Media Exposure for Olympic Host Cities

A case study of Sochi and Rio

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Name: Bo van Wendel de Joode

Student ID number: 431625

Supervisor: Dr. E. Braun

Second Assessor: Drs. J. van Haaren

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Abstract

A main reason often given to host a mega-event, such as the Olympics, is the generated media exposure for the host city. However, the sentiment of content might influence destination perceptions people have. Therefore, the goal of this research is to investigate if organising the Games leads to more positive than negative exposure for the host. This is done by performing a manual media content analysis for Sochi and Rio with newspapers articles extracted from the LexisNexis© Academic database. A time period division is made in order to analyse different effects for the periods before, during and after the Games take place. The results indicate that the media coverage is mainly negative for both events. Only a small exception is existent for the insignificant positive coverage during the Rio Olympics. Organising the Olympics for these cities thus implicated mainly negative coverage, but bad publicity is also publicity.

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1. Introduction

One of the major reasons for cities to host Olympic Games is the media exposure and publicity that is created by the event. It can display a city its destination image and generate tourism before, during and after the event. However, the sentiment of coverage (positive, negative or neutral) could be essential in forming the perceptions of people intending to visit a location.

The 2008 Olympics have for example enhanced the image of China as a country, specifically for consumers which had a high exposure towards media reports of the event. A factor that could explain the relatively positive high level of coverage in the US press is the good logistics of those Games (Chung & Woo, 2011). In contrast to the positive level of coverage of China, research of Van den Broucke and Van Regenmortel (2017) shows that for the Rio Olympics Dutch and Belgian newspapers mainly drafted a negative coverage for most topics, whereas only articles about culture and tourism were predominantly covered in a positive way. So, for different games both positive and negative effects were found. The reason of media exposure and publicity that cities give to organise the Games might be justifiable if the sentiment of exposure is positive, while negative exposure probably does not improve a city its image. This might have practical implications for stakeholders that use these arguments in bidding processes of events. Therefore, the following main question will be addressed in this research:

Main question: Does organising the Olympic Games lead to more positive than negative media exposure for the host city?

Throughout the following chapters an answer to this research question will be formulated. First of all, existing literature on the subjects of city marketing, effects and reasons the host the Olympics and media coverage in general are analysed in the literature review. Followed by a framework to be able to classify the sentiment of news messages and an introduction of the research hypotheses. In the data and methodology section the data selection process, search strategy and time periods analysed will be outlined together with the analytical methods used. All news messages analysed will be retrieved from the LexisNexis[©] Academic database. Thereafter, the results following from the analysis will be discussed in order to see if the hypotheses can be rejected or not. In the conclusion and discussion, the answer to the main question will be formulated, furthermore limitations to this study and suggestions for further research will be analysed.

2. Literature review

2.1 City marketing

The main item of city marketing is image, which is the base for the development of a city its brand (Kavaratzis, 2004). City branding has two main purposes, it is a method to accomplish a competitive advantage, which boosts inward tourism and company investments. Also, it can help in achieving community development, in order to strengthen local identification and identity of residents with their town and to activate social forces to fence off social exclusion and unrest. Cities can market themselves as a brand in different ways. Three commonly used techniques are: personality branding, event branding and the flagship construction which includes physical investments. These techniques attract attention and place recognition (i.e. brand awareness), besides that they also create associations between a place and its attributes that are regarded as being favourable for economic or social development (i.e. brand utility) (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2006).

Moreover, consumption has to take place corresponding with the objectives of the location. Places can be seen as brandable products if the possessed intrinsic and distinctive characteristics are understood and a special marketing strategy is developed that adapts and exploits these (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2006). Also, Zhang and Zhao (2009) emphasize the importance of identifying and defining these distinctive city characteristics, which are for example a city its appearance, cultural attractions and history. Since cities mostly have similar characteristics, locations must differentiate themselves by using a unique brand identity, in which the place should be perceived as having qualities that are better than competitors in the minds of place consumers (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2006; Zhang & Zhao, 2009).

So, besides formulating a city its image, there is also a crucial role in the marketing process for image communication (Kavaratzis, 2004). Place consumers (including residents and visitors) can be attracted by using different types of brand communication strategies, of which physical place investments and word-of-mouth communication have positive effects mediated through a location its brand image (Braun, Eshuis, & Klijn, 2014). Besides attracting new residents, current residents also can play different roles in forming and communicating place brands and should thus be targeted (Braun, Kavaratzis, & Zenker, 2013). These roles include being an ambassador to provide credibility for communicated messages and being both as voters and citizens vital for the political legitimacy of place marketing. It is important to be aware of the fact that the way in which the city brand is perceived can vary greatly between different target groups because of different knowledge levels and place demands of the groups (Zenker, 2011).

Place consumers also have the possibility to interact with a location in three different ways, namely; through direct experience, the environment or indirect via representations in the media

(Holloway & Hubbard, 2001). Achieving successful city branding is dependent on a consensus between a city its core values and identity, which can by broadcasted through a mega-event (Zhang & Zhao, 2009). Therefore, a special focus throughout this study special will be on the city marketing technique event branding and interactions with a city via media.

2.2 Usage of events as marketing strategy

One of the indicated city marketing techniques by Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2006) is the usage of events to market a city. Mega-events can play a key role in both branding and transforming a city (Zhang & Zhao, 2009). Cities can host a variety of events, ranging from international congresses, festivals, special exhibitions to sport events. Sport events are an important component for a lot of city marketing plans, because the generated media exposure creates increasing publicity for the host city (Brown, Chalip, Jago, & Mules, 2002; Green, Costa, & Fitzgerald, 2003). This can then showcase the host city as being an attractive destination.

It is important for organising cities to deliver video footage towards broadcasters that show distinctive images to create associations with recognizable city icons (Green et al., 2003). Since the generated exposure is not dependent on the fact of being the host city of an event, but on the way in which hosting is exploited, so how event symbols and locations represent the host city and its icons. This is because a city its identity can be branded in a symbolic way through logos, slogans, mascots and also through landmark buildings and infrastructure (Zhang & Zhao, 2009).

2.3 Olympic Games

Olympic host cities get a lot of exposure to global media, which reinforces their desire to display the city in the best way. The possibility to improve the reputation and image of a host city becomes more captivating if the publicity is more extensive (Essex & Chalkley, 1998). Therefore, the Olympic Games as a sport event present a special publicity platform and possibility for place marketing. The Olympic Games are one of the biggest worldwide sporting events and thus will be analysed as sport event in particular in this study.

