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Sport and Media in the "Information Society"

Mutual Interdependence or Power Relation?

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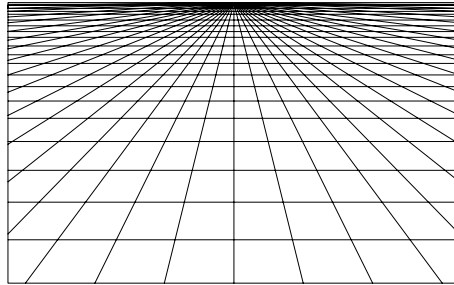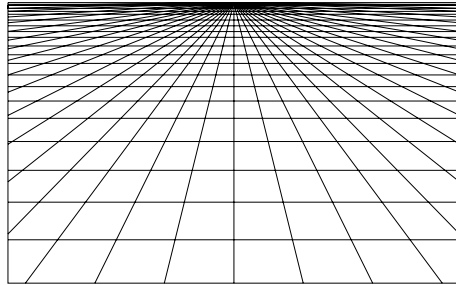"Europe in an Information Society"
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SYNOPSIS

Information appears to be a symbol of the world we live in, what to make of this symbol has, however, been a source of controversy. Many European researchers argue that we find ourselves in a ' Information Society' where information technologies have, in one way or the other, a transforming effect in society. These researchers are what we call technological determinists. Technological determinism is the single most influential theory of the relationship between technology and society. From this perspective, the nature of technologies and the direction of change are unproblematic and pre-determined. Technology has necessary and determinate "impacts" or "effects" upon work, economic life and upon society as a whole.

The social shaping of technology approach is in a way contrary to that determinism. These scholars acknowledge that there has been a 'information explosion' in the European Society, but argue that it is premature to conceive of an information society. In evaluating information technologies investments have so far been on primarily economic and technological factors, however, the social shaping of technology approach points out the importance of including characteristics such as the social, organisational and political. Social constructivist technology studies are united by the insistence of opening the black box of technology. Socio-economic patterns embedded in both the content of technologies and the process of innovation must be exposed and analysed.

Important features of the 'information society' are the leisure and entertainment industries, and hence, sport and media. Sport is a contemporary medium for performing many tasks and carrying multiple messages and, as such, is increasingly indistinguishable from the sports media. From a sociological point of view 'sport' does not have a fixed meaning, but is a concept that has different meanings in different societies. The meaning of the term sport involves a form of social construction This dissertation does not offer any simply essentialist definition of sport, but it does include a four-divide of the sporting activities. The reason for this is to point out the diversity, and to limit the discussion to one of the subgroups, namely professional sport. Sport, sportsmen, sports associations and clubs are actors in cultural life, in politics and in economic. However, the full cultural and ideological significance of sport is brought into being through mediation on television and in the press.

In the latter decades of the 20th century there were great changes brought about in the practices, technologies, public uses, and reach of communication media. The most recent introduction is digital technology. Sports programming are easy to produce and attract big numbers of viewers, and have hence attracted media's attention. The study of contemporary media emerged alongside the contemporary mass media, and predates the establishment of the discipline known as 'media studies'. The earlier approaches were mainly deterministic, and tried to measure the effects and impacts of media in society. The more recent, and certainly more sophisticated, approaches believe that the media technologies are social products and therefore patterned by the conditions of its creations and use.

The dissertation have three objectives; to discuss the sport and media sectors, to investigate the relationship between the two, and finally to apply the theoretical framework to this relationship. Qualitative method and unstructured interviews, with a sample size of 12, were used as means a meeting these objectives. The first part of the dissertation was based on bibliographical contributions, the latter part on empirical findings.

Applying determinism to the relationship between media and sport would imply that one of the agents have inevitable 'effects' or 'impacts' on the other. More specifically, changes in the media industry/technology will bring about changes in the sports sector, and the sports federations have no other choice than react to these changes. The social shaping of technology approach sees media technologies as entering social settings that are home to often deeply ingrained habits and cultural practices that shape the media. From this point of view the relationship between media and sport is characterised by negotiation and interpretation. The agents cooperate, and thus, mutually benefit of being in the relationship.

Chapter 5 presented the interviewees opinions in five areas. Concepts like communication, cooperation and mutual benefit can summarize the findings. For example, the president of the IBU, the sport controller of the EBU and the owner of APF marketing are all of the opinion that the recent technological developments have been mutual beneficial for all parties involved. The media sector does not dictate how the

further development of the biathlon sport should be, neither has the media done so in the past, but it offers opportunities. It is the leadership of the sport who decides which opportunities to take, and which to pass.

The empirical findings and the bibliographical analysis do not support the idea of determinism. The new media technologies have offered opportunities, however, they do not have inevitable consequences. The sport federations own the broadcasting right and can sell them to whomever they want. The media and sport environment is characterised by cooperation and mutual benefit, concepts that support the validity of the social shaping of technology approach. In some instances media benefit more than the sports, others times it is the other way around.

CONTENT

1- INTRODUCTION.

"President Ronald Reagan, the storyteller, instinctively realised that America was a story, not a theory. Theories rarely bring peace, since they inspire divisions based on right and wrong and invite to argument that leads to conflict. Stories are shared, theories are debated."   James H. Billington, Librarian of Congress

This report will not bring about peace. Neither is there any intention to do so. This is an invitation to debate and conflict. Let's leave the storytelling to the politicians.

1-1 Introduction to the debate.

Scientific research has been at the heart of European culture from the very beginning. The scientific revolutions in the seventeenth century shaped European scholarship, the enlightenment with its popularization of science and technology in the eighteenth century forged strong ties between science, technology and culture, and the nineteenth century have fundamentally created the university as we now know it. The creation and further development of the Darwinian evolution theory, and the ground-breaking conceptual shifts in the fundamental concepts of time and space in the latter part of the nineteenth and the first part of the twentieth century have fundamentally changed our worldview and

self perception. Yet, the years since World War 2 have brought an even more intense relationship between science, technology, social and economic innovations. European culture has effectively changed into a technological culture. Said poetically, culture and technology shape one another in an intimate symbiotic dance.[1]

Cyborgs and man-machines hybrids, virtual companies, cyber entertainment and genetically engineered life forms. Technologies part of today's reality. There is no longer doubt that we live in a society dependent on technological devices. However, how do science, technology, and innovations actually interact? In what way does society renew itself on the fly? As Wouters, Annerstedt and Leydedorff point out, the very nature of innovation itself is an important aspect to keep in mind. Societal and technological innovations are accomplished by a seductive rhetoric of permanent progress, creating the feeling that if one does not constantly renew oneself, one is hopelessly backward. Yet, tradition plays an important role in shaping the future as the aforementioned changes do. Not everything moves fast. History counts, especially in Europe. It is not so much a matter of one-sidedly opting for progress as to use the tensions between innovation and tradition to increase the quality of future society.[2]

Commentators have increasingly begun to talk about "information" as a defining feature of the modern world. Much attention is devoted to the "information" of social life, we are

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[1] Wouters, P. Annerstedt, Leydedorff, *The European Guide to Science, Technology and Innovation* in Essay 2: Description of some basic traits and particular problems in connection with management of innovation.

[2] Wouters, P. Annerstedt, Leydedorff, *The European Guide to Science, Technology and Innovation* in : Essay 2: Description of some basic traits and particular problems in connection with management of innovation.

told that we are entering a new information age", that a new "mode of information" predominates, that we have moved into a "global information economy". Quite a few writers have gone even further, they have identified "information societies".[3] Information appears to be a symbol for the world we live in, what to make of this symbol, however, has been a source of controversy. Many major social researchers have gathered around the acknowledgment that there is something special about information in the modern era. These scholars argument is that information technologies have, in one way or the other, a transforming effect in the European Society. A vast amount of the opinions on the "information society" is found in bestselling paperbacks with catchy titles such as "The Wired Society". Still, some of the contributions in the field are more well argumented than others; Daniell Bell, Anthony Giddens, Herbert Schiller, Jurgen Habermas, Jean Baudrillard and Manuell Castells to mention a few. Using Webster's, these "social impact" approaches towards information are both too simplistic and positively misleading when trying to get an idea about what is going on and what is most likely to transpire in the future. These researchers are what we call technological determinists, which means that they see the nature of technologies and the direction of change as unproblematic and pre-determined. According to this theory technology is an independent factor, and therefore causes societal and organisational changes. It is the changes in technology that are bringing about the new "leisure society" where entertainment will play a major part.

The story begins with Charles Darwin[4] whose "Origin of the Species" led to the idea that a nation's vitality depends on its physical characteristics and that these can be improved

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[3] Webster, F., 1995, *Theories of the Information Society,* pp1
[3] (1809-82).

though training or breeding, as with horses. What we perceive as "modern sport" entered the twentieth century largely as the private fiefdom of the new social strata born of industrialisation and urbanisation. It was a social innovation, confined to national boundaries, which had its roots in the emergence of new forms of sociability. Engendered thus by private initiative, the new sports associations and clubs pursued goals that were essential commercial and hedonistic. What is more, for the most part the excluded women, laborers and certain ethnic minorities.[5]

The defenders and promoters of sport could hardly have imagined, at the turn of the century, that sports competition would have an impact on public opinion and become an instrument of international policy. At that time, sport, sportsmen, sport associations and clubs were never seen as potential actors in cultural life, in politics and economics.[6] As the century progressed, there were a growing internationalisation and politicisation of sport. This tendency drew inevitably more focus to the broader issues, like religion, social class, women and race. Sometimes this engendered a split in the movement, with various groups playing among themselves and developing new sporting values. There was also a growing tension, especially in Europe, between amateur-elitist sport for rich, privileged males and commercial spectator sport for the mainly middle classes, with the later finally winning out.[7]

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[4] Riordan, J., Kruger, A., 1999, The International Politics of Sport in the 20th century.
[6] Riordan, J., Kruger, A., 1999, The International Politics of Sport in the 20th century.

[7] Riordan, J., Kruger, A., 1999, The International Politics of Sport in the 20th century.

In the latter decades of the 20th century there were great changes brought about in the practices, technologies, public uses, and reach of communication media. The world also experienced, beginning in the 1980s, a transformation of its politics, as most Cold War barriers crumbled, only to be replaced in the short term by the outbreak of war and regional conflict based on long-standing political, cultural, religious and economic animosities. There were also major changes in the movement and commercialisation of popular culture around the world: music, fashion, telenovelas, and televised sport. [8]

Today, on average, one European in two engages in a "sport", of whom one in five within federal associations, and almost all watch sports events live or on television. Sport is nowadays widely organised on an associative basis and relies on the public authorities to differing degrees depending on the country. However, in the recent years, "sport" has acquired an increasingly commercial slant.[9] Popular sports events attract large audience and the sale of the rights to broadcast these events brings in a lot of money for sport. In fact, throughout Europe, football matches are the television programs that attract the biggest audience for the broadcasting companies. This fact demonstrates the importance of the relation between sport and television, and for the harmonious development of the two.

Conversations about the television industry conjure up words like "globalisation", "personal technology" and "convergence". All very real phenomenon in the communications industry today. Indeed, in the last two decades, Europe has witnessed a

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[8] Spa, M., Rivenburgh, N., Larson, J., 1995, *Television in the Olympics.*
[9] European Commission – DG X, September 1999, *Sport and Employment in Europe.*

"take off" in the audiovisual industry. Arrival of private television and the tremendous technical progress have made this possible. We have a larger number of channels available, and these have at the same time become transnational. Digital technology, pay-TV and pay-per-view services, providing additional broadcasting time and capacity, offers to viewers who are prepared to pay for the services increasing number of opportunities to view a growing number of sports. Professional sports. This technical progression has also been the root of certain strains which are present affecting the world of sport. For example, sports programming has become one of the key battlegrounds between broadcasters as a new delivery system have increased competition in the media marketplace. What impact is this having on the role of sport in society? How will what Gary Whannel[10] calls the "interlocking forces of the television and sponsorship" shape the future of sport and its audiences as we enter a new century? The increasing interest of more televised sport is due to the fact that a sporting event easy attracts spectators and is an easy program to produce.

