

IDEOLOGICAL AND ACCUMULATION FUNCTIONS OF THE
SPORTS/MEDIA COMPLEX IN ADVANCED CAPITALISM

by

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ABSTRACT

The increase in the amount of sports shown on television suggests that they are an important part of the contemporary reality of American society. As such the function of the sports/media complex is analyzed in relation to the developing conditions of the American capitalist mode of production. After an examination of the existing dominant approaches to the study of sport, it is concluded that positivism, functionalism and neo-Weberianism give an inadequate account of the place of sports within contemporary society, and the case is made for dialectical materialism as a method of analysis that furnishes the most adequate explanation of the role of sports in American society. The historical development of sports, their role in aiding and smoothing the processes of urbanization and immigration, and the establishment of the symbiotic relationship between professional sports and the mass media is shown. It is argued that the main function of this sports/media complex is to produce audiences for sale to advertisers. This is examined in relation to the development of the mass communication technologies of press, radio and television. The role of television in providing marketing structures is analyzed around the central and concrete focus of the media's use of sports. As such the effect of

television on sports and the monopolistic nature of professional sports that makes it so valuable to television are discussed, as is the integration of professional sports within the wider framework of corporate control. The second major argument of the paper is that the sports/media complex also acts to provide ideological legitimation for an exploitative system of production by presenting an idealized and dramatic life world where contradictions engendered in the wider society are mediated, and the present conditions of existence presented as just, natural and eternal. Here the function of the sports media complex is seen as revolving around the dialectic of escape and socialization. This is examined historically by tracing the changing importance of baseball and football to the development of capitalist conditions of accumulation and legitimation. In addition it is argued that historically sports heroes have, and do, perform a legitimating function. The role of sports on TV is examined as it relates to the production of the sportscast as a commodity, and the manner in which the sportscast inculcates special notions of competition, passivity and masculinity. The function of the sportscast in legitimating the existing division of labour, the racial division of labour, and processes of quantification and reification is also analyzed. Lastly the twin function of the media, of marketing and ideological accumulation, are seen as being united in the use of sports ideology in advertising.

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Well they tell me of a pie up in the sky
Waiting for me when I die
But between the day you're born and when you die
They never seem to hear even your cry
So as sure as the sun will shine
I'm gonna get my share now, what's mine
And then the harder they come
The harder they fall one and all

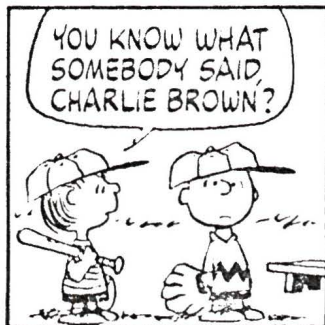
Well the oppressors are trying to keep me down
Trying to drive me underground
And they think that they have got the battle won
I say forgive them Lord they know not what they've done
Cause as sure as the sun will shine
I'm gonna get my share now, what's mine

And I'll keep on fighting for the things I want
Though I know that when your dead you can't
But I'd rather be a free man in my grave
Then living as a puppet or a slave
So as sure as the sun will shine
I'm gonna get my share now, what is mine

The harder they come
The harder they fall one and all

Jimmy Cliff The Harder They Come

PEANUTS



PART ONE

INTRODUCTION AND METHOD

Chapter 1 - Introduction

Chapter 2 - Method - Materialism or Idealism

What social science needs is less use of elaborate techniques and more courage to tackle rather than dodge the central issues. But to demand that is to ignore the social reasons that have made social science what it is.

J.D. Bernal Science in History

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Next to religion, baseball has furnished a greater impact on American life than any other institution.

Herbert Hoover

INTRODUCTION

I. Objectives:

The starting point of any sociological analysis should be a careful and considered choice for it effects the entire conceptualisation of the subject under study. Marx spent many years grappling with this problem, searching for the starting point that would give him the fullest understanding of capitalism as a system. Finally he settled on the commodity as the device that would help unfold the complexities of the capitalist mode. (Marx 1976, Echeveria 1979) One of the reasons for this was that the commodity is more than a mere concrete thing for it contains and reflects determinate social relations. It is able to extend to abstract categories which can be used to define the development and structure of capitalist production. It more than any other thing reflects the essence of the whole within itself.

The concern of this paper is to examine the processes of the reproduction of American advanced capitalism from the viewpoint of professional sports for this offers a unique and neglected position from which to add to an understanding of contemporary society. This is not to

suggest that sports can be substituted for commodity in an attempt to uncover the complexities of capitalism, but merely to say that as different starting points take you in different analytical directions, to start with sports will lead to an investigation of capitalism from a neglected position. As such our knowledge of capitalism as a system in process will be extended. By bringing together the disparate critical approaches this is an attempt to treat sports from the method of dialectical materialism. As the major interest is in the explanation and understanding of the processes of advanced capitalism this paper will specifically focus on the sports/media complex that has expanded and become increasingly important for the reproduction of the system in recent years. Also, in line with Marxist methodology, the sports/media complex will be treated in both a concrete and abstract manner as the dialectical relationship between the two gives us the fullest understanding of advanced capitalism from this viewpoint. In conclusion to these opening statements of intent it must be stressed that this paper is not an empirical project. Although it is concrete it remains an interpretive and suggestive analysis that might serve as the theoretical basis of future attempts to understand the reproduction of the system of advanced capitalism in relation to the sports/media complex.

II. Justifications - Why Study Sports?:

The analysis of advanced capitalism from the viewpoint of sports can be justified in three ways. Firstly, even though sports have been described as the "toy department of life" (Howard Cosell), or perhaps because of it, they can provide a valuable starting point. If we can broadly agree with Bertell Ollman (1976) that the whole, as well as being made up of its relations, is reflected in its constituent parts then it can be seen that sports afford us a glimpse of the advanced capitalist totality from a unique and neglected viewpoint. Sports is one of the internally related parts of the social formation and if these parts are conceptualised as expandable relations, sport in its fullness can represent the totality. (See Chapter 2 for a further discussion of parts/wholes)¹

Secondly, since 1945, there has been an enormous rise in the growth and popularity of spectator (and televised) sports. The major television networks today produce 1200 to 1500 hours of sport per year. This is approximately 15% of all scheduled programming and results in about 25 hours of sports per week. (Loy, Kenyon, MacPherson, 1978 p. 305) During the last decade there has been an enormous rise in the amount of sports available on television. For example, between 1971-75 total sports telecasts for the major networks increased by almost 50% resulting in a total

of 505 sportscasts for 1082 hours during 1975. As can be seen there has been a substantial increase since 1975. In addition to this, these sportscasts are hugely popular. In calculating total audience estimates for all time favourite television programmes through mid 1976, A.C. Neilson placed sportscasts in 6 of the top 10 and 15 of the top 25 (60%) (Bryant, Comisky and Zillman, 1977, p. 140)². Also radio stations broadcast over 400,000 hours of sport annually and Parrish (1971) cites that circulation managers claim that 30% of the people that buy newspapers do it primarily for the sports news. One of the clearest indications of the contemporary importance of sport and the way this has grown in the last 20 years is the fact that since 1959 football, baseball, basketball and hockey franchises have risen in number from 42 to 101 (Kennedy and Williamson 1978 p. 54). Accordingly, many writers today claim that sports play a major part in the everyday lives of Americans. For Richard Lipsky (1979) the importance of sports can no longer be doubted.

"Sports have a vicelike grip on the emotions of the American people. At a time when political involvement is suspect, politicians vilified and the legitimacy of the major social institutions is questioned, sports enthusiasm increases in both scope and intensity. The sportsworld more than any other single phenomenon dominates the consciousness and everyday lives of millions of Americans." (1979, p. 61)

It has been described as the magic elixir that nourishes while the rest of the world drains. Former vice-president Spiro Agnew called sports one of the few bits of glue that holds society together (in Hoch 1972 p. 2). Boyle (1963) argues that sports gives form and substance to much in America. Neil Issacs, an American academic at the University of Maryland, in perhaps the most eloquent elucidation of the importance of sports states

"...so thoroughly and subtly has the acceptance and awareness of sports filtered into every aspect of our consciousness, that it is taken for granted. Our culture is saturated with sports-mindedness. Our major writers all treat sports directly or indirectly as a given of our society. Our plastic artifacts and our performing arts dote on them. Our educational system often seems to use them as its *raison d'etre*....
Sports are not simply the surface ritual for us... For us sports has entered the fabric and structure of our whole way of life. Sports is a constant, a model, a value system. It is our strength and our destroyer...Intellectually, philosophically, emotionally and psychologically, sexually and physically, sport governs our lives. It is not quite enough to recognise the great influence of sports on our system. We must go further and recognise that our system as a whole has become, that the USA is a jockocracy!" (1978, p. 16-17)

Issac Balbus has also pointed out the role that sports have come to play in working through some of the contradictions and tensions that have arisen in the work world and in the political sphere (Balbus 1975, 1973). Parente (1977) has

written that sports spectating "is perhaps the most stylized and widely participant ritual of contemporary life and therefore a major vehicle through which meanings are developed and communicated." (p. 128)

Thirdly, in the light of the above points, there is simply an inadequate understanding of professional sports as one of the most important social institutions of advanced capitalism. It has generally been neglected from a Marxist perspective. As seen above, the role of sports in the ideological reproduction of advanced capitalism is a subject which has been recognised as important by a number of writers but within established Marxist circles it has mostly been dealt with in the form of "one liners" (see Althusser 1971, p. 148, Miliband 1977, p. 52, Wolfe 1976, p. 148). Nowhere as yet have we come close to developing beyond a purely descriptive theory of the role of sports within North America. To the knowledge of this writer, Paul Hoch (1972) is the only theorist who has produced a critical and wideranging analysis of sports in North America, but his approach suffers from being a little too static. It is now eight years since the publication of his Rip-Off the Big Game, and as yet there has been very little addition to this seminal work. Ralph Miliband (1977) has written that the development of a Marxist analysis of sport may not be the most urgent

theoretical task but it is not the most negligible either. Indeed given Balbus's work on the appropriation of sports by politics (1975) and also the fact that sport seems to operate on both a conscious and subconscious ideological level (i.e., at the level of masculine identification) there is an urgent need to develop an adequate Marxist theory of sports. Balbus argues in this vein.

"The truth is whole yet we continue to think in a partial, segmental, fragmentary and therefore fundamentally incorrect fashion. Even Marxists who have thoroughly assimilated the Hegelian insight that the structure of the whole is interiorized in a given part of social reality and that therefore it is impossible to know a part prior to an understanding of the whole, draw the line (think segmentally) when it comes to organised sports. Somehow that increasingly important part of social reality which is organised sports is thought of as lying outside the American capitalist whole, a mental operation which encourages and/or justifies the remarkably prevalent phenomenon of the Radical as Sports Fan." (1973, p. 600)

This paper is an attempt to extend Hoch's work and place the analysis of American sports within an explicit dialectical/historical materialist framework.

III. The Sports/Media Complex and the Development of Capitalism:

Any system, or mode of production, has to ensure the conditions for its own reproduction, i.e., it has to

guarantee its survival. As such it generates institutions which aid in this process. As stated the purpose of this paper is to study the reproduction of the American advanced capitalist system from the point of view of the sports/media complex. This will illuminate both the processes by which advanced capitalism reproduces itself and the role of the sports/media complex in this. The reproduction of the system of advanced capitalism will be examined in this paper from two perspectives. Firstly the role that the sports/media complex plays in reproducing the conditions of accumulation; and secondly, the role that the sports/media complex plays in the reproduction of the ideological conditions that legitimate the process of (exploitative) accumulation as just, natural and eternal.

The sports/media institution, like any institution of any social system, reflects and changes with the shifting and developing processes internal to that mode. It will be noted that the phrase used to describe the American social formation thus far has been "advanced capitalism" ("monopoly capitalism" or "late capitalism" would have been alternative titles.) This is because the mode of production under study is different from that analysed by Marx in Capital. Marx was describing and explaining the processes whereby surplus value was extracted under the system of competitive capitalism, and although,

to an extent, he "predicted" the kinds of changes that would take place as the capitalist mode of production developed it is to recent Marxist works that we must look for a detailed and accurate description of contemporary reality (e.g., Mandel 1975, Baran and Sweezy 1966, Braverman 1974). Part of the attempt in this paper is to examine the sports/media complex as it reflected and aided in the developments of the American economy in the late 19th and 20th centuries.