The Games have an impact on the host city in a lot of different areas. The role of place marketing is often seen as indirect, motives for organising the Olympics given to local and national constituencies frequently include tourism development and worldwide city publicity (Hiller, 2006). This publicity usually results in public relation efforts to market the city's image. Also, Andranovich, Burbank, and Heying (2001) indicated that such mega-events attract tourism yields, and that media recognition on both national and international level is provided for the host city. Related to tourism, is the fact that the Olympics generate economic activities because of jobs arising from tourist visiting the city before, during and after the event (Essex & Chalkley, 1998; Getz 1998). Jobs creation also takes

place on short-term basis at Games venues and the associated administrative sector, together with a medium-term stimulus to the construction sector (Gold & Gold, 2008).

Furthermore, the Games are seen as an opportunity to enhance the profile of the city, which can showcase the location as an attractive place for private investments that can origin from international sources and can increase international trade (Baade & Matheson, 2016; Hiller, 2006). Also, the city its position in the urban hierarchy can be redefined, because of enhanced international relations, upgraded economic and social dimensions and faster urban redevelopments (Derudder, Taylor, Witlox, & Catalano, 2003).

Besides the mostly mentioned benefits coming from organising the Olympics, it should also be noted that a lot of extra costs can also emerge for locals. For example, the existence of increased taxes to finance construction of infrastructure, communities can be destroyed or disturbed by building projects, and the prices of housing can rise through gentrification (Essex & Chalkley, 1998). According to Baade and Matheson (2016), three general costs categories for organising the Olympics exist which include; general infrastructure for transportation and housing, sports related infrastructure and operational costs. They also conclude that in a lot of cases the Games will lead to a loss of money for the host cities, only under certain specific circumstances the Olympics can result in positive net benefits. However, some countries may only base a small part of the decision to host the Olympics based on the economic implications, because it is driven by egos of leaders or a demonstration of a country its political and economic power (for example in Beijing and Sochi). Furthermore, it is important to emphasize that branding possibilities provided by the Olympic Games establish a considerable but only small part of the entire city branding process. Zhang and Zhao (2009) investigated the case of the Beijing Olympics, and while great changes were made, not all core values communicated were identified correctly by visitors and residents.

2.4 Destination image and fit

As indicated earlier on, sport initiatives are used to sketch an attractive image for potential tourists (Smith, 2005). The media of an event can influence people's destination perceptions. Li and Kaplanidou (2013) found that respondents who spent more time following the 2008 Olympics via media tended to have a more positive impression of China as a tourism destination. Media thus play a critical role in forming a destinations brand perception.

Given the fact that sport events have to take place within destinations, together with the existence of powerful relationships between the images of sport events and destinations, it can be assumed that common image associations between the event and host city can be used for marketing communications (Hallmann & Breuer, 2010). Both the image of the destination and sport event consist

of affective, cognitive and conative elements, which can be influenced by personal and macro-level factors, these images can influence future visits. The image fit (between the event and location) together with the degree of urbanization are significant predictors for the intention to travel again to the destination. The image fit can thus influence future behaviour; therefore, it is important for destination marketers to use the sport event its positive connotations. This can be done by showing its destinations landmarks to indicate the existent link between the destination and event and thus strengthen the relation with the host city (Hallmann & Breuer, 2010). According to Kaplanidou (2007) it is the destination image that influences the revisits to the location, the image of the sport event itself does not have a significant influence on the behavioural intentions to return.

Chalip and Costa (2005) indicate that sport events can have different roles relative to the destination image. The event can co-brand with the general destination brand, can display the features of it, or be used as an extension of the destination brand. Which of these roles should be used is dependent on the event brand its nature. For popular sport events like the Olympic Games, a strong brand image of the sport event is already existent, which includes a network of nodes and associations specific for the event which is activated by the name, logo or slogan. The event brand can then be paired with the destination brand, so co-branding will thus take place in the case of the Olympics.

Event media exposure can have a positive influence on particular components of destination image and the intention of viewers to visit the destination of the host city (Chalip, Green, & Hill, 2003). However, it can also be that event media can affect a vital dimension of the destination image in a negative way, this can then cause a drop in visitations outside the event period. Therefore, it is important for Olympic host cities in which way their city is presented in the media. Media management strategies have to possibility to make a difference in the impact of hosting the event on the city its image in both domestic and international markets (Chalip, 2004). The impact can be improved by tactically optimising both the quantity and content of media exposure that the location gets as a result of hosting the sport event. This can be done by linking the host city to advertisements and reports of the event.

2.5 Media coverage and effects

The way in which a city is portrayed in the media has implications for cities in the competition for a variety of resources such as businesses, tourism and investments (Avraham, 2000). There are four general types of coverage patterns of a city which are mainly affected by four groups of different factors. According to Avraham (2000), these coverage patterns are: cities that mainly receive positive coverage versus cities mainly receiving negative coverage, or cities that are mostly ignored but when covered this is mainly in a negative versus positive context. One of the factors that influences these patterns are a city its characteristics, for example cities with a larger population size

and a location that is closer to a media organization will improve its chance of receiving more coverage. Also, editorial policy which relates to decisions of the media organization will have an influence together with the personal background of reporters. The third factor is that changes in the social and political environment can change place images. The last and only factor that cities have control over is public relations, through which a city has the possibility to improve its own media image.

Media coverage is thus influenced by different factors and the type of portrayal can influence other dimensions. A lot of different facets of the Olympic Games touch media and can therefore have an influence on society through this (Bissell & Perry, 2012). The support of local residents for hosting an event for example is influenced by their perceptions of the media portrayal, if this representation is perceived as fair there is much more support. This fairness even appears to be of greater influence as compared to the type of media coverage (negative, positive and neutral). Therefore, open communication and unbiased reporting from media sources is important for residential support (Ritchie, Shipway, & Monica Chien, 2010). Besides that, it may also be that the severity of the issue can raise the importance people place on the negative versus positive coverage.

Events media coverage may or may not be positive, it points out issues that relate to both event outcomes and impacts in the broader environment. The media can thus be seen as an important agent which shapes the interpretation of applicable topics and provides information towards the public (Robertson & Rogers, 2009). Local media tend to distribute negative news quicker as compared to positive messages, especially if an event is designed to foster economic development or grasp a new market. Also, the media is influenced by both commercial and political pressures.

As outlined before, the media coverage that is generated before, during, and after an event is one of the main reasons in bidding for the right to be the host city of major events. Events will gain media exposure and attract journalists and this may thereby lead to positive image effects. Falkheimer (2007) highlights that the role of media in the management of events can be dependent on the location context. Through a case study of the media effects of the 2005 America's Cup preregatta in Sweden, it was found that different attitudes towards the event were visible. International and national media coverage seemed to be mostly neutral but including limited positive image effects, whilst local and regional media coverage was more negative and spend more attention to issues related to social welfare and the fact that public money is spent into a risky project. This criticism can cause the appearance of a legitimacy gap between the public, politicians and stakeholders and may also lead to a negative image of the destination. This link between the coverage of a sport event and political

communication, could imply that a lack of media support can be seen as a lack of alliances amongst commercial and public actors.

