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Keep your hands off the vuvuzela! Eurocentric stereotypes in German 2010 World Cup media discourse

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Introduction

Before the 2010 World Cup in South Africa a number of reports from German media outlets emphasised the significance of the event, a chance for the country and the whole African continent to project a positive and powerful public image to the rest of the world. Looking back to the 2006 World Cup, which had put Germany back on the map as a modern cosmopolitan and tolerant country, many journalists hoped for the 2010 games to have the same positive effect for South Africa.¹ Various newspapers and television broadcasters announced that they would make South Africa a thematic priority and booksellers in German cities complemented their football literature with country or continent-specific books. But alongside the unusual presence of African subjects in German media discourse, one could not help but notice Eurocentric patterns in the reporting before the tournament. Bartholomäus Grill, foreign correspondent for the nationwide weekly newspaper *Die Zeit* in Johannesburg, noticed a Eurocentric condescension in media coverage of South Africa, especially in press reports about South Africa's organisational skills.² The frequently asked question of whether the national organizing committee's construction of stadiums would be finished before the opening match dominated German media discourse about World Cup for months. Referring to Moeletsi Mbeki's book *Architects of Poverty*, Grill criticized the one-sided coverage and a propensity for broadcasters to show images of township violence.³ The stereotypical coverage added to a one-sided shaping of South Africa's image in Germany. According to Grill, many people do not know anything about positive development in South Africa.⁴ This observation complements the assertion of Jean-Christophe Ruffin, ex-ambassador of

France in Senegal, that Africa constitutes a knowledge gap in European thinking.⁵

In part inspired by these reflections, the following is an informal, and therefore non-representative, content analysis of the World Cup coverage in Germany. The analysis is based on television coverage, selected nationwide newspaper and tabloid coverage, coverage conducted by online newspapers and the circulation of ideas on social networking sites. This paper is part of a comprehensive dissertation project on the public sphere and neoliberal sport, and may be considered as supporting evidence for further research on the image of foreign countries and foreignness (namely Africa) in German media discourse.⁶

The research is grounded in my assumption that German media outlets are both explicitly and tacitly Eurocentric. Several studies functioned as a basis of this assumption, including work by a student group in the Geographic Department of the University of Bochum that showed how media coverage of Africa is characterised by Eurocentrism. According to their study, journalists strive to report objectively, but are impaired by subjective and polarising rhetorical devices.⁷ This paper extends such critical approaches on Eurocentrism in media coverage of the 2010 World Cup.

Sports coverage: Social, cultural and political implications

The social dynamics of sport, especially football, because of its global popularity, are inextricably linked to the social dynamics of industrial society. While there is no causal connection, lines of development within sport reflect interdependent and partial tendencies in current neoliberal and globalizing processes of political, economic and social transformation.⁸ For a better understanding of these linkages, it is useful to illustrate the connections between what Joseph Maguire calls the “global media-sport complex” and Eurocentrism.⁹ I am using the term Eurocentrism in the sense that cultural theorist Ernest Jouhy uses it, as a

way of thinking and acting based on European beliefs of progress and superiority.¹⁰ Eurocentrism's origins are linked to modernisation and industrialisation as well as corresponding colonial and imperial power politics and the global reaching-out of European thinking and acting based on the European rule and culture dominance. In the present neoliberal times, comparable structures and processes are still operating. The hegemonic Eurocentric project is a political strategy born at the centre of positive feelings about national identity and nation branding through location marketing. In economic terms, unequal geographic development and exploitation and the creation of territorial gaps are major enforcement mechanisms and key features of neoliberal ideology. New forms of collectivism allegedly answer the questions of the people, who are affected by the disintegration of the public welfare system established in the era of Fordism. Governments can create social glue with sport as its specific emotional resonance suitably reinforces national identity and collectivism.¹¹

As a global, commercial event, the World Cup contains special economic, political and social implications. As the Austrian sociologist Heinz Steinert says, "Football-championships are traditionally charged in an aggressive mode and with patriotic up to nationalist enthusiasm."¹² The Identity construction that arises from the competition principle of modern sport always involves the use of a collective we/they definition. Mass media are prone to reproduce such constructions. According to cultural theorist Matthew Nicholson, "Sporting events are by nature combative and territorial and often the media coverage serves to reinforce particular ideologies and stereotypes."¹³