There is neither time nor space here for a detailed discussion of the immense changes that the American economy has undergone in the last 100 years. As such only the broad changes that took place will be mentioned as they pertain to the sports/media complex. Advanced (or monopoly) capitalism had its origins in the last two decades of the 19th century when the features of the concentration and centralisation of capital began to emerge. It was in this period that the new advertising-dominated yellow press was founded and when the sports/media complex was first formed. The emergence of the mass media and their relationship with sports is a direct result of the processes of advanced capitalism (see Hoch 1972, p. 29-39). Marx talked about the tendency of capital to agglomerate in large units. This occurs as a result of two related processes. Firstly, the concentration of capital occurs

as each capital grows and expands its scale of production. Secondly, the centralization of capital occurs when capitals already formed are brought together so that a number of smaller units are transformed into a few larger units owned by increasingly fewer people. Braverman (1974) has argued that as these processes occurred the management function of the new giant corporation increased dramatically (p. 257-60), i.e., productive activities were subdivided among functional departments. But, Braverman argues, if the engineering and management organization was the first requirement of the modern corporation, "it was soon outstripped in functional importance by the marketing apparatus" (p. 261). The huge advances in capitalist efficiency led to an increasing number of consumer products. Capitalism had to get rid of what it was producing. The first couple of decades of the 20th century were characterized by the emergence of a mass advertising (see Ewen 1976). It was here that the sports/media complex entered into the functional framework. The mass media of advanced capitalism that were created in the 1890's soon established a symbiotic relationship with professional sports whereby sports were one of the factors in the creation of audiences that could be sold to advertisers (the new giant corporations).

Dallas Smythe (1977) has criticized the approach of Baran and Sweezy in their Monopoly Capital for not

recognizing the economic role of the mass media and their main function of producing audiences. Demand management is not for Smythe the principal role of the mass media in advanced capitalism; it is the creation of audiences as commodities. The sports/media complex thus should be seen in relation to the development of the need for new marketing techniques. This whole discussion will be much expanded in Chapter 4. At present it is enough to say that, according to Smythe's analysis, the main function of the sports/media complex is to create audiences for sale to advertisers and that contemporary advanced capitalism has increasingly come to rely on this for marketing purposes for certain otherwise inaccessible groups of the population.³

Another of the tendencies of advanced capitalism in the 20th century is toward vertical and horizontal integration. The sports/media complex again has come to reflect this tendency. The direct connections between the mass media and sports have been obvious from the start as examples of vertical "integration" (see Chapter 5 for examples of these) and recently there have been increasing examples of horizontal integration as well ("the corporatization of sports"). Professional sports are inextricably a part of the structures of accumulation of advanced capitalism and have strong links of ownership to finance/industry/transportation/media, etc., interests.

The mass media of advanced capitalism also play a vital role in the legitimation of the system. Many scholars have claimed that Marxist sociology is underdeveloped as far as analyzing the economic function of the mass media goes (Smythe 1977, Murdock and Golding 1977). However the other side of the analysis has become fairly well developed in recent years. It will be argued later that the economic question must take priority in a Marxist analysis but that the ideological function of the media should not be subsequently viewed as secondary. Murdock and Golding have written,

"...the sociology of mass communications should ...be seen as....part of the overall study of social and cultural reproduction which has traditionally occupied the heartland of sociological analysis...the sociology of mass communications should derive from, and feed into, the continuing debate on the nature and persistence of class stratification. More particularly, media sociology should address itself to the central problem of explaining how radical inequalities in the distribution of rewards come to be presented as natural and inevitable and are understood as such by those who benefit least from this distribution...the sociology of mass communications should be incorporated into the wider study of stratification and legitimation." (1977, p. 12)

Indeed the bulk of Marxist work on the media has come in the study of ideological processes, of how the media provide frameworks of meaning by which we make sense of reality

(see Chapter 6). They are concerned mostly with how the media serve to hide and displace the central contradiction of capitalism -- between the social nature of production and the private appropriation of capital. The contribution this paper hopes to make is to examine how the appropriation of sports by the media aids in this process. Sports themselves are an institution that has changed and developed in relation to the shifts in the wider mode.

Today, whatever ideological role that sports play within advanced capitalism, is very largely mediated through the system of mass media, especially television. Bryant et al (1977) have written "As the prominence of television in the lives of Americans has steadily increased since its introduction a little more than a quarter of a century ago, so has the place of sports on television" (p. 140) and Horowitz (1977) argues that "telecasts of professional team sports have become the opiate of millions of American households" (p. 160). Lipsky (1979) has argued that sports as portrayed and presented by the media are a dramatic life world that legitimates and celebrates the status quo. The sportscast can be viewed as providing vital legitimation functions in that sports act as an opiate from the "real world" and act as a reinforcement of the values of that world. It creates idealized pictures of nationalism and of heroes who are identified with the

ruling order. It legitimates a division of labour that stresses elitism, hierarchy, specialization of power and function, the divorce of mental and manual labour, the division of labour by race and sex, an idealization of social mobility, etc. It also legitimates processes of quantification, reification and commoditization where the relation between people increasingly becomes a relation between things (represented by numbers). It gives us an idealized notion of competition as the healthy driving force of society, of the benefits and rewards being within reach of everyone. In addition sports mark out time and space, for as nature is blotted out of an urbanized landscape we view the seasons more and more in terms of sports seasons. Also time in sports is similar to factory time with every second being rationally accounted for. The role of women is defined as always being on the peripheries of the action and literally as untouchable embellishments. At the same time notions of masculinity are carefully mediated through the sports spectacle.

In summary the major task of this paper is to trace the process by which the sports/media complex and the ideology of sports arose as a result of the developing material conditions of advanced capitalism and the way that sports were and are used by capitalism as a response to tensions in the process of accumulation, marketing, and

legitimation. Further it seeks to demonstrate the role of the sports/media complex today in relation to the material reproduction of advanced capitalism and the increasing integration of sports into the direct structures of accumulation. In addition it seeks to show how the sports/media complex serves to socialize workers into the increasingly proletarianized occupational structure and into the roles of passive consumers of brand name products. Lastly, this paper examines how the sportsworld has been ideologically appropriated by mass media advertising.

IV. A Guide to the Thesis:

To facilitate the stated objectives this paper will be divided into four parts. Part One, Introduction and Method, consists of the present introduction and a chapter on the justification of the use of the method of dialectical materialism. Here the conventional sociology of sport that is located within the schools of positivism, functionalism and a cross cultural Weberianism will be critiqued from the viewpoint of whether they present idealist or materialist modes of analysis and the implications of this for social action. Following this the main points of dialectical method will be outlined as will the "causal" framework within which this paper is situated.

Part Two, The Sports/Media Complex and Accumulation, consists of three chapters. Chapter 3 traces the genesis of sports in the USA and how they arose as a response to changing material conditions, and the establishment in the 1890's of their symbiotic relationship with the emerging mass media of the press. It further examines how the sports/media complex responded to changes in production/consumption and how in the 1920's and 1930's a new relationship was forged between sports and radio. Chapter 4 is a theoretical discussion of how best to conceptualize the role of the sports/media complex in advanced capitalism and argues, following Smythe (1977), that the main function of mass media systems is to produce audiences as commodities for sale to advertisers. The explicit example of the use of sports by the media is used to illustrate the argument. However this paper does not accept Smythe's further claim that the "work" these audiences do is productive work. Chapter 5 is a concrete analysis of the contemporary state of the sports/media relationship and the kinds of developments that have taken place within professional sports as a result of their reliance on television. It concludes that sports are used by television as no more than an advertising vehicle and that changes in sports are geared towards creating audiences for media rather than for any intrinsic, internal gain to the game itself. Today sports are explicitly a part of the entertainments business.

Part Three, The Sports/Media Complex and Ideology, also consists of three chapters. Chapter 6 is a theoretical discussion on the various levels at which ideological domination operates via the media. Specifically, the three levels of dominant ideology ("propaganda"), structures and commodity structures are analyzed through a discussion of the work of Althusser, Gramsci, Hall, Barthes and DeBord. This discussion is seen as a necessary introduction to the concrete analysis of the next chapter. Chapter 7 locates the specific content of ideological domination in relation to sports and is illustrated with examples from the television presentation of sports. It seeks to argue that this ideological function of sports is becoming increasingly important in the light of the developments of advanced capitalism. Chapter 8 deals with how the ideology of the sportsworld is explicitly appropriated by advertising in the marketing of products so it has now entered the process of the material accumulation of surplus at another level.

Part Four is a Conclusion and summary of the argument and a discussion of the implications the paper has for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

METHOD - MATERIALISM OR IDEALISM

There is a materialist line and an idealist line in philosophy, and between them there are various forms of agnosticism. The vain attempts to find a 'new' point of view in philosophy betray the same poverty of mind that is revealed in similar efforts to create a 'new' theory of value, a 'new' theory of rent, and so forth.

Lenin

Materialism and Empirio-Criticism (1970) p. 189

METHOD - MATERIALISM OR IDEALISM

I. Materialism, Idealism, Class and Action:

Engels wrote that "the great basic question of all philosophy, especially of modern philosophy, is that concerning the relation of thinking and being" (Selsam and Martel 1963, p. 47). Indeed any philosophical approach, or other attempts to explain the world, has to confront this problem, the resolution of which will either lead to explanations based on materialism (concrete processes of the material world) or on idealism (the ultimate effectivity of ideas on action). The choice is between concrete explanations or abstract explanations. This is not a false dichotomy erected for polemical ends. Historically, philosophical and scientific movements have always clashed on this issue. Political movements of the last 400 years have also used this problem for a clash of ideologies. Similarly contemporary discussions on method have focussed on the materialism/idealism dichotomy (see Cornforth 1953, Thompson 1978). This chapter will attempt to lay out the different systems of explanation that materialism and idealism lead to and their implications for social action. The existing approaches to the study of sport will then be

examined on these criteria. Finally the method that this paper attempts to utilize, that of dialectical materialism, will be examined.

Cornforth (1953) argues that "materialism and idealism are not two opposed abstract theories about the nature of the world...They are opposed ways of interpreting and understanding every question, and consequently, they express opposite approaches in practice and lead to very different conclusions in terms of practical activity" (p. 17). For idealism the determining causes of social action are ideas, so that material actions are explained by something spiritual. For materialism everything spiritual is ultimately explained by material factors. The differences between materialism and idealism should not be thought of as merely a crude dichotomy, for obviously materialists recognize the role of ideas in social action, just as the idealists recognize the role of material factors. The basic and fundamental disagreements concern what lies at the root of social action. Cornforth contrasts the main assertions of idealism and materialism. Firstly, idealism asserts that material factors are dependent on ideas, whereas materialism argues that everything that exists develops in accordance with the laws of motion of matter. Secondly, idealism argues that ideas exist in separation from matter,

whereas materialism posits the connection and dialectical unity of the two with ideas being a product of material forces. Thirdly, idealism argues that that which can not be perceived is unknowable whereas materialism believes that the world and its laws are knowable and that there are no unknowable spheres of reality.

Obviously there are varieties of idealism and materialism, but there is not space here for a detailed analysis of the different forms they have taken in specific historical periods. It is enough to briefly stress here that historically idealism has tended to be associated with reactionary movements whose main interests have been the maintenance of the status quo, whereas materialism has been associated with progressive movements for objective change. For example, the transition from feudalism to capitalism and the shift of power from the feudal nobility to the bourgeoisie saw a fundamental change in the dominant ideological perspective away from the "divine right" thesis. The rise of capitalism was inevitably accompanied by a demand for greater scientific knowledge so that the development of modern forms of materialism can be directly traced back to the capitalist revolution. Bacon, Locke and Hobbes established, and respectively developed, the system of mechanistic materialism (Selsam and Martel 1963, p. 57). In the early development of capitalism thus the

bourgeoisie articulated the domination of being over thought, but it was an explicitly bourgeois form of materialism (Cornforth 1953, p. 31) that because of its mechanistic and linear view of causation led to the postulation of a "prime mover". It could not explain development in material terms. Thus at root bourgeois materialism was ultimately metaphysical and idealistic. As capitalism developed and the bourgeoisie came to an accommodation with the feudal aristocracy and thus lost its impetus as the progressive revolutionary class, its dominant ideology shifted from materialism to subjective idealism. Movements that are interested in maintaining the status quo have always used explanations that base the causes of social action in ideas. Berkeley, Hume and Kant were the important names in this reactionary movement where the relation between thought and being was not only turned upside down but where the very possibility of any cognition of the world was called into question. In contrast to this Hegel's idealism not only recognized the possibility of a correct cognition of the world but through the use of dialectics he was able to provide the tools which Marx would use to explain social change.¹ It is impossible of course to summarize the history of modern philosophy in a paragraph. It has been the intention here to merely point to idealism as a system of thought associated with dominant classes

and characterized by a metaphysical view of reality and to materialism as a system of thought associated with progressive and ascendent classes interested in social change.

