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African pride and vexation in World Cup development sportswriting

RICHARD J. PELTZ-STEELE

Abstract: *The first men's football World Cup in Africa, in 2010, provided an opportunity for development sportswriting. As mediator of sport for the people, mass media are well positioned to capitalize upon the development potential of football. This research analyzed development-related World Cup coverage to better understand African perceptions of identity and the role of African media in improving the quality of human life. Using a news database, this research compiled and analyzed stories published in Africa, outside South Africa, during the World Cup. Stories were tested for a World Cup peg and possible development angle and flagged for representations of national or pan-African identity. The research led to three conclusions. First, the World Cup did provide a vehicle for development sportswriting. Second, World Cup development sportswriting fortified national and pan-African identity by representing expressions of pride. Third, World Cup development sportswriting provided a vehicle to demand political accountability and to express vexation at impediments to African development. The research provides an informative context and springboard for further inquiry into the 2014 World Cup in Brazil.*

Keywords: *Africa, development, football, identity, journalism, media, soccer, socio-economics, sport*

The occurrence on African soil of the World Cup 2010 in men's football represented in popular imagination the arrival of the continent at a point of social and economic development beyond colonialism, and of the emergence on the continent of an authentically African identity. The World Cup was heralded as relief from the vicious cycle of African underdevelopment and colonial legacy, which manifests in political corruption, infrastructure deficiency, and poverty. Of course, a football tournament did not alleviate all suffering in Africa. But the focus of global attention on the continent provided an opportunity for sportswriters in mass media to seize the spotlight and to turn it into a progressive force. The purpose of this research is to observe and analyze development sportswriting published in Africa during the World Cup, especially with attention to representations of identity. The aim of this endeavor is to better understand African self-perception and the role of African media in improving the quality of human life on the continent.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This research occurs at the intersection of development, journalism, and sport. These three areas converge on the occasion of an international sporting spectacle such as the World Cup of men's football. The essential argument is that the concurrence of journalism and sport has the potential to further social and economic development. Accordingly, this literature review describes the previous research that characterizes the three areas.

Development journalism

Development journalism dates to 1970, when Alan Chalkley's *Manual of Development Journalism* challenged journalists to combat the 'vicious cycle' of the developing world: a circular chain of causation in which lack of income yields lack of savings, yields lack of investment in production, yields lack of income, *ad infinitum* (pp.1-2). Chalkley featured persistent themes: the humanization of political and economic news and inclusion of the ordinary working person's perspective in assessing newsworthiness. Building on Chalkley's work, Bhattacharjea (2005) described the development journalist as relating 'the condition in which the majority of our people live and how programs meant for their welfare are actually functioning on the ground' (pp.1-2). Thus, development journalism focuses traditional public accountability on the plight of ordinary people in the society. 'Development journalism' and 'Third World journalism' emerged with the New World Information Order movement and marked a divergence of Western and contemporary world paradigms for journalism. The Western paradigm stands for an ethnocentric, economic focus born of post-WWII Western capital export (Soola 2003a), while the contemporary paradigms, 'holistic' and 'people-centered', further recognize social, political, and economic priorities and incorporate culture as a partner in the development *enterprise*, rather than as obstacles to social and economic development (Soola 2003a, pp.11-5).

The competing values of developing world journalism have been cataloged variously. Robie (1994, p.11) contrasted First and *Third World* journalism with dominant ideals of 'Objectivity' and 'Nation building', respectively. Lule (1987) derived and detailed a First World value series prizing timeliness, proximity, personality, oddity, human interest, and conflict, and a *Third World* value series prizing development, social responsibility, national integration, education, and secondarily, First World values.

