

Same World Cup, Different News Frames

By Hyunmee Kang *

This study examined differences in slant, deviance, and prominence in news coverage of the 1998 France and 2002 S. Korea/Japan World Cup and host countries, considering countries' political, economic, and cultural ties as external determinants of the newsworthiness of foreign news. The main findings were that hosting the World Cup did not influence the positive image of a host country or the degree of deviance and prominence of news; U.S. journalists' preferences for topics covered in foreign news was found in World Cup-related host country news as well as general news of host countries; political, economic, and cultural ties between host countries and the United States were reflected in the general news of host countries; and news coverage of non-Western countries was significantly different in general news.

Keywords: *news frames of international sporting events, deviance, 1998 and 2002 FIFA World Cup news, national images of South Korea, Japan, and France*

Introduction

The present study analyzed U.S. newspapers for their coverage of the World Cup in 1998 and 2002, hosted respectively by France and S. Korea/Japan (hereafter Korea/Japan) to assess the comparative coverage of countries hosting international events, in particular sporting events, as part of their image management strategy.

The Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup, an international soccer championship held every four years, is more than just a game to the countries that host the event. It is perceived as an opportunity to communicate ideas of nationalism to the public and to enhance the host country's image (McLaughlan 2001, Sudgen and Tomlinson 1998). Its appeal is thought to be comparable to that of the Olympics. Its audience for any single television event was estimated at 600 million to 2 billion viewers in the 1990s (Real 1989). For France and its people, the World Cup was expected to invigorate its economy, which had been in a recession (Lavin and Goldsmith 1998). S. Korea hoped that this mega sports event would “furnish the nation with a precious opportunity to raise its state image and external credit as well as derive various economic benefits” (“Chung Mong-Joon” 1999) and “promote friendship with Japan” (“Pres. Kim” 2000). Japan also expected the World Cup to promote new cooperative relations between Korea and Japan (Myung 2002).

The main concern of this study was how differently or similarly U.S. news media covered the 2002 World Cup, the only FIFA game which was co-hosted by two countries, on an assumption that differences/similarities in news stories about the host countries may show the influence of external factors (e.g., political, economic and cultural links between nations) on frequencies, topics, slant, deviance

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and prominence of news covering the two countries (Shoemaker et al. 1991, Wu 2003). Moreover, news about the 1998 World Cup that France hosted was compared to examine whether the factors were also reflected in differences between the news about France and about Korea/Japan.

Literature Review

International Sporting Events as State-initiated Public Relations

Public relations (hereafter PR), on the part of nation states, is “the planned and continuous distribution of interest-bound information ... aimed mostly at improving the country’s image abroad” (Kunzick 1997, p. 74). This interest-bound information may be direct, in the shape of advertising (Amaize and Faber 1983), or indirect, in the form of adaptation of images to news values to enhance the likelihood of being chosen as news because practitioners understand how news is selected and framed by journalists, which is of special concern to developing nations (e.g., Beaudoin and Thorson 2001, Crawford 1996, Winfield and Yoon 2002). Thus, PR agents, whether governments or practitioners, instrumentalize the mass media.

Reasons for state initiated public relations do not stop at image creation though. PR is often conducted to garner economic benefits such as increases in trade, tourism, and foreign investment and to influence foreign policy (e.g., Ahn 2002, Dinnie 2008, Giffard and Rivenburgh 2000, Grix and Lee 2013, Jaffe and Nebenzahl 1993). Thus, image management strategies and tactics that go beyond the distribution of interest-bound information are used to purposefully build a nation’s image as a tool of foreign policy (Malek 1997). They are a unique form of diplomacy, in which governments become “actors” (Signitzer and Coombs 1992, p. 138). In fact, Kunczik (2003) pointed out that “the dominating motive of political action is no longer the substantial quality of foreign policy, but the creation of newsworthy events” (p. 410). The premise is that an international event has “a primarily symbolic communicative character” and can be selectively used “to cultivate a certain image” (Kunzick 1997, p. 74).

Among international events, most governments vie to host sporting events because these may win them respect internationally and also assist them in promoting national identity domestically. Global sporting games have been utilized to reinforce the solidarity of nations and nationalism internally, as they simultaneously improve national images among the international community (Inthorn 2002, Steenveld and Strelitz 1998, Zeng and Kolmer 2012) and provide various political and economic advantages (Ahn 2002, Chen and Culbertson 1992, Gratton et al. 2001, 2006, Grix 2016, Liu 2017). The role of media which transmit the sporting experience to viewers is key to “inform our sense of our own identities and our characteristic stereotypical images of other nations” (Grix 2016, p. 74). Thus, the public relations efforts of these governments have concentrated on changing these negative images of their countries.

Wang and Shoemaker’s (2011) research on what has affected Americans’ opinion of China in the past 30 years showed that positive news coverage and the

number of public relations contracts China has signed with the U.S. are key factors which influence public opinion about China in the United States. Grix and Lee (2013) referred to “soft power,” which is found “in the ability of states to communicate universally shared values” by hosting sports mega-events such as Olympic and World Cup games.