Within capitalism there are two main standpoints } two views
 from which material reality can be viewed - from the
 position of the capitalist class or from the position of
 the proletariat. These reflect the contrasts that were
 posited above between idealism (dominant class) and materi-
 alism (ascendent class). The aim of theorizing from either
 of these positions is to ultimately affect social conditions
 through human action (or inaction). "Hence what constitutes
 the object of reflection is not only the real object of
action but action itself (class struggle), the position of
 a certain class in the historical process, its relation-
 ship with other classes" (Hahn 1978, p. 64). Human action
 thus is an element of the action of class and as ideology
 is related to action this explains why the same social
 reality can be depicted differently by different social
 classes. Bourgeois theorists have traditionally not
 recognized this link and have tended to separate fact from
 value and assert the duality of the two. Even when the
 two have been recognized as inseparable the idealist basis
 of positivism has led to relativism. On the other hand,

Buhr writes, "the relationship between dialectics, ideology and methodology presents an interwoven whole, a complex. As such it is the philosophical-ideological foundation of any genuine scientific realization" (1978, p. 23). It is argued here that one can be both partisan and objective.

Thus, the practice of the bourgeoisie leads to reproduction whereas the practice (praxis) of the proletariat leads to transformation. The analysis of the bourgeois class is static, metaphysical, undialectical. It denies the class nature and the transitoriness of capitalism. Its basis is idealism and not materialism. It seeks to preserve the existing system and thus has no interest in the actual structure and laws governing it. The dialectical relationship between legitimation and capital accumulation inform their position. The proletariat on the other hand stresses the overcoming of capitalist relations of production and the establishment of a classless society. To do so its knowledge has to include uncovering the conditions and laws of historical development of the proletariat, to show the class nature of capitalism is temporary. The development of dialectical thought, the uncovering of reality, the discovery of the logic of history ensures that to fulfill its historical mission the proletariat has to properly understand the laws governing the development of

capitalism. Only by so knowing can it be transformed. The distinction between the different conceptions of practice ensure that only from the standpoint of the proletariat can an objective reflection of reality be achieved. Only a proper understanding of the dialectical structures of existence, of ontology, can lead to true reflection. Thus reflection is critical, active, understands motion, foresees change and sees the transitory nature of everything. This is objective because this is how the history of the world has evolved. Metaphysics leads to idealism, to mysticism. Dialectical materialism leads to objectivity, to enlightenment. Past history has shown that progressive movements are ultimately tied up with materialism for real change can only be material. Early capitalist ideology was materialist. Late capitalist ideology is idealist. The former was objective for it was the ideology of a class which had used it as the basis of change. Because it had an adequate understanding of reality the bourgeoisie were able to transcend the feudal nobility. Similarly the proletariat is progressive. Change can only be based on a proper understanding of capitalism. An additional feature of working class ideology is that it is not based on naked interest. It does not wish only to represent the interests of the proletariat. It seeks instead to abolish interests based on class. It seeks a classless society. Whereas

bourgeois ideology seeks to preserve class interest (the bourgeoisie can only exist in opposition to the proletariat) working class ideology seeks to abolish that distinction. It seeks to eliminate both bourgeois and proletarian. One cannot exist without the other. Dialectical materialism in that sense is truly objective since it is not based strictly on the preservation of an interest of class. It is not as relativists would have us believe a simple opposition of interests.

Although idealism is a system which "only the blind could have invented" (Engels), it is none the less very difficult to refute in logical and rational terms. Ruben (1977) argues that the choice between materialism and idealism is not an "epistemological" choice but a "political choice to be made on class allegiance" (p. 109). However, although the priority of material factors cannot be proved it can be justified in that materialism maintains the premise of human activity as the basis of philosophical action. Philosophy is not abstract but is linked with material factors through practice.

The attempt in this section has been to lay out materialism and idealism as totally opposed ways of looking at the world, which lead to different explanations of social change and which historically have been associated with respectively progressive and reactionary classes.

Also it was stressed that only a materialist approach will lead to a true understanding of the processes of advanced capitalism. This introduction will serve as a framework against which the critique of existing approaches will be carried out.

II. Existing Approaches - A Critique:

In this section the existing approaches to the study of sport will be examined and critiqued. Two main schools are recognized, positivism and functionalism, as well as a less popular approach which will be labelled the neo-Weberian view.

(a) Positivism - The Example of "Stacking"

Positivism as a philosophical position has been heavily criticized as being idealist (Cornforth 1950). The school of systematic empiricism that has been so dominant in American sociology has also suffered a heavy attack (Willer and Willer 1973). The attempt here is to very briefly lay out the objectives of positivist analysis and then to examine the answers that the positivist sociology of sport has given to the specific problem of "stacking" (racial concentrations in certain positions) in American sports. Keat and Urry have stressed how observable entities have been ontologically privileged in the philosophy

of positivism and of how the predominant concern of American social science since the 1930's has,

"been the establishment of general laws of social life from which empirically testable consequences can be derived; operationalizing concepts such that they refer to the observable and especially to the measureable; and the statistical manipulation of naively collected and organized empirical data. Facts are sharply distinguished from both values and theories: facts, particularly statistical facts, are neutral between different theories."
(p. 90)

Thus the major concern has been to operationalize theoretical concepts into measureable observables and the collation of these measurements. This is in opposition to the dialectical materialist stress on going beyond appearance to the essence of phenomenon (see below). For example, Marxism does not identify the term class with the existence of inequalities in wealth, status, income, etc., for these are being posited as being the effects of class structures. The positivist view of class however views these observable inequalities as being the meaning of class and class is defined as aggregates of individuals who are differentiated in terms of certain demographic and social factors. "The focus is on the individual and analysis is made of the various dimensions along which the individual is located."
(Keat and Urry 1975, p. 95)

Although the sociology of sport is a young sub-discipline that has not yet "come in from the cold" (Loy et al 1979) as regards its development, evolution and acceptance as an academic speciality, it is already characterized by a fairly heavy positivist stance. The most prominent of the new sport sociologists are Gerald Kenyon and John Loy, who in keeping with the bourgeois liberal tradition maintained that "sport sociology...is a value free social science. It is not an effort to influence public opinion or behaviour...The sport sociologist is neither a spreader of gospel, nor an evangelist for exercise. His function is not to shape attitudes and values but rather to describe them and explain them" (1968, p. 38). Thus, ideology has no place in the sociology of sport. It has already been mentioned that this paper regards this as a manifestly mistaken assumption. (See Buhr 1978, Hahn 1978, and Marx 1956 for a further exposition of this argument.) It is enough to mention that to be neutral is a commitment to the status quo and is to "celebrate the present" (C. Wright Mills). It is to view society from the viewpoint of the bourgeoisie. As such its relation to practice is one of reaction.

One of the ways that positivism uses sport is to view it as a social activity through which wider social roles and behaviour can be located. To show the kinds of answers that positivism provides what will be examined here

are the explanations that it provides for the phenomenon of "stacking" in American sports. Loy et al (1978) have produced a book called Sport and Social Systems which is a summary of the literature in the sociology of sport and is "flavoured by a neo-positivistic bias". This work, as it does claim to bring together the existing, largely positivistic, material, will be used to locate how American social science has explained the differential distribution by race of players within professional football and baseball teams. Loy and McElvogue (1970) argue that in baseball and football, players of different races (blacks/whites) are concentrated in certain positions. Using the categories of the sociology of formal organizations the positions on the field were classified according to whether they were primary or supporting and central or peripheral. More blacks were found to be stacked in the supporting and reactive positions on the periphery and more whites occupied the central and proactive positions. Since then, other studies and replications of this have found that this relationship still holds (see Loy et al 1978, p. 149-51); i.e., there are very few black catchers, quarterbacks or middle linebackers, while they are vastly overrepresented at outfield positions in baseball and at the wide receiver and half back in football. Loy et al sum up: "the preceding review of research regarding positional segregation within

sports organizations illustrates clearly that black athletes are markedly overrepresented at particular playing positions" (p. 151). They then go on to examine the explanations that have been advanced for this.

The first set of explanations examined are biological ones where racial variations are posited to account for segregation. Loy et al criticize these studies on the grounds that: there is little evidence that the discovered racial differences affect athletic performance; that the reported physical differences of black and white athletes may offset one another; that the reported differences are mean differences and do not reflect the wide overlap of characteristics between blacks and whites and the within group variations of blacks and whites; and lastly that these studies have rarely been based on adequate samples.

The second set of explanations were based on psychological answers and centered on the Worthy-Markle hypothesis that whites excel at self paced activities "where the individual responds when he chooses, to a relatively static or unchanging stimulus" whereas blacks excelled at reactive activities, "where the individual must respond appropriately and at the right time to changes in the stimulus situation". Loy et al report that data in support of this are inconclusive and do not explain why

blacks are underrepresented in reactive sports such as motor racing, fencing, skiing, squash and tennis.

The third set of explanations were sociopsychological ones that argued that the socialization practices of blacks and whites were different and that the choice of positions of individuals is based on affiliation to different role models. Thus Jones and Hochner argue that black athletes emphasize individualism, put a stress on stylistic or expressive performance rather than technical, and reflect a personalized power orientation. Further this approach posits a minority-group socialization model where "black youth would seek to play the specific sport roles occupied by blacks in professional sports who have attained a high level of achievement and therefore visibility" (p. 154). This type of explanation thus posits segregation as a self-initiated activity. An extension of this in economic terms argues that black athletes select those positions that offer the greatest opportunity for individual achievement, prestige, popularity and financial gain. However this self-selecting model does not explain the underrepresentation of blacks in the high paying positions of catcher, pitcher and quarterback.

Lastly, Loy et al examine sociocultural explanations which explain segregation as the effect of discrimination processes. One set of sociocultural explanations are

based on a theory of social stereotypes where coaches associate the skills necessary for playing certain positions with the racial characteristics of players. A second set of these explanations focus on concepts of social interaction and social distance which Loy et al summarize as:

- "Axiom 1 Discrimination leads to personal contact
- Axiom 2 Personal contact leads to social interaction
- Axiom 3 Social interaction leads to centrality
- Axiom 4 Discrimination leads to centrality."

which predicts that blacks will be overrepresented in those positions characterized by distant, spatial location, low rates of interaction and the performance of independent tasks. Here it is discrimination by management that leads to positional segregation.

Thus in answer to the question "how is positional segregation by race to be explained?" American positivist social science has come up with various explanations (the biological answer is dismissed as scientifically inadequate) that emphasize psychological, sociopsychological and socio-cultural factors. The uniting theme is that all these explanations are ultimately rooted in individual behaviour and ideology. As such racism in sport is explained in explicitly idealist terms. As such it is not false per se

but incomplete and inadequate. The vital question of the production of ideas is not even posed. Thus instead of ideas being seen in relation to material factors and as being products of them (Marx 1956) ideas are abstracted and held to be the ultimate cause of material forces (consider the political implications of this as an explanation of poverty or unemployment). The reactionary and conservative nature of idealist answers has already been referred to above and becomes increasingly clear with this example. An attempt to stop discrimination thus would start by trying to change things in the minds of individuals and would not even attempt to relate this to changes in material conditions. Action thus is abstract and not concrete, it is based on mystical conceptions of human nature, and as such presents no danger to the existing material status quo. A truly adequate attempt to understand positional segregation (racism) in sport, on the other hand, would have to pose and answer fundamental questions such as, for example, "why does racism exist within capitalist society?", "what functions does it perform for the social complex?", "what is the material basis and economic function of racial segregation?", "what are the results of racial segregation on the sportsfield or in society in general in terms of ideology?", and "in whose interests does racism operate?".

In the piecemeal positivist approach the fragmentation of social life leads to the miscomprehension of superficial appearance for the essence of social phenomenon. A dialectical materialist analysis would stress the placing of this problem in the relational context of the material and ideological reproduction of capitalist relations of production (see Sivanandan 1975, Baran and Sweezy 1966. Also see Chapter 7 of the present paper). In the positivist approach structural features of society are misunderstood as individual moral action and the appearance is mistaken for the essence.