The development of modern sport can only be explained in connection with the rise of the mass communication that made sport politically and economically acceptable.¹⁴ Mass communication forms a key link between sport, society, national economies and politics, and brings sport

to the public sphere. The triangle of sport, media and economy, which is characterised by reciprocal influences and dependences, is extremely complex. Eurocentrism in German World Cup coverage can best be explained in light of this complexity, expertly articulated by cultural theorist Hugh O'Donnel:

Sport is now also deeply commercialised, and, as just another form of commercial enterprise, it functions on an international level as a site in which advanced countries can and must act out their preferred myths through self-and-other stereotypes, and celebrate those qualities which, in their own eyes, make them more modern, more advanced, in short superior ... This process routinely involves downgrading other national groups.¹⁵

Analysis summary: Eurocentrism in 2010 World Cup coverage

The journalistic dimension of football and its significance for the media can be deduced from the intensity of its use and the frequency of its adoption, as well as from market shares and TV ratings. As the most popular sport, indeed the “national sport,” in Germany, football has an absolute number one position within German sports coverage, followed by auto racing and tennis.¹⁶ Usually, football is featured in 29 percent of TV sports coverage and 40 percent of sports reports in printed media.¹⁷ During the 2010 World Cup, the event was the main topic of the German media. All the matches were shown by the two public service broadcasters ARD and ZDF as well as on subscription services; the commercial TV network RTL broadcasted nine matches. The match reports were complemented by background reports, talk shows, documentary reports and movies. The German radio stations similarly organised its program, as did the editorial teams of several newspapers. Various national and local newspapers offered more pages in sports section or even special supplements for the entire period of the tournament. Suffice to say the media presence of the 2010 World Cup in Germany was considerable, and television statistics can help to show the public's demand for it.

In the week after the final match, the 2010 World Cup was declared as a success by all TV broadcasters. The public service ARD, a consortium of public broadcasting institutions in the Federal Republic of Germany, had a market share of 50.6 percent in the target group of 15-49 year-olds during that period. The semi-final between Germany and Spain brought a record-breaking rating of 31.1 million viewers, or 87.2 percent of the 15-49 year-old demographic. On average, 10.8 million people watched the matches on ARD.¹⁸ It's safe to say that this type of exposure was evident across other media platforms. Keeping this in mind, the following informal content analysis and interpretations must be read in light of public interest in the games.

Malicious campaigns against the vuvuzela: Chauvinistic statements and cultural arrogance

“O friends, not these sounds! / Let us strike up something more pleasant, full of gladness.”¹⁹

During the first days of the tournament, one theme dominated the sports media discourse beyond the pure sport-related reports: the vuvuzelas. After the first two matches, the conservative, German, nationwide daily tabloid newspaper *BILD*, which reaches 11.6 millions readers, featured the headline: “Noisemaker madness at World Cup. Fan trumpets annoy steadily.” The cover page of the sports section showed four dark-skinned fans of the South African national team with vuvuzelas, who are, by implication, nerve-wracking. The dramatic text made the vuvuzelas out to be dangerous to health (sudden deafness) and asked for a prohibition by FIFA.²⁰ Even if the question of sound level may be reasonable, it is remarkable that the author used it as argument to deplore the vuvuzelas. By the same token one could ask for legislative bodies to govern the volume during every Formula 1 race or open-air concert. Furthermore, nobody wasted any words or memories on the noise of the gas-fired horns used by German football fans during the 1974 World Cup in Germany. Most interesting is the use of the printed picture, which has a

particular resonance printed in a tabloid. It is fair to assume that the author knows the South African population and the supporters of the national team are not only dark-skinned. White-skinned fans of Bafana Bafana and other teams similarly took delight in blowing the vuvuzela. Using a picture of dark-skinned fans accentuates the foreignness and revives stereotypes about the “black continent” Africa, which have a dangerous tradition in Germany. The picture, which addresses the emotions of the readers, might act as a visual metaphor for South Africa, re-inscribing South Africaness as exclusively Black, and disruptive. As a result, the visual confirms the textual and the entire message communicates ‘otherness’. Typically *BILD* does not offer any detailed background reporting.

