COMMUNICATION RESEARCH TRENDS

Centre for the Study of Communication and Culture

Volume 22 (2003) No. 4

IN THIS ISSUE

Sports and Media

Daniel Beck and Louis Bosshart
University of Fribourg—Freiburg (Switzerland)

A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF COMMUNICATION RESEARCH

ISSN: 0144-4646

Table of Contents

Communication Research Trends
Volume 22 (2003) Number 4
http://cscc.scu.edu

Published four times a year by the Centre for the Study of Communication and Culture (CSCC), sponsored by the California Province of the Society of Jesus.

ISSN 0144-4646

Editor: William E. Biernatzki, S.J.
Managing Editor: Paul A. Soukup, S.J.

Subscription:
Annual subscription (Vol. 22) US$45

Payment by check, MasterCard, Visa or Amex; US$ preferred. For payments by credit card, send full account number, expiration date, name on account, and signature.

Checks and/or International Money Orders drawn on USA banks (for non-USA banks, add $10 for handling) should be made payable to Communication Research Trends and sent to the managing editor

Paul A. Soukup, S.J.
Communication Department
Santa Clara University
500 El Camino Real
Santa Clara, CA 95053 USA

Transfer by wire to: Bank of America, 485 El Camino Real, Santa Clara, California. 95050, Account 00425-14510, Routing #121000358. Add $10 for handling.

Address all correspondence to the managing editor at the address shown above.

Tel: +1-408-554-5498
Fax: +1-408-554-4913
email: psoukup@scu.edu

The Centre for the Study of Communication and Culture (CSCC) is an international service of the Society of Jesus established in 1977 and currently managed by the California Province of the Society of Jesus, P.O. Box 519, Los Gatos, CA 95031-0519.

Sports and Media

Daniel Beck and Louis Bosshart
University of Fribourg—Freiburg (Switzerland)
email: daniel.beck@unifr.ch; louis.bosshart@unifr.ch

1. Introduction

"Sports and the mass media enjoy a very symbiotic relationship in American society" (McChesney, 1989, p. 49). This statement holds true not only for the United States but also for most contemporary industrialized societies. The "very symbiotic relationship" between the media and sports has profoundly affected both participants. And the advertising industry forms an important part of the relationship. Both sports and mass media keep trying to reach people as spectators, fans, and consumers; both actively affect the audience as well as the advertising market (including the sponsors).

Sport refers to a playful self-development, self-actualization, and competitive use of physical and mental skills. The history of sport activities is as long as the history of humans. Fitness played an important role in human evolution. For example, hunting, one of the main adaptive problems in evolutionary history, requires physical fitness and good teamwork. For hunters, these qualities meant more and/or better food; better and/or more food meant better chances in the battle for survival. Good physical, mental, and social shape improved the chances to successfully protect groups and tribes from other groups of aggressive intruders. Because of this connection, we can say that the first sportsmen were hunters and soldiers. Indeed, there are strong theories of sports being symbolic hunts, either for other humans or for animals.

Most civilizations know sport activities of an elementary nature: running; boxing; wrestling; animal fights; horse races; throwing the javelin, the discus, or stones; archery; swimming; dancing; etc. No wonder contemporary players and fans still find sports very attractive. The development of sports from pre-historic times until now is a function of industrialization, modernization, and telecommunication.

In themselves, sports provide reliable mirrors of societies. They reflect social values that can extend from individual values like discipline, asceticism, and self control to collective values like sportsmanship and fairness, and generally accepted values like the belief in effort and productivity, the advantage of competition, and—following the logic of capitalism—the survival of the fittest. Sports also act as seismographs of social and cultural changes within social units of any size. They are strongly linked to the prevailing lifestyles in modern societies. Sports, to a certain degree, can even replace a function of religions by defining a specific set and hierarchy of values.

Sports are integrative and image building elements for individuals, segments of societies, and entire societies. They act as unifying forces and strong factors of socialization, improving the social acceptance of athletes and their fans. Sports can also support social and cultural identities and the construction of national identities.

References

Adelman, M. (1986). *A sporting time: New York City and the rise of modern athletics, 1820-1870.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Andrews, D. L. (Ed.). (2001). *Michael Jordan, Inc.: Corporate sport, media culture, and late modern America.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Blain, N., & Bernstein, A. (Eds.). (2003). *Sport, media, society*. London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass.

Boyle, R. & Haynes, R. (2000). *Power play: Sport, the media, and popular culture*. Harlow, England and New York: Longman.

Brown, R. S., & O'Rourke III, D. J. (2003). *Case studies in sport communication*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Carroll, D. M. (2000). *An interdisciplinary study of sport as a symbolic hunt: A theory of the origin and nature of sport based on paleolithic hunting*. Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press.

Cashmore, E. (2000). *Making sense of sports* (3rd ed.). London and New York: Routledge.

Carter, J. M., & Krüger, A. (Eds.). (1990). *Ritual and record: Sports records and quantification in pre-modern societies*. New York: Greenwood Press.

Coakley, J., & Donnelly, P. (Eds). (1999). *Inside sports*. London and New York: Routledge.

Cox, R. W. (2002). *Sports history: A guide to scholarship, the literature, and sources of information.* Portland, OR: Frank Cross Publishers. [also published as Cox, R. W. (1994). *History of sport: A guide to the literature and sources of information.* Frodsham (Cheshire), UK.]

Davies, R. O. (1994). *America's obsession: Sports and society since 1945.* Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.

Elias, N., & Dunning, E. (1986). *Quest for excitement: Sport and leisure in the civilizing process*. Oxford, UK and New York: Basil Blackwell.

Finn, G. P.T., & Giulianoti, R. (Eds.). (2000). *Football culture: Local contests, global visions.* London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass.

Giulianotti, R. (1999). *Football: Sociology of the global game.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gorn, E., & Goldstein, W. (1993). *A brief history of American sports.* New York: Hill and Wang.

Hackforth, J. (Ed.). (1988). *Sportmedien und Mediensport. Wirkungen, Nutzung, Inhalte.* Berlin: Vistas.

Hargreaves, J. (Ed.). (1982). *Sport, culture, and ideology.* London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Holt, R. (1989). *Sport and the British: A modern history.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Horky, T. (2001). *Die Inszenierung des Sports in der Massenkommunikation. Theoretische Grundlagen und Analysen von Medienberichterstattung.* Jesteburg: Steffen Burmeister.

Horky, T. (Ed.). (2003). *Die Fussballweltmeisterschaft als Kommunikationsthema. Untersuchungen und Beiträge zur Berichterstattung über die Fussballweltmeisterschaft 2002 in Japan und Südkorea* (Sport & Kommunikation, vol. 1).Hamburg: Horky.

Jhally, S. (1989). Cultural studies and the sports/media complex. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *Media, sports and society* (pp. 70-93). Newbury Park, CA, London, and New Delhi: Sage.

Kinkema, K. M., & Harris, J. C. (1998). MediaSport studies: Key research and emerging issues. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *MediaSport* (pp. 3-13). London and New York: Routledge.

Krüger, A., & Scharenberg, S. (Eds.). (1993). *Wie die Medien den Sport aufbereiten. Ausgewählte Aspekte der Sportpublizistik.* Berlin: Verlagsgesellschaft Tischler.

Lamprecht, M., & Stamm, H. (2002). *Sport zwischen Kultur, Kult und Kommerz*. Zürich: Seismo/KNO.

Lüschen, G. (1967). The interdependence of sport and culture. *International Review of Sport Sociology, 2,* 115-122.

McChesney, R. (1989). Media made sport: A history of sports coverage. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *Media, sports, and society* (pp. 49-69). Newbury Park, CA, London, and New Delhi: Sage.

Morris, D. (1981). *The soccer tribe*. London: Cape.

Morris, D. (1985). *Bodywatching. A field guide to the human species*. London: Cape.

Pope, S. W. (Ed.). (1997). *The new American sport history: Recent approaches and perspectives*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Rader, B. G. (1999). *American sports: From the age of folk games to the age of televised sports* (4th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Real, M. R. (1998). MediaSport: Technology and the commodification of postmodern sport. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *MediaSport* (pp. 14-26). London and New York: Routledge, 1998

Riess, S. A. (1984). *The American sporting experience: A historical anthology of sport in America*. New York: Leisure Press.

Riess, S. A. (1989). *City games: The evolution of American urban society and the rise of sport*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Riess, S. A. (1995). *Sport in industrial America, 1850-1920*. Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson.

Roberts, R., & Olson, J. (1989). *Winning is the only thing: Sports in America since 1945*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Rowe, D. (1999). *Sport, culture and the media: The unruly trinity* (Issues in Cultural and Media Studies). Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

Sands, R. R. (Ed.). (1999). *Anthropology, sport, and culture.* Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.

Schwier, J. (Ed.). (2000). *Sport als populäre Kultur. Sport, Medien und Cultural Studies.* Hamburg: Feldhaus/ Czwalina.

Schwier, J. (Ed.). (2002). *Mediensport. Ein einführendes Handbuch*. Hohengehren: Schneider.

Schwier, J. (2002). Sport im Fernsehen—Angloamerikanische Studien zum Phänomen des Mediensports. In J. Schwier (Ed.), *Mediensport. Ein einführendes Handbuch* (pp. 73-100). Hohengehren: Schneider.

Strauss, B., Kolb, M., & Lames, M. (Eds.). (2002). *Sport-goes-media.de: zur Medialisierung des Sports*. Schorndorf b. Stuttgart: K. Hofmann.

Thomas, R. (1993). *Le sport et les médias.* Paris: Vigot.

Wenner, L. A. (1991). *Media, sports, and society* (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA, London, and New Delhi: Sage.

Wenner, L. A. (Ed.). (1998). *MediaSport*. London and New York: Routledge.

Whannel, G. (2000). Sport and the media. In J. Coakley, & E. Dunning (Eds.), *Handbook of sports studies* (pp. 291-308). London, Thousand Oaks, CA, and New Delhi: Sage.

2. Spectator Sports Entertainment

We generally understand entertainment as a pleasant, restful, stimulating, and exciting reception phenomenon—as a pleasant experience of the physical system (sensory activities), of the psychological system (ego-motions), the social system of individuals (socio-motions), the cognitive system (wit, intellectual arousal), and the spiritual system.

We cannot clearly differentiate entertainment and sports. Sports have become an integral source of entertainment for contemporary societies because spectator sports have every single ingredient of delightful entertainment. What are those entertaining elements? (Schramm & Klimmt, 2003, p. 61)

- public participation, i.e., personal involvement with songs, ola-waves, games, and gambling;
- show elements with links to arts, like skating or dancing;
- rituals before, during, and after events, like the introduction of players, the national anthem, handshakes, etc. The opening ceremonies of Olympic Games or World Championships have become globally accepted and appreciated liturgies;
- suspense: dramas, conflict, combat, victory or failure, uncertainty, duels (good vs. bad guys), risks—sports offer an "ideal combination of the dramatic and the unexpected" (Barnett, 1995, p. 167);
- a sense of belonging: rooting, fandom, patriotism, watching, and talking with friends;
- identification with stars, icons, heroes, or even "saints";
- sex-appeal, bodies in action and on display;
- mental pleasures provided by unexpected tactics and new strategies.

The media make the sports an important public issue and, with the help of entertaining stimuli, sell them.

References

Andrews, D. L., & Jackson, S. J. (Eds.). (2001). *Sports stars. The cultural politics of sporting celebrity.* London and New York: Routledge.

Barnett, S. (1995). Sport. In A. Smith (Ed.), *Television and international history* (pp. 148-168). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bosshart, L., & Macconi, I. (1998). Media entertainment. *Communication Research Trends, 18*(3), 3-8.

Bourdieu, P. (1993). How can one be a sports fan? In S. During (Ed.), *The cultural studies reader* (pp. 339-356). London and New York: Routledge.

Brown, A. (Ed.). (1998). *Fanatics: Power, identity and fandom in football.* London and New York: Routledge.

Bryant, J. S., Brown, D., Comisky, P. W., & Zillmann, D. (1982). Sports and spectators: Commentary and appreciation. *Journal of Communication, 32*(1), 109-119.

Bryant, J. S., Comisky, P. W., & Zillmann, D. (1977). Drama in sports commentary. *Journal of Communication, 27*(3), 140-149.

Bryant, J. S., & Raney, A. A. (2000). Sports on the screen. In D. Zillmann, & P. Vorderer (Eds.), *Media entertainment: The psychology of its appeal* (pp. 153-174). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Comisky, P. W., Bryant, J. S., & Zillmann, D. (1977). Commentary as a substitute for action. *Journal of Communication, 27*(3), 150-153.

Crabb, P. B., & Goldstein, J. H. (1991). The social psychology of watching sports: From Ilium to living room. In J. S. Bryant, & D. Zillmann (Eds.), *Responding to the screen: Reception and reaction processes* (pp. 355-371). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Goldstein, J. H. (Ed.). (1989). *Sports, games, and play: Social and psychological viewpoints* (2nd ed.). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Horky, T. (2003). Emotion, Spannung und Anschlusskommunikation—zur Unterhaltungsfunktion der Sportjournalistik aus systemtheoretischer Perspektive. In T. Horky (Ed.), *Die Fussballweltmeisterschaft als Kommunikationsthema. Untersuchungen und Beiträge zur Berichterstattung über die Fussballweltmeisterschaft 2002 in Japan und Südkorea* (Sport & Kommunikation, vol. 1, pp. 7-34). Hamburg: Horky.

Leconte, B., & Vigarello, G. (Eds.). (1998). *Le spectacle du sport*. Paris: Seuil.

Lever, J., & Wheeler, S. (1993). Mass media and the experience of sport. *Communication Research, 20*, 125-143.

Loy, J. W. (1981). An emerging theory of sports spectatorship: Implications for the Olympic Games. In J. Segrave, & D. Chu (Eds.), *Olympism* (pp. 262-294). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.

Morris, B. S. (1984). Sports spectacle as drama: Image, language, and technology. *Journal of Popular Culture, 18*(4), 101-110.

O'Connor, B., & Boyle, R. (1993). Dallas with balls: Televised sport, soap opera, and male and female pleasure. *Leisure Studies, 12*, 107-119.

Rinehart, R. (1994). Sport as kitsch: A case study of the American Gladiators. *Journal of Popular Culture, 28*, 25-35.

Rowe, D. (1995). *Popular cultures: Rock music, sport, and the politics of pleasure.* London and Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Sargent, S. L., Zillmann, D., & Weaver, J. B. (1998). The gender gap in the enjoyment of televised sport. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 22*, 46-64.

Schramm, H., & Klimmt, C. (2003). "Nach dem Spiel ist vor dem Spiel." Die Rezeption der Fussball-Weltmeisterschaft 2002 im Fernsehen: Eine Panel-Studie zur Entwicklung von Rezeptionsmotiven im Turnierverlauf. *Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft, 51*, 55-81.

Sloan, L. R. (1979). The function and the impact of sports for fans: A review of theory and contemporary research. In J. H. Goldstein, (Ed.), *Sports, games, and play: Social and psychological viewpoints* (pp. 219-262). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Spinrad, W. (1981). The function of spectator sports. In G. R. F. Lüschen, & G. H. Sage (Eds.), *Handbook of social science of sport: With an international classified bibliography* (pp. 354-365). Champaign, IL: Stipes Publishing Company.

Tomlinson, A. (1996). Olympic spectacle: Opening ceremonies and some paradoxes of globalization. *Media, Culture & Society, 18*, 583-602.

Wann, D. L., & Branscombe, N. R. (1993). Sport fans: Measuring degree of identification with their team. *International Journal of Sport Psychology, 24*, 1-17.

Wenner, L. A. (1998). Playing the MediaSport game. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *MediaSport* (pp. 3-13). London and New York: Routledge.

Wenner, L. A., & Gantz, W. (1998). Watching sports on television: Audiences, experiences, gender, fanship, and marriage. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *MediaSport* (pp. 233-251). London and New York: Routledge.

Whannel, G. (1998). Reading the sports media audience. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *MediaSport* (pp. 221-232). London and New York: Routledge.

Whannel, G. (2002). *Media sport stars: Masculinities and moralities*. London and New York: Routledge.

Wiggins, D. K. (Ed.). (1995). *Sport in America: From wicked amusement to national obsession.* Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.

Zillmann, D., Bryant, J. S., & Sapolsky, B. S. (1989). Enjoyment from sports spectatorship. In J. H. Goldstein (Ed.), *Sports, games, and play: Social and psychological viewpoints* (2nd ed., pp. 241-278). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Zillmann, D. (1993). Spectators: Reaction to sports events and effects on athletic performance. In R. N. Singer, M. Murphey, & L. K. Tennant (Eds.), *Handbook of research on sport psychology* (pp. 600-619). New York: Macmillan.

3. Sports and the Press

The press is the oldest medium regularly informing people about sports. From the beginning, sports teams showed keen interest in print media coverage: Newspapers formed the principal means of bringing news of coming events and results of past events. News of coming events built audiences for sporting contests and, together with the results of past events, helped to sell newspapers (Lever & Wheeler, 1993, p. 130). Lamprecht and Stamm distinguish three categories of print media dealing with sports:

- sports pages in daily newspapers
- sports papers and magazines (with general topics or specialized in certain kinds of sports)
- periodicals published by sport clubs and associations (Lamprecht & Stamm, 2002, pp. 148-149)

Sports pages in daily newspapers

The first newspapers were published in the beginning of the 17th century and about 150 years later the first sports-related articles appeared. In the middle of the 18th century sports became a topic in newspapers of the United States: In 1733 the Boston *Gazette* described a local boxing match between the athletes John Faulcomer and Bob Russel. Such reports about sporting events originally formed a part of the newspapers' local section. The first newspaper with a special sports section was the *Morning Herald* in England (1817), followed by other English and American papers: *The Globe* (England, 1818), *The American Farmer* (USA, 1819), and *Bell's Life* (England, 1824, published on Sundays). *The Times*, the conservative

London paper, introduced its sports section in 1829. All these sports sections contained local news, as telegraph transmission was not yet available.

With the rising popularity of sports such as baseball in the U.S. or soccer and cycling in Europe after 1870, the sports sections became more important. At that time, telegraph transmission made it possible to report sports news instantaneously from outside the local area, thus allowing for the first time in history collective involvement in distant sporting events. The telegraph was not only used by print media journalists, but also by sports fans themselves—bettors went to pool rooms and saloons equipped with receiving sets (Lever & Wheeler, 1993, p. 127). At the same time, very fast rotary press techniques came along with lower production costs and therefore lower consumer prices. Newspapers and magazines became a good for everybody.

A lot of the newspaper readers were now interested in popular sports. The *New York World* became the first newspaper with a special sports newsroom in 1883. In the 1920s 40% of the local news of the *New York World* and 60% of the local news of the *New York Tribune* consisted of sports news. At that time the early way of sports reporting—describing an event chronologically—had already been replaced by the modern style of journalism, placing the most important information at the beginning of the article (Garrison & Sabljak, 1993, p. 23).

After the introduction of electronic media, especially television, the function of the sports pages changed. Other media were able to report the results and the course of a match or a race much faster than the newspapers. Nevertheless, the sports pages did not become useless. Live reporting on radio and television increased the general interest in sports, but due to a lack of time TV and radio reporters could not give enough background information. So it became the newspaper journalists' task to provide this kind of news: analyses, comments, reports from beside the field, track, or arena floor. The most important question for them was no longer who won, but why he or she or the team did. Sports journalism in newspapers became more demanding and achieved a higher level of professionalism than before.

For a long time, the popular press wanted to show sports "from the inside," being close to the events and to the athletes. Quality papers also adopted this style to a certain extent (in Europe since the 1960s). Nowadays sports fans can find sports sections made for different target groups, but sports reporting in newspapers has generally become more personalized and more event-oriented. Along with these changes the size of the sports section in daily newspapers increased (Wernecken, 2000, pp. 54-55). Sports reporting in newspapers seems to be quite successful today: Whereas television remains the leading medium for sports, the daily sports sections are also very popular, especially among younger readers.