Marx has often been quoted as insisting that if appearance and reality were not separate there would be no need for scientific inquiry. Marxism seeks, if necessary to go beyond appearance to the essential relations of the social world. Bourgeois political and social science accepts only the appearance. This is not to argue that appearance is not real. It is very real and forms the concrete framework within which humans interact. But it is not the essential (see Chapter 6). The distinction that Marxists draw is between appearance and essence. By extending the definition of observable to include viewing things in their relations a dialectical materialist approach is as empirical and concrete as a positivist approach, and yields more information about the essential

nature of the phenomena under study. Positivism rejects "non-observable relations" as part of scientific inquiry because of their stress on empirical and reductionist verification. Keat and Urry argue that,

"Adequate explanations require the discovery both of regular relations between phenomena and of some kind of mechanism that links them. So, in explaining any particular phenomenon, we must not only make reference to those events which initiate the process of change; we must also give a description of the process itself. To do this we need knowledge of the underlying mechanism and structures that are present, and of the manner in which they generate or produce the phenomenon they are trying to explain. In describing these mechanisms and structures we will often, in effect, be characterizing the 'nature', 'essence' or 'inner constitution' of various types of entities...The realist view of explanation can be conveniently summarized in the claim that answers to why-questions (that is requests for causal explanations) require answers to how-and-what questions. Thus if asked why something occurs, we must show how some event or change brings about a new state of affairs by describing the way in which the structures and mechanisms that are present respond to the initial change. To do this it is necessary to discover what the entities involved are: to discover their essences or natures."
(Keat and Urry 1975, p. 30-31)

The positivist answers examined above locate the ultimate causes inside the minds of people. A materialist answer would seek to place this "phenomenal world" of the positivists within the structures of the capitalist mode of production that ensure its reproduction.

(b) Functionalism:

Another major perspective within the American sociology of sport has been that associated with functionalism, an influential approach within American social science in general. There is not space here for a really adequate exposition of functional analysis (see J. Turner 1974 for this). While it is recognized that there are two major perspectives (systems theory and item-centered) within this approach, certain features are shared that allow them to be treated as one. For Turner the common features are summarized as,

- "(1) Functionalists are interested in the state of social wholes or larger social contexts.
- (2) They view the importance of a part within a more inclusive system or context in terms of what it does for the social whole.
- (3) They have various criterion - overall contribution to integration, classes of equilibrium mechanisms, or survival requisites - for classifying structures and for isolating their effects upon the social whole.
- (4) Causal analysis is focused on how variation in parts, singularly or in combination with other parts, affect the states of the social whole. These are the common features of the functional analysis and they are what make it unique."
(Turner 1974, p. 104)

Loy et al (1978) in their final chapter deal with the basically functional approaches that have examined how

sport is related to other social institutions and how it is related to culture. (It is important to stress again that functionalism, although it will be critiqued on fairly fundamental matters, is not regarded as providing necessarily wrong answers but merely incomplete ones. Indeed there is a fairly strong functionalist element to the present paper but it has been integrated into an explicit framework where the weaknesses that will be mentioned have been eliminated.) Loy et al locate the way that "sport is thought to serve the primary institutional order of society" (p. 382) in terms of four different functions. Firstly, sport symbolizes the ideal expectations concerning morals and works to control the deviant behaviour of the young. Secondly, sport reveals in a fairly concrete manner the abstract values of high aspiration. Thirdly, sport ensures that the competitive ethos underlying the success ideology is easily understandable. Fourthly, sport acts as an agent of integration in identifying a common life style. These four functions are then analyzed as they relate to the connection that sport has with various other institutions of society. Educational institutions are argued as using sport to control rebellious youths and provide concrete examples of the goals of that institution. Similar analogies are drawn between the competitive nature of sport and the economic order and of how

sport seeks to socialize people into patterns of consumption and production. The way that the military has used sport for both instrumental and ideological purposes is also mentioned. Finally the use of sports language by political figures is chronicled. Loy et al sum up: "From a functionalist perspective with Marxist overtones (sic) the case has been made that the success ideology of the social institution of sport propagates the value of high aspiration and thus acts as a form of manipulative socialization that ensures acceptance of the dominant values of American culture by members of society at large." (p. 392)

Broadly, a Marxist approach can accept all of the statements of the above paragraph as basically correct. The problem with functionalism however is that from a dialectical materialist viewpoint it is a fundamentally incomplete mode of analysis. As such functionalism has been fairly substantially criticized for uncritically assuming the existence of consensus, difficulty or inability to account for process and change, and an implicit conservatism that accepts and supports the status quo (see Gouldner 1970). Because functionalism is concerned with merely describing how a system maintains itself and the role of its institutions in this it does not trace the origins of the system back to their material (in this case capitalist) base. If this were attempted it would be seen

that the appearance of consensus is merely an ideological device that hides the class nature (essence) of capitalism as a mode of production. The extraction of surplus value and relative surplus value defines why consensus needs to be constructed as it does. Consensus and equilibrium are not the basis of capitalism - conflict and disequilibrium are. By dealing with only systems maintenance and not asking how the ideas that are to be maintained arise functional analysis deals with only appearance (even when talking of latent functions). An adequate analysis would on the other hand explain why social norms arise as they do, the material basis of reproduction and how changing material conditions result in different functional requisites that have to be met. For example, Balbus (1973, 1975) has also observed processes by which sports aid in the work process and in political activity but his analysis is more complete because he situates it in an historical materialist framework whereby changes initiated by the process of extraction of surplus value lead to sports playing an increasing role in ideological processes (see Chapter 7). Thus Balbus is able to explain why it is only recently that sports have become increasingly important. Because dialectical materialism recognizes that all things change, because of factors internal to them, it is a theory that can explain development, process and motion.

All things contain within themselves the seed of their own destruction (even a chair will eventually crumble into dust) and it is the search for these dialectical oppositions that gives Marxism a tool by which it can understand the laws of motion of capitalism or any social system. By looking to its origins by pinpointing the central structural mechanisms that lead to not only reproductions but progress, Marxism is a dynamic mode of analysis that recognizes itself as a part of the process of history. The functionalists have no such perspective and do not even pose these as important questions. As such they are unable to account for process or change and thus their analysis remains static. Also by remaining at the level of ideas their descriptions are idealist in nature. The preservation of ideas leads to and is at the root of societal reproduction. By not examining the material conditions of the production of ideology, their explanations are abstract and mystical. In their analysis the conflict perspective disappears into a vague societal consensus (see Dahrendorf 1959). The concrete, historical, social, cultural and conflictual process whereby institutions are moulded disappears. It is interesting to note that Loy et al, talk not of capitalism (a specific) but society (a general). The structural-functional position has much to recommend it as a partial position. But devoid of contradiction and process it

remains merely metaphysical. That is how American social science has used it, abstracting a partial position from a wider framework and making that position the whole approach.

As a result of this functionalism is also at root conservative and a supporter of the status quo. Merton (1949) has argued that functionalism is neither intrinsically conservative or radical but is "value free", and Gans (1972) has sought to demonstrate this by an analysis of the functions of poverty. By coming to conclusions "very similar" (sic) to radical sociologists, Gans argues that functionalism is proved not to be conservative but neutral. He writes,

"In one sense, my analysis is, however, neutral; if one makes no judgement as to whether poverty ought to be eliminated - and if one can subsequently avoid being accused of acquiescing in poverty - then the analysis suggests only that poverty exists because it is useful to many groups in society. If one favours the elimination of poverty, however, then the analysis can have a variety of political implications, depending in part on how completely it is carried out." (p. 287 original emphasis)

Although Gans does recognize many of the functions of poverty he locates the poor in terms of demographic variables (income, education) by which they are contrasted to the rich. His poor are seen as a part of social stratification

and not class exploitation. By not recognizing how poverty is produced and how the relation between poor and rich is ultimately one of economic exploitation the only form of change his analysis suggests is change within the existing structures, i.e., a redistribution of wealth within capitalism. As he says himself the political implications of functional analysis depend on how completely the study is carried out. Because his study is incomplete for the reasons that were indicated above it remains conservative, incapable of envisaging real change. In this we can agree with Gouldner (1970) who argues that functionalism is not necessarily pro-capitalist but just conservative in general. He writes, "Although it does not quite see how to go forward, or toward what, Functionalism is not 'reactionary' in its intent. It does not believe in going back. Functionalists are not Pollyanas who see no fault in the status quo. But neither do they see possibilities of a future significantly different from the present" (p. 333). Because it is non-developmental and static it is implicitly conservative. As such functionalism suffers from a metaphysic defect, committed as it is to the value of order and not disorder.

One of the defining features of at least the positivist approach is fragmentation whereby different problem areas of sport are assigned to one sub-discipline or another. Thus a sociologist interested in formal organiza-

tions looks at racial discrimination within sports while a Parsonian functionalist examines how sports are functional to the social system. But this very process means that no total critique or understanding can be constructed. At best these liberal approaches point to a few abuses and to a few calls for isolated reform. As Paul Hoch writes,

"What this usually ends up in then is a whole host of different disciplinarians - from philosophers to primitive anthropologists, busily writing away about the effect of their little copy-writer's corner of reality on sports. And in each of these little treatises, all other corners of reality are assumed to be known and static and none of them are placed in any developing historical context." (p. 14)

So Loy et al (1978) despite positing the existence of discrimination cannot even think of tying it up to questions posed above about the place, function, effects and maintenance of racism within capitalism. Similarly functionalists do not pose the question of how societal needs arise, in whose interests they arise and ultimately what the need for a solution to the "problem of pattern maintenance and tension management" implies about the society in which such needs are vital for reproduction of the social and economic complex.

The fundamental mistake that characterizes the positivist/functional approach to sports is the lack of a

distinction between essence and appearance. Marx wrote that if essence and appearance were not separate there would be no need for science. For positivism the distinguishing feature of appearance is the difficulty of measuring it. The essence of a phenomenon lies in its appearance and the only difficulty lies in constructing an adequate measuring instrument. This is a problem which Marx recognized as early as 1859 (see Preface to a Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy). What positivism does is to start from the "concrete totality" (i.e., capitalism as it already exists) and then abstracts from this the connections between different elements (e.g., racial segregation and sports). There the analysis ends. A complex reality is abstracted into simpler units. The problem lies in fact in the positivist starting point; the "concrete totality" is already the result of a complex set of relations. Bertell Ollman writes that the relations of the parts with each other "forge the contours and meaning of the whole, transform it into an ongoing system with a history, a goal and an impact" (Ollman 1973). Thus an adequate comprehension of the "concrete totality" has to consider the total sum of relations which make it up. What this entails is in fact a process that starts with capitalist reality, abstracts from this the defining features and reintegrates them to produce the real "concrete totality" in all its

relations and history. This is a process from phenomenal forms (capitalist appearance) via abstraction into units of analysis and into a reintegration of these units into the essential forms of capitalism. Both positivism and functionalism only take the first part of this process. They do not view phenomena in their total relations. As such their analysis is incomplete and ultimately distorted.

(c) Neo-Weberianism:

A third approach that has been somewhat more popular in the European based sociology of sport has been what can be termed the neo-Weberian approach (see Dunning (1972) for a good example of this). Recently, Allen Guttman has produced a work, From Ritual to Record (1978) which engages in a critique of Marxist (economic determinists) and neo-Marxist (idealist) analysis of capitalist sport and posits in opposition to this his own Weberian analysis of the development of modern sport. By producing a straw man Marxism, Guttman very convincingly demonstrates the "falsity" of the critical approach. The Marxism that he is attacking argues that different modes of production will create different kinds of sports - not different forms but completely different games. Guttman's view is that "the characteristics of modern sports are essentially invariant in every modern society, whether that society is

Liberal, socialist or communist" (p. 73). (It will be shown below how these sports are not similar.) Thus, once this assumption is made that the vital characteristics are similar, he argues that as soccer is played in a variety of countries (modes of production), and if the internal structures of the sport lead to exploitation of the working class (as he says the Marxists argue), "then it is difficult to see that the enthusiastic players of the Soviet Union are exempt from the same exploitation as those of Sao Paulo and Liverpool" (p. 71). He rejects any attempt to explain in terms of social context saying "then it is the social context that matters and not the kind of sport". This is precisely the position of this paper, that it is the social context that defines what a sport comes to mean and how it functions within a wider system. For Guttman all sports are basically the same cross-culturally in industrialized societies and the independent variable of capitalism is not enough to explain their appearance in non-capitalist modes of production (i.e., "socialist" East European societies).²

Guttman's own preference is for the Weberian interpretation of the spread of modern sports. The big difference for him is not between capitalist and non-capitalist sport but between primitive and modern sports. He writes,

"One great advantage of the Weberian model is that it enables one to see in the microcosm (modern sports) the characteristics of the macrocosm (modern society) - secularism, equality, specialization, rationalism, bureaucratic organization and quantification. These six characteristics, plus the quest for records which appears even more striking in sports than in the rest of the social order, are interdependent, systematically related elements of the ideal type of a modern society." (p. 81)

Also, Weberianism does not reduce everything to "Marxism's ever present beast in the jungle" - economic determinism.

