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Nationbuilding in major sports events: A case of the IPL

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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master's of Journalism and Media Studies.

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Abstract

This study examines how the South African print media framed ideas of the nation in the context of the 2009 Indian Premier League (IPL). Using a quantitative and qualitative content analysis of 50 newspaper articles published in the run-up to the IPL, the study draws on research on agenda setting; sport and the media; global sporting events; and the media's role in nationbuilding to examine the relationship of sports and the media, in particular with regards to national identity during major sports events.

The study finds that, while sectors of the South African media attempted to use the IPL to boost the nation's image of itself and its capabilities, newspapers with largely black readerships did not report on the IPL during the timeframe, despite an apparent push by others – the government and the "white" press – to contribute to a nation-building exercise. Also, despite South Africa being awarded numerous international sporting events, the media reacted to criticism with what can be described as defensiveness, suggesting feelings of vulnerability and anxiety about its role in the global society of nations. All of these point to a media and society still divided, even after 15 years of democracy, and a nation still licking its wounds.

The study further found that, in a changing world of globalising sports events, national media are still inclined to interpret these transnational events in a national way. While the public relations machines of global sports companies do try to set the media's agenda, there are national issues that make their way onto the agenda regardless. These issues are framed according to agendas that the media brings to the topic.

Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Master's of Journalism and Media Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination or at any other university.

_____

Alison Bronwyn Visser

_____ day of _____, 2011

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1. Aim

This research aims to examine media coverage of the run-up to the 2009 Indian Premier League cricket tournament (IPL), in order to track what ideas and issues emerged in the reporting of a global sporting event. In particular, the research focused on ideas and narratives of nation that surfaced in the South African print media coverage, as it has long been argued that sporting events are associated with the construction of nationalism (see, for example, Baines, 1998; Farquharson and Marjoribanks, 2003; Gaunden, 2010; Horne and Manzenreiter, 2006; Keim, 2008; Steenveld and Strelitz, 1998; and Vahed, 2001).

The IPL was held in South Africa from 18 April 2009 to 24 May 2009 to much acclaim. This event is based on the Twenty20 cricket format, which means that the matches are shorter and faster due to each team having only 20 overs to bat as opposed to a 50-over, one-day game of cricket. Twenty20 cricket is generally regarded as the "fun" side of cricket when compared with the more serious five-day Test matches, and the games usually consist of exciting and spectacular displays of cricket. The IPL is an Indian event – it was created in India and usually takes place in India – but it involves the best cricketers from around the world, who are paid vast sums of money to take part, hence its global appeal (Zama, 2009; Jagannathan, 2010). The teams are made up of players from around the world, who are bought at an auction prior to the event.

The tournament, which was due to be held in India, was relocated to South Africa because of security concerns only a few weeks prior to the start of the first match. Despite the short space of time that the organisers had to create hype around the event, the South African community and media latched onto the phenomenon quickly. Print media reporting prior to the event expressed excitement about the IPL, as well as pride about being the country chosen to host it over England, which was the other country considered by the organisers.

This research examines the ideas and topics surrounding the IPL that were entered into public life by way of the South African print media. Drawing on theories of agenda setting, it examines issues of selection and salience – the idea that certain aspects of a text are highlighted and given preference over others. By using the concept of agenda setting, this research will examine how the South African print media framed the IPL in the weeks leading up to the event, with a particular focus on whether themes of nationhood appeared in the coverage and in what ways they were framed in the coverage.

As part of its broad focus, the research will engage with the following component questions:

- It has been argued that transnational or mega sports events are exercises in the orientation of a nation to global society. This study thus examines whether the South African print media, in its reporting on the IPL, sought to orientate the country within a global society and, if so, in what ways.

- The study also investigates whether the reporting covered norms previously identified in studies of global sports events. Studies have shown that generally, the reporting covers issues such as: security, the costs surrounding the event, commercialism, drugs, and a constant evaluation of hosting preparation (Rivenburgh, 2004). In addition, these include an attempt from the host nation to colour its image prior to such an event.

- Finally, the research investigates the question of whether the media used the event to contribute to nationbuilding, and in what ways.

2. Background and Context

The IPL tournament in South Africa was a significant sporting event, not only because of the popularity of cricket and the tournament itself but also because the organisers had just days in which to put it together – and succeeded. Indeed, the 2009 IPL season was regarded as the second-biggest cricket tournament in the world, after the Cricket World Cup, and was forecast to have an estimated television audience of more than 200 million people in India alone (CNN, 2009). The tournament was moved from India to South Africa due to security scares in India (Wilson, 2009). Despite the speed with which the logistics were organised, the fact that the tournament had not been played in South Africa before, and that the majority of South Africans did not know much about it, it was hailed as a major success by, among others, Cricket South Africa's chief executive, Gerald Majola (Sports24, 2009).

In a press conference after the event Majola said that the tournament had "lifted spirits enormously" in a climate of political and economical "doom and gloom" (Sports24, 2009).

Some of the effects that this tournament had on South Africa, according to Majola, were the following:

- "The IPL lifted spirits enormously";
- The tourism industry "got an extra bite of the cherry against the negative world travel trend";
- "It showed the world that South Africa was ready and able to do a great job in hosting [the international governing body of football] FIFA's two most important events: the 2009 Confederations Cup and the 2010 FIFA World Cup;"

- It had a “positive impact on the holding of India’s month-long and peaceful elections on a sub-continent fraught with internecine strife”;
- The IPL “heightened interest in cricket worldwide” and in South Africa, following the national team’s “most successful season” and the “eventful tours in and out of Australia”. It also contributed to the “globalisation of the sport for the first time”;
- It gave young cricketers the opportunity to play “top level cricket against and with many of the world’s greatest stars”;
- The IPL brought in “unexpected and very welcome funds” for the development of cricket in poor communities (Sports24, 2009).

These effects, as noted by Majola, were very positive. However, in their study of the 1996 South Asia Cricket World Cup, Dimeo and Kay (2004) concluded that hosting major events in developing countries did not always provide a positive exercise in projecting a positive image of the host country. They put down the negative media coverage of the event to underlying stereotypes of these “semi-peripheral” countries – in this case India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka – and also down to “knowledge and representation”: the idea that developing countries are “less able to control the images that are projected within the media”. South Africa, while regarded as a developing nation, has many elements of a developed nation. Yet it still largely experienced much negative publicity from developed countries regarding the FIFA World Cup (Ndjebela, 2010; Gatt, 2006).

A sporting mega event can also be a place where nations build their identity. This building of an identity can be internal or external. In other words, around these events there is nationbuilding – the forging of unity through the event; an internal effect. There is also a tendency to orientate the nation, by situating a nation within a global community; an external effect.

The IPL serves as a good example of South Africa's orientation to international society: it was a precursor to the 2010 FIFA World Cup, which was to be held in South Africa the following year. One of the greatest criticisms levelled at the country was whether South Africa would be able to host the Football World Cup – and a "Plan B" was bandied about by detractors. Australia was touted as a possible Football World Cup "saviour" because critics believed the stadia and South Africa would not be ready by June 2010 (Gatt, 2006). In the years preceding the Football World Cup, South Africa hosted other international sporting events, one of which was the IPL. Each event that occurred successfully appeared to give the country more confidence in its ability to host the Football World Cup, and the IPL was a major feather in South Africa's cap.

Because the IPL was a global event, it gave South Africa the opportunity to orientate itself in terms of national and global connectiveness. England's ties to the IPL are connected to India's history with the country, and that the English introduced "the gentleman's game" to India. Many British cricketers take part in the IPL, yet England lost out to South Africa in hosting the event. As this research examines the way the South African print media attempted to position the country in the run-up to the event, I was interested to see how the British and Indian media handled the issue of South Africa being named as IPL 2009 host. I chose one respected newspaper from each country – *The Guardian* in the UK and *The Times of India* – and examined what each of these newspapers published during the build-up to the event.

Despite losing the hosting of the tournament to South Africa, there were not many articles about it in the British print media. A search on the website of *The Guardian* reveals only two articles – one on 24 March 2009, prior to the announcement being made, and an article on 25 March 2009, after the announcement was made. Nothing was published relating directly to the IPL until just before the tournament started. The article before the announcement focused

on England hoping it would be chosen to host the tournament. It quoted England batsman Ravi Bopara, whose parents were born in India, as saying he "favoured" England over South Africa. However, the article was more focused on the IPL moving from India than moving to South Africa or England. The article published after the announcement was made focused on "logistical concerns" and the English weather as England's downfall. It quoted the IPL's chairperson and commissioner, Lalit Modi, as praising "South Africa's track record", and the English Cricket Board graciously wished the IPL "every success in South Africa".

A search on *The Times of India* website indicated a general feeling of disappointment about the IPL being moved. An editorial on 25 March 2009 narrowed it down, saying that the fact that it was taking place at all was "a considerable achievement" and it urged its readers to look at the bigger picture.

Another article, "IPL abroad, not done", on 25 March 2009, highlighted the nation's disappointment at it being moved – quoting everyone, from cricket enthusiasts to travel agents. South Africa however, was praised as having "perfect conditions" over England's "cold and wet" weather. The only disadvantage was that "the number of Indian supporters would be fewer in South Africa".

The editorial comment focused on the positive aspects of moving the IPL:

> The Rainbow Nation is a better choice on multiple levels. It boasts of a readymade Indian-origin audience in cities such as Durban that is comparable to what England might offer. Given the all-important factor of television revenue, the small time difference ensuring prime-time coverage for Indian audiences is another point in South Africa's favour. Consider the necessity of favourable weather conditions over a period of two months and it seems likely that the Board of Control for Cricket in India has made the right call ("Game On", *The Times of India*, 26 March 2009).

It noted that the decision to move the IPL was "sensible" and "necessary". It alluded to the issue of nationhood by saying:

> National pride is not in the equation when it comes to deciding between the relative importance of the national elections and a sports tournament. Equally, the argument that moving the tournament is a sign of weakness and negatively impacts the national image is a specious one. The adverse fallout of any incident impacting the IPL's security would have been far greater.

While the English newspaper seemed keen to brush the issue of the IPL under the carpet, the Indian newspaper defended Indian pride, pointing out that it would have sullied the nation's image more to have an incident that affected the tournament's security than it would have to move the tournament.

The views of the British and Indian newspapers offer a perspective of how the IPL was perceived by other countries before the event began. One of the goals of this research paper is to gain an insight into how the South African print media used the IPL to situate the country in the global community. This study will also consider how the IPL – a non-South African

sporting event – was used to contribute to nationbuilding in South Africa. The research area of "sport and the media" has been used before to analyse the process of nationbuilding (Baines, 1998; Farquharson and Marjoribanks, 2003; Gaunden, 2010; Horne and Manzenreiter, 2006; Keim, 2008; Steenveld and Strelitz, 1998; and Vahed, 2001).

South Africa was a divided country, even in 2009 – 15 years after the first democratic elections were held in 1994. According to the 2009/2010 *South Africa Survey* published by the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), white per capita personal income was nearly eight times higher than that of Africans, 4.5 times higher than that of coloured people, and 1.5 times higher than that of Indians (SAIRR, 2011). To put things into perspective, taking into account something as basic as water supply, in 2009, the total of black people who had piped water to their house was 27.9 per cent, compared to 90.5 per cent for "other" (coloured people, Asians and Indians, and whites) race groups. It is not surprising, then, given these vast gaps in terms of income and even the most basic access to amenities, not to mention the social divisions that still exist along race and class, that a "unified national identity does not exist" (Strelitz, 2004).

Apartheid did not just divide people into races but sports activities were also drawn on racial lines (Farquharson and Marjoribanks, 2003). Although the gaps are closing, sport is very much still divided among racial and language lines. Football, for example, has a huge following among black people. Cricket is generally regarded as an English sport. And rugby is still largely perceived as being an Afrikaans sport. The issue of segregation and sport has been tackled by various academics (Steenveld and Strelitz, 1998; and Farquharson and Marjoribanks, who quote Jarvie, 1985, 1991; Grundlingh, Odendaal and Spies, 1995; Nauright, 1997; Booth, 1998). Sports events are seen as a way to bring the nation together (Steenveld and Streliz, 1998; Barnett, 1999; and Keim, 2008). Much has been written about

the role of sports events, in particular the 1995 Rugby World Cup, being used as a vehicle for nationbuilding.

After the first truly democratic elections in 1994 the idea of nationbuilding, or the desire to create a national identity, became popular (Baines, 1998; Strelitz, 2004; Vahed, 2001; Wasserman, 2005). The end of apartheid saw South Africa being welcomed into a new international community, and this was accompanied by a quest for a new identity (Baines, 1998). During the 1995 Rugby World Cup, the new government, under the leadership of Nelson Mandela, strove to promote an idea of "one South Africa", a common South African identity, or a Rainbow Nation (Baines, 1998). Even South African Breweries, the chief sponsor of the national football team for many years, chose as their slogan "One beer, one nation" (Baines, 1998). Nationbuilding is, as Baines defines it, "creating a sense of belonging to the broader South African community and a pride in its achievements; what Deputy President Thabo Mbeki termed a 'new patriotism'" (Baines, 1998).

The Rainbow Nation is still finding its place in the world, as ongoing debates in the media demonstrate (James, 2011). The concepts of nationbuilding and national identity are still very much on the national agenda – and have been since 1994. It would be interesting to see whether the IPL was used to promote ideas of nationbuilding or national identity ahead of the Football World Cup, which was due to be held in South Africa the next year.

3. Rationale

Despite the IPL being hailed as such a success (Sport24, 2009), little has been written about it in an academic sense and its coverage in South Africa has not been analysed. This research adds to a growing – albeit slowly – pool of academic writing on sports and the media in South Africa.

Global mega sports events such as the Olympic Games, Football World Cups, and Wimbledon tennis tournaments have received much attention by scholars, but sports such as cricket and the fledgling IPL tournament have largely been neglected by academic researchers (Dimeo and Kay, 2004). Researchers have suggested that one of the reasons for this is that India is a "semi-peripheral" or developing country. For example there is more research available on sport that is enjoyed by developed nations, such as American football, Association football (soccer) and athletics, and less on sports such as cricket – which has a major following in developing countries such as India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, the West Indies and South Africa (Dimeo and Kay, 2004). Global and mega sports events are becoming common, and more and more boundaries are being broken (Horne and Manzenreiter, 2006). This is well-illustrated in the IPL; geographical boundaries were broken by moving the Indian-based tournament to South Africa. Boundaries were also broken by having players from around the world playing in the various Indian teams. Global sports events, such as the Olympic Games, the Football World Cup (and other major football tournaments such as the UEFA Cup and Africa Cup of Nations), and tennis tournaments, such as Wimbledon and the ATP tours, are popular throughout the world. While there is a mass of research on mega or global events such as the Olympic Games or the Football World Cup, events that fall on what scholars call the "semi-periphery", that is in developing

countries, have not been given the same attention (Dimeo and Kay, 2004). This research paper fills some of that void, and offers a glimpse into an event that was born and bred in the semi-periphery. This study also aims to show how the print media perceived the country, and how it positioned South Africa in terms of the global community. In particular, not much research has been done on sports events in South Africa. Little has been written about the IPL in an academic sense and its coverage in South Africa has not been analysed.

Much has been written about the interaction between media and society (Bernstein and Blain, 2002; Boyle, 2007) – and that media reflects what is happening in society. Therefore it could be argued that media coverage of the IPL should reflect what was happening in society at that time. There are various schools of thought that describe what is expected of the media in society; what the media should do. Journalism enshrines a number of normative values as part of its practice, such as objectivity, truth-telling, service to the public, and being a watchdog of government. Many people, including those working in the media, subscribe to these normative views. However, this does not guarantee that the media always does what is expected of it. Additionally, these expectations of the media are not always clear or compatible. For example, when politicians criticise the press, or when journalists criticise political interference with the media, they each advocate a certain normative model of the media (Skjerdal 2001).

Normative models of the mass media gained popularity in the 1960s, with the fundamental Four Theories of the Press by Frederick Seaton Siebert, Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm.

Of the four, they described two theories that they argued held sway in democracies

1) The libertarian theory, which was based on one of man's natural rights – the search for truth. This theory is applicable to countries such as the United States, whose dispensation is based on the awarding of maximum freedom (Oosthuizen, 41) ;

2) The social responsibility theory, which emphasises that the media has a duty to society. This way of thinking advances self-control, which the South African press displays through organisations such as the Press Ombudsman, and community opinion, as evidenced by vibrant opinion and letters pages in the press (Oosthuizen, 42 – 43).

The South African press in 2009 was generally regarded as free, as was safeguarded in the Constitution of the republic. According to the 2009 Press Freedom Index, South Africa was ranked at 33, an upward movement from its position of 36 the previous year. This advancement points to a practically free press, as a press subscribing to a libertarian model would be. However, scholars have noted that, in what is generally regarded as a democratic media system in line with the current political dispensation, South African media seem to move between libertarian and social responsibility preferences (Skjerdal 2001; Kolbe, 2005) although, as Skjerdal notes, the press tend to favour libertarian ideas and a watchdog role while the government believes the media should follow a social responsibility outlook, which could include nation-building discourse.

For example, in the early days of post-apartheid South Africa, the media contributed to the construction of new social identities (Vahed, 2001; Wasserman, 2005). This was what was expected of the media by both those working within it and those spearheading the campaign within government. What is expected of the media when it comes to a mega sports event such

as the IPL, and do they live up to these expectations when it comes to reporting on an event such as this?

Hosting an event such as the Olympics or the Football World Cup, or the IPL is regarded as a sign of national success. This is significant to South Africa, because national identity is still an issue and it would be interesting to see whether the South African print media used this event to build a picture of a nation. Dayan and Katz (1992) have defined national identity as a "sense of membership, similarity, equality and familiarity", and perceive these mega sports events as portraying "an idealised version of society, reminding society of what it aspires to be rather than what it is" (1992, page 17). This is especially evident in South Africa, especially in the build-up to the all-important Football World Cup in 2010 – South Africa was aspiring to be a nation of winners, not necessarily on the football pitch, but also as the host of such an important event. Recently, South African scholars such as Rebecca Kahn (2009) and Philile Masango (2009) have shown that the media "has made a meaningful contribution towards bolstering democracy in South Africa (Kahn, 2009)" by initiating and facilitating public debates. Although Kahn admits that not all South Africans may be included in these debates as they may be "restricted to certain race, language or gender groups" depending on the type of media, "the fact is that they do happen (Kahn, 2009)".

Masango's research demonstrated how the media, in line with agenda-setting theories, "were also able to tell their readers what to think about through editorials in the various publications (2009)". This research aims to add to this debate by examining whether this was the case with the 2009 IPL – whether the media somehow used this event to make a contribution to a nationbuilding debate and, if so, whether they "told their readers what to think about".

4. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This research draws on a number of bodies of literature in order to examine the role of the media in relation to sport and national identity. These are: studies on the reporting of global sports events; media and nationbuilding; theory and research on sport as a cultural and national force; and agenda setting theory.

4.1 Global Sporting Events

Much has been written about sports' "contribution to the development and reinforcement of national identity" (Bernstein and Blain, 2002; Keim, 2008; Vahed, 2001). This takes on many categories – "national identity", "nationalism" and "nationality". Much of this writing focuses on a nation as a team, for example a national football team competing in the FIFA World Cup, or national athletes competing at the Olympic Games. The IPL is a different kettle of fish in that it is an Indian sporting event that uses global players (cricketers from all nations), including many South Africans. Yet it was still an Indian event played in South Africa. So does the IPL fall under the definition of a global sports event or a mega event? Two central features of contemporary mega events are firstly, that they are deemed to have significant consequences for the host city, region or nation in which they occur, and secondly, that they will attract considerable media coverage (Horne and Manzenreiter, 2006; Roche, 2000). If Roche's definition is taken into account there can be no doubt that the IPL ticks all the boxes of a global sporting event – it is on a large scale, its character is certainly dramatic (taking into account its exciting Twenty20 format and the stardom that goes along with it), it has mass popular appeal, and it has global reach – it reaches an international cricketing audience thanks to its inclusion of the world's best cricketers from all cricketing nations). It

did have significant consequences for the host cities, regions and South Africa – as noted by Majola (Sport24, 2009) – and it did attract considerable media coverage.

Research has shown that there are norms to which the media subscribes ahead of a major event (Rivenburgh, 2004). This research focuses on pre-Olympic reporting routines – that media coverage of the Olympics Games is guided by a set of common formats and formulas. Rivenburgh found that a fairly routine agenda of pre-Olympic themes appears in the media discourse. These are stories about: security, the costs surrounding the Games, commercialism, drugs, and – significant to the host's global image making goals – a constant evaluation of hosting preparation. Rivenburgh also found that pre-Olympics "preparation discourse" routinely gives attention to local protests, host government efforts to "clean up" the lower income areas of the urban setting, and delays in construction/preparation progress (a "will they be ready?" theme). Using this pre-Olympic reporting research as my base, I have applied it to the coverage of the IPL to see whether the South African print media subscribed to any of these norms.

4.2. Sport as a Cultural and National Force

Sport is a primary cultural force and the cultural role that sport plays in the country should not be undermined. As Vahed (2001) notes, "sport is considered pivotal to developing the all-round person and forms an integral part of the programme of every school".

The relationship between the media and sport is complex, and "sport and the media" has emerged as a major research field in the last decade. Researchers have a huge choice of disciplines when it comes to writing about sport – media and sport studies cross boundaries, and can be found in journalism studies, social sciences, studies of gender or culture, sports

studies – and issues can range from representation and issues of identity to gender studies, research into globalisation, and even the business of sport economy.

The social significance of these sporting mega events has increased, as research conducted by sociologists such as Pierre Bourdieu, Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning since the early 1990s has shown. One area in which sporting mega events stand out is the orientation of nations to international or global society (Horne and Manzenreiter, 2006), or how a nation imagines itself in relation to other nations. Many writers have examined the contribution of sport to the development and reinforcement of national identity (Bernstein and Blain, 2002; Rivenburgh, 2004; Scannell and Cardiff, 1991; Steenveld and Strelitz, 1998). Admittedly, this is usually around the sport itself, on the sporting team or athlete, such as that found in World-Cup football or the Olympic Games. However, being the host nation of an event such as the IPL can also instil feelings of identification and pride (Bernstein and Blain, 2002; Dayan and Katz, 1992; Rivenburgh, 2004).

Dayan and Katz have defined national identity as a "sense of membership, similarity, equality and familiarity" (1992, page 17). This is especially evident in South Africa, especially in the build-up to the all-important FIFA Football World Cup in 2010 – the nation appeared to buy into the idea of a shared national identity and united behind one team.

With regards to the IPL, South Africa was aspiring to be a nation of "winners" - not necessarily on the football field, but as the host of such an important event. Research has also concluded that this national pride is not only brought upon by a national team – a single athlete is often portrayed as representing the nation – as research into coverage of tennis events such as Wimbledon have shown.

Vahed's study (2001) into the effect of former cricket captain Hansie Cronje's match-fixing case on nationbuilding is particularly interesting. Vahed concluded that the case divided the nation along racial lines between Indians and whites – whites saw Cronje as a fallen hero, and Indians were made out to be the people who brought him down.

This issue of sports heroes spills over into the IPL, as many South African cricketers took part in the IPL. The Chennai Super Kings team featured Albie Morkel and Makhaya Ntini. The Mumbai Indians included JP Duminy, while the Bangalore Royal Challengers had South African-born Kevin Pietersen as captain and Dale Steyn, Jaques Kallis and Mark Boucher on its books. Having South Africans included in such a prestigious line-up was only one of the ways in which the tournament added to a sense of national pride.

While events such as the Olympic Games have received the lion's share of academic writing, the importance of hosting an event such as the IPL cannot be ignored in terms of what it could do for a nation's sense of worth, of their "abstract collectivity" or national sentiment".

4.3. The Media and Nationbuilding

Since the 1994 elections South Africans have proudly called themselves the "rainbow people". Five years later, Dickow and Moller (2000) researched South Africans' perceptions of the rainbow symbol and found that projections of national pride had shifted from the rainbow as symbol of unity and reconciliation to other icons of achievement such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme and prowess in sport (Dickow and Moller, 2000). We have already discussed the importance of sport to the South African nation, but how has sport has been instrumental in South Africa's quest for a collective national identity (Steenveld and Strelitz, 1998; Vahed, 2001)?

The different theories on nationbuilding have major significance for the media. There are two dominant paradigms in theorising identity and nationalism – primordialism, which focuses on "identity as a quality given by birth" (Madianou, 2005, page 8) and modernism, theories of which identify the "modern character of the nation state and the constructedness of identity" (Madianou, 2005, page 8). South Africa's idea of national identity has shifted from the primordial view of apartheid's ethnic identity to a modernism view, and therefore this research focuses on the idea of nationalism as loyalty to a political community, the nation state, a nation that is defined by a constitution and democracy. The first president of post-apartheid South Africa, Nelson Mandela, and Archbishop Desmond Tutu initially led the process to mobilise people behind a vision of a single nation guided by common values and symbols – a shared national identity (Baines 1998; Dickow and Moller, 2000; Farquharson and Marjoribanks, 2003; Gaunden, 2010).

Vahed writes that since the reform process was initiated in 1990 South Africa has been going through: "'the moment of manoeuvre', the historical moment in which there is 'the search for

an ideological means to unite the whole people' within a historically specific political process and structure (Vahed quoting Alexander, 1995, page 6)".

While the media do not shape individual identities, they do contribute to the "creation of symbolic communicative spaces (Madianou, 2005, page 5)". These spaces are the areas in which the print media make a contribution to the emergence of nationalism. Anderson believes that the print media provided the "social glue that made the nation possible" (Madianou, 2005, page 15). He writes about "social imaginings", saying that people all over the country would read the same newspapers and recognised themselves as part of an imagined community – a common identity. This social imaginary, or an imagined community (Madianou, 2005, page 15) is defined by Goankar (2002), who in writing about modern social imaginary, speaks of a national people – its representation as a "we". He writes:

> The social imaginary gives us a sense of who we are, how we fit together, how we got where we are, and what we might expect from each other in carrying out collective practices that are constitutive of our way of life (Goankar, 2002).

The pivotal role that the mass media in South Africa have been given is enshrined in the Reconstruction and Development Programme, the ANC's "blueprint for post-apartheid transformation" (Barnett, 1999).

The quest to create a common national identity in South Africa is also played out through discursive texts, particularly the media (Gounden, 2010). This can be seen in the example of the national broadcaster, South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) (Barnett,1999, page 286; Gounden, 2010), which has adopted an inclusive policy that gives space to all available identities in South Africa.

As many scholars point out, efforts aimed at creating a single national identity in South Africa have largely hinged on cultural and sporting events (Baines, 1998; Dickow and Moller, 2000; Gounden, 2010; Steenveld and Strelitz, 1999). Gounden puts this down to the fact that national sporting and cultural events provide an "arena for a shared public culture" and "mobilise South Africans around a common cultural experience" (Gounden, 2010). Many examples to this end have been used by scholars, from the 1995 Rugby World Cup (Baines, 1998; Barnett, 1999; Dickow and Moller, 2000; Farquharson and Marjoribanks 2003; Gounden, 2010, Keim, 2008; Steenveld and Strelitz, 1998) to the South African Music Awards (Gounden, 2010).

Attempts at nationbuilding have not been easy. As political commentator Wilmot James wrote in a recent newspaper article, South Africa, as a nation, is still struggling to move on from apartheid. He used the 2010 Football World Cup slogan, "Celebrating Africa's Humanity", as an example of this lack of self-worth that South Africans have:

> It is a touching, yet somehow wavering, tribute to our sense of inferiority. The fact that we felt the need to ask the world to celebrate our "humanity" – not our creativity, not our ingenuity, not our steadfastness – suggests that we doubt whether the world acknowledges it. This strikes me as a sad testament not only to the brutal history that Africa endured during colonialism, but to the fact that we really struggle to move beyond it. We feel so battered emotionally by our past that we crave reassurance from the rest of the world that they see, and "celebrate", our humanity. We fail to see that the world has already embraced our humanity. We need to be able to see beyond the scars of our own history so that we can embrace our worth ("Self-worth needs to replace self-doubt", *City Press*, 24 July 2011, page 25).

On the matter of self-worth, James wrote:

> South Africans sometimes forget how much we matter to the rest of the world. We feel as if we do not deserve the attention or validation we receive. We react with a prickly pride that appears to mask feelings of doubt, anxiety and uncertainty. As a result, we miss a chance to understand our true worth and partner with others as equals ("Self-worth needs to replace self-doubt", *City Press*, 24 July 2011, page 25).

I mention this because I believe that James has summed up a crucial part of South African identity. His column formed part of an ongoing discussion in the City Press on national identity and where South Africa finds itself in a global setting. This issue is a public debate, and has been ever since the African National Congress put it onto the national agenda in 1994. If the nation is, as James suggested, "craving reassurance from the rest of the world", will this affect or be reflected in the print media's coverage of the IPL?

This research will take into account whether the national print media used this notion of a common cultural experience to unite the nation around this largely Indian event, taking into consideration that the IPL was a precursor to the 2010 FIFA World Cup, and examine if and how the media used this event to promote nationbuilding.

4.4. Agenda Setting

This research examines the ideas and topics surrounding the IPL that were entered into the public sphere by way of the South African print media – also known as agenda setting. Agenda setting is the idea that "the news media could set the agenda for public thought and discussion" (McCombs 2000, page3); that the choices of media decision-makers affected what the public perceived as important.

As Farquharson and Marjoribanks (2003) point out, there is "an increasingly close relationship between media, the nation and sport, with the media playing a key role in 'producing, reproducing and amplifying' discourses around sport and the nation". According to agenda setting theory, the selection of the articles that make it into the print media depends how high on the agenda these issues are perceived to be, thus highlighting aspects of the texts that are published. Articles that are more important are given a more prominent place in the newspaper. The idea of agenda setting can be taken a step further, to the idea that certain aspects of a text are highlighted and given preference over others. This is known as framing. Academics such as Madianou (2005), and Farquharson and Marjoribanks (2003) write that the media are a potentially powerful site for the framing of discourses around the relationship between sport and nationbuilding. In their paper *Transforming the Springboks: Re-imagining the South African Nation through Sport*, Farquharson and Marjoribanks use the notion of framing to "suggest that through decisions about which issues to report, and about how to report those issues, the media present particular versions of 'social reality'".

This research looks at how a nation is constructed to a selection of particular themes, stories or issues (agenda setting) and how these themes, stories or issues will be presented (framing). By using the concept of agenda setting, this research shows just how the print media framed

the IPL – whether there was an attempt to colour the image of South Africa prior to the event, and whether this reporting did indeed subscribe to the norms identified by Rivenburgh's research (see page 15).

This research on sport and national identity will be applied to my analysis of coverage of the 2009 IPL and a search for representations of South Africa. In order to do this, this research falls within the parameters of agenda setting, in particular framing. One of the areas of research for general media studies is agenda setting – the idea that the news media has the power to set a nation's agenda (McCombs, 2000). The concept of framing is related to agenda setting, in that its core is that the media draws attention to certain topics; however framing expands on agenda setting by looking at the way in which these topics are reported or presented. The idea of "framing" takes agenda setting a step further, and tries to explain how the text, in this case articles on the IPL, influences the way the reader thinks about information that is being communicated (Entman, 1993), in this case the IPL. This is done by highlighting the salience, or the way in which a piece of information is made "more noticeable, meaningful or memorable to audiences" (Entman, 1993), of the frames. The more the information is highlighted the more likely it will be remembered by the reader. Ways in which frames are highlighted in text include keywords, and the presence or absence thereof, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts of judgments (Entman, 1993). I used this idea of framing to analyse the print media's coverage of the IPL in the run-up to the event to see how the media dealt with the two key demands: using sport to build nation (internal) and proving to the world that it can host an event (external).

Methodology

This research was carried out using the content analysis method, which has proved to be a popular method in media research – and is frequently used to evaluate the media coverage of athletes and sports (Yu, 2009, page 288). Krippendorff (2004) defines content analysis as "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use (2004, page18)." In other words, content analysis can be used to evaluate manifest content – that content that is not hidden – and make certain deductions from the observations. These deductions will give us insights into the issues and agendas that the writers and other staff members at the newspapers sought to highlight. Content analysis can be used to identify the intentions, focus or communication trends of an individual, group or institution as well as what is important to them.

Content analysis can be quantitative or qualitative. Quantitative content analysis involves the reporting of results in numerical terms or by using statistics. This involves the counting of articles and keywords, and will be applied to this research. Qualitative research seeks out the "why", not the "how" of its topic through the analysis of unstructured information. It is used to gain insight into people's attitudes, behaviours, value systems, concerns, motivations, aspirations, cultures or lifestyles.

I used a thematic content analysis to find themes in the data and extract meaning.

In order to draw a sample from newspapers across the country, I decided to use Sabinet SA Media online resource as my source for the data. This database, accessed via the University of the Witwatersrand's library[1], consists of articles scanned in by SA Media at the University of the Free State. It is often used by researchers as a data collection tool as SA Media provides access to the important mainstream newspapers, journals and magazines. SA Media provides access to English and Afrikaans newspapers, however, for language purposes, only English newspapers form part of this study.

It was a convenient and relatively thorough way to collect the sample, which ranges across a number of newspapers. In fact, it offered a better archive than many of the media houses – I was unable to access archives online, due to the limited availability of these archives – in particular the Independent group archives, which include the *Cape Times*, *Cape Argus*, *The Star*, and the *Daily News*. Because the IPL took place in 2009, it was difficult to physically access these newspapers – I would have had to go to numerous media houses' archives, and it would have been a time-consuming and cumbersome exercise. SA Media gave me a good sample of the articles published in the run-up to the IPL.

As the research focuses on norms around pre-event reporting, the timeframe for the data was set from the announcement on 24 March 2009 (Wilson, 2009) that the IPL tournament would be held in South Africa to the start of the tournament on 17 April 2009. The last match was played on 24 May 2009.

[1] The University of the Witwatersrand's library can be found online at http://www.wits.ac.za/library/researchresources/595/electronicdatabases.html

I used the keyword "IPL" within the dates 24 March 2009 and 17 April 2009, singling out the English articles. This yielded 51 results, largely from newspapers one would have assumed would have covered cricket – *Business Day*, *Cape Argus*, *Cape Times*, *Daily News*, *Daily Dispatch*, *Financial Mail*, *The Herald*, *Independent on Saturday*, *Mail & Guardian*, *The Post*, *Sowetan*, *The Star*, *Saturday Star*, *Sunday Independent*, and the *Sunday Times*.

I noticed that there were no articles on the IPL recorded for the *Daily Sun*. I double-checked this in the Media24 archives, and there were only two mentions of the IPL during this time period – on 16 April 2009. One was in the sports results, and recorded the IPL warm-up match between the Kings XI Punjab and the Chevrolet Warriors. The other was a television listing. This suggested that *Daily Sun* did not have an interest in cricket as a sport, and there was no deviation from this, even when it came to a tournament such as the IPL being staged in South Africa.

There were no articles recorded for the *Sowetan*. I did a search on the newspaper's website, which yielded 13 articles on the 2009 IPL, none of which fell into the timeframe. Similarly I checked the *Sunday World*'s website. A search turned up 17 articles, which were either listings or match results, or did not fall into the timeframe.

I double-checked *City Press*'s archives too. There was one article, on 29 March 2009. Titled "Proteas ready for the Aussies" the story was not about the IPL, however the second half of the story mentioned South Africa's hosting of the event and a strategic partnership between inaugural IPL champions Rajasthan Royals and the Nashua Cape Cobras.

Satisfied that the collection process had yielded a reliable sample of a suitable number, I scanned the articles. One of the first steps was to map the coverage chronologically in order

to see how it played out across the media. This gave me a good indication as to how the coverage unfolded.

In addition to the date, I also noted in which newspapers the articles appeared, the page on which the article appeared, the kind of story (whether it was a news story, a sports article, a comment or opinion piece, or cartoon), and its author. This formed the basis of my quantitative data. As quantitative newspaper analysis provides "the needed scientific ground for journalistic arguments" (Krippendorff, 2004, page 5), I started out by using quantitative content analysis – frequency of articles, noting the pages and sections the articles appeared on, and theme frequencies – to examine the print media coverage leading up to the IPL, to see if indeed there was a case for this notion of nationbuilding in the run-up to the event. This quantitative analysis was conducted alongside a qualitative analysis that focused on themes recurring in the articles.

In order to do this qualitative analysis, I started out by getting a sense of the articles and allowed myself to identify popular themes in the articles. Six themes were identified from the data. They were:

- Issues surrounding logistics;
- Economy issues;
- Issues of nationhood or national identity;
- South Africa's relationship with India;
- Bollywood;
- References to the 2010 Football World Cup.

The quantitative analysis showed that, of all the articles on the IPL, 44 per cent of the articles focused on nationhood, or issues of national identity. However, it was not the issue that the newspaper found most important. Issues surrounding logistics – issues around when and where the IPL matches would be held featured the most. The category that featured in second place was the economy, which was not a surprise, as the IPL is well-known for being money-orientated (Jagannathan, 2010). Nationbuilding issues came in at the next-highest, in terms of numbers. South Africa's relationship with India also featured prominently, as did mentions of the 2010 FIFA World Cup and then, to a lesser extent, the Indian film industry (Bollywood), and the stars who are involved with the IPL. These issues also correlate to the nationbuilding (internal) and nation orientation (external) distinctions named earlier. Those articles on logistics, economy and issues of nationhood or national identity tie into the internal distinctions, while issues surrounding South Africa's relationship with India; Bollywood and references to the 2010 Football World Cup tie into the external or nation orientation.