Chen and Culbertson (1992) highlighted the public relations strategy of China’s central government in Beijing in hosting the 11th Asian Games, one of the biggest international sporting events, to improve its damaged image following the crackdown on the student movement in Tiananmen Square in 1989. The authors noted that wide Chinese media coverage of activities related to this event, focusing on “internal harmony and high morale,” ultimately helped “win back international respect and domestic support” (p. 40). Kim et al. (1989) claimed that the Seoul Olympic Games improved diplomatic relations with socialist and Third World countries and also stimulated patriotism and unity among Koreans. A current example was the 2018 Winter Olympics in Pyeongchang, S. Korea. Its very location contributed to a drastic tonal shift in news media regarding North Korea, ultimately changing into more favorable images. By spotlighting events, such as the inauguration of a joint Korean women’s ice hockey team, North and South Korean athletes marching in unison during the Olympics’ opening ceremony, and “the appearance of the slight, smiling and silent figure of Yo-jong Kim, the sister of North Korea leader Jong-un Kim” who was labeled “Rocket Man” (Rofe and Postlethwaite 2014, p. 106), the media created a more amicable perception regarding the often isolated country through the very frames it chose to display. Hence, North Korea’s involvement in the sports event has contributed to significant improvements in South-North relations.

On the other hand, scholars noted that hosting international events does not affect an image of the host country. NBC provided different coverage of two somewhat negative but similar incidents involving Koreans and Americans during the Seoul Olympics, downplaying the American incident while highlighting the Korean incident as negative (Lee 1989). In a study of the Seoul Olympics opening ceremonies, NBC, BBC, and TEN (Australia) focused on a “small group of mostly economically developed... nations” (Larson and Rivenburgh 1991, p. 91), underscoring the alliances common to the three white-dominated, capitalist societies. Coleman (1997) argued that the Seoul Olympics failed to improve the images of S. Korea and Koreans because, prior to and during the Olympic Games, U.S. news media devoted little attention to favorable news of the host country.

In this vein, the 2002 World Cup co-hosted by two countries was worthy of research to explore whether hosting the sporting event helps to place the host countries in a favorable light in news coverage. In particular, regarding foreign news value, this study paid attention to deviance, an internal factor that journalists prefer, and international relationships as external factors, which may influence news coverage of foreign countries.

Deviance

As a core ingredient and comprehensive indicator of newsworthiness, particularly for foreign news coverage, deviance refers to unusual, sensational, and controversial news items that journalists tend to prefer (e.g., Lee and Choi 2009, Wu 2003). Most news values or ways of defining newsworthiness are deviance-related. Shoemaker et al. (1991) noted that deviance was more powerful than country characteristics in predicting foreign news coverage.

The theoretical grounding for deviance is found in the social role of the mass media. The news media outlets serve a normative function in society and, to do this, they focus on events and situations that break these norms, i.e., on deviant events. In other words, “most social behaviors are made normal through the effective use of a series of images of some abhorrent reality or implacable enemy” (Gerbner 1978, p. 14). Thus, the media depends on and contributes to the dominant cultural ideology and its expression in the moral terms of bad news. An event may be considered extremely deviant in one society, while less deviant in another society. Some scholars noted that deviance may interact with country relationships in the selection of news such that more distant countries coverage of deviant events (e.g., Ericson et al. 1987, Shoemaker and Cohen 2006).

International Relations between the Host Countries and the United States in 1998 and 2002

The interactions between and among countries are considered a key determinant of the politics of mega sporting events (Lee 2017, Rofe and Postlethwaite 2014). A country’s involvement and links with, as well as interest in, another country are important determinants of international news coverage. Several studies have found an influence of these links, which may be political (diplomatic relations, economic aid, etc.), economic (trade, foreign investment, etc.), or cultural (race, religion, values, etc.), on the reporting of foreign events in U.S. media in terms of both the content and structure of news flow (Chang et al. 1987, Luther 2002, Shoemaker et al. 1987, 1991, Wu 2003). This study reviewed political, cultural, and economic ties between the U.S. and the three host countries in their respective World Cup years.

Political Links

When it comes to studying the influence of political links on news coverage, the Cold War era provided considerable fodder because of the ideological antagonism between the United States and the Soviet Union (Ahern 1984, Haynes, 1984, Skurnik 1981). The U.S. news media devoted more news to countries that were on the same political or ideological side. U.S. media also reflected U.S. government perspectives or official foreign policy toward countries they covered (e.g., Kim 2000, Riffe 1996, Soroka 2003). The size of the U.S. military presence and U.S. economic aid at the time of both World Cups were considered for political links.

Table 1. *Political Links between the United States and Host Nations*

Political Links	France	Korea	Japan
Size of U.S. military presence^a	74	37,743	41,848
U.S. economic aid (USD)^b	N/A	50, 155,000	N/A

These indicators, adapted from Shoemaker et al. (1991), reflect 1998 data for France and 2002 data for S. Korea and Japan.

^aSize of U.S. military presence, i.e., number of U.S. military personnel on active duty (U.S. Department of Defense 1998, 2002).