At the same time, sports federations have realised how important it is to appear on "the box". In addition to a huge audience, televised broadcasts attract sponsors, and thus, incoming money. Today, television rights have replaced ticket sales as the prime source of finance for professional sport. However, some sports organisations have pocketed this easy money from television without much further thought: they see the short-term gain, but have failed to analyse the medium-term situation. For example, it is true that pay channels generally offer more money, but does this compensate for the lack of accessibility to viewing the sport? As the presence of television guarantees income from

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[10] Whannel, G., 1992, pp51

sponsoring and advertising, any sporting event not covered by television runs the risk of marginalisation.[11]

An aspect not to be overlooked is the publics right to information. Now that the sale of exclusive rights has become the prime source of financing, ordinary Europeans, who have been accustomed to watching sporting events free of charge, could find themselves having to pay for it. Closely linked to television rights is the matter of solidarity in the sporting world: how the money generated by the major competitions is redistributed to promote sport.[12]

The European continent faces exciting challenges at the start of the 21st century: improving the quality of life, creating an "information society" in which the user truly is central, preventing and limiting processes of social exclusion, decreasing the high rates of unemployment, ending the systematic exploration of one region or part of the world by the other, and promoting competitive and sustainable economic growth.[13] Sport as a social and economic activity has had positive influence in these areas. The Declaration on Sport annexed to the Amsterdam Treaty "emphasises the social significance of sport, in particular its role of forging identity and bringing people together". Sport is thought to perform five functions in the European Society: educational, public health, social, cultural and recreational. The social function, however, which is in the general interest, has for some years been affected by the emergence of new phenomena which sometimes

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[11] Relations between Sport and Television: Discussion paper for the Working Group, April: 1999.
[12] Relations between Sport and Television: Discussion paper for the Working Group, April: 1999.
[13] Wouters, P. Annerstedt, Leydedorff, *The European Guide to Science, Technology and Innovation* in : Essay 2: Description of some basic traits and particular problems in connection with management of innovation.

call into questions the ethics of sport and the principles on which it is organised. We have, for example, the violence in the stadiums, the increase in the doping practices or the search for quick profits.[14] Furthermore, due to the introduction of new technology like pay-TV and pay-per-view, Europe faces, and is challenged by, the "reorganisation" of the environment of televised sport. All these tendencies make it necessary for sport organisations, broadcasters and public authorities to renew their attention to the need of preserving the traditional values, the autonomy and specific features of sport. All challenges provide for opportunities on the one hand and create risks on the other, both for the individual and for society at large.

2-2. Methodology.

In the philosophy of science it is possible to distinguish between two opposing methodological rapprochements; the Cartesian (Descartes) and the Aristotelian (Aristotle). Briefly explained, in the Cartesian method the procedure is the same regardless of the object under investigation. Using the Aristotelian method it is the other way around. It is the object of investigation which determines the procedure. Said in another way, in the Aristotelian approach it is the aim which decides which "way" to go, where as in the Cartesian approach one uses the same "way" regardless of the aim or object under investigation. Aristotle, not Descartes, will be the guide of this dissertation.[15]

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[14] Commission of the European Communities, 1999, The Helsinki Report on Sport.
[15] Prosjektforumrapport, 1999, karriereutvikling.

This dissertation has three objectives. Firstly, to point out and discuss two phenomena which are considered to be of great importance and interest for the interpretation of cultural forms in the "information society", namely sport and media. Secondly, to investigate the relationship between the two. The theoretical frameworks that are applied in this discussion are "technological determinism" and "social shaping of technology". The two perspectives have different perceptions of technology and its workings in society. The former views technology as an independent factor causing societal and organisational changes. The latter view technology as a social product, patterned by the conditions of its creation and use. The ideology of the ESST master embraces that of social shaping of technology and rejects that of technological determinism. The third objective of this dissertation is thus to illuminate the shortcomings of technological determinism as a social theory, using the relationship between media and sport as an illustrative example.

An actual research process can be built in different ways, for example on a quantitative or qualitative basis. A qualitative research process may take one of many alternative routes, but often utilizes open-ended interviewing to explore and understand the attitudes, opinions, and feelings of individuals or a group of individuals. The theoretical starting points and the conceptual framework are adopted at the beginning of the study. Application of this research method divides the research report into two sections: a theoretical and an empirical part. After the empirical part, the two parts are put together, and the pieces presented in the various chapters are raised to a new and more abstract level in the final discussion. A quantitative research process may proceed step by step as

follows: selecting the subject matter and defining the subject; searching for information sources and studying the material; defining the concepts and framework needed to formulate the research problem; planning the empirical study; collecting and analysing the material; conclusions and discussion.

Interview styles generally fall into one of two categories, structured and unstructured. In a structured interview, the interviewer ask a prescribe set of questions, seeking relatively brief answers. In the unstructured interview, like the ones I conducted, the interviewer ask more open-ended questions to prod the interviewee to give longer responses and reveal as much as possible of the area of interest. This way of interviewing feels more like a conversation than an interview. The interview guide this dissertation builds upon covered five main topics; the role of national federations, emergence of closed teams, collective selling and duration of exclusivity, Interpenetration between sport and audiovisual industry, the right to information, and finally, interpenetration between sport and audiovisual industry.

There are advantages and disadvantage using either of the methods. Qualitative research has the ability to provide insight into the underlying issues most pertinent to the population under study. Furthermore, the approach gives the interviewer the possibility to explore and understand the attitudes, opinions, and feelings of individuals or a group of individuals. The primary limitation is that, unlike quantitative research, the findings are not statistically projectable to the population under study, since the very nature of qualitative research necessitates small sample sizes. Using unstructured interviews as a

mean to gather empirical data also set limitations. The interviewer is in one way "at the mercy of the interviewee", that is, the interviewee decides which information he or she wants to reveal. Furthermore, interviews can be hard to analyze and compare, they can be costly, and the interviewer can bias the interviewee's response.

This dissertation applies a qualitative method and uses the unstructured interview as a tool in the process of gathering empirical data. The intentions of the report are to highlight the characteristics of two phenomena media and sport, and to illuminate the relationship between the two. Furthermore, to discuss this relationship in light of theoretical framework. Aristotle, not Descartes, is the guide of this dissertation, and it is thus possible, keeping the intentions in mind, to defend the use of qualitative method and unstructured interview. However, it is important to see the limitations that time set. The Master of Arts degree is a thirteen months study, where the students have only seven of these available to do research and write up the master dissertation. All knowledge is dependent of the social context where it is found. "No on can sit in a bus and push it at the same time".

2-3. Plans of the report.

Let's pretend that we are about to build a house, a four-story house. Everyone, who knows a little bit about houses, recognise the importance of the foundation. There is no use building a 'a castle' if the foundation is not solid. Now, let us apply this metaphor to this dissertation. This chapter has been the road to the house, it has given you an

introduction to the debate, and created expectancies. The next chapter, which contains the theoretical framework and an introduction to the media and sport sectors, will be the foundation of the house. Chapter 3 is the first floor, and chapter 4 the second floor. These chapters discuss the European model of sport in more detail, and introduce you to media theory. At the third floor you will be presented empirical data. And finally, the top floor. Chapter 6 is discussing the empirical data in light of theory, and is also drawing some conclusions of the debate.

Have a nice journey.

2- INFORMATION SOCIETY?

Information Society. We live in an information society. Or? Part of the following discussion deals with, among other things, the idea of an Information Society that has the potential of transformation. For example, many European Union policy makers are of the belief that the "Information Society" can transform the European society and economy. In what they perceive as the information society advanced technologies are used to improve the living and working of citizens. Moreover, information society promise to deliver a range of benefits, ranging from higher living standards to opportunities to participate in new growth markets. If we choose to believe these policy makers, and many scholars with them, we will have to show our gratitude to the new revolutionary information technologies. But are these new technologies as revolutionary as many seem to think? Do we actually live in an information society?

As an outset of this chapter we will have a brief discussion on of how gender may be used as a category in the study of science and technology. This section is not meant to be a feminine manifesto. However, the thoughts and ideas presented may be interesting to keep in mind when we discuss sport and media later on. For example, how many women have managerial positions in the IOC[16]? Would the worlds of sports and media looked differently if more women were allow in?

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[16] IOC, International Olympic Committee.

The introductory chapter has hopefully given you as a reader an introduction to the debate as well as a clarification of the expectations for the upcoming sections. In the course of the next chapters we will discuss the media and sport organisations in more in detail. From the gender discussion we go on to a presentation of two theoretical perspective's which are the framework for the discussion; technological determinism and social shaping of technology. These approaches are laying as the premise for the further discussions. Introductions the fields of media and sport constitute the ending of the chapter.

2-1 Gender & Science.

Science has become a very large part of our lives. Peoples and nations along the spectrum of development are inextricably linked to scientific endeavor. From what we eat to how we travel, from the products our businesses sell to the health care we receive, science and technology have tremendous impacts on how we define our lives physically, culturally, politically, and economically. Science is not a single ideology. It is a relatively broad church admitting a variety of practices and objectives. While it is critical of itself in its own terms, only recently have both scientists and non-scientists begun to question the historical origins of knowledge, the western "scientific miracle", the sociological, the political and the personal influences on who does science, whom get funding, and how science is done. As with many institutions, science was a strongly gendered institution, though some women have always been able to undertake science.[17]

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[17] In: Besseberg, T., Essay 1: Discuss how gender can be used as a category in the study of science and technology.

We learn how to become "proper" boys and girls, men and women through gender socialisation. The traditional images of women have stressed dependency, passivity and expressiveness, while men were expected to be stoic and instrumental. With industrialisation, the women's place came to be defined as the private sphere of the family, and men were expected to win the public arena of work. Some of the consequences of this gender stratification are seen in contemporary gender inequality in such areas as employment, as pointed out above, and in income opportunities. [18]

Science has historically been the domain of men. Men have largely determined what gets studied, which technologies are developed, and how science money is spent. Though women have always played a part in science, until recently their impact on the discipline's mainstream was minimal. When women now begin to fill the ranks of science, will its focus, or even science itself, change? In their book "Inventing Women", Kirkup and Keller[19] establish that there is some anecdotal evidence that, even in modern engineering and computing, women bring a different perspective to the work to their male counterparts. Turkle[20] notes that boys bring interests to, and use methods for, computer programming that are different from those interests and methods of girls. Florman[21] notes some informal studies revealing that female engineering students are three times more likely to be interested in literature and broader social issues than their male counterparts.

[18] Leonard, 1998, *A Sociological Perspective of Sport.*
[19] Kirkup, Keller, 1992, *Inventing Women. Science, Technology and Gender*.
[20] Turkle, 1984, *The second Self: computers and the human spirit.*
[21] Florman, 1984, Will woman engineers make a difference?, *Technology Review, Vol. 87, No.8, November/December, pp51-2 in : Inventing Women.*

Technology is older than science and in many places exists without scientific input. It encompasses virtually everything that human beings make. Much technology, particularly the domestic variety, has always been the purview of women, but strongly gendered notions of the relations a human being should have with a machine or a tool have tended to exclude women from participation in modern high technology.[22] Many researchers[23] define technology as strongly gendered. Certain technologies - textiles, manual agriculture, food preparation and storage, "female" medicine and midwifery – are very strongly associated with women. Others – hunting, mechanized agriculture, transport, weapons – are equally strongly associated with men.