Sports papers and magazines

One of the first publications dealing exclusively with sports appeared in 18th century England: the *Racing Calendar* edited by the English Jockey Club. Founded in 1751, this club for upper-class people regularly informed its members about sporting rules and forthcoming horse races through its publications.

The first sports magazines were also released in England: *Sporting Magazine*, founded in 1792; and *Sporting Life*, in 1821. Both magazines mainly covered horse races—as betting on horses became very popular at that time, people needed information and hints to place their bets. An American pioneer of sports writing was William T. Porter who founded *The Spirit of the Times* at the beginning of the 1830s. The first French sports magazine was probably *Le Sport* (1854); the first magazine in the German language was—apart from various club magazines being founded in the middle of 19th century—the Austrian *Allgemeine Sportzeitung* (1878). In the USA, the number of sports magazines multiplied from nine by mid-century to almost 50 during the 1890s (Lever & Wheeler, 1993, p. 126).

Nowadays there are even newspapers and magazines that specialize in one sport only. The first specialized weeklies were the following ones:

- *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine* (especially horse races), 1829;
- *Spirit of the Times* (especially fishing, horse races, cricket, rowing, and sailing), 1831.

No doubt, those magazines appealed to upper class gentlemen!

- *National Police Gazette*, 1845;
- *New York Clipper*, 1853

These two magazines dealt with more popular sports like baseball and boxing (Riess, 1995, pp. 29-31). In the *Police Gazette*, the best selling sports magazine in the USA, crime, sex, and sport were already interwoven, and it seems likely that its success led daily newspapers to appreciate the sales potential from coverage of sports (Betts, 1953).

Other well known specialized magazines and their founding dates are

- *Sports Illustrated*, USA, 1954;
- *Le Vélocipède*, France, 1868;
- *Le Vélo*, France, 1891;
- *L'Auto*, France, 1900, today: *L'Equipe;*
- In Italy, *La Tripletta* and *Il Ciclista* became *Gazetta dello Sport* in 1896;
- *Kicker* (specialized in soccer), Germany, 1920

(Boyle & Haynes, 2000, pp. 27-28)

Daily sports papers dealing with all kind of sports are very popular in countries where they don't have to compete with widespread popular papers, since popular papers normally feature a very extensive sports section. *L'Equipe* in France, *Gazetta dello Sport* and *Corriere dello Sport* in Italy, *Marca* in Spain—these publications belong to the best selling newspapers in their countries. In other countries daily sports reporting in print media is limited to the sports sections of daily newspapers, which have massively extended their sports coverage and their sports sections in the past decades. In addition, the market for sports magazines tends to favor those specialized in certain kinds of sports or in certain aspects of sports (fitness, portraits of athletes, illustrated features). These publications are very popular.

Periodicals published by sport clubs and associations

Thousands of club magazines exist, though many of them are only read by a few dozens of readers. These periodical publications have several functions: They ensure the flow of information among club members, and they fill a gap in the offerings of the "big" sports media by reporting events or topics which are not covered by other media. Sometimes club magazines deal with similar topics as sports books, providing background information about historical, technical, medical, or other aspects of sports. Some magazines published by larger associations are professionally made and sold to a larger audience, so they look quite like other non-club-related sports magazines.

What makes sports so popular for newspapers? The language of the topic is simple and understandable. Victory and defeat create tension and emotions in an otherwise bored society. Sports create idols and objects of public voyeurism. Sports create coins of exchange, i.e., content for public discussions (Lamprecht & Stamm, 2002, pp. 140-145). The fact that print media are not live-media becomes an advantage. There is enough time and space for background information, interpretation, and comment. Besides this, reporting for newspapers costs less than obtaining permissions for live-transmissions on television or radio. The huge variety of newspapers and magazines creates many niches for many different levels, from the local to the global. There are, of course, differences between the penny-press and local, regional, or nationally subscribed newspapers. The news values seem to be the same ones: identification, dynamism, negativism (success vs. defeat, damage, cheating), and complexity.

References

Bertrand, C.-J. (1987). Sports et médias aux Etats-unis. *Esprit 125*, 213-229.

Betts, J. R. (1953). Sporting journalism in nineteenth-century America. *American Quarterly, 5*, 39-56.

Boyle, R., Dinan, W., & Morrow, S. (2002) Doing the business? Newspaper reporting of the business of football. *Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism, 3*, 161-181.

Boyle, R., & Haynes, R. (2000). *Power play: Sport, the media and popular culture*. Harlow and New York: Longman.

Garrison, B., & Sabljak, M. (1993). *Sports reporting* (2nd ed.). Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press.

Goldman, P. (1983). *Sporting life: An anthology of British sporting prints*. London: British Museum Publications.

Lamprecht, M., & Stamm, H. (2002). *Sport zwischen Kultur, Kult und Kommerz*. Zürich: Seismo/KNO.

Lever, J., & Wheeler, S. (1993). Mass media and the experience of sport. *Communication Research, 20*, 125-143.

Loosen, W. (1998). *Die Medienrealität des Sports: Evaluation und Analyse der Printberichterstattung.* Wiesbaden: Deutscher Universitäts-Verlag.

Lowes, M. D. (1997). Sports page: A case study in the manufacture of sports news for the daily press (Canada). *Sociology of Sports Journal*, *14*(2), 143-160.

MacCambridge, M. (1998). *The franchise: A history of* Sports Illustrated Magazine. New York: Hyperion,.

Oriard, M. (1993). *Reading football: How the popular press created an American spectacle*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Oriard, M. (2001). *King football: Sport and spectacle in the golden age of radio and newsreels, movies and magazines, the weekly and the daily press*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Ormezzano, G. P. (1998). Presse und Fussball. Zibaldone. *Zeitschrift für italienische Kultur der Gegenwart, 25*, 21-28.

Ponce de Leon, C. L. (2002). *Self-exposure: Human-interest journalism and the emergence of celebrity in America*,

1890-1940. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
Riess, S. A. (1995). *Sport in industrial America. 1850-1920.* Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson.
Rowe, D. (1992). Modes of sports writing. In P. Dahlgreen, & C. Sparks (Eds.), *Journalism and popular culture* (pp. 96-112). London and Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
Seidler, E. (1964). *Le sport et la presse*. Paris: A. Colin.
Seidler, E. (1986). *Sport à la une. Trente-cinq ans de journalisme*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy.
Thomas, R. (1993). *Le sport et les médias.* Paris: Vigot.
Trujillo, N., & Ekdom, L. R. (1985). Sports-writing and American values: The 1984 Chicago Cubs. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication, 2,* 262-281.
Vincent, J., Imwold, C., Masemann, V., & Johnson, J. T. (2002). A comparison of selected 'serious' and 'popular' British, Canadian, and United States newspaper coverage of female and male athletes competing in the centennial Olympic Games. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 3,* 319-336.
Wernecken, J. (2000). *Wir und die anderen... Nationale Stereotypen im Kontext des Mediensports.* Berlin: Vistas.
Yates, N. W. (1957). *William T. Porter and the spirit of the* Times. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.

4. Sports and Radio

Up to the early 20th century, the only way to share the immediate drama of a sports event was either to play or to attend. But then came radio. The added value of the radio—compared to the printed media—is the opportunity of live reporting. From the very beginning the radio took advantage of this asset. Live radio reporting gave the impression of being there, of being a witness of something emotional and suspenseful. Announcers learned very quickly to give the impression of dense and dramatic events. Another advantage of the radio was and still is its very fast speed. Results and scores can be diffused instantaneously in a very flexible program. And the radio medium can reach people at any time anywhere, i.e., in the car, at the workplace, on the beach, etc. Technically, radio stations and their reporters can very easily be interconnected so that radio listeners can virtually move from one place to another. Finally, radio reporting excels at interviews, one genuine genre of radio.

Several sporting events have been midwives for the commercial and social breakthrough of radio and television—a birth that led to the co-existence of several kinds of sports with the media. In the USA it was boxing that, via live transmissions on radio, made that medium and itself popular. On April 4, 1921, the radio station KDKA broadcast for the very first time a sporting event, namely a boxing match from the Pittsburgh Motor Square Garden. On July 2 of the same year two New York radio stations (WJY and WJ2) broadcast the heavyweight boxing world championship fight between Jack Dempsey and Georges Carpentier in New York. David Sarnoff, later in his life president of NBC, had radio sets installed in theaters, ballrooms, and barns. About 300,000 boxing fans paid the entrance fee—it was spent for the reconstruction of France after the First World War!—and were fascinated. That was the initial ignition for the tremendously successful diffusion of the radio medium in the United States. In 1927 about 40 million Americans listened to the live transmission of the Dempsey vs. Sharkey fight, this time at home, in front of their own wireless-sets. Already in those early days, ratings showed that reports from sporting events were more popular among men than among women—a pattern that still exists today in most countries. In the late 1930s the fight between two heavy-weight boxers, Joe Louis and Max Schmeling, scored a 58% rating among American households—radio and boxers, hand in hand, fighting their way through the market.

At first, though, the media establishment proved very hostile to the radio pioneers. Newspaper publishers in various countries pushed through governmental measures in order to protect themselves. As a result, laws or policies limited news reporting on the radio. This also affected the sports section. In Great Britain, for example, the BBC radio channel (British Broadcasting Corporation, founded in 1922) forbade sports news before 7 o'clock in the evening until 1926. Even in 1928, during the Olympic Summer Games in Amsterdam, BBC sports reporters were only allowed to read news agency bulletins—and only after 6 o'clock in the evening. At the 1932 Olympic Summer Games in Los Angeles, broadcasting time was limited to 15 minutes per day. This time, it was

the film industry that pushed through the measure (Llinés & Moreno, 1999, p. 22).

Live reporting on the radio increased the number of people that could follow a sports event at the same time. But the organizers feared that it could also prevent some people from going to the stadium and paying the entrance fee. Whereas in the very beginning of radio broadcasting, some organizers had even paid the broadcasters for having their event on the radio, there was soon a switch of roles. Sports organizers obligated the radio broadcasters to pay license fees to them, as a compensation for the organizer's lower income due to the possible decrease of the audience in the stadium. Already by the 1930s in the USA, the organizers of baseball games and boxing matches demanded license fees from the radio broadcasters. In the beginning several radio stations avoided the payment by using an illegal method: The reporters listened to the programs of other stations, which had paid the fees, and transmitted the information to their own audiences. But the payment of license fees soon became commonplace. The radio stations reporting the World Championship fight between the heavy-weight boxers Joe Louis and Max Schmeling in 1935 had to pay US$27,500 for license fees. Still, everybody made a profit. Despite the live reporting on the radio, 88,000 spectators went to the fight and paid entrance fees, so radio proved to be no threat to sport arenas' attendance. And because of the high audience rating, advertisers were willing to pay more than the usual rates for a radio spot before, during, or after the live broadcast of a sports event (Cashmore, 2000, p. 277).

Even if it has to compete with television, radio remains an important medium for sports news today. Not all professional contests are televised yet, but radio can provide results from these contests instantaneously. Furthermore radio sets are small and portable and can be used in places where watching TV is impossible. Finally, radio can be used as a supplement to television reporting.

References

Bertrand, C.-J. (1987). Sports et médias aux Etats-unis. *Esprit, 125*, 213-229.

Boyle, R., & Haynes, R. (2000). *Power play: Sport, the media and popular culture*. Harlow and New York: Longman.

Cashmore, E. (2000). *Making sense of sports* (3rd ed.). London and New York: Routledge.

Catsis, J. R. (1996). *Sports broadcasting.* Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Gilmore, P. (1993). Sport on local radio: A producer's view. *The Sports Historian* (Journal of the British Society of Sports History), *13*, 26-30.

Lever, J., & Wheeler, S. (1993). Mass media and the experience of sport. *Communication Research, 20*, 125-143.

Llinés, M., & Belén Moreno, A. (1999). The history of radio and television coverage of the Olympic Games. In International Olympic Committee (Ed.), *Television in the Olympic Games: The New Era* (pp. 15-40). Lausanne: International Olympic Committee.

Oriard, M. (2001). *King Football: Sport and spectacle in the golden age of radio and newsreels, movies and magazines, the weekly and the daily press.* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Schaffrath, M. (1997). Sportberichterstattung im dualen Hörfunksystem. *Rundfunk und Fernsehen, 45*, 351-373.

Smith, R. A. (2001). *Play-by-play: Radio, television, and big-time college sport.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

5. Sports and Television

Television has clearly become the leading medium in the context of sports. Like the radio, this medium allows live reporting, but because it transmits not only sound but also live images, the feeling of "being there" is even stronger for television spectators than for radio listeners. So, with television, major sporting contests are no longer available just to spectators witnessing the event in person, but also to many millions more who can view the spectacle in their own homes, thanks to their television sets. The added value stemming from this medium is evident: close-ups, replays, slow motion, the different angles from different cameras, and cameras that follow the action. It can be more exciting to be a spectator in front of the television screen than to be a spectator in the stadium, far away from the playing field or the arena floor. And, what is most important, television shows live people, sports-men and -women, usually perfectly built, completely fit, attractive, and highly trained young people. The "ménage à trois"—i.e. sports, media, and adver-

tising—produces a highly marketable service: show-business.

Due to added values—stemming from dramatization, reporting skills, and broadcasting itself—televised sports reaches more individuals than does on-site sports. "The phenomenon of mass consumerism of televised sport has created a much different feel for sport than in the past." (Rinehart, 1994, p. 25). Combining show elements with competition, television has even created a sport of its own, i.e., "American Gladiators." Television is also backing and profiting from "WWF" and "XFL," i.e., the World Wrestling Federation and a curious hybrid of American Football and professional wrestling. From a non-American point of view it is interesting to see that the WWF and the World Series both claim a label for something that is anything but spread worldwide.

Television seems simultaneously to support, popularize, and dominate sports. It has contributed to the globalization of sports. By the worldwide transmission of sports traditionally popular only in certain countries—baseball in America, cycling in France, sumo in Japan—television has fueled new sporting fashions elsewhere, and live reports from international events like the Olympics and Soccer's World Cup have introduced audiences across the world to new sports. As a result, some sports owe their popularity in any part of the world almost entirely to television exposure. But some countries fear that by this development, glamorous television sports could obliterate indigenous sporting traditions (Barnett, 1995, p. 149). Quite similar is the fear that the opportunity to watch major or international sports events on television could prevent sports fans from attending local games. After all, it can be said that "TV has conferred its favors on only a few sports, leaving the majority with insufficient resources and exposure" (Rowe, 1996, p. 565).

To be part of the party, athletes and sports managers are ready to accept interference from the side of television. Media managers decide, for instance, at what time a sporting event starts. Several sports have accepted changes in their rules just to make the sport more suited to television. Commercial breaks are imposed time-outs. The marriage between sports and television is so tight in some countries that a divorce would mean bankruptcy for athletes and clubs. But it is a love-hate relationship with the medium in the stronger position. No television—no publicity; no publicity—no sponsors!

The beginning of television broadcasting was, as well, already closely related to sports. As a test for the new medium, promoters established a TV program at the 1936 Summer Olympics in Berlin. The program could be received within a distance of 10 miles from the sender. But as there were yet no TV sets, the organizers also provided 21 auditoriums with large screens (Llinés & Moreno, 1999, p. 16). In Great Britain the BBC started its TV test program at the end of the same year, 1936. In the following year, the BBC produced the first live report on television from a sports event: It transmitted 25 minutes of a tennis match from the men's single in Wimbledon on June 21, 1937 (Barnett, 1990, p. 5; Cashmore, 2000, p. 277). On March 19, 1938, the BBC added a report from a rugby match between England and Scotland. The first televised soccer match, also England v. Scotland, followed on April 9 of the same year. These programs could be watched only at the about 200 to 300 households in London that were already furnished with TV sets (Boyle & Haynes, 2000, pp. 38-41). In the USA, on May 17, 1939 NBC, for the first time, found a college baseball game worth a live transmission. This was probably the first live transmission of a sports event in the USA. Major League Baseball followed on August 26 of the same year. At that time several hundred TV sets existed in New York (Crabb & Goldstein, 1991, p. 360; Catsis, 1996, p. 2).

Early television sports had several technical problems. The cameras were immobile, and close-ups were impossible. Therefore boxing seemed to be an ideal sport for television in the beginning because of the small dimensions of the ring (Cashmore, 2000, p. 277). Nowadays other sports have become much more important. The 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s brought smaller, more mobile cameras with more functions, worldwide satellite transmissions, and, finally, color television. These developments were a breakthrough for sports on television. The increased number of TV channels due to cable and satellite television made it possible in 1979 to start the first network in the USA specializing in sports, ESPN (Entertainment and Sports Programming Network). Other sports channels followed. In Europe, where the monopoly of public service broadcasters was broken in most countries in the 1970s and 1980s, Eurosport and DSF, a German sports channel, went on air. The specialized sports channels have also changed the nature of sports reporting by introducing more entertaining elements. Commentators make a lot of jokes and puns; in the news sum-

maries, only the most spectacular phases of the games are presented. As a consequence, it may be assumed that athletes change their way of playing just in order to be seen on television. In general, show business elements have become more and more important in televised sports, which are placed in an increasingly competitive broadcasting environment.

Like the radio broadcasters before them, TV broadcasters soon had to pay license fees if they wanted to send live transmissions from sporting events. As sports programs soon proved to be very popular with the audience—and therefore also with the advertisers—these license fees for TV broadcasters became higher and higher. The prices for advertising spots before, during, or after a sports program also rose. In the USA, where commercial broadcasters competed from the beginning, license fees increased from the 1960s. In Europe and Australia, where national public service operators at first monopolized television, the prices only rose after the introduction of commercial broadcasting in the 1980s. Commercial broadcasters tried to outbid their competitors for television rights to high profile sports, in order to create wider audiences and to secure lucrative advertising revenue. Following the rules of the market, televised sports have become very expensive products.

As a consequence, sportsmen and sportswomen can earn tremendous amounts of money, if broadcasters deem their sport fits television. "Fit" means that the respective sport creates drama, risks, sensations, and thrills—and enough breaks for commercials. The announcers take the role of adding some more value to the show by labeling nearly every competition with superlatives. The athletes too can bring some more news—and entertainment value—into the game by opening their private lives to a big audience. Human interest sells as well as scandals. Sports are a highly marketable contemporary infotainment stimulus. In ancient Rome the emperors exploited a saying that people need some bread and some amusement to be quiet and not rebellious: *"Panem et circenses"*! The "Circus Maximus" was the arena where different kinds of sport created that excitement, live.

References

Atlanta Centennial Olympics Properties (Ed.). (1996). *The television power of the 1996 Atlanta Olympic Games: A research report*. Atlanta: Atlanta Centennial Olympics Properties.

Andreff, W., & Nys, J.-F. (1987). *Le sport et la télévision. Relations économiques. Pluralité d'intérêts et sources d'ambiguités*. Paris: Dalloz.

Barnett, S. (1990). *Games and sets: The changing face of sport on television*. London: BFI Publishing.

Barnett, S. (1995). Sport. In Anthony Smith (Ed.), *Television: An international history* (pp. 148-168). Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Berkman, D. (1998). Long before Arledge...Sports and television: The earliest years 1937-1947—as seen by the contemporary press. *Journal of Popular Culture, 22*(Fall), 49-62.

Bertrand, C.-J. (1987). Sports et médias aux Etats-unis. *Esprit, 125*, 213-229.

Billings, A. C., & Tyler Eastman, S. (2002). Selective representation of gender, ethnicity, and nationality in American television coverage of the 2000 Summer Olympics. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 37*, 351-370.

Boyle, R., & Haynes, R. (2000). *Power play: Sport, the media, and popular culture*. Harlow and New York: Longman.