Defenders of free expression worry about journalism's propinquity to government when aims converge on development (Soola 2003b). For example, amid Ethiopia's promulgation of development journalism as official policy for state media, Skjerdal (2011) found that journalists embraced positive focus, educational mission, and national identity promotion, but also purported to serve the public interest by tolerating secrecy and neglecting critical coverage and opposition viewpoints. Dixon (1997) considered development journalism appealing, though public journalism better, to promote development and pan-African communitarianism over the continent's entrenched colonial state press alliances and incompatible ethnic and political divisions. Studying Nigerian journalism, Ebo (1994) observed a conflict between idealistic Western objectivity and real African needs. But neither Skjerdal nor Ebo cared to embrace Western norms as an exclusive alternative. Meanwhile

development aims are not foreign to Western journalism; Manzo (2012a) described the British *Guardian's* active partnership in a development-through-football initiative in Uganda.

Media, sport, and society

A vast body of literature has studied sport and society, especially the connection between sport and identity (Boyle 2006). Analyzing this body (Peltz 2010) distilled five properties of sport that are amplified by media: (1) conservatism, including escapism and education; (2) conflict and unification; (3) power; (4) development; and (5) identity.

Sport is conservative because it 'amplif[ies]' the status quo, favoring the establishment sector, rather than initiating social change (Koppett 1994, pp.168–71). As reflection or amplifier of reality, mediated sport offers psychological escape from real-world tumult, such as war, and promotes social welfare through public service and education, especially to youth and working persons of variable literacy (Halberstam 2008b; *e.g.*, Njogu 2009; Šafaříková 2012). The conservative and educative potential of sport are two sides of the same coin, allowing the establishment, for example, to perpetuate or to combat the subordination of women (Asakitikpi 2010; Kabwila Kapasula 2010; Manyonganise 2010).

Sport and media have been described both alternatively and coincidentally as divisive and unifying. Football, in particular, has been charged with sparking and stalling wars between nations (French 2003; Stevenson & Alaug 2008). But to a side, mediated sport unifies through cultural construction, especially by fabricating cultural mythology that perpetuates national identity and pride (Giulianotti & Robertson 2007a; Lechner 2007; Markovits & Hellerman 2001; Rowe, McKay, & Miller 1998; Viatori 2008). Sport heroes displace colonial cultural icons with new mythology, and thus with new national identity (Halberstam 2008a; Koppett 1994). In Africa, Mehler (2008) found that football in media reflected political differences in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, as well as Ghanaian affection for *pan-Africanism*.

Whether the unifying property of sport necessarily fuels international conflict is disputed. Andrews and Ritzer (2007, pp.28–9) described the dichotomy as a 'false polarization', and Giulianotti and Robertson (2007a) credited football and, in particular, football journalism, with an untapped potential for global unification.

Authoritarian and democratic leaders in Africa naturally have recognized the power of mediated sport (Armstrong 2007; Roberts 1992). Football was appropriated as a political campaign tool in Nigeria as early as the 1930s (Goldblatt 2006). Amin in Uganda, Mobutu in Zaire, and Nkrumah in Ghana all rose to power wielding football as a means to political ends, and Mobutu famously spurned sport and squad after an agonizing World Cup defeat (Goldblatt 2006).

Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) seek to capitalize on the global appeal of football, positioning the sport 'as a magnet to draw players and fans to development projects' (Manzo 2012a, p.559; *e.g.*, Ingwe *et al.* 2012; Shehu 2010). Football is regarded as especially crucial to African development because the unifying and identity properties gloss over cultural division (Manzo 2012b; Mchombo 2008; Pillay & Bass 2009); Czeglédy (2009) wrote of the World Cup's potential to define a pan-African identity both to Africans and to the world. A less forgiving analysis paints football as cultural imperialism. Darby, Akindes, and Kirwin (2007) rounded up ample literature examining 'neocolonial exploitation' (pp.143–44, 148) with its

disturbing echo of the slave trade (Armstrong & Mitchell 2008; Galeano 1998; Goldblatt 2006; Kang 1988; Phillips 2006; Poli 2008). Media are complicit, as *Eurocentric* sponsorships and television coverage pay a premium for European football and marginalize Africa, even within African markets (Darby, Akindes, and Kirwin 2007; Kang 1988; Onwumechili 2009). For Foer (2004), these opposing views simply reflect the complexity of globalization.