Many feminist books mix policy, history, and science, and ask questions as "Have feminism changed science? ". Changed from what? The answer is debatable, although machismo is certainly still alive and well in science. The pattern of men aggressively taking credit, not only from each other, but also from women, comes up over and over again. Battles for credit often define the history of science, because they determine whose deeds are worth remembering. Compared to the physical science, the fields of biology and medicine have been more inclusive of women. Female biologist and physicians have contributed much to their disciplines, and there are excellent scientists whose gender contributed to their insights. But ideally, science is democratic; once an idea is presented, anyone can work on it. This implies that male and female can both do the research and the science should be gender-neutral.

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[22] Kirkup, Keller, 1992, *Inventing Women. Science, Technology and Gender.*
[23] Berg & Lie to mention a couple.

It is hard to demonstrate that a particular research would not have been done if a woman had not done it, but it is true that the questions of gender difference were not being addressed until women insisted. There is the perception that gender contributions are important to science, but it will always be hard to say that a particular scientific accomplishment was done because the scientist was either male or female. Multiple factors, however, frequently challenge us as we do science, and we cannot ignore our sex and the roles in every part of our lives. Our perception of science and technology depends upon which culture we find ourselves in, upon the way we are raised, the world in which we live, if we are male or female. None of us are left free of the perceptual bias caused by these factors, and it is therefore important to take them into account when we study science and technology. If we do this, we might broaden our knowledge of the production, the content and the consequences of science and technologies in society.

We find gender inequality in sport as well as in the areas of science and technology. Some of the questions of gender debate in science and technology are applicable to that of sport. Would the world of sport looked differently with a higher percentage of women in managerial positions? Is most of the sporting activities designed for only men? Sarah Gilroy[24] has suggested that Pierre Bourdieu's notion of "physical capital" is useful when examining the gendered nature of the body and sport. She argues that the "exchange value of women's physical capital is very limited" and this helps explain the greater participation rates of men over women in professional sport. Just as female prostitutes have a limited time-span before their bodies lose their "exchange rate value", she writes,

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[24] Gilroy, 1997, *Working in the body: Links between Physical Activity and Social Power.*

in a similar way, it could be argued that female gymnasts have a limited currency.[25]

Career opportunities remain concentrated in a few sports, and the disparities in comparisons of the earnings of individual men and women athletes are evident. Outside of full-time professional playing, jobs in sport do exists for women, Again there are barriers. Whilst British Sports Council statistics have shown that more women than ever before engage in some form of sporting activity, West and Brackenridge[26] argue that "no commensurate increase has been registered in the number of women in power. Those with most influential positions in sport tend to be men.

Complexity. Our perception of science and technology depends upon which culture we find ourselves in, upon the way we are raised, the world in which we live, if we are male or female. We can use the same reasoning in sport. What we perceive as sport depends on which society we live in. Furthermore, our engagement in sporting activities depends, among other things, on the way we are raised, if we are male or female. The essence of the above discussion has been to illuminate complexity. We live in a complex social world.

2-2 Technological Determinism and the STS Perspective.

The theoretical frameworks of the dissertation are "social shaping of technology" and "technological determinism". The two frameworks have different perceptions of technology and its workings in society, and thus, different perceptions on how change

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[25] Horne, Tomlinson, Whannel, 1999, *Understanding Sport.*
[26] West, Brackenridge, 1990, *A Report on the issues Relating to Women's Lives as Sports Coaches in the United Kingdom.*

come about in the media and sport sectors. The subsequent sections are meant to highlight strengths and weaknesses of the two approaches.

Technological determinism:

The single most influential theory of the relationship between technology and society is technological determinism. Determinism is a philosophical system, mainly concerned with axiological issues, for analysing cause and effect and the individual or system's freedom to choose. For the technological determinist, the nature of technologies and the direction of change are unproblematic or pre-determined. According to this theory technology is an independent factor and therefore causes societal and organisational changes.[27] Technology has necessary and determinate "impacts" upon work, economic life and upon society as a whole.[28] Mackenzie's and Wajcman's "weather" metaphor might make the discussion more understandable. The next sections builds upon their arguments. Technological change may sometimes be seen as "outside" of society in the same way as the weather is. The work of the technologists is in a sense independent of their membership in the society. Scientists discover, the technologies follow the logic of those discoveries in turning them into new techniques and new devices, and these techniques and devices are then introduced into society and have, often unpredicted, effects.[29] This is the most common version of technological determinism, the most widespread account of how technology comes to be an independent factor. To conclude the above discussion, technical change is from this point of view in some sense

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[27] Lecture notes, ESST, 1999.
[28] Mackenzie, Wajcman, 1993, *The Social Shaping of technology.*
[29] Mackenzie, Wajcman, 1993, *The Social Shaping of technology.*

autonomous, outside of society, literally and metaphorically. This is the first part of technological determinism.

The second part deals with technical change causing social change. The more dramatic versions of this theoretical perspective are those that see the entire form of a society as being conditioned by technology. To mention one, Large[30] claimed that the microchip caused a new form of society to emerge. He postulated that we would be forced to change our ideas of work and leisure, as the chip would put millions out of jobs. From his point of view it is the changes in technology that are bringing about the new "leisure society" or "post-industrial society". Large is what we call a futurist theorist, that is, he looks at new technologies and proclaims its effects in the future society.[31] However, this is not the only way technological determinism is employed. It can be used as an historical theory explaining why past forms of society came into being and passed away. Our human role is at best to choose the most civilised variant of this technologically determined new society.[32]

The issues raised by "technological determinism" thus question the role of technology in shaping out future. To what extent do the tools we make and use determine our behavior? By creating technology, we create our future, which cannot be avoided. The STS perspective, which will be discussed in the following, criticises technological

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[30] Large, 1980, *The Micro Revolution.*
[31] Mackenzie, Wajcman, 1993, *The Social Shaping of technology.*
[32] Castells, 1999, *The rise of the Network Society.*

determinism on the counter that technology is not the sole determinant of change. Rather, it is the technology working within a complex social structure. [33]

Social Shaping of Technology:

Social constructivist approaches are currently influential in both science and technology studies. The roots of many, though not all, of these approaches lie in the area of sociology of knowledge.[34] The term "social constructivism" is sometimes used in a narrow sense, to refer to the influential Social Construction of Technology (SCOT) approach that was outlined originally by Pinch and Bijker[35], but there are a number of related approaches also, such as the "social shaping" approaches of that of Mackenzie and Wajcman and the actor-network theory of Bruno Latour, Michel Callon and John Law. These perspective's are a result of how scholars from a variety of backgrounds were brought together by a critique of traditional conceptions of technology, that is, the linear model of innovation, deterministic concepts of the dynamic of technological development, and its societal outcomes.[36] these scholars are of the opinion that the idea of technology having straightforward societal "effects" is altogether too simplistic. [37] It would be terrible mistaken to jump from the conclusion that technology's effects are not simple to the conclusion that technology has no effects. Technologies can be designed consciously or unconsciously to open certain social outcomes and close others. Thus New York builder

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[33] Webster, 1999, "Theories of a Information Society".
[34] Brey and Aibar articles on social shaping of technology are well referenced and stand as a starting point in the following discussion.
[35] Bijker, Hughes, Pinch, 1987, *The Social Construction of technological Systems.*
[36] Lecturenotes, 1999, ESST
[37] Webster, 1997, *Theories if The Information Society.*

Robert Moss designed road systems to facilitate the travel of certain types of people and to hinder that of others.

The social constructivist technology studies are united by an insistence that the black box of technology must be opened, to allow the socio-economic patterns embedded in both the content of technologies and the process of innovation to be exposed and analysed. The question should be: "what shapes the technology in the first place before it has "effects"? Particularly, what role does society play in shaping technology? The different approaches within the social constructivism have a family resemblance to one another, however, there are few features that they all have in common, but some are fairly typical. First they include a conception of technological development as a contingent process, involving heterogeneous factors. Technology does not develop accordingly to an inner technological logic and cannot be explained by reference to economic laws as the technological determinist claim, but is instead a social product, patterned by the conditions of its creation and use. Every stage in the generation and implementation of new technologies involves a set of choices between different technical options. Alongside narrowly "technical" considerations, a range of social factors affect which options are selected, thus influencing the content of technologies, and their social implications. Technological change is thus best explained by reference to a number of technological controversies, disagreements and difficulties that involves different actors or relevant social groups. These actors or groups engage are strategies to win the opposition and to shape technology according to their own plan. Furthermore, central to this perspective is the concept that there are choices inherent in both the design of individual artifacts and

systems, and in the trajectory of innovation programs. Only if technology evolved according to some internal logic, and had its social and cultural effects conditioned by this logic, or of technologies were strictly neutral would it be justified to ignore the developmental stage of a new technology, as the determinists tend to do. SST research, however, investigate the ways in which social, institutional, economic and cultural factors have shaped the direction as well as the rate of innovation, the form of technology and the content of technological artifacts and practices, the outcomes of technological change for different groups in society.

Social constructivist technology studies have been under attach from different quarters for being an inadequate approach to technology studies, and as to every other approach there are flaws and limitation in this analysis that need to be taken into account. Some of the main critics were voiced six years ago, in an influential article by Langdon Winner, called "Upon opening the Black Box and Finding It Empty: Social Constructivism and the Philosophy of Technology."[38] Winner criticises the social constructivists for the focus they lay upon on the process of technological innovation. As a result of this focus Winners claims they tend to disregard the social consequences of technical choice. Furthermore, he claims that they recognize only social groups that have a role in "constructing" technology, and not social groups that are impacted by technology but have been suppressed or even excluded during its construction. It hence ignores deep-seated political biases in technical choice and power struggles by which the initial agenda of technical was set. Another critic is that they do not take evaluative stances or invoke

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[38] Winner, 1991, *Upon opening the Black Box and Finding It Empty: Social Constructivism and the Philosophy of technology.*

moral or political principles, indeed it apparently disdains evaluative stances. The fact remains that they disregard that technological change involves dynamics beyond those revealed by studying the characteristics and actions of relevant social groups, such as deeper cultural, intellectual, or social origins of social choices about technology. The strong constructivism, the SCOT approach, was the main target of Winners criticism. Most of these points do however also apply to actor-network theory and mild constructivism approaches. Since these criticisms came about there has been some significant changes in social constructivists practice. Some studies, mainly occurring within a social shaping or actor-network theory, analyse the way in which social consequences are "built into" technologies[39]. Others study the way in which "truths" about the consequences of a technology are socially negotiated and constructed. What both approaches have in common is that they reject a conventional, technological-determinist conception of technological impacts according to which technologies "impinge on" societies and bring about changes. Instead, they adopt a conception of consequences as resulting wholly or in part from social interpretation and negotiation, rather than from intrinsic features of the technology.

The nature of technologies and the direction of change are unproblematic or pre-determined for the technological determinist. The social shaping of technology theorist disagrees. He or she insists on opening the black box of technology, and to allow the socio-economic patterns embedded in both the content of technologies and the process of innovation to be exposed and analysed. Let's have these two opposites in mind in the next section where we discuss the "information society".

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[39] Latour, 1992, *Where are the missing masses? The Sociology of a Few Mundane Artifacts.*

2-3 Theories of the "Information Society".

In the last few decades, the nature of Western societies has changed "radically". Social theorists have imagined these changes through the development of concepts such as media society, society of spectacle, consumer society, post-industrial society, postmodern society, and post-Fordist society. Social and cultural critics have described the Western world as one dominated by capitalism, consumption, media, and new technologies of communication and computerisation.[40] A major part of these theories do not carry heavy scientific "baggage". However, information has come to be regarded as a symbol of the age in which we live. Media professionals and policy makers are frequently using words as "information explosion", and information technology "revolution" - even of an "information society".[41] The number of theories and approaches, which examine these informational developments, are blossoming.