Bryant, J. S., & Raney, A. A. (2000). Sports on the screen. In D. Zillmann, & P. Vorderer (Eds.), *Media entertainment: The psychology of its appeal* (pp. 153-174). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Burk, V. (2003). *Sport im Fernsehen. Öffentlich-rechtliche und private Programme im Vergleich*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Capranica, L., & Aversa, F. (2002). Italian television sport coverage during the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 37*, 337-350.

Cashmore, E. (2000). *Making sense of sports* (3rd ed.). London and New York: Routledge.

Catsis, J. R. (1996). *Sports broadcasting*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Cellini, R. (1997). Television coverage of professional football: Information versus entertainment. *Dissertation Abstracts International, 58* (10), 3766A. (UMI No. AAG9813382)

Chandler, J. M. (1998). *Television and national sport: The United States and Britain*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Chandler, J. M. (1991). Sports as TV product: A case study of "Monday Night Football." In P. D. Staudohar, & J. A. Mangan (Eds.), *The Business of Professional Sports* (pp. 48-60). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Crabb, P. B., & Goldstein, J. H. (1991). The social psychology of watching sports: From Ilium to living room. In J. S. Bryant, & D. Zillmann (Eds.), *Responding to the screen: Reception and reaction processes* (pp. 355-371). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Elsner, M., Mueller, T., & Spangenberg, P. M. (1990). The early history of German television: The slow develop-

ment of a fast medium. *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television, 10,* 193-219.

Feldman, S. (1996). The hungry games: Television at the Atlanta Olympics. *Queen's Quarterly, 103*, 461-471.

Fischer, H.-D. (1979). From cooperation to quasi-congruency—Interdependencies between the Olympic Games and television. In H.-D. Fischer, & S. R. Melnik (Eds.), *Entertainment: A cross-cultural examination* (pp. 208-233). New York: Hastings House.

Fortunato, J. A. (2001). *The ultimate assist: The relationship and broadcast strategies of NBA and television networks*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Freeman, M. (2000). *ESPN: The uncensored history*. Dallas: Taylor Publishing.

Friedrich, G. (2002). "American Gladiators"—Merkmale einer massenmedialen Inszenierung am Rande von Spiel und Sport. In J. Schwier (Ed.), *Mediensport. Ein einführendes Handbuch* (pp. 223-242). Hohengehren: Schneider.

Gabaston, P., & Leconte, B. (Eds.). (2000). *Sports et télévison: regards croisés*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Geraghty, C., Simpson, P., & Whannel, G. (1986). Tunnel vision: Television's World Cup. In A. Tomlinson, & G. Whannel (Eds.), *Off the ball: The football worldcup* (pp. 20-35). London: Pluto.

Gruneau, R. (1989). Making spectacles: A case study in television sports production. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *Media, sports and society* (pp. 134-154). London and Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Gunter, M. (1994). *The house that Roone built: The inside story of ABC news*. Boston: Little Brown.

Hitchcock, J. R. (1991). *Sportscasting (electronic media management)*. London and Boston: Focal Press.

Horowitz, I. (1977). Sports telecasts: Rights and regulations. *Journal of Communication, 27*(3), 160-168.

International Olympic Committee (Ed.). (1996). *Olympic broadcasting analysis report: Centennial Olympic Games 1996*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee.

Jackson, R., & T. McPhail (Eds.). (1989). *The Olympic movement and the mass media: Past, present and future issues.* Calgary: Hurford Enterprises.

Klatell, D. A., & Norman, M. (1988). *Sports for sale: Television, money and the fans.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Llinés, M., & Belén Moreno, A. (1999). The history of radio and television coverage of the Olympic games. In International Olympic Committee (Ed.), *Television in the Olympic games: The new era* (pp. 15-40). Lausanne: International Olympic Committee.

Maitrot, E. (1995). *Sport et télé: les liaisons secrètes.* Paris: Flammarion.

Masters, C. (1995). Barbarians at the game. *Media International Australia, 77*, 15-29.

Meadow, R. G. (1989). The architecture of Olympic broadcasting. In R. Jackson, & T. McPhail (Eds.), *The Olympic movement and the mass media: Past, present and future issues* (pp. 7-20). Calgary: Hurford Enterprises.

Moragas Spa, M. de, Rivenburgh, N. K., & Larson, J. F. (Eds.). (1995). *Television in the Olympics*. London: J. Libbey.

Nowell-Smith, G. (1978). TV—football—the world. *Screen, 19*(4), 45-59.

O'Neill, T. A. (1989). *The game behind the game: High stakes, high pressure in television sports.* New York: Harper and Row.

Oriard, M. (2001). *King football: Sport and spectacle in the golden age of radio and newsreels, movies and magazines, the weekly and the daily press.* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Patton, P. (1984). *Razzle dazzle: The curious marriage of television and professional football.* Garden City, NY: Dial Press.

Pleitgen, F. (2000). *Der Sport im Fernsehen (Arbeitspapiere des Instituts für Rundfunkökonomie an der Universität zu Köln).* Köln: Verein zur Förderung der Forschung auf dem Gebiet der Rundfunkökonomie.

Powers, R. (1984). *Supertube: The rise of television sports.* New York: Coward-McCann.

Prado, E., & Richeri, G. (1999). New forms of television. Their impact on sports and the Olympic games. In International Olympic Committee (Ed.), *Television in the Olympic games: The new era* (pp. 151-160). Lausanne: International Olympic Committee.

Rader, B. G. (1984). *In its own image: How television has transformed sports*. New York: Free Press and London: Collier Macmillan.

Rannsbjerg, P. (1998). TV sport and rhetoric: The mediated event. *Nordicom Review, 19*(1), 159-173.

Rinehart, R. (1994). Sport as kitsch. A case study of the American Gladiators. *Journal of Popular Culture, 28*(2), 25-35.

Rowe, D. (1996). The global love-match: Sport and television. *Media, Culture & Society, 18*, 565-583.

Smith, R. A. (2001). *Play-by-play: Radio, television, and big-time college sport.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Spence, J. (1988). *Up close and personal: The inside story of network television sports*. New York: Atheneum.

Steinmann, M., Meienberger, R., & Messerli, F. (2002). *Sport am Fernsehen und sein Publikum.* Bern: SRG SSR idée suisse media services.

Sugar, B. R. (1978). *"The thrill of victory": The inside story of ABC sports*. New York: Hawthorn.

Sullivan, D. B. (1991). Commentary and viewer perception of player hostility: Adding punch to televised sports. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, 35*, 487-504.

Tyler Eastman, S., Newton, G. D., & Pack, L. (1996). Promoting primetime programs in megasporting events. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, 40*, 366-388.

Whannel, G. (1986). The unholy alliance: Notes on television and the re-making of British sport. *Leisure Studies, 5*, 129-145.

Whannel, G. (1992). *Fields in vision: Television sport and cultural transformation.* London and New York: Routledge.

Williams, B. (1977). The structure of televised football. *Journal of Communication, 27*(3), 133-139.

Williams, J. (1994). The local and the global in English soccer and the rise of satellite TV. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 11*, 376-379.

6. Sports and the Internet

Since the mid-1990s, not only television but also the Internet can transmit live pictures of sports events. However, the memory capacity of personal computers and data transfer rates have set limits to this kind of sports broadcasting so far. Therefore television still remains the most important medium for sports reporting. But the Internet already offers a lot of interesting options for sports fans today (see, e.g., McDaniel & Sullivan, 1998; Bieber & Herbecker, 2002). Statistics, plans, and background information can be consulted without any problems because of the almost unlimited memory capacity of the World Wide Web. So the new medium may be used as a sports encyclopedia. Furthermore, the Internet is a platform on which athletes can present themselves: Almost all sports clubs and successful athletes have their own websites. And finally, the Internet is an interactive medium, so sports fans can also act as web publishers. Some of them collect information about their idols and publish it on the web; others use discussion forums; and sometimes fans place their bets at online betting offices. All in all, it can be said that the Internet has become a popular medium for sports fans, too.

The Internet allows a fast worldwide transfer of data, so it is well suited to the transmission of short sports news. Portal sites specialized in sports and the official websites maintained by organizers of sports events continuously report the latest news and results. These services are very popular, especially during big sports events. The official websites of the 2000 Summer Olympic Games in Sydney, the 2002 Winter Olympics in Salt Lake City, and the 2002 Soccer World Cup in Japan and Korea registered billions of page views within a few weeks (Settele, 2002). Independent sports portal sites are also frequently used. But many of the free services can hardly recover their expenses. The income made by advertising banners is limited, even if the website has a lot of visits. So numerous sports portal sites have already had to close down due to a lack of money. Only the biggest services can survive. The best positions are obtained by websites embedded in other media activities (see Medau & Reutner, 2001). For example, a website providing additional information is mentioned in the print media or on the radio or television programs of the same owner, and it profits from the good reputation of the well-established media. Furthermore, many sports portals hope to make money with additional billed services, for example short-message news services for mobile phones.

Websites are comparatively easy to produce and use; with the aid of a search engine, fans can easily find even detailed information about special topics. So the World Wide Web is also an ideal place for sports information and for those sports neglected in other media. One of the first websites successfully covering a sports event did not deal with one of the major sports: The event was the Whitbread around-the-world sailing race in 1997 (Bertrand, 1999, p. 138).

References

Bertrand, J. (1999). Internet: Foe or ally? In International Olympic Committee (Ed.), *Television in the Olympic games: The new era* (International Symposium, Lausanne, 19th-20th October 1998) (pp. 131-142). Lausanne: International Olympic Committee.

Bieber, C., & Hebecker, E. (2000). You'll never surf alone: Online-Inszenierungen des Sports. In J. Schwier (Ed.), *Sport als populäre Kultur. Sport, Medien und Cultural Studies* (pp. 211-232). Hamburg: Feldhaus/Czwalina.

Boyle, R., & Haynes, R. (2000). *Power play: Sport, the media and popular culture.* Harlow and New York: Longman.

Delphy, L., & Bosetti, H. (1998). Sport management and marketing via the World Wide Web. *Sport Marketing Quarterly, 1*, 21-27.

McDaniel S. R., & Sullivan, C. B. (1998). Extending the sports experience: Mediating in cyberspace. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *MediaSport* (pp. 266-281). London and New York: Routledge.

Medau, T., & Reutner, C. (2001). Die Zukunft des Online-Journalismus aus Sicht des Sports. In G. Roters, W. Klingler, & M. Gerhards (Eds.), *Sport und Sportrezeption* (Forum Medienrezeption Band 5, pp. 185-202). Baden-Baden: Nomos.

Rowe, D. (1999). *Sport, culture and the media. The unruly trinity* (Issues in Cultural and Media Studies). Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

Settele, C. (2002, June 14). Das runde Leder zappelt im Netz. Die Fussball-WM bietet dem Internet eine ideale Arena. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung.*

Stoddard, B. (1997). Convergence—Sport on the information superhighway. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 1*, 93-102.

Temple, B. (1995). *Sports on the net: Surfing the world of Internet sports*. Indianapolis: Que.

7. Sports Journalists

Sports journalists face a very demanding job. They have to make their comments quickly and precisely, and a large audience closely follows their work. Still, for a long time, many newspapers considered the sports section as the "toy department" (Rowe & Stevenson, 1995, p. 67), with the sports journalists being the "outsiders in the editorial office" (Weischenberg, 1978). Sports journalism had little prestige. Possible reasons for this situation included the alleged popularity of the sports section among the lower classes (although there were always sports fans in all social classes) and the lower education level of sports journalists in comparison to other journalists. Some journalists also criticized their sports journalist colleagues who made friends with athletes, thus causing a lack of professional distance.

The lack of training in journalism could in fact be a problem among sports journalists. Even some decades ago, a personal relationship to sports and knowledge about sports were much more important than knowledge or training in journalism for many media companies seeking to hire a sports journalist. In the 1950s and 1960s, the *Berner Tagblatt*, a Swiss daily newspaper, boasted about the fact that the articles in its sports section were written by active athletes. For many years, this information could be read on almost every sports page of this paper (Hug, 1997, pp. 27-28).

Many sports journalists felt they occupied an isolated position at work: They had more contact with sports journalists working for other media than with their colleagues working for other sections of the same medium. Furthermore, as the qualifications for sports reporting and other reporters were quite different, it was hardly possible for a sports journalist to change departments and to write about other topics.

Recent studies show that sports journalists have gained self-confidence. They are better educated and consider their work to be more prestigious than they did 20 or 30 years ago. Nowadays, they find that entertainment is one of their most important tasks, which differs from the results of earlier surveys. On the other hand, they aren't very critical of commercialism and of the role of sponsorship in sports. Apart from that, the attitudes of sports journalists and other journalists are quite similar. Weischenberg (1994) even states that regarding their attitudes, journalists working for other departments now approach the attitudes of the former "outsiders." All in all, sports journalists seem to be more accepted and more integrated today than ever before.

References

Gilmore, P. (1993). Sport on local radio: A producer's view. *The Sports Historian (Journal of the British Society of Sports History), 13*, 26-30.

Görner, F. (1995). *Vom Aussenseiter zum Aufsteiger. Ergebnisse der ersten repräsentativen Befragung von Sportjournalisten in Deutschland* (Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Sportpublizistik 4). Berlin: Vistas.

Hug, H. (1997). *Sportinformation (SI) 1922ff. 75 Jahre SI.* Zürich: Sportinformation SI.

Koppett, L. (1994). *Sports illusion, sports reality: A reporter's view of sports, journalism and society.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Lowes, M. D. (1997). Sports page: A case study in the manufacture of sports news for the daily press (Canada). *Sociology of Sports Journal, 14*(2), 143-160.

Lowes, M. D., & Stebbins, R. A. (1999). *Inside the sports pages: Work routines, professional ideologies, and the manufacture of sports news.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Rowe, D. (1992). Modes of sports writing. In P. Dahlgren, & C. Sparks (Eds.), *Journalism and popular culture* (pp. 96-112). London and Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Rowe, D. (1999). *Sport, culture and the media: The unruly trinity* (Issues in Cultural and Media Studies). Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

Rowe, D., & Stevenson, D. (1995). Negotiations and mediations: Journalism, professional status and the making of the sports text. *Media Information Australia, 75*, 67-91.

Schaffrath, M. (2003). Mehr als 1:0. Bedeutung des Live-Kommentars bei Fussballübertragungen—eine explorative Fallstudie. *Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft, 51*, 82-104.

Tunstall, J. (1971). *Journalists at work.* London: Constable.

Weischenberg, S. (1978). *Die Aussenseiter der Redaktion. Struktur, Funktion und Bedingungen des Sportjournalismus. Theorie und Analyse im Rahmen eines allgemeinen Konzepts komplexer Kommunikatorforschung*. Bochum: Universitätsverlag Dr. Norbert Brockmeyer.

Weischenberg, S. (1994). Annäherungen an die "Aussenseiter." Theoretische Einsichten und vergleichende empirische Befunde zu Wandlungsprozessen im Sportjournalismus. *Publizistik, 39*, 428-452.

Whannel, G. (2000). Sport and the Media. In J. Coakley, & E. Dunning (Eds.), *Handbook of sports studies* (pp. 291-308). London, Thousand Oaks, CA, and New Delhi: Sage.

8. Sports and Gender

"There is a close fit between sport and masculinity; each is a part of the other, so that prowess in sport seems to be, and is seen as, the completion of a young boy's masculinity.... To be in sport poses a threat to femininity, and to be feminine poses a problem for sporting activity" (Whannel, 1992, p. 126). Since sports descended from hunting and from the fitness that was and still is important for being successful in the fight for survival, some hold that sports manifest a hegemonic masculinity and that the roles of women as both sports reporters and athletes threaten that hegemony. But this situation is changing. That means that we write this section from the point of view of discrimination, equal opportunity, and the establishment of parity between the sexes in the media. Sport is no longer a male religion!

In their beginnings women's sports were limited to a few so-called female sports like swimming, figure skating, tennis, aerobics, or gymnastics. The nature of such sports over-determined femininity in an evident way, to the point that some people even regarded female athletes as lesbians. When women competed in other, non-traditional female sports, these same observers doubted their femininity. Gender stereotyping in televised sports followed the old clichés. Portrayals of men showed them as athletic, physically strong, and aggressive, while the portrayal of women focused on beauty, traditional roles, physical attractiveness, and desirability, with a special view of their bodies. Female athletes were often called "girls," and commentators made much more frequent use of their first names than they did when describing male athletes. Furthermore, according to several studies, sports journalists used many more attributions of weakness ("weary," "frustrated," "panicked," "dejected") when reporting about women than when reporting about men; reporting more often showed women in tears and being consoled by others after a defeat; and while they attributed men's failure mostly to their opponent's competence, they attributed women's failure more likely to their own incompetence: "Female athletes were nervous, not aggressive enough, too emotional, or uncomfortable" (Duncan & Messner, 1998, p. 177). The conceptions of masculinity prevailed.

It has also been stated that "commentators...focus on personalities as opposed to athletic abilities when covering women's sports" (Horne, Tomlinson, & Whannel, 1999, p. 172). Women were reduced to their appearance or to sex-symbols. Their dream-bodies served male voyeurism and had to fit generally accepted patterns of attractiveness. This could be shown at its best in the so called female sports mentioned above. On the other hand, men were stars in combat sports like football, ice-hockey, boxing, or soccer. The preferences of male and female audiences also mirrored this gender divide. And there was also a difference in the quantity of media reporting. Female athletes and sports were highly underrepresented, and some major media sports,

most notably football and baseball, were male only, without parallel female teams for the media to cover.

From the point of view of parity, sports reporting is getting better. While some old clichés still appear, equality between the two sexes has become more and more accepted. The number of female sports journalists has increased, and media coverage of men's and women's sports has become—from a quantitative as well as qualitative point of view—more and more similar. Sport as a male preserve is largely a thing of the past. This goes even for the representation of sexuality. While the swimsuit issues of *Sports Illustrated* (starting 1964) showed attractive women for years, now the sports industry is looking for new markets for both outfits and equipment. More and more, the depiction and exploration of the body, sex, and sexuality has become the same for men and women.

References

Baker, A., & Boyd, T. (Eds). (1997). *Out of bounds: Sports, media, and the politics of identity*. Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press.

Birrel, S., & Cole, C. L. (Eds.). (1994). *Women, sport, and culture*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.

Birrel, S. & McDonald, M. G. (2000). *Reading sport: Critical essays on power and representation*. Boston: Northeastern University Press

Burstyn, V. (1999). *The rites of men: Manhood, politics, and the culture of sport.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Creedon, P. J. (Ed.). (1994). *Women, media, and sport: Challenging gender values.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creedon, P. J. (1998). Women, sport, and media institutions: Issues in sports journalism and marketing. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *MediaSport* (pp. 88-99). London and New York: Routledge.

Daddario, G. (1998). *Women's sport and spectacle: Gendered television coverage and the Olympic games.* Westport, CT: Praeger.

Davis, L. R. (1997). *The swimsuit issue and sport: Hegemonic masculinity in* Sports Illustrated. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Duncan, M. C., & Brummett, B. (1993). Liberal and radical sources of female empowerment in sport media. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 10,* 57-72.

Duncan, M. C., Jensen, K., & Messner, M. A. (1993). Separating the men from the girls: The gendered language of televised sport. *Gender & Society, 1,* 121-137.

Duncan, M. C., & Messner, M. A. (1998). The media image of sport and gender. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *MediaSport* (pp. 170-185). London and New York: Routledge.

Duncan, M. C., Messner, M. A., & Cooky, C. (2000). *Gender in televised sports: 1989, 1993, and 1999. Published grant report.* Los Angeles: The Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles. Also available online: Retrieved October 20, 2003 from *http://www.aafla.com/9arr/ResearchReports/tv2000.pdf.*

Guttman, A. (1991). *Women's sports. A history.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Hallmark, J. R., & Armstrong, R. N. (1999). Gender equity in televised sports: A comparative analysis of men's and women's NCAA Division I basketball championship broadcasts, 1991-1995. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 43,* 222-235.

Hargreaves, J. (1994). *Sporting females: Critical issues in the history and sociology of women's sports.* London and New York: Routledge.