While considering that the standard Weberian explanation by religion does not hold with regard to sports, Guttman argues that the "basic explanatory factor is the scientific world view, a world view which has since been espoused by the Japanese and by every Marxist society" (p. 85). So instead of the Protestant Ethic we have the scientific world view. This is a vital formulation for what Guttman has done is to abstract from the historical process the notion of "scientific world view" and held it constant while the social relationships around it change. Thus while it looks as though this is a material based explanation, in fact it is fundamentally idealist and metaphysical. The existence of a social phenomenon (sports) is now seen to be caused by an abstraction. Thus it is not socialism, capitalism or even a vague industrialization

that explains the prevalence of modern sports, but the scientific world view. By positing "socialist" states and capitalist states in similar terms in relation to industrialization Guttman's analysis is, even at a material level, incapable of looking at process. By further abstracting the determining cause of social action away from this concrete base Guttman's "materialist" metaphysics is transformed into an idealist metaphysics. There is nothing in his explanatory framework that can explain change and process.

However Guttman's criticisms seem superficially powerful and any critical analysis will have to deal with them. The most important one concerns the occurrence of the same sport in different social systems. Thus Guttman argues that soccer exists in similar form in the Soviet Union, Britain and Brazil. This is a fundamental and basic mistake. While superficial content may be the same the form is different. Although the rules are the same the soccer played on a Rio beach and that played next to a coal mine in Barnsley, England, are different forms of cultural adaptation within a dominant framework to different conditions of exploitation. In Brazil soccer plays the role of an escape, both ideologically and for a few financially, from the ghettos and shanty towns of the urban concentrations. In England traditionally soccer has come to symbolize and stand for a celebration of communality within working class

culture (see Lever 1969, Taylor 1972). But it seems that Guttman does not want to speak in these specifics. It is precisely the explanation that he rejects (on what grounds it is unclear) that furnishes the crucial element here - the social context, i.e., the relations within which things are located. Put briefly, the Marxist notion of internal relations posits that phenomena are not defined by their external appearances but rather by their internal relations with other phenomena. For example, the term wage labour is impossible to understand without reference to capital. Similarly with soccer: although it is possible to superficially describe it in terms of rules, that will be nowhere near an adequate comprehension of it in its relations.

To demonstrate the need to view things in their relations a North American/Japanese comparison will be used. Superficially it is possible to see that both the USA and Japan have baseball as a professional sport. Guttman would argue that here are two societies who have a scientific world view who play the same game. However Guttman would miss the essence of how the games are integrated into the respective societies and thus miss the real meaning of the games. Each activity is defined within the social relations in which it exists (for baseball see Loy et al 1978, p. 299). Andreano (1965) has argued that baseball in Japan reflects a traditional pattern of group

loyalty and a strong social organization, and Whiting (1979) reports a former American player of the sport in Japan as saying, "I don't know what they play here. All I know is it ain't baseball".

"Baseball, Japanese style, is not the same game that is played in the US. Since adopting the sport the Japanese have changed it around to incorporate the values of samuri discipline, respect for authority and devotion to the group. The result is a uniquely Japanese game, one that offers the clearest expression among all sports of Japan's national character.

Like the American game the Nippon version is played with a bat and ball. The same rulebook is also used, but that's where the resemblance between the two ends." (Robert Whiting 1979, p. 62)

Whiting goes on to describe professional baseball differences from training to decision making ("the average Japanese game is more like a board meeting at Mitsubishi than an athletic event. As each new situation arises, there is so much discussion on the field among the managers, coaches and players that most games last three hours.") Players hold much more subservient roles in relation to their clubs. Losing managers are seldom fired outright but go through an elaborate ritual designed to save face. Individualism is frowned upon and the concept of the team is supreme. Managers and coaches have total authority. Temper outbursts, something accepted in the US, are viewed

as incursions against team spirit. In the US team spirit counts for nothing; individualism is king and winning the only acceptable result. The point being stressed here is that these seemingly similar games in seemingly similar modes of production are defined as completely different because of the social context. The mode of production that a truly adequate Marxist analysis would utilize is much more complex than Guttman's simple characterization and would stress the important roles played by both culture and ideology in giving meaning to social phenomena while still giving ultimate effectivity to the economic (see next section). We have seen how a detailed analysis of two capitalist societies results in social phenomena being defined differently. An analysis of two different modes of production might lead to even greater differences being discovered. Thus the fundamental differences between Guttman's approach and a dialectical materialist approach are based on the fact that ultimately the former explains material factors by reference to abstractions ("spirit of the age"), that it is unable to account for process, that it analyses mere appearance and not essence, and that it has an inadequate conception of how social phenomena are given meaning within particular social formations.

It has been suggested above that Guttman is merely dealing with appearance and that for essence to be

revealed these surface phenomena have to be examined in their full relations. A cross cultural approach at the level of appearance does not even attempt to get to the true meaning of phenomena. In relation to this many non-Marxists respond to the Marxist critique of capitalist sports with "yes, this is all very well but what about sport in the Soviet Union, what about Eastern Europe, what about Cuba, etc." The logic of their argument goes that if sports are used by the socialist State in a similar manner to the way that the capitalist class use them then the independent variable of capitalism is not enough to explain their nature in America. It has already been indicated that this is considered an inadequate form of explanation. Firstly, for the cross societal comparison to be made we must have full knowledge of the conditions of both societies and a proper understanding of the integration of phenomenon within these relations. This involves discovering the essences of both societies. It is clear that liberal critics of the Eastern European societies do not attempt this. It has already been shown that even similar seeming phenomena within capitalist societies can be given different meaning depending on cultural and ideological factors. Secondly, for any valid comparison to be made it should be shown that what the system capitalism is being compared with is qualitatively a new phenomenon -

i.e., that the Soviet Union is truly socialist. Braverman (1974) has argued that the Soviet Union is not a socialist society and its history since 1917 has seen repeated retreats from the original revolutionary objectives. Soviet industrialization is not that different from capitalist industrialization. The socialist society with which comparisons could be made as yet does not exist anywhere. Braverman writes in arguing for the specificity of analysis,

"Every society is a moment in the historical process, and can be grasped only as a part of that process. Capitalism, a social form, when it exists in time, space, population and history, weaves a web of myriad threads; the conditions of its existence form a complex network each of which presupposes many others. It is because of this solid and tangible existence, this concrete form produced by history, no part of which may be changed by artificial suppositions without doing violence to its true mode of existence - it is precisely because of this that it appears to us 'natural', 'inevitable' and 'eternal'. And it is only in this sense, as a fabric woven over centuries, that we may say that capitalism 'produced' the present capitalist mode of production. This is a far cry from a ready made formula which enables us to 'deduce' from a given state of technology a given mode of social organization." (1974, p. 22)

Each mode of production is thus historically specific and can only be understood in that light. All that can be said about the cross-cultural approach at present is that the study of the role of sports in the Soviet Union would

be an interesting topic but has no direct relevance to the study here of American sports. History is a crucial factor that cannot be ignored. Thus because Japan has a completely different history to the USA capitalist development took a different form. Seemingly similar social phenomena are adapted in different ways. Thirdly, even if appearances are to be compared as valid measures, care must be taken to compare the whole of the social phenomenon under study. Thus although it seems that sports in "socialist" societies play a socializing role (which seems to be more instrumental than ideological), it is clear that nowhere has sports been integrated into the total material structures of accumulation and growth as it has been in the USA. Even comparisons therefore at this superficial level are not valid and do not tell us very much. What they tell us broadly is that the total integration of sports into the material and ideological structures of reproduction have been accomplished in a very specific and precise manner in the development of American capitalism.

In summary, this section has sought to examine the ways that the dominant schools of American social science have looked at sports and found them to be inadequate on a number of points. In particular they were argued to suffer from idealism, fragmentation, metaphysics and an inability to separate essence and appearance. The next

section will be an outline of the method that avoids these pitfalls and forms the methodological/epistemological framework of the present paper - i.e., dialectical materialism.

III. Dialectical Method and Epistemology:

The critique of the existing approaches has already suggested some of the main themes of a dialectical materialist approach. In addition and in summary it can be said that a dialectical materialist account would emphasize a materialist based analysis, the importance of viewing class struggle as the driving force of societal development, an understanding and application of dialectics, the need to view social phenomena relationally, an awareness of the distinction between essence and appearance and a recognition of the effectivity of culture and ideology within a particular mode of production.

Any approach that pretends to science has to formulate and answer the question, "what is the basis of social action?" Dialectical materialism posits that the basis of social action lies in the objective material conditions of existence, i.e., before we can think, talk, paint, play, etc., we have to be able to reproduce ourselves physically, we have to live. Marx in a famous passage wrote,

"The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness." (1968, p. 181)

The capitalist mode of production and the processes of the extraction of surplus value thus form a starting point for a dialectical analysis, followed by the property relations that this has given rise to. These property relations have also been termed relations of production and together with the forces of production form the main elements of a mode of production. An approach that stresses itself as dynamic and progressive and that explains social action in material terms must have a clear notion of what it is that is the motor of development within capitalism. Marx pinpointed this as the class struggle which is the framework within which the relationship between the relations and forces of production is worked out. The development of the forces of production is regulated by the relations of production. In advanced capitalism the two come together as contradictory forces in the production of relative surplus value (see Braverman 1974). It is the struggle between the two major classes of capitalism that determine the form that this will take. This analysis will concentrate on the nature of class struggle within the expanding capitalist

economy, the class struggle over the early definition and direction of sports, the forms of control that were necessitated as more and more of the working class became established in urban centres, and as ever expanding forms of control on the job necessitated structures outside of work to deal with the class tensions created. Class struggle will be viewed both within sports and also in terms of how sports reacted to the wider contradictions that arose out of the exploitative conditions of an expanding American capitalism.

One of the major criticisms made of the positivist and functional approaches was that they were unable to explain change and development. Dialectical materialism in response to this problem has formulated some general laws of motion. This is not an attempt to impose some arbitrary categorization on reality. Cunningham writes, "In fact, dialectics is not a pre-conceived scheme, but a theory evolved by philosophers over several centuries and tested in everyday experience and science. Like any theory it is subject to change" (1978, p. 148). It is not a substitute for science but a guide to it. Engels wrote in his Dialectics of Nature that the most important laws were the "transformation of quantity to quality - mutual penetration of polar opposites and the transformation into each other when carried to extremes - development

through contradiction or negation - spiral form of development." (in Ollman 1976, p. 54)

The first law, the transformation of quantity into quality, means that as a thing undergoes quantitative change, at a certain point it will also undergo a qualitative shift. Engels gives the example of water which when heated and getting hotter and hotter will turn from water into steam. A more concrete example is that of money. The starting point of money is not money but commodities, its very opposite. Without products that have to be exchanged money cannot come to be itself. Even the mere existence of commodities is not enough for money only becomes necessary when the exchange of use values is mediated through money and by the existence of a multitude of exchangeable acts, whereby one use value cannot be directly exchanged for another use value. So we can see that the development of money is dependent on its opposite, the commodity, and is dependent on a qualitative shift that is rooted in the quantitative change of the latter. But the dialectical development of money does not cease here. As money spreads through society it begins to change all economic relations such that everything becomes exchangeable for it. It produces its opposite in everything so that even human labour power becomes a commodity. This quantification itself leads to the qualitative shift to a higher form of

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as
commodity

money, capital, which itself takes on other forms. In its turn as this develops quantitatively, it will unleash contradictions that will lead to its abolition - another qualitative shift into socialism. Flux and motion are clearly seen here. This stress on qualitative shift based on quantitative change is vital. Thus money in the Roman Empire and money in capitalism are not qualitatively the same phenomenon. Their surrounding relations define them in different ways.

The second dialectical law is that of the mutual penetration of polar opposites. This has already been hinted at in the first law. Lenin writes that the unity of opposites is "the recognition (discovery) of the contradictory, mutually exclusive, opposite tendencies in all phenomena and processes of nature (including mind and society). The condition for the knowledge of all processes of the world in their 'self-movement', in their spontaneous development, in their real life, is the knowledge of them as a unity of opposites. Development is the 'struggle' of opposites" (S&M p. 131). Thus within each object is contained its opposite. As A is A so it is also not A. The development of A will lead to its opposite. Hegel wrote that development is based on the negative which is within the thing. Thus as feudalism grew out of slave society so it gave birth within itself, to its negation,

capitalism. The birth of capitalism thus can be seen as a struggle between feudalism and its opposite, capitalism, in which capitalism won. But just as it developed from struggle so it developed within itself its own opposite, socialism - its own negation. This is what is meant by the negation of the negation. The mutual penetration of opposites is only a transitional form, their conflict is absolute.