Even if racism is a common social practice, physical characteristics of human beings like skin-colour are commonly consulted to confirm racist stereotypes. In Stuart Hall’s approach, physical characteristics serve as carrier of meaning, as indication of difference within a discourse.²¹ The racist practice of using such a classification system results in symbolic or practical exclusion, in this case in a cultural distinction. In a constructed confrontation of different cultures, practices of football fans indicate national or continental cultural spheres. Usually a roaring crowd of fans is not associated with culture, but in this construct, it is. On one side the German fan chants, embodying European stadium-culture, on the other side the African vuvuzela-blowers blow unmelodious noisemakers. As a consequence of this process, identities are established and identifications are protected and entrenched. Hall argues that the stranger, or the ‘other’, is constructed by attributing characteristics to him or her, which are different from one’s own attributes. By accentuating a cultural differentiation, a hierarchical order is built wherein groups are constructed by the powerful in indiscriminate and contradictory ways. The ‘other’ thus represents the negative of the self.

Globally, the anti-vuvuzela campaign was taken up and circulated by users of web 2.0 software. For example, many young football fans rallied against the vuvuzelas on social networking sites. On *Facebook*, a virtual interest group with more than 6,000 members was founded under the title “Vuvuzelas are bugging.” In the rubric “Shut up vuvuzela” the page’s founder describes the vuvuzelas as the “trumpets of jericho within football.”²² During World War II, the German ground-attack aircraft Ju 87 was fitted with so called “Jericho trumpets,” essentially noise-making propellers used to damage enemy morale and enhance the intimidating effect of dive-bombing. Perhaps in response to the negative commentary, African fans uploaded a video to the video-sharing website *YouTube* with the chorus “Keep your hands off the vuvuzela!”

Many European football fans demanded a ban on vuvuzelas. Ironically, football fans usually speak out *against* repression by the police or the football association. To advocate prohibiting the vuvuzelas seems to indicate chauvinistic attitudes grounded in feelings of cultural superiority. Soon after the German tabloids began reporting on the controversy surrounding the vuvuzelas, respected national papers jumped into the fray. The social-liberal nationwide daily, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, published a detailed article on its website, listing the arguments of opponents and proponents.²³ The conservative nationwide daily, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, published an interview with Reinhard Kopiez, professor at the Academy of Music in Hannover and author of a book about fan chant. Answering a question about whether people’s aversion to vuvuzelas indicates chauvinistic Eurocentrism, Kopiez emphasised that vuvuzelas are a commercial marketing article based on a traditional instrument.²⁴ Gero Erdmann, department head of the German Institute of Global and Area Studies, and Bernd Clausen, professor at the Academy of Music in Wuerzburg, described the vuvuzela as an “invention of tradition.”²⁵

This analysis seems insufficient. Of course vuvuzelas represent no longstanding traditional culture. From the post-colonial perspective, young traditions are important too. Furthermore, whatever people may think about marketing products or the commercialisation of football, nobody in Germany is authorised to sanction the viability of South African popular culture. American blogger Graham Hough-Cornwell, analyzing the discourse circulating via the microblogging website *Twitter*, criticises the Eurocentrism in the debate:

A large portion of the tweets fall along Westerners vs. Africa, neo-imperial fault lines. Some see the vuvuzela issue as Westerners trying to control an important part of South African sporting culture. [...] This particular Twitter user fails to recognize that different parts of the world have their own fan traditions, and the songs and chants familiar to many European audiences may not be so ‘traditional’ elsewhere. In other places, drums or horns — a variation on the vuvuzela, the corneta, is popular in Latin America — might create the sound of a soccer match.²⁶

Journalist Tshepo Matjila similarly cuts right to the chase of the matter: “This is Africa – we will blow it, with or without the consent of FIFA. This is our World Cup – irrespective of who the tournament belongs to [...]”.²⁷ That said, there certainly were some South African football fans stressed out by the sound of the vuvuzela, but they by no means dominated the global discourse.

Further Eurocentric coverage: Exoticism and images of wildness and primitiveness

Beyond the vuvuzela, World Cup coverage offered other Eurocentric stereotypes, too. A TV trailer for the public television channel ZDF featuring Oliver Kahn, former goalkeeper of Germany’s national team and pundit for ZDF, and TV presenter Katrin Mueller-Hohenstein drive an all-terrain vehicle on South African safari. The trailer blurs boundaries between the animal-safari and some kind of human-safari. Dark-skinned men play football with a lion that bites the ball. A voiceover proclaims ZDF to be “wild about football”.²⁸ The trailer reverts to typical European images of Africa suggesting wildness and animalism.