Sport and media create and perpetuate national identity (Andrews 2005). Football as a colonial export (Baker & Mangan 1987; Blacking 1987; French, 2003; Giulianotti & Robertson 2007b; Goldblatt 2006; Paul 1987) merged in Africa with pre-colonial ball play related to 'ceremonial and recreational dancing' (Blacking 1987, pp.7-8), tribal practices (Goldblatt, 2006), and even magic and witchcraft (Daimon 2010; French 2003; Goldblatt, 2006). Characterized as 'Africa's game', football has become 'an instrument of political and social struggle' synonymous with 'pride and independence' in modern Africa (Goldblatt 2006, p.480). Football has been characterized as 'Africa's game' (Goldblatt 2006, p.480).

Of particular importance in this study is the way in which media amplify these latter, complementary properties of sport, development, and identity. This interrelationship can be seen in the effort to effect development in Brazil through the 2014 World Cup. An economically ambitious nation, Brazil employs the educational, unification, and power properties of sport to perpetuate national identity in furtherance of development. Goldblatt (2014) recently explored the exemplary marriage of football and identity in Brazil, which the government seeks to reinvigorate through hosting. Meanwhile the tournament has been marked by protests contrasting high costs with local poverty (*e.g.*, Bainbridge 2014). The protests – and media coverage of them – threaten to undermine the government plan insofar as the positive identity construct is perceived to contradict a counter-development reality on the Brazilian street.

The Brazilian Government hopes to recover the ball through projects such as Football for Development in Brazil. The project has *webcast* public meetings and plans a young people's debate series to 'increase awareness of social change through football in Brazil' (Street Football World 2014). In sponsorship, inter-governmental organizations (IGOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and a foreign aid organization are complemented in-country by the government and educational BemTV. Substantial resources have been spent to fuse the World Cup brand with Brazilian identity in expectation of a development bounty. So mass media have been deployed to meet public remonstrance with an official prophecy of development as a function of fortified identity. Time will tell which message prevails. But both sides at least purport to be in pursuit of social and economic betterment.

The African World Cup

Van der Merwe (2009) explored football's historic path to Africa, where South Africa's investment promised a worthwhile return in economic development (du Plessis & Maennig 2009). Exploring the development-sport connection, Manzo (2012b) studied British press coverage to detect the development impact of the tournament. Reiterating Horne's (2004) conclusion as to World Cup 2002 and development in Japan, and the skepticism of other researchers (Cornelissen 2009; Pillay & Bass 2009), Manzo concluded that its potential to promote *pan-Africanism* and populism failed to manifest, while commercial and corporate

sectors benefited. Nevertheless, Manzo (2012a) in another study highlighted the capacity of postcolonial mass media to further the development potential of football.

This research sought to study the convergence of development, journalism, and sport in African media during the World Cup to garner insight into African perceptions of development. This research has implications for the interrelationship of development, media, and sport, and more broadly for the struggle to break the cycles of underdevelopment and neocolonial exploitation that burden the African continent.

METHOD

Using a qualitative approach, this research identified stories in African media that included a development angle in coverage *focused* on the World Cup tournament. This study then categorized the stories by discrete development themes drawn from the literature. Subsequent analysis paid particular attention to journalistic representations of African and national identity as a development theme.

Inquiry began with the Lexis *database* of Middle Eastern and African news publications and a search for 'World Cup'. Excluded from the survey were: publications emphasizing the Middle East; mere branches of Western media; French- and Portuguese-language sources (owing to the author's limitations); publications emphasizing business, security, or other discrete subjects; and official government news sources. All South African and purportedly Africa-wide sources were excluded because perspectives from within the host country or from within *no one* country would have overwhelmed results, especially in diverse representations of identity. Those media warrant separate study. For the same reason, each country represented in the pool was limited to three sources, randomly selected as necessary. The completeness of the Lexis *database* for each publication was dependent on the provision of content by the publisher. The date range was restricted to 10 June to 12 July 2010, framing the tournament, which ran from 11 June to 11 July.