Harris, J., & Clayton, B. (2002). Femininity, masculinity, physicality and the English tabloid press. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 37,* 397-414.

Hartmann-Tews, I., & Rulofs, B. (2002). Die Bedeutung von Geschlechterkonstruktionen in der Sportberichterstattung. In J. Schwier (Ed.), *Mediensport. Ein einführendes Handbuch* (pp. 125-150). Hohengehren: Schneider.

Heywood, L. (2000). The girls of summer: Social contexts for the year of the woman at the `96 Olympics. In K. Schaffer, & S. Smith (Eds.), *The Olympics at the millennium: Power, politics, and the games* (pp. 99-116). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Horne, J., Tomlinson, A., & Whannel, G. (1999). *Understanding Sport. An introduction to the sociological and cultural analysis of sport.* London and New York: Routledge.

Kennedy, E. (2000). Bad boys and gentlemen: Gendered narrative in televised sport. *International Review for Sociology of Sport, 35,* 59-73.

Lapckick, R. E. (Ed.). (1996). *Sport in society: Equal opportunity or business as usual?* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lengskyj, H. J. (1998). "Inside Sports" or "On the Margins"? Australian women and the sport media. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 33,* 19-33.

McDonald, M. G. (2000). The marketing of the Women's National Basketball Association and the making of postfeminism. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport 35,* 35-47.

McKay, J., Messner, M. A. & Sabo, D. (Eds.). (2000). *Masculinities, gender relations, and sport.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Messner, M. A. (2002). *Taking the field: Women, men, and sports.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Miller, T. (2001). *Sportsex*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Pedersen, P. M. (2002). Examining equity in newspaper photographs. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 37*, 303-318.

Remley, M. L. (1991). *Women in sport. An annotated bibliography and resource guide, 1900-1990.* Boston: G. K. Hall.

Riess, S. A. (1995). *Sport in industrial America. 1850-1920.* Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson.

Robinson, L. (1992-1993). Images of women athletes. A content analysis of the British media. *Working Papers in Sport and Society, 1*, 65-83.

Sargent, S. L., Zillmann, D., & Weaver, J. B. (1998). The gender gap in the enjoyment of televised sport. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 22*, 46-64.

Schwier, J. (2002). Sport im Fernsehen—Angloamerikanische Studien zum Phänomen des Mediensports. In J. Schwier (Ed.), *Mediensport. Ein einführendes Handbuch* (pp. 73-100). Hohengehren: Schneider.

Whannel, G. (1992). *Fields in vision: Television sport and cultural transformation.* London and New York: Routledge.

Whannel, G. (2002). *Media sports stars: Masculinities and moralities.* London and New York: Routledge.

Wörsching, M. (2000). Sporting metaphors and the enactment of hegemonic masculinity: Sport and advertising in the German newsmagazine "Der Spiegel." *Journal of Popular Culture, 34*, 59-85.

9. Sports and Race

In the United States people of color suffered from the very same shortcomings in comparison to white people as did women in comparison to men. They were underrepresented as sports reporters and they were also underrepresented as athletes. Most studies on racial relations in sports focus on African-American athletes, because media coverage of them is still more extensive than the very limited coverage of Native-American, Latino-American or Asian-American athletes. Up to the 1970s, African-American athletes hardly became a topic in the white mainstream press. Performances of black athletes were only covered when these athletes were exceptionally successful, like Joe Louis, Jesse Owens, or Wilma Rudolph. The extent of coverage increased when more and more black players entered the major league sports (basketball, football, and baseball), but the media presence of black athletes is still not at levels comparable to their white peers, and it is concentrated in particular sports, mainly basketball, track and field, and boxing. Black superstars being successful in former white "elite sports" today, like the tennis players Venus and Serena Williams or the golfer Tiger Woods, still seem to be exceptional, pointing out that social constraints limiting African-American participation in many sports may still exist today.

Black athletes were not only underrepresented, but also portrayed in a distorted way. While reporters and fans praised white athletes for their tactical skill, their strategy, and their intelligence, they celebrated black athletes for speed, power, leg power, and stamina. Blacks were mostly described as natural athletes: According to sports reporting, their performances were due to uncontrollable external forces, while performances of white athletes were due to controllable internal forces (Davis & Harris, 1998, p. 158). Alternative explanations for African-American athletic success were often neglected. Other media stereotypes painted African-American athletes as self-centered, selfish, and arrogant, whereas white athletes were described as hard-working team players. Some studies show that still in the 1990s, the media sometimes applied an even more negative stereotype: the depicting of male African-American athletes as uncontrolled, oversexed, or violent (Davis & Harris, 1998, pp. 160-164). On the other hand, stereotypes that appeal to many white Americans also exist: African-American athletes are often considered as hip and cool. Superstars like basketball player Michael Jordan are presented as accommodating and sometimes even as race-transcendent. But one can argue that such images only set particular athletes with a privileged status apart from other African-Americans (Davis & Harris, 1998, p. 165).

The media played the same role in the construction of those images as they did in the depiction of female athletes. There were fewer black sports reporters and journalists; the portrayal of black people was guided by old clichés. The bulk of research findings shows evidence of covert racism. But recent studies point out a heightened sensitivity of sports media when reporting about black athletes: for instance, physical descriptors and negative evaluations are less often used (Sabo, Jansen, Tate, Duncan, & Leggett,

1996, p. 13). So again, things seem to be changing for the better!

References

Ashe, A. (1988). *A hard road to glory: A history of the Afro-American athlete, 1619-1986* (Vols. 1-3). New York; Warner Books.

Baker, A., & Boyd, T. (1997). *Out of bounds: Sports, media, and the politics of identity.* Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press.

Birrel, S., & McDonald, M. G. (2000). *Reading sport: Critical essays on power and representation*. Boston Northeastern University Press.

Booth, D. (1998). *The race game: Sport and politics in South Africa.* London and Portland, OR: F. Cass.

Carrington, B., & McDonald, I. (Eds.). (2001). *"Race," sport, and British society.* London and New York: Routledge.

Cashmore, E. (1982). *Black sportsmen*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Davis, L. R., & Harris, O. (1998). Race and ethnicity in U.S. sports media. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *MediaSport* (pp. 154-169). London and New York: Routledge.

Harrison, K. C. (1998). The assassination of the black male image in sport. *Journal of African American Men, 2*(3), 45-56.

Jarvie, G. (Ed.). (1991). *Sport, racism and ethnicity.* London and New York: Falmer.

Kirsch, G. B., Harris, O., & Nolte, C. E. (Eds.). (2000). *Encyclopedia of ethnicity and sports in the United States*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Lapchick, R. E. (Ed.). (1996). *Sport in society: Equal opportunity or business as usual?* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Riess, S. A. (1995). *Sport in industrial America. 1850-1920.* Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson.

Sabo, D., Jansen, S. C., Tate, D., Duncan, M. C., & Leggett, S. (1996). Televising international sport: Race, ethnicity, and nationalistic bias. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 20*(1), 7-21.

Shropshire, K. L. (1996). *In black and white: Race and sports in America.* New York: New York University Press.

Tudor, A. (1998). Sports reporting: Race, difference and identity. In K. L. Brants, J. Hermes, & L. van Zoonen (Eds.), *The media in question: Popular cultures and public interest* (pp. 147-156). London and Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Wiggins, D. K. (1986). From plantation to playing field: Historical writings on the black athlete in American sports. *Research Quarterly, 57*, 101-116.

Wiggins, D. K., & Miller, P. B. (Eds.). (2003). *The unlevel playing field: A documentary history of the African American experience in sport.* Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

10. Sports, Drugs, and Violence

Where big money is at stake people go as far as possible. In sports, that means that some readily risk damage to their own health and to the health of competitors. Athletes who take drugs create—as long as they are caught!—scandals and sensations, i.e., news values for the media. Athletes who are utterly violent against their opponents create entertainment value. Both values are highly marketable and profitable for media.

The history of drug use in sports is as long as sports history itself. The Greeks and Romans were already known to use plants, mushrooms, or animal parts such as horns or the secretions of testes as a way of improving physical or mental performance. In the modern era, already in the 19th and early 20th century, riders, cyclists, and long distance runners took various chemicals to aid performance. Thomas Hicks, marathon winner of the 1904 Olympic Games in St. Louis, collapsed after the race—he had repeatedly taken doses of strychnine and brandy in order to stay on his feet. However, he was allowed to keep his medal (Cashmore, 2000, p. 191). Later, progress in sports medicine improved pharmaceuticals to treat sports-related injuries; at the same time, new supplements to promote competitive performance were developed. But up to the 1960s, the risks of taking drugs in sports (that had become obvious with the amphetamine-related death of the British cyclist Tom Simpson at the 1967 Tour de France) were discussed rather than the morality of it. Harsh denunciations of sports performers found to be taking drugs began to appear only from the 1980s (Cashmore, 2000, pp. 192-193). The famous cases of drug enhancement by short distance runner Ben Johnson at the 1988 Summer Olympics, by soccer player Diego Maradona at the 1994 World Cup, or by various cyclists at the 1998 Tour de France as well as the systematic supply of East German athletes with

pharmaceuticals during the Cold War show that nowadays, taking drugs to improve performance in sports is unanimously considered wrong, as it is not fair and not consistent with the principle of equal opportunity among all competitors at a sports event. So the media label athletes taking drugs as cheaters. Nevertheless, several scholars have noted that cases of athletes taking drugs are often reported as extraordinary single events and that structural problems in sports that may be related to drug use are almost never mentioned (Donohew, Helm, & Haas, 1989; Hills, 1992; Vom Stein, 1988).

Since sport is a kind of war with strict rules to limit extreme violence, the violence in sports should never exceed a certain level. However, violence in sports (like drug taking) receives extensive discussion nowadays. Violence by athletes occurs, for example, when they try to win by foul, mainly in sports which allow a great deal of body contact. Sports fans can also be very violent. Hooliganism is a problem at big sports events and has made it necessary that police forces guard stadiums at these events. Whereas Americans have primarily studied player violence, British scholars have mainly examined spectator violence, focusing on soccer hooligans (see overview in Kinkema & Harris, 1998, p. 45). Whereas the media sometimes legitimize player violence as part of the job of professional athletes, reinforce the "sports as war" metaphor, and report violent acts extensively (Trujillo, 1995), they blame the hooligans for driving away more "respectable" fans and see the source of spectator violence in the hooligans' mindlessness, without discussing broader societal problems that may contribute to the situation (Young, 1991). But violence in sports is not a new phenomenon. Many claim that the amount of violence in sports has even decreased during the past centuries. In ancient times and in the Middle Ages excesses of violence at sports events seem to have been much more common than after the introduction of strict rules in early modern age (Goldstein, 1989). And when the media began to cover sports events, they commented on cases of violence in a negative way: They stated that winning by foul was not fair, and they made it obvious that violence among spectators was dangerous for other spectators. So they also contributed their share that strict rules avoiding violence could be pushed through.

Today organizers and sponsors make it an important aim to ban drugs and to keep the amount of violence low. Since taking drugs as well as excessive violence are considered to be unfair, these abuses could harm the good image of certain sports. As a result, spectators could lose their interest in these sports. Moreover, because athletes are means of production, their managers and employers are interested in their productivity and wish to maintain it at the highest level all the time. Last but not least, the increased awareness by the media played an important role in the lower tolerance of drugs and violence in every sport. But, at the same time, it must be said that some athletes will always try to win by unlawful means.

References

Armstrong, G., & Harris, R. (1991). Football hooligans. Theory and evidence. *The Sociological Review, 39,* 427-458.

Bryant, J. S. (1989). Viewer's enjoyment of televised sports violence. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *Media, sports and society* (pp. 270-289). London and Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Bryant, J. S., Zillmann, D., & Raney, A. A. (1998). Violence and the enjoyment of media sports. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *MediaSport* (pp. 252-265). London and New York: Routledge.

Cashmore, E. (2000). *Making sense of sports* (3rd ed.). London and New York: Routledge.

Donohew, L., Helm, D., & Haas, J. (1989). Drugs and bias on the sports page. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *Media, sports and society* (pp. 225-240). London and Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Dunning, E., Murphy, P., & Williams, J. (1986). Spectator violence at football matches. *The British Journal of Sociology, 27*, 221-244.

Dunning, E., Murphy, P., & Williams, J. (1988). *The roots of football hooliganism: An historical and sociological study*. London: Routledge.

Giulianotti, R., Bonney, N., & Hepworth, M. (Eds.). (1994). *Football, violence and social identity.* London: Routledge.

Goldstein, J. H. (1989). Violence in Sports. In J. H. Goldstein (Ed.), *Sports, games and play: Social and psychological viewpoints* (2nd ed., pp. 289-297). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Goldstein, J. H. (Ed.). (1998). *Why we watch: The attractions of violent entertainment.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Hahn, E., Pilz, G. A., Stollenwerk, H. J., & Weis, K. (1988). *Fanverhalten. Massenmedien und Gewalt im Sport* (Schriftenreihe des Bundesinstituts für Sportwissenschaft 60). Schorndorf: K. Hofmann.

Hills, L.A. (1992). *Mass media portrayals of drug use in sports*. Unpublished master thesis, University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Kerr, J. H. (1994). *Understanding soccer hooliganism.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Kinkema, K. M., & Harris, J. C. (1998). MediaSport studies: Key research and emerging issues. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *MediaSport* (pp. 3-13). London and New York: Routledge.

Kübert, R., Neumann, H., Hüther, J., & Swoboda, W. H. (1994). *Fussball, Medien und Gewalt.* München: KoPäd.

Pilz, G. A. (2000). Sport, Medien und Gewalt. In J. Schwier (Ed.), *Sport als populäre Kultur. Sport, Medien und Cultural Studies* (pp. 243-262). Hamburg: Feldhaus/Czwalina.

Schaffer, K., & Smith, S. (2000). *The Olympics at the millennium: Power, politics, and the games.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Trujillo, N. (1995). Machines, missiles and men: Images of the male body on ABC's Monday Night Football. *Sociology of Sports Journal, 12,* 403-423.

Vom Stein, A. (1988). *Massenmedien und Spitzensport. Theoretische Konkretisierung und ausgewählte empirische Analyse von Wirkungen der Mediensportrealität auf den Spitzensport in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland.* Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Wilson, W., & Derse, E. (Eds.). (2001). *Doping in elite sport: The politics of drugs in the Olympic movement.* Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.

Young, K. M. (1991). Sport and collective violence. *Exercise and Sport Sciences Reviews, 19,* 539-586.

11. Sports and Religion

Developments in contemporary spectator sports reflect changes in our value systems. Individual values have become more important than social ones. Societies run the risk of being reduced to a collection of individuals who keep looking for personal perfection (great bodies, permanent stimulation—mood management and hedonism—and personal enlightenment). Nevertheless individuals remain social beings, looking for social networks. Due to different reasons (secularization, mobility, and the lessened importance of political institutions), sports have become community building institutions. To be a fan—like being a believer—means that individuals are members of a network that shares the same value system.

Sports have the potential to substitute for religions. Mass media create heroes and icons, gods for some people. Those athletes play the roles of superhumans in well orchestrated spectacles—spectacles with a clear liturgy (songs, national anthem, incantations, processions) and familiar rituals (rituals of community, conflict, separation, and reconciliation) in well looked after sanctuaries (the holy lawn of Wimbledon or shrines like halls of fame) along a calendar that is defined by big events like the Super Bowl. There is a time for preparation, performance, and celebration. Soccer, for example, has become a world-wide accepted replacement of different religions with goals as the main goal for many faithful supporters who regularly make a pilgrimage to special places where they worship a group of chosen ones like David Beckham or Zinedine Zidane. Quasi-religious elements like ardor, cultic actions, and ecstasy are part of experiencing a sense of community among sports fans. The mass media are ready and willing to make sure that those fans will always have something to celebrate.

The deeper link between sports and religion can be found in the fact that they both create "systems of sacred symbols that endow the world with meaning and value" (Chidester, 1996, p. 744) as well as opportunities to "figure the *Gemeinschaft* ideal" (Albanese, 1996, p. 736). Sports and religions alike are structured by clear rules and they both create a sense of the supernatural and superhuman. Believers as well as sports fans are willing to worship saints or heroes and are equal in the quality of devotion brought to the ceremony. Both sports and religions can create religious feelings of inspiration, arousal, and enthusiasm up to ecstasy. To sum it up with David Chidester: "The 'church of baseball' is much more than merely the rule book. It is a religious institution that maintains the continuity, uniformity, sacred space, and sacred time of American life" (1996, p. 745).

Sport events can be interpreted as religious performances that are full of symbolic and ritualistic actions, thus creating what Victor Turner called liminal experiences and "*communitas*," i.e., *Gemeinschaft*.

> The kind of *communitas* desired by tribesmen in their rites and by hippies in their 'happenings' is not the pleasurable and effortless comradeship that can arise between friends, coworkers, or professional colleagues any day. What they seek is a transformative experience that goes to the

> root of each person's being and finds in that root something profoundly communal and shared. (Turner, 1969, p. 138)

Fan clubs can be seen as "communitates" and sport events as "happenings." And the experience of belonging together and witnessing outstanding performances can evoke at least quasi or vicarious religious feelings. "Religious suggestiveness evoked by producers and participants in the culture of baseball" (Albanese, 1996, p. 737) shows that in this regard supply and demand fit perfectly well together. Another symbiotic relationship! Academic attention has focused more and more on the relationship between religions and popular culture:

> In contemporary American society, religion is a personal, highly individual matter. Yet throughout popular culture, particularly in sports and entertainment, communal values and dreams effervesce and form themselves into public mythologies and rites. (Goethals, 1997, p. 117)

With regard to sports the author goes on: "Various sports—basketball, baseball, football—and entertainment events provide a series of familiar liturgical calendars and sacred sites" (p. 120). Ove Korsgard sees the link between sports and religions in the fact that "sport is a ritual" (1990, p. 121).

And what is the role of the media in this context? They give access to those rituals. Michael Real sets the equation of "The Super Media Olympics as Global Mythic Ritual" (1989, p. 223). Olympics are considered as mythic ritual because they "organize meaning in a culture" (p. 224) and provide "mythic heroes for imitation" (p. 226). With much enthusiasm, Real comes to the following conclusion:

> Olympic media coverage provides a single event in which seemingly everyone in the world can share. The super media Olympics is the international tribal fire around which we gather to celebrate shared events and values. (p. 240)

Sports is a global vernacular religion, ruled and run by the Olympic Committee and mediated by the mass media!

References

Albanese, C. L. (1996). Religion and American popular culture. An introductory essay. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion, 59*, 733-742.

Chidester, D. (1996). The church of baseball, the fetish of Coca-Cola, and the potlatch of Rock 'n' Roll. Theoretical models for the study of religion in American popular culture. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion, 59*, 743-765.

Drucker, S. J. (1994). The mediated sports hero. In S. J. Drucker, & R. S. Cathcart (Eds.), *American heroes in a media age* (pp. 82-93). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Goethals, G. T. (1990). *The electronic golden calf: Images, religion, and the making of meaning.* Cambridge, MA: Cowley Publications.

Goethals, G. T. (1997). Escape from time: Ritual dimensions of popular culture. In S. M. Hoover, & K. Lundby (Eds.), *Rethinking media, religion, and culture* (pp. 117-132). Thousand Oaks, CA, London and New Delhi: Sage.

Higgs, R. J. (1995). *God in the stadium: Sports and religion in America*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky.

Korsgard, O. (1990). Sport as a practice of religion: The record as ritual. In J. M. Carter, & A. Krueger (Eds.), *Ritual and record: Sports records and quantification in premodern societies* (pp. 115-122). New York: Greenwood Press.

Real, M. R. (1989). *Super Media: A Cultural Studies Approach*. London and Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Turner, V. W. (1969). *The ritual process: Structure and anti-structure.* Chicago, IL: Aldine.

Tyler Eastman, S., & Riggs, K. E. (1994). Televised sports and ritual: Fan experiences. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 11*, 249-274.