Other television reports presented traditional dances, rites and folkways as fascinating, unalterable characteristics of a homogenous South African/continental culture. Broadcasting views of folklore form a mostly static concept of culture. The differences between nationally defined cultures are often used as crucial elements of advertising; the media coverage reinforces established images of Africa based on colonial or pre-colonial modes of thought. As a result, recurring images of primitiveness create convergences between cultural and biologically defined racism. Unlike the example of the chauvinistic campaign against the vuvuzela, the responsible editor may not have even been aware that the depiction used was Eurocentric or even racialised. Despite this, the goodwill image-making intended to draw attention to Africa in celebration of the World Cup ultimately reproduced pejorative images and stereotypes

While local and national cultural patterns are tied to the identity-establishing functions of modern sport, the global sports media is dominated by western oligopolies and western ideologies. According to sociologist Dieter Voight, sports coverage may actually be able to transform cultural patterns.²⁹ But sports journalists often try to be provocative, taking nationalist and chauvinist tones in their coverage. Despite their position, they seem to deny their power.³⁰ O'Donnell uses the term "national sporting stereotypes," along with its consequential 'self-and-other' constructions, to show how stereotypical images of Africa are created by national sports media. The German media, for example, called the Cameroonian national team "the sorcerers from Africa" during the 1990 World Cup in Italy.³¹ Twenty years later, the media is still producing similar images.

Conclusion and perspectives

The preceding reflections should not convey the impression that German media coverage of the 2010 World Cup was mostly or even exclusively Eurocentric. The informal content analysis has no representative validity. It can fairly be said that the World Cup coverage conveyed an ambivalent image of South Africa and the African continent. On the one hand, media coverage was Eurocentric, reifying stereotypical images and asserting an imperial demeanour, as evidenced by the vuvuzela debate. On the other hand there were more balanced critical reviews and background reports.³² A number of media outlets offered extended coverage of African key topics and temporarily directed the public attention to the host nation. For a while, the media got over the wars, natural disasters, diseases and starvation stories that form the core of its African coverage, but as Grill suggests, numerous social aspects were still not considered.

Constructions of Eurocentrism can be partially explained at the games by the special character of international sport events, especially an all-male football World Cup. The popular tournament is characterised by a competitive principle linked to combative and territorial ways of being. Its emotional charge might stimulate collectivism amongst football fans and other inhabitants of a country, which engenders the construction and exclusion, or even disaffirmation, of an out-group. In a critical and reflexive approach one would have to consider a more comprehensive view of surrounding social, political and economic structures and neoliberal processes. This analysis is intended to provoke further reflection and study. From the perspective of political and social science, and with a view towards ideological concepts of human thought and action, two dimensions are important above all: sport is a tool for political socialisation and it contributes to social integration; both functions can be used instrumentally by hegemonic power blocs.

Within this complex field, media coverage has a significant status. Sports media have the ability to symbolise social reality by reducing its

complexity; they self-regulate, self reflect, and make indirect experiences tangible.³³ But if sport journalists deliver reports full of stereotypes, recipients remain trapped at a level of superficial knowledge– what Adorno describes as a half-education.³⁴ Inherited prejudices and stereotypes are merely reproduced and reinforced. The media coverage of South African subjects in Germany during World Cup 2010 was often full of Eurocentric and stereotypical content. It is fair to assume that there is a need in Germany for journalists to be educated further to reduce ethnocentrism.

Furthermore, sports cannot be isolated from other social and cultural phenomena. Within sport, ideological thought-structures, like Eurocentrism, are reproduced as they are elsewhere. Partly through its commercialisation, the World Cup lost its primary function as a nexus of social cohesion and was transformed into an intermediary sphere controlled by hegemonic political and economic media oligopolies. I am disposed to assume that usurpation of sport by hegemonic economic and political entities will perpetuate neo-colonial disparities instead of inducing intercultural understanding among nations. A critical and reflexive theory of sport and media is necessary for debunking overly general, integrative sociological platitudes to show that football, and its media presentation, can be impetuses for intercultural learning only under certain conditions. Instructions and political education must be imparted to policymakers involved in regulating sport and the economy as well as to journalists. Ultimately this will help alleviate the overwhelming spectre of Eurocentrism in Western coverage and disrupt the perpetual circulation of stereotypical imagery.