Falkheimer (2007) also addresses that there are general theories in studying the media effects for events. The agenda setting thesis concludes that there is an effect of media exposure on what people talk and think about. Hereafter, the agenda setting theory was developed, which shows that reality can be framed by media and that media can influence consumer beliefs. Framing theory followed which has the characteristics of defining problems, framing correlations, expressing moral judgements and showing possible solutions. The framing theory should be accompanied by cultural theory, which can nuance the media effects discourse. This is specifically relevant for events, since media effects are often taken for granted to easily.

The positivity or negativity of media reports could possibly also be influenced by exogenous factors. Research of Zhong and Zhou (2012) investigated if the weather circumstances during the 2008 Beijing Olympics could have an effect on the media coverage by the most circulated globally influencing U.S. newspapers. They specifically looked at air pollution, temperature and cloudiness. It is hypothesized that the weather could influence media by first influencing the mood of journalists, and that because of this mood change choices for using negative or positive words are altered. The Air Pollution Index and temperature had a significant influence towards the negativity of news. So, when the pollution increased and temperatures rose, more negative words were used in the journalists reports. For the use of positive words influenced by weather a non-significant relationship was found. Also, careful interpretation of these results is necessary since the correlations found could suggest an association, but no causation, so the linkage between the weather and positive/negative media attention is indirect. The decisions journalists make in providing news, are thus not only based on normal patterns of journalistic practices, but could also be explained by exogenous factors, of which weather can be one.

2.6 Sentimental framework for media analysis

In order to be able to find an answer to the main question, a framework needs to be developed which specifies the sentiment of different news articles. The goal of sentiment analysis is to recognize the viewpoint(s) underlying a text span (Pang & Lee, 2004). When looking at psychological theories, the core conclusions coming from language can be classified as being positive, negative or neutral (Osgood, 1959). The use of positive and negative evaluation has been the first and largest dimension of the multiple ways in which language is used by people. A distinction will be made to select whether news is positive or negative, if it then still is ambiguous what the overall sentiment is, it will be seen as neutral by default.

The analysis of content can be computer aided, for which The General Inquirer is one tool, it was developed by Stone, Dunphy, Smith, and Ogilvie (1966) who defined positivity and negativity as follows: ''Positivity: words reflecting a positive outlook, that is, friendly, virtue, optimistic. Negativity: words reflecting a negative outlook, that is, angry, passive, weak.'' Kim and Hovy (2006) study specific words as a key indicator of an opinion, and also use a three-way classification method, in which they define words as follows: ''Positive words carry positive valence whereas words in the negative class carry negative valence. Words that are not opinion baring are defined as being neutral'' (p. 3).

In this study the overall content of each news article will be classified as being in one of the three categories. Since most media content analysed should be related to different aspects of host cities, effects and impacts of the Olympics or for example criticism related to circumstances in host regions, a general view of positivity or negativity hold in an article will be quite clear. To illustrate this some examples classifications will be given. Negative articles could relate to: too much money being spend, poverty in certain areas, criticism about living circumstances in favelas, safety issues, violence, pollution, political suppression or discrimination of certain groups of people (like LGBT) or things like insecurity about Olympic facility delays. Positive articles could relate to: job creation, extra tourism or other economic related benefits for host cities, good facilities and infrastructure or increased sport participation in cities. If none of such similar things are mentioned, or both positive and negative aspects are mentioned within one article equally it will be qualified as neutral.

Besides those content words related to the Games, the use of certain adverbs and adjectives can also influence the overall sentiment an article holds. In analysing the semantic orientation of reviews, Turney (2002) conceptualizes positive versus negative phrases by saying that something has a positive orientation if it has good associations (such as romantic ambience) and a negative orientation if it has bad associations (such as horrific events). Also, semantic orientation of a phrase is based on comparing the similarity to a positive (excellent) and negative (poor) reference word. Therefore, in analysing the media exposure of the news messages, scoring will also be based on the existence of positive or negative adverbs and adjectives in the context sentences. For example, words as good, excellent, magnificent, outstanding, well and lovely will improve the likelihood of a message being scored as positive, whereas on the other hand messages containing words like poor, bad, horrific, wrong, evil and wretched will have increased chance to be scored as negative.

2.7 Hypotheses

Since the Olympic Games are an event which takes place at a specific time, the period wherein publicity is generated can influence the sentiment of the media portrayal. In order to answer the main question three hypotheses will be formulated to make a separation based on time periods.

2.7.1 Hypothesis 1

Exposure to pre-event media can have an effect on people's images of both the host destination and sport event. According to Green, Lim, Seo, and Sung (2010), pre-event media affects both image and peoples interest in travelling towards the destination. However, this is specifically dependent on the combination and content of media exposure, the host countries image was significantly affected by positive content about the Olympics and Chinese culture, and negative exposure to aspects of the Beijing Games. Besides the Games, other sport events media exposure could provide a good base for the general sentiment of media around events. In analysing the Pan American Junior Championships, an international sport event, it was found that media (mostly local) provided tremendous positive coverage in the lead-up to the event (Taks, Green, Misener, & Chalip, 2014). This generated free publicity and increased awareness, which in turn can increase sport participation and development. Therefore, the expectation is that the pre-event period leads to positive exposure and thus is the first hypothesis formulated as follows:

Hypothesis 1: There is more positive than negative media exposure for the host city in the period before the Olympic Games.

2.7.2 Hypothesis 2

During the event, media generally tend to focus on sports, but host destinations will be showcased as well, having most likely a positive frame. Consumption of telecasts during events, can change perceptions and attitudes towards host countries (Hede, 2005). In a Case study of Athens 2004, 38.7% of participants had an improved overall attitude about Greece as a tourist destination, resulting from consumption of positive media telecasts. During the international Pan American Championships mentioned earlier on, also a huge amount of positive media coverage was existent (Taks et al., 2014). It can be helpful for large events to establish partnerships with media in order to engage the public in a positive way (Girginov & Hills, 2008). Messages can be framed to improve engagement and used as a strategy to foster sport participation and development. The expectation is that during the Games, the sentiment of exposure will be mainly positive, therefore the second hypothesis is stated is follows:

Hypothesis 2: There is more positive than negative media exposure for the host city during the Olympic Games.