The stories yielded by the search were filtered to identify those with (1) a clear World Cup peg, i.e., a focus on the tournament and not an incidental mention; and (2) a possible development angle, beyond mere sport coverage. Considering the dominant ideal of nation-building and drawing on the literature, an overinclusive test of development angle was used to compile a sufficient body of work for analysis. Stories were coded affirmatively if substantially responsive to at least one of the following three inquiries. Stories that responsive to either of the latter two were flagged for the analysis.

- (1) Does the story focus on matters of government and corporate accountability, such as follow the money, or does the story focus on human living conditions or changes in human living conditions with regard to social, economic, political, or technological factors? Bhattacharjea (2005) especially emphasized the traditional function of public accountability in a development context. Focus on the living conditions of ordinary people is a persistent theme in exhortations to development journalists (e.g., Chalkley 1970).

- (2) *Does the story focus on improbable or hard-won human achievement, against the odds (more than mere success in sport)?* Development journalism finds the extraordinary in mundanity, for example, finding inspiration in the elderly matriarch who daily retrieves distant well water. Development journalism and sport intersect at the ordinary person whose athletic prowess broke the poverty cycle (source withheld for peer review).
- (3) *Does the story advance a perception of integrated national or pan-African identity (more than mere recognition of national or African affiliation)?* Whether employed to further peace or development or to consolidate despotic power, development journalism is characterized by the advancement of integrated national identity (Lule 1987). This identity property, augmented to detect continental identity representations too, is especially important in Africa, where colonial political boundaries often diverge from meaningful social divisions (*e.g.*, Dixon 1997).

The possible development angle was identified without regard to 'pro' or 'con' positions because those are normative labels. Whether the disgruntled critic demanding political reform is patriotic or traitorous is a matter of perspective. However, pro and con content was tracked for its relevance in analysis. The distinction was especially critical to understand whether writers perceived identity as positive or negative.

Stories with both World Cup peg and possible development angle were then analyzed qualitatively by the author to identify dominant themes related (or arguably related) to the convergence of social and economic development, media, and sport, mindful of issues raised in the literature. Every story was placed within at least one thematic category, the themes generalized sufficiently to group similar items together, while retaining specificity sufficient to generate meaningful observations. In sum, 24 themes were identified in responsive stories (Appendix), and stories were organized according to those themes, cognizant of the achievement and identity flags. The following analysis is framed by the descriptive flags and examines recurring themes with the aid of examples. Conclusions are then generalized.

RESULTS

Of the publications available in the Lexis database, 29 sources qualified for review, representing 17 countries (Table 1). The search generated 782 results, ranging by publication from 0 to 157. Of those stories, 325 (about 42%) were found to reflect both a World Cup peg and possible development angle. Of those stories, advancement of integrated national or pan-African identity was flagged in 232 stories, or about 30% of search results and 71% of World Cup/possible development items – unsurprising given the nature of the World Cup as a competition among nations. Improbable or hard-won human achievement was flagged in 55 stories, or about 7% of search results and 17% of World Cup/possible development items.

Table 1 – Results.