Notes

¹ Cf. Franziska von Stetten, *Imageaenderung Deutschlands durch die FIFA WM 2006 TM. Stereotypen. Interkulturelle Kommunikation. Erwartungs- und Wahrnehmungsabgleich. Einflussfaktoren* (Bochum: Universitaetsverlag Brockmeyer, 2009)

² See, e.g., Bartholomaeus Grill, *Laduuuuuma! Wie der Fussball Afrika verzaubert* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 2009).

³ See Moeletsi Mbeki, *Architects of poverty. Why African capitalism needs changing* (Johannesburg: Picador Africa, 2009)

⁴ Cited in: René Martens, "Suedafrika. Das Tor zur inneren Freiheit," *WOZ Die Wochenzeitung* 18 Mar 2010: 17.

⁵ Jean-Christophe Ruffin, *Das Reich und die neuen Barbaren* (Berlin: Volk und Welt, 1993) pp. 31.

⁶ With a view to characteristics, functions and effects, the dissertation project at the Graduate Center for Humanities and Social Sciences at University of Marburg/Germany wants to analyse empirical, in what way the public sphere of sport and its media presentation is instrumentalized by politics and economy against the background of development lines and characteristics of neoliberalism. The present paper respectively the informal media analysis of 2010 World Cup coverage are a small separate and temporary project, which makes recourse to theoretical reflections and literature research of the doctoral dissertation.

⁷ Cf. "Das Afrikabild in den Medien," *Geography Department Bochum* 05 Jul. 2010 <http://www.geographie.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/institut/documents/afrika.html>. A similar conclusion was framed by Jean-Francois Buerki after a comprehensive media analysis of the European newspapers *Neue Zuercher Zeitung*, *Die Welt* and *Le Monde* in the 1970's. Also Bernhard Claussen noticed a "tendency towards forming of stereotypes." Cf. Jean-Francois Buerki, *Der Ethnozentrismus und das Schwarzafrikabild. Eine Begriffsbestimmung, gefolgt von einer Analyse des Schwarzafrikabildes in drei grossen europaeischen Tageszeitungen: Neue Zuercher Zeitung, Die Welt, Le Monde* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1977) and Bernhard Claussen, "Politische Sozialisation durch Massenmedien und die Vermittlung von Vorstellungen ueber fremde Voelker, Gesellschaften und Nationen," *Voelker und Nationen im Spiegel der Medien* ed. Bundeszentrale fuer politische Bildung (Bonn: Bundeszentrale fuer politische Bildung, 1989) p. 67.

⁸ Cf. David Rowe, *Sport, Culture and the Media* (Buckingham/Philadelphia: Open University Press) pp.13. Richard Giulianotti, "Das britische Fussball-Labor: Ueberwachung, Gouvernementalitaet und Neomerkantilismus," *Kontrollierte Urbanitaet. Zur Neoliberalisierung staedtischer Sicherheitspolitik* eds. Volker Eick, Jens Sambale and Eric Toepfer (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2007) 245-260. By analogy to the approach of a critical theory of sport, and by making recourse to the 'culture-industry' concept of Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, I describe the commercialised football as 'duplication' of neoliberal structures and lines of development. This understanding of duplication, in the sense of a dialectical category, refers to Wilhelm Hopf's and Bero Rigauer's theses of sport as duplication of the capitalistic work environment, and also Juergen Habermas' thesis describing leisure time as duplication of work: Sporting events can not be analysed in isolation of social processes. 'Duplication' as I use it here means duplication of certain action patterns. Wordsmith Habermas created the term 'duplication' in the 1960s within the meaning of leisure time as duplication of work environment. Rigauer and Vinnai argue that capitalistic principles of efficiency and competition are reproduced in sport. See Theodor W. Adorno, "Kulturindustrie. Aufklaerung als Massenbetrug," *Dialektik der Aufklaerung* eds. Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1981) 141-191; Wilhelm Hopf, *Kritik der Sportsoziologie* (Muenster: LIT, 1990) pp. 61; Bero Rigauer, *Sport und Arbeit. Soziologische Zusammenhaenge und ideologische Implikationen* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1969) chapter IV.1; Juergen Habermas, "Soziologische Notizen zum Verhaeltnis von Arbeit und Freizeit," *Sport und Leibeseziehung. Sozialwissenschaftliche, paedagogische und medizinische Beitrage* ed. Helmuth Plessner (Munich: Piper, 1977) 28-46; see also Gerhard Vinnai, *Fussballsport als Ideologie* (Frankfurt: Europaeische Verlagsanstalt, 1970).