2.7.3 Hypothesis 3

It is important to hold a long-term perspective in analysing large events. Media attention has peaked already soon after an event has been held, since most exposure will be generated already before and during the event (Bramwell, 1997). However, full impacts will only be visible a considerable time later, therefore it is important to look at the media content after the event. Cost overruns and a loss of money for the host cities are the case for almost all Olympics, with some exceptions (Baade &

Matheson, 2016). The real costs of hosting the Olympics will only be known after the event and leads to negative media publications in this period. Besides cost overruns, many venues and facilities build for sport events are also faced with challenges after the event has left town. The so called ''white elephants'' often display low levels of utilisation, Olympic cities have difficulties with filling up stadiums (Alm, Solberg, Storm, & Jakobsen, 2016). For countries with high corruption levels, stadiums have the lowest utilisations. Pictures and reports of empty stadiums will have a negative outlook for the host. Therefore, hypothesis 3 is stated as follows:

Hypothesis 3: There is more negative than positive media exposure for the host city in the period after the Olympic Games.

3. Data & Methodology

3.1 Data

3.1.1 Selection of Olympiads

Both the main question and hypotheses mention the Olympic Games as event researched. The Olympics take place every two years (taking into account both the summer and winter Games), so a lot of events took place in the past decades. Analysing media from many different Games in depth is time-consuming, so therefore it is decided to limit the scope by looking at Sochi 2014 and Rio 2016 as specific cases. Normally speaking, the Summer Olympics have a bigger size as compared to the Winter Games, in Rio 11238 athletes represented 207 countries, whereas Sochi welcomed 2780 athletes coming from 88 countries (Olympic, n.d.-a; Olympic, n.d.-b). Given this size difference it is interesting to look if there are media exposure differences for both host cities, so the three hypotheses will be analysed for both games separately, after which results can be compared. The choice for these Games specifically was also made, because news data then is available online for both a period before the Games as well as after. PyeongChang for example is too recent for making longer term periods afterwards, while news data for Games that took place in the last century for example may be unavailable online.

3.1.2 Data source

To analyse the media generated for both host cities, the database LexisNexis[©] Academic will be used. This is a database which has access to full-text news, containing major world publications, newspapers and newswires from around 1990 onwards. In this database news searches can be made on specific search terms, which can then be filtered further by in- or excluding specific words within the media displayed. Given the global scope of the Olympics, it is decided to look specifically at news written in English instead of Dutch. The used search strategy within this database will be elaborated further.

3.1.3 Time period

Also, different periods were mentioned in the hypotheses, these periods will now be specified for the Sochi and Rio Olympic Games. For the analysis four different periods will be used, namely; the baseline period, the years before the Games, the period in which the Games took place and a period after the Games. Not only really hosting the Olympics as an event, but even submitting a bid package to the national Olympic committee is enough to generate some media exposure for a city (Andranovich et al., 2001; Baade & Matheson, 2016). Therefore, in analysing the extra media exposure that is really created for an Olympic host city as compared to when they would not host such an event is it important to look at a baseline, since the bid itself already generates exposure. Thus, the baseline period is

defined as the 10-6 years before announcement as an applicant host city for the Olympics (Olympic, n.d.-c; Olympic n.d.-d). Before the Games is from this date onwards until the day before opening (Olympic, n.d.-a; Olympic n.d.-b). Afterwards is from the day after the closing of the Olympics until 1 year and 9 months later in order to make a comparison of equal length between both cities (see table 1).

Table 1: Specification of periods used

	Sochi	**Rio**
Baseline	25 October 1995 – 25 October 1999	11 December 1997 - 11 December 2001
Before	26 October 2005 – 6 February 2014	12 December 2007- 4 August 2016
During	7-23 February 2014	5-21 August 2016
After	24 February 2014 – 24 November 2015	22 August 2016 – 22 May 2018

3.1.4 Search strategy for data selection

In order to get the most relevant news items, further data selection within LexisNexis has to take place. First of all, by using the power search function, the periods of table 1 will be used to specify the dates wherein between news has to be published. Also, as indicated before the type of news is all English news. Using both specifications a first investigating search was done by only using the name of the Olympic host city, namely; Sochi and Rio. Rio was used as search term, since in the context of the Games Rio de Janeiro hosting the games was mostly talked about as being the Rio Olympics. Furthermore, when using Rio, articles containing Rio de Janeiro will still be retrieved, while articles found by using Rio de Janeiro, will not necessarily include all articles using only Rio in their text. It was decided to already include the mentioning of the word ''City'' in the lead of the text, so articles are more likely to have some connection with the host city and not only the Olympics itself. For both hosts the search was interrupted because more than 3000 results would be returned, LexisNexis will then proceed by listing the top 1000 most relevant results.

To look at the general exposure pattern it is important to indicate the absolute number of news articles correctly, specific newspapers will be selected to make a smaller selection of articles. The four major native English-speaking countries by size and population are the USA, Canada, Australia and the UK, therefore newspapers from these countries will be analysed. For the USA, The Wall Street Journal was the daily newspaper with the biggest circulation, however this source is unavailable in LexisNexis and therefore the runner up, The New York Times, will be used (Statista, 2018a). For Canada, the leading daily newspaper is The Toronto Star which is therefore selected (Statista, 2018b). The selected newspaper for Australia is The Herald Sun, having the largest print audience (Roy Morgan, 2017). For

the United Kingdom the Daily Mail is selected since it is the leading daily newspaper over there (Statista, 2018c).