Williams, P. (1994). *The sports immortals. Deifying the American athlete*. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press.

12. Sports, Media, and Economy

Since the mass media, especially television, create big audiences, they have become interesting partners with sports for economic and political purposes. This development mainly concerns professional sports like football, basketball, baseball, hockey, soccer, tennis, or motor sports, but also major sports events such as the Olympic Games. The Olympic Games can help promote sports that rarely get the attention that the aforementioned professional sports do. And so the history of the modern Olympic games has become a history of Olympic commercialism. Big money is at stake! Selling the television property

rights was and still is like having the right to print money. No wonder that members of the Olympic Committee asked for a "fair" share and took bribes. (See, e.g., Lenskyj, 2000; Jennings 1996; Jennings & Sambrook, 2000, about the scandals with IOC members involved.)

Why have sports become big business? Professional athletes participate in more and more intensive training and use more and more sophisticated sports apparatus; so elite sports at these levels become expensive. In addition, the athletes demand high salaries or high prize sums from the organizers of sports events. The organizers pay these sums, since the presence of famous athletes makes their events more attractive—but only if the audience needn't pay much higher entrance fees. That's why there are sponsors who help the organizers finance the event.

Sports sponsors have existed for a long time. In pre-industrial time, noble families not only supported artists, but also sportsmen in order to get a good reputation among the common people. This kind of patronage was replaced by commercial sponsorship in the 19th century. The English food producer "Bovril" sponsored the Nottingham Forest soccer club in 1896, and the French sports journal *L'Auto* (which later developed into *L'Equipe*) was the first organizer and main sponsor of the famous "Tour de France" bicycle race, first held in 1903 (Boyle & Haynes, 2000, p. 48). But only with the introduction of television has sports sponsoring become omnipresent. Live transmissions greatly increased the number of people able to read an advertisement in the stadium. So the sponsors were willing to pay the organizers much more money.

At the same time the organizers earned more and more money from media license fees for live transmissions. These programs reached enormously large audiences and achieved high ratings on TV, and so the media could demand extraordinarily high prices for advertising spots before, during, and after a sports event. At least for a while, expensive sports programs could be easily refinanced like this, and everybody took advantage. The advertisers could send their message to a vast audience; the media could produce an attractive program; the organizers earned a lot of money; and the athletes could earn higher salaries or prizes.

In the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s organizers, media, and sponsors continually raised the prices of live transmissions. More and more television broadcasters wanted to transmit sports events and therefore willingly paid more than their competitors. This high demand for sports transmissions had several causes. In today's highly segmented media market, big sporting events such as the Olympic Games or the Soccer's World Cup are some of the very rare events which still command a large audience, regardless of class, age, or other interests. Furthermore, language barriers do not matter much in sports, so an event can be transmitted internationally (Gaustad, 2000, pp. 111-112). Finally, for a long time, sports transmissions did not cost very much to produce and were easy to prepare. Later, they mainly became expensive due to the license fees.

Therefore the demand for sports transmissions is high, but they are in short supply. Only a very small number of big sports events generate the really vast audiences. Media companies which don't manage to get the license to transmit a big event, e.g. the Soccer's World Cup, can hardly find competitive alternatives to fill their programming during the event. Furthermore, live transmissions can only be transmitted once, unlike other entertainment programs such as movies. The repetition of a sports game or a race on TV normally doesn't make much sense. The thrill is gone when the audience already knows the result. Therefore, the length of the sports program is extended in order to take full advantage of the expensive exclusive rights. A soccer match on TV does not last the regulation 90 minutes any longer; including additional reports, analyses, and interviews, it could take more than four hours.

But problems can emerge. Exclusive rights can make the prices go up so high that it becomes more and more difficult for television stations to recoup their expenses. A program will lose its attractiveness if it is interrupted by advertising spots too often. Several sports programs on pay TV have proved to be of little success, especially in countries with a wide range of competing free TV channels. And there is also a certain risk of sports programs for media companies. If the most popular athletes have a poor season, TV stations risk losing money. The number of spectators will decrease as they lose interest, and therefore the prices for advertising spots will fall.

Apart from financial problems, commercialism causes other negative consequences for the media. For instance, organizers can dictate the conditions under which media with exclusive rights must to do their job. For example, the International Committee of the Olympic games reserves the right to accredit journal-

ists at the games. Privileges and gifts are included in this deal. Furthermore, several media companies have themselves bought sports clubs or act as sponsors, thus creating privileges for their own broadcast properties or newspapers in reporting certain events. But in this way, the companies can also ensure that media coverage includes no negative news about these events. An interesting consequence is that organizers of sporting events maximize their revenues from the media but make them dependent and vulnerable. In the end, though, journalists lose what is their most important good: independence!

References

Barney, R. K., Wenn, S. R., & Martyn, S. G. (2002). *Selling the five rings: The International Olympic Committee and the rise of Olympic commercialism.* Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press.

Bellamy, R. V. (1998). The evolving television sports marketplace. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *MediaSport* (pp. 73-87). London and New York: Routledge.

Boyle, R., Dinan W., & Morrow, S. (2002). Doing the business? Newspaper reporting of the business of football. *Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism, 3*, 161-181.

Boyle, R., & Haynes, R. (2000). *Power play: Sport, the media and popular culture*. Harlow and New York: Longman.

Brinkman, T. (2000). Sport und Medien—Die Auflösung einer ursprünglichen Interessengemeinschaft? Sportvermarktung und Berichterstattung im Widerstreit. *Media Perspektiven, 11,* 491-498.

Dietl, H. M. (2003). *Globalisierung des wirtschaftlichen Wettbewerbs im Sport.* Schorndorf b. Stuttgart: K. Hofmann.

European Television Rights Business. (1999). Spending on sports overtakes movies costs. *Screen Digest, 12*, 325-332.

Gannet Center for Media Studies. (1988). *Media economics and sports coverage: A conference report*. New York: Gannett Center for Media Studies.

Gaustad, T. (2000). The economics of sports programming. In U. Carlsson (Ed.), *The 14th Nordic Conference on Media and Communication Research, Kungälv, 14-17th August 1999*. Special Issue of *Nordicom Review, 21*(2), 101-113. Göteborg: Nordicom.

Gorman, J., & Calhoun, K. (1994). *The name of the game: The business of sports*. New York: Wiley.

Guttmann, A. (2002). *The Olympics: A history of the modern games.* Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Jennings, A. (1996). *The new lords of the rings: Olympic corruption and how to buy gold medals.* New York: Simon & Schuster.

Jennings, A., & Sambrook, C. (2000). *The great Olympic swindle: When the world wanted its games back.* New York: Simon & Schuster.

Kistner, T., & Weinreich, J. (1998). *Das Milliardenspiel. Fussball, Geld und Medien.* Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag.

Klatell, D. A., & Norman, M. (1988). *Sports for sale: Television, money and the fans.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Law, A., Harvey, J., & Kemp, S. (2002). The global sport mass media oligopoly. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 37,* 279-302.

Lenskyj, H. J. (2000). *Inside the Olympic industry: Power, politics and activism*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Maitrot, E. (1995). *Sport et télé: les liaisons secrètes.* Paris: Flammarion.

Rowe, D. (1999). *Sport, culture and the media: The unruly trinity* (Issues in Cultural and Media Studies). Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

Schaffer, K., & Smith, S. (Eds.). (2000). *The Olympics at the millenium: Power, politics, and the games.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Schwier, J. (2002). Sport im Fernsehen— Angloamerikanische Studien zum Phänomen des Mediensports. In J. Schwier (Ed.), *Mediensport. Ein einführendes Handbuch* (pp. 73-100). Hohengehren: Schneider.

Tyler Eastman, S., Newton, G. D., & Pack, L. (1996). Promoting primetime programs in megasporting events. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, 40*, 366-388.

Wenner, L. A. (1991). *Media, sports, and society* (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA, London, and New Delhi: Sage.

Whannel, G. (1986). The unholy alliance: Notes on television and the re-making of British sport. *Leisure Studies, 5*, 129-145.

Whitson, D. (1998). Circuits of promotion: Media, marketing and the globalization of sport. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *MediaSport* (pp. 57-72). London and New York: Routledge.

13. Sports, Media, Politics, and National Identity

The fact that the whole world is looking at a certain country or a city makes the organization of world championships or Olympic games very attractive. Several countries and political parties tried to show their power and achievements via television to millions of viewers. It all started in Berlin in 1936 when Leni Riefenstahl produced a great documentary called "Olympia" with the side effect of celebrating masculine beauty and the start of a new future.

Not only the ruling classes try to take profit from the worldwide focus on a given country or event. Opposing forces, too, try to create news-value to get the attention of the media: for example, in 1968, students on the Tlatelolco square in Mexico or the "Black Power" gesture of Tommie Smith and John Carlos in the stadium; in 1972, Palestinian terrorists in Munich; and in 1988, trade unionists and students in Seoul.

The close relationship between sports and politics is not only striking at Olympic Games or at similar big events. Several surveys showed that spectators often consider athletes as representatives of the social and political system of their country (see Riggs, Eastman, & Golobic, 1993; Rivenburgh, 1993). Therefore, success in sports seems to be good for the prestige of a country. It can also be useful for domestic politics, as it can strengthen the feeling of belonging together in a country or a region. Rooting for a team is a part of the process of putting down roots (see Bairner, 2001; Bromberger, 1995; Boyle, 1996). Success in sports can also distract from the problems of everyday life. These functions help to explain the large amount of money paid for sports development plans not only in former communist countries before 1989, but also in democratic countries even today. Good results at international sports events seem to be an important goal mainly in smaller countries.

There is a paradox here. The great interest of politics in sports is probably related to the fact that sports, after all, are apolitical. Sports games are a world of their own, with clear rules being valid everywhere in the world. The results and scores are measurable and verifiable. Under these conditions, a success in sports must be accepted worldwide as a great performance, regardless of the political and social system of the country the athlete comes from (Von Krockow, 1996, pp. 361-367).

For a long time, the relationship between sports and politics was not an important topic for sports journalists. When events in the world of sports became politically relevant, e.g., when the USA and the Soviet Union boycotted the Olympic Summer Games in the early 1980s, the comments were mostly written by political journalists and not by sports journalists. But during the 1980s and 1990s, an awareness of political background information related to sports has increased among sports journalists, probably because of better education and changing editorial policies.

But are sports really important for the image and the prestige of a nation? In fact, sports media influence the way people look at their own and other countries. The media focus on athletes starting for their own country, and they have spread the same clichés about other countries for ages: Germans are hard-working and ambitious, Italians are passionate, French are proud and also ambitious, Brits are tough and fair, Asians are quick and nimble. Applying such national stereotypes has several functions in sports reporting: It can be used to describe an event in a simplified way, to comment on it, or to raise certain expectations in a forthcoming event. The clichés reported in the media often correspond to the traditional clichés of the spectators and readers (see Wernecken, 2000; Riggs, Eastman, & Golobic, 1993; Rivenburgh, 1993). Since an important part of the news about certain countries consists of sports reporting (Pütz, 1993), we should not underestimate the ways that sports media can stabilize such clichés. The importance of national stereotypes in sports reporting explains to a certain extent why success in sports can increase the prestige of a country, because in case of success, rather positive stereotypes are highlighted. Nevertheless, the media use national stereotypes and clichés in quite flexible ways: Sometimes "Brazilian style" soccer is also played by Germans.

References

Bairner, A. (2001). *Sport, nationalism and globalization: European and North American perspectives.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Baker, A., & Boyd, T. (Eds.). (1997). *Out of bounds: Sports, media and the politics of identity*. Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press.

Barry, J. M. (2001). *Power plays: Politics, football, and other blood sports.* Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi.

Blain, N., Boyle, R., & O'Donnell, H. (1993). *Sport and national identity in the European Media*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Bourg, J.-F. (1988). *Le sport en otage.* Paris: La Table Ronde.

Bourg, J.-F., & Gouguet, J.-J. (1998). *Analyse économique du Sport.* Paris: Presses universitaires de France.

Boyle, R. (1992). From our Gaelic fields: Radio, sport and nation in post-partition Ireland. *Media, Culture and Society, 14*, 623-636.

Boyle, R. (1996). "The grand old game": Football, media and identity in Scotland. *Media, Culture and Society, 18*, 549-565.

Bromberger, C. (1995). *Le match de football. Ethnologie d'une passion partisane à Marseille, Naples et Turin.* Paris: Bayard Ed.

Brookes, R. (2002). *Representing sports*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Chandler, J. M. (1988). *Television and national sport: The United States and Britain.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Crolley, L., & Hand, D. (2002). *Football, Europe and the press.* London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass.

Duke, V., & Crolley, L. (1996). *Football, nationality and the state*. London: Longman, 1996.

Giulianotti, R., & Williams, J. (Eds.). (1994). *Game without frontiers: Football, identity and modernity.* Aldershot, UK: Arena, 1994.

Goldlust, J. (1987). *Playing for keeps: Sport, the media and society.* Melbourne: Longman Cheshire.

Gumpert, G., & Drucker, S. J. (Eds.). (2002). *Take me out to the ballgame: Communicating baseball*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Guttmann, A. (2002). *The Olympics, a history of the modern games*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Hill, C. R. (1996). *Olympic politics: Athens to Atlanta 1896-1996*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press (distributed in the U.S. and Canada by St. Martin's Press).

Hill, C. R. (1999). The cold war and the Olympic movement. *History Today, 49*, 19-25.

Houlihan, B. (1997). *Sport, policy and politics: A comparative analysis.* London and New York: Routledge.

Maguire, J. (1990). More than a sporting touchdown: The making of American football in England, 1982-1990. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 7*, 213-237.

Maguire, J. (1993). Globalization, sport development, and the media/sport production complex. *Sport Science Review, 2*, 29-47.

Maguire, J. (1999). *Global sport: Identities, societies, civilisations.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

McKay, J., Lawrence, G. A., Rowe, D., & Miller, T. (2001). *Globalization and Sport.* London: Sage.

O'Donnell, H. (1994). Mapping the mythical: A geopolitics of national sporting stereotypes. *Discourse and Society, 5*, 345-380.

Puijk, R. (Ed.). (1997). *Global spotlights on Lillehammer.* Luton: University of Luton Press.

Pütz, W. (1993). *Das Italienbild in der deutschen Presse. Eine Untersuchung ausgewählter Tageszeitungen*. München: Ölschläger.

Randy, M., & Miller, T. (Eds.). (1999). *SportCult*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Rees, R. C., & Miracle, A. W. (Eds.). (1986). *Sport and social theory.* Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics Publishers.

Riggs, K. E., Tyler Eastman, S., & Golobic, T. S. (1993). Manufactured conflict in the 1992 Olympics: The discourse of television and politics. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication, 9*, 253-272.

Riordan, J., & Krueger, A. (Eds.). (1999). *The international politics of sport in the 20th century.* London: E & FN Spon; New York: Routledge.

Rivenburgh, N. (1993). Images of nations during the 1992 Barcelona Olympic opening ceremony. In International Olympic Committee (Ed.), *Olympic Centennial Congress Bulletin* (pp. 32-39). Lausanne: International Olympic Committee.

Rowe, D., McKay, J., & Miller, T. (1998). Come together: Sport, nationalism and the media image. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *MediaSport* (pp. 119-133). London and New York: Routledge.

Schwier, J. (2002). Sport im Fernsehen— Angloamerikanische Studien zum Phänomen des Mediensports. In J. Schwier (Ed.), *Mediensport. Ein einführendes Handbuch* (pp. 73-100). Hohengehren: Schneider.

Simon, R. L. (1985). *Sports and social values.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Von Krockow, C. G. (1996). "Sieg oder Tod." Über Sport und Politik. In H. Sarkowicz (Ed.), *Schneller, höher, weiter. Eine Geschichte des Sports* (pp. 356-368). Frankfurt am Main: Insel.

Wann, D. L., & Branscombe, N. R. (1993). Sport fans: Measuring degree of identification with their team. International *Journal of Sport Psychology, 24*, 1-17.

Wenner, L. A. (1991). *Media, sports, and society* (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA, London, and New Delhi: Sage.

Wernecken, J. (2000). *Wir und die anderen. Nationale Stereotypen im Kontext des Mediensports.* Berlin: Vistas.

14. Conclusions

The rise of the mass media is the most significant development in modern sports, a development in the context of market forces. The relationship between sports, media, and the advertising industry is symbiotic—a mutually dependent relationship. This means that all elements in that system get a fair share, a share everyone only gets with the help of others while helping others. One could also say that the cooperation of the above mentioned partners is crucial for the survival of the three of them.

Sports generates news as well as entertainment values. That makes it highly attractive for the media. And the history of the media shows that they exploited that lucrative source from the very beginning. Following their own logic, they added highly marketable qualities to the business of sports reporting. Sporting events underwent dramatization and personalization, and became producers of sensations and stories of human interest. The medium of radio—following the telegraph—allowed live transmissions and added speed to sports reporting. Television added the personal experience of authenticity and offered the possibility of witnessing sporting events without going to the stadium or arena. In addition to that, with the help of different techniques (close ups, slow motion), it created new media realities. At the end television changed sports into a money-making show business.

The importance of televised sports made it also interesting for media studies. The long list of books and articles on sports and television gives evidence for the growing interest of media scholars in what has become the most important non-important issue in contemporary societies. The development from sports news in the local columns of newspapers to the creation of sports-only television channels gives further evidence of the importance of sports in leisure societies.

Since the category "sports" plays such an important role for the media, they improved the professional competence of the persons who cover sports events and their actors. Sports reporters became well regarded and highly respected journalists in their media concerns. Their main good is entertainment.

Sports has the capacity of creating strong and long lasting images for athletes and their countries. Performances of sportsmen and -women quite often are the filters through which the whole world sees a nation, a country, a society, or a party. No wonder that politicians show interest in apolitical events. Good performances, fine success, and glorious athletes create—with the help of the media—identity and integration. And this, after all, is something every social unit needs.

Editor's Afterword

William E. Biernatzki, S.J.

As the authors of this issue's review article rightly remark, sports perform many useful social functions in contemporary civilizations. They are especially valuable as a kind of "social glue," providing common topics for conversation that enable people to meet and interact with relatively little danger of conflict, as they discuss sporting events that are familiar to all but affect few at such a deeply visceral level that disagreements about them might lead to violence. In a real sense, then, sports can be seen as a means for the sublimation of rivalries that might otherwise be expressed in violence or other socially unacceptable ways. Viewed from another perspective, sporting events perform social functions like those of religion, bringing people together for emotionally absorbing rituals and giving them a sense of unified "belief" and action for a common cause.

Sports are usually represented as inspiring the development of higher virtues, such as fairness, "playing by the rules," self-discipline, etc. Public opinion supports this function when violators of "fairness," for example, are found out and subjected to public ridicule. In the early days of the Greek Olympic games, an athlete who was found to have cheated was required to pay for a human-sized statue of the god Zeus that was then installed at the entrance to the stadium in

Olympia and inscribed with the name of the cheater, his violation, and the name of his hometown. The row of such statues that all had to pass to enter the games served as a warning to all athletes of the social stigma they would entail by cheating—a disgrace that would follow them throughout their lives; extend to their families, descendants, and towns; and endure for centuries, as long as the statues remained standing!

In the modern world, the mass media play the role of the statues at the ancient Greek games. The use of steroids and other drugs to gain an advantage over other competitors has become a major violation, and fear of committing it is greatly reinforced by media publicity concerning such cases. Ethics in sports has become especially important, as the mass media look for "scandals" they can turn into "news"—but, unfortunately, ultimately into profit as well.