The articles and their themes are discussed in more detail below.

6. Findings

6.1. An introduction

One of the first steps was to map the coverage chronologically in order to see how it played out across the media. This is what unfolded by date:

Tuesday, 24 March 2009: *The Herald* was the only newspaper to run an article on the IPL on this day. Titled "SA seen as a reliable host for sports events", the article, an editorial comment, was about South Africa's "tried and tested ability to host major international sports events".

Wednesday, 25 March 2009: On the day after the announcement was made, there was a flurry of articles on the IPL. *The Herald* led the way with "Indian cricket coup for SA" on page one. It proclaimed: "South Africa has beaten England in a head-to-head race to host the second edition of the lucrative Indian Premier League next month".

The Star's front-page article came from the wires (Sapa/AFP) and was titled "SA to host dazzling cricket tournament". The sports pages (page 32) ran a longer article written by Stuart Hess, titled "Cricket's R100m IPL deal" and subtitled "This is the amount CSA [Cricket South Africa] stand to make from helping Indians". The front-page article contained news of the announcement that "South Africa will be host the IPL during April and May". The "Cricket's R100m IPL deal" on page 32 was about Cricket South Africa (CSA) being "poised to earn close to R100 million" for agreeing to stage the second edition of the IPL that would start on 18 April 2009.

The *Cape Argus* ran an article on page 22 titled: "We can handle IPL load". It was written by two journalists – Michael Doman and Stuart Hess – and focused on South Africa being chosen to host the IPL, which was described as "a big endorsement for our administrators".

The Herald ran a page-six cartoon titled "SA hosts the Twenty20 competition". It featured the IPL's Lalit Modi having a braai (barbecue), with a sun depicting South Africa and a raincloud depicting England. Modi's speech bubble proclaimed: "Sunshine and wors here we come!"

On page three *The Herald* reporter Lee-Anne Butler wrote an article, "Wessels all smiles as SA clinches IPL deal". It was subtitled: "Securing exciting Twenty20 tournament 'a major coup'". It quoted former Proteas cricket captain Kepler Wessels as being "happy" that the country had "clinched" it.

The *Cape Argus* ran a front-page story, "City set to cash in on cricket tournament". It was written by Leila Samodien and Stuart Hess. While the story focused on Cape Town, and the "major economic boost" the IPL would have on it, it also mentioned the R100 million the event would earn for Cricket South Africa.

The *Cape Times*' page-one story, "Newlands to host IPL opener" was written by Zaahier Adams "and Sapa-AP". It mentioned reasons why South Africa won the right to host the tournament, such as the weather.

The *Daily News* was the only newspaper that did not have an IPL article on page one. Page three saw the headline "Organisers of IPL head for SA today" and the subhead "Durban will host a semi-final". The article mentioned the strong Indian support in Durban and said that South Africa would benefit immensely from the cash injection, especially during the tough economic times.

The Star published an article, "SA must work fast on T20 tactics", which was not about the IPL, but was about the Twenty20 cricket format and South Africa's approach to this game.

Thursday, 26 March 2009: *The Citizen* ran with an editorial column, "SA is the top choice". It was on page 12 of the newspaper. The newspaper also featured a cartoon on page 12 of a cricket ball with a smiley face on it. The editorial and the cartoon complemented each other, with the very simple cartoon indicating that the IPL being hosted in South Africa was a positive event. The editorial called the hosting a "stunning coup" for Cricket South Africa.

The *Daily News* moved the event up to page one with the story: "Durban's accommodation snag as IPL, Indaba overlap", by Iqbal Khan. The article was very localised, and focused on a four-day period in which "no hotel rooms" would be available in the city due to a conference taking place.

The *Daily Dispatch* ran a page-one story by two writers, Dominic Peel and Siya Miti, titled "City abuzz as IPL hopes are fuelled", with the subtitle: "Publicity would be a 'real windfall'".

The Star's editorial column "A boon to SA sport" appeared on page 18 of the publication. The headline implied that the IPL would be a blessing for the country, but stated that "the harsh reality was that South Africa had little more than three weeks to prepare to host one of the world's biggest sports events."

Friday, 27 March 2009: The *Daily News* led page one with "IPL threat to Comrades" and the subhead "Durban to get 16 games, but no semi-final", by Iqbal Khan. The article focused on the Comrades Marathon, which would "have to be moved or scrapped altogether" if no alternative venue for the marathon could be found.

The Star relegated the IPL to page five with "India promises a good supply of tourists, says Kerzner", written by Audrey D'Angelo. The article appeared to be a press release, as Kerzner was the only source quoted in it.

The *Witness* had the IPL on page four with "Comrades Marathon safe/IPL clash: finish may have to be moved, but not date" by Norrie Williamson. The article focused on the Comrades Marathon and IPL clash, and the possible moving of the finish line of the Comrades.

The *Daily Dispatch* also ran an article on page five, titled: "Cricket's best head for East London" and sub-titled "Buffalo Park will host four IPL T20 matches". It was written by Peter Martin and Siya Miti, with additional reporting by DDR-DDC. The focus of the article was on the local stadium, Buffalo Park, being allocated four IPL matches.

The *Independent on Saturday* had a page-one story, "Comrades is not under threat, says CMA" by Tommy Ballantyne. It was very localised, and focused on the Comrades Marathon.

Wednesday, 1 April 2009: *Business Day* ran a page-28 article titled: "Scramble to get Comrades venue ready" and sub-titled: "Cricket matches allow three days to prepare Kingsmead finish line". It was written by chief sports correspondent Mark Smit.

The Star ran a column by Rodney Hartman, which was titled "So long, it's been good to know you" in which he joked about the IPL approaching him "with an offer to work in their media and entertainment division". It appeared on page 28.

Sunday, 5 April 2009: The *Sunday Times* had a comprehensive article on page three titled "Indian cricket league boss found on gangster's hit list/Arrest of 'hit man' uncovers murder plot – and betting rings may well be involved" by Andrew Donaldson. It was accompanied by a little article titled "Lalit Modi's ups and downs". The article highlighted the shady past of the IPL's chairperson, Lalit Modi, calling him "brash" and "seemingly arrogant", and saying that he was on a hitlist because he failed to respond to a demand for money from a gangster.

Tuesday, 7 April 2009: The *Daily Dispatch* ran with a page-three story: "Buffalo City pads up for a cricketing bonanza/Thousands expected for IPL matches" by Asa Sokopo. The story was more or less a carbon copy of the article on 27 March 2009 – about how East London businesses were gearing up to host the IPL, and punting the Southern Sun group, "the official hosts of the IPL teams".

Wednesday, 8 April 2009: The *Cape Argus* also moved the IPL to page three: "IPL fever hots up as stars jet in and first games sold out" by Natasha Prince. The article took on a real page-three glitz and glamour feel.

Thursday, 9 April 2009: The *Daily Dispatch* printed an editorial column on page nine, "Keep up the good work". It opened with the Jacob Zuma court case, moved to the general elections that took place on 22 April 2009, and mentioned the IPL, an event "that promises respite from the political intensity enveloping our land".

"IPL cricket ticket sales anger local supporters" was a front-page headline in the *Daily News*. According to the writer, Dasen Thathiah, "excitement" was "replaced by anger" as "only certain tickets" were allowed "to be sold to local fans" as the IPL had reserved the "best seats" and "prime seats" were reserved for international visitors.

The *Cape Argus* ran a page-three story, "Urgent talks as row erupts over use of suites during IPL" by Natasha Prince. Prince wrote that "all suiteholders and club members" had been asked "to forego their rights to the suites during the tournament" and, if not, there were "threats to cancel the highly-anticipated cricket tournament".

The *Cape Times* ran a page-three article, "Crisis talks with suiteholders over upcoming IPL", which was about Newlands Cricket Ground losing the tournament due to a "non-negotiable requirement for the hosting of the eight matches in Cape Town", that is, the use of all suites at Newlands. It was written by Zaahier Adams, and was similar to the article in the *Cape Argus*.

10 April 2009: The *Daily Dispatch* picked up on the story of the suites, and placed "Row over suites threatens IPL" by Thanuxolo Jika on page one. It offered nothing new to the stories from 9 April 2009.

The *Financial Mail* ran a cover story on the IPL. On page 26 a comprehensive story on the IPL, written by Rob Rose and Larry Claasen, appeared. It was titled "Sporting seduction". In it, Rose and Claasen assessed how much money made from the tournament would go to the country, and how much would land up in the coffers of the franchises. It was accompanied by a table, "Who is what in the Indian Premier League zoo". Page 30 saw another part of the cover story. Titled "Expensive exercise", it delved into the implications of the move for IPL franchises.

11 April 2009: The *Saturday Star* had two page-24 stories on the IPL. The one was written by news agencies, Sapa-AFP. It was titled: "Top minister blames IPL for shipping glitzy event to SA" and quoted a senior minister in the Indian government as saying the IPL could have taken place in India if organisers had listened to suggestions and not put pressure on the government.

The other article was written by Stuart Hess, titled "IPL faces stadium threat" and sub-titled "suite-holders up in arms as Indian League moves on prime seating". Another issue raised by this article was that the IPL agreed to revise its media terms and conditions and gave the green light for news and photographs to be filed to cricket websites that may compete with the official one.

The newspaper also had a page-five story, "Sporting windfall could avert recession", with the sub-headline, "Welcome injection of R2bn to grow the economy". It was written by two journalists, Thabiso Thakali and Candice Bailey and said that South Africa was on the cusp of an unplanned cash injection of R2-billion in the next four months.

The *Independent on Saturday* repeated the *Saturday Star*'s story as its front-page lead. Its title was "City cash kick-start", with a subheading, "R2bn sport boost to ease SA economy", and a pull-quote: "The three major upcoming sporting events will help relieve a bit of the current economic pressure – Economist Mike Schussler".

The *Weekend Post* also had a page-one story, "IPL 'rookie' Tyron has the best of both worlds" by Barbara Hollands. It focused on Eastern Cape cricketer Tyron Henderson, who was bought by the Rajasthan Royals team for R13-million in a two-year contract deal.

12 April 2009: The *Sunday Independent* dedicated an entire page, page 21, to the IPL. Under the title "IPL: the blitz, the glitz and the glamour", the main story by Stuart Hess gave an overview of the tournament. It was accompanied by "The IPL fixture schedule" and "The eight teams and the views of their SA players".

Another story, "Never mind the cricket, swing the bat for Bollywood", by Kevin McCallum, was about movie company bosses who "are hoping to recover the 10 per cent to 20 per cent of ticket sales they lost because of dropping attendance during the IPL last year".

The Independent also ran a page-three article, "Media hit a six to score IPL coverage for all" by Edwin Naidu, which reported on the News Media Coalition that had agreed to cover IPL matches after initially threatening to boycott them because of the IPL's media demands.

Tuesday, 14 April 2009: *The Herald* reported on the MTN one-day international series, with the page-one story, "'Emotional' century from Gibbs seals series" and the sub-title "SA secures 3-1 ODI victory over Australia at packed St George's". Although the story was not strictly on the IPL, in the fourth paragraph Alvin Reeves, the chief sports reporter, referred to the crowd of 17,500 fans, "including Bollywood star Preity Zinta", and went on to mention her Kings XI team, and that they "have been based in Port Elizabeth ahead of the start of the IPL".

Thursday, 16 April 2009: On page 20 of *The Star*, Rodney Hartman's column was titled: "It's here, cricket's new world order". The IPL featured in paragraph three, when he wrote: "The decision to take the IPL offshore was the clincher in cricket's new global order. The biggest thing in world cricket is about to take off – with Indian money and South African hospitality. That's about as good as it gets."

Friday, 17 April 2009: Friday heralded a flurry of articles featuring the IPL. The *Cape Times* had a page one article: "Big IPL parade takes city streets by storm". All about the parade that had occurred in Cape Town's CBD the day before, the article gave a paragraph-by-paragraph description of the parade, complete with down-to-the-minute updates.

On page 11, *The Witness* featured "The ABC of the IPL" with the sub-title "Glitz, glamour, big bucks and, yes, some exciting cricket will be on offer for the next 41 days" by Lungani Zama. The article was comprehensive, from how the IPL and its Twenty20 format started to the teams and their owners, and their prospects. It was accompanied by three little blocks: "India's 'icon' players", "Prize money" and "Order of play" and the "Top IPL earners (per season)", as well as photos of the top three earners, Kevin Pietersen, Andrew Flintoff and Mahendra Singh Dhoni, all of whom were worth US$1.5 million and more.

The Star ran an article on the "IPL circus" with page one's "Parade heralds R1.5bn 'carnival of cricket'" by Kevin McCallum. It mentioned the parade through Cape Town, the cash injection for the South African economy, Miss Bollywood SA, and R8-million donation to an Athlone school. Page 24 had "So, just who are the IPL rich and famous?" by Nazli Thomas. It was accompanied by a comprehensive article, "Stuart Hess runs his eye over the eight IPL teams and picks out potential winners and the Knight Riders as losers". It was a who's who of each team, its records, who to watch out for, and "prospects".

The Star also published "SA rugby legend 'pads up'" with the sub-title "François Pienaar now an Indian Premier League mover and shaker", about his role in "pushing the tournament to South Africans".

The *Cape Argus* also had a page-one article, "IPL scores R2bn for SA economy" by two writers, Natasha Prince and Leila Samodien. It was accompanied by a little "blurb" teasing a "special pullout on page 11. More stories and pictures on pages 3, 16 and 18". I do not have any of these pullouts or stories, as they were not available on SA Media.

The *Business Day* ran two articles: one on page four and the other on page 19. The article on page four was written by Ernest Mabuza, and was titled "Security services ready for IPL cricket, election". It focused on the South African National Defence Force and the National Intelligence Agency who "said their ability to safeguard major events had been internationally recognised with 141 international events having taken place in SA since 1994 without serious incident".

The page-19 story was written by "sports staff" and was titled: "SA will reap economic benefits from the IPL" with the sub-title "Chairman says the government and Cricket SA welcomed the premier league with open arms".

Discussion

I decided to keep the articles in chronological order, and count them, and then sort them into themes. Of the 51 articles that were identified by SA Media, one on 25 March 2009, "SA must work fast on T20 tactics", which was published in *The Star* was about the Twenty20 cricket format and the South Africa national cricket team's match against Australia in the Standard Bank Pro20 International. I decided to exclude it from the data because it did not mention the IPL. I thus worked on 50 articles.

There was a pull-out that was produced by the *Cape Argus* on 17 April 2009 that was not included on the database. I did not think this would affect the research because the aim of the research was to look at the mainstream media, and a pull-out was a special section.

From the mapping, the following can be determined: Although the weeks were staggered, with the first week starting on a Tuesday and the last week ending on a Friday, the first week saw 20 articles on the IPL; the second week only three; the third week 17; and the last, five-day week, 10 articles.

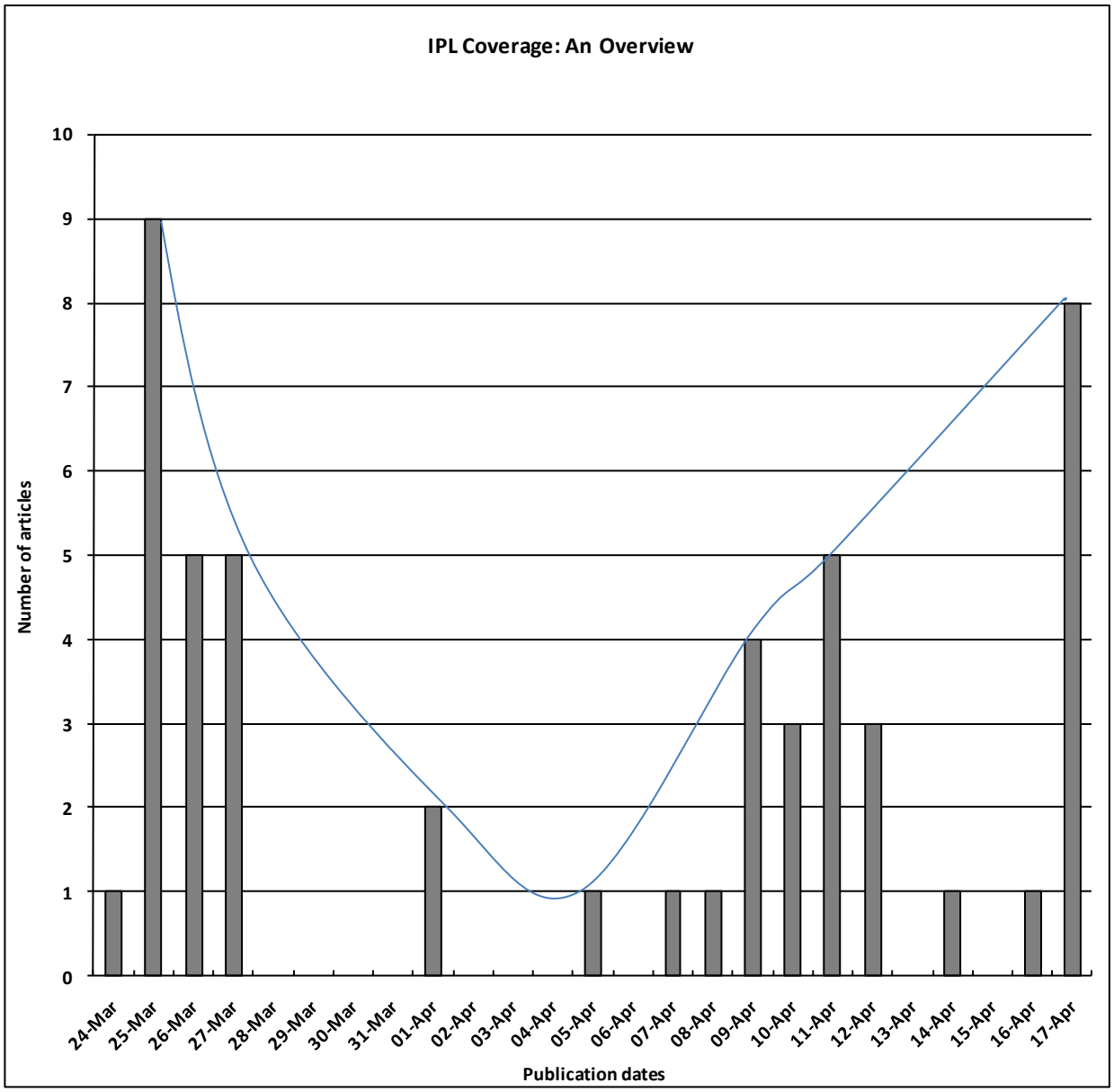


Figure 1. An overview of reporting of the IPL from 25 March 2009, when the announcement was made that the IPL would be moved to South Africa, to 17 April 2009, the day before the tournament started.