^bU.S. economic aid, i.e., amount of monetary support from the United States (U.S. Agency for International Development, U.S. Overseas Loans and Assistance from International Organizations, Statistical Abstract of the United States 1998, 2002).

As seen in Table 1, the U.S. military presence in France was very small, and France did not receive economic aid from the United States in 1998, the year of the World Cup hosted by France. However, the two countries have a long history of alliance, which grew stronger in the face of the powerful and united Germany, created by the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 (Jentleson and Paterson 1997). During the Gulf War (1990-1991), France and the U.S. cooperated closely; France sent 10,000 troops to serve under U.S. command in the war. France and the United States were also allied against terrorists in southern Afghanistan (Grossner 1994). France criticized military action by the United States against Iraq, but still France has been a major partner with the U.S. on security issues.

Table 1 shows Japan had a U.S. military presence at a similar level to that in Korea in 2002, the year of the Korea/Japan World Cup, while not receiving U.S. economic aid. In fact, since 1952, when Japan resumed national sovereignty by signing the Treaty of Peace with the allied powers, it has continued to rely on the United States politically, militarily, and economically. From the American point of view, the alliance with Japan was considered a deterrent of other potentially disruptive forces in East Asia, particularly China and North Korea, as well as assurance that Japan's potential military power would be kept in check and under the supervision of the United States (Dolan and Worden 1994). The American-Japanese relationship was characterized "by a basic asymmetry that ... increased over the years and [became] a major source of tension between these allies" (Gilpin 1989, p. 6). With time, the United States increasingly considered Japan as a leading partner to shoulder international aid and economic responsibilities that in the past were discharged by the United States and other Western countries. During the 1980s, U.S. officials voiced appreciation for Japan's aid to countries considered of strategic importance to the West, such as Pakistan, Turkey, Egypt, and Jamaica (Dolan and Worden 1994).

South Korea had considerable U.S. military presence and was the only one of the three countries in this study to receive economic aid from the United States in the same year as their respective World Cup. U.S. relations with Korea have been influenced by a complex history of tensions between North and South Korea. The close relationship between the United States and S. Korea began with the division of the Korean peninsula at the end of World War II. In the decades following 1945, S. Korea continued to rely on the United States. Throughout the changes in world politics in the 1980s and 1990s, mutual cooperation and support were the dominant theme in political and diplomatic relations between the two countries

(Savada and Shaw 1990). S. Korea has, however, become less dependent on the United States for its security needs because, with the end of the Cold War and Seoul's improved relations with Beijing and Moscow, the probability of military action by N. Korea has been greatly reduced (Kim 1999). The size of the American force in S. Korea has been steadily reduced, and U.S. budget reductions have led U.S. policy makers to advocate general troop withdrawal, while S. Korea is gradually increasing its defense expenditure (Savada and Shaw 1990).

Cultural Links

Cultural affinity defines the newsworthiness of foreign events. There is a consistent preference in the United States for "North European nations" (Prothro and Melikian 1952, p. 10). The news of a culturally close country is subjected to less-strict newsworthiness criteria than the news of a culturally distant country (Chang et al. 1987). This study reviewed the religious affinity in each host country and the racial ancestry and rank of ancestry of each nationality in the U.S. population.

Table 2. *Cultural Links between the United States and Host Nations*

Cultural Links	France	S. Korea	Japan
Religious affinity^a	Christian 92%	Christian 49%	Christian 0.7%
Racial ancestry^b	10,320,935 (4.1%)	N/A	1,004,645(0.4%)
Rank of ancestry in U.S. population^c	8 th	N/A	33 rd

These indicators, adapted from Shoemaker et al. (1991), reflect 1998 data for France and 2002 data for S. Korea and Japan.

^aPercentage of Christians in host countries (The World Fact Book 1998, 2002).

^bNumber (and percentage) of people with the same racial ancestry as that of the host country and rank of this rank of this ancestry in the population of the United States (Census of Population, Supplementary Reports, Detailed Ancestry Groups for States, U.S. Census Bureau 1998, 2002).

France and the United States are culturally close as noted in Table 2. They share racial ancestry and religious affinity. The U.S. and Western countries such as France share a close cultural relationship in terms of ethnic bonds, language, and religion (Atwood 1987, Skurnik 1981, Wu 2003). Japan and the United States are considerably different in terms of race and religion as well as value systems. In other words, Japan is a high-context culture, where information resides more in the context and the communicator than in the message; places value on the group and conformity, and respects hierarchy. By contrast, the United States is low-context, values individualism and informality, and organizes society in more horizontal and egalitarian ways (e.g., Frith and Frith 1990, Hofstede et al. 2010). S. Korea and the U.S. also differ in cultural aspects. S. Korea has some religious affinity with the United States because 49% of S. Koreans are Christian, while there is no applicable data regarding shared, racial ancestry. The two countries also differ in their value systems. S. Korea shares many of the aforementioned cultural characteristics of the Japanese and to that extent is somewhat distant culturally from the United States.