⁹ Cf. Joseph Maguire, *Global Sport. Identities. Societies. Civilizations* (Blackwell: Polity Press, 1999) p. 144.

¹⁰ Cf. Ernest Jouhy, *Bleiche Herrschaft – Dunkle Kulturen. Essays zur Bildung in Nord und Sued* (Frankfurt: Verlag fuer Interkulturelle Kommunikation, 1985).

¹¹ Other image campaigns include, ‘Germany – Land of ideas.’ The 2006 World Cup with its “party-patriotism” was a recent climax of such campaigns. The authors of the ‘project team critique of nationalism’ explain that a re-articulation of German nationalism is connected with exclusion of other groups outside people’s community. Cf. Projektgruppe Nationalismuskritik, *Irrsinn der Normalitaet. Aspekte der Reartikulation des deutschen Nationalismus* (Muenster: Westfaelisches Dampfboot, 2009).

¹² Heinz Steinert, “Culture-industry analysis of public enthusiasm,” *Fussball EURO 2008. Initiative folks-uni* 05 Jul. 2010 <http://www.folks-uni.org/index.php?id=156>.

¹³ Matthew Nicholson, *Sport and the media. Managing the nexus* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2007) p. 101.

¹⁴ Gilbert Norden and Wolfgang Schulz, *Sport in der modernen Gesellschaft* (Linz: Universitaetsverlag Trauner, 1988) p. 191.

¹⁵ Hugh O’Donnell, “Mapping the Mythical: A Geopolitics of National Sporting Stereotypes,” *Discourse and Society* 5 (3) 1994, p. 345-380.

¹⁶ Klaus Michler, “Sport im Fernsehen - empirisches Brachland?” *Verkaufen Medien die Sportwirklichkeit?* eds. Gerhard Trosien and Michael Dinkel (Aachen: Meyer & Meyer, 1999), p. 55-66.

¹⁷ Josef Hackforth and Jens Wernecken, *Medienbilder – Die Praesentation des Sports im In- und Ausland. Ergebnisse einer internationalen Studie* (Cologne: Deutsche Sporthochschule, 1999).

¹⁸ “ARD und ZDF ziehen positive WM-Bilanz,” *INFOSAT. Die Multimedia-Illustrierte* 13 Jul. 2010, 15 Jul. 2010 <http://www.infosat.de/Meldungen/?msgID=59311>; “Fussball-WM beschert deutschen Medien Rekord-Quoten,” *NEWSADHOC* 14 Ju. 2010, 15 Jul. 2010 <http://www.news-adhoc.com/fussball-wm-beschert-deutschen-medien-rekord-quoten-idna2010071496953>.

¹⁹ Beginning of Friedrich Schiller’s *Ode to Joy* in the fourth movement of Ludwig van Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony.

²⁰ “Ihr troetet uns den letzten Nerv!” *BILD* 12. Jul. 2010: 9. German titles are translated into English literally. *BILD* is the biggest and most influential tabloid newspaper in Germany published by the Axel Springer corporation since 1952. Its self-conception follows a national-conservative and patriotic tradition. Terms like ‘people’, ‘nation’, or ‘homeland’ are central concepts within editorial policy. Cf. Gudrun Kruij, *Das “Welt”-“Bild” des Axel Springer Verlags. Journalismus zwischen westlichen Werten und deutschen Denktraditionen* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1999), p. 128.

²¹ Cf. Stuart Hall, “Rassismus als ideologischer Diskurs,” *Theorien über Rassismus*, ed. Nora Raetzl, (Hamburg: Argument 2000), pp. 7-33 and idem, ed. *Representation. Cultural representations and signifying practices* (London: Sage, 1997).

²² “Stopft der Vuvuzela das Maul!” Facebook 05 Jul. 2010 <http://de-de.facebook.com/pages/Stopft-der-Vuvuzela-das-Maul/104518999596849>.

²³ Felix Helbig, “Lass die Finger von der Vuvuzela!” *FR online* 13 Jun. 2010, 05 Jul. 2010 http://www.fr-online.de/in_und_ausland/sport/fussball_wm_2010/2747424_Troeten-Lass-die-Finger-von-der-Vuvuzela.html.