Many of those who argue for the emergence of an "information society" use deterministic explanations for the coming of the new age. They are somewhat more sophisticated than the crude technological determinists, but are nevertheless under the influence of these ideas and concepts. In Europe, the many European Union policies reflect the idea of an Information Society that has the potential to transform Europe into a society and economy in which advanced technologies are used to improve the living and working of all citizens. Furthermore, the same policywriters claim that if Europe grasps the

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[40] Genevieve, 1998, *Sport and Postmodern Times*
[41] Webster, 1997, *Theories if The Information Society.*

opportunities presented, the Information Society promise to deliver a range of benefits, ranging from higher living standards to opportunities to participate in new growth markets. Many European Union policies are therefore said to be technological deterministic as their perception of technology is that it has necessary and determinate "impacts" upon work, economic life and upon society as a whole.

Is information technology just another tool, more complex and sophisticated, no doubt, but nevertheless not fundamentally different to the flint arrowheads with which people of the Stone Age were enabled to turn from gathering food to hunting it? Just how novel is the Internet? Is it simply another way of doing things that we always have done, only better, quicker and cheaper, or is it a wholly new form of communication and human interaction?[42] A large part of the discussion of the information society is based on a taken-for-grated position, that is, there has been a information revolution, and that this will have, and is having, consequences on our social life. Webster points this out in "Theories of the Information Society", and says, "the concept "information society" carries with it an array of suppositions about what has changed and is changing and how this change is being effected." He goes on to point out that it is "striking that outside social science, suspicions about the use of the term "information Society" appear to be few". Social Shaping of Science" concludes that there has undoubtedly been an information explosion, but that it is premature to conceive of an information society.[43] These scholars argument that when evaluating information technologies investments have so far been on primarily economic and technological factors, and that the characteristics

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[42] Graham, 1999, *the internet:// - a philosophical inquiry.*
[43] Webster, 1997, *Theories if The Information Society.*

and importance of the new technology are such that we cannot ignore the social, organisational and political aspects.

Webster acknowledge the fact there has been a "information explosion", but nevertheless, it is premature to conceive of an information society. The determinists are of different opinion. They put forward the argument that the new information technologies have the ability to transform Europe into a "information society". At the end of the day, whether we use the notion of an "information society" or not, the public get exposed to an enormous quantity of information every day. Media in the main transmitter of information, and technological innovations have made it possible to reach a bigger audience than in the past. The following sections will introduce sport and media.

2-4 Sport.

All over the world, spanning many times zones, people of otherwise very different cultures, languages, religions and political ideologies are having a similar daily experience. We call it sport. Sport is a contemporary medium for performing many tasks and carrying multiple messages and, as such, is increasingly indistinguishable from the sportsmedia.[44] Sport is said to be a set of cultural practices with significant historical and sociological resonance. Historically, sport in the nineteenth-century public schools was seen as a vital form of moral character training that produced the leadership and team work skills requires by the dominant class. Whilst the structure of amateur football in the beginning served the interests of elite groups, nevertheless football, in its professional

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[44] Rowe, 1999, *Sport, Culture and the Media.*

form, had by the 1920s become a major leisure interest of the male working class, and an important expression of community identity.[45] Today sport is one of the most widely practiced human activities. Whether it be for money or pleasure, regularly or occasionally, millions of people in the European Union take part in various forms of sporting activities. Sport can improve an individual's physical well being, it helps develop a range of personal skills useful in daily life. Furthermore, sport brings a lot of people into organisations and associations where they are actively involved in cultural networks and exercise democratic responsibility. It bridges national and cultural divides, helps the social integration of the disabled and brings people together as players and spectators alike.[46]

Sport is identified by the European Union to perform five functions: an educational, a public health, a social, a cultural and a recreational function. However, sport is also a serious economic business, accounting for 3% of world trade[47]. Furthermore, sport is one of the sectors most likely to generate new employment. The increasing economic and commercial slant of sport has created a real change, for example in the field of TV-rights for sport events and in developing a sporting goods sector.

Sport is an all-embracing concept, and I have therefore found it beneficial to draw a distinction within four subgroups of what we above have described as "sport activities". In September 1999, the European Commission released a document written by the "European Network of Sport Science Institutes – European Observatory of Employment

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[45] Horne, Tomlinson, Whannel, 1999, *Understanding Sport.*
[46] European Commission, 1998, *Information, Education and Culture.*
[47] Document of the DG X – The European Model of Sport.

in Sport", and it is the division made by these researchers which is described in the following. The four subgroups that are identified are; professional sport, championship sport, leisure sport and adopted sport. However, it is important to keep the dissertation's objective in mind. What we want to investigate is the relationship which exists between media (television) and sport, or rather, between media and professional sport. The other subgroups do appear on television but only to a lesser degree. An interesting question to ask would be "why"? Why is it that professional sport is so much more interesting to the media than the other subgroups?

Professional sport, or sport as entertainment, has in large part been "driven forward" by mass media. Sport has become indispensable to them, however, a very expensive dependency. Surveys show that broadcasting rights double in volume every 5 years. The same surveys show that the European people have an active interest in sport. Over 70% of the population attended a sport event live or watched it on television in 1999. Because of this, a huge amount of money is transferred from the media to the sport organisations every year. This "transformation" has had an implication on the

organisational structure of the sport organisations, which are becoming more and more commercial and less and less associative.

Secondly, we have "championship sport" with its roots to the associative sports movement. In Europe today we have more than 800 000 clubs, more in some countries than in others. While there are only 6000 clubs in Finland, there are more than 170 000 in France. However, the diversification of sports make it difficult to obtains these measures and makes comparisons between countries difficult. Population size of each country must also be taken into consideration. In spite of this uncertainty, recent research has shown that the number of club memberships have stagnated and even declined in some countries during the 1990s.[1]

Leisure sport is the third sub group defined by the European Commission to comprise a "group of activities which take place partly in associations or commercial companies". Nearly one of two European engage in this type of sport, where the most popular activities include swimming, rambling, cycling, gymnastics or fitness and jogging. There are quite clear differences within the European countries when it comes to participation patterns. The Scandinavian model has the highest number of regular participants, approximately 2/3 of the population. Barely 15% of the population is participating in leisure sport in the Mediterranean countries.[2] Nevertheless, the moderate growth observed in all the countries of the European Union is accompanied by the same fundamental trends: a market tendency towards individualisation or personalisation of the

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[1] European Observatory of Employment in Sport – September 1999.
[2] European Observatory of Employment in Sport – September 1999.

activities and he way people engage in them, a tendency towards using state-of-the-art sport equipment; a tendency towards combing different activities according to a hybridisation process.[3]

The fourth subgroup is "adopted sport", and refers to the use of sport by groups of the population with special difficulties: the elderly, the disabled, the socially excluded, and the ethnic minorities. There is little information on this area, but it is clear that the use of these activities, with its aims of social integration and return to health, are more clearly identified in the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian countries compared to the rest of Europe.[4]

We have just seen that it is possible to draw sporting activities into four different subgroups. Furthermore, that media's attention is mainly drawn to one of the subgroups, namely professional sport. We will discuss sport in more detail in chapter three, the next section however, presents mass media and mediasport.

2-4 Media/MediaSports.

Before the era of mass media recording of cultural imagery was firmly linked to the power of the church and the aristocracy. Painters were commissioned to celebrate the material wealth of owners. Sporting paintings portrayed the horse and dogs of the

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[3] Clement, J.P., Defrance, J., Pociello, C., 1994, Sport et pouvoirs au Xxeme siecle
[4] European Observatory of Employment in Sport – September 1999.

landowners.[5] Today, the enormity and complexity of the public arena known as the "media" has meant that the study of media has entailed constant reiteration of questions of definitions. Is media a collection of industries? Is it a collection of practices? Is it a collection of presentations? Is it a collection of audience's understandings? Is it a means of delivering audiences to advertisers or is it a public service? The answer to all these questions would be "yes".[6]

Lets begin our discussion to trace the roots of the words "mass media". The word "mass" suggest that the communication is sent from one place and received in many places by a large audience. The term "media" is derived from the Latin word for "middle". This signifies that the media are in the middle of a communication process, specifically, in between the sender and receiver of a message. We need to bear in mind that our mass media communicate from one place to another. Thus, in mass communication the senders are known - the receivers not. Media technologies have social significance because they "affect" human communication Even though "new" media technologies as the Internet open up for more multi-directional communication, most traditional media are one-way based. One of the key issues of the media debate revolves around the degree to which the media is regarded as passive transmitters or active interveners in the shaping of the message and society.[7] There are different theoretical approaches to this issue and in debating media's role in sports we will bring forward various theoretical approaches, however, keeping the main focus on the social shaping of technology and deterministic point of views in this debate.

[5] Horne, Tomlinson, Whannel, 1999, *U/nderstanding Sport.*
[6] Briggs, Cobley, 1998, *The Media: An Introduction.*
[7] Gurevitch, Bennett, Curran, Woollacott, 1992, C*ulture, Society and the Media.*

In becoming the major mass medium, television as a technology and as a cultural form has "transformed" our sense of time and space. Indeed, television has shifted our perception and understanding of geographic space. Technological advances now provide live pictures from all over the world, with less switching between events in different places. However, our sense of these spaces is, of course, framed by what we are shown. Television sport allows us only a very particular kind of view, allowing us to see very little that is outside the stadium. Furthermore, television as a mean of mass media has played a significant role in structuring our sense of time and our use of it. Television sports rapidly acquired fixed time in the broadcasting schedule, inviting us to structure our lives around these fixed points.[8]

Questions of representation in mediasport need to be discussed in a wider context, because media sport, like sport itself, is a major economic phenomenon as well as a cultural and political one. The full cultural and ideological significance of sport is brought into being only through its mediation on television and in the press. Academic study of sport as an activity in itself has become increasingly important because of the major and growing role that sport plays around the world in most cultures and societies. But in recent years, as sport has become the main product that we consume through its greatly expanded presence in the mass media, there has been a rapid expansion of work on sport as a media form, and as a form which communicates to us about culture as a whole. Some scholars claim that television and the other media not simply reflect the world, but rather construct versions, or accounts, of it. In a society where rapid

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[8] Horne, Tomlinson, Whannel, 1999, *Understanding sport* .

technology innovations lead to ever going changes in broadcasting methods and speeds, how does this reality impact the content of sport? How is the increasingly global nature of the media impacting the mediasports culture?

3- SPORT IN EUROPE.

Robert Murdoch was quoted in 1996 saying: "Sport absolutely overpowers film and everything else in the entertainment industry". But what is sport?[9] The meaning of sport, like love, hate, harassment, marital success, time, life, sex, satisfaction, or religiosity, is self-evident until we attempt to define it explicitly. Each of these terms is an idea that undoubtedly means something to each of us.[10] This dissertation will not offer any simply essentialist definition of sport, for the reason that from an historical and sociological point of view, "sport" does not have a fixed meaning. The concept has different meanings in different societies, and refers to different activities at different historical moments. Moreover, analysed from a socio-cultural perspective, the meaning of the term sport involves a form of social construction.[11] The role of sports in society has always been important, and is becoming still more important within social and cultural formations, that is in some important respects the phenomenon of sport can be seen to "lead" or "shape" society. Consequently, all the scientific understanding of the sporting

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[9] Note that we in Chapter 2 defined four subgroups of *sporting activity.*
[10] Leonard, 1998, *A Sociological Perspective of Sport.*
[11] Horne, Tomlinson, Whannel, 1999, *Understanding Sport.*

body and mind in the world is of little use to sports development unless the nature and the wider social and cultural environment are understood.

The preceding chapter described the theoretical framework and introduced you to the worlds of sport and media. This was the first step in our process of building a house, foundation is built and we are about to start building on the first level. This chapter is intentions are to describe what is known as the European Model of Sport, and to identify some of the changes that are taking place within this model. Let a historical perspective on sport be the point of departure.

3-1. A "historical" perspective on Sport in Europe.