Economic Links

News coverage of Japan in U.S. newspapers was influenced not only by political links but also by economic conditions (Luther 2002). Economic interest drives people to seek news about another country to which it is economically related. In fact, economic links such as the magnitude of trade are considered more important predictors of foreign news coverage than ideological perspectives, language, or cultural links (Ahern 1984, Wu 2003). This study reviewed the amount of U.S. business assets, U.S. direct investment in the host countries, and foreign investment in U.S. business, and the ranking of the trade balance between the United States and the host countries during the period of each World Cup.

Table 3. *Economic Links between the United States and Host Nations*

Economic Links	France	S. Korea	Japan
U.S. business^a	168,435	35,776	431,911
U.S. direct investment^b	42,067	12,178	65,939
Foreign investment in U.S. business^c	59,925	2,439	152,032
Trade balance (rank)^d	243.2 (9th)	-12,996 (7th)	-69,974.4 (3rd)

These indicators, adapted from Shoemaker et al. (1991), reflect 1998 data for France and 2002 data for S. Korea and Japan.

^aAmount of total assets (millions of dollars) for majority-owned non-bank foreign affiliates (Bureau of Economic Analysis: Survey of Current Business, U.S. Department of Commerce 1998, 2002).

^bAmount of U.S. direct investment (millions of dollars) in host countries (Bureau of Economic Analysis: Direct Investment Position for 2003: Country and Industry Detail, U.S. Department of Commerce 1998, 2002).

^cAmount of host country's investment (millions of dollars) in the United States (Bureau of Economic Analysis: Foreign Investment, U.S. Department of Commerce 1998, 2002).

^dAmount of trade balance (millions of dollars) was calculated by comparing export and import amounts, and rank refers to the place in the list of top 10 countries with which the United States trades (Country and product trade data, Foreign Trade Statistics, U.S. Census Bureau 1998-2003).

According to Table 3, in 1998, France was second after Japan among the three host countries in economic links with regard to the number of U.S. businesses in France, amount of U.S. direct investment in France, and amount of French investment in the United States. Also, France ranked ninth on the list of top 10 countries trading with the United States. France was the third-largest direct investor in the United States following the United Kingdom and Japan in 1998. It had a positive trade balance with the United States. France was also one of America's foremost partners in the high-technology sector (World Fact Book 1998). Economic relations between France and the U.S. have been on the whole interdependent.

In 2002, Japan showed the closest (among the three host countries) economic relations with the U.S. Japan had a negative trade balance with the United States and ranked third on the list of top 10 countries trading with the United States. It emerged as the third largest economic power in the world by the mid-1970s. The post-Cold War environment increased the importance of economics over military power as the major source of world influence in the early 1990s. These days, the U.S. and Japan have hundreds of cooperative arrangements both governmental and private.

In 2002, S. Korea ranked seventh on the list of top 10 countries trading with the United States. For decades after 1945, S. Korea's reliance on the United States influenced the overall relationship between the two nations including their economic relationship. However, changes occurred in the economic relations between the two countries in the 1980s and 1990s. As S. Korea recovered from a brief but sharp economic recession in the 1980s, it resumed a high rate of growth that lasted well into the 1990s. A major issue that developed between the two countries was trade imbalance. In 2002, the U.S. ran a \$13 billion trade deficit with S. Korea, resulting in accusations of unfair trade in the United States.

All three countries were on the top 10 list of America's trading partners in their respective World Cup years, but Japan had the most and S. Korea the fewest economic links with the United States. However, the data indicates that S. Korea's economic links had created some controversy with the United States around 2002. Politically, Japan and S. Korea were more dependent on the United States in terms of military and economic aid, but the alliance of the United States with France since the Second World War was less strained, at least until very recently, as opposed to the alliance with Japan and S. Korea, which though close was stressful at times and changing. Thus, descriptive secondary data indicates a closer and more favorable political alliance between France and the United States than between Korea/Japan and the United States. In cultural terms, France is closest to the United States, while Japan and S. Korea are quite distant. In sum, France is assessed, albeit judgmentally, to be closer to the United States than Korea/Japan, and Japan to be closer than S. Korea.

Research Questions

This study examined three types of news: World Cup event (WCE) news such as game schedules and locations, World Cup-related host country (WCHC) news about the host countries but related to the event, and other host country (OHC) news about the host country unrelated to the event. Also, three comparative research questions (RQs) were addressed to compare 1) the 1998 France and the 2002 Korea/Japan World Cup coverage, 2) the news of Korea and Japan co-hosting the 2002 World Cup, and 3) the three countries' WCHC and OHC news.

- RQ1. Does news coverage of the 1998 France and 2002 Korea/Japan World Cup differ in amount, topics, slant, deviance, and prominence?
- RQ2. Does news coverage of Japan and Korea during the 2002 World Cup differ in amount, topics, slant, deviance, and prominence?
- RQ3. Does news coverage of the three countries differ in slant, deviance, and prominence?

Research Method

Sampling

Four newspapers--the *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *USA Today*, and *Washington Post*--were selected because of their considerable international newsgathering ability and extensive coverage of international affairs. The period of study was 1996 to 1998 for the 1998 France World Cup and from 2000 to 2002 for the 2002 Korea/Japan World Cup. These periods were selected because more than 95% of World Cup news, in the sample papers, searched by the keywords "1998 World Cup" and "2002 World Cup" were found within these time periods for the respective event.