The profit motive is undeniably intermeshed with the development of mass-mediated sporting events—especially those with national or world-wide audiences, such as the World Cup, the Summer and Winter Olympics, Wimbledon, the Tour de France, and the American Superbowl and World Series. Increasing emphasis on the profit motive by athletes, teams, leagues, and media networks has changed sporting events significantly from what they were a few decades ago. For example, televised American professional football games now schedule timeouts to fit the need for advertising time slots on the TV networks. Sports sections of newspapers often dedicate more space to contract negotiations or the sexual foibles of prominent sports figures than they do to reporting on the games themselves. Many athletes continue to give good example by their personal lives, but often news about them is eclipsed by the vast attention devoted to other athletes' violations of basic moral standards. When that happens, notoriety tends to become valued, rather than high standards of virtue. To continue the Greek parallel, it seems almost as if some strive to erect monuments to their own degeneracy; and the media then seem willing to help bear the cost of the sculptures.

It would be naive to expect the nexus among big sport, big media, and big business to ever disappear, as long as contemporary cultural norms persist. But if regulatory bodies are well-constituted and do their work conscientiously, we can expect some kind of ethical status quo to be maintained. That picture has many deficiencies, but sport can, even within that frame of reference, continue to supply some of the social and personal needs it has done in the past. Constant discussion of ethics is essential, and a perennial return must be made to the fundamental principles of constructive sport. The corrupting influence of big money and of the tendency for media sports to fall into the trap of "bread and circuses" must be monitored and resisted.

Sports, like other media offerings, may encourage the passivity of the proverbial "couch potato," and in doing so they may have many ill effects, for example channeling the attention of viewers away from more important matters that they might otherwise be able to influence for the better, notably politics with its implications for future world peace. Continuing attention to education in the correct use of media by their children and by adults themselves is the only evident means of combating this tendency.

Sports do not necessarily pose a liturgical challenge to religion, even though they might seem to compete in filling some of the same social functions. In the United States, Notre Dame's football team actually may have performed a valuable unifying role among American Catholics challenged by their dissolving immigrant identities in the mid-20th century. Steel workers whose names all ended in -ski or -wicz could join those of German and Italian extraction to become the "Fighting Irish" on autumn Saturday afternoons, and their Catholic identity was at least implicit.

Book Reviews

Brungs, Robert, S.J., and **Marianne Postiglione, R.S.M**. (Eds.). *Advances in Neurocience: Social, Moral, Philosophical, Theological Implications* (Proceedings of the ITEST Workshop, September 2002). St. Louis: Institute for Theological Encounter with Science and Technology/ITEST Press, 2003. Pp. vi, 230, ISBN 1-885583-11-7 (pb.) $19.95 (available from ITEST, 3601 Lindell Blvd., St. Louis, MO 63108, USA. E-mail: postigm@slu.edu; website: *http://ITEST .slu.edu*)

The 2002 workshop on neuroscience continued the annual series of workshops sponsored by the Institute for Theological Encounters with Science and Technology and designed to explore the interfaces between theology and the whole range of modern scientific and technological developments. The topic selected for discussion in the 2002 workshop was the particularly difficult one of "the state of scientific knowledge of the biology of the brain... [and the] complex moral, social and theological questions raised by the 'new neuroscience'," according to Dr. Amalia Issa of the Southern Illinois University School of Medicine, in her foreword, "Searching for

Truth in the Gray Matter" (p. i). Dr. Issa went on to note that while "we did not attempt to seek consensus on the issues raised," the book offers "sophisticated insights and reflections" on those issues, and that "the participants left fortified knowing that the important questions were being considered and that there is yet much work to be done both in the scientific realm and in its interface with faith" (p. iii).

Four papers were presented for discussion. Dr. Keith Crutcher, Professor and Director in the Department of Neurosurgery at the University of Cincinnati Medical Center, asked "Is There a God Spot in the Brain?" admitting that "there are limitations to evaluating any evidence that might bear on an answer" (p. 1). He concludes that while individuals may report an "awareness of God," nevertheless "the interpretation of such states is highly problematic and ultimately must be left to the individual having the experience" (p. 17).

Dr. J. Michael Wyss, Professor of Cell Biology at the University of Alabama, Birmingham, discussed "The Neurobiology of Choice: What Studies into Learning and Memory Tell Us." He says that "the philosophic definition of 'free will' remains ambiguous, and there is little scientific data with which to understand it better" (p. 22). He describes a model that offers

> a realization of the human being free to make choices among alternative behaviors that will best accomplish the ends, one of which may be the greater release of dopamine in the cortex. But will such a model ever be able to approximate our intuitive feeling of consciousness and free will? (p. 34)

He concludes that the brain is able to balance the feelings that arise from sensory and emotional information it receives, "and calculate a course of action that best fits the present and past contingencies" (p. 34).

Dr. Amalia Issa, whose Ph.D. is in Neurological Sciences, and who has done work in both medical ethics and Alzheimer's disease and the ageing brain, discusses "Emerging Moral Questions for Twenty-first Century Neuroscience." One question is "whether there is a neural basis for morality and where it resides. (p. 39) ... Studies that suggest that the brain is hardwired for morality, while interesting, challenge our understanding of human identity, free will, and responsibility" (p. 41). These challenges encounter the principles of natural law which insist on "the dignity and worth of each human life [which] is the necessary starting point for the moral reasoning required to begin to grapple with the present and emerging concerns spawned by recent advances in the neurosciences" (pp. 44-45).

Carla Mae Streeter, O.P., Associate Professor of Systematics as Aquinas Institute of Theology, in St. Louis, explains "Organism, Psyche, Spirit—Some Clarifications Toward an Anthropological Framework for Working with Neuro-Psycho-Sciences." The quest for an adequate anthropology can no longer start from theory—as Aristotelian and Thomistic rational psychology has traditionally done—but must begin with "empirical observation of the functioning human being," to account for "what is going on when the human comes to know anything" (pp. 58-59). At the same time, "from a faith perspective, anthropology can never be the same after the incarnation." While "neurological and brain science must be taken seriously, ... sound self-appropriation that reclaims the contemplative wonder in our awareness needs to be taken just as seriously" (p. 65).

Following presentation of the four papers, the remainder of the workshop was devoted to open discussion among the panelists and the 28 other attendees, whose expertises covered a wide range of scientific and theological specializations. Some of the discussion centered on the question of the morality of gene therapy that would treat a disorder and that would move beyond treatment into the area of genetic enhancement of normal capabilities. A theologian noted that "to play God" would be sinful, "but it is not a sin to cooperate with God by further perfecting what God has made." But to do so morally one would have first to understand nature and preserve all its goodness. "To produce someone who is all muscle but has little intelligence is not perfecting human nature," but to perfect human intelligence and free will would be fine, "since it is highest in human nature" (p. 164). On the other hand, making the proper distinctions can be difficult.

An additional point was made that the numbers and proportions in the general population of those with neuro-degenerative diseases are steadily increasing, especially as the population ages. It was suggested that an ecumenical quasi-religious order might be established to mobilize dedicated care givers to meet this growing problem.

— W. E. Biernatzki, S.J.

Coles, Robert A. (Ed.). *Issues in Web-Based Pedagogy: A Critical Primer.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000-2001. Pp. v, 414. ISBN 0-3133-1226-5 (hb.) $99.95; 0-3133-2158-2 (pb.) $32.00.

Issues in Web-Based Pedagogy offers a much-needed and very useful collection of critical essays on a rapidly developing area of pedagogy. The collection is divided into two parts. The first part focuses on theoretical issues such as the proper philosophical and political aims and governing policies that should guide web-based pedagogy. A number of the essays offer very helpful historical backgrounds that help orient readers not already familiar with the role web pedagogy and distance learning in general play in American education. The second part focuses on empirical and practical considerations involved in actually conducting web-based teaching and learning. The articles address key issues such as technology integration, the large up-front demands of time and resources of web-based teaching, how to encourage active learning, teaching effective research skills, building online learning communities, and facilitating productive online discussion.

While generally supportive of web-based teaching and learning, the authors do not generally sink to the level of uncritical boosterism. Rather, the authors take web-based teaching and learning as a experiential fact that needs to be critically understood and responded to appropriately. Orienting the entire collection is the question: "What assumptions should be challenged and which skeptical questions should be addressed by those presently using this technology or those thinking of embracing it?" Naturally, some authors do a better job of responding to the question than others. A particular strength of the collection is the extensive and varied treatment of the vast political implications of web-based pedagogy for education. College and university teachers, administrators, and support staff who wish better to understand the quiet revolution that is transforming American higher education would we well-served by reading articles such as Michael Margolis' "Using the Internet for Teaching and Research: A Political Evaluation."

—Richard Cain
Wheeling Jesuit University

Drew, Rob. *Karaoke Nights: An Ethnographic Rhapsody.* Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2001. Pp. 160. ISBN 0-7591-0046-2 (hb.) $72.00; 0-7591-0047-0 (pb.) $24.95.

Drew's extraordinary ethnography of the world of Karaoke combines vivid narratives of performance with critical commentary on the popular music industry, celebrity culture, and social norms surrounding public performance. Karaoke, amateur singing performances of previously recorded songs that have had the main lyrics digitally removed, is part of the "local music" scene in communities all across the United States. Karaoke cuts across ethnic, socioeconomic, regional, and cultural lines; fans can find Karaoke nights at establishments ranging from neighborhood pubs to gay bars, hot downtown clubs, biker bars, hotel lounges, and private parties. Drew explores these different settings as a full participant, performing songs on stages and acting as an appreciative audience member at show after show.

Drew and his fellow performers embrace "the radical notion that culture is ordinary—that music is not marginal to daily life, something to be supplied by a chosen few artists, but a necessary part of living" (pp. 17-18). How Karaoke situates public singing by amateurs as a popular cultural art form and enables individual to claim a public voice is the question that drives this book.

Karaoke Nights traces the introduction of Karaoke from its Japanese roots to the U.S., through its heyday as a craze, and into its persistent presence in a myriad of local settings. Drew examines the music industry, celebrity culture, and the silencing of average voices in a world that glorifies the abstract perfection of elite performers. He demonstrates that Karaoke performance has both deeply personal significance for its devotees and social significance for reading contemporary culture. For Karaoke is not so much about being the center of attention, as it is about the "capacity to realize desire, cultivate empathy, and enlarge identity through performance" (p. 63). Performing the songs of others can provide a meaningful way to understand ourselves and to connect with people who are very different from our own selves.

I highly recommend Karaoke Nights for scholars and instructors of popular culture and cultural studies; this would be an excellent supplementary text for upper division undergraduate or graduate courses that address the intersections of music, culture, performance, and identity. Moreover, instructors of ethnography will find that Drew's conversational writing style, engaging narratives, and thoughtful connections between theory and everyday life form an outstanding exemplar of contemporary ethnographic work. Perhaps most impressively, Drew accomplishes the difficult feat of artfully interweaving abstract postmodern, performance, and social theory throughout his descriptions and reflections on Karaoke performances. The result is an accessible and

fascinating discussion that is deeply grounded in rich details and illustrative of the real-world implications of "high" theory for contemplating—and celebrating—contemporary life.

The book features a combined subject and author index.

—Laura L. Ellingson
Santa Clara University

Gunter, Barrie. *News and the Net.* Mahwah, NJ and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2003. Pp. x, 218. ISBN 0-8058-4499-6 (hb.) $59.95; 0-8058-4500-3 (pb). $24.50.

During the 2003 basketball season, I stole odd moments during the day to search the Internet to see what national news sources were saying about Creighton University's Top 25-team. Across town, a Nepali student who lives with us was reading a Kathmandu newspaper online. In California, my father started the day by checking a worldwide weather news service to which he subscribes.

Each of us exemplifies trends in Internet news consumption highlighted and analyzed in *News and the Net* by Barrie Gunter. This readable, well-documented book is an outstanding summary of the impact of the Internet on journalism and news consumers. It also is an excellent reference, teaching tool, or source of supplemental readings on Internet journalism for courses in media theory, journalism history, news writing, and public relations. Gunter's 16-page bibliography alone is probably worth the price of the book to scholars. His practical insights and accessible language should recommend this book to publishers and editors trying understand where the convergence of media is taking their field.

News and the Net opens with a mass communications theory analysis of the Internet that provides the base for the book's discussion of the way the Internet is changing journalism. Gunter states that the Internet is a "hybrid communications technology, the use of which can switch between mass communication and one-on-one interpersonal communication," (pp. 14-15). As a result of the Internet's hybrid nature, "there is a need for an evolution in conceptual modeling in which theory grounded in a one-directional flow of information context embraces thinking that can accommodate bidirectional message flows" (p. 15).

According to Gunter, many newspapers began their Internet editions in the 1990s because their competitors were doing so—the bandwagon effect–rather than for journalistic or business purposes (p. 38). Gunter cites extensive studies of media and their users in the U.S., Europe, and the Middle East that document the confusion among editors and publishers about the nature and purpose of Internet journalism and how to profit from it. Many newspapers began by placing their print content online, hoping that consumers might buy online editions and advertisers support such journalism. However, consumers expected to access most Internet content for free and advertisers were unsure what they were buying. A constant theme of this book is that these problems still have not been solved. Indeed, *News and the Net* concludes by stating that the need to develop an effective business model is one of the most urgent tasks for online journalism (p. 177).

News organizations are only now starting to determine who their online readers are, how their usage of online news information is similar to and different from their print usage, how writing styles need to change, and how journalists can use the Internet to source stories. A great strength of this book is its focus on the concerns of working journalists such as questions about the reliability of much web site information. Gunter notes that newspapers increasingly are expecting reporters to obtain background online that in-house library research staffs formerly obtained—a risky assumption considering the widely varying Internet search skills among reporters. The book's suggestions about effective news writing on the Internet are specific and helpful. Readers seem to like initial summaries of stories and links to sidebars—but these can be too short as well as too long (p. 153). Ease of navigating a news site and the frequency of its updating are other predictors of its popularity with readers (p. 164).

A fascinating chapter, "Readers and Electronic Newspapers" cites studies that found that checking news is the fourth most popular Internet activity after Web surfing, email, and finding hobby information (p. 144). There are surprisingly weak links to education and income levels (p. 149) even though computer access is essential. Many users substitute electronic information for time spent on more traditional forms of media consumption such as television (p. 152). They frequently use online media at work or school instead of at home where they usually read print newspapers. Often they are looking for specific information, like my search for Creighton basketball coverage. Emigrants, like our Nepali student, read online newspapers from home (p. 154).

The Internet also has spawned new forms of news, some of which take advantage of its interactive

structure to enable readers like my father to "pull" in selected information services. These formats include user newsgroups, bulletin board newsgroups, web-site based bulletin boards, e-mail lists, online news feeds, ClariNet, and online news services (p. 58). Some of these formats raise questions about whether there is still a distinction between journalists and news consumers if everyone is empowered to put "news" content online. Other concerns include the weakening distinction between news content and advertising, especially with "pushed" technology such as online business news letters, list serves, and the like (pp. 26-27).

Other chapters address important unsettled issues such the upheaval in media law that the Internet has created. Traditional rules about libel, slander, copyright, and privacy must be reconsidered, especially in light of the Internet's global character. There's even a section on the impact of the Internet on the practice of public relations.

The greatest disappointment of this excellent book is its conclusion. The final chapter, "The Future of News Online," offers mostly platitudes about coping with what might be coming next. "To survive, news organizations will need to learn quickly how to operate effectively in this new business environment where consumer expectations are different. Success will depend on a corporate willingness to embrace change" (p. 177). This seems a little lame but may be as far as an honest author can go at this time. Overall, however, anyone seriously interested in understanding Internet journalism will benefit from reading this book.

—Eileen Wirth
Creighton University

Gunter, Barrie, Jackie Harrison and **Maggie Wykes.** *Violence on Television: Distribution, Form, Context, and Themes.* Mahwah, NJ and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2003. Pp. xi, 307. ISBN 0-8058-3719-1 (hb.) $59.95; 0-8058-4644-1 (pb.) $29.95.

Society, especially the "ruling establishment," often expresses fears about the effects of violent mass media—especially television. According to the Preface, criticism deriving from such fears often eclipses recognition of the positive social functions the medium might serve. A major fear is the power of televised violence to promote various forms of violent behavior in its audience.

"The important question for those who regulate the medium and who are the appointed guardians of the public interest is whether these concerns about television are warranted" (p. viii). Also, is television really as "permeated by violence" as the critics suggest? The research reported on in this book attempts to provide scientifically-founded answers to these and related questions. "The research itself took place within a wholly British context," but "a comparison was made between these British findings and data provided by a similar American study conducted at the same time. The comparison indicated considerable degrees of similarity in the nature of television violence in the two countries..." (p. viii).

After surveying the "parameters of concern" about TV violence, in Chapter 1, the authors go on, in Chapter 2, to consider the difficult area of measurement and analysis both of the occurrence of violence and of its effects. An initial problem is even to arrive at a definition of "violence," given its many possible dimensions, contents, and categorizations (pp. 18f.).

Chapter 3 deals with studies of the amount and distribution of TV violence. Chapter 4 considers the many forms violence can take and how they have been found to be distributed among British television channel offerings. The motives and consequences of violence are significant factors in judging its harmful effects, as studied by research described in Chapter 5. Research on violence as related to gender, children, soap operas, and news is discussed in chapters 6 through 9, respectively.

Comparisons between British and American research findings are described in Chapter 10, based on data from the National Television Violence Study in the U.S. in its first two years, 1994-1996, and the "British television violence content analysis study that covered the same two years" (p. 224). Although methodological differences inhibited comparisons in some key areas, broad similarities between the two countries were evident on many criteria. "Although the American terrestrial television schedules may contain more violent programing than their British counterparts, the average violence saturation levels of violence-containing programs did not vary that much between the two countries" (p. 241). "Whereas a majority of violent acts on both British and American television involved the use of weapons, the most prevalent single type of violence involved the use of the perpetrator's own body..." (p. 242).

Chapter 11, on "helping the audience," discusses viewers' attitudes towards violence and efforts to protect audiences from violent television in Britain, other European countries, the U.S., and Australia.

An extensive bibliography (pp. 266-286) is provided, as are author and subject indexes.

—WEB

Jalbert, Paul L. (Ed.). *Media Studies: Ethnomethodological Approaches*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, Inc., 1999 Pp. xx, 284. ISBN 0-7618-1286-5 (hb.) $57.00; 0-7618-1287-3 (pb.) $38.50.

The first chapter of this collection seeks to distinguish ethnomethodology from media sociology or from sociology in general. It spends a good deal of time dissecting David Morley's well known *Nationwide* study in order to make the point. At the end of a somewhat repetitious chapter, the authors manage to put the distinction succinctly: "Sociologists and ethnomethodologists both address themselves to 'social structures' yet each conceives of them very differently. The difference can be seen as one of description (ethnomethodology) versus explanation (sociology)" (p. 29). In short, the specific responses given by media audiences in media studies are taken as explanations of class, power, gender, etc. by media sociologists like Morley but as simple descriptions of how people respond to media texts by ethnomedologists. This does not capture the whole thrust of the book as subsequent chapters make clear, but it is a good beginning.

Paul Jalbert, the editor of this volume, has a chapter that seems to belie the assertion of "ethnomethodological indifference" asserted in the first chapter, i.e., that the communication scholar is committed to analyze texts "without any commitment to their adequacy, correctness, or otherwise" (p. 34). In other words, ethnomethodologists should not be advocates or bring their own biases to their work, yet Jalbert uses his chapter to show that his analysis of the U.S. television treatment of the 1982 Lebanon/Israeli war was not pro-Palestinian and anti-Israel as some of his critics have argued. He contends that he was just being perfectly logical in his analysis of the media texts while one of his critics was reading the same texts in a biased way to show that television treatment was anti-Israel. The argument illustrates how difficult to grasp are some of the distinctions that enthnomethodology makes in applying its approach to media texts. Looking carefully to Jalbert's argument, one finds so many fine distinctions between the validity of his conclusions and the bias of his opponent's that we often lose the thread.