As we are moving into a new millennium it is impossible to overlook the pervasive influence of modern sport on the lives of people. Malcolmson[12] has put forward the argument that the more traditional forms of recreation were rooted in a society that was in its core features, vastly different to the society "produced" by the introduction of the processes of urbanisation and industrialisation. The former society was predominantly agrarian, strongly parochial, and had a deep sense of corporate identity. The latter was characterised by features as urban-centred, governed by contractual relations, biased towards individualism, rooted in factory-labour discipline, and it was based on free enterprises.[13] Obviously, societies that are based on so different core characteristics will generate different forms of culture, leisure and sport.

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[12] Malcolmson, R, 1973, *Popular Recreations in English Society.*
[13] Horne, Tomlinson, Whannel, 1999, *Understanding Sport.*

Whatever the theoretical starting point, there is an interpretive consensus concerning the major aspects of social change which have influenced the cultural expression in the sphere of sport. Modern sport, says Guttman[14], contrasts with primitive, ancient, and medieval sport in several ways. From his perspective, sports are today characterised by more emphasis on material and social success, equality of opportunity for those of different sex, races, ethnicities and social classes, and a quest for record breaking. Furthermore, there is role specification, space has become rationalised, a more bureaucratic formal organisation form, and time has become quantified in the new industrial order. As Wilbert Leonard[15] points out some reservation might be expressed about the accuracy of some of the aspects of this classification[16]. For example, there is evidence of prominence of records and the quantification of performance in the ancient Olympics in Greece. Furthermore, Horne and Tomlinson points out that a classification like Guttmann's carries with it an "illusion that the process of evolution of sport has been relatively linear, with the sport of a primitive society appearing to be almost completely opposite of the sport of a modern society"[17]. Nevertheless, being aware of these weaknesses, the classification highlights the specificity of the nature of sport in different and distinctive social contexts. Furthermore it illustrates the fact that sport cultures and forms vary across time and space, and that sport is socially constructed and not some sort of trans-historical and supra-social phenomenon.

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[14] Guttman, 1978, *From Ritual to Record*.
[15] Leonard, 1998, *A Sociological Perspective of Sport*.
[16] See Appendix A for detailed classification table.
[17] Horne, Tomlinson, Whannel, 1999, *Understanding Sport,* (their own words)

The previous section discusses how sport cultures and forms vary over time, but why do so many involve themselves in sport? Leonard gives us two different interpretations for the development of sport. These are provided by the dominant macrotheories in sociology, the conflict theorists and the functionalists. Karl Marx, the "front figure" of the conflict theorists, agues that those who control the wealth of the society ultimately also control society. The ruling class controls the masses, which are "helpless victims". Their answer to the query "Why is there sport?" is "Because the ruling class finds it profitable". The masses can be hoodwinked into liking it, and it diverts the common workers from focusing on their unenviable plight.[18] The emergence of sport is explained differently by the functionalists. They are of the opinion that sport satisfies an underlying need, albeit biological and/or cultural in origin. According to this perspective the reason for sport is that it reflects the manifestation of an underlying universal urge or need for physical recreation and through sport this need is partially satiated. As the economy, family, religion, and education, our primary social institutions, satisfy "needs" of humans in the society, sport also fulfils human and social "needs".[19]

3-2. The European Model of Sport.

Europe can be considered as the "powerhouse" of world sport, with a remarkable percentage of world sport events being hosted within the EU. For example, 50 % of the football world cups between 1930 and 1998, and 54 % of the Summer Olympics between

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[18] Leonard, 1998, *A Sociological Perspective of Sport.*
[19] Leonard, 1998, *A Sociological Perspective of Sport.*

1896-1996.[20] The reason for this has been partly a result of history. Europe saw the start of the industrial revolution, and this the ensuing development towards social and economic progress. This fuelled the development of sport in Europe, with the result that many sports can trace its origin to Europe. What we know as the Olympic games today came about as a result of a European initiative.

From approximately World War 2 and until the middle of the 80s there has existed two models of sport in Europe, namely the East and the West European model.[21] The former was more or less ideological oriented, that is, sport was a part of political propaganda. The Nazi regime, for example, used the Olympic Games in Berlin as a means of promoting its ideology. Furthermore, the success of Italy's football team in 1934 and 1938 was presented by Mussolini regime as proof of the superiority of fascism over democracy.[22] Today, communist sport policy in Europe is dead. The East bloc has disappeared, and with it the restrictions for those engaging in sport. In fact, Europe has seen a substantial increase of the number of professional athletes from east European countries. However, the communist way of organising sport lives on in China, Cuba and North Korea. It is, or was, not everywhere identical, nor does, or did, it feature highly in terms of national priorities in the less economically advanced countries.[23]

A more mixed model was developed in the western countries, where the actions of both governmental and non-governmental organisations existed side by side. The relationship

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[20] Document of DG X – The European model of Sport.
[21] Document of DG X – The European model of Sport.
[22] Wenner, 1998, *MediaSport.*
[23] Document of DG X – The European model of Sport.

between sport and television has been important, the former growing in parallel with the latter, especially since the mid-80s when the state television monopoly was broken in most Western European Countries. Today, 65-80 % [24] of the funding of the sport event comes from the sale of television rights and sponsorship. Thus, private and public activities have together brought forward what we today perceive as "western sport", however, to which grade the state has regulated sports differs when looking at the northern and southern countries. In south the state regulates, in north there has been a tradition of the state not to.[25]

Nowadays we use the notion of a "united" Europe. European countries are bound together, some though the European Union, others through the Economic Community.
The European Union acknowledges the importance of the specific characteristics and structure of European sport. A description of the European model follows.

The structure of the European model of sport is organised in a system of national federations where only the top federations are linked together in European and international federations. This system result in what we know as a traditional organisational structure, the pyramid with a hierarchy.[26] The pyramid structure implies that there is interdependence between the levels, not only on the organisational side, but also at the competitive side since competitions are organised on all levels.[27] Indeed, the system of promotion and relegation is one of the key features of the European model of

[24] Document of DG X – The European model of Sport.
[25] Document of DG X – Commission staff work paper.
[26] See Appendix A, Figure 1.
[27] Document of DG X – The European model of Sport.

sport when comparing it to the system in the USA. For example, a football team playing at a regional level in their home country can qualify for championships on National, European and International level if they win a promotion. However, if the team fails to qualify it will be relegated. In this way the championships are more interesting in view of the fact that there are a continual arrival of new competitors. This is not the case in the US, where they have developed a model of closed championships and multiple federations. In contrast to the European model, the same team, once in the championships, keeps on playing in the league.[28]

Recently there has been a tendency in Europe to try to combine both systems. That is, clubs must also fulfil economic and technical criterions, not only qualifying through the system of promotion and relegation. For example, there is a proposal for a closed league outside the UEFA. This proposal has attracted a lot of interest partly due to dissatisfaction by the distribution of the Champions League revenues by the UEFA, and the prospect of more money going directly to the participants and less to the administration of the competition.[29]

In the European model of sport[30] the clubs form the foundation. They are there for everyone to use, offering the possibility of engaging in sport locally, and thereby promoting the idea of "sport for all". At this level one rely on unpaid volunteers and non-professionals. The main occupation of these clubs is to foster the development of new generations of sportsmen and sportswomen, and accordingly amateur sport is the key

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[28] Document of DG X – The European model of Sport.
[29] Document of DG X – The European model of Sport.
[30] See Appendix A, Figure 1.

feature characterising this level. The social function and genuine interest in taking part of a sport is in focus, because traditionally, sport has not been linked to a state or a business in Europe, such as in the US. The "system" described is what we perceive as the "grassroots approach", namely, the development of sport originates from the level of clubs.

The different clubs are usually members of regional organisations, which are responsible for organising regional championships and coordinating what's happening in the region. Representing the next level are the national federations, one for each discipline. Like the regional federations, they organise championships, only at a national level. What's more, they regulate all the general matters within their discipline, and represent their branch in the European and International federations. Forming the top of the pyramid, and organised along the same lines as the national federations, we find the European federations. As previous mentioned, only one national federation from each country is allowed to be a member. In some sports as for example biathlon, there is no European level of federations. Instead, the national federations are members of an international federation, for example the International Biathlon Union, which performs the same functions as the European would. The only difference is the area of responsibility. The former set its focus on Europe, the later the whole world.[31]

Up to the 1980s sports federations were mainly regulatory bodies, however, today they are acting more like any other commercial company. The main reason for this development has been the growing importance of TV rights and the need to negotiate

[31] Report from the Commission to the European Council: *The Helsinki Report on Sport.*

these rights. But is it beneficial that federations are regulatory bodies and private entities at the same time? Both the top members and the grassroots members feel that their interests are no longer adequately represented. The appearing problems between the top and grassroots members have grown parallel to the rise of income from television rights. On the one hand, there are the top members wanting a bigger share of the money earned by the federations. On the other hand there are the grassroots members complaining that the federations no longer fulfil their public tasks, namely the promotion of sport. Furthermore, that the solidarity system that provides them with money does not work properly. The question then is whether federations, which operate as private companies and the same time have the role of promoting sport, can succeed in striking the right balance between these two tasks or whether a public organisation should be responsible for the promotion of sport. [32]

The organisational characteristics of the European model of Sport have been outlined above, but the social features of this model must also be taken into account. The Declaration on sport annexed to the Amsterdam Treaty recognises the role of sport in "forging identity and bringing people together". As an essential tool for social integration and education, sport affects all social classes and age groups. Values like equal opportunities, fair play and solidarity are not only important in the sport arena but in society as a whole, and are thought to be passed on to people by sports associations. Additionally, sport organisations and associations make it so that people are actively involved in cultural networks and exercise democratic responsibility.[33] Although

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[32] Document of DG X – The European model of Sport.
[33] Document of DG X – The European Union and Sport.

confronted with globalisation, sport can be seen as one of the last national passions.[34] The European Union recognises the importance of sport is in bridging national and cultural divides, helping the social integration of the disabled, and in bringing people together as players and spectators alike. In short, it is an excellent way to promote international understanding.

All the aspects of European sport are not positive. The rise of racism, doping, intolerance and hooliganism are serious negative aspects. Past dictatorships have exploited the popularity of sport to promote their own ideology. Some athletes are using every mean to win the game. Finally spectators, victimised of social and economic exclusion, use sports events to express their frustration. Some of these negative consequences are unheard of in the US.

3-3. The Economic Development of Sport.

Sport occupies a highly contradictory position being a social practise. Traditionally, it has been associated with spare time, leisure, exercise and doing things for fun. Nowadays we reward top-performers in a multi-million dollar industry. Clearly sport is part of the economic system and a potential means of generating profit. Commercialisation is a

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[34] Document of DG X - The European model of Sport

striking feature. From theoretical perspectives as Marxism and functionalism, there are different interpretations that can be offered to "explain" this development.[35]

For academics with a Marxist perspective, the commercialisation of sport provides yet another rich example of the tendency of capital to seek out and penetrate new areas of society. The Marxist scholar's emphasis the role of material factors in society and the detrimental effect they have on the way we think. Material change creates new spiritual relations. Marx himself particular emphasised that it is the economic forces in society that create change and thus drive history forward. Moreover, it is mainly the society's ruling class that sets the norms for what is wrong and what is right. In other words, history is principally a matter of who is to own the means of production. There are different directions within the Marxist perspective, the earlier being somewhat one-dimensional and prone to a crude reductionism. Greater sophistication marks the more recent accounts.