Stories were located in the sample newspapers using the keywords "1998 World Cup" and "France" for 1996 to 1998, and the keywords "2002 World Cup" and "South Korea/Japan" for 2000 to 2002 through *Proquest*. Fixed news in each newspaper, for example, "information bank abstract" in the *New York Times* (NYT) and "global market" in the *Washington Post* (WP) was excluded because it provides information about stock market changes.

All located WCE and WCHC stories were analyzed. For OHC news, 100 news articles were analyzed for each country. Systematic sampling, using a skip interval and a random starting point, was used to select these 100 stories for each country. The coding unit was the entire story for the variables topic, slant, and prominence. For statistical and normative deviance, the coding unit was each occurrence.

Measuring

Topics referred to subject matter. The categories for the topic were 1) political, 2) economic, 3) military, 4) social/religious, 5) scientific/educational, 6) art/recreational, 7) sports, 8) international relations, and 9) other. These were collapsed into four categories--political, economic, cultural, and sports--for the statistical analysis.

Slant referred to direction. The categories for slant were 1) favorable, 2) unfavorable, 3) no direction, and 4) balanced. The direction was inferred from positive and negative news. For example, if the story focused on cohesion, stability, success, lawfulness, or other such positive traits, it was considered a favorable story. On the other hand, if the story focused on threats of terrorism, conflict, immorality, etc., it was coded as unfavorable. Balanced stories had both types of foci, and stories with no direction did not have a slant (for example, they provided information only about the event and such information about the host country as travel sites).

Statistical deviance referred to the extent to which the event or person was "usual," and normative deviance to the extent to which the event or person, if present in the United States, would have broken U.S. norms. For both statistical and normative deviance, scores were calculated for "deviant" persons and events

(controversies, scandals, etc.) using a four-point scale (Shoemaker et al. 1987, 1991).

Prominence referred to the degree of importance journalists placed on the news item. Prominence was calculated based on the size (in number of words) and the location (page on which the story appeared) of the article. Size and location scores were multiplied to get a prominence score for each story.

Inter-Coder Reliability

A composite reliability coefficient¹ was used for three coders trained prior to the coding who participated in pretests that used the coding rules. The reliability scores for the study were 95% for topic, 73% for slant, 75% for statistical deviance, 71% for normative deviance, and 89% for prominence.

Findings

Altogether, 1,383 WCE, 255 WCHC, and 1,200 OHC articles were analyzed. While differences between newspapers were not of interest to the study, in general, in the sample across both events, WCE stories were more or less evenly distributed across newspapers except for *USA Today*, which had a considerably smaller percentage, and WCHC news was varied in its distribution, with the *Washington Post* having the largest percentage and *USA Today* the smallest. Also, among topics in the sample, cultural and sports topics were somewhat predominant in WCHC news, while political and economic topics had a slight edge in OHC news. In WCHC sample news, unfavorable stories were the largest in number, but in OHC news, it was news with no direction that was predominant.

Differences between the 1998 France and 2002 Korea/Japan World Cup News

Of the WCE articles, 808 (58%) were for the 1998 France World Cup and 575 (42%) were for the 2002 Korea/Japan World Cup. This difference was significant, indicating greater coverage of the France World Cup ($\chi^2=119.2713$, $p<0.001$). The difference in 255 WCHC articles between the 1998 France World Cup (52%) and the 2002 Korea/Japan World Cup (48%) was also significant, indicating greater coverage of the France World Cup ($\chi^2=135.2713$, $p<0.001$). The distribution of OHC news was not compared because an equal number of articles (400) was sampled for each host country.

In terms of topics, slant, and statistical/normative deviance, WCE news was not analyzed because 91% of WCE news of the 1998 World Cup and 83% of the 2002 World Cup was related to the actual sporting event.

¹Composite reliability = Number of coders (average inter-coder agreement)/1 + (N-1) (average inter-coder agreement).

Table 4. Distribution of WCHC News and OHC News by Topic

	WCHC News ^a			OHC News ^b			OHC News ^c		
	1998	2002	Total	F	J	Total	F	K	Total
Political	4 (3%)	26 (21%)	30 (12%)	135 (34%)	104 (26%)	239 (30%)	135 (34%)	187 (47%)	322 (40%)
Economic	0 (0%)	11 (9%)	11 (4%)	37 (9%)	137 (34%)	174 (22%)	37 (9%)	80 (20%)	117 (15%)
Cultural	59 (45%)	47 (38%)	106 (42%)	116 (29%)	117 (29%)	233 (29%)	116 (29%)	110 (28%)	226 (28%)
Sports	69 (52%)	39 (32%)	108 (42%)	112 (28%)	42 (11%)	154 (19%)	112 (28%)	23 (5%)	135 (17%)
Total	132 (52%)	123 (48%)	255 (100%)	400 (50%)	400 (50%)	800 (100%)	400 (50%)	400 (50%)	800 (100%)

^aEight categories were recoded into four--political (political, military and international relations), economic, cultural (social/religious, science/educational and art/recreational) and sports-- for this analysis. A ninth category, other, had only one story and was not included in the analysis for WCHC news. Significant difference in topics of WCHC news between France and Korea/Japan ($\chi^2=38.530$, $p<0.001$).