Country	Publication	WC	WC/D	∫Hum	∫Iden
Cameroon	<i>Cameroon Tribune (Yaoundé)</i>	9	3	1	1
Egypt	<i>Daily News Egypt</i>	123	17	3	12
Gambia	<i>Daily Observer (Banjul)</i>	1	1	1	0
Ghana	<i>Public Agenda (Accra)</i>	6	5	0	5
	<i>Accra Mail</i>	9	4	0	3
	<i>Ghanaian Chronicle (Accra)</i>	14	9	1	7
Kenya	<i>The East African (Nairobi)</i>	14	4	0	2
	<i>The Nation (Nairobi)</i>	42	27	5	16
	<i>Nairobi Star</i>	1	0	0	0
Liberia	<i>The Informer (Monrovia)</i>	1	0	0	0
	<i>New Democrat (Monrovia)</i>	1	1	0	1
Lybia	<i>Tripoli Post</i>	0	0	0	0
Namibia	<i>New Era (Windhoek)</i>	22	20	1	10
	<i>The Namibian (Windhoek)</i>	10	9	0	5
Nigeria	<i>Daily Champion (Lagos)</i>	91	29	11	25
	<i>Daily Independent (Lagos)</i>	83	37	6	37
	<i>This Day (Lagos)</i>	56	25	0	21
Rwanda	<i>New Times (Kigali)</i>	23	12	1	7
Somalia	<i>Garowe Online</i>	1	0	0	0
	<i>Shabelle Media Network (Mogadishu)</i>	4	0	0	0
Sudan	<i>Sudan Tribune</i>	2	0	0	0
Tanzania	<i>The Citizen (Dar es Salaam)</i>	8	5	2	3
Tunisia	<i>Tunisia Online (Tunis)</i>	3	1	0	1
Uganda	<i>The Monitor (Kampala)</i>	32	19	1	15
	<i>New Vision (Kampala)</i>	35	15	6	9
Zambia	<i>The Times of Zambia (Ndola)</i>	3	3	0	2
Zimbabwe	<i>Zimbabwe Independent (Harare)</i>	14	3	0	2
	<i>Zimbabwe Standard (Harare)</i>	17	9	0	5
	<i>The Herald (Harare)</i>	157	67	16	43
Sum		782	325	55	232

WC, "World Cup" search results; WC/D, World Cup and possible development angle; ∫Hum, flagged for improbable or hard-won human achievement; ∫Iden, flagged for advancement of integrated national or pan-African identity.

Integrated African identity

Qualitative analysis revealed more than seven dozen stories representing Africanism as an integrated or unified identity, with more than half pointing to South Africa or Ghana as model or metaphor for nation or continent. More than a third of all identity stories observed South Africa's role as tournament host and participant, or Ghana's role as sponsor of the African side that advanced the farthest.

The vast majority of African-identity stories, published in various countries, presented African identity in a favorable light. Writers recognized the tournament as 'a super showpiece' of African 'talent, creativity, technology, ... welcoming spirit, and ... hospitality' (World Cup kicks off 2010), transforming the monolithic, 'careless and pejorative cliché' of Africa to a portrayal of '52 countries [with] their own cultures, histories and national loyalties' (Loughran 2010). More than 20 stories heralded host South Africa as symbol of African success. President Zuma was oft quoted, 'The time for Africa has come, ... KeNako' (Kausiyo & Kawad 2010), and 'the game loved by billions' was identified with *post-apartheid* 'reconciliation and patriotism' (Maletsky 2010). As other African sides fell from contention in the tournament, more than 40 stories manifested the continent's 'Ghanamania' (Kausiyo 2010). Africans of various nationalities were depicted bearing Ghanaian colors, prompting a US journalism graduate student from Ghana, published in the Accra *Public Agenda* (and circulated globally), to call on the national team to abandon bland white, colonial gold ('Gold Coast'), and hackneyed red, and instead to don proudly cassava-nut-soup brown or Kente-print fabric (Sikanku 2010). Even after the Black Stars' quarterfinal loss, Ghana was held up as a model of self-discipline for the developing world (Sharuko 2010).