Jean-Marie Brohm[36] has put forward the argument that modern international sport is an imperialistic phenomenon, and that sport is linked directly to the interests of imperialist capital. He uses the link between the early Olympic Games and trade fairs as an illustrative example, and argues that "sport as an activity characteristic of bourgeois industrial society, is an exact reflection of capitalist categories".[37] Seeing that sport is based on competition, record keeping, and precise measurement of space, time and output, that is, producing maximum output from the human body, we've got, using

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[35] Horne, Tomlinson & Whannel, 1999, *Understanding Sport.*
[36] Brohm, 1978, *A Prison of Measured Time.*
[37] Quoted from : Horne, Tomlinson & Whannel, 1999, *Understanding Sport, pp 269.*

Brohm's own formulation, the Taylorisation of the body.[38] In such a way he applies the principle of labour power and surplus value to athletic performance. More recent Marxist analysis's carry a greater degree of sophistication and sensitivity that the one of Brohm, however, it does offer an interesting point of view. However, the lived cultural practices in society are complex and contradictory, so are the economic processes related to these practises.

In contrast the Marxist perspective, the functionalist variant of the argument would stress the functionality of the commercialisation of sport in boosting facilities, providing a means of entertainment and integration, a model of reward for achievement and a system of incentives. Within this framework debates can be about rational allocation of resources or means of regulation market forces.

To elaborate a full and comprehensive political economy of sport are both time and space consuming. Such an analysis would need to attend to a range of aspects of the economic process – the question of ownership and control, the nature of economic relation within the sport business, the process of production and relations to production, sports labour power and the production of surplus value. The theories of Marxism and functionalism are offering very simplistic versions of the "truth", they do however point out some interesting ideas. In the preceding sections we have illuminated some of the characteristics of the European model of sport and the relationship to mass media. The next chapter will discuss media theory.

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[38] Horne, Tomlinson & Whannel, 1999, *Understanding Sport.*

4 - MEDIA THEORY.

What makes media so interesting? What do we really discuss when we talk about the mass media? Basic communication theory makes a distinction between sender and receiver of a message. This in turn gives rise to a three-part model, sender-message-receiver. The study of contemporary media emerged alongside the contemporary mass media, and predates the establishment of the discipline known as "media studies". The earlier approaches focused merely upon the content of the media messages, trying to measure the content and the "effects" of mass media in society, whereas the more recent theories view media technologies are social products and thus patterned by the conditions of its creation and use.[1]

An illustrative example of media determinism can be the theory of the Frankfurter School[2] of Social Research in Germany. These researchers believed that the media had detrimental effects on their audiences, detrimental effects that they thought created a community of uncritical and passive consumers. The most notable theorists connected to the Frankfurt School were Adorno, Marcuse and Horkheimer, all committed Marxists. The Frankfurt School was influenced by predominant conservative notions of 'mass society', though it gave this perspective a leftist slant. Marcuse presented the media very pessimistically as an irresistible force: *"the means of…communication…, the irresistible output of the entertainment and information industry carry with them prescribed attitudes and habits, certain intellectual and emotional reactions which bind the consumers…to*

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[1] Horne, Tomlinson & Whannel, 1999, *Understanding Sport* / Briggs, Cobley, 1998, *The Media: An Introduction,* Essex.

the producers, through the latter to the whole. The products indoctrinate and manipulate; they promote a false consciousness which is immune against falsehood…Thus emerges a patter of one-dimensional though and behavior.[3]

Like all areas of knowledge, the study of media is bound up with the interests, biases, influences, arguments, motives and instrumental applications. The next section highlights some of the general issues of the media as a technology and a theory.

4-1. Media Technology and Social Change.

In the previous chapters we have explored how mass media and sport function in society, and we will now turn our attention to the specific communication mediums upon which various media industries rely. What kinds of information do the different forms of media communicate? How do different media forms shape the ways we think or influence the character of our social relationships? While changing technology certainly has consequences for society, a more sociological perspective examines the broader context in which technology exists. We will try to explore the different properties of the various media and their social implications, and how the direction and application of media technologies are socially constructed.

Technology clearly matters. But, given our sociological approach, we should ask: "Why does it matter?" That is, what is it about mass media technologies that has so

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[3] Marcuse, cited in Bennett 1982:43.

significance? Media technologies are a structural constraint. Like all structures, they have been developed by humans and, subsequently, both enable and limit human action. How they do this, is at the center of a sociological understanding of media technology.[4] For example, when we read a book or a magazine, or listen to a CD we do not give immediate response to what we read or hear. If we want, we can call or write the distributor, the producer, the singer or the writer and give over opinions of what we have just experienced. But this form for feedback, in example letters or phone calls, are not what we call "mass" forms of communication. From a sociological point of view media technology and mass communication differ substantially from unmediated face-to-face interaction in social significance. These technologies shape the way we interact with each other.

One important influence of the technology on communication is the compression of time and both geographical and social space. A live television image of a sport event that takes place hundreds of kilometers away from where it is shown is an astonishing manipulation of time and space. We can "be there" without "being there". This compression of time and space has made physical distance irrelevant, and has become a major dimension of "globalisation". Indeed, information technologies as the computer has gone even further to diminish the importance of physical distance. Concepts as the "virtual community" suggest that communities no longer need to be geographical based. The space-bridging technology of the Internet has made it possible for every person on the planet, which has the possibility to use these electronic devises, to become "virtual neighbours" with one another. All the different groupings in society - professionals, friends, sports support

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[4] Croteau, Hoynes, 1997, *Media/Society. Industries, images, and Audience.*

clubs - are creating computer networks, often without any face-to-face interaction at all. While it may seem easy to recognise a medium's potential social impact, it is also easy to overstate the determining role of media technology as the technological determinists do. This position fails to recognise that technology is only one element of the media process in the social world, but still their arguments need to be considered.[5]

It is possible to divide the media theories into three subgroups; the limited effects, the class-dominant, and the culturalist. The theory of limited effects claims that media has minimally influence on people's attitudes and behaviors since audiences are selective in what they watch, perceive and recall. The class-dominant theories argue that since the media are under influence of the society's elite, it is their ideas that shape and create cultural perceptions. The third category, the culturalist theories, do not deny the essence of the class-dominate, that is, that the media is owned by society's elite, but they do not perceive the audience as to be passive consumer's, rather they are active agents in constructing what they perceive. Research indicates that audience are typically not duped by the media's portrayal of events, but that media are powerful agents in framing contents to convey certain impressions and agenda setting. To use an analogy, the media's message are not absorbed by the audiences in an osmosis-like fashion, but involve the active interpretation and definition of images reflecting the social worlds which the audiences are embedded.

As we have discussed in previous chapters, technological determinism is an approach which identifies technology, or technological advances, as the central clausal element in

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[5] Croteau, Hoynes, 1997, *Media/Society. Industries, images, and Audience.*

the processes of social change. People do not use technologies so much as technologies use them. Society is transformed accordingly to a technical, rather than a human agenda. Media determinism is closely associated with technical determinism[6], and is a subset of technological determinism following the philosophical and sociological position, which posits the determinant power of the media to impact society. As a theory of change, it is seen as a cause and effect relationship. New media technologies bring about change in society. Media determinism provides a somewhat simplistic explanation for very complex scenarios.[7] Cause and effect relationships are reduced to their most basic premise, and explained as such. Techno-centrist theories make everything explainable in light of the media's relation to technological developments. Because of the way media intreats us to organise out minds and integrate our experience of the world, it infuses itself on our consciousness and social institutions in myriad forms. Furthermore, it is always implicated in the ways we define and regulate our ideas of truths.[8] A question which this philosophical position might seek to answer s as follows: If indeed culture and sport are shaped by technological developments, more specifically media technology, how might new media innovations impact sport as we know it?

Many scholars find the deterministic perception as to be too simplistic. New technologies enter social settings that are home to often deeply ingrained habits and cultural practiced that shape the use of media. Therefore, to understand the relationship between technology and people, we cannot ask only what a new technology does to people. We must also ask what people do with the new technology.

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[6] http://www.regent.edu/acad/schcom/rojc/mdic/define.html
[7] http://users.marshall.edu/~anders45/determinism.html
[8] http://users.marshall.edu/~anders45/determinism.html

The theoretical perspectives 'media determinism' and 'social shaping of media technologies' will be discussed in more detail in the next two sections. As a finalisation of the chapter we present some of the implications of applying the two opposing media theories on the relationship between media and sport.

4-2. McLuhan's Message on Media Technologies.

There are different approaches to the study of media. One of them focus particularly upon the medium, and is thus called "medium theory". Medium theorists identify media as more that conduits for the transmission of messages. From this perspective, media technologies can be powerful social forces, their power lies in the ways they help organise and allow us to construct the cultural environment.[9] McLuhan is perhaps the most widely read medium theorist, and the next sections will discuss some of his, and a few other theorists, point of views.

McLuhan argued that the print "revolution", which was introduced by Gutenberg's innovation, was the forerunner of the industrial revolution. In his point of view, one unforeseen consequence of the print was the fragmentation of society. With the introduction of the print, McLuhan argued that readers would read in private, and so be alienated from others.[10] Technology and media can therefore be defined as any extension

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[9] Croteau, Hoynes, 1997, *Media/Society. Industries, images, and Audience.*
[10] McLuhan, M., Fiore, Q., 1967, *The Medium is the Massage"*, New York: Bantam Publisher.

of the human sensory apparatus, and after we create them, they create us.[11] Furthermore, McLuhan saw electronic media as a return to collective ways of perceiving the world. His "global village" theory posited the ability of electronic media to unify and retribalise the human race. [12] If we were to follow McLuhan's directions, we would focus our attention on the ways each new medium disrupts tradition and reshape social life, thus, believing that media themselves extend our senses and alter our social world. It was the technology that required attention, the discussion of the formal content of the media message was for him a more peripheral issue. When new media technologies enters society they rework the balance of our senses. For example, the visual senses were highlighted on expense of sound as a consequence of the introduction of print technology. In the end, McLuhan advanced an unconventional, but not very sophisticated version of technological determinism in which each medium was seen to shape our senses in such a way that certain outcomes would be almost inevitable. Such a proposition oversimplifies the very complexities of the media process.[13] The message cannot be reduced to the medium.

Others have followed down the same road as McLuhan, solely focusing on the consequences of the change from one technology to another, that is, from one medium to another medium. Using McLuhan's terminology, a new Galaxy of communication was created with the diffusion of television technology in the decades after the 2nd World War. Following McLuhan, Neil Postman discussed the rise of television technology on expense of the print. This development lead to a restruction and reorganisation of the

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[11] McLuhan, 1964
[12] Marshall McLuhan, 1911-1980 at http://www. Regent.edu/acad/schcom/rojc
[13] Croteau, Hoynes, 1997, *Media/Society. Industries, images, and Audience.*

"system" in such a way that the television entered the very "heart" of communication.[14]

For example, the substance of democracy has, accordingly to this view, been undermined by the rise of television because the medium has transformed the ways we talk and think about public issues. The underlying premise is that what we say is the result of the form, or technology, we use to say it. The way we talk and think are encouraged, and even perhaps dictated, by the properties of television.[15]

4-3. The Social Construction of Media Technologies.

Social constructivist studies present non-deterministic models of technical change, and argue that the choices made in technical innovation in large part determine the social impacts of technologies. These scholars describe the developmental process of a technological artefact as an alternation of variation and selection. In contrast with the linear models used explicitly in many innovation studies, as for example by McLuhan and Postman mentioned above, and implicitly in much history of technology, the social constructivist approach is "multi-directional". The development of a new artefact normally starts out with an initial version that allows a large set of possible direction of development - it is said to have a large interpretative flexibility.[16] The relative power and influence of the relevant social groups will influence the direction and development of the artefact. This perspective investigates how the social groups interact and negotiate,

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[14] Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society*, Oxford.
[15] Croteau, Hoynes, 1997, *Media/Society. Industries, images, and Audience.*
[16] Lecturenotes, 1999, ESST.

and how this development process proceeds to find the final form or stabilisation of the new artefact.[17]

Lets philosophy over the introduction of the television technology in society. Was it as fundamental new as both McLuhan and Postman claimed? Television has often been considered to have heralded "a revolution in communications", but what are the criteria to be met for a radical new innovation? Technological innovations are rarely, if ever, "de novo" inventions which spring out of nowhere, but it still possible to classify some innovation as being more important than others. It must be conceived that the history of technology cannot be sharply divided into periods market by being the "before" and "after" of some innovation.[18] However, just as the scientific field use different "categories" for major and minor discoveries, history of technology also needs a distinction for its innovations. What makes a more significant invention more significant? What is it with these "revolutionary" technological advances, which seems to warrant such dramatic descriptions? Following Gordon Graham's[19] reasoning changes that provide hitherto unimagined ways of fulfilling recurrent human desires, and which "bring" in wake large-scale alternations in the structure of social and cultural life are radically new innovations. Let's set focus on the media technologies, television in particular. What is it that television might be thought to provide more abundantly than before? Information and entertainment comes to mind as the most obvious, because there is no doubt that television supplies these two. Peeking into a decade bound to be dominated by digital technology, counted on a purely numerical level, more channels will

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[17] Dahlbom, *Where do we go from here? – homepage.*

[18] Graham, *the internet://a philosophical inquiry,*London.