^bSignificant difference in topics of OHC news between France and Japan ($\chi^2= 96.084$, $p<0.001$).

^cSignificant difference in topics of OHC news between France and Korea ($\chi^2= 83.986$, $p<0.001$).

For WCHC news topics, a significant difference was found between France and Korea/Japan (Table 4). France received more cultural stories, such as stories about art/recreation, films, cooking, and travel, and sports stories as compared with Korea/Japan, and Korea/Japan received more political and economic stories. For France, only four (3%) of the stories were on politics and there were no stories on economics; for Korea/Japan, 26 (21%) of the stories were on politics and 11 (9%) were on economics. Topics differed between OHC news of France and that of Japan. While cultural topics did not differ in number, Japan received much larger (34%) economic coverage than France (9%), though not quite as much political and sports coverage. Also, topics differed between France and Korea ($\chi^2=83.986$, $p<0.001$). The percent of stories on culture was not very different, but Korea received much more economic coverage than France. Also, while both countries received the highest coverage on political topics, Korea received 187 articles (47%), which included 107 articles (27%) on international relations, as compared with 135 (34%) for France. Also, France received considerably more sports coverage than did Korea.

France received considerable unfavorable coverage due to the strike by Air France pilots during the World Cup, which according to the media was intentionally called to thwart the World Cup. Korea too received unfavorable coverage; for example, Korean canine cuisine was covered. In OHC news, Japan (20%) received more unfavorable coverage than France (13%) in Table 5. Unfavorable news about Japan focused on its economic recession and unemployment rates. S. Korea (33%) also was described less favorably than France (13%). Examples of this unfavorable coverage included Korea's strained relationship with N. Korea and the threat of nuclear war from N. Korea.

For the degree of deviance in WCHC news, France and Korea/Japan did not differ in either statistical or normative deviance. But regarding OHC news, the three countries' mean scores showed statistical differences. France and Korea differed significantly in both statistical ($t=-3.474$, $p<0.001$) and normative deviance ($t=-4.274$, $p<0.001$). Korea was portrayed as more deviant than France in both respects. At the same time, it needs to be recognized that these results did not have much practical significance because, on the whole, the deviance scores were low,

indicating that events and persons were portrayed as more or less normal. France and Japan did not differ in either statistical or normative deviance.

Table 5. *Distribution of OHC News by Slant*

	OHC News for France and Japan ^a			OHC News for France and Korea ^b		
	F	J	Total	F	K	Total
Favorable	31 (8%)	42 (11%)	73 (9%)	31 (8%)	40 (10%)	71 (9%)
Unfavorable	51 (13%)	80 (20%)	131 (16%)	51 (13%)	132 (33%)	183 (23%)
No direction	307 (77%)	246 (61%)	553 (69%)	307 (77%)	205 (51%)	512 (64%)
Balanced	11 (3%)	32 (8%)	43 (6%)	11 (3%)	23 (6%)	34 (4%)
Total	400 (50%)	400 (50%)	800 (100%)	400 (50%)	400 (50%)	800 (100%)

^aSignificant difference in slant of OHC news between France and Japan ($\chi^2= 25.062$, $p<0.001$).

^bSignificant difference in slant of OHC news for France and Korea ($\chi^2= 61.549$, $p<0.001$).

Scores for prominence of WCE stories ranged from 12 to 8,346. The mean prominence of these stories differed significantly between the France (994.12) and Korea/Japan (875.31) World Cup ($t=2.398$, $p<0.05$). WCE stories were covered more prominently for the France than the Korea/Japan World Cup. In terms of prominence, scores for WCHC stories ranged from 12 to 6,930 for France and from 43 to 5,637 for Korea/Japan. Mean prominence did not differ significantly between France and Korea/Japan. OHC prominence scores ranged from 15 (Korea) to 10,182 (France). The mean prominence of these stories was not significantly different between France and Japan but was significantly different between France (1,388.93) and Korea (953.04) ($t = 4.648$, $p<0.001$) with greater prominence given to stories on France.

Differences in News about Korea and Japan for 2002 World Cup News

Twenty-seven stories of WCHC news (22%) covered both Japan and Korea. The comparative analysis for Korea and Japan did not include these shared stories. For the remaining stories, a significant difference was found. Korea (77%) received more coverage than Japan (23%) ($\chi^2=29.568$, $p<0.001$). This greater coverage of Korea is possibly related to the Korean soccer team's final four appearances in the 2002 World Cup.

Table 6. *Distribution of 2002 OHC News by Topic*

	OHC News ^a		
	Japan	Korea	Total
Political	104 (26%)	187 (47%)	291 (36%)
Economic	137 (34%)	80 (20%)	217 (27%)
Cultural	117 (29%)	110 (28%)	227 (28%)
Sports	42 (11%)	23 (5%)	65 (8%)
Total	400 (50%)	400 (50%)	800 (100%)

^aSignificant difference in topics of OHC news between Korea and Japan ($\chi^2= 44.4155$, $p<0.001$).