The third law has also been hinted at, "development through contradiction". As each thing contains its opposite, development comes through their conflict, as quantity changes to quality. Engels writes that,

"Motion itself is a contradiction: even simple mechanical change of place can only come about through a body at one and the same time being both in one place and also not in it. And the continuous assertion and simultaneous solution of this contradiction is precisely what motion is." (Selsam and Martel 1963, p. 118)

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As soon as contradiction stops we have death. Ollman states contradiction in a more complex manner. For him the temporal relations of an entity are its relations with its past and future and these are seen as its component parts. Every component of an entity is itself a Relation (i.e., is made up of internal relations) "whose development is a function of the particular configuration of circumstances

in which it stands. It is the result of all these different developments (viewed as occurring within the entity) that determine what the entity as a whole will become. 'Contradiction' is a way of referring to the fact that not all such developments are compatible". (Ollman 1976, p. 56).

The fourth law is also hinted at in the others. Change is not linear, but "spiral". Development is not free from all retarding influences. The new entity creates its own negation. Ollman sums up these laws of dialectics.

"Each entity with which Marx came into contact was viewed as internally related to numerous others in a setting that was forever fluctuating; it was seen as something which experiences qualitative change with an alteration at some point in quantity; as something which appears quite different, even the opposite, of what it does now when looked at from another angle of for another purpose; and as something which progresses through repeated conflicts between its parts, conflicts that are taken to constitute a series of reactions against what went before." (Ollman 1976, p. 58).

Thus the organization of reality is seen within a dialectical framework where things are in flux and motion, developing through contradiction into qualitatively new phenomena.

One of the other points that was stressed in the critique of the existing approaches was that things should always be viewed in their relations. Ollman writes of Marx,

"The twin pillars of Marx's ontology are his conception of reality as a totality composed of internally related parts, and his conception of these as expandable relations, such that each in its fullness can represent the totality. Few people would deny that everything in the world is related as causes, conditions or results: and many insist that the world is unintelligible except in terms of such relations. Marx goes a step further in conceptually interiorizing his interdependence within each thing, so that the conditions of its existence are taken to be a part of what it is." (1973, p. 495)

In this the whole as well as being made up of its relations is reflected in its constituent parts. Whereas traditional sociology cannot progress past bourgeois forms and relations, dialectical materialism sees that the internal relations that made up a concept change as the external relations of which it forms a part also change. Ollman suggests that there should be a change of focus from the traditional viewing of related factors to viewing the particular way they are related in each factor. Thus this relation should be thought of as a part of the meaning of the concept. The discussion on the neo-Weberian approach should be of relevance here. Although Ollman's approach is very attractive it should be stressed that these Relations are not all equal - some reflect the whole more fully than others. That is why Marx spent so long searching for the commodity as his starting point. Into Ollman's framework should be introduced asymmetrical relations. Ruben

(1977) has argued that a materialist analysis must give a priority to one side of the relationship, otherwise there could be serious problems regarding the materialist/idealism dichotomy. Thus while working within the internal relations framework it should be remembered that these relations are both reciprocal and asymmetrical.

George Novak (1971) analyses the notion of essence and appearance in relation to these dialectical laws. For metaphysical thinkers "essence" is something absolute and unchanging while its appearances are in flux and movement, e.g., human nature is an absolute whilst its appearances are diverse. For them "essence" has no beginning, no growth and no death. The dialectic explanation of the relation between essence and appearance differs altogether. The essence of a thing develops with the development of the thing and thus has a historical and materialist character. This development is of course contradictory for essence never exists by itself but always with its appearance, its opposite. "It is through a series of relatively accidental appearances that essence unfolds its inner content and acquires more and more reality until it exhibits itself as fully and perfectly as it can under the given material conditions...The essence of a thing is what is necessary for its appearance, the totality of qualities without which it could not exist" (Novak 1971, p. 113). At the

start of the development of the thing, appearance usually subordinates essence. As the dialectical process continues the two diverge into opposites until at the point of full development, essence subordinates and dominates appearance. As this happens the thing, having reached its full development, passes into something else. Again the example of money is instructive. Money came into being as the result of the growth of exchange of commodities and in its original form was a commodity of exchange. It assumed many appearances - cattle, iron, wheat, rice, etc. As long as exchange relations remained local many commodities could fulfill the exchange function. A qualitative shift occurred when precious metals took on this function, and ultimately when gold took over. Where did the essence of money lie here? It seems that each of these appearances contains an element of essence, but none the entire essence. All these early forms contributed towards the realization and development of money. "Essence instead of being something fixed and simple in nature is composed of various grades which constitute a hierarchy of essence. We can proceed and things in their evolution progress from the less essential to the more essential. In other terms, the quality of a given essence can become quantitatively greater or smaller. It can grow in extent and content; it can, step by step, become defined or determine itself into different grades or forms of its

being" (Novak 1971, p. 118). It is only when money takes the form of coins that essence begins to predominate. Gold has come to be the essential money form but it remains relative to the less essential forms as well as arising out of them. Gold has this essence, though only in commodity producing societies. Its essence is relative to specific economic relations and will pass away under different conditions. Thus sports in America can be viewed as progressing from appearance to essence. In their early form sports were pure appearance, mere escapes from a routinized work and the connection with accumulation lay far below the surface. As sports in capitalism develop so the contradictions start becoming more apparent. Advertising and television are seen as the explicit base of sports. Players and umpires go on strike against the owners. Blacks become aware of their exploitation and of prejudice as they enter sports in increasing numbers. Sports come to reflect the tensions of the wider (capitalist) society. But also they still act as diversion and escape. The dialectical relationship between essence and appearance still exists but as contradictions become apparent capitalism (capitalist sports) begin to exhibit their underlying and real essence.

One of the frequent criticisms against "Marxism" is that it reduces everything to the economic base and can-

not allow ideas to have an effect on the development of a mode of production. The relationship between "base and superstructure" has been the subject of a huge literature within Marxism and there is not space here to adequately discuss this (see Hall 1978 for a good review and discussion). By way of indicating that this paper is aware of the important role that culture, ideology and politics play in relation to the development of social phenomenon, the contribution that Louis Althusser has made to this will be briefly examined.

Althusser posits that a social formation consists of a number of different practices (the economic, political and ideological) which function to produce and reproduce the mode of production, each of which have their own inner constitution, their own specificity and their own "relative autonomy". These levels of the social whole have a relationship with one another that is termed "overdetermination", i.e., the levels or practices both determine the others as well as being determined by them. Thus each of these levels is not seen as autonomous but as part of a "complex, structured whole, structured in dominance". Stuart Hall has written in summarizing this approach,

"Althusser proposes that we must understand a social formation as an 'ever pre-given structured whole'. There is no simple essence,

underlying or predating this structured complexity, to which any single practice - e.g., the production of ideology - can be effectively reduced. As Marx himself argued at length 'The simplest economic category...can only ever exist as the unilateral and abstract relation of a pre-given, living concrete whole'. We must therefore 'think' a society or social formation as ever and always constituted by a set of complex practices, each with its own specificity, its own modes of articulation: standing in an 'uneven development' to other related practices. Any relation within this structured complexity will have its registration, its 'effects' at all the other levels of the social formation - now conceptualized not as an 'economic base' and its 'reflexive superstructures' but rather as a structure-superstructure complex - if it is not to be conceptualized as a series of totally independent, autonomous and unrelated practices, then this relatedness must be 'thought' through the different mechanisms and articulations which connect one with another within the 'whole' - articulations which do not proceed in an inevitable tandem, but which are linked through their differences, through the dislocations between them, rather than through their similarity, correspondence or identity." (Hall 1977, p. 327)

Althusser does however retain for the economic, "determination in the last instance", by which he means that although in a social formation either the political, ideological or economic may be dominant, this dominance has been "assigned" by the economic. Thus one of the effects of the economic level is deciding which of the levels will be dominant. This is a very complex question which has raised much controversy. Godelier (1978) for example, has argued that the distinction between base and superstructure is not a

distinction between institutions but one between functions and that rather than the economic assigning dominance to the superstructures, the dominant superstructures are in fact a part of the relations of production. However, there is not space here to properly develop this problem. It is enough to say that this paper recognizes the limitations of a crude base/superstructure approach and recognizes the dialectical interaction between material and cultural/ideological factors while still giving primacy to the former.

PART TWO

THE SPORTS/MEDIA COMPLEX
AND ACCUMULATION

- Chapter 3 - Historical Development of the Sports/Media Complex 1890-1940
- Chapter 4 - The Mass Media in Capitalism - Production, Advertising and Consumption
- Chapter 5 - A Marriage Made in Heaven - Consolidation Through Television 1940-1980

Sport as an activity involving the circulation of money and capital is totally tied up in the financial and economic network of monopoly capitalism. Professional sport with its showbusiness, its betting and its financial speculation is the most glaring aspect of this process.

J.M. Brohm

Sport - A Prison of Measured Time 1978, p. 50

CHAPTER THREETHE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE SPORTS/MEDIA COMPLEX
1890-1940

While it is true that humanity has always engaged in physical exercise for playful, competition, utilitarian or military purposes...it is false to claim that sport is "as old as the hills" or "part of the heritage of humanity". Such mystical conceptions present sport ahistorically, as a transcendent entity, over and above historical periods and modes of production.

J-M Brohm
Sport -- A Prison of Measured Time
1978, p. 175

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SPORTS/MEDIA COMPLEX, 1890-1940

I. Social Formations and Sport:

Social formations with similar modes of production have created different types of games and sports and have also organized them in contrastingly different ways. Thus the USA has developed baseball, football and basketball and has incorporated them into a corporate dominated media framework, whereas Britain has developed cricket and soccer in a realm not directly connected with business and mass communications. The important point to stress here is that mode of production is not simply an economic entity but one which includes as important levels, politics, culture and ideology. The basis of the difference between the development of sports in the USA and Britain is rooted in the different forms of class conflict that arose in the two modes. As already mentioned Marx distinguished within a mode of production between the forces of production and the relations of production. It is the content of the dialectic between these that explains why the USA developed and organized its very distinctive sports. The contrasting development of this dialectic in Britain led it to adopt cricket and soccer in very specific ways. Thus for the USA and Britain although the form remains constant (capitalism)

the differing content locates sports within capitalist social formations in different ways.

The most obvious difference between development in the USA and Britain focused on the nature of class struggle and the way that clash was reflected in cultural forms, especially in the transition to capitalist industrialism. In England sport was developed in pre-capitalist modes of production as a response to specific conditions and was an activity by which rural communities were able to express their class and regional ties (Walvin 1975). Thus soccer emerged as a leisure activity from within a community which reflected in some measure wider cultural factors. The ruling class from the beginning were suspicious of any indigenous development of cultural forms within the subordinate class. The early history of the game of soccer in England is one of attempts to kill the game because of the potential political forces it gave vent to. Indeed at the time of the transition to an early form of capitalism, the peasantry reacted to the theft of their land, through the form of enclosures, by holding soccer games that had the effect of destroying any fence within a considerable distance (Walvin 1975). Thus from the start the ruling class was struggling to contain an activity which gave expression to anti-establishment forces. It is important to stress that this 'cultural activity' did

come from within the subordinate class. However the ruling classes were able to direct the leisure activities of the peasantry and later the working class by imposing on the game some of their own values (the dialectic of creation/control). This was paralleled by the development of class conflict in the transition to capitalism. Because the transition took place relatively peacefully, consensus and not conflict became the dominant political ideology (CCS 1977), and it was this that became internalized in cultures and subcultures. Games and sport played a role in the internalization of this vital ideological element. While both soccer and cricket functioned as communal pastimes, so at the same time were transmitted (especially in cricket) values of a traditional nature to do with deference, English pastoralism and conceptions of gentleman and players (this latter division manifested itself in the USA as well). The dialectical relationship between superior and subordinated cultures and classes (the relations of production) worked to define the meaning sport would come to have for the subordinated classes. Thus to understand English sport in contemporary perspective there is a need to examine the historical development of class relations and sport. Sport in England has to be viewed as both a cultural and communal concretising activity and as an activity on which meaning was imposed both from within and outside of a class.