The graph “IPL Coverage: An Overview” (Figure1) shows a U shape, which indicates that reporting began enthusiastically just as the announcement that South Africa would host the event was made, and then it dropped dramatically. There was hardly any reporting on the IPL from 28 March 2009 until 7 April 2009, when it started to pick up, dropped slightly, and then there was a spike just before the tournament began.

6.2. Frequency of Coverage (Quantitative Analysis)

The two graphs below (Figure 2 and Figure 3) show the number of articles published in the newspapers. I have divided them into daily and weekly publications, because the daily newspapers had more publishing days (19) to include articles than the weekly publications (three weekends), and including them on the same graph would not offer a clear view on how many articles were published in the weekly publications. Some articles also had sidebars and tables attached to them, but I counted these as one article. Cartoons were included as articles.

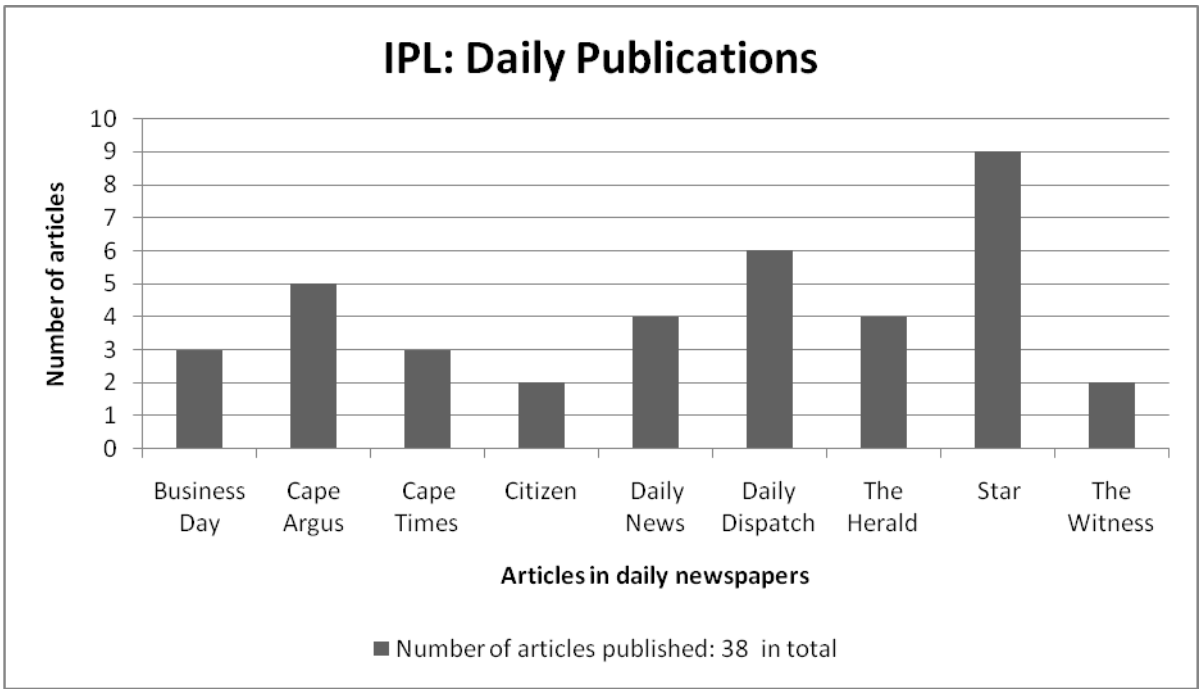


Figure 2. The number of articles on the IPL published in daily newspapers during the timeframe.

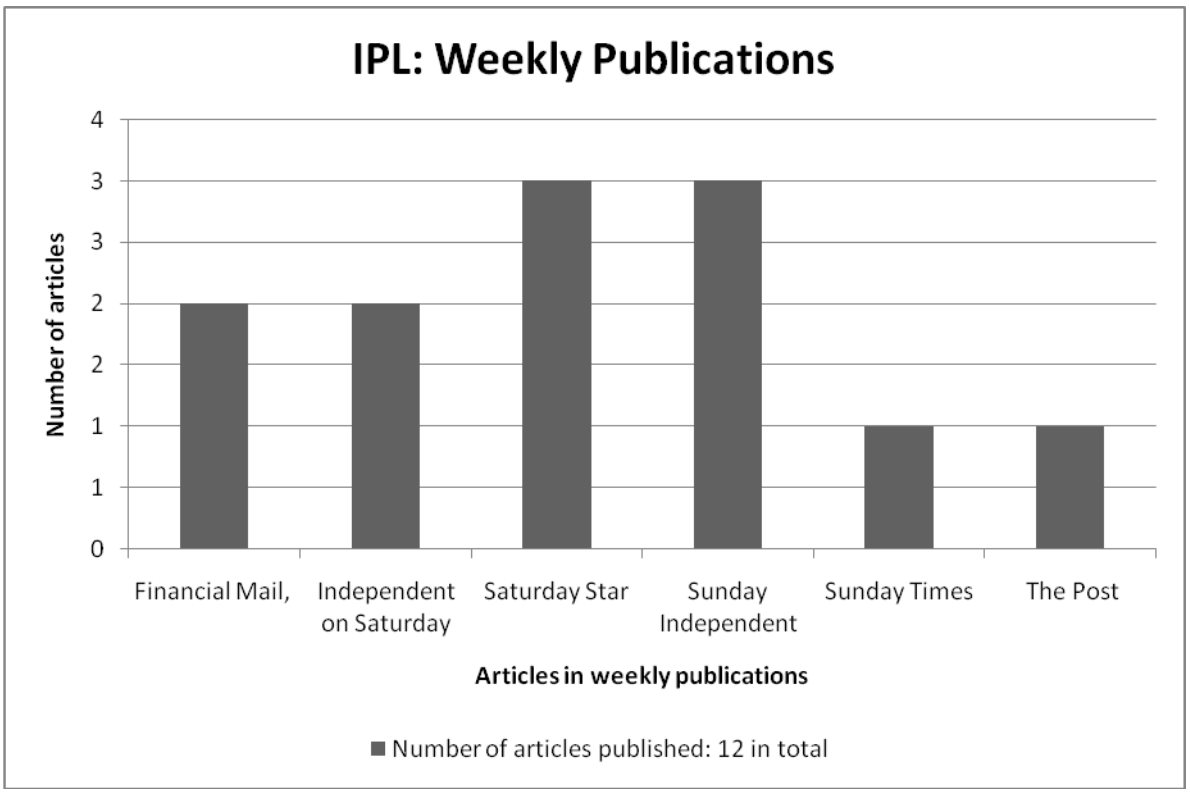


Figure 3. The number of articles on the IPL published in weekly publications during the timeframe.

From Figure 2 and Figure 3, the following can be deduced:

The database did not pick up stories on the IPL during this timeframe from the following newspapers: *Daily Sun*, *Mail & Guardian*, and *Sowetan*.

As mentioned before, it was generally thought that black readers are less interested in cricket than they are in other sports such as football. The *Daily Sun* and the *Sowetan* both have largely black readerships. Taking into account observations that the press in South Africa is still largely segregated in terms of race, this limited coverage of a cricket event by "black newspapers" should not have been unexpected.

The *Mail & Guardian* published no articles during the timeframe. This was also a surprise, but they did publish a few articles that fell out of the timeframe studied:

- On 23 April 2009: "SA hits a six", all about the local economy's "huge financial and other benefits" from hosting the IPL;
- 29 April 2009: "Not all that glitters is gold", which focused on the IPL being all about money and ego;
- 14 May 2009: "Ego and all", which stated that the IPL was little more than a platform for the team owners to promote themselves. The newspaper also ran an editorial, "A wide delivery", which backed up "Ego and all" by calling the IPL "an utterly forgettable, one-dimensional slogfest that mainly serves to showcase the greed, vulgar bling and gigantic egos of the moneybags who gave it birth";
- 21 May 2009: A letter praising the newspaper's coverage of the IPL, titled "Continue covering IPL scam" was published;
- 4 June 2009: A wrap-up of the IPL was published, titled "The googlies and doosras of the IPL". It asked whether the "glitzy cricket extravaganza" was the financial success it was "trumpeted" to be.

The articles were categorised according to both weekly and daily newspapers.

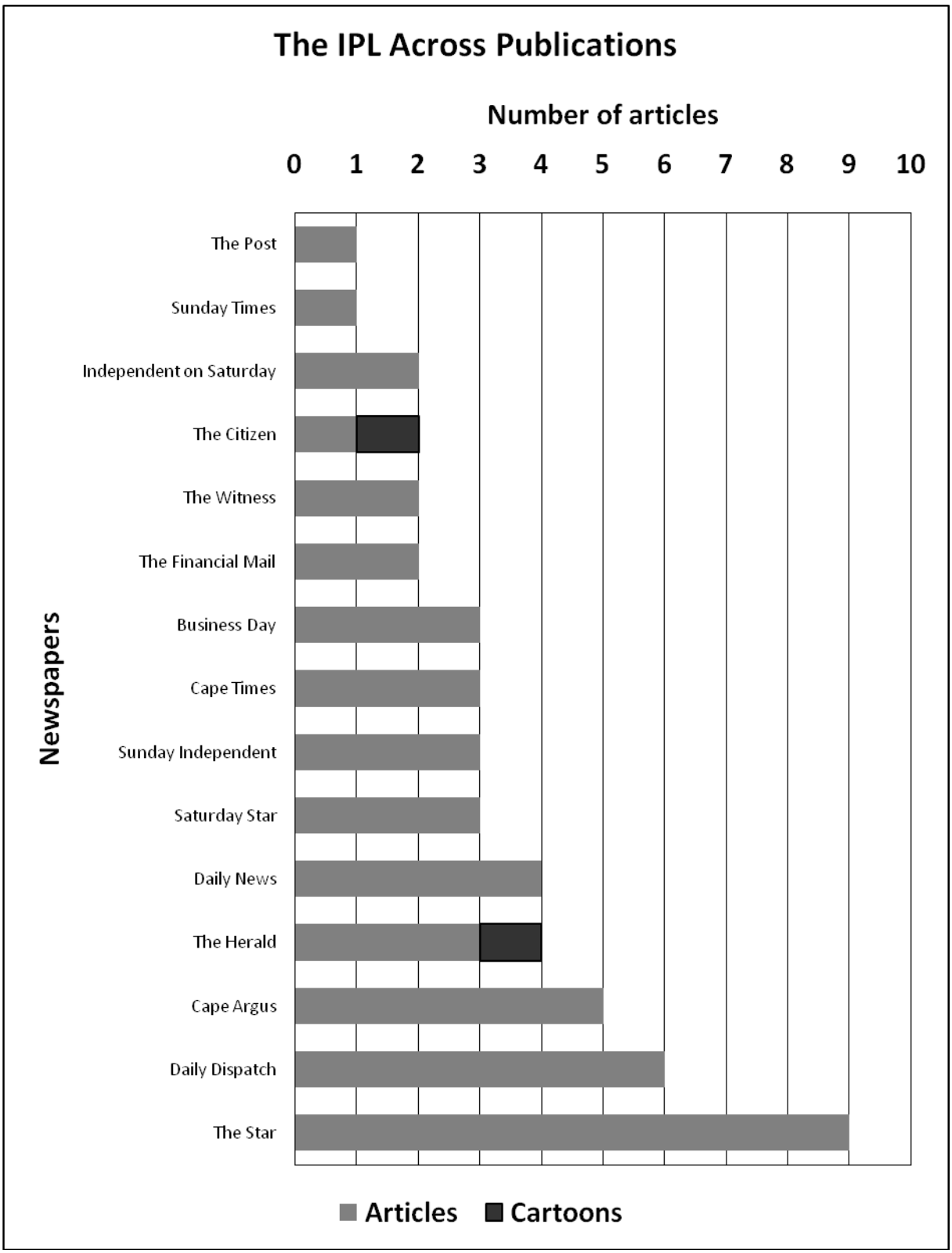


Figure 4. The articles and cartoons on the IPL that were published in weekly and daily publications.

It appeared that the newspapers that carried the most stories were newspapers where the events would be held. For example, *The Star* is Johannesburg-based, and Johannesburg is home to The Wanderers cricket ground, which hosted the tournament. The *Daily Dispatch* is based in East London. The local stadium, Buffalo Park, was allocated four IPL matches. The Cape Town-based newspapers, the *Cape Argus*, *Daily News* and *Cape Times* saw Cape Town hosting the opening ceremony. *The Herald*, based in Port Elizabeth, was also a host city.

This was not surprising, as the community would have to be updated on the arrangements and, as we saw in the overview, there was much publicity regarding the effect the IPL would have on these places in terms of economic spinoffs and publicity for future tourism. The Pietermaritzburg newspaper *The Witness* ran two articles.

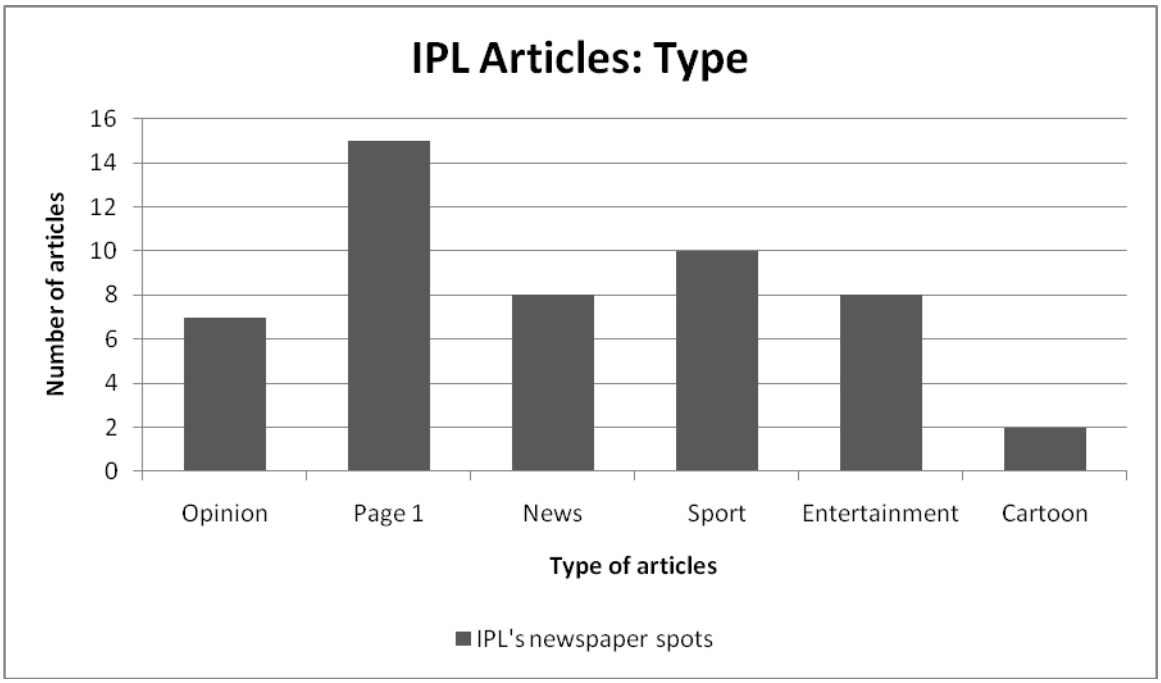


Figure 5. The articles on the IPL sorted according to type.

As depicted in the graph “IPL Articles: Type” (Figure 5), the articles were sorted according to type. A distinction was made between opinion pieces (such as editorial comments or columns); news (page one or other); sports (in the sports section of the newspaper); entertainment (articles are usually placed on page three when they have some entertainment value); and cartoons.

Of the 50 articles, the majority were placed on page one (15 articles, or 30 per cent). This indicates that the IPL had exceptional news value, as only the most important stories are placed on page one. Of the 50 articles, 10 (or 20 per cent) appeared in the sports sections of the newspapers. The entertainment value of the IPL also ranked high, at 16 per cent, or eight articles. These articles did not just include the stories on the celebrities involved in the IPL but also articles on controversial issues, such as the debacle over the IPL suites. Opinion pieces weighed in at 14 per cent or seven articles. There were only two cartoons on the IPL printed during the timeframe.

The IPL was a sports event, yet out of all the articles in the sample it made it into the sports pages for only 20 per cent of the articles. This proves that it was regarded as an important, newsworthy event, making the headlines as a news story 46 per cent of the time.

Discussion

The quantitative data showed a few things. Firstly, the IPL was newsworthy, making it onto the front pages 30 per cent of the time. Also, it was classified as a news story more often than it was classified as a sports story. This shows the importance of the IPL.

The newspapers that reported on the IPL during this timeframe were those with a largely white readership. Those with mostly black readers, such as the *Sowetan* and the *Daily Sun* did not report on the event. This seems to indicate that, although there was a move to unite the nation under the banner of "one nation, one sport", that was not the case with the reporting on the IPL, which suggested that coverage was still very much divided across colour lines.

Coverage seemed to be localised. In other words, newspapers that covered communities that were playing host to the tournament ran the most articles on the IPL. These pointed to the media taking an informative role, keeping the communities updated with things that would affect them, for example road closures and busy roads and hotels during the time that matches would be held at the stadia.

6.3. Themes: Qualitative Analysis

Categories of issues deemed important by the media at that time were drawn from the newspapers in the sample. There were six main categories: issues of nationhood or national identity, South Africa's relationship with India, issues surrounding logistics, Bollywood, issues of economy and references to the 2010 Football World Cup.

These themes were drawn from manifest content – what was obvious in the text, the words, and not their inferences or hidden meanings. Because all articles that focused on the IPL were taken into account, no matter where they appeared in the newspaper – the sports, news or editorial pages – this allowed a broad view on all kinds of reporting on the event.

The most important focuses of each article were identified in order to categorise them. While some articles focused on only one topic, others had more than just one focus. In this case, the articles would be counted in more than one category. For example, if an article was about benefits to South Africa in terms of a nation, and in terms of its economy, it would be recorded as falling both under nationhood and under economy.