For news topics, WCHC coverage of Japan and Korea did not differ, while for OHC news, Korea received more political (47%) stories and Japan received more economic (34%) stories ($\chi^2=44.4155$, $p<0.001$) (Table 6).

Table 7. *Distribution of 2002 OHC News by Slant*

	OHC News ^a		
	Japan	Korea	Total
Favorable	42 (11%)	40 (10%)	82 (10%)
Unfavorable	80 (20%)	132 (33%)	212 (27%)
No direction	246 (61%)	205 (51%)	451 (56%)
Balanced	32 (8%)	23 (6%)	55 (7%)
Total	400 (50%)	400 (50%)	800 (100%)

^aSignificant difference in slant of OHC news between Korea and Japan ($\chi^2=17.950$, $p<0.001$).

Considering the slant of news, the difference in WCHC news between Japan and Korea was not significant ($\chi^2=3.256$, $p>0.05$), while a significant difference in OHC news was found between Korea and Japan ($\chi^2=17.950$, $p<0.001$), indicating that 33% of news covering Korea was unfavorable as compared with 20% for Japan (Table 7). Thus Korea received more unfavorable coverage than Japan. In particular, unfavorable news of S. Korea was about the corruption of Korean politicians, Korean demonstrations against Americans because of American military personnel's actions, including the death of two young Korean girls run over by tanks, and S. Korea's strained relations with North Korea.

For deviance scores, statistical deviance scores in 2002 WCHC news did not differ between Japan and Korea, but normative deviance did ($t=2.144$, $p<0.05$), with Korea being portrayed as more deviant. For OHC news, in terms of statistical and normative deviance, Japan and Korea differed significantly in both statistical ($t=4.410$, $p<0.001$) and normative deviance ($t=2.792$, $p<0.01$), with Korea being portrayed as more deviant.

Scores for prominence ranged from 98 to 5,2921 for Japan and from 43 to 5,637 for Korea in 2002 WCHC news. The mean prominence of WCHC news did not differ significantly between Japan and Korea. However, the mean prominence of OHC stories differed significantly between Japan and Korea ($t=4.253$, $p<0.001$) with Japan receiving more prominent coverage than Korea.

Differences in News Coverage of the Three Host Countries

For all three host countries--France ($\chi^2=110.207$, $p<0.001$), Japan ($\chi^2=19.415$, $p<0.001$), and Korea ($\chi^2=10.414$, $p<0.05$)--slant differed significantly between WCHC and OHC stories. Largely, OHC news had a much larger percentage of stories with no direction, a larger percentage of stories that were unfavorable, and a smaller percentage of favorable stories. In terms of deviance, no significant differences between WCHC and OHC news were found for either statistical and normative deviance for France, Japan or Korea. A significant difference was found in the prominence of WCHC and OHC stories for Korea (1,265 and 953, respectively) ($t=2.192$, $p<0.05$), but not for France and Japan.

Discussion

In PR practices for states, the FIFA World Cup is considered a crucial opportunity to reach the public worldwide and enhance national image. The results of the study indicated that hosting international sports events contributed to some success but also failure in country image management in that existing relationships between countries were reflected in news coverage. In particular, this study confirmed this to be true for the two countries which co-hosted the 2002 World Cup. The study's findings implied, in other words, that if close links between countries, whether political, economic, or cultural, are not present, hosting an international sporting event does not necessarily positively influence the image of the host country or minimize deviance in news.

Foreign news coverage tends to be stereotypical in its selection of topics. The tendency of journalists to prefer stereotypical topics was found in the sample's coverage of World Cup-related host country news as well as general news. Overall, World Cup-related news in the 2002 Korea/Japan World Cup included politics and economics and the amount of economic and political news was significantly more than for France during the 1998 France World Cup, which had little such coverage and a much larger focus on culture and sports coverage. In general news of the host countries, more than half of the news about Japan and Korea was about politics and economics, and more than half of the news about France was about culture and sports. In other words, coverage furthered the stereotypes that France is the cultural bastion, Japan the economic powerhouse, and Korea the residue of the Cold War.

Deviance per se, generally a major determinant of newsworthiness of foreign events, was not an influential factor in the host countries' selection of World Cup-related news and general news. Most events and people covered were, on the whole, usual (statistical deviance) and did not, on average, violate any norms (normative deviance) in either World Cup. Instead, deviance and country relationships interacted with the tendency to stereotype topically, resulting, in general, in news about Korea that also included economic coverage because of the controversy the existing trade imbalance created, and, in World Cup-related news, both Japan and Korea received political coverage because they were involved in the controversial North Korean nuclear arms situation.

With regard to slant, in both World Cup-related news and general news of the host countries, unfavorable coverage was more predominant than favorable coverage, but in general news, the largest category was news with no direction. Also, World Cup-related news mostly covered culture and sports, and general news mostly covered politics and economics. The greater potential to slant stories when discussing sports and particularly culture because they are softer topics than politics and economics, might be the reason for this difference in slant within news topics.