²⁴ Cf. “Trompeter aller Vereine, vereinigt euch!” *FAZ online* 14 Jun. 2010, 05 Jul. 2010 <http://www.faz.net/s/Rub0880D9546AD54B17BA97B50EF7058A13/Doc~EF9C0A6047783469BA39ADD91EDD7D9D4~ATpl~Ecommon~Scontent.html>.

²⁵ Cf. Matthias Gruber, “Vuvuzelas und das ungleiche Verhaeltnis zwischen Nord und Sued,” *Antropologi.info Ethnologie in den Medien* 21 Jun. 2010, 05 Jul. 2010 <http://www.antropologi.info/blog/ethnologie/2010/vuvuzelas>.

²⁶ Graham Hough-Cornwell, “Tweetography: FIFA, can we blow our horns?” *Anthropologyworks* 16 Jun. 2010, 06 Jul. 2010 <http://www.anthropologyworks.com/?p=2153>.

²⁷ Tshepo Matjila, “Hands of our vuvuzelas,” *Sport 24* 14 Jun. 2010, 05 Jul. 2010 <http://www.sport24.co.za/Soccer/WorldCup/My2010WorldCup/Hands-off-our-Vuvuzelas-20100614>.

²⁸ The video clip is available here: *ZDF-Mediathek* 10 Ju. 2010
<http://www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek/kanaluebersicht/aktuellste/1054708?teaserListIndex=78#/event/1054920/wm-2010>.

²⁹ Cf. Dieter Voigt, *Sportsoziologie. Soziologie des Sports* (Frankfurt: Diesterweg, 1992) p. 249.

³⁰ Cf. Thorsten Knobbe, *Spektakel Spitzensport. Der Moloch aus Stars, Rekorden, Doping, Medienwahn, Sponsorenmacht* (Muenster: LIT, 2000) p. 75 and Josef Hackforth, *Sport im Fernsehen* (Muenster: Regensberg, 1975) p. 236.

³¹ Hugh O'Donnell, "Mapping the Mythical: A Geopolitics of National Sporting Stereotypes," *Discourse and Society* 5 (3) 1994, p. 345-380.

³² Fortunately, there were some rays of hope for unbiased World Cup coverage. One example is the ZDF's project "Africa unplugged." Three journalists travelled by car across thirteen African countries. Their impressions, which presented a more authentic image of Africa, were shown in a documentary report, some short clips and on website (05 Jul. 2010 http://dokumentation.zdf.de/ZDFde/inhalt/0/0_1872_8045344_00.html). Another example is Ellen Hoffers' text "Images of Africa, Africa in our head" published on ARD's website, wherein she reflects collective stereotypes, unreflecting projections and their colonial roots (07 Apr. 2010, <http://www.ard.de/kultur/afrika/afrika-unabhaengigkeit/-/id=1416066/nid=1416066/did=1414054/w2vjqp/index.html>). And not least, there were some thought-provoking documentary reports and newspaper articles, which look critically at the World Cup, and include thoughts on police repression and governmental financing and its consequences for the South African national budget. At this point, I want to cite two journalists, who offer a positive summary of the event: Steffen Dobbert, author of *ZEIT online*, believes that the World Cup projected a positive public image about South Africa contrary to reservations beforehand: "South Africa will benefit from the glamour, the pride, the self-confidence and the joy of this tournament. [...] The Africans took their guests by surprise." (12 Jul. 2010, <http://pdf.zeit.de/sport/2010-07/wm-spanien-niederlande-finale-iniesta.pdf>, transl. by the author). According to Martin Voigt, sport reporter of *Focus Online*, the World Cup transmitted a similarly positive image of Africa: colourful, cheerful, positive, enthusiastic, peaceful (pointing to the security arrangements.) The event would be able to bring a fundamental long-decades boost for the country (12 Jul. 2010, http://www.focus.de/sport/fussball/wm-2010/tid-19053/wm-2010-der-rueckblick-am-ende-gewinnt-immer-die-fifa_aid_529174.html).

³³ Cf. Knobbe, p. 32.

³⁴ Cf. Theodor W. Adorno, "Theorie der Halbbildung" *Soziologische Schriften I.* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1959), p. 93-121.