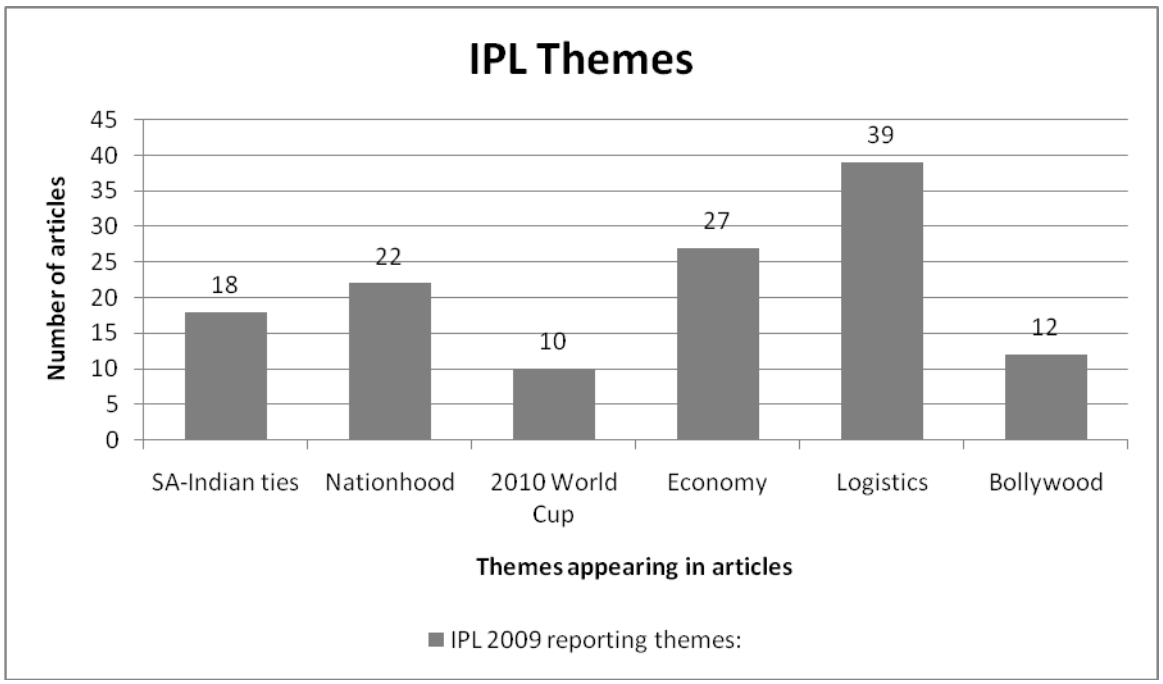


Figure 6. This shows the number of articles containing each of the six themes identified from the data.

The graph of the IPL 2009 reporting themes (Figure 6) showed that the majority of articles included logistics. This was not surprising, as the research fell within the period just before a major sports event, and newspapers needed to keep their readers informed as to where the games would be played, how many tickets would be available, and which teams were playing where. The category that had the second most number of articles was economy. The IPL is known for being money-orientated – in fact the whole point of the tournament is to make money for the Board of Control for Cricket in India (Jagannathan, 2010) Therefore, the figures that were reported ran into millions of rands, and justified the number of articles that focused on money. Nationhood, or issues of national identity, came third in terms of popularity, followed by South Africa's relationship with India, Bollywood, and mentions of the 2010 FIFA World Cup.

6.3.1. Logistics

Researchers have identified a "fairly routine agenda" of pre-mega sports events themes that appear in the media discourse (Rivenburgh, 2004). These are stories about: security, the costs surrounding the event, commercialism, drugs, and – significant to the host's global image making goals – a constant evaluation of hosting preparation. Such "preparation discourse" was also found to give attention to local protests, host government efforts to 'clean up' the lower income areas of the urban setting, and delays in construction/preparation progress (a "will they be ready?" theme). Many of the articles in the sample that were recorded under "logistics" focused on these issues, especially security, costs, and the "will they be ready?" theme.

It was not surprising that in the build-up to a global mega sports event such as the IPL, 39 articles (78 per cent) included some sort of logistic information. This included information on venues, dates, times, arrangements, and even television broadcast times, and made up the bulk of the articles. For example, in an interview with IPL commissioner Lalit Modi, the *Sunday Times*' story on 5 April 2009 included information such as:

> We have 59 games, 300 players from all over the world coming, accreditation to be done, ticketing to be done, suppliers to be done, look and feel of stadiums to be put up, movement of people, logistics, hotels ... It requires a large, large amount of infrastructure and we had to do it in three weeks. And get it up and running to an international standard ("Indian cricket league boss found on gangster's hitlist", the *Sunday Times*, 5 April 2009).

This sort of reporting appeared in many of the articles, which was expected due to the timeframe involved. The announcement was made on 24 March 2009 and the first cricket match was played on 18 April 2009, which gave the organisers a little more than three weeks to sort out all the logistics.

Also, because many of the articles were published in community-orientated newspapers such as the *Daily Dispatch*, *The Herald*, *The Star* and the *Cape Argus*, it suggested that they focused on the issues that would affect their communities. These issues were straightforward, and while they were great in number, they showed that the media, though having a lot of coverage of issues such as nation, identity, and the 2010 Football World Cup, were focused on the nuts and bolts of the event. This was also a bit different from the continuous assessment of logistics before the Olympic Games and the Football World Cup, as the IPL just landed and started in South Africa – there was no real "build-up", so there was a need to keep communities informed of the arrangements and progress.

6.3.2. Economy

Money played a major role in the IPL. Not only was the IPL well-known for being a cash cow for the Board of Control for Cricket in India, who signed a US$1 billion, 10-year television deal for the broadcasting of the matches, but IPL officials were also accused of match-rigging and corruption (Jagannathan, 2010). Cricketers were paid vast sums of money to take part in the tournament Sachin Tendulkar received $1.12 million for the 2009 tournament and the winning teams got US$960,000 (Zama, 2009). Cricket South Africa reportedly pocketed R100 million for hosting the tournament, and South Africa was supposed to make a lot of money from the tournament. It was not surprising then, given the large numbers floating around the event, that issues of money and the economy featured in 54 per cent of the articles in the study – 27 out of 50 articles. These articles ranged from how the South African economy would benefit and how much the IPL teams would lose from the move, to players' salaries.

The IPL organisers were accused of using bullying tactics as a result of India's political assurgency and the money Modi promised South Africa in order for the IPL to get its own way (Jagannathan, 2010). These "bullying tactics" came to the fore in Durban, when the Comrades Marathon came under threat due to logistical concerns around hosting the marathon and the IPL at the same time. On 27 March 2009, the *Daily News* focused on "the world-renowned" marathon, which had "run into deep trouble because of a clash with the megabucks IPL coming to South Africa". The "iconic" event would have to be moved – or, as the article suggested, be scrapped altogether – if no alternative venue for the marathon could be found.

After billing the event as "the money-spinning IPL" the article quoted a local official as saying:

> The IPL will and must take precedence – it's far bigger than the Comrades in terms of generating income – no matter what anyone says in our organisation ("IPL threat to Comrades", *Daily News*, 27 March 2009).

This quote indicated the extent to which money was an issue – that an historical, world-renowned South African event such as the Comrades could be moved in favour of an event that was in only its second year of existence, and was not even a South African event, showed how much power the IPL yielded because of the money factor. One commentator (Manthorp, 2009) described "the IPL and its people" as "taking over" and quoted an official as saying "there seems to be a right of entitlement that exists among these IPL people".

The IPL's "money-spinning, bullying tactics" also became a focus in media in another province. On 9 April 2009 the *Cape Argus* ran a page-three story, "Urgent talks as row erupts over use of suites during IPL." Natasha Prince reported that "all suiteholders and club members" had been asked "to forego their rights to the suites during the tournament" and, if not, there were "threats to cancel the highly-anticipated cricket tournament". Andre Odendaal, chief executive of the Western Province Cricket Association, said the IPL organisers had "insisted that, as a non-negotiable requirement for the hosting of the eight matches in Cape Town", they required access to all the suites.

While this was one of the main economic issues published in the South African press ahead of the event, there were numerous articles that focused on other monetary issues, especially when it came to the way in which South Africa would be affected by the IPL. On 25 March 2009, *The Star*'s headline was "Cricket's R100m IPL deal" and it was subtitled "This is the amount CSA [Cricket South Africa] stand to make from helping Indians".

The benefits to the country's economy also feature:

> The entire operation is expected to cost the IPL... in the region of $150 million (R1.5 billion). But South Africa will benefit immensely from the cash injection, especially during these tough economic times ("Organisers of IPL head for SA today", *Daily News*, 25 March 2009).

Other economy issues included the host cities and how they would benefit, for example the headline "City set to cash in on cricket tournament" (*Cape Argus*, 25 March 2009).

All-in-all, the "economic" reporting seemed to be based on information originating mainly from the IPL public-relations drive. In other words, the reporting mainly focused on the economic benefits that the IPL would have on South Africa. The amounts correlated across newspapers, which suggested that the figures came from the same source. For example, Cricket SA was due to make some money out of the event. The amount of R100 million was published in *The Star* (25 March 2009), the *Cape Argus* (25 March 2009) and *The Witness* (17 April 2009). *Business Day* used an amount of "R70 million to R90 million" (1 April 2009) and the *Sunday Independent* also used R90 million (12 April 2009).

Later on, a much larger figure was published. This was an estimation of how much South Africa was set to make from the IPL. *The Star* published this as R1.5 billion (17 April 2009), while the *Cape Argus* (17 April 2009), *Saturday Star* (11 April 2009) and the *Independent on Saturday* (11 April 2009) rounded off the figure to R2 billion.

Only one article, in the *Financial Mail* (9 April 2009), took actual figures and put the economic "spinoffs" into perspective, concluding that the total economic benefit for the country had been "hyped up". This comprehensive article regarding the IPL and its economics was written by Rob Rose and Larry Claasen. Titled "Sporting seduction", it assessed how much money made from the tournament would go to the country, and how much would land up in the coffers of the franchises. They wrote: "There is big money involved, though it's not always clear who will benefit."

Rose and Claasen calculated that: "Discounting inflation, and working from an estimate of 5,000 Indians arriving for the IPL, spending R28,500 per person the average spent by all foreign tourists to SA last year – the total tourism benefit would be R142,5 million. It's not R1 billion, sure, but it's a sum that otherwise wouldn't have arrived."

They also wrote about the financial effect of the 2010 Football World Cup, concluding that:

> There remains a great deal of uncertainty regarding the overall impact of hosting the World Cup on the economy. From a purely economic perspective, it is hard to imagine that there would be any significant impact on GDP [Gross Domestic Product].

Page 30 of the newspaper saw another part of the cover story. Titled “Expensive exercise”, it did not have a byline, but delved into the implications of the move for IPL franchises – which were hit hard by the move to South Africa. This was the only article that looked at the franchises and how the move had affected them.

Discussion

While there were many articles that focused on the economy and how it would be affected, or the economy of the IPL, these articles were barring two superficial, and seemed to rely on figures obtained from the IPL itself. Only the *Financial Mail* and the *Business Day* articles took the matter any further and really unpacked the finances of the event – revealing, in fact, that South Africa would not be making as much money as was initially thought. Even the IPL’s philanthropic gestures were questionable, for example, the article that mentioned a donation to a local school (*The Star*’s page-one article “Parade heralds R1.5bn ‘carnival of cricket’” by Kevin McCallum) missed an important fact. The “entire ‘education scholarship’ budget”, as Manthorp (2009) called it, was between R8 million and R9 million – which was the same amount spent on the “crayfish and champagne-laden” opening party – and the projected turnover of the 2009 IPL was $2.4 billion (Manthorp, 2009). This comparison of figures puts the IPL “education donation” into perspective – it certainly was not as high as the IPL PR machine hyped it up to be. However, South Africa did make money out of the event, and these funds were, as Majola said, “unexpected and welcome” (Sports24, 2009)

6.3.3. South African-Indian Ties

The relationship between South Africa and India emerged in 18 of the 50 articles, or 36 per cent of the articles in the sample. This relationship between was important from a global business and economic perspective, especially taken into consideration that South Africa recently became a member of the Bric community (the emerging superpowers), made up of Brazil, Russia, India and China.

The relationship between South Africa and India was important to this study because it pointed to South Africa's location of itself within a global community – aligning itself with one of the world's emerging superpowers, even if it was done by way of a sporting event, could be seen as a strategic move for South Africa.

At least one newspaper picked up on this:

> We were trying to understand what the IPL stood for and we came to the conclusion it represented 'Modern India'. It shows the face of a country that has grown exponentially in the last few years to become a global economic superpower, which also has this tremendous history behind it. The IPL is also a global brand that can prosper anywhere, as it is showing by the way it has moved to South Africa and set itself up so quickly (Ettienne de Villiers, who was in charge of promoting the IPL brand, quoted in "SA rugby legend 'pads up'", *The Star*, 17 April 2009).

South African and Indian cricket had an old friendship, and South Africa's isolation from international cricket ended with a tour to India in 1991 (Moonda, 2009). The history between South Africa and India spanned back to the mid nineteenth century, when both were British colonies, and slaves were brought to South Africa from India. One article that really

examined the relationship between South Africa and India was "It's here, cricket's new world order" by Rodney Hartman, in *The Star* of 16 April 2009. In this column, Hartman wrote about "cricket's new world order", which he believed was South Africa and India. The article pitted South Africa and India, two countries that were once colonised by England, against the Crown.

The ties between South Africa and India were also highlighted in "Indian cricket coup for South Africa", which appeared in *The Herald* on 25 March 2009:

> This event will strengthen the ties even further between South African and Indian cricket, as well as binding our nations even closer together.

And in *The Star*'s article, "Cricket's R100m IPL deal" on 25 March 2009, the subtitle read: "This is the amount CSA [Cricket South Africa] stand to make from helping Indians". In the article, Majola "stressed the importance of helping India". "The main reason for us was to extend a hand of friendship to India when they asked us to assist them with a problem," he said.

Another interesting way in which the relationship between South Africa and India was given prominence was through the South Africa Indian diaspora. South Africa's relationship with India goes back more than 150 years ago, when the first indentured labourers were brought to South Africa to work on the sugar cane farms in KwaZulu-Natal. South Africa has a large Indian population, most of whom still have family in India and who keep in contact with the "motherland", its religions and customs; who still see India as, as Hansen described it, "a fetishised site of cultural greatness and achievement in a larger global cultural economy (Hansen, 2010)".

This connection between the diaspora and the motherland was mention in various articles. The *Daily Dispatch*'s page-one article, "City abuzz as IPL hopes are fuelled" (26 March 2009), quoted Border-Kei Chamber of Business executive director Les Holbrook as saying there was an opportunity for the large Indian business community in East London to make the visitors feel welcome and build relationships with the dignitaries expected:

> There are always opportunities for retail and hospitality sectors to get good marketing exposure and goodwill. If we get this event, which has an international element, it's an opportunity for the Indian community to make Indians feel welcome and build ongoing tourism and cultural exchanges.

KwaZulu-Natal's *The Witness* mentioned the diaspora too:

> KwaZulu-Natal has one of the largest Indian communities outside India. We recognised that it makes so much sense that part of the tournament should be hosted here. (Dave Dixon, Comrades Marathon Association chairperson, "Comrades Marathon safe/IPL clash: finish may have to be moved, but not date", *The Witness*, 27 March 2009)

On 7 April 2009, The *Daily Dispatch* ran with a page-three story: "Buffalo City pads up for a cricketing bonanza". The story was similar to the article on 27 March 2009 – about how East London businesses were gearing up to host the IPL, and punting the Southern Sun group, "the official hosts of the IPL teams". The article mentioned that "Indian cuisine is expected to be in high demand and East London's only two caterers of Indian food are getting themselves ready". This information pointed to the importance of making the visitors feel comfortable, and the length to which the locals were willing to go in order to do this.

Lastly, there were the obvious tourism spinoffs. The South Africa-India flight route was a popular one, and there was much speculation about the increase in tourists to South Africa because of the IPL: "India would be an 'interesting' source market for tourism to South Africa, and hosting the Indian premier cricket league tournament next month would be a huge stroke of luck" reckoned *The Star* on 27 March 2009. "The cricket tournament is expected to bring thousands of visitors from India."

These extra visitors are what Majola was referring to when he mentioned that South Africa would get "an extra bite of the travel cherry" due to the IPL (Sports24, 2009).

Discussion

The reporting that focused on India examined a few key issues. Firstly was the diaspora – those South Africans of Indian descent or Indians residing in South Africa – and South Africa's link to India in terms of people. Then there was South Africa's link to India in terms of both countries once being a British colony. There was also South Africa and India both being regarded as emerging economies, and the potential economic benefits from this relationship, which was also strengthened by this tournament. What these articles highlighted were the ties across the Indian Ocean, and the links between South Africa and India, and the obvious spinoffs from closer relationships between the two countries. The articles demonstrated the impact of the IPL on the South African-India relationship, and also how this relationship helped South Africa position itself within a global society.

The articles that mentioned India suggested these connections, but did not delve into the implications of these relationships.

6.3.4. Football World Cup References

The Football World Cup was a significant event in the global football community, and hosting the event was significant for any country. South Africa came under heavy fire from critics, who said the country would not be able to successfully host the tournament. Countries such as Australia and the United States of America were mentioned a number of times as being ready to step in if South Africa failed in its attempts to have infrastructure and stadia ready in time (Gatt, 2006) and Western media, in particular in Germany and England, were behind a "wave of negative publicity ahead of the Football World Cup in South Africa" (Ndjebela, 2010). The successful hosting of the IPL would go a long way to dispelling the negative publicity being levelled at South Africa ahead of the 2010 Football World Cup.

In the articles from the sample, 10 (or 20 per cent) mentioned the Football World Cup. These references focused on either the way a successful IPL would mean a successful Football World Cup or related to issues affecting the IPL that would affect the Football World Cup.

On 25 March 2009, the *Daily News* ran an article titled "Organisers of IPL head for SA today". It quoted Majola as saying that the IPL was not all about money, but about showcasing South Africa to the world:

> This is a statement to all those who are of the views that we cannot stage big events here. This event, plus the ICC Champions Trophy, ICC World Cup qualifying tournament later in the year and the FIFA 2010, will prove to the sceptics we can stage world-class tournaments without any hitches (The *Daily News*, 25 March 2009).

The Herald switched it around – instead of the IPL being a good indicator that South Africa could host the 2010 Football World Cup, the newspaper used the preparation for the following year's football tournament to indicate that South Africa would be able to host the IPL:

> We are, in fact, ready to host the world already (referring to the IPL) because of next year's FIFA World Cup finals. In terms of security, logistics, accommodation, transportation, entertainment and tourism, we are more than definitely ready to host such an event... services are all in place for the 2010 World Cup. It would simply mean implementing these to cater for the IPL (Port Elizabeth municipal communications manager Roland Williams quoted in "Indian cricket coup for South Africa", *The Herald*, 25 March 2009).