Also, the specific content of news articles needs to be relevant for the exposure generated specifically for the city and not for particular athletes for example. Therefore, messages which contain particular words indicating that the article is about results will be filtered out by using certain words. Using the word results would seem logical, however results might also be results from research or it may be used as a verb, therefore specific race results related words are selected. These are: Medal, Champion and Ranking. It can be that messages still do contain race results of the Games, if these are detected they will be filtered out manually later on. When having a look at the content of news messages, there were a lot of irrelevant messages specifically for Rio containing the American river Rio Grande and a major Mr Rios, therefore another exclude filter is used for these words in the search strategy. Irrelevant messages are filtered out manually if there is no connection at all with the city of Sochi and Rio. Lastly, if similar news messages are displayed twice, one will be seen as irrelevant and removed from analysis to prevent double counting. The overall strategy for filtering in LexisNexis is displayed in figure 1.
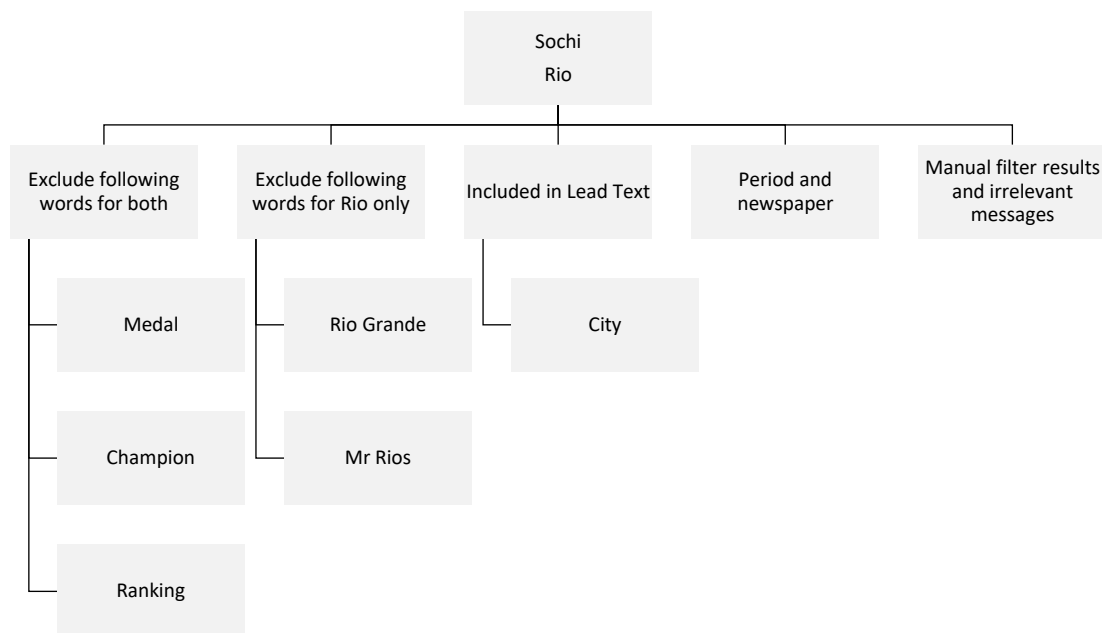
Figure 1: Search strategy for filtering

3.1.5 Descriptive statistics

The overall media exposure pattern is generated by looking at the number of news messages for the periods specified in table 1. As search terms only Sochi and Rio including City in the lead text were used, generating the following data for the total of the four newspapers (see figure 2 and 3). The number of news messages per newspaper are displayed in Appendix table A and B. Both figures clearly indicate that during the year of the Olympics media exposure is on the highest level.
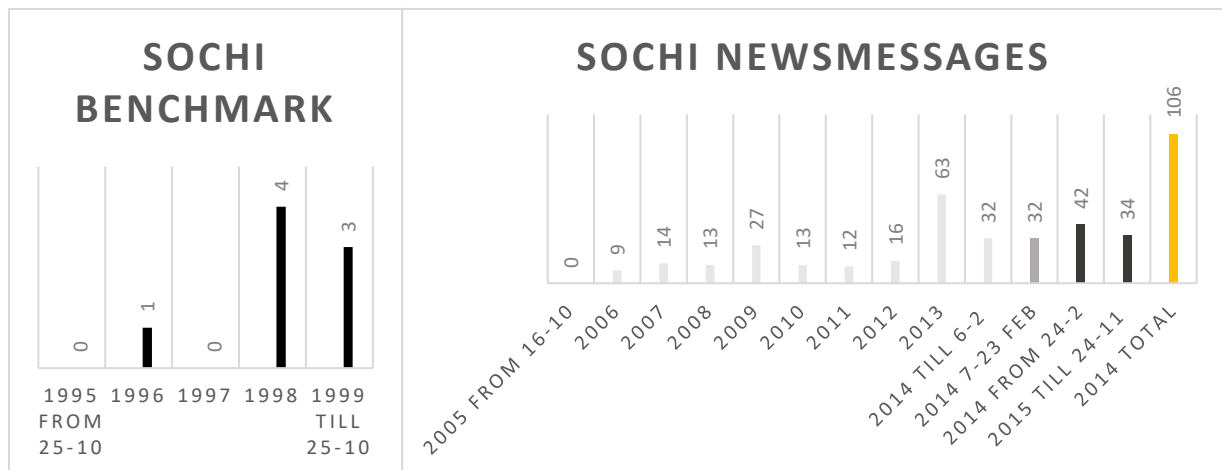
Figure 2: Number of news messages Sochi

For Sochi there is a relative high level of media exposure in the year before the Games (2013) as compared to the other years. Because Rio de Janeiro is a far bigger global city as compared to Sochi a different media pattern can be observed. First of all, during Rio its baseline period a fairly stable quantity of media messages is available. In the years following the bidding and election of Rio as a host a slightly rising trend is present, which decreases in the year before the games but peaks again in 2016. The Olympics thus generate increasing media exposure which is mainly present in the Olympic year.
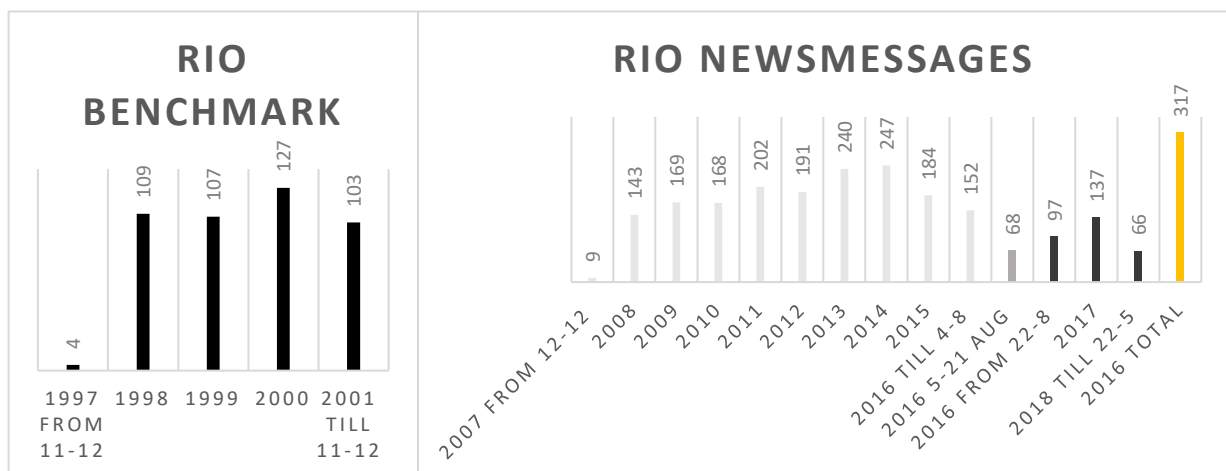
Figure 3: Number of news massages Rio

When applying the search strategy with all filters, except the manual filter, to the LexisNexis database the following number of results are generated for the three periods before, during and after the Olympics used for sentiment analysis (see table 2).