II. The Early Development of Sports in America:

In the USA the situation and development of class relations took an entirely different form. Whereas in England urban sports were a redefinition of rural sports, in the USA there were no real rural "sports". America's dominant sports developed within an urbanized framework. More importantly they developed from outside the subordinated classes. J.R. Betts, the most authoritative American sports historian wrote that at the start of the nineteenth century only horse racing held any interest for the average American, but that by the twentieth century sports had taken a firm hold on the American populace. Whereas in England the folk games were codified and "given back" to the working classes by the upper classes, in the USA there was no wide range folk culture to so mould. The fragmented and piecemeal communities of the "frontier" brought with them a fragmented and piecemeal culture. Whereas in England working class culture was transformed into a form of "mass" culture, in the USA there was not a coherent, already existing culture.

Furst (1971) has argued that American sports have gone through three phases -- play, game and work (it is interesting to note that the leading American sports are distinctly American creations and pastimes and were moulded by the process of urbanization and industrialization).

Although the start of games are hard to pin down Furst claims that the period of play for baseball lasted between 1831-1845, the period of games 1845-1869 and the period of work 1869 to the present. The respective periods for football are 1874-1882 (play) 1882-1895 (game), 1895-present (work)¹. Baseball first appeared in Boston in 1831 in a variation of its present form and was called "town ball"². Football emerged in its present form in 1847, although it was not until 1882 that the system of downs was established. The point to stress is that the "games" in their early period were in the hands and control of the upper classes. There was no similar dialectic as in England between subordinated and superior cultures.

The real growth of interest in sports started in the post-civil war era. The early professional teams played usually before only a small crowd of the local gentry. But as Hoch writes

"It wasn't long before a few sharp promoters began to realize that in order to lure more customers to the games, it was necessary somehow to involve the lower classes with the teams. An obvious way to do this was to develop a local team, with workers from the local factories as players and with plenty of local advertising... Team sports had always been a pastime in which only upper class amateurs could afford to spend much time in participation. But with the coming of professionalism, some of the local factory lads could become players and ordinary working people could identify with them and feel some sort of stake in the game." (1972, p.34)

Here as in England the upper classes inaugurated the distinction between "gentlemen" (amateurs) and "players" (working class professionals). Hoch quotes from the Fortnightly Review of 1893, "the quality of baseball attendance has undergone an absolute change. Now it is composed largely of the same class of men as those that play ball. Formerly it attracted men of breeding." But this class conflict side of it never survived explicitly and visibly -- it was drowned in money. Baseball became the American game.

III. Sport and the New Mass Media:

This early "class conflict" did not help attendance though. For the most part professional sports were "constantly on the knife-edge of disaster".

"One factor that made a decisive difference was the tremendous coverage of sports by the press. About the same time the first sports leagues began, there developed (not by coincidence) the sort of mass-audience oriented newspapers needed to sell mass consumption products. A symbiosis between sports and the new media was quickly established in which sports became the decisive promotional device for selling popular newspapers, and newspapers were the decisive promotional device for selling sports spectacles." (Hoch 1972, p. 36)

The rise of sports and the media in tandem is no historical

accident. It came about by historical necessity and under the specific conditions of 19th century America. The number of U.S. newspapers increased between 1870-1900 from 387 to 2,326 and their circulation rose from 3.5 million to 15 million. Dallas Smythe has written that

"The mass media characteristic of monopoly capitalism were created in the 1890's. It was these media, increasingly financed by advertising that drew together the 'melting pot' working class from diverse ethnic groups which were flooding in as migrants to the USA into saleable audiences for the advertisers." (1977, p. 19)

In the last thirty years of the nineteenth century advertising revenue jumped from 16 million dollars to 95 million dollars. Kobre (1969) claims that the newspapers recognized the mounting interest in sport and began to cater to it in terms of circulation. J.R. Betts also points to the same kind of bonding between sports and the new "yellow" press. In 1883 Joseph Pulitzer purchased the New York World and established what was probably the first separate sports department. By the 1890's most of the large newspapers of the leading cities had sports departments. During the decline of baseball "it may well have been the baseball writers who really carried the game through those dark years" (Betts 1974, p. 66). But the dependence was not

totally one way. Sports and media investors were able to create a mass consumption spectator-sports industry as an integral part of the consolidation of monopoly capitalism. Such was the link between sports/media that many newspaper owners and their leading advertisers had invested in sports and stadiums. Betts writes of this increasingly vital link

"William R. Hearst...bought the New York Journal in 1895 and immediately made it the arch exponent of all the sensationalism of the yellow press. The Journal assembled an unequalled staff...In an unparalleled exploitation of every phase of athletic life the Journal was the first to develop the modern sports section.

It was the metropolitan and then the smaller city dailies which sponsored teams, promoted contests and brought the lingo of the diamond, the turf, the ring, the links, and the gridiron to the great American middle class." (1974, p. 67)

Betts further argues that just as the role of technology had a tremendous influence on the rise of sports so it did on journalism.³ The early reporting of sports was dependent on the telegraph, even though near the end of the century the telephone/wireless became more prominent than before. The monopoly over news structures can be seen in the fact that the Associated Press grew from 63 members in 1893 to 1300 in 1922. In 1922 the World Series was reported for the first time on a single circuit 26,000 miles in length. No less a person than T. Edison recognized the great advance

in instantaneous communication. For the first time the whole country could be exposed to a single message. "The Associated Press must be wonderfully well organized to be able to accomplish what was done in the ball game. Uncle Sam has now a real arterial system and it is never going to harden" (in Betts 1974, p. 73).

The first twenty years of the twentieth century witnessed a consolidation and extension of the tremendous interest that had been generated by sports in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The revolution in transportation and communication ensured that the interest in sports spread to all parts of the USA. The sporting goods industry as it became part of industrial manufacturing provided that sports would be no short term fad. From its inception, professional sports have been an integral part of the development of American capitalism. Betts writes,

"Technological developments in the latter half of the nineteenth and first two decades of the twentieth century transformed the social habits of the western world, and sport was but one of many institutions which felt their full impact... There are those who stress the thesis that sport is a direct reaction against the mechanization, the division of labour and the standardization of life in a machine civilization, and this may in part be true, but sport in the years between the Civil War and the First World War was as much a product of industrialization as an antidote to it.

While athletic and outdoor recreations were sought as a release from the confinements of city life, industrialization and the urban movement were the basic causes of the rise of organized sport." (p. 84; 1974)

Unfortunately, where Betts talks of industrialization (a general) sports developed because of and as a diversion from the expansion of capitalist social relations (a specific). It is the dialectic of sports as product and escape from alienated forms of production that is the basic explanatory focus of the development of early sports in America. This will be examined below.

IV. Immigration, Urbanization and Sport:

It was suggested above that sports arose in the form they did in the USA because they were both a product of and an escape from the rapid process of capitalist expansion. This dialectic is one which captures precisely the function of sports as an institution (see Lipsky 1979). In this period of the establishment of sports (1870-1920) two other connected factors have an explanatory value -- immigration and urbanization processes. Movement was not only taking place from the countryside into the expanding cities. Peasants and workers were also arriving in increasing numbers from Europe as the demands of a young and dynamic mode of production required increasing markets of

labour power. Betts writes that urbanization after the Civil War was a "new force in national life" and it was in this period of upheaval that the newly created working class turned to "commercialized amusements and sports as their chief source of recreation." (1974, p. 172). Rural and ethnic communities were increasingly threatened by capitalist expansion and broken up by the process of urbanization and fragmentation that characterized industrialization in America. Furst (1971) writes,

"By the turn of the century, the population had swelled to 76 million, three times larger than it was in 1850. In 1900, 40% of the population lived in urban centres. The effects of increased population and internal migration upon sports are interwoven. The myriad movement of immigrants and pioneers had an important effect upon the development of sports vis-a-vis the emergence and decline of community life... Intercommunity sports rivalries were weak in the last half of the nineteenth century due to the recurrent waves of immigration and migration that had an unsettling effect upon the community." (p. 158-59)

Thus after a period in which traditional communities had been destroyed and replaced with urban centres of residence and work and during which period also the upper classes had "presented" to the working class the team sports of football and baseball, these new communities began to establish themselves as communities once more by appropriating the dominant cultural forms and adapting them to

their purpose. At a time when communities were searching for a collective solidarity, sports became a key vehicle in the establishment of community. That sports were becoming increasingly important is reflected in the numerous contemporary sources cited by Betts to emphasize the increasing involvement with sports. "Thus the week-end football or baseball game is not just a few hours diversion for players and fans; it is a symbol and a ritual, a reaffirmation of unity and collective pride" (Frohlich in Furst 1971).

This was just one part of the use of sports -- the creation of new forms of community. The other element is the manner in which sports came to be representative of not merely local communities but of America, and the manner in which immigrants (and especially their children) came to identify Americanization with sports.

"As more and more ships debarked hopeful peoples from Italy, Greece, Poland, Russia and other southern and eastern European areas, new barriers confronted their "Americanization". Industrialism had transformed the face of America and altered the opportunities of the immigrant. He became associated with the labouring class and inherited its psychology and status in an industrial economy. For the immigrants were now frequently thought of as comprising a distinct class, in America, but not of it. Difficult as it was for the children of these immigrants to escape the life of manual labour, many determined to become identified with

everything American...Increasingly the thoughts of the children were preoccupied with the events of the world of sports within which were played out the vivid dramas of American success and failure...even the older folk indeed derived a kind of satisfaction from the fame of men who bore names like their own, as if John L. Sullivan or Honus Wagner or Benny Leonard, somehow testified to their own acceptance by American society." (Betts p. 184)

Within this loyalty and identification with sports came also inevitably certain ideas of how sports helped Americanization. The explicit sporting code of sportsmanship and fair play⁴ (a leftover from sports aristocratic beginnings) was widely understood and praised for promoting "good citizenship and deeper understanding of our democratic institutions" (Betts p. 187). Thus sports came very early to fulfill the role of legitimating capitalist class relations as fair and democratic, especially to workers displaced to the city and to newly arrived Eastern and Southern European immigrants.

Thus by the time of the First World War professional sports were playing an integral part in the development of both ideological and accumulation functions in the consolidation processes of (early) advanced capitalism. It was an activity of accumulation itself, as well as acting as a device that the new yellow press could use to guarantee advertisers audiences. It also acted to help in

the process by which the diverse European populations that provided the mode of production with labour power were moulded into new communities that stressed not their class character but "Americanism". From the beginning thus, sports acted to "work through" the tensions and contradictions created by industrialization by hiding and masking the exploitative and class nature of the conditions of existence and production.

V. Consumerism and Rationalization:

Sports by the 1920's were established components of a newly created American culture. Betts writes that after the First World War "a sporting fever broke out throughout the United States" and indeed it is the 1920's that form the vital link with the development of America's modern sports. Joseph Durso, in his book The All American Dollar writes that the revolution that occurred in sports in the 1960's was

"a social revolution a great deal like that after World War One, with many of the same elements; public hunger for ease and even fantasy following the rigidity of the war years, inflation in the economy, new heroes, new values, new communications, new styles of living. That time, it grew through the Roaring Twenties and the message was spread by radio and the automobile. The revolution of the twenties put professional sports in business; the revolution of the sixties put them in big business." (1971 viii)

Hoch places the development of sports within monopoly capitalism in the period of concentration of ownership in the 1870's and this link up between sport and business was extended and concentrated in the 1920's. Also, that professional sports started in the early period of American capitalism does not explain the shape and state of present sports. For that there is a need to examine the internal development of American capitalism and see what material conditions needed to be fulfilled for its further expansion. It is the process of the development of capitalism that locates the importance of sports.

Consumerism was not a major factor in the period from 1870-1920. In this early period there was a need to defer immediate consumption as a necessary condition of expanded production. Goldman and Wilson (1977) argue that in the 1920's this condition fell away. From the time of Henry Ford's introduction of the assembly line in 1910 American industry had been turning largely to mass production. As the class struggle shortened the working day, leading to the development of technology, this impetus to mass production and efficiency (expansion of relative surplus value) took on an increasing importance. By the 1920's businessmen were faced with two problems. Firstly the expansion of leisure time worried capitalists in that they feared that the total control which was imposed on

on workers in the workplace would be threatened by the new freedom.