The 2010 Football World Cup also featured in an issue regarding the IPL's relationship with the media. On 12 April 2009, the *Sunday Independent* ran an article, "Media hit a six to score IPL coverage for all" by Edwin Naidu. It reported on the News Media Coalition which, acting on behalf of global media groups, had agreed to cover IPL matches after threatening to boycott them because of the IPL's media demands.

According to the article, the contracts to gain media access stipulated that photographic news material could not be distributed for use by certain cricket news websites, but the South African National Editors Forum argued that such a clause "discriminated against news subscribers, compromised the media's freedom to inform and set a bad precedent for other major events" – one of which was the Football World Cup:

> Draconian media laws that almost resulted in a blackout of the IPL, which begins in South Africa on Saturday, could red-card major sporting events heading to the country, including the 2010 Football World Cup.

This issue is discussed in more detail under Controlling the Media (page 85), but the relationship between what happened during the IPL and what could happen during the Football World Cup as a result of this, was highlighted by the South African print media.

Discussion

The 2010 Football World Cup was a major event for any country in the world to have scooped. South Africa needed to prove that it was capable of hosting this important tournament, and the successful hosting of the IPL would go a long way to dispel any criticism that the country was incapable of hosting the tournament – it would prove that South Africa was indeed capable of handling large crowds and multiple teams. Reporting on the Football World Cup during this timeframe was still relatively prominent – one-fifth of articles on the IPL had some mention of the Football World Cup – although during this stage it was largely overshadowed by other issues such as logistics, economics and nationbuilding.

6.3.5. Bollywood References

India's successful movie industry has close ties with the IPL, which is well known not only for the celebrity players but also the celebrity franchise owners. Names such as Shah Rukh Khan, Shilpa Shetty, Preity Zinta, and the Ambanis are synonymous with the IPL. Khan is one of Bollywood's biggest stars and owns the Kolkata Knight Riders, while Shetty is co-owner of the Rajasthan Royals and a former winner of Celebrity Big Brother. Fellow actress Zinta is part-owner of the Kings XI Punjab franchise. Bollywood actress Lakshmi Rai spent some time in Cape Town watching India's captain Mahendra Singh Dhoni, with the duo rumoured to be dating at the time of the tournament in South Africa.

Of the 50 articles, 12 (24 per cent) mentioned Bollywood or its stars, although Bollywood did not really feature in the articles – most of these articles mentioned Bollywood only by way of mentioning the team owners. One of the biggest Bollywood articles appeared on 8 April 2009, when the *Cape Argus* moved the IPL to page three: "IPL fever hots up as stars jet in and first games sold out" by Natasha Prince. The article took on a real page-three glitz and glamour feel – almost as though the newspaper was trying to sell the event to its readers.The article named Bollywood stars and cricketers, and IPL teams, for example, the Kolkota Knight Riders, who were "owned by Bollywood actor, producer and businessman Shahrukh Khan, along with Indian businessman Jai Mehta and Bollywood actress Juhi Chawla.

On 17 April 2009, the day before the tournament was due to start, *The Star* ran with: "So, just who are the IPL rich and famous?" by Nazli Thomas. The article focused on the glamour of the stars and their involvement with the IPL, "cricket's biggest and most glamorous show":

> It's no secret that the IPL teams are bankrolled by India's rich and famous and, from Saturday, they'll trade in their flashy business suits and saris for their teams' T-shirts as the event hits South Africa. Cape Town has this week been taken over by Bollywood stars and some of the richest people in the world yet these IPL team owners are just part of the intrigue of the tournament ("So, just who are the IPL rich and famous?" *The Star*, 17 April 2009).

The article also gave a run-down of the teams and their famous owners.

Discussion

While Bollywood stars and India's rich and famous give a glamorous side to the tournament, the South African media did not really use Bollywood as a selling point for the event. However, the mention of Bollywood relates to South Africa's relationship with India – if the media reported on Bollywood it was because that was what they felt their readers would be interested in. This indicated that there was a link between the two countries – that South Africans were interested in the entertainment industry and the Indian stars involved with the IPL.

6.3.6. Issues of National Identity or Nationhood

Of the articles in the sample, 22 included issues of nationhood. Thus, 44 per cent of the articles printed on the IPL in the run-up to the event tackled this issue of nationhood or national identity in some way or another.

Firstly, to identify these articles that focused on nationhood or national identity, recurring words and phrases were identified, such as:

- South Africa, South African, SA, the nation;
- Us, our, we;
- Country, and variations thereof, such as “a country”, “the country”.

Of the articles in the sample, 22 fell into this category. It was not as large a number as articles that focused on logistics or economic issues, but 44 per cent of articles in the run-up to the event focused on issues of national identity or nationhood – it was still a high number.

There appeared to be a few major themes within this category:

- Look how good we are;
- Yes, we can!;
- South Africa is a winner;
- It’s not all good.

These articles were distributed as follows:

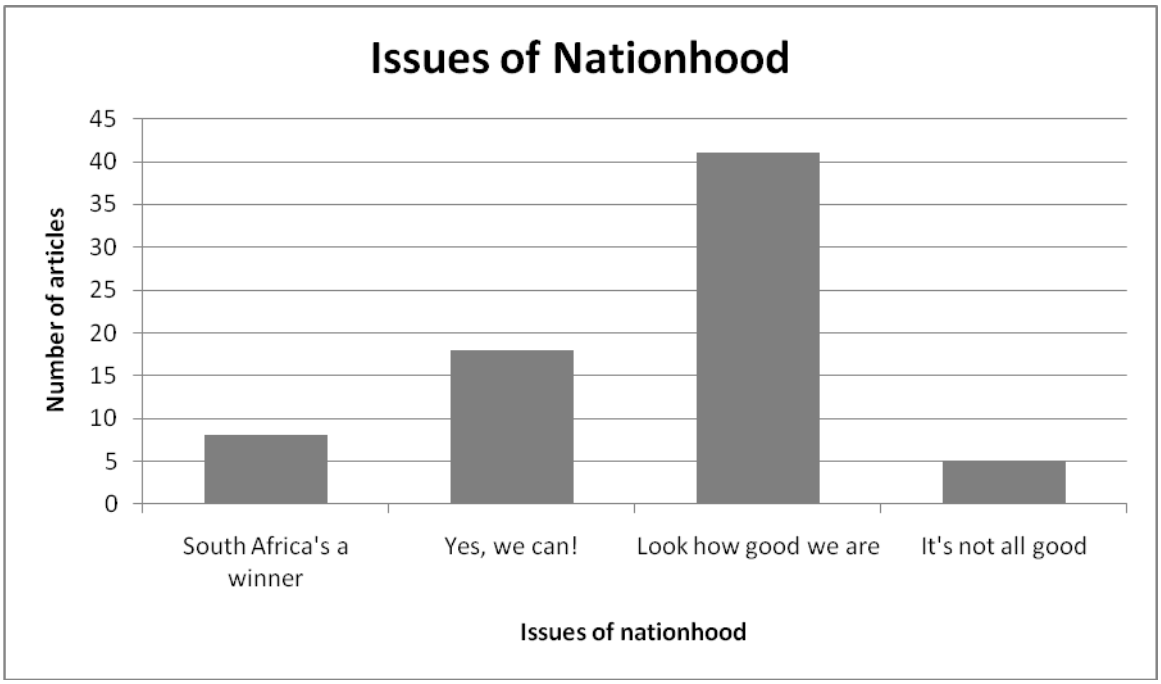


Figure 7. This graph shows how the various issues of nationhood were distributed across the articles.

6.3.6.1. Look How Good We Are

There were various attempts by the South African print media to prove how good the country was – sometimes even in articles that had nothing to do with the event.

For example, on 24 March 2009, the day the announcement was made that the tournament would be moved to South Africa, only one newspaper, *The Herald*, ran a story. It was in the form of an editorial comment, and appeared on page four of the newspaper. Its title was: "SA seen as a reliable host for sports events". While the title indicated that the article was all about South Africa and its hosting prowess, the main point of the editorial comment was that the country had not done enough to harness the job-creating potential in the tourism industry – nothing to do with the IPL. The first paragraph and the headline were a good example of framing due to not only their prominence in the article, but also because this issue of

nationhood was used to highlight a problem that the newspaper suggested was important. So how was South Africa positioned in this article? The phrases referring to South Africa are below. The adjectives are in bold.

- Firstly, as indicated in the headline, South Africa was "seen as a **reliable** host";
- South Africa is regarded as a **safe** venue;
- The **tried-and-tested** ability of the country to host major international sporting events;
- Already **successfully** hosted both the rugby and cricket World Cups. ("SA seen as a reliable host for sports events", *The Herald*, 24 March 2009)

Other ways in which the media framed South Africa in a good light are using adjectives that were very complimentary and respectful of the country, such as "confidence", "credit", "respect", and "coming to the Indians' rescue":

- It's a great compliment to both CSA and our nation to be shown this **confidence** in our ability to hold one of the world's top sporting events at short notice ("Indian cricket coup for South Africa", *The Herald*, 25 March 2009).
- I think it's a **credit** to South Africa. It's a sign of **respect** for our organisational skills (Cricket Eastern Cape chief executive Dave Emslie, quoted in"Indian cricket coup for South Africa", *The Herald*, 25 March 2009).
- It's going to be a very good thing. It tells the world that South Africa is **safe** and that we are **passionate** about sport (Proteas fast bowler Makhaya Ntini in "Indian cricket coup for South Africa", *The Herald*, 25 March 2009);

- *The Star*'s sports pages (page 32) ran an article titled "Cricket's R100m IPL deal", which was subtitled "This is the amount CSA (Cricket South Africa) stand to make **from helping Indians**". South Africa was portrayed as coming to India's rescue.

On 26 March 2009, *The Citizen* ran with an editorial column, "SA is the top choice". It was on page 12 of the newspaper. The editorial compared South Africa and India with regards to both countries holding elections. The article pointed out negatives in South Africa such as violent crime, and compared this situation in South Africa with the situation in India:

> It is worth noting the reasons why India needed to look elsewhere. Authorities could not give sufficient guarantees of security, especially during an election period. Well, South Africa is going into an election. And the IPL announcement was made on the same day as Johannesburg was rocked by violent taxi protests. Perhaps the IPL move puts our own troubles into perspective. We do not mean to downplay the wrongfulness of the thuggery by taxi operators or indeed South Africa's appalling rate of violent crime. The reality is, despite these extreme negatives, some things are worse in other countries. Let's acknowledge that ("SA is the top choice", *The Citizen*, 26 March 2009).

This editorial did not only mention South Africa's good points, but highlighted India's bad points, which suggests that it was trying to make South Africa look "good".

Other publications chose to mention India's security problem without mentioning South Africa's security problem. This omission of South Africa's problem allowed the *Daily Dispatch*, for example, to frame South Africa in a more positive light than *The Citizen*:

> The eight-team league was to have been played in India ... but security fears, related to upcoming elections, led the organisers to look for an alternative host country. With England strongly favoured to host the tournament, IPL commissioner Lalit Modi on Tuesday finally opted for South Africa, citing the country's favourable weather conditions as the deciding factor ("City abuzz as IPL hopes are fuelled", The *Daily Dispatch*, 26 March 2009).

Some publications mentioned other countries' bad points and South Africa's good points:

> England and South Africa were the only suitable options because of time zones games played in other cricketing countries could not be screened at a reasonable time in India. England, Modi admitted, would have been the better option for players and the fans, because of the direct flights between India and the UK. But, in the end, SA had the better weather. "There was a possibility that 70 per cent of the games, if played in England, could be rained out," Modi said ("Indian cricket league boss found on gangster's hit list", *Sunday Times*, 5 April 2009).

Other publications just emphasised the good points:

- "This country has everything needed to attract tourists," he said ("India promises a good supply of tourists, says Kerzner", *The Star*, 27 March 2009).
- One of the reasons why South Africa was the perfect host country, he said, was that the IPL needed at least eight venues in the country, which South Africa has ("Wessels all smiles as SA clinches IPL deal", *The Herald*, 25 March 2009).
- "We have the venues, the infrastructure, great weather and we have the organisational skills available to host a good competition" ("Wessels all smiles as SA clinches IPL deal", *The Herald*, 25 March 2009).
- "When people say there's nothing in it for South Africa, it's absolutely wrong. The hotel industry, the travel industry, the car rental industry, the advertising industry, the restaurant business, the shopping malls ... just all of these tourist attractions, all of that put together, can't be a bigger bonanza for the country ("Indian cricket league boss found on gangster's hit list", *Sunday Times*, 5 April 2009).

By framing South Africa as a winning nation after naming all the mega sports events that the country was awarded, the *Daily Dispatch* pointed out how far South Africa had come as a nation:

> All this means South Africa will play host to millions and millions of visitors – a far cry from the dark days of apartheid when this country was regarded as the polecat of the world and shunned as a sporting destination. ("My, aren't we lucky", *Daily Dispatch*, 28 March 2009)

On 10 April 2009, the *Financial Mail* published a comprehensive article titled "Sporting seduction". The article included a plan by the national tourism organisation to "actively market the country as a 'sports event destination', hopefully using it sunshine and facilities to morph the country into a 'sporting Dubai'". Comparing South Africa to a modern, business jewel such as Dubai indicated the aspirations of the government, and where it positioned South Africa in a global community.

South Africa's organisation skills were highlighted in various publications:

- Modi is a man who likes to say "yes" and has found his time in South Africa to be one of meeting people who like to say "yes" just as much. "South Africa has welcomed us with open arms and has made things so easy for us. Visas are granted inside 24 hours instead of taking weeks. It was the best decision to come here" ("SA rugby legend 'pads up'", *The Star*, 17 April 2009);
- The *Business Day* ran an article on 17 April 2009 titled "Security services ready for IPL cricket, election". It focused on the South African National Defence Force and the National Intelligence Agency who "said their ability to safeguard major events had been internationally recognised with 141 international events having taken place in SA since 1994 without serious incident";
- Modi said that in the "record time" of about three weeks, SA had not just organised the logistics for the tournament, but raised enduring levels of support and excitement for the event: "SA was always suitable from a logistical and infrastructure point of view. But it is the welcome we've been given by ordinary South Africans that is justifying our belief that we can build a brand and legacy of involvement that will last for years to come." He said the South African government had been "exceptionally accommodating" and Cricket SA had welcomed the IPL with open arms, makings its

> world-class stadiums available ("SA will reap economic benefits from the IPL", *Business Day*, 17 April 2009).

As seen from the articles highlighting South Africa's positive points, there was a definite attempt to frame the country in a good light. This was illustrated in the *Cape Argus* of 9 April 2009, where this quote was published:

> All provinces hosting matches have been asked to accommodate the IPL to showcase our country ("Urgent talks as row erupts over use of suites during IPL", *Cape Argus*, 9 April 2009).

The country was definitely aware of the publicity that it would get from the event, and there was a need to present South Africa in the best way possible, especially as this publicity, "coupled with the coverage expected from the Confederations Cup and the 2010 World Cup ("City abuzz as IPL hopes are fuelled", The *Daily Dispatch*, 26 March 2009)" would be able to create a "real windfall" for South Africa:

> While many thousands – perhaps tens of thousands – of people from the subcontinent (India) will come to the country, the more significant exposure will possibly lie in the television coverage of the games, which are all broadcast live to hundreds of millions of cricket fans worldwide (Managing director of Buffalo City Tourism Peter Kind, quoted in "City abuzz as IPL hopes are fuelled", the *Daily Dispatch*, 26 March 2009).

Discussion

There appeared to be an attempt by the print media to showcase the country and to highlight its good points. Some publications such as *The Star*, the *Herald* and the *Sunday Times* just focused on the good points, without naming any bad points. Some articles such as those mentioned from the *Herald*, the *Daily News*, the *Daily Dispatch* and *The Star* specifically targeted the naysayers, as if in an attempt to thwart any negativity coming South Africa's way. Some publications mentioned other countries' bad points and South Africa's good points. It was as if they were trying to point out how good the country was. Sometimes positioning of the positive against the negative was done quite explicitly, for example, when Modi was talking about South Africa's favourable weather conditions and was quoted as saying "There was a possibility that 70 per cent of the games, if played in England, could be rained out". Sometimes this positivity was by implication, for example when *The Citizen* chose to highlight how bad the situation was in India, saying "Perhaps the IPL move puts our own troubles into perspective". By positioning the good against the bad, the articles appeared to be answering the criticism from outside and even sometimes becoming a bit defensive, as if to say: "You see, we are actually good."

6.3.6.2. "Yes, We Can!"

These articles were defined by the "Yes, we can" slogan popularised by US President Barack Obama in his famous campaign speech. The way the IPL was framed was that South Africa was capable of pulling off not only the IPL, but also the Football World Cup the following year, despite the naysayers. One of the most obvious examples of this was:

> To borrow a phrase that is worth keeping in fashion, the ingenuity and industry of South African cricket can produce a "Yes We Can!" example to inspire our soccer officials and supporters to rise to meet their own challenge ("A boon to SA sport", *The Star*, 26 March 2009).

Phrases and words that readily came up included "success" or derivatives thereof such as successful; capable; ideal; endorsement; and outstanding. Comments containing these derivatives or the word success, and which directly related to South Africa being able to host the IPL were:

- "I'm confident that bringing it here will be a massive **success** for us... We firmly believe that the 2009 tournament will be a wonderful **success** in South Africa." (Lalit Modi, IPL commissioner in "Indian cricket coup for South Africa", *The Herald*, 25 March 2009);
- "We are more than **capable** of doing it well... South Africa's the ideal alternative venue and I'm sure it will go **really well**." (Former South African captain Kepler Wessels in "Indian cricket coup for South Africa", *The Herald*, 25 March 2009);

- "Getting the IPL here is great news for us, and it is a big **endorsement** for our administrators" (Western Province Cricket Association chief executive Andre Odendaal in "We can handle IPL load", *Cape Argus*, 25 March 2009);
- "I am obviously very happy to get the news and I am sure the tournament will be a major **success** here" (former South African captain Kepler Wessels in "Wessels all smiles as SA clinches IPL deal", *The Herald*, 25 March 2009);
- "We have no doubt Cricket SA will pull off a highly **successful** tournament, starting in less than four weeks" (an editorial comment: "SA is the top choice", *The Citizen*, 26 March 2009);
- Modi dismissed criticism that the tournament was of little benefit to the host nation: "I think you are absolutely wrong in that," he said. "I think it goes to show that a country like South Africa is **able** and **willing** to put up a world class tournament, and is **able** to provide all the resources and amenities and logistics to be able to put the show on. There's no other country that could do that" ("Indian cricket league boss found on gangster's hit list", *Sunday Times*, 5 April 2009);
- South African Tourism's global manager for events Sugen Pillay believed that confidence in SA's **ability** to host major sporting events would be sustained "if we put up a good show during these upcoming events". Pillay was referring to the Indian Premier League, the British and Irish Lions rugby tour and FIFA Confederations' Cup, all of which were happening in South Africa in the following four months ("Sporting windfall could avert recession", The *Saturday Star*, 11 April 2009);

- Modi said that once the decision was taken to move the event from India, South Africa was deemed **suitable** from a logistics and infrastructure point of view – and the **smooth** running of preparations had proved the organisers correct ("IPL scores R2bn for SA economy", *Cape Argus*, 17 April 2009);
- SA's security services say they are **capable** of providing adequate security for the IPL cricket which starts tomorrow ("Security services ready for IPL cricket, election", *Business Day*, 17 April 2009).