[19] Graham, *the internet://a philosophical inquiry,* London

supply even more information and entertaining.[20] The quantity of the offering will multiply, but what about the quality of the channels and the programs? So, without being overly cynical about the impacts of mass media, we see that television has an ability to increase hours spent in front of the "box". However, as pointed out above, this is not itself an unqualified enrichment since a lot of the information conveyed is essential trivial and trivialising. Television does not offer noticeable better ways of spending time than what older entertainment forms did. Television has brought about a degree of international communication that did not exist before. But is it truly innovative?

What about television's impact on social and political forms? Adopting Gordon's[21] argument in this discussion there is, as it seems to me, no consequence of television that is a clear counterpart to the social and political significance of urbanisation. As Gordon points out, family life is greatly altered in comparison with time past, but it is far from obvious that television has caused this to happen. Arguably, television follows social trends - it does not set them. On the political level, many theorists claim that the television has increased the power of the few who "rule" over this medium. Indeed, the power of the visual make it is possible for governments to manipulate popular opinions, and commercial enterprises to do manipulate our needs. This is a familiar line of thought, however, it is astonishing how effectively political control was exercised in the past where distances were far greater and systems of communication, by modern standards, relatively slow. Is it obvious, for all the speed and reach of modern forms of

[20] Graham, *the internet://a philosophical inquiry,*London.
Graham, *the internet://a philosophical inquiry,pp28,* London

telecommunication, that the power of the modern state is substantially greater than that of the empires of the old?

The determinist will argue that media technologies have had, and will continue to have, clear-cut impacts on sport and society. The introduction of digital technology will bring no exception. Since the expenses of subscribing to private channels are high, a big percentage of the public will miss out on sport events of great cultural importance. The sports federations are in a way "slaves of the technology", and have no real saying in the further development of sport, they are busy being reactive rather than proactive.

There is no reason to believe that people in sports federations are stupid. People are in generally not stupid. They do see the short term and long term opportunities, and limitation, which come about. Some leaders might fall for the temptation of selling the broadcasting rights to the higher bidder, but this is not an inevitable development. The federations are the owners of the broadcasting rights, they can sell them to whoever they want, to the private or the public sector. A cooperation between the media and sport sectors can be mutual beneficial, not only a one-way exploitation. It can generate a higher income to the sports athletes, the national federations, the organizers and the international federation of the sports. The broadcasters, on the other hand, attract desired viewers, which again give sponsors a return on their investments. From the social shaping of technology point of view, the relationship between media and professional sport is a complex system which consist of many social agents.

Technological determinism have social shaping of technology have different opinions on technology, and hence on how media technologies 'work' in society. Where the technological determinist perspective preaches inevitable impacts and effects, the SST approach preaches interaction and negotiation. Up to this point we have had a close look on the sport sector and media theory. Previous to that we deliberated on the dissertation's theoretical framework, before we went on to ask ourselves if we live in an information society or not. We are now about have peek into the world of empirical data.

5- EMPIRICAL DATA.

Our project of building a house has nearly come to an end. There are only two more floors to construct. The previous chapters have applied theory and bibliographical findings in describing the theoretical framework, media theory and the sport sector. This chapter offers the empirical data. People[22] in influential positions within the media, sport and sponsoring business have been asked to give their opinion in five areas, namely, the role of national federations, emergence of closed teams, collective selling and duration of exclusivity, interpenetration between sport and audiovisual industry, public's right to information, and the interpenetration between sport and audiovisual industry.[23] Their

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[22] President of the Norwegian Biathlon Federation, President of the International Biathlon Federation, Sport Director of NRK[22], and Sport controller of EBU to mention a few.
[23] For more details about the interviewguide, see Appendix B

opinions are presented in the following as the "reality", and as an illustrative example of the sport biathlon.

5-1. Reality.

European sport is traditionally based on a system of national federations, whereby each sport is organised nationally and also has a European body. The national federations have a central role to play in the European model of sport, that is, to arrange for consistent planning and striving for a medium-term view and policy. However, one problem facing these federations today is the lack of people with the right qualifications and expertise. This is why they will turn to agents whose motivation is to make profits and not necessarily meet the sporting demands of the national federations.

The emergence of closed leagues are a clear risk in the sport of football, and is seen as the inevitable consequence of clubs being quoted at the stock exchange, run as an individual businesses, and thus, answerable to the shareholders. In these circumstances, a long-term guarantee of access to the major sources of TV and sponsor money is essential. Therefore, the risk of relegation to a league with greater competitively and less income must be removed. These tendencies change the competitive nature of sport, but generates financial security to the major clubs (if the money is spread equally which is not the case at the moment). Only a few clubs generate the largest income, and they will dominate the leagues through their capacity to by the best players. The Bosman ruling has had an enormous impact on the value and salaries of the major stars, and will exclude the only

means of control, as the market is totally free. In football UEFA and FIFA are seeking to maintain a transfer system to protect the clubs and the development of new players, but the European Commission is seeking the absolution of the system, which will have very serious consequences. In the major five European countries, closed leagues in the most popular sports will survive, but this will not be the case in other countries. In Europe, the national competitions have a stronger base than European competitions from a popular standpoint, but in most circumstances they cannot generate the same financial returns.

The "ideology" of the European model of sport is the system of promotion and relegation. This system creates surprises and unexpectancies, which is not what business thrives on. US sport is driven by TV money, and this money is concentrated to a few sports. The system of salary caps, the limitations in the number of teams, the system of college sport and the draft are all elements of financial control and stability. However, this system does not exist in Europe, and is in many ways contrary to the cultural diversity within Europe. The principle of solidarity is strong within European sports, but financial demands of club owners, sponsors and athletes will make it more difficult for this solidarity to continue. The reduction of governmental subsidies and support has also had a significant impact and threatens thus solidarity.

Sport differs from other economic activities: usually a market player is trying to compete with others to get a bigger share of the market, and a loss one market player, for example due to his financial instability, will be a gain for the others. In sport, however, the competing clubs need their competitors in order to make the championship interesting

and exciting. Collective selling has the advantage of ensuring that the buyer knows what he is buying, but at the same time giving the seller the possibility to share out the money in an equitable way that helps all teams. Collective selling can thus be a means of preserving a balance between clubs/teams.

The commercial motivation behind sport will have impacts on the further development of sport as long as there is a potential for generating income. The real risk, however, is that the commercial interests are short-term, rather than long-term. The selling of broadcasting rights is a matter for the federations to decide, and while offering rights through tender is the most open, the terms of the tender must be very carefully defined, otherwise the real interest of the federation (which may be other than money) will not be fully protected. The essential element is that the federation keeps control of its sport, and does not allow any individual club or group to determine how TV rights will be sold. This is very difficult where major influences in the media business are present. The longer-term financial interests driven by media groups lead to a concentration of power in a few hands for their private interests. The sports must decide whether sport is a business or not. If they decide on being a business, they will have to accept the consequences and risks caused by financial problems.

The development of commercial television in Europe, the birth of specialised channels and the arrival of pay-TV have put touches to the framework of European sport. However, with the increase in sport events, or more specifically, the number that are televised, it is not possible for the generalist channels to show everything. Therefore,

sports channels and other means of distribution will become more common. The visibility on the main free-to-air channels will be for the most popular sports, and where the pay TV penetration is high or has a high potential, these popular sports will also be found. Public TV will be in new circumstances and while seeking to have the widest range of sport, it will have to spend the program budget to include those sports of high appeal. This will have impacts on less popular sports being seen on television. However, the existence of listed events[24] will help the popularity of many sports that have a cultural importance to the nations.

The real problem that exists within the sport sector has to do with cooperation, or rather the lack of cooperation. The cooperation that could have existed between different sports has been threatened by the financial expectations of individual interests. Therefore, any mutual financial support, which would be of benefit, is not possible in the future.

Is the relationship between media and sport based on equality, or does one of the parts benefit more than the other? The media's influence in sport is present, however, it was pointed out by the interviewees that this influence could not exist without a successful cooperation between the media and sport sectors. The influence of the media has lead to more attractive sports events, given a bigger audience and widened the appeal of the sports. The future security is through good cooperation between sport and the media, with both sides accepting that compromises are necessary, and that the interests of the other must be considered.

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[24] From the Television without frontiers directive.

5-2. Illustrative Example: Biathlon.

Biathlon, a double contest involving physical endurance and marksmanship, has developed a great deal during its long history. From its roots of man hunting for food for his family, to its organisation within Modern Pentathlon[25], and its recent continued development to fit the world we now live in. The word Biathlon derives from the Greek words "bi" meaning two, and "athlon" meaning contest. With organisational roots in Modern Pentathlon, a winter Pentathlon was not found to be a practical sport. Therefore the winter multisport was reduced to two aspects, skiing and rifle marksmanship. Technically, the name biathlon could represent a combination of any two aspects, but traditionally the name has been reserved for the combination of cross country skiing and rifle shooting. [26]

The first World Championships in biathlon took place in 1958, and was for the next 20 years a typical male sport. At this time the biathletes used heavy bore rifles, and joined the competitions with only one real challenge, to have fun. The competition programs were composed with intentions of fairness and excitement for the athletes. As time passed by, the leaders of the sport gradually started to concentrate their work on getting spectators to the stadiums. The next step was to invite the media for TV broadcasting. These changes lead up to the introduction of small-bore rifles in 1978, which also made it easier for women participation in the sport. However, whereas biathlon for men was introduced to program of the Olympic Winter Games in 1960, women had to wait until

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[25] A summer sport which combines five sport activities.
[26] Niinimaa, 1998, Double Contest Biathlon.

1992. It took 32 years for women biathlon to be fully acknowledged by the leadership and rest of the world.

The change to small-bore rifles in 1978 was in a way the "kick-off" of the biathlon sport. New stadiums were built with the intentions of being close to where spectators were found. Furthermore, already famous skiarenas, like Holmenkollen and Lahti, constructed arenas for the biathletes. The interest of media, television and sponsors grew proportionally with the number of spectators at the stadiums. Biathlon was soon to become a well-established wintersport. At the same time, the quality and quantity of female athletes rose to the levels of their male counterparts.

The biathlon leadership has always focused on the need for continuous change as to develop the sport further. One of these continuous changes has been to develop the sport in direction of television exposure. The present leadership of the International Biathlon Union, IBU, took an initiative of contacting the European Broadcasting Union, EBU, an initiative which have resulted in long-term contracts. The main goal of the leadership has always been to develop the competition program and to secure fair and exciting competitions for the athletes. However, the IBU has also identified the importance of developing the sport in the directions of spectators. To be a successful spectator sport biathlon must be exciting and easy to understand for the spectators, in front of the television as well as in the stadiums.

