament (Cornelissen 2011b). Therefore, the long-term objectives of South Africa hosting the event have yet to be studied.

The hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ was the subject of this study as such events generate intense media coverage of the host country. This demonstrates the importance of the mutually beneficial relationships between the media, the state and sports mega-events and their potential to promote the rebranding of the host nation.

Appendix

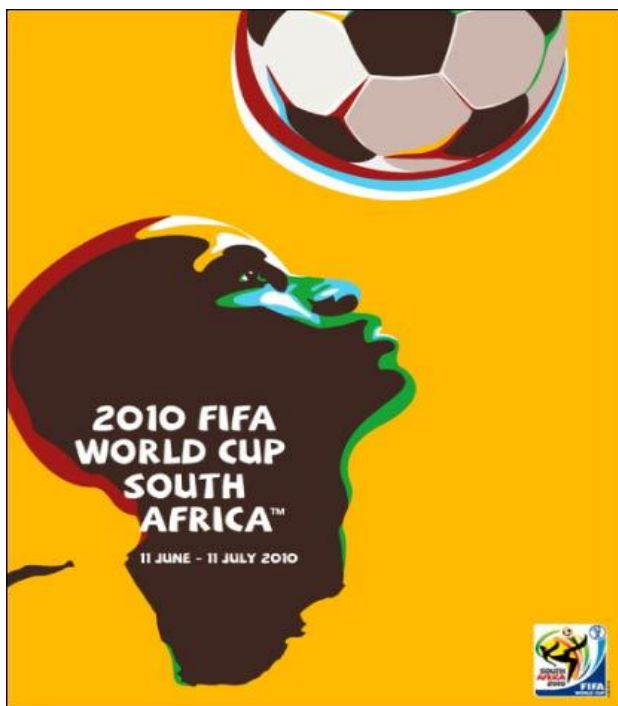
Table 1.1 Online readership of United States of America papers (2006)

Newspaper/Publisher	Page impressions (000)	Unique users (000)	Reach (%)
<i>The New York Times</i>	298 803	12 049	8,6
<i>The Washington Post</i>	192 642	10 173	7,3
<i>USA Today</i>	129 240	8 612	6,2
<i>The Wall Street Journal</i>	105 561	6 513	4,7
<i>The Los Angeles Times</i>	42 963	4 261	3,1

Source: Nielsen/NetRatings, 2006;

http://www.naa.org/nadbase/linked_docs/Top_100_Newspaper_Web_Sites.pdf

Image 3.1: The official poster of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™



Source: Preliminary Draw: 2010 FIFA World Cup™ South Africa, Magazine. Durban 2007

Table 4.1 Identified sub-themes and examples of keywords

Identified sub-themes	Keywords
Crime	Theft, average of 50 murders a day, carjacking, violence, rape, etc.
Safety of spectators and visitors	Police
Sports mega-events	Confederations Cup, IRB, ICC
Infrastructure	Stadiums, roads
Transport	Taxis, train, Bus and Rapid Transport (BRT)
Hospitality	Hotels (Accommodation)
Political	Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) African National Congress (ANC), Local Organising Committee (LOC)
Social	Poverty (poor), xenophobia, strikes, unemployment
Economic	Global recession, budget, economy, tourism
Electricity	Power outage, Eskom
Diseases	HIV/AIDS, TB
Unity	Rainbow Nation, Nation building, legacy, feel-good factor

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