There were articles that appeared to directly address perceived naysayers and sceptics:

- **Despite the predictions of the doomsayers** the country is on track to stage an outstanding FIFA 2010 World Cup next year ("SA seen as a reliable host for sports events", *The Herald*, 24 March 2009);
- "It's time for South Africa to celebrate as the country is being showcased to the world. This is a statement **to all those who are of the view that we cannot stage big events here**. This event, plus the ICC Champions Trophy, ICC World Cup qualifying tournament later in the year and the FIFA 2010 will prove to the **sceptics we can** stage world-class tournaments without any hitches" (Majola in "Organisers of IPL head for SA today", *Daily News* 25 March 2009);
- When it was announced that both South Africa and England were being viewed as possible replacement venues, many **doubted** this country would be given the nod. But once again the good weather factor came into play and this, among other factors, ultimately **swung the decision** South Africa's way ("My, aren't we lucky", *Daily Dispatch*, 28 March 2009);

- Amid the growing perception that procrastination and lack of interest may yet have a **damaging impact** on the forthcoming FIFA Confederations Cup tournament in South Africa – forerunner to the 2010 World Cup – **cricket can show the way** (and not for the first time either) to other sporting communities, and in this case, most notably football (editorial comment, "A boon to SA sport", *The Star*, 26 March 2009).

The large number of articles focused on South Africa proving the naysayers wrong projected the image of a country that was still largely divided, not only in terms of class and economic and colour boundaries, but also a country divided in terms of its positive and negative outlook; a country still trying to find its feet as to whether it was a positive nation or a negative one.

6.3.6.3. SA as Winner

These were words or phrases that were carefully selected in order to portray South Africa as a nation of winners. This sort of reporting appeared eight times. Sometimes the framing was obviously geared towards "a winning nation", as seen on the front-page of *The Star* on 25 March 2009. The headline proclaimed: "SA to host dazzling cricket tournament", and opened with the sentence:

> The decision follows days of frenetic speculation over whether South Africa or England would earn the right to hold the second event of a dazzling show featuring the international stars of cricket.

This sentence set the stage for the clincher – not only did South Africa beat England to host the tournament, but "South Africa was also chosen even before IPL Commissioner Lalit Modi held talks with officials of the England and Wales Cricket Board in London, scheduled

for Tuesday". It was as though the newspaper was saying "that's how good we are – we won hands down, even before the meeting".

This obvious framing of South Africa as a winner was with the use of the word "beaten", as in "South Africa has **beaten** England in a head-to-head race to host the second edition of the lucrative Indian Premier League next month" ("Indian cricket coup for South Africa", *The Herald*, 25 March 2009).

Other ways in which South Africa was portrayed as a winner were more subtle. *The Herald* ran a page-six cartoon on 25 March 2009 titled "SA hosts the Twenty20 competition". It featured the IPL's Lalit Modi having a braai (barbeque), with a sun depicting South Africa and a raincloud depicting England. Modi's speech bubble proclaims: "sunshine and wors here we come!" Without the raincloud, it would have been a "look how good we are" cartoon. However, the inclusion of the raincloud implied that South Africa was better than England because the country had the sun, the braai, and Lalit Modi (representing the IPL).

Some newspapers chose their words carefully. They include the word "coup", which made its way into two newspapers – *The Herald* and *The Citizen*: "Indian cricket **coup** for South Africa" by Alvin Reeves described the hosting of the tournament as "a **major coup** for its [South Africa's] cricket" (*The Herald*, 25 March 2009). On page three *The Herald* reporter Lee-Anne Butler wrote an article, "Wessels all smiles as SA clinches IPL deal". It was subtitled: "Securing exciting Twenty20 tournament '**a major coup**'". It speaks of the "**coveted**" IPL and said Wessels was "happy" the country had "**clinched**" it, another euphemism for "win". The cricketing legend said that "securing the exciting Twenty20 competition was a **major coup** for South Africa and it was reason to celebrate ("Wessels all smiles as SA clinches IPL deal", *The Herald*, 25 March 2009). *The Citizen* ran an editorial

that called the hosting a "**stunning coup**" for Cricket South Africa. The newspaper added: "To be asked to stage the world's most lucrative cricket competition at short notice is a singular honour and reflection of confidence in South Africa" ("SA is the top choice", *The Citizen*, 26 March 2009). Not only was it the "world's most lucrative cricket tournament" that South Africa had won, but it was also an "honour" for the "able" nation.

The *Daily Dispatch* sought to show how good the country was by highlighting all the past mega sports events that it was awarded (or had won):

> Now when one considers that the Confederations Cup – comprised of some of the best soccer-playing nations – are also heading our way in June, then we, as a sports mad nation, can be forgiven for feeling somewhat overwhelmed. ... Of course the cherry on top is what many describe as the greatest show on Earth – the 2010 Soccer World Cup which visits our shores next year. Cricket-mania is upon us but soccer-mania is not too far away ("My, aren't we lucky", *Daily Dispatch*, 28 March 2009).

These sporting events were across the sporting world, and consist of different disciplines – football, rugby and cricket – a great triumph for any country. South Africa was also portrayed as a nation of winners due to its cricket prowess. In *The Star* ("It's here, cricket's new world order" on 16 April 2009) Rodney Hartman put South Africa at the top of the world:

> Now with South Africa confirmed as No 1, India No 2 and Australia No 3, all is right with the world. It is a good time to be leading the way in world cricket because the game's profile has never been higher.

Hartman spoke of South Africa as a leader in world cricket, referring to its "growing influence in world cricket". Naming South Africans who were involved with the England

cricket team, he added: “So it is plain to see how England is being taken over by South Africa.”

This attempt to portray South Africa as a nation of winners tied in with Farquharson and Marjoribanks’ research on the Rugby World Cup, when they wrote: “Arenas such as sport, and representations of sport and nation in the media, are crucial sites for imagining and re-imagining the nation” (2003). Imagining South Africa as a nation of winners allows the collective, the “nation” to move from the image of South Africa as a nation of losers, following the country’s awful history, to an image of a South Africa winning the fight against the negativity, winning in spite of the naysayers.

6.3.6.4. Negativity

With all the hype about the IPL coming to South Africa and the focus on the country’s ability to host the tournament, there were two articles that were negative. In the beginning of the study, on 26 March 2009, *The Star* ran an editorial: “A boon to SA sport”. The headline implied that the IPL would be a blessing for the country. The editorial appeared to be trying to strike a balance – balancing the positive and the negative. However, it was the first article that had such a negative tone. It contained sentences such as:

- Now that the dust is beginning to settle, the **harsh reality** is that South Africa has a little over three weeks to prepare to host one of the world’s biggest sports events;
- The decision to invite this country to stage cricket’s richest tournament, the Indian Premier League, will create work **pressure** the like of which SA sport has never previously known;

- It is not that South Africa has not shown itself **adept** at successfully hosting global sporting events – witness chiefly among them the 1995 Rugby World Cup, the 1996 African Nations Cup and the 2003 Cricket World Cup – but in the history of professional sport the sudden transplantation of so big an exercise as the eight-team, 59-match IPL from one country to another has **no precedent**;
- The sands in the hour-glass **therefore stack up heavily against us**, but the challenge is a compelling one because success in this exercise promises a number of significant benefits that will enhance both the image of this country in the eyes of the world and help boost the South African economy, and SA cricket's coffers, at a critical time ("A boon to SA sport", *The Star*, 26 March 2009).

Towards the end of the timeframe another negative comment was published. It quoted a senior researcher at the Institute for Security Studies Johan Burger as saying that "the unplanned-for cricket event was likely to put pressure on the police, who were not pleased when told by the government to safeguard the cricket tournament". The article, about the security surrounding the tournament, which was the very reason that India had moved it, pointed out that the police had had very little time to prepare for the IPL, especially in comparison to the other mega sports events:

> He said police had planned for the election a year ago and also to safeguard the Lions tour and the Confederations Cup between April and June ("Security services ready for IPL cricket, election", *Business Day*, 17 April 2009).

Besides these two negative comments, one of which appeared in a very positive article about the security being ready for the tournament, the rest of the reporting appeared to be positive.

6.3.7. How the Themes Unfolded

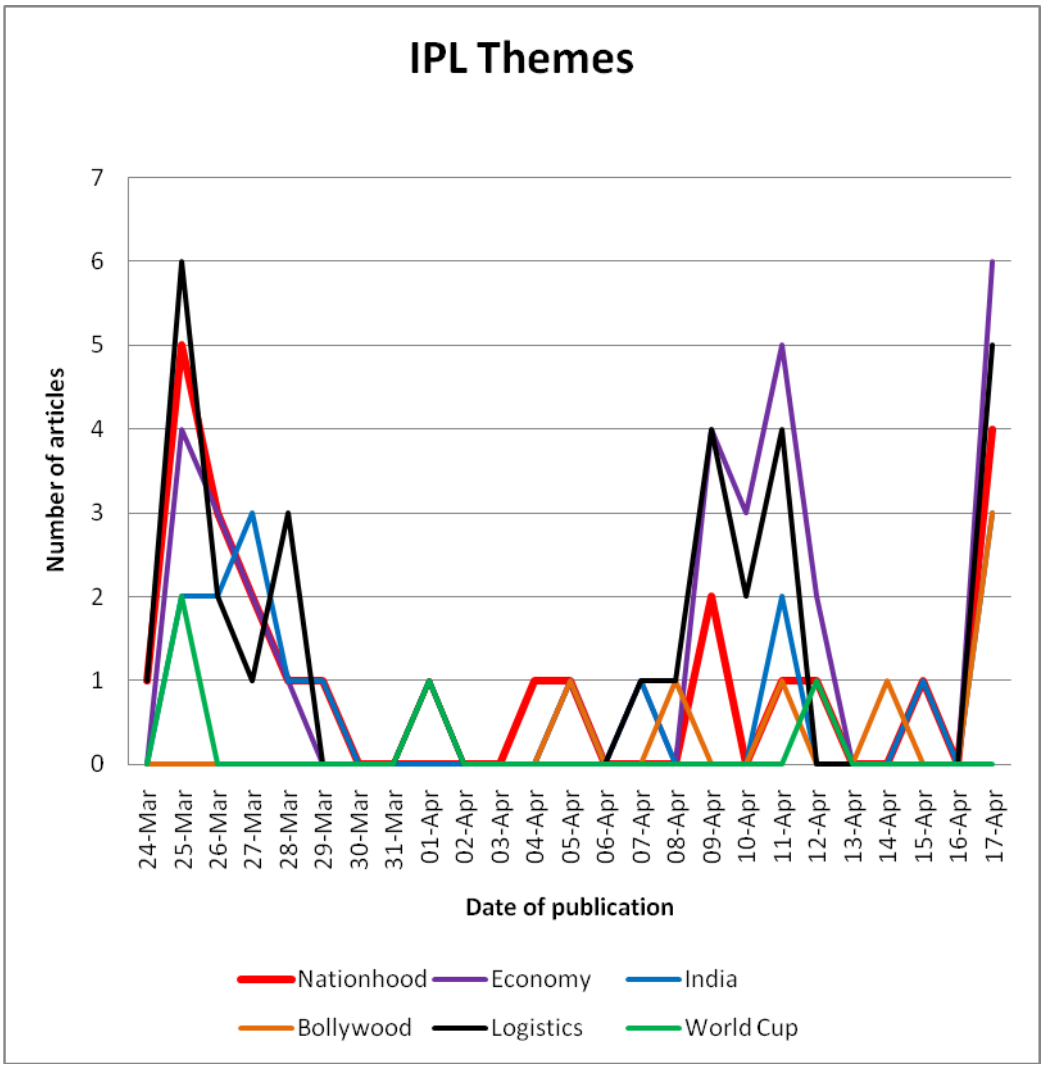


Figure 8. This graph indicates the themes as they unfolded during the timeframe.

The graph, “IPL Themes” (Figure 8), indicated sharp peaks in nationhood, economy and logistics articles in the beginning of the study and the end of the study. There was a peak in the beginning of the last week of logistics and economy articles, and to a lesser extent nationhood. This indicated that there was a flurry of articles on the day after the announcement was made. The week after the announcement there was a drop in articles across all categories. The next week, from 9 April 2009 to 12 April 2009 there was another increase, in articles regarding the effect the tournament would have on the economy, as well as logistics, with small spikes in articles on nationhood and the South Africa-India relationship. On the day before the tournament started there was another sharp peak of articles across the categories of economy, logistics, nationhood and Bollywood. It was also the day with the most articles on Bollywood, perhaps because the newspapers were trying to peak readers’ interests and make the articles as interesting and scintillating as possible ahead of the tournament.

6.4. Controlling the Media

The IPL coming to South Africa and what it would mean for the nation seemed to have overshadowed a much bigger news story that was related to the IPL during this time period – the IPL's attempt to control the media.

Public relations, or PR, was an important part of the South African leg of the IPL. As one commentator, Neil Manthorp of the *Mail & Guardian* observed, there were more than 100 PR people working for the IPL, figures for the philanthropic endeavours of the IPL in South Africa depended "on which press release you read", and more than one press release was sent out for an event (Manthorp, 2009).

The media in South Africa are generally regarded as free, as enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, yet the IPL's strong-arm tactics regarding media freedom when it came to coverage of the tournament were unmistakable. What was even more surprising was the coverage, or lack thereof, afforded to the issue. Not many newspapers reported on it, and those who did, did not do it very prominently.

This issue was made up of two components – the withdrawing of advertising from a newspaper group that published something with which the IPL did not agree and the IPL's strict media preferences, which it tried to enforce on the journalists covering the South African event.

6.4.1. Media Freedom: Issue 1.

An article published in the *Sunday Times* resulted in its media house Avusa losing out on millions of rands worth of advertising (Hoult, 2009; Bruce, 2010). When it came to researching the incident, information on the issue was not easily available. Newspapers in South Africa did not mention it and the only records of it on the Internet came from two British newspapers, *The Telegraph* and *The Guardian*.

The article that caused the controversy was published in the *Sunday Times* of 5 April 2009. Written by Andrew Donaldson, the article appeared on page three. It was titled "Indian cricket league boss found on gangster's hit list" and subtitled "Arrest of 'hit man' uncovers murder plot – and betting rings may well be involved". It was accompanied by an article titled "Lalit Modi's ups and downs".

The article focused on IPL chairman Lalit Modi being on the hitlist of an underworld don. According to reports in India, a plot to murder Modi was uncovered after the arrest the previous weekend of a gangster, who was apparently the don's hit man. The article included unflattering sentences such as:

- You would expect Lalit Modi, the entrepreneur who is bringing the world's richest cricket tournament to South Africa, to have enemies. After all, he is the brash, seemingly arrogant scion of one of India's wealthiest families, and one of the most powerful figures in global sport;
- But it is believed that Modi, who will be in South Africa for the duration of the IPL season, was targeted because he failed to respond to a demand for money;
- There are allegations that India's notorious gambling syndicates are also involved.

The IPL demanded a correction but, according to Bruce, "the paper managed to repeat what had irritated Modi in the first place", which led to the IPL withdrawing advertising worth R3 million or R4 million[2] from the Avusa group (Bruce, 2010).

There appeared to be an unwritten rule that criticism of the IPL was not tolerated. One of the "IPL 2009: Lessons learned", according to *The Telegraph*'s deputy cricket correspondent, Nick Hoult, was: "You criticise the IPL at your peril". He noted:

> One newspaper group lost R5 million[2] worth of advertising when it printed an article raking over Modi's less than glorious past. The players all tread very carefully in case they are seen to offend team owners or IPL big wigs. Even [cricketer Glenn] McGrath claimed he was misquoted when he said he was thinking of not returning.

This quote indicated the importance that the IPL placed on its image – the consequences for people who offended those in charge were severe, as the Avusa group found out. After the article on Modi was published, the *Sunday Times* did not run another article on the IPL in the timeframe of this study. The next Sunday, which was 12 April 2009, the weekend before the tournament started, the newspaper did not run an article on the IPL, whereas the other weekend newspapers featured it prominently, especially as it was the weekend before the tournament started. In response to this development, I decided to categorise the articles according to media house, to see whether the loss of advertising worth millions of rands affected the publicity the newspapers afforded the IPL.

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[2] The discrepancy in figures is due to the exchange rate differences. On 25 May 2009, when Hoult's article was published, 1 British Pound = 13.2 South African Rand. . On 4 January 2010, when Bruce's article was published, 1 British Pound = 11.932 South African Rand. These figures were obtained from http://gbp.cer24.com.