The cooperation between the IBU and EBU are believed to be a success for both parties involved. The stadiums are filled up with spectators, and the TV-ratings are among the highest of the wintersports. Eurosport alone was broadcasting 171 hours of biathlon in the 1999/2000 season, 86 million viewers watched those 171 hours of biathlon. All parties, the IBU, the EBU and the sponsors of the sport, are of the opinion that the recent developments have been mutual beneficial. It generates a higher income to the athletes, national federations, organizers and the international federation of the sport. The broadcasters attract viewers, which again give sponsors a return on their investments.

Today, IBU is in a position of being able to sell sponsor- and broadcasting rights to whoever they want. However, instead of selling the rights to the highest bidder, IBU has chosen to prolong their contract with the EBU. Their main arguments for prolonging the contract have been to secure the availability of the sport to as many viewers as possible, and to secure the quality of the television production of the competitions. Furthermore, both IBU and EBU identify the possibilities of promoting biathlon at the Internet, and want to explore this opportunity together.

6 - CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Our house construction process has almost come to an end. The process has been both time and energy consuming, construction is hard work. Only the top floor to go.

According to postmodern theory, the last two decades have seen the emergence of a world characterised by the rapid exchange of information, the saturation of images and a concern with consumption and identity. This world is characterised by fragmentation by the domination of surface appearance over substance, by a growing self-conscious self-reflexivity permeating all areas of cultural life, by pastiche, parody, irony and playfulness. In this context sporting exchange can be seen as an another form of cultural playfulness. The television program *Gladiators* is a good instance of this process, juxtaposing the formal structure of sport, the setting of show business and the iconography of the comic book. Whether one accepts the main concepts of postmodern theory or not, it is clear that the commercialisation of sport has developed to the point that wholly synthetic pseudo-sport events like Gladiators can be position in the mainstream of popular culture. [27]

As a social practice, sport occupies a contradictory position. On the one hand it is associated with spare time, leisure, exercise and doing things for fun. On the other, it has become a multi-million industry, with huge reward for the top performers, and a branch of the entertainment and leisure industries. Clearly sport is part of the economic system and a potential means of generating profit. Yet so many of its key institutions, still marked by the formation of modern sport in the nineteenth century, are not simplistic examples of capitalist entrepreneurship. One striking feature of much sport is precisely the way that it is not organised as a business. Sport does, however, provide means by which significant profits can be generated in peripheral activities, for example for the

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[27] Horne, Tomlinson, Whannel, 1999, *Understanding sport.*

sport agencies and clothing industry, and clearly aids the process of profit generation, as in advertising and sponsorship. It has to be remember that in most lived sports practices there is a complex combination of all three.[28]

In the methodology section we expressed three objectives; to discuss the sport and media sectors, to investigate the relationship between the two, and finally to apply a theoretical framework. Sport and media are clearly members of the entertainment and leisure industries, which are thought to be main features of the 'information society'. This is the reason why the sport and media sectors are discussed in this dissertation. Chapter one introduced you to the debate and to the methodology of the report. Chapter two introduced the theoretical frameworks, technological determinism and social shaping of technology, which were applied in the discussion of the existence of a 'information society. Chapter three elaborated on the European model of sport, the social significance of sport and the recent economic tendencies. In chapter four we discussed two media theories, one which perceived media to have inevitable 'impacts' or 'effects' on society, the other perceived media to 'interact' and 'negotiate' with society. Empirical data from the unstructured interviews were presented as 'reality' in chapter five. The first part of the dissertation was based on bibliographical contributions, the latter part on empirical findings. The previous five chapters meet the first two objectives. They discussed the sport and media sectors and investigate the relationship between the two.

Technological determinism is said to be a theory of investigation 'causes' and 'effects'. The nature of technologies and the direction of change are, from this point of view,

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[28] Horne, Tomlinson, Whannel, 1999, *Understanding sport.*

unproblematic or pre-determined. Technology is an independent factor and therefore causes societal and organisational changes. Determinism can also been applied to media theory. For example, The Frankfurter School of Social Research claimed to have recognised the detrimental effects of the media on their audiences. Effects they thought created a community of uncritical and passive consumers. Applying determinism to the relationship between media and sport would imply that one of the agents have inevitable 'effects' or 'impacts' on the other. More specifically, changes in the media industry/technology will bring about changes in the sports sector, and the sports federations have no other choice than react to these changes.

The social constructivist studies are united by an insistence of opening the black box of technology such as to allow the socio-economic patterns embedded in both the content of technologies and the process of innovation to be exposed and analysed. Technology does not develop according to an inner logic, but is rather a contingent process, involving heterogeneous factors. Scholars with this perspective have adopted the conception of consequences as resulting wholly or in part from social interpretation and negotiation. As a media theory is focus on complexity. New technologies enter social settings that are home to often deeply ingrained habits and cultural practices that shape the media. From this point of view the relationship between media and sport is characterised by negotiation and interpretation. The agents cooperate, and thus, mutually benefit of being in the relationship.

Chapter 5 presented the interviewees opinions in five areas, namely, the role of national federations, emergence of closed teams, collective selling and duration of exclusivity, interpenetration between sport and audiovisual industry, public's right to information, and the interpenetration between sport and audiovisual industry. Concepts like communication, cooperation and mutual benefit can summarize the findings. For example, the president of the IBU, the sport controller of the EBU and the owner of APF marketing are all of the opinion that the recent technological developments have been mutual beneficial for all parties involved. It has generated a higher income to the athletes, national federations, organizers and the international federation of the sport, the broadcaster attracts viewers, which again have given sponsors a return on their investments. The media sector does not dictate how the further development of the biathlon sport should be, neither has the media done so in the past, but it offers opportunities. It is the leadership of the sport who decides which opportunities to take, and which to pass.

The empirical findings do not support the idea of determinism. The new media technologies have offered opportunities, however, they do not have inevitable consequences. The sport federations own the broadcasting right and can sell them to whomever they want. The media and sport environment is characterised by cooperation and mutual benefit, concepts that support the validity of the social shaping of technology approach. In some instances media benefit more than the sports, others times it is the other way around.

People have different perceptions of society, and they have different perceptions of sport and media. Discussing a social concept is different from discussing a mathematical equation. We know for certain that 'one plus one equals two', and that 'two multiplied with six equals twelve'. There is room for more uncertainty in social sciences. The analytical methods, qualitative method and unstructured interviews, were found appropriate as means to meet the objectives of the report. We cannot claim to have found an absolute truth, however, there has not been any intention to do so.

Finally, let's pretend that we are men or women who are either short- or longsighted and hence in need of an optician. Let the theoretical frameworks, technological determinism and social shaping of technology, be the opticians. With their help we will be able to see the world differently. So, at a sunny afternoon we make a call to the optician. The optician from the former theoretical approach has designed a set of glasses, which gives us good sight, but only in one direction. They exclude part of the real picture. The other optician, from the social shaping of technology approach, has designed a more complex set of glasses. This set enables us to look to all directions at the same time. Much like the eye of a fly. Using the latter set of glasses enable us to see a complex picture.

We have two opticians who each offer a set of glasses. Our perception of the world, and thereby on technology, will depend on which set we choose to buy. With one set we view technology as unproblematic and pre-determined. With the other set we view technology as part of a complex social system. We live in a free country – you pick.

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APPENDIX A:

Allen Guttman has offered a classification of the characteristics of sports in various ages.
His typology of this sort of classification for each of four societal "types" is offered in
Table 1 underneath.

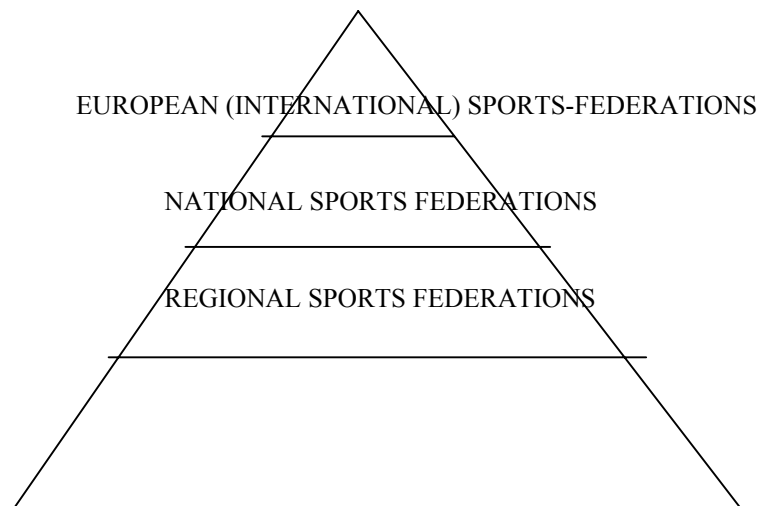**TABLE 1:** Guttman's characteristics of sport in various ages.

	Primitive	Greek	Roman	Mediaeval	Modern
Secularism	Y & N	Y & N	Y & N	Y & N	YES
Equality	NO	Y & N	Y & N	NO	YES
Specialisation	NO	YES	Y & N	NO	YES
Rationalisation	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES
Bureaucracy	NO	Y & N	YES	NO	YES

Quantification	NO	NO	Y & N	NO	YES
Records	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES

Source: Horne, Tomlinson, Whannel, 1998, *Understanding Sport.*

The organisation of Sport in Europe consists of Grassroots federations/clubs, Regional sports federation, National sports federation and European Sports federation. It's a basic pyramid structure.

EUROPEAN (INTERNATIONAL) SPORTS-FEDERATIONS

NATIONAL SPORTS FEDERATIONS

REGIONAL SPORTS FEDERATIONS

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Figure1: The pyramid model of sport in Europe.

APPENDIX B

Interview Guide

Method: Qualitative + unstructured interviews as a tool.

When conducting the interviews I covered five different areas; the role of national federations, emergence of closed teams, collective selling and duration of exclusivity,

Interpenetration between sport and audiovisual industry, the right to information, and finally, interpenetration between sport and audiovisual industry.

Role of National Federations

- Federation acting as a multinational, to organisation of leagues and promotion of sport.
- Able to combine these tasks adequately
- Fulfilling their new commercial role
- promoting sport and organising competitions

Emergence of closed leagues.

- National leagues still be attractive in the future or will they become too small
- National leagues be devalued because of closed competitions.
- If Europe starts to move towards this model, should conditions be imposed on these leagues
- Necessary to have a system of qualification and promotion and relegation?
- Any advantage for Europe in moving towards the US model of sport?
- Is there a need for a solidarity system?
- Which sports should receive contributions and how can the distribution be justified?

Collective Selling and Duration of exclusivity.

- Is collectively selling an appropriate means of preserving financial equality.

- Where commercial selling exists, how should they work with the grassroots sport.

- Point of view, what are the criteria for determining the length of exclusivity?

- If federations keep their monopolistic role, is it necessary to organise the sale of broadcasting rights by a call for tenders?

Interpenetration between sport and audiovisual industry

- Purchase of sports clubs by audiovisual groups could have negative influence on the development of sport?

- Does interpenetration interfere with the normal development of sports competitions in Europe?

- How could the ethics of sport be protected in these cases?

The right to information

- Sport. Threatened by the emergence of digital technology and pay-per-view television?

- Will be a conflict between the short-term profits and the visibility of the sport?

- Debate between sport as a spectacle and the practice of sport?

- How must a balance be struck between the interest of sports organisations to generate revenues by selling broadcasting rights and the need for public exposure of sport on public television?

- The role of public TV in promoting sport?

- Should public TV broadcast "minority" sports as a part of its public supply task.

- Is it therefore right that public television using public funds should compete with private television in order to purchase broadcasting rights for sports events?

- "Television without frontiers" Directive.

- Possible to make a national list of major sports events?

- Will this work in practice?

- Do you think it has detrimental effects on the financing of minority sports?

- Does the media dictate these changes or have they come about as a result of a discussion between the two? Are these changes a positive development?

- Relationship between media and sport based on equality, or does one of the parts benefit more than the other?