Other variables more particularly reflected the host countries' ties with the United States. France generally received statistically more and better coverage than either Japan or Korea, but particularly Korea. For example, the 1998 France World Cup received more news coverage of the event and the related host country

than did the 2002 Korea/Japan World Cup, even though the latter event was hosted by two countries. Further, France received more prominent coverage in World Cup event news than Korea/Japan. Also, in general news, France received less unfavorable coverage than Korea and Japan. Korea (but not Japan) was portrayed as statistically and normatively more deviant than France, and France received more prominent coverage than Korea (but not Japan). Examples of the coverage Korea received include such controversial issues about Korea as canine cuisine and safety of the World Cup event in the face of possible terrorism or threat of war ascribable to nuclear weapons in North Korea as well as the anti-American mood of Korea. General news exhibited the greatest differences among countries, while event-related news treated the countries more equally than did World Cup-related host country news, which showed some, although not extensive, differences.

With regard to World Cup-related host country news, France, Japan, and Korea received somewhat, though not altogether, similar coverage, and that could be deemed a success. But in general news of the host countries, the media seemed to revert to their routine way of covering distant, non-Western countries less favorably, less prominently, and as more deviant. Even among non-Western countries, differences in coverage were present between the more developed and economically powerful Japan and the less developed and less powerful Korea. For example, in general news of the host countries, Japan did not differ from France in either statistical or normative deviance or in prominence, but Korea did so negatively.

Further analysis of differences in coverage of Korea and Japan confirmed these findings, again particularly for general news of the host countries. Korea was covered more unfavorably, less prominently, and as statistically and normatively more deviant than Japan. Only in World Cup-related host country news did Korea fare better than Japan; it was covered more frequently, but this was possibly due to its performance in the World Cup. Still, even in this type of news, Korea was portrayed as normatively more deviant than Japan.

For Korea, the 2002 World Cup was expected to improve its image, which the country believed had fallen since 1997, when Korea had to take funds from the International Monetary Fund ("Promotion of National Image" 1999) because of the country's financial crisis. Though one Korean newspaper said that "Korea's national image has moved up significantly since the 2002 World Cup" (Kim 2002), the findings of this study showed that hosting the World Cup sporting event did not result in a positive image of Korea in U.S. newspapers, at least as compared with the image of Japan and particularly France. Hosting an event did not change the way in which journalists preferred stereotypical news topics in World Cup-related news as well as general news. In sum, if close ties between countries, such as political, economic, or cultural links, are not present, hosting an international sporting event does not necessarily positively influence the image of the host country or minimize deviance in news.

Still, it must be recognized that, for a country like Korea, which receives little news coverage in general in the United States, hosting the World Cup event might have contributed to a greater degree of news coverage than it generally saw. Also, while Korea was portrayed as more deviant, the deviance scores were low in general. This may be an indication of greater sensitivity or greater familiarity (and,

hence, a smaller perception of deviance) among journalists in this globalized era. Finally, its image in countries other than the United States might have improved. Thus, the strategy of hosting international events to better a country's image is still worth pursuing, but its limitations and specifications need to be recognized and addressed where possible.

Of particular note in this recognition of specification is type of news. The nature of reporting for World Cup-related host country news may be different from that of stories done on general news of a host country. For comparative research questions across types of news, while only a few differences were found, these indicated that countries, including France, received better coverage in terms of slant and prominence in World Cup-related news than in general news of the host countries. This has implications for PR strategists and countries wanting to host major international events to improve their image. Also, this study analyzed the news articles published in traditional media but for further studies, researchers would explore a symbiotic relationship between the framings of sports events in traditional media and social media, for example, whether or not people tend to share the frames used by traditional media via social media or the agenda set by traditional media (e.g., Oh et al. 2020, Weaver 2007).

The results might be useful to governments and to PR practitioners because they provide a glimpse of what kind of coverage is afforded to countries, whether it is topics, slant, deviance, or prominence that most exhibits differences. PR practitioners can strategize about their approach using these results. Topics that are positive stereotypes could be played up and this would influence slant, deviance and possibly prominence.

State-initiated PR practitioners may also note this study's finding of the way media treats different news categories. In its separation of research questions and analysis by three types of news, the study highlights this point. The newspapers discriminated among countries most in general news. In World Cup-related news, on the other hand, the newspapers did not treat the countries very differently, possibly because this news was more event- than country-related. Thus, the inclusion of general news was a critical decision, and its analysis as a separate category of news was revealing. When journalists are in the country to cover an event, they uncover other stories about the country and present them within the framework of their nations' political, economic, and cultural views of that country. In practical terms, this means that PR practitioners need to focus their attention on all journalistic coverage rather than on the event alone as they prepare their press releases, create pseudo-events, and manage the event. In the face of the media tendency to cover deviant news and to allow country relationships to influence news selection, this may be a challenging task for distant, developing, non-Western countries, but awareness of this fact may be useful tactically.

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