But not all impressions were favorable, and Africa and South Africa, a Namibian columnist noted, are not synonymous (Hengari 2010). More than 20 stories equated African failure on the pitch with African identity. Disunity, tribalism, 'indiscipline', and even 'sorcery' were proffered explanations for poor play (VubemToh 2010). A Kenyan writer quoted ethnic slurs by Nigerian supporters outraged by their side's failure and bemoaned obsession with ethnicity as a key counterforce in African development (Nigeria 2010). The elimination of Africa from the tournament with Ghana's painful extra-time loss to Uruguay hit the African consciousness especially hard. A Ugandan columnist analogized Africa's failing to meet expectations on the pitch to African independence having given way to a 'laughing stock[continent] bedeviled by corruption, tribalism, debt, hunger, disease, wars, coups, genocide and all manner of disaster' (Sengoba 2010). Another writer directly tied the Ghana-Uruguay match to Africa's prospects 'in the global power play for better political and socio-economic spoils', but turned Ghana's loss into a call for aggressive and coordinated preparation for 2014 (Ongeso 2010b). Occurring in that story and recurring emphatically in 10 others was condemnation of Africa's 'infatuation with foreign [non-African] coaches', a tendency Ugandan football veteran Paul Ssali attributed to a pathological colonial favoritism for white skin over black (Mwanguhya 2010).

Integrated national identities

In a similar dichotomy, 70 stories from various nations exhibited representations of national identity other than South African or Ghanaian; however, fully half of those stories were critical of national identity, often harshly and especially later, as the tournament wore on. On the favorable side, stories from Egypt, Kenya, Nigeria, Uganda, and Zimbabwe depicted their nationals as World Cup supporters, and stories from Kenya, Nigeria, Zambia, and Zimbabwe reported their presidents' attendance at the tournament. A dozen national identity stories were human interest pieces, including five about Nigerian players and one about a US player of Nigerian ancestry (Gooch 2010). Stories from Kenya, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, and Zimbabwe emphasized the World Cup promotional potential for their national brand, whether through art, music, lager (Karumazondo 2010), the ancestry of the US president (Smith 2010), or the world's largest football (MTN 2010).

Most stories casting national identity in a critical light came from Nigeria, which was rocked by scandal when President Goodluck Jonathan, after the national side's early elimination, banned Nigerian footballers from international competition pending an inquiry into sport subsidies. Nigerian writers opined variously on the ban and its later rescission, but all sought accountability. One Nigerian columnist described a related 'melee' in the National Assembly as 'ignominy at its humiliating best', complemented by the last Super Eagles loss to bring 'shame on our dear Fatherland' (Imam 2010). One writer objected to the ban for injuring contingent businesses and stripping youth of opportunity while doing no more to remedy corruption than would an equally deserved censure of Nigerian 'governance, education, health, airports, electricity, roads, police, railway, seaports, oil and gas' (Onwuka 2010).

Nigerians were not alone, though, in demanding better of their country. Writers in Kenya, Namibia, Uganda, and Zimbabwe wondered at Africa's wealth of physical and human resources in contrast with their nations' (and Congo's) failure to play some larger role in the tournament. Writers' tones varied from a columnist who hopefully envisaged the 'joy of personal involvement' Ugandans might derive from furthering 'the pride of Africa' with their 'football powerhouse' (Ongeso 2010a) to a crushing editorial indictment of Namibian officials' 'incompetence' in failing to secure a 'piece of the cake', even to host a friendly ('African', 2010). Zimbabwean stories from mid-June touted World Cup spillover in visits from the Japan side, the FIFA president, and Shakira. But by mid-July, Zimbabwean and Namibian stories both reckoned wealthy firms made wealthier (Viriri 2010) while public interests 'struggl[ed] to get even crumbs from the World Cup table' (World Cup created 2010).

Prima facie development

More than three dozen stories, representing eight countries, linked the World Cup explicitly to development or *postcolonialism*. Sometimes the tournament was mere vehicle to highlight IGO initiatives on children, *HIV*, or human trafficking. Representative of stories with deeper reach, a Nigerian column opined at length on football as 'universal religion', 'opium of the people', 'unifying factor', and symbol of global political power (Amor 2010). In the latter