All of the eight chapters, including the first chapter's critical re-examination of Morley's study, contain media texts that are analyzed using ethnomethology's approach to media. To get a better basic grasp of the method, Lynch and Bogen in the first chapter refer back to the origin of the approach by Garfinkel. In the late 1950s Garfinkel was studying jury behavior in sorting out how jurors would go about their work. To his surprise he found that they followed a "common sense" process or method (everyman's approach or "ethno"-methodology) and came up with a method that was useful for handling the carrying out of an ordinary activity. Thus was born the method that was later elaborated into a more scientific version of the everyday activity displayed by the jurors in Garfinkel's study. This book applies the method to the study of media texts that shows a consistency with its origins. Though media study is only a minor topic in a much larger field for ethnomethodology, its analytical approach that eschews explanation and sticks with description fits nicely with media textual analysis. Some examples from other chapters will illustrate both its strengths and weaknesses.

Stetson, using a newspaper story from Japan about a drunk man's death under a train because a woman he was harassing on a loading platform pushed him away, shows how multiple are the categories of people and their relation to each other that a seemingly simple story holds. He points out that for this method, one must look for not only the category but the action that is implied in the social relationships among people. The story goes through a number of sequences as the details are brought out in a subsequent trial of the woman and her eventual acquittal. What one is reminded of by the author is that rules help him do an analysis of the moral action and not a causal explanation of the happenings. Many of the authors in this book are careful to make their analyses on the basis of a variety of axiological rules that look at a given text in order to make clear how the story is told and not what it means or what it says about the actors in the text or the world at large.

The remaining chapters take journalistic practices with sports organizations, ethnographic film making, radio talk show methods of organizing an audience, and a print story of a Montreal massacre to illustrate the variety of ways that ethnomethodology can elucidate a text. But all of these approaches carefully stick to a descriptive analysis of how the texts produce their particular stories. They are not interested in theory that may explain the behavior or event in a larger, sociological or communicative sense, but rather in how the text works. In a few cases, the authors try to show consequences but more in a logical or linguistic sense and

not to explain anything about what were the motives for actions of people in the texts nor the meaning that audiences may make.

The last chapter by Bjelic is an interesting contrast in that the author reports about a media encounter he had with a television news story. Here he is able to recount his own actions and motivations, but the analysis has quite another purpose. He is intent to refute the assertion of Baudrillard and later of Virilio that the media has emptied all meaning of what is real or unreal since all has been reduced to a simple *simulacrum* that has no relation to the real world. He cites Baudrillard's essay that denies that the 1991 Gulf War ever took place. Bjelic gives examples of how television news often uses stock footage to illustrate different stories not at all related to the footage as it was originally intended. This seems to reinforce the Buadrillard assertion that the news is the story that the media or a government or a corporation wants told and is unrelated to the reality of the event on the ground. But the author asserts that even in a seeming stretch of the truth in a news story, there is some relation to the broader reality being reported. He illustrates this by an example of his own media experience: Acting as a translator from Serbian to English for a refugee mother newly arrived from Bosnia with a sick son who was to be given care in a U.S. hospital, the author made up a response for the woman when asked how she felt about her arrival. The woman was simply not willing to say anything so the translator made up an appropriate grateful response. With considerable analysis and quotes from philosophers about translation, he argues that he was telling the truth in the broad context of the given situation and was not creating an empty media simulacrum. What is clear here and elsewhere is that the limits placed on scholars by ethnomethodology often make analysis of media texts contorted or too detailed for readers to come to more common sense conclusions. Even though the approach stemmed from the work of unsophisticated jurors in working out an everyday "folk" method to accomplish a task, the task of analyzing media texts may have become too complex to make sense to the everyday educated readers!

—Emile G. McAnany
Santa Clara University

Kalbfleisch, Pamela J. (Ed.). *Communication Yearbook 27*. Mahwah, NJ and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2003. Pp. xiv, 436. ISDN 0-8058-4819-3 (hb.) $135.00. (Special prepaid price $70.00).

This edition of the annual communication yearbooks, sponsored by the International Communication Association, arranges its chapters around the theme of "communication and empowerment." According to the editor, Pamela Kalbfleisch,

> Generally, empowerment is a change from the status quo. Empowerment can lift an individual or group from the mundane, helping them to achieve excellence. Empowerment allows people to have a say in the outcomes of their existence, and communication is the mechanism through which empowerment may be accomplished. (p. xi)

Consequently, each of the volume's 11 chapters addresses some aspect of the theme. Each chapter consists of an extended review of the literature, appropriate definitions, and, in some cases, applications.

Chapter 1, "An organizational communication challenge to the discourse of work and family research: From problematics to empowerment" (Erika Kirby, Annis Golden, Caryn Medved, Jane Jorgenson, and Patrice Buzzanell), organizes its material around the four areas of boundaries, identity, rationality, and voice. Each of these has framed research about work and family.

The second chapter, "Recovering women's voice: Communicative empowerment of women of the South" (Rashmi Luthra), shifts the view to the larger world situation. Luthra defines "women of the South" as "women living in poverty and deprivation in every region of the world" (p. 45) and organizes the review around two moments. The first, recovering women's voices through deconstructive critique, examines deconstructing colonial discourse, deconstructing news and academic discourse, and deconstructing developmental discourse. The second moment traces how women have exploited openings to create change through the use of women's media and through the use of new technologies.

Everett Rogers and Arvind Singhal define empowerment as 'the process through which individuals perceive that they control situations" (p. 67) in Chapter 3, "Empowerment and communication: Lessons learned from organizing for social change." After introducing the models of active participation (Paulo Freire) and of dialogic communication, they examine case studies of female empowerment training, the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, the Lutsaan Village study, the *Taru* Project, and people living with AIDS.

In Chapter 4, Thomas Jacobson reviews material dealing with participatory communication, applying Habermas's theory of communicative action. After reviewing trends in the research dealing with social change, Jacobson presents Habermas's theory in some detail before bringing the two discourses together. Chapter 5, "The problematics of dialogue and power" (Scott Hammond, Rob Anderson, and Kenneth Cissna) raises questions about how dialogue might work, particularly when faced with struggles over power. The authors distinguish convergent dialogue from emergent dialogue; following Foucault, they also distinguish juridical and contingent power. Their model identifies five areas of tension in dialogue faced with power relations: tensions over identity, outcome, meaning, voice, and field.

The next two chapters attend more carefully to media. Chapter 6, "The megaphone effect: The international diffusion of cultural media via the USA" (Linda-Renée Bloch and Dafna Lemish) examines the cultural effects of globalization, especially through the power of U.S.-based media companies. Their case studies include CNN, children's programming, and popular music. Chapter 7, "The effects of television on group vitality: Can television empower nondominant groups?" (Jessica Abrams, William Eveland, Jr., and Howard Giles), focuses on groups and the concept of "vitality." "Vitality has grown from an ethnolinguistic concept to a theory used to address a broad range of issues related to ethnicity, age, gender, and intergroup communication and behavior" (p. 196). The question remains as to the extent and mechanism of television's influence on groups and the chapter applies both cultivation and uses and gratifications theory to the issues.

Chapter 8 turns to public relations, "The empowerment of feminist scholarship in public relations and the building of a feminist paradigm" (Linda Aldoory). Here the concern is with both the growing numbers of women in public relations and the role of feminist scholarship. The chapter explores the possibility of a feminist paradigm for the research. In Chapter 9, Patricia Parker applies the feminist framework to the work experience of African American women, "Control, resistance, and empowerment in raced, gendered, and classed work contexts: The case of African American women." The critical communication perspective underlies both the organizational communication study and the critique of the research.

Chapter 10 turns to new communication technologies, particularly the Internet. In "Credibility for the 21st century: Integrating perspectives on source, message, and media credibility in the contemporary media environment," Miriam Metzger, Andrew Flanagin, Keren Eyal, Daisy Lemus, and Robert McCann apply these traditional categories of credibility research to Web-based materials.

Chapter 11, "Communicating disability: Metaphors of oppression, metaphors of empowerment" (Stephanie Coopman) looks to the experience of disability and the varying ways of how people approach it: disability as a medical problem, as cognition, in culture or as culture, as politics, or as community. Coopman proposes using the community metaphor as a grounding for future research.

As befits the literature review genre, each chapter features an extensive bibliography. The book has both author and subject indices.

—Paul A. Soukup, S.J.
Santa Clara University

Kevin, Deirdre. *Europe in the Media: A Comparison of Reporting, Representation, and Rhetoric in National Media Systems in Europe*. Mahwah, NJ and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2003. Pp. xix, 203. ISBN 0-8058-4422-8 (hb.) $45.00 (Special prepaid price $22.50).

Kevin's book "draws together the results of several research projects that examined media coverage of European political and cultural affairs and media representations of Europe" (p. xvii). It approaches the topic from two angles. First, it examines the relationship between the media and democracy, specifically the problem of the democratic deficit in the European Union (EU) political processes, and the issues of public participation and opinion formation. Second, the research explores the question of media and identity formation.

National and regional press, both quality and tabloid/popular titles, from France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom were included in the analysis, as well as television programs, both public service and commercial, from the above mentioned countries and Poland. The questions that the research sought to answer included "the role of the media in the democratic process at the European level and the extent to which the media contributes to and reflects the process of European integration" (*ibid*.). Researchers

> began with the simple premise that economic and social integration between people in Europe is a reality, and that it impacts on people's lives.

> It affects the nature of production and distribution of goods and services, increases the variety of goods, and has led to changes in the regulation of working life. Assuming that the media should play a role in informing people of issues that affect their daily lives and in orientating people and helping them understand central aspects of integration was the basic area of interest for the project. (p. 166)

Europe in the Media summarizes the results of a large number of national studies which consisted of content analysis and interviews with media professionals and politicians. Chapter 1 offers a concise explanation of some key notions about the EU, such as Europeanisation, Subsidiarity, and Intergovernmentalism. Chapter 2 briefly outlines characteristics of the media landscape in Europe, both the EU-wide and individual national systems. The remaining chapters present and discuss the results of individual national studies.

The book provides "several comparative snapshots of media activity in order to outline characteristics, similarities, and differences in European countries" (p. 167). The nature of the research object, namely media systems of different nation states, remain too diverse to allow for anything more than quite general, descriptive, and non specific comparisons.

—Peter Lah
Loyola University of Chicago

Lowe, Gregory Ferrell, and **Taisto Hujanen**. (Eds.). *Broadcasting and Convergence: New Articulations of the Public Service Remit*. (Papers from the RIPE@2002 Conference on Broadcasting and Convergence). Göteborg, Sweden: Nordicom/ Göteborg University, 2003. Pp. 335. ISBN 91-89471–18-0 (pb.) n.p.

This report is part of an ongoing initiative, "Re-Visioning Interpretations of the Public Enterprise" (RIPE), designed "to strengthen collaborative relations between media scholars and practitioners," focusing on the remit for public service media. The 2002 conference was organized jointly by the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication of the University of Tampere and Yleisradio (YLE), the Finnish Public Broadcasting Company. Authors represent 11 countries, eight in Europe, plus Canada, USA and Australia.

The 21 papers are about evenly distributed among three sections on, "Public Service Concepts in Context: Media Policy Dynamics," "Public Service Principles and Priorities: Strategy and Accountability," and "Public Access and Participation: Challenges in Contemporary Applications."

The two editors introduce the book by discussing "Broadcasting and Convergence: Rearticulating the Future Past." They note how successive advances in media technology have promised "some technological utopia." As most recently stated, "convergence is the premise, digitization is the platform, but as always utopia remains the promise." "Convergences" have been going on a long time, but most recently the word "has mainly been applied to describe digital integration." They insist, however, on the role of culture and ideology. Conflicts in perspectives are especially evident in the encounter between European ideals of public service broadcasting and the "ubiquitous and persuasive American influence," with its "striking emphasis on the supreme value of the individual and the sanctity of the private sphere" (p. 19). The American "ideology of individualism" has fostered wealth creation, but the editors claim that it has led to a "cumulative deterioration in standards and principles that would highlight any recognition that private privileges obligate social responsibilities" (p. 19).

This confrontation of broadcasting philosophies is especially evident in countries with mixed models. Hal Himmelstein and Minna Aslama point out, for example, that, "Lofty ambitions notwithstanding, the audience for European public service broadcasting has declined in many nations to around a 40% share of television viewers. In the U.S. public television viewing has historically never risen much above its current level of a 3% share in prime time" (p. 256).

This trend is seen as disadvantageous to independent producers increasingly inhibited by the ideologically and fiscally influenced gatekeeping of station and network managers. Conflicts over regulatory policies also have proven disruptive, as, for example, in the case of European digital television standardization, in which an "inconsistent 'light touch' regulation has over-ridden public interest principles," according to Pertti Näränen (p. 57).

Another view of public service broadcasting can be seen in the "state TV model" that dominated many countries of the "Socialist" block, and others. Whereas the western European model "provides clear evidence that the state as a social agent is not an entirely antagonistic force to public service," in post-socialist societies a tendency has been present to subordinate former state monopolies to local political elites who try to ensure they remain instruments of power. While the

dangers of commercialization have been recognized in Russia, for example, distrust of any government-supported system remains strong. "So far," according to Elena Vartanova and Yassen N. Zassoursky, "politicisation and entertainisation have become the major trends in the development of Russian TV, and both stand far from the concept of public service broadcasting" (p. 106). But the authors strongly emphasize the critical social role of PSB for the future: "public service broadcasting is both a part of and a condition for developing civil society in Russia" (p. 106).

A study reported on by Pirkko Raudaskoski and Tobe Arendt Rasmussen explored the "cross-media and (inter)active media use" in Danish homes. Recognizing the rapidly changing character of media technologies and their uses by families, the authors also felt that "consumers/citizens seem to be marginalised in the present broadcast and convergence discussion, and therefore we want to bring them more forcefully into the picture through studies that are inspired by ethnography" (p. 313).

This book, in the tradition of the many fine products of NORDICOM, offers valuable insights into the experience of convergence/digitalization/globalization, especially as it has affected public service broadcasting in Europe and, secondarily, by its comparisons with similar experiences in North America and Australia. A work on such a diverse and complicated field would have profited by an index, but cost and production time obviously may have argued against providing one.

—WEB

Palakeel, Joseph (Ed.). *Towards a Communication Theology.* Bangalore, India: Asian Trading Corporation, 2003. Pp. 280. ISBN 81-7086-298-1 (pb.) Rs. 300, $20.00. (Asian Trading Company; 58, 2nd Cross, Da Costa Layout; St. Mary's Town, P.B. No. 8444; Bangalore 560 084; India).

Catholic Church authorities, in documents published over the last 25 years, have asked for theological reflection on communication. This collection of papers from a 2003 conference at Ruhalaya Theological College (Ujjain, Madhya Pradesh, India) responds to that request in the context of theological education. Joseph Palakeel, M.S.T., has organized the material in three parts: context, method, and practice.

Palakeel, Bishop Sebastian Vadakel, and Robert A. White, S.J., situate the search for communication theology and the integration of communication in theological education. Palakeel's essay provides a structural overview, both of the book and of the role of communication in seminaries while Bishop Vadakel examines the situation in India. White provides a larger picture, tracing the interest of integrating communication in seminary education back to the 1970s. His history presents the various possibilities that communication offers to theology, from the ways in which people express God's love to the ways in which the Church communicates. He encourages the formation of future ministers to include the interpersonal approach—that is, to include speaking from the heart as well as the expression of knowledge.

The larger section on method offers a number of challenges to any kind of communication theology. In "Theologizing with insights from communication," Palakeel reviews how literacy affects consciousness and outlines the "new literacies" in contemporary culture, which provide sites for theological reflection. He concludes by identifying specific features for a communication theology: experiential theology, symbolic theology, aesthetic theology, natural theology, and ecological theology. This theme is taken up by Antony Kalliath, C.M.I., who considers the "epistemology of the visual" in the context of proposing communication theology as one of inculturation in the contemporary world.

Michael Amaladoss, S.J., challenges the "a priori nature of the whole process" of communicative theology and suggests instead an experiential approach. Here, an experience of the media will correct the traditional over-emphasis on the word in theology and open up reflection on sacraments (as symbolic action), on community life, on prayer, on communion, and even on the modern deception introduced by media manipulation. Jacob Parappally, M.S.F.S., proposes that the very act of theology is communication and examines it from four perspectives: intra-communication, inter-communication, extra-communication, and ex-communication.

Both John Edappilly, C.M.I. ("Image and sound in theologizing"), and Sebastian Elavathingal, C.M.I. ("Art and theological communication"), explore image and sound in theologizing. The former fixes our attention on perception and experience, while the latter develops a sustained investigation into theological aesthetics, symbolic expression, and revelation. The section on method concludes with essays on liturgy as communication (Pauly Maniyattu) and ways of seeking God in popular media and culture (George Sebastian, S.J.).

True to its title, the second major section of the book addresses practical issues. Sebastian Periannan ("Communication theology for formation and mis-

sion") outlines ways of teaching theology from the perspective of communication, proposing it as a contextual theology. His commentary covers all the major approaches to theology. Henry D'Souza ("A response to new media culture") approaches the question from the opposite direction by asking how the media culture, specifically as experienced in India, has changed the context for theology. Two later essays elaborate the complementary approaches of these contributions: (1) Jacob Srampickal, S.J., describes his over 20 years of experience in integrating communication into theological education, considering both the situation in India and what he judges the more fruitful areas of contact between the two disciplines. (2) George Plathottam, S.D.B., ("Strategy for integrating communication in theological formation: The Salesian experience") reports on the development, content, and use of *Shepherds for an Information Age* (Mumbai: Boscom, 2000), a book and educational program created by the Salesian community for their theology students. In an attempt to situate these various practical programs, Victor Sunderaj surveys the institutions of Catholic theological education in India and reports on courses, degrees, and general communication approaches.

In the final section's most theoretical piece, Augustine Savarimuthu, S.J., reconsiders the basis for theology and theological discourse from the perspective of communication study ("Communication challenges to theological education"). Rather than limit communication to information transmission, as many do, he stresses the constitutive role of communication in identity, community formation, and reality perception. In this light, communication and communication practices form the conditions for the possibility of theology; in so doing, they redefine theology as an interactive and contextualized process.

The essays in this volume, particularly those dealing with theological method provide an excellent resource and much food for thought. A number of the authors (Amaladoss, Elavathingal, and Savarimuthu in particular) break new ground as they argue for a redefinition of theology and theological method in the light of communication. In doing so, they show how taking communication seriously will change the lived experience of reflecting on faith.

Sadly, the book contains neither an index nor a bibliography. Some individual essays do feature reference lists while others have footnoted references.

—PAS

Payne, Kay E. *Different but Equal: Communication Between the Sexes*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001. Pp. xi, 222. ISBN: 0-275-96522-8 (hb.) $65.95.

Kay Payne's choice of title for this book is extremely well suited to the traditional perspective she takes within it. Like cultural feminists, she asserts that women and men are fundamentally different from each other, and that equality between the sexes must involve recognizing and appreciating, even celebrating, those differences. At no time in the text does Payne call herself a feminist, however.

Payne labels her approach to communication and gender as "pluralistic" and contrasts that perspective to gender communication books written from a feminist perspective, which she claims "[depict] females as victims, or females as oppressed" (p. viii). She argues that U.S. society moved to the extreme Left beginning in the 1960s, and she aims through her book to "move the pendulum back to the center, where we recognize and accept men who want to be masculine and women who want to be feminine, and all people in between" (p. viii). Her book succeeds quite well in advancing the cause of the masculine men and the feminine women, but does not do as well by the "people in between." Payne draws on research and theory from a number of well known feminist writers and activists, as well as many socially conservative, even antifeminist, researchers and writers.