Table 2: Results for applying filters

	Sochi before	Sochi during	Sochi after	Rio before	Rio during	Rio after
The New York Times	73	8	29	616	12	114
The Toronto Star	37	8	22	214	5	23
The Herald Sun	11	0	1	129	3	27
The Daily Mail	13	1	1	303	6	20
Total	*134*	*17*	*53*	*1262*	*26*	*184*

Since data will be scored manually a manageable amount of news messages needs to be selected. For Sochi 204 selected messages are available, while for Rio this is much more (1472 messages). Therefore, a random sample selection for the before and after period of Rio will be made, while for Sochi all messages will be analysed.

It is important to get comparable sample sizes; accordingly, the number of Sochi news messages is taken as a baseline to calculate the random percentage of Rio messages needed. For the before period this percentage equals 10.62% (134/1262*100%), while the percentage for the after period is 28.80% (53/184*100%). The data selected also needs to be representative for the whole period analysed to overcome biases, picking the random news messages is thus not done all at once, but by a few months at a time per newspaper dependent on the amount. For example, The Toronto Star published 10 news messages in the period of December 2007 till April 2008, of these 10 messages 1 was randomly selected by an online random picker tool containing number 1-10. This procedure then is also applied to the following years and the after period in a similar way.

The new number of messages randomly selected for the before and after period of Rio are indicated in table 3, by using all filters, except the manual filter. When comparing the total amount of messages (214) with the analysed number of messages for Sochi (204), the sample size is comparable and the difference is mainly determined by the difference in the during period.

Table 3: New number of messages Rio

	Rio before sample	**Rio during**	**Rio after sample**
The New York Times	65	12	33
The Toronto Star	23	5	7
The Herald Sun	14	3	8
The Daily Mail	32	6	6
Total	*134*	*26*	*54*

3.2 Methodology

3.2.1 Content analysis

The general method used to analyse the media exposure throughout this report is content analysis. Content analysis is a method that is applied to research a wide range of texts arranging from transcripts of interviews to the content of newspapers and magazines (Macnamara, 2005). A distinction can be made in quantitative and qualitative content analysis. Whereas quantitative analysis focusses mostly on collecting data about media content, like the topics, issues or volume of mentions, qualitative analysis is more about an examination of relationships between text and recognizes that media texts are polysemic. Since it is harder for computers to consider the context of content, qualitative analysis can be done manually.

It is possible to combine both qualitative and quantitative analysis in identifying positive and negative words and phrases to classify the general sentiment of the text. It is however important to take a deductive approach in the research design which requires that ''all decisions on variables, their measurement, and coding rules must be made before the observation begins'' (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 11), because an inductive approach could lead to major biases and invalidity. An a priori research design thus needs to be operationalised into a Coding System, which should include a Code Book establishing which messages are relevant, consisting of both positive and negative ones, which need to be equally matched and balanced (Macnamara, 2005). In the literature review of this study, a sentimental framework was already developed, this framework acts as a guide in coding the sentiment of messages and will be further specified to ensure balance. In table 4 a schematic overview is given, which thus is seen as the Code Book. Also, negative and positive adverbs and adjectives are taken into account during coding.

Table 4: Codebook for classifying messages as positive or negative

Positive	Negative
Budget savings	Too much money spent (budget overruns)
Flourishing areas because of developments	Poverty in certain areas
Good living circumstances	Bad living circumstances
Good security	Safety concerns (terrorism)
No violence, pleasant environment	Violence
Clean air	Pollution
Freedom of speech	Political suppression / discrimination
Good facilities / infrastructure	Facility delays or construction faults
Job creation	More unemployment
More tourism	Less tourism
Increased sport participation	Decreased sport participation
Nice physical appearance of city	Physical appearance of city is bad
Other economic related benefits for the city	Other economic related problems for the city

3.2.2 Hypotheses testing

The sentiment of media exposure is determined by using content analysis which specifies if there is positive, negative or neutral exposure using the codebook of table 4. The content analysed will be filtered by using the search strategy for data selection. For each period news messages will be scored to one of the three categories, the numbers of each category for each period can then be totalled to compare if there are differences between positive versus negative coverage and if these shifts over time.

Positive versus neutral versus negative coverage will be scored as a categorical variable, where 0 indicates negative, 0.5 indicates neutral and 1 indicates positive. For each period an average score can then be calculated, if this average is bigger than 0.5 there is relatively more positive coverage, while a value smaller than 0.5 indicates more negative exposure. To test if the calculated average is significantly different from 0.5 an extra test will be performed.

Since the variable is categorical and the samples might not fit the normal distribution a nonparametric test should be used. A Chi-squared test for distribution will be used, to test if the distribution of negative, neutral and positive messages is equal within each separate period (and thus has an average of 0.5) or is significantly more negative or positive. This is done by comparing the

expected frequencies (frequencies for negative, neutral and positive same number) and the observed frequencies. The null hypothesis thus indicates that there is no difference in the distribution of negative, neutral and positive messages, whereas the alternative hypothesis indicates that there is a difference in the distribution of the sentiment of messages. For concluding a 5% significance level will be used. The Chi-squared test will be performed for each period separately for both Sochi and Rio.

As a benchmark there can also be looked if the distribution of sentiment differs in between periods. Chi-squared tests will be performed by comparing two periods at once for each Olympics. So, the Sochi before period will be tested against the Sochi during period, the Sochi during periods against the Sochi after period and the Sochi before period against the Sochi after period, and vice versa for the Rio Olympics. The Chi-squared test has the assumption that at least 80% of the cells should have an expected count over 5. In the cases this happens, the Fisher Exact test will be used as an alternative.

4. Results

The publications that were eventually used for the content analysis including manual filters are displayed in Appendix B.

4.1 Sochi

First of all, the results for the Sochi Olympics were retrieved. In table C of the Appendix, the descriptive statistics of the coded news messages for each period are displayed. For all periods the number of negative news messages is greater than the number of positive messages. Table 5 also indicates that the percentage of negative content is bigger than 50% for all periods. The percentage of positive news messages is relatively small and decreasing over time, the number of neutral messages differs per period.

Table 5: Percentage of news messages per category Sochi

	Before	During	After
Negative	51.40%	73.33%	61.90%
Neutral	33.64%	13.33%	28.57%
Positive	14.95%	13.33%	9.52%

Looking at table 6, it can be concluded that the average content score is less than 0.5 for all periods, thus negative exposure dominated. However, it is also important to look if the distribution is not neutral at all. Therefore, Chi-Squared tests were performed of which the results can be found in table D-I of the Appendix. The distribution of the before period is significantly different from neutral (p-value=0.000, table D), and thus is the sentiment of the before period negative. For both the during and after period the results also indicate significant negative content (p-value= 0.005, table E and p-value=0.000, table F).