vein, another Nigerian writer cited Foer (2004) on globalization at once to laud South Africa for 'shatter[ing] ... Afro-pessimism as promoted by Western media' and to pan Nigeria as 'underdeveloped ... on-looker of the success and achievements of a nation it paradoxically helped to liberate' (Aremu 2010). A share of stories reported favorable social impact from football, for example, FIFA-sponsored kits for Zimbabwean kids (AFZ, 2010), or practical 'intelligence' modeled by footballers, according to a Ugandan university lecturer (Sendegeya 2010). But others doubted football's efficacy. A Zimbabwean writer acknowledged football's unifying potential, but described a dark side of 'tensions' between global and local, markets and people, and 'global power FIFA and powerless host community' (Nyamadzawo 2010). A story syndicated in Egypt questioned whether South Africa was overbuilt with impractical infrastructure, such as stadia (White elephant 2010), and a proponent of 'opium' theory described football as 'candy floss' for the fleeting sweetness and empty calories relative to people's real needs (Kumbuka 2010).

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis led to three conclusions. First, the World Cup did provide a vehicle for development sportswriting. Second, World Cup development sportswriting fortified national and pan-African identity by representing expressions of pride. Third, World Cup development sportswriting provided a vehicle to demand political accountability and to express vexation at impediments to African development.

First, African media seized on the World Cup to talk about more than sport. Two out of five 'World Cup' stories in the study bore a possible development angle. Development was defined overinclusively to facilitate qualitative analysis. Most of the population of responsive stories were affirmatively coded for advancement of integrated national or pan-African identity. Though cross-national tribal identity remains an extant feature of African life – to wit, divided Somalia, or the Rwandan genocide – *postcolonial* national identity seems now well entrenched in Africa and is reinforced by the World Cup as a competition among nations.

Second, World Cup development sportswriting evinced potent representations of both African-national and pan-African pride. Pride in South Africa as Africa's tournament host and in Ghana as Africa's last team standing was near universal. Those nations' World Cup involvement was expressed as metaphor for successful development, and both nations were held up as models. Participants in the tournament, such as Nigeria, featured the achievements of their nationals as representative of political identity. Stories from other countries touted global exposure for their national identities through participant roles for their nationals, such as supporter, announcer, and referee.

Third, World Cup development sportswriting also evinced strident demands for political accountability and vexation at impediments to African development. Criticism intensified with the elimination of African sides from play and went well beyond the pitch, as exemplified by the Nigerian football scandal. The football-is-development metaphor played out such that World Cup results prompted discussion of issues as *wide-ranging* as work ethic, political accountability, and albatrosses of colonialism such as racism. This conclusion was

unexpected, because it defied a common characterization of development journalism as uncritically positive – hardly so here, where writers were ruthless in their accounting even in dubiously democratic regimes such as Zimbabwe.

Football is fairly criticized for counter-development impact on Africa, with respect for example to the talent drain as echo of the slave trade. But the World Cup brought opportunity for media to advance the cause of development. Writers took advantage of the African reader's personal connection with World Cup football to broaden critical inquiry into the state of social, economic, and political development on the continent, and furthermore into the fundamental question of what it means to be African.

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APPENDIX. THEMES IDENTIFIED IN RESPONSIVE STORIES (AND NUMBER OF STORIES REFLECTING THEME) IN DIMINISHING ORDER OF OCCURRENCE

- Development (Explicit) (39).
- African National Identity, Not Ghana or South Africa (37).
- Criticism of African National Football and Identity (32).
- Ghana as Representative of African Identity (30).
- Convergence of Africa and International Football (22).
- South Africa as Representative of African Identity (22).
- Pan-African Identity or Unity (20).
- African Spillover of South African Spoils from Football (17).
- Criticism of African National Football and Identity, Specifically Nigerian Scandal (15).
- Criticism of African Football, Specifically Non-African Coaches (13).
- Ghanaian Identity (13).
- Criticism of Pan-African Football and Identity (12).
- South African Identity (12).
- Religion (9).
- African Artistic Products (7).
- Economic Issues Collateral to World Cup (7).
- Gender (7).
- Local Impact of African World Cup (7).
- Intra-African Xenophobia (7).
- Colonialism (5).
- Corruption in International Football (5).
- Multicultural African Pride (5).
- Technological Issues Collateral to World Cup (3).
- Terrorism (1).