The most unique aspect of Payne's book is the extensive coverage of religion—both integrated throughout text and in a chapter devoted to the topic—as a significant force in defining gender roles for both women and men. Mainstream communication and gender books rarely discuss religion as a primary topic, but Payne cites a variety of theologians, philosophers, and proponents of various religious groups. Her chapter on religion is framed as a debate between the "traditional-sacred" and the "humanist-feminist" perspectives on religious life, and discusses the communication strategies used by supporters on each side. She also provides a very interesting review of the various strategies that women and men employ to alleviate the cognitive dissonance they experience as they attempt to reconcile (or compartmentalize) more traditional religious beliefs with the current realities of communication at work, in the family, and within society in general. When discussing gender role development, parenting decisions, and other such topics, Payne includes religious beliefs as one of the factors women and men consider. The chapter on religion includes sections on the

major beliefs of Hinduism, Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, Judaism, and Islam and how gender figures as part of their teachings. Throughout the remainder of the book, religious views are almost always specific to Christianity.

Other strengths of the book include the explicit focus on the gendered nature of self esteem, a topic which most gender and communication textbooks mention briefly in more general discussions of child development; coverage of the language of sex, including sex education, pornography, and changing sexual values; and a chapter devoted to examining the relationship between gender and leadership styles. Payne draws on a range of scholars representing research and rhetoric from both feminists and traditionalists, and she covers the major theoretical perspectives on the gendered nature of communication. In addition to the topics already mentioned, the book includes chapters on women's and men's movements in America; gendered communication in close relationships; gendered differences in language, gender and power; nonverbal communication; and gendered expectations of attractiveness.

Like any textbook author, Payne had to make strategic decisions about what issues to cover and which to leave out, given the constraints of space. However, I was disappointed by the lack of consideration given to the complex intersections of gender with race, socioeconomic class, sexual orientation, and disability—issues that pervade most current communication and gender textbooks. Payne makes it clear that she does not view persistent structural inequalities as a significant issue for discussion. Indeed, she claims that despite the social privilege and approval she experiences as a middle class, married, Caucasian woman, she has been subject to "hostility" from others. Based on this hostility,

> I know what it's all about to have experienced those kinds of feelings and that kind of thinking. My position is that we all experience oppression at some level, but, in the final analysis, it's our response to it that matters most (p. ix).

Payne remains consistently uninterested in exploring the concrete differences in experience that correspond to being at "some level" different from her own. At no point does Payne provide any evidence or explanation of "what it's all about" for people whose sexual orientation, race or ethnicity, income level, or bodily abilities are not approved by mainstream culture. There is virtually no mention of racism, the realities of living in poverty, or disability, all of which impact on our experience of gender. I agree that our response to oppression is vitally important, but my response as a person with tremendous social privilege is necessarily different from that of a disempowered and underserved person from a marginalized group, and that difference is critically important to understanding what gender means.

In a few instances, I found Payne's coverage of topics objectionable and inaccurate. For example, when discussing ecofeminists, Payne quotes a writer, Ebeling, as contending that "many ecofeminists 'hate men and want women to control the world'" (p. 27). Payne provides no support for this assertion, nor does she cite another writer with a different perspective on ecofeminism. In contrast to Ebeling, ecofeminists consistently portray themselves as having the goal of ending all oppression of people which is based in the dominance of humans over Mother Earth, not of hating men (e.g., Chase, 1991; Diamond & Orenstein, 1990; Mellor, 1998; Reuther, 1975; Sales, 1987; Wood, 2003). Payne's choice to quote only one extreme, unrepresentative view is unfortunate. Likewise, her choice to explore extensively the flaws of one widely cited study of rape was not complemented by even a mention of how devastating rape can be or of how often rape goes unreported by victims who blame themselves. Nor was her discussion of the sinfulness of homosexuality (including a suggestion that Christians would have more success at helping homosexuals if they "convinced them with the gospel" instead of using scriptures to criticize them, p. 97), balanced with a discussion of gays and lesbians as human beings worthy (at minimum) of tolerance, respect, and basic civil rights.

Payne's book may be well suited to instructors at conservative religious institutions whose students would benefit from a text that reflects ideals similar to their own. For these students, *Different but Equal* could function as a stepping stone towards greater appreciation of women and femininity and of the ways in which women and men often engage in communication from very different perspectives.

The book contains both a bibliography and an index.

—LLE

References

Chase, S. (Ed.). (1991). *Defending the earth: A dialogue between Murray Bookchin and Dave Foreman*. Boston: South End.

Diamond, I., & Orenstein, G. F. (Eds.). (1990). *Reweaving the world: The emergence of ecofeminism*. San Francisco: Sierra Club.

Ebeling, K. (1991, Summer). Ecofeminists and pagan politics. *The Human Life Review,* 1-6.
Mellor, M. (11998). Feminism and ecology. New York: NYU Press.
Reuther, R. R. (1975). *New woman/new earth: Sexist ideologies and human liberation.* New York: Seabury.
Wood, J. T. (2003). *Gendered lives: Communication, gender, and culture* (5th edition). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Thompson, Teresa L., Alicia M. Dorsey, Katherine I. Miller, and **Roxanne Parrott** (Eds.). *Handbook of Health Communication*. Mahwah, NJ, and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2003. Pp. 765. ISBN 0-8058-3857-0 (hb.) $145.00; 0-8058-3858-9 (pb.) $59.95.

The *Handbook of Health Communication* represents an extraordinary collaboration of noted scholars in health communication. The volume provides a comprehensive review and critique of contemporary theory and research in the field and a detailed map to guide both new and experienced researchers of health care organizations, public health initiatives, health care provider-patient interaction, media representations of health, and social support. The book is divided into six sections, each of which begins with an introduction by one of the editors and contains several chapters.

Part I: Introduction. Following an introductory chapter, Part I offers three chapters that broadly sketch theoretical approaches to health communication. Chapters address the social construction of health, an ecological perspective on health, and a consideration of the dialectical tension between those who drive towards unification and those who see more value in the diversification of health communication theorizing. Together, these chapters provide an overview that sets the stage for the remaining sections, each of which focuses on a particular context of health communication.

Part II: Provider-Patient Interaction Issues. The chapters in this part all stress the importance of effective communication between health care providers and patients for improving the process of health care delivery and for fostering individuals' health. Chapter 5 explores communication skills of both providers and patients. Historically, research has focused on the skills of health care providers. More recently, researchers have broadened their scope of inquiry to include patients' communication skills, preferences, and styles. This chapter brings together both of these areas of research, providing a helpful critique of communication between providers and patients through careful consideration of both parties in the interaction.

Chapter 6 provides an overview of the common quantitative and qualitative methods used in provider-patient communication research. Importantly, the authors comment on the limitations of the individual methods, the lack of theoretical models to guide researchers, and the infrequency of multi-method research. They call for "new models of analysis that are integrative rather than parallel or competing" and stress that "nontraditional thinking" will be needed to break outside the box of current conceptualization of provider-patient communication (p. 133). Chapter 7 synthesizes research on outcomes of provider-patient interaction. The authors explore outcomes relevant to patients—such as satisfaction with health care delivery—and those directly relevant to provider—such as incidence of medical malpractice suits. Chapter 8 focuses in on disclosure, a critical element of provider-patient communication, and its relation to decision-making. Topics include medical disclosure, delivery of bad news, establishing informed consent, and negotiating end-of-life decisions. The final chapter in this section explores how provider-patient interaction varies among different types of patients—children, older adults, and women. Historically, these groups have been among those marginalized in health communication research. The authors summarize key findings on the variability of issues across patient groups and provide sound recommendations for further research in these areas.

Part III: Social and Community Health Issues. The five chapters in this section position their discussions in the area between the highly specific context of provider-patient communication and the broadly conceived context of public health messages by exploring local health issues and everyday communication as it relates to health. Chapters 10, 11, and 12 explore community organizing, community health risk management, working within marginalized groups to effect positive change in health, and the role of communication in all of these endeavors. Chapter 12 in particular provides an outstanding explanation of the "ideology and principles of community-based health communication scholarship" (p. 241). Admirably, the authors explore the privileged view point that they and other scholars occupy and the negative implications of unexamined privilege for understanding and communicating with underprivileged communities. A dialectical approach to exploring community-based research and health interventions is offered, along with pragmatic strategies. The other two chapters in this section

explore the daily communication of social support as it relates to both health and illness. Chapter 13 reviews contemporary research on social support networks, while Chapter 14 explores interpersonal communication and how health and illness are expressed in everyday talk related to HIV/AIDS.

Part IV: Organizational Issues. In this section, the centrality of the health care organization as the context for communication is explored. Health care organizations have undergone tremendous change in the last 20 years with the shift to managed care systems, evolving technology, the preponderance of chronic, incurable but manageable diseases, and the ageing of the U.S. population. Chapter 15 takes an institutional perspective on the organization, regulation, financing, and delivery of health care, providing an excellent overview of the current structure and context of health communication in organizations. Chapter 16 takes on the critical topic of stress and burnout among health care workers. While social support is typically seen as an issue for suffering patients, it is also a central issue for health care providers, whose overwhelming stress can adversely affect their job performance and quality of life. The authors outline a vital research agenda for this area of health communication. Chapter 17 charts the history and development of teams in health care organizations, reviews the approaches to studying teams (including an extensive table of research exemplars and their medical area, methods, type of team, and findings), and explores the determinants of team effectiveness. Chapter 18 presents an innovative discussion of the role of health care policy as it relates to the organization of the health care sector. The authors provide an insightful analysis of "the structure and processes of policymaking, the ideological bases of health discourse, and the rhetoric of healthcare reform" (p. 404). Finally, Chapter 19 shifts the focus out of health care organizations and into the communication of health, wellness, and preventative care in organizational workplaces. The authors explore some of the hazards of contemporary working environments and organizational cultures for the health of employees and critique efforts of organizations and individuals to foster wellness among employees.

Part V: Media Issues. Health messages pervade all forms of contemporary media. The chapters in this section present a comprehensive exploration of the formation of strategic health messages as well as a broader consideration of how media and health inter-relate. Chapter 20 reviews the history of mediated health campaigns and explores the importance of formative research in developing effective campaigns. Chapter 21 focuses on strategic message design, particularly in the area of self-efficacy, fostering the belief in individuals that they can effect positive change in their health status. Chapter 22 builds on the previous three chapters and explores audience segmentation, targeting, and tailoring of strategic health messages to specific groups to maximize effectiveness. The next four chapters highlight a variety of media issues. Chapter 23 posits how telemedicine can reduce barriers to health care access and increase efficiency of health care delivery by negating the impact of geographical distance between providers and patients. Chapter 24 points out that much of the health care system is for-profit and explores the strategic use of public relations theory and practices by this sector. Chapter 25 moves outside the purview of health promotion and investigates how popular media constructs health and the impact of these portrayals in TV, film, news, and other entertainment media. This chapter is particularly well written, offers insightful analysis, and provides a well reasoned agenda for future research. The final chapter in this part documents the negative effects of low health literacy and the challenges of increasing health literacy so that individuals can access, understand, and appropriately use the health information they encounter.

Part VI: Lessons and Challenges from the Field. The final part of this handbook focuses on the utilization of health communication theorizing and research in real-world settings outside of academe. Chapter 27 illustrates how health communication scholarship shapes health policy and programs at the National Cancer Institute; the author urges communication scholars to embrace opportunities for large-scale studies that will shape future health policy, and provides excellent resources and suggestions for doing so. Similarly, Chapter 28 imparts critical lessons the authors have learned throughout their years of designing and evaluating several national health promotion campaigns, and Chapter 29 describes an exciting project that fosters collaboration between academic researchers and public health agencies. Finally, Chapter 30 identifies some of the many ethical issues involved in health interventions and explores the challenges for health communication researchers and practitioners in the current social context of health.

As is evident in the above description, this volume is an outstanding resource for scholars, practitioners, and students in health communication, public

health, health care administration, health policy, and related fields. I highly recommend it as a reference for all graduate students in health communication and as a graduate level textbook; no other volume reaches the bar set by this handbook's comprehensive overview and cutting-edge analysis. The Handbook of Health Communication is well worth the investment and will undoubtedly prove vastly influential in the field of health communication for years to come.

The book features a name index and a subject index; bibliographies appear at the end of each chapter.

—LLE

Wasburn, Philo C. *The Social Construction of International News: We're Talking about Them, They're Talking about Us.* Westport, CT and London: Praeger, 2002. Pp. xv, 184. ISBN 0-275-97810-9 (hb.) $62.95.

As the Cold War ended and U.S. news media cut back on costly international coverage, the world receded from Americans' television screens and newspapers in the 1990s. A people notoriously unfamiliar with international affairs probably became even less informed, until the attacks of September 11, 2001 reminded America and its media that there was a world elsewhere. The ensuing "war on terrorism" may offer the next master frame that will replace the Cold War as an organizing principle of international news, notes Purdue University professor of sociology Philo Wasburn in his conclusion to this book.

But Wasburn's work focuses on a prior era of uncertainty and transformation in international news coverage—from the mid-1980s to the late 1990s—when the demise of the Eastern Bloc left American foreign policy elites and reporters without a clearly-defined, shared purpose or framework of assumptions about the world. At the same time, former allies and opponents redefined their relationships to the U.S. The book offers case studies, most involving original research, that compare American and international media coverage of a broad range of military, economic, and political stories during this period. These cases include the Falklands War, the Iran-Iraq War, the Tiananmen Square revolt, political assassinations, U.S.-Japanese trade disputes, the 1987-1993 Palestinian Intifada, and the 1996 American party conventions and presidential inauguration.

The book's strength is its comparative method. Scholars of media and politics are increasingly turning to this kind of work to show how taken-for-granted framings of international events are peculiar to particular countries or media outlets, and how nations' unique histories and media systems influence coverage and shape public opinion.

Wasburn's central theme is the role news plays in the social construction and legitimation of national institutions. Journalism, he writes, creates a "symbolic universe in terms of which most Americans understand our nation and its place in the structure of international political, economic, and military relations" (p. 20). He finds similarly ethnocentric national interests driving coverage in the non-U.S. news outlets he examines. Indeed, by assuming a unified set of national interests and aiming to show how they are reflected in reporting, Wasburn's approach is more functionalist than constructionist. A more thorough social constructionist might question whose definitions of Japanese or Canadian interests are reflected in NHK or CBC's news about the U.S.

Because the writing is accessible to undergraduates, case study chapters could be used in courses on international communication, or media and politics. The book does not offer a current summary of either field. Nine tables, references, and author and subject indexes are included.

—Chad Raphael
Santa Clara University

In the Journals

Three themes appear in journals received from Canada, Colombia, England, Mexico, Norway, and Spain: globalization, new communication technologies, and narrative style in television. Other articles range from the topics of women and media to the educational uses of communication products, to journalism history.

As more and more people become aware of globalization, we see more articles addressing its various aspects. *Media Development* takes as its theme communication in China in Volume 44, No. 4 (2002), with five articles:

Banisar, David. (2002). The great firewall of China: Cyber-policing dissent. *Media Development, 44*(4), 23-25.

Chin, Yik-chan. (2002). China's regulatory policies on transnational television drama flow. *Media Development, 44*(4), 17-22.

Schiller, Dan. (2002). Communications and power: Interpreting China's emerging role. *Media Development, 44*(4), 12-16.

Sparks, Colin. (2002). China, the WTO and the mass media: What is at stake? *Media Development, 44*(4), 3-7.

Zhao, Yuezhi. (2002). Transnational capital and market tensions in Chinese communications. *Media Development, 44*(4), 8-11.

Other journals raise the globalization issue in a number of ways, in terms of program content, general knowledge, media workers, the public sphere, or audience positioning.

Felix, Claudia B. (2003). Hacia la construcción del espectador modelo de los reality shows. *Signo y Pensamiento, 22*, No. 42, 57-68. [The article explores the possibilities of establishing a dialogue between the model author and the model reader of the "globalized" reality show genre.]

Horsti, Karina. (2003). Global mobility and the media. Presenting asylum seekers as a threat. *Nordicom Review, 24*(1), 41-54.

Kwansah-Aidoo, Kwamena. (2003). Events that matter: Specific incidents, media coverage, and agenda-setting in a Ghanian context. *Canadian Journal of Communication, 28*, 43-66.

Leydesdorff, Loet. (2003). The construction and globalization of the knowledge base in interhuman communication systems. *Canadian Journal of Communication, 28*, 267-289.

Luchessi, L., & Bakmas, G. C. (2002). Voces divergentes, voces excluyentes. El papel de los medios en la construcción de identidades globales. *Signo y Pensamiento, 21* No. 41.

Marques de Melo, Jose. (2002). Mujeres, comunicación y globalización. *Interacción: Revista de Comunicación Educativa, 32-33*, 2-4.

Martín-Barbero, Jesús. (2003, marzo-abril). La globalización en clave cultural. Una mirada Latinoamericana. *Renglones, 53*,18-32. [The author analyzes two major tendencies in the Latin American communications development: the technological convergence between telecommunications (public services in accelerated process of privatization) and mass communication; and communications trends in the field of major financial investments.]

Ortiz, Renato. (2002). Globalización y esfera publica. Entre lo nacional y lo transnacional. *Signo y Pensamiento, 21*, No. 41.

Reguillo, Rossana. (2003, marzo-abril). Politicas de representación y desafios culturales. La visibilidad de America Latina. *Renglones, 53*, 34-42.

A second recurring theme features new communication technologies, their uses, and particularly their cultural effects. Some of the essays already cited under globalization address that topic under the rubric of the new technologies (Martín-Barbero, 2003; Schiller, 2002). *Signo y Pensamiento*, Volume 21, No. 41, devotes the issue to the question of new technologies.

Gomez, Guillermo O. (2002). Mediaciones tecnologicas y des-ordenamientos comunicacionales. *Signo y Pensamiento, 21*, No. 41, 21-33.

Hernandez, Miguel A. V. (2002). Capacitación a distancia con apoyo en las tecnologias de información y la comunicación TIC. *Interacción: Revista de Comunicación Educativa, 32-33*

Martín-Barbero, Jesús. (2002). Pistas para entre-ver medios y mediaciones. *Signo y Pensamiento, 21*, No. 41, 13-20.

Montoya, Ancizar N. (2002). Nuevas tecnologicas de comunicación. Desigualdad economica y cultural. *Signo y Pensamiento, 21*, No. 41, 34-46. [The author looks at the significance and implications of ICT's on the technical, social, and economic convergence of the subordinated or less powerful countries, states, or communities with the first or developed world.

Valencia, Daniel G. (2002). Institucionalidad e industrias de la comunicación en la modernidad. *Signo y Pensamiento, 21*, No. 41, 47-57.

A third theme deals with varieties of aesthetics, narrative style, presentation, and audience responses in film and television.

Barros de Andrade, Roberta M. (2003). El receptor y el texto de ficcion. Telenovelas y publicos en Brasil. *Signo y Pensamiento, 22*, No. 42, 69-79.

Felix, Claudia B. (2003). Hacia la construcción del espectador modelo de los reality shows. *Signo y Pensamiento, 22*, No. 42, 57-68. [The article explores the possibilities of establishing a dialogue between the model author and the model reader of the "globalized" reality show genre.]

Mazziotti, Nora. (2003). Sobre las relaciones entre etica y generos de ficcion audiovisual. *Signo y Pensamiento, 22*, No. 42, 47-55. [The author states that each genre of theater, movies, and television has a moral commitment that is closely related to values and the social culture of a certain era.]

Rincon, Omar. (2003). Realities: La narrativa total de la television. *Signo y Pensamiento, 22*, No. 42, 22-36.

Sanchez, Rosario. (2003). Ficcion contra realidad. Viejas tensiones, nuevos generos. *Signo y Pensamiento, 22*, No. 42, 37-46.

Segura, Yadira A. (2002). Niveles de percepcion estetica en el arte. *Interlenguajes: Revista de Semiotica y Linquistica Teorica y Aplicada, 3*(1), 19-28.

Sundholm, John. (2003). Narrative machines, or, from "Bottom to Top": Early discourses on the novel and film. *Nordicom Review, 24*(1), 107-114.

Vilches, Lorenzo. (2003). La contaminación ambiental: Entre la ficcion y los formatos de realidad. *Signo y Pensamiento, 22*, No. 42, 9-21.

—Masha Rotfeld
Santa Clara University