Table 6: Average scores positive (1) versus neutral (0.5) versus negative (0) messages Sochi

	Before	During	After
Average	0.317757009	0.20	0.238095238

Also, in between period comparisons were made. Looking at the Fisher's Exact Test of table G (p-value=0.255), it can be concluded that there is no significant difference in the distribution of content between the before and during period of Sochi. The results of table H (p-value=0.582) indicate that this the case as well for the during versus after period. In comparing the before and after period (see table I) there is no significant different distribution (p-value=0.490). So in between all the periods, there is no significantly different distribution.

4.2 Rio

Also, the results for the Olympics of Rio were retrieved. Appendix table J displays the descriptive statistics of the coded messages for each period. The amount of negative news messages is larger than the number of positive messages in the before and after period, while the during period has more positive than negative news messages. Table 7 indicates a similar pattern, but it is important to be aware of the fact that there are also relatively a large percentage of neutral messages for each period, in the before period the neutral category is even the largest.

Table 7: Percentage of news messages per category Rio

	Before	**During**	**After**
Negative	32.89%	25.00%	53.33%
Neutral	43.42%	35.00%	40.00%
Positive	23.68%	40.00%	6.67%

Table 8 indicates the average content scores for each period. The average benchmark of 0.5 can be used to determine the overall sentiment per period. The average for the before and after sample periods are smaller than 0.5 and thus have a negative sentiment. For the during period the average is higher than the benchmark, so it has more positive content. To look if the distribution of sentiment is not equal for all content categories in each period again Chi-Squared tests were performed of which the results can be found in Appendix table J-M. The distribution of both the before (p-value=0.108) and during period (p-value=0.705) is not significantly different from an equal distribution. However, for the after period the distribution is significantly different from neutral and thus negative (p-value-=0.006).

Table 8: Average scores positive (1) versus neutral (0.5) versus negative (0) messages Rio

	Before	**During**	**After**
Average	0.453947368	0.575	0.266666667

Again, it is also interesting to look at comparisons between periods, for which Chi-Squared tests were used. Appendix table N indicates that there is no significant difference in the distribution of the sentiment for the before and during period (p-value=0.373). However, a significant difference in the content category distributions can be found for the during and after period (p-value=0.009, Appendix table O). In comparing the before and after period there is just no significant distributional content difference (p-value=0.066, Appendix table P).

5. Discussion

The goal of this thesis was to analyse the content of media exposure for two different Olympiads. The publicity that is generated for the host city is often seen as a major reason to bid for hosting such a mega-event. However, the sentimental feeling of this exposure can influence a city its image, thus is it of interest if this is mainly positive or negative and different for the various event phases.

For the Sochi Olympics, there is significantly more negative media exposure in all three periods. The distribution between all the periods is not significantly different. Therefore, hypothesis 1 and 2 which indicated more positive than negative media exposure before and during the event can be rejected for Sochi. Hypothesis 3 indicated more negative exposure in the after period and thus is not rejected**.** The findings for the before and during period are thus not consistent with prior expectations. The negativity of the news messages in these periods is caused by specific events and circumstances in the region which received many coverages. Negative Sochi messages were mainly about: security and safety concerns because of terrorism threats, (suicide) bombings prior to the Games, military conflicts with Dagestan and Georgia and protests and criticisms about LGBT rights and discrimination.

For the Rio Olympics results were retrieved as well. The before period has an average lower than 0.5, but it is not significant and in comparison with the other periods it has no significant distribution difference. Therefore, hypothesis 1 which indicate more positive exposure can be rejected. The during period has an average larger than 0.5 which indicates a positive sentiment, although it is not significant hypothesis 2 can thus not be rejected. The after period does indicate significant negative exposure, also in comparison with the during period, on this basis hypothesis 3 is not rejected. There thus is not significantly more positive coverage in the pre-event period, which is inconsistent with prior assumptions. The negative Rio coverage prior to the Games was dominated by content that had to do with specific problems in the City of Rio de Janeiro. In Rio's slums many problems were existent, there were a lot of street crime problems, drugs wars, many violence, gun battles and reports of police officers that killed a lot of people and were corrupt. Also, many protests from citizens took place about these problems and a bribery scandal.

The results of this research are partly consistent with previous studies. While for Sochi a comparable study was not discussed, research of Van den Broucke and Van Regenmortel (2017) showed that for the Rio Olympics Dutch and Belgian newspapers mainly drafted a negative coverage for most topics. While these were different newspapers, the sentiment of the before and after period matches with the results found in this thesis. The study of Chung and Woo (2011) indicated that for

the Beijing Olympics consumers who had a high exposure towards media reports of the event had an enhanced image of China. Also, there was a relatively high level of positive coverage. Even though this is about another Olympiad, it does not match with the general negative media sentiment of this thesis.

A possible interpretation for these findings can be that the general sentiment of the Olympics as a sport event is changing. It could be the case that earlier Olympics had a more positive image while nowadays people hold a more negative association with the event. There could be more concerns about the heavy expenditures involved which are not value for money, since stadiums after the Games are left empty for example. Thus, there is increasing awareness about the major cost overruns and sustainability, therefore the International Olympic Committee its strategic vision is undergoing changes (Baade & Matheson, 2016). Some people have proposed to solve this problem by creating one or a few permanent locations, or alternatively award two successive Olympics to the same city. This could improve the useful life of the Olympics and decrease cities negative exposure about costs.

Another explanation for the negative exposure could be that in this research Western English countries have been analysed, while both Olympics were in BRIC countries. Both sort of countries differ from each other, which might bias media reports. Western countries could display a tendency to generally report in a more negative way about these non-Western countries. While media reports about other Western countries might be biased in a more positive way.

6. Conclusion

The findings of this research can be used to formulate an answer to the main question of this study, which stated if organising the Olympics leads to more positive than negative media exposure for the host city. Generally, it is the case that it does not for these 2 Olympic Games. For 5 out of 6 periods, the overall content is more negative, of which all Sochi periods and the Rio after period were significant. Only the period during the Rio de Janeiro Olympics displays more positive exposure, but it has no significantly different distribution from an equal category division. The Olympics thus led to more negative media publicity for Sochi in a whole, and for Rio before and after the Games.

One of the main arguments for cities that are in the process of biddings in order to be awarded such a mega-event as the Olympics is the publicity and media recognition that is generated for the city. As visualised in the descriptive statistics (figure 2 & 3) it is evident that the host city clearly gets more publicity in the Olympic year. However, as indicated by the content analysis, this coverage is mainly negative. Thus, if it is the positive publicity that is advocated by the bidding cities, that might not really hold as the biggest argument for staging such an event. Nonetheless, bad publicity is also publicity and it might still create awareness about a city.