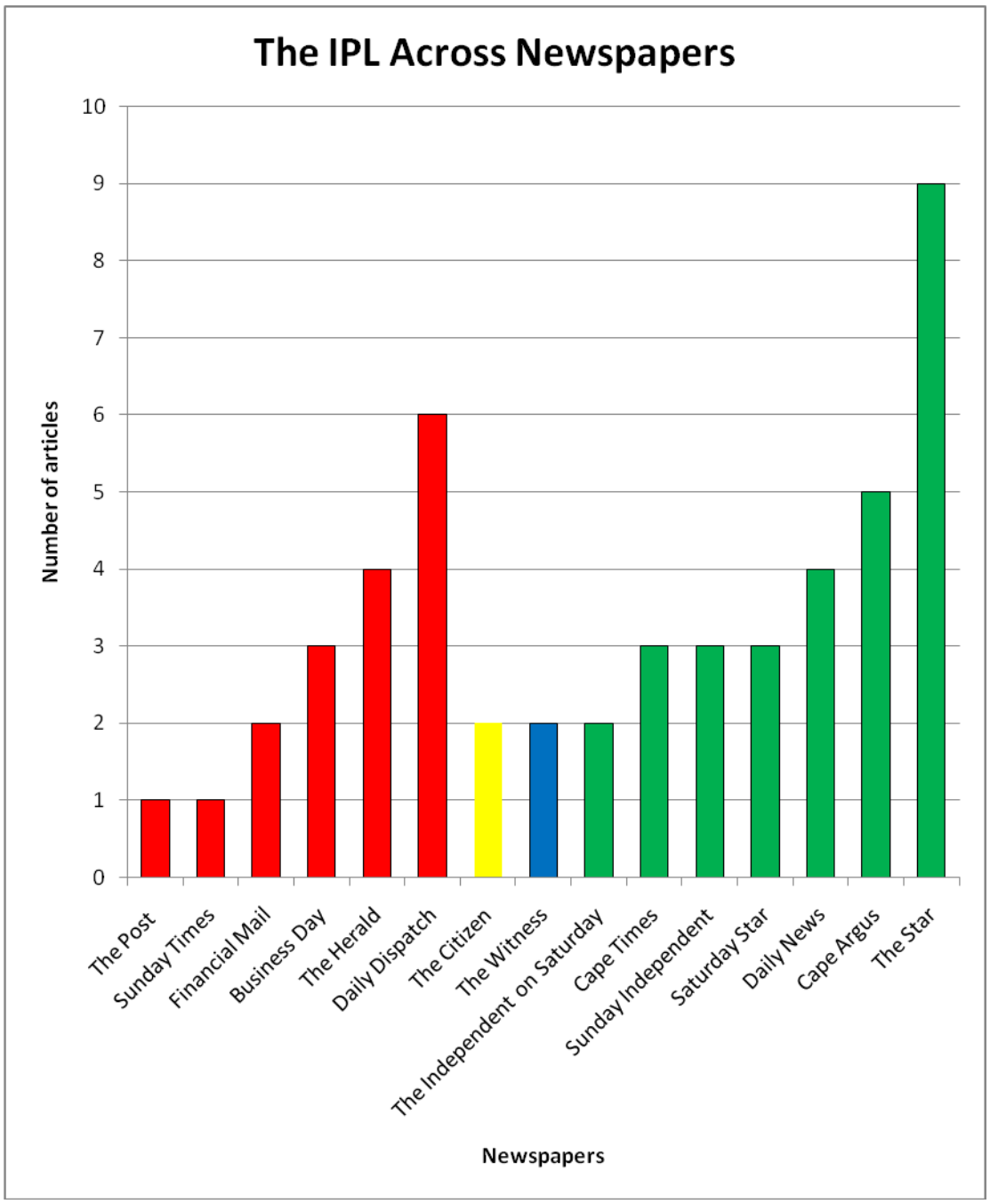


Figure 9. This graph shows the number of articles published by newspapers across media houses. Avusa is depicted in red, Caxton is yellow, Media24 is blue, and Independent is green.

From the graph "The IPL across newspapers" (Figure 9), the following can be deduced: the red section of the graph shows the number of articles on the IPL published by the Avusa group, which was in this case made up of the *Daily Dispatch*, *The Herald*, *Business Day*, *Financial Mail*, the *Sunday Times* and *The Post*. Six newspapers from the Avusa group

published articles on the IPL compared with seven from the Independent group. Caxton and Media24 newspapers' contribution to the tally was far smaller.

Despite losing out on advertising, the Avusa group continued to publish articles on the IPL.

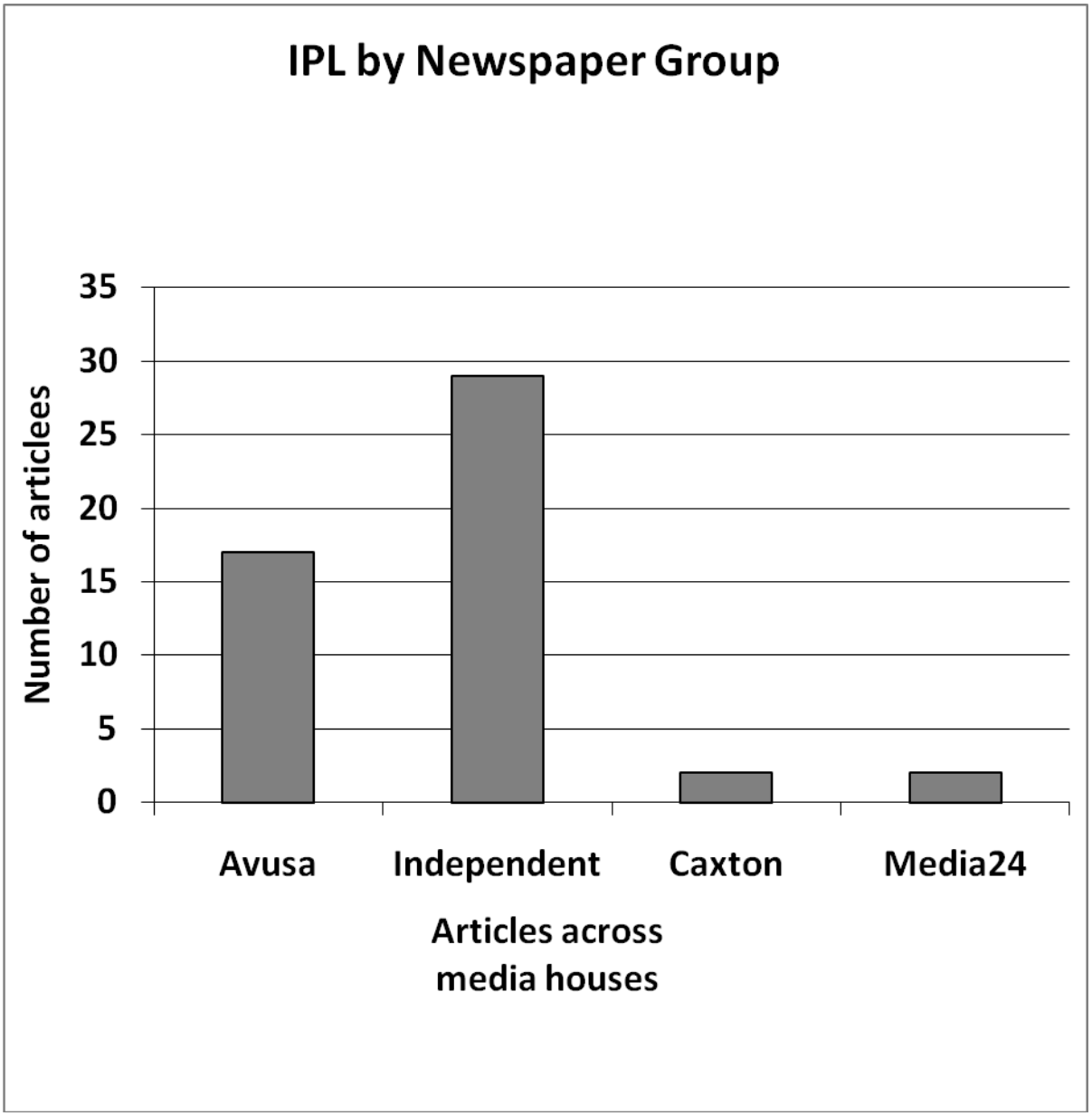


Figure 10. These are the numbers of articles published across the four major media houses.

The graph "IPL by newspaper group" (Figure 10) showed that the Independent group contributed to 29 (or 58 per cent) of the articles on the IPL, Avusa newspapers published 17 (or 34 per cent), and Media 24 and Caxton each two articles (4 per cent).

The reason for counting the articles by newspaper group was to see whether the advertising saga affected the number of articles published by a media house. However, this graph suggested that it did not really affect the number of articles published by Avusa – the stable's *Daily Dispatch* was the newspaper with the second-most number of articles, and six Avusa publications ran articles on the IPL during the timeframe.

6.4.2. Media Freedom: Issue 2.

The second issue about media freedom pertained to an ongoing issue of sporting bodies trying to prescribe to the media how and on what they were allowed to report. The issue had started the previous year, when the IPL banned media who were not affiliated to the tournament from publishing articles and photographs on websites that were not affiliated to the IPL. In South Africa, a censorship attempt by Cricket SA regarding photographs of Proteas' captain Graeme Smith was in the news, as was a disagreement that the South African National Editors' Forum (Sanef) was having with FIFA, the world football authority, over restrictive media proposals. These included censorship and a ban on independent websites covering the upcoming Confederations Cup matches, as well as a proposal that prevented a new agency from supplying material to a third party.

A week before the IPL started, the News Media Coalition, acting on behalf of global media groups, agreed to cover IPL matches. The coalition had threatened to boycott them because of the IPL's media demands. The contracts to gain media access stipulated that photo news material could not be distributed for use by certain cricket news websites, but Sanef had

argued that such a clause discriminated against news subscribers, compromised the media's freedom to inform, and set a bad precedent for other major events.

The issue first surfaced in *The Star*, in Rodney Hartman's column on 1 April 2009. He wrote:

> You may know that the IPL had a problem with the media last time out over the terms and conditions of the accreditation. This time, the aim is to make it a more media friendly tournament as it plays out across South Africa. Even though the terms and conditions have not changed, the idea is to make the media feel more special.

This tongue-in-cheek approach to the media restrictions was the first and only record of it, until the next mention in the *Saturday Star* on 11 April 2009, at the bottom of an article about the stadiums ("IPL face stadium threat"). The last two paragraphs were dedicated to the "major media standoff". The article reported on an "amicable and significant" solution – that the IPL "agreed to revise its media terms and conditions for the current event" so that "news and photographs" may be "filed to cricket websites that may compete with the official one".

The two paragraphs attached on to the tail-end of an article about the IPL strong-arming suite holders to relinquish their seats for "Bollywood stars, Indian VIPs and commercial sponsors" suggested two things: the bullying tactics used by the tournament and South Africa's acceding to its demands by not reporting on these issues in the way in which media that were playing a watchdog role may have done.

The strongest of all the coverage on this issue came from the *Sunday Independent*, which published "Media hit a six to score IPL coverage for all" on page 3 of 12 April 2009. It put the issue into perspective with its opening paragraph, referring to the "draconian media laws that almost resulted in a black-out of the IPL" that could affect media coverage on other

sporting events. It also highlighted the "battle" that the Sanef was having with FIFA over its restrictive media proposals.

While the dispute was eventually resolved with the IPL allowing other non-IPL websites to publish photographs and articles on the IPL, the fact that it had to be debated left an indelible mark on South Africa's freedom of the press stance. The editors' engagement with FIFA came ahead of the 2010 Football World Cup, which was to be held in South Africa the following year.

Discussion

This issue was made up of two components – the IPL's strict media preferences, which it tried to enforce on the South African IPL, and the IPL's pulling of advertising from a newspaper group that published something with which it did not agree. None of these issues was given much coverage despite them taking place in a country whose very foundation is freedom.

While there appeared to be a lot of hype surrounding the IPL, the media seemed to skip over other significant issues in favour of publicising the event. The issue of media freedom was buried at the bottom of another article on the IPL, and it was only one newspaper, the *Sunday Independent*, that gave the incident relatively prominent coverage, on page three.

Perhaps these issues did not quite fit into the idea of national identity that was being portrayed by the media. Perhaps the idea of self-promotion was higher on the agenda than the issue of media freedom. Whatever the reason, it appeared that the South African print media chose to bury or to ignore two important issues related to the IPL.

7. Conclusions

I began this research by asking how the media would cover a global sporting event such as the IPL, with a particular focus on whether ideas and narratives of nation appeared and in what ways. Prior theory suggested that there would be certain pre-event reporting norms; that the media would focus on issues including security, costs surrounding the event, commercialism, drugs, a constant evaluation of hosting preparation and a colouring of the host's image. This study showed that the South Africa print media indeed conformed to most of these norms.

However, the research showed that the greatest issue on the media's agenda was logistics, the "nuts and bolts" of the event, such as whether the Comrades Marathon would be run while the IPL was on, where the matches would be played, and when they would be played. That is legitimate "service journalism", which serves the people in the community, and by far the greatest number of articles contained this sort of journalism, informing the community of things that affected them. What it speaks to is one of the main purposes of journalism – to supply readers with information they need to know to go about their daily lives. This occurs before all major events, and ties in to the observation that highest number of reports were in cities that hosted IPL matches. Many of these newspapers focused on their communities and because of the short space of time that the organisers had to put the tournament together, they needed the media to come on board and relay information to these communities. For example, suite holders at the stadiums where the IPL was being held needed to be informed that they might not be able to use their suites for the games. Cities where games were being held needed to be aware of the logistics so that they could be ready. This is especially noted in the stories about East London where there were only two caterers who would be able to

cater for the Indian players and tourists, or the cricketer from East London who would be playing in the tournament.

While this research did not aim to look at the ways in which the media build a nation, narratives of nationbuilding emerged quite strongly during the coverage of this event. The IPL was not a South African event. It was an Indian event that was moved to South Africa, yet it was seized upon by the media and framed as a South African event in order to contribute to a debate about nationbuilding in South Africa among certain newspapers. The media is often said to reflect a social responsibility when it comes to issues such as nationbuilding and has generally been expected, especially by the South African government, to contribute to the social transformation of the nation. Cooperation in this regard seemed to form a major part of the reporting of the IPL during the timeframe – but only within the "white" sector of the media. A major issue on the news agenda at that time was the 2010 Football World Cup and an anxiety over whether or not South Africa would be able to successfully host it. A reporting pattern emerged that gave us a glimpse into the nation's psyche, as a defensiveness about whether or not the country would be able to cope began to develop. This defensiveness was not only focused on the IPL but also the 2010 Football World Cup. This was exactly the anxiety, doubt or inferiority political commentators referred to when examining how South Africa engaged with the rest of the world. The ironic thing was that the decision had already been made that South Africa could handle the hosting of the IPL and the 2010 Football World Cup. Both events had been awarded to the country on the basis that South Africa would be able to successfully be able to host them.

Another aspect of nationbuilding that came out of this exercise was the issue of segregation. While South Africa is still a nation deeply divided along the colour lines, when it came to the IPL, no mention was made of race during the research timeframe. There were none of the

white/black issues that were raised, for example, during the 1995 Rugby World Cup. The reporting may not have made an issue of race. However, issues of racial segregation were demonstrated by the newspapers themselves. Newspapers with largely black readerships such as the *Sowetan, City Press* and the *Daily Sun* did not report on the IPL during the timeframe, despite an apparent push by others – the government and the "white" press – to cooperate and contribute to a nation-building exercise. During the previous dispensation, media content was drawn along racial lines as evidenced by ethnically-oriented newspapers, radio stations and television channels "which consolidated this division" (Boloka and Krabill, 2000). This inclination by the "black" newspapers to ignore the IPL could indicate a fracture that still exists within the South African media. This fracture has been analysed by scholars such as Kolbe (2005), Boloka and Krabill (2000) and Kahn (2009, 2011).

As Kahn (2009) notes, debates within the media "might not include all South Africans" and "may be restricted to certain race, language or gender groups" (Kahn, 2009). Sport is generally seen as having great potential way to bring people together, as evidenced by the 1995 Rugby World Cup, yet newspapers such as the *Daily Sun, City Press* and the *Sowetan,* whose readers are predominantly black, ran few or no articles on the IPL. However, a nation building exercise was carried by "white" newspapers, which make up only a sector of the South African print media. Perhaps this indicates an importance newspaper staff placed on creating a nation-building discourse among the white population of South Africa but this implies that this type of discourse was not important to the black population. This raises questions that are beyond the scope of this research paper, but which are worthwhile exploring.

The South African print media used the IPL to situate South Africa in the global community, especially in the run-up to global sporting events that South Africa was hosting, in particular

the 2010 FIFA World Cup. A major public debate still centres on where South Africa is in terms of ranking; in terms of development. In 2009, this debate ran parallel to the way in which the South African print media situated the country in terms of a global society of nations. South Africa was not just situated in relation to India. An Indian event was appropriated, in a large way, due to a South African ongoing concern of how it fitted in the world. The articles about India and its relationship with South Africa locate South Africa in a certain way – it was situated alongside a country that is regarded as new and modern; a country that had emerged from colonialism as a super power. India was characterised as sexy and cosmopolitan, and South Africa was represented as connected to that. However, while there was camaraderie, a friendship, a connection via the diaspora and a shared history of colonialism, there was no real reporting on the significance of the relationship between the two countries. There was no real-world discussion on the nations and the way they did business with each other, for example. When the relationship was mentioned, it was in order to position South Africa in relation to India and the world.

This research also demonstrated certain agenda setting processes at work in determining certain themes and narratives of the IPL. There were two distinct places from which the media agenda (and thus the public agenda) was set. The first was the print media's agenda. The second was the agenda of the IPL.

The bulk of the reporting prior to the IPL was how South Africa was going to benefit from the event and the logistics, or the nuts and bolts, of the event. Only the financial media did a proper analysis on the event and really investigated the economic implications of the IPL's move to South Africa. However, when it came to issues of nationbuilding, this was not fuelled by the IPL at all. The data demonstrated how the South African print media took what was essentially an Indian event and turned it into an exercise of nationbuilding. These themes

of nationhood focused on framing South Africa as a winner, using phrases such as "yes, we can!" and "look how good we are" to situate South Africa in a positive light ahead of the 2010 Football World Cup. The agenda setting around this was interesting, especially in relation to the 2010 Football World Cup. There was an ongoing discussion of who South Africa was and where it fitted in the world. The journalists, editors and writers were negotiating this discussion, which was already in the public domain, and interpreting it – as was done with the 1995 Rugby World Cup. The data demonstrated how a globalised sporting event was taken up, interpreted and framed in a way of a nation's orientation to other nations. It was interesting to see how a non-South African event was pulled into the standard media response of nationbuilding for reasons that had little to do with the event, but had to do with South Africa's desire to use sport for nationbuilding and its efforts to counter criticism ahead of staging the Football World Cup. Ironically, in the end it appeared that the IPL had little to do with building ties with India or forging a global camaraderie. It appeared to be just about South Africa blurting out to the world: "We can do it".

Another issue raised by the research is around sports journalism. The articles that shied away from the norm, such as those printed in the *Financial Mail*, "Expensive exercise" and "Sporting seduction", and the article that caused the advertising loss for Avusa, were written by journalists who were not on the sports beat. Larry Claasen and Rob Rose were financial journalists and Andrew Donaldson was columnist and senior writer with the *Sunday Times*. This raises questions, such as does this point to a weakness in South African sports journalism? Where are the critical media when it comes to sports journalism – not only sports critics, but also social critics? Theory on sports, media and society has demonstrated the significance that sport plays within and for a nation. This research raises questions about

whether the South African print media recognises the importance of this beat, and the role that these journalists could play within society.

In a changing world of globalising sports events, local “national” media is still inclined to interpret these transnational events in a national way. And in the case of the South African media, this way of telling the story appears to be a media framing, not the media being influenced by powerful others. However, it is also clear that the huge PR machines of global sports companies are also hugely powerful in obscuring a realistic debate about economic benefits to the host country. This raises questions about the capacity of sports events to be reported on with the same critical and watchdog eye as political events.

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