6.1 Research limitations

This thesis has several limitations which should be accounted for. First of all, the content analysis was performed manually by one person. Despite having established a sentimental framework and codebook, this could lead to a bias. This is because a strict approach to content analysis requires that the content (or at least a sample of it) should be coded by two or more persons (Macnamara, 2005). Furthermore, the research design of this study was a case study of both Sochi and Rio, therefore the findings can be reliable for these Olympics, but are generally not transmittable to other Olympiads, since there might be totally different issues related to other Games which influence the media sentiment.

Other restrictions of this study mainly relate to the Rio analysis. For Rio a random sample was drawn for the before and after period to decrease the number of messages analysed. By randomizing sample selection bias is avoided, but when able to analyse all news messages a different content sentiment could potentially be found. Also, it should be noted that in the before period another mega-event took place in Rio, the FIFA World Cup in 2014. Some news messages in this period thus were related to this event instead of the Olympics. A final limitation is that while some words containing the name Rio partly but that were not related to the city were filtered out in the search strategy, more of such words were revealed when coding already started. This led to relatively more irrelevant news

messages for Rio as compared to Sochi. Many news messages were for example about stock values of the company Rio Tinto and Daily Mail reports quite often contained information about a UK football player named Rio Ferdinand. Also, some street names and rivers mentioned in messages partly contained the word Rio.

6.2 Suggestions for further research

Further research could be done to amplify the results found in this study. As indicated earlier on, the cases studied cannot simply be transferred to other Olympic Games or sport events. Therefore, it would be interesting to see if other Olympics show similar media exposure patterns. As indicated in the discussion, it could be the case that there is a sentiment development from positive to negative media attention over time for the Games. Furthermore, the sentiment of the content can be influenced by newspapers or media sources chosen, in this study the most popular newspapers were used, but potentially more qualitative media could hold a different viewpoint.

With the rise of social media in latest years, it might also be interesting to use this or for example televised news as media source. Also, further research could elaborate on this research by improving the design. If more resources are available an analysis of all messages could be done instead of a sample, by multiple coders or by programming to improve reliability. Lastly, the longitudinal data can be studied over a longer period of time, specifically for the after period which now consisted of 1 year and 9 months. The effect of the Olympics in media about the host city will probably carry on much longer and some effects will only be known a few years after the Games.

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Appendix A Tables

Table A: Number of news messages Sochi per newspaper

Period	Total	New York Times	Toronto Star	Herald Sun	Daily Mail
1995 from 25-10	0	0	0	0	0
1996	1	1	0	0	0
1997	0	0	0	0	0
1998	4	4	0	0	0
1999	3	3	0	0	0
2005 from 16-10	0	0	0	0	0
2006	9	5	1	2	1
2007	14	6	3	3	2
2008	13	10	0	1	2
2009	27	19	5	2	1
2010	13	7	5	1	0
2011	12	5	3	1	3
2012	16	7	7	0	2
2013	63	35	19	4	5
2014 till 6-2	32	11	15	3	3
2014 7-23 feb	32	16	14	0	2
2014 from 24-2	42	26	14	1	1
2014 total	106	53	43	4	6
2015 till 24-11	34	20	13	1	0

Table B: Number of news messages Rio per newspaper

Period	Total	New York Times	Toronto Star	Herald Sun	Daily Mail
1997 from 11-12	4	1	2	0	1
1998	109	54	44	0	11
1999	107	76	20	0	11
2000	127	57	31	18	21
2001 till 11-12	103	59	18	11	15
2007 from 12-12	9	3	0	0	6
2008	143	61	21	8	53
2009	169	77	27	12	53
2010	168	68	20	19	61
2011	202	74	29	25	74
2012	191	73	33	24	61
2013	240	142	21	15	62
2014	247	129	51	23	44
2015	184	118	36	14	16
2016 till 4-8	152	94	14	25	19
2016 5-21 Aug	68	27	17	7	17
2016 from 22-8	97	55	12	19	11
2016 total	317	176	43	51	47
2017	137	81	17	19	20
2018 till 22-5	66	48	5	9	4

Table C: Number of news messages per category Sochi

	Before	During	After
Negative	55	11	26
Neutral	36	2	12
Positive	16	2	4
Total	*107*	*15*	*42*
Irrelevant (left out)	27	2	11

Table D: Chi-Squared Test Before Sochi

	score
Chi-Square	21.327[b]
Df	2
Asymp. Sig.	.000

b. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 35.7.

Table E: Chi-Squared Test During Sochi

	score
Chi-Square	10.800[b]
df	2
Asymp. Sig.	.005

b. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 5.0.

Table F: Chi-Squared Test After Sochi

	score
Chi-Square	17.714[b]
Df	2
Asymp. Sig.	.000

b. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 14.0.

Table G: Chi-Squared test before versus during Sochi

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.936[a]	2	.230	.255
Likelihood Ratio	3.252	2	.197	.240
Fisher's Exact Test	2.817			.255
N of Valid Cases	122			

a. 2 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.21.

Table H: Chi-Squared test during versus after Sochi

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.420[a]	2	.492	.529
Likelihood Ratio	1.547	2	.461	.529
Fisher's Exact Test	1.485			.582
N of Valid Cases	57			

a. 3 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.58.

Table I: Chi-squared test before versus after Sochi

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.515[a]	2	.469	.490
Likelihood Ratio	1.553	2	.460	.475
Fisher's Exact Test	1.377			.490
N of Valid Cases	149			

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.64.

Table J: Number of news messages per category Rio

	Before	During	After
Negative	25	5	16
Neutral	33	7	12
Positive	18	8	2
Total	*76*	*20*	*30*
Irrelevant (left out)	58	6	24

Table K: Chi-Squared Test Before Rio

	score
Chi-Square	4.447[b]
df	2
Asymp. Sig.	.108

b. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 25.3.

Table L: Chi-Squared Test During Rio

	score
Chi-Square	.700[b]
df	2
Asymp. Sig.	.705

b. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 6.7.

Table M: Chi-Squared Test After Rio

	score
Chi-Square	10.400[b]
df	2
Asymp. Sig.	.006

b. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 10.0.

Table N: Chi-Square test before versus during Rio

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.142[a]	2	.343	.373
Likelihood Ratio	2.026	2	.363	.413
Fisher's Exact Test	2.051			.354
N of Valid Cases	96			

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.42.

Table O: Chi-Squared test during versus after Rio

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.039[a]	2	.011	.009
Likelihood Ratio	9.232	2	.010	.012
Fisher's Exact Test	8.657			.012
N of Valid Cases	50			

a. 1 cells (16.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.00.

Table P: Chi-Squared test before versus after Rio

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.684[a]	2	.058	.066
Likelihood Ratio	6.264	2	.044	.045
Fisher's Exact Test	5.679			.055
N of Valid Cases	106			

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.66.

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