"Leisure was a threat to work values. The essence of play, its lack of regulation, its disdain for material outcomes, its exaltation in uncertainty, is the antithesis of the work values of a technological world. Thus the very innovation that gave rise to greater productivity and more free time also increased the need for stricter standards of teamwork, punctuality and consistency. The forces that created the new leisure at the same time displaced labour as a subjective element and subordinated it as an objective element in the productive process." (Goldman and Wilson 1977, p. 158)

Secondly, mass production also meant that the structures of distribution would have to change. Whereas before mass production, industry had produced for a limited, basically middle and upper class market, it now had to find adequate consumers to meet the new production. There was a twin need for markets to undergo both horizontal and vertical expansion. Respectively, markets had to increase nationally and into previously "disenfranchised" (from consumption) classes. What this contradiction amounted to was a need for social control to expand into leisure time by controlling the form of leisure and consumption. Increasingly the rationalization of leisure came to be seen as the solution to both these problems.

There has been a tendency within Marxist analysis of the development of capitalism to jump from the objective conditions which are a result of the "logical" development of capital to the subjective orientation of the capitalist class. Fortunately, although detailed research is lacking in this area, Robert Goldman and John Wilson have provided an extensive discussion of the explicit capitalist ideology as concerns the control of leisure. Their focus is on the industrial relations movement of the 1920's which they argue is an attempt by capitalists to "ideologically and structurally reintegrate leisure into the world of work through both participation and consumption". From a review of the business oriented journals they argue that three explicit themes are visible. "(1) leisure time is most rewarding when subjected to scientific management. (2) leisure and work are not separate spheres but socially and culturally interdependent. (3) the provision of the right kind of leisure opportunities is part of the overall social responsibility of any business enterprise"(1977, p. 164). Scientific management took place not only in the workplace but increasingly in other aspects of social life. Marx's dialectic between production and consumption increasingly becomes clearer (see Grundrisse). Consumption is a necessary part of production but it is determined by production.

"Hunger is hunger, but the hunger that is satisfied with cooked meat eaten with fork and knife is a different kind of hunger from the one that devours raw meat with the aid of hands, nails and teeth. Not only the object of consumption, but also the manner of consumption is created by production, not only objectively but also subjectively. Production thus creates the consumers." (Marx)

Thus changes in consumer patterns have to be related to changes in production. Such an approach retains a materialist stance; consumerism is not the determining factor. It does not seem an outrageous step to equate this attitude of the capitalist class to industrial recreation to the orientation of business towards sports, especially as the increasing use of sports on commercial radio supports this pattern. Judge Landis, the famous commissioner of baseball, and a representative of the landed and business classes who was "drawn from the federal bench to the position of baseball czar in a desperate move by the magnates to restore public confidence" talked thus about professional baseball.

"We might stand to have the business smirched and perhaps we men might look upon it cynically; but we must keep baseball clean for the sake of the kids and not permit anything to destroy their faith in its squareness and honesty. Baseball is something more than a game to an American boy; it is his training field for life work. Destroy his faith in its squareness and honesty and you have destroyed something more; you have planted suspicion of all things in his heart." (in Betts 1974, p. 257)

VI. Consumerism and the Mass Media:

The part that leisure plays in the ideological reproduction of the workplace will be closely examined later in the text. For the present it is enough to mention it as an important theme. But more vitally it is the other need, of consumerism that dictated the rise of sports in the 1920's. It is no accident that the period that saw sports sweep over the nation and become the "most engrossing of all contemporary issues" should coincide with the increasing penetration of the media (both press and radio) with sports and of the period of creation and consolidation of the "consumer society". Stuart Ewen in his Captains of Consciousness, pinpoints the 1920's as the period where consumer patterns were radically altered. He stresses the very real and extensive class conflict that took place in the early decades of the twentieth century as working class organizations sought to resist (and as a result, also advance) the increasing rationalization and lack of control of their productive activity (see Braverman 1974). It is precisely the dialectic between social control and consumerism that explains how capitalism was able to reproduce its new conditions of existence. Ewen writes,

"The juncture of working class resentment and the expansion of productivity called for a vision of social order in which the two might

operate integrally rather than at odds with one another....Beyond standing at the helm of the industrial machines, businessmen understood the social nature of their hegemony. They looked to move beyond their 19th century characterization as captains of industry toward a position in which they could control the entire social realm. They aspired to become captains of consciousness...The development of an ideology of consumption responded both to the issue of social control and the need for goods distribution." (p. 19-19).

The link between advertising and sports has become increasingly obvious since the 1960's. The attempt here is to link the vital period in the growth of American sports (1920's) to changes in production. Mass production also meant mass consumption and sports became one of the means by which audiences were produced for sale to advertisers. Just as advertising was reaching the status of a major industry (total gross advertising revenues in general and farm magazines can act as an indicator of this growth. 1918 \$58.5 million, 1920 \$129.5 million, 1929 \$196.3 million), so newspapers and the new radio media increasingly used sports as the attraction by which revenue was raised. Betts writes,

"Radio came of age in the hectic 1920's and sport was soon seized upon as an entertainment feature. Although the sports craze of those years was given its greatest encouragement by the metropolitan and local press, broadcasting for the first time brought the drama of ringside, diamond gridiron and racetrack into homes from coast to

coast....Music and news broadcasts were the standard programs in the early years of radio but sports events were rapidly absorbed into the entertainment schedule." (1974, p. 271)

There can be little doubt of the impact of this relationship. People wanted to hear about sports (before the Dempsey/Tunney fight in 1927 one store in New York sold \$90,000 worth of equipment in two weeks, see Betts) but in order to do that they also had to listen to the exhortation to buy the increasing number of consumer items. Baseball, football, racing and boxing "owed much of their rapidly expanding support to the phenomenal popularity of radio, which by 1928 had passed 10,000,000 sets mark" (Betts 1974, p. 272). Sports thus came to provide ideological social control (socialization for production) while at the same time as acting as vehicles for the extension of the new consumerism (socialization for consumption). Hoch writes,

"Under capitalism the distorted and authoritarian social relations of production are the primary factors in dictating consumption. Also the visibility of this consumption - our day-in, day-out exposure to other people's consumption - becomes the second most powerful socializing force to further consumption. So sports consumption sells consumption generally." (p. 134, 1972)

Consumption, through sports, also legitimated the increasing degradation of work.

Gillette is a good example of the increasingly vital relationship that was developing between sports, media and business. In 1915 Gillette used baseball scores in press advertisements and by 1929 Gillette's Graham McNamee read The Sports News Review on NBC's Blue Network. The company also sponsored the Max Baer-Jim Braddock fight in 1935 but it was not until 1939 that Gillette realized just how valuable to them sports advertising was. In that year Gillette agreed to pay Major League Baseball \$100,000 for the radio rights to the World Series. To promote the event was even more. Gillette wrapped a 99¢ pack of blades in a special batch of World Series wrappers. The retail stores were flooded by these. During the series there were 16 commercials per game. But the series was finished by four straight wins by the Yankees over the Reds. Gillette had got minimum advertising exposure for its \$100,000. But as Al Leonard, Gillette's public relations manager explains "We couldn't believe our eyes. Sales were up 350% for the Series. It wasn't even a new product and here were these fantastic records coming in. We didn't wait, we went running all over the country to buy every major event we could find" (in Johnson, 1971, p. 226). Here it is the dialectic between calculation/accident that informs the role the sports play. Sports naturally suffered from

the Depression but Betts has documented the recovery and extension in the 1930's. There was no qualitative change from the pattern of the 1920's. The next great impact would be of television. While up to the 1940's sports could make a realistic pretence of its separation from the media, the effect of television on the relationship would ensure that sports would lose whatever relative autonomy it did possess. Sports would become the explicit slave of the new media. In the period 1920-40 it was the use of sports to both aid consumption by acting as a marketing device and as a factor through which the increased free time was brought under capitalist control for both accumulation and ideological functions that was important. In this period the early relationship between sports and the press was extended to the new media of commercial radio and the structure upon which television would have such an effect was becoming a vital part in the process of production/distribution/exchange/consumption for some sectors of the expanding economy.

VII. Summary:

The attempt in this last chapter has been to situate the origins of professional sports within the concrete historical context of the development of advanced capitalism. Exactly in the period that saw the start of

concentration and centralization, professional sports were appropriated by the new mass newspapers as a device to increase the circulation of these largely advertising based media. Sports and the mass media both helped to sell each other. At the same time this interest in sports helped to create a sports-equipment industry in which professional sports were to act as the opiate that would maintain this new sector of production. Just as professional sports were used to aid in the accumulation side of the development of advanced capitalism so they were to help ease the tensions created by the arrival of large numbers of immigrants and of urbanization in general. In the 1920's when the system of scientific management began to dominate relations at the work place and when there was an increased number of consumer items to be disposed of, sports (and industrial recreation) became even more the device that mediated tensions, acting as a form of escape⁵, and also as a device by which the new media of radio could create audiences. The next chapter will explore some of the theoretical orientations that are necessary to fully understand the concrete historical processes and relationships that have been outlined here.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MASS MEDIA IN CAPITALISM PRODUCTION, ADVERTISING AND CONSUMPTION

The important point to be emphasized is that whether production and consumption are considered as activities of one individual or of separate individuals, they appear at any rate as aspects of one process in which production forms that actual starting point and is therefore its predominating factor, the act in which the entire process recapitulates itself...Consumption appears as a factor of production.

Marx

1857 Introduction 1971 p. 38

THE MASS MEDIA IN CAPITALISM
PRODUCTION, ADVERTISING AND CONSUMPTION

I. The Production of Audiences:

Capitalism is an exploitative system of production, distribution, exchange and consumption. The central aim is the accumulation of surplus value. As a system in process it has generated and developed institutions which help to legitimate and perpetuate the existing relations of production and to aid in the domination of capital within these. Apart from institutions such as the police, the prisons, the army, etc., which act as the explicit keepers of the social order, capitalist relations have also generated other specific institutions, less obviously connected to and at the command of the dominant classes. These include the educational system, the political system, and the family. Among the most important of these institutions which help to reproduce the conditions of existence of advanced capitalist societies are the mass media (see Althusser, 1971). Marxist analyses have predominantly seen the mass media in capitalism as primarily ideological institutions and have used Marx's writings in The German Ideology and the 1859 Preface to underpin this approach. Specifically this approach starts from Marx's often quoted

passage, "The ideas of the ruling class, are in every epoch the ruling ideas...the ruling class regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age" and develops from this the functions of the media in terms of the reproduction of ideas that will sustain and legitimate existing relations. This approach has been particularly prevalent in Europe.

Recently, Dallas Smythe (1977) has argued that this traditional focus represents an idealist approach to the study of communications.¹ For him, "the first question that historical materialists should ask about mass communications systems is what economic function for capital do they serve, attempting to understand their role in the reproduction of capitalist relations of production...the activities of these institutions are intimately connected with consumer consciousness, needs, leisure time use, commodity fetishism, work and alienation." (Smythe 1977, p. 1). So a materialist based analysis has to first pose the question of how does the mass media in monopoly capitalism help in the process of capital accumulation. This is not to say that the ideological role of the media is minor or even secondary, but that a materialist answer must give priority to the material base. Ideology and accumulation are twin functions which are dialectically related, but accumulation has priority in the relationship.

It, in a sense, "overdetermines" the other, although in specific instances the ideological may be dominant. The mass media of monopoly capitalism are incapable of being understood today unless they are located within a framework which includes business institutions, markets, production and exchange. Advertising and market research are the key elements in an initial materialist approach to mass media.

"The secret of the growth of Consciousness Industry in the past century will be found in (1) the relation of advertising to the 'news', 'entertainment' and 'information' material in the mass media; (2) the relation of both that material and advertising to the real consumer goods and services; (3) the relations of advertising and consumer goods and services to the people who consume them; and (4) the effective control of people's lives by the monopoly capitalist corporations which dominate the foregoing three sets of relationships. The capitalist system cultivates the illusions that the three streams of information and things are independent; the advertising merely 'supports' or 'makes possible' the 'news', 'information' and 'entertainment' which in turn are separate from the consumer goods and services we buy. This is untrue. The commercial mass media are advertising in their entirety. Advertising messages provide news, entertainment and information about prices and alleged qualities of the advertised product or 'sponsoring' organization. And both advertising and the 'programme material' reflect, mystify and are essential to the sale of goods and services. The 'programme material' is produced and distributed in order to attract and hold the attention of the audience members so that they may be counted... and sold to the advertiser." (Smythe 1980, p. 9)²

Smythe further argues that media produce audiences as commodities for sale to advertisers. The programming is offered as a "free lunch" with which to attract viewers, and the real point of focus becomes not the programming but the commercials. Smythe quotes from the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media.

"As Toronto advertising man Jerry Goodis put it: 'the business side of the mass media is devoted to building and selling the right audience... those who buy and, more importantly, those who can choose what they will buy, those whose choice is not dictated by necessity'. In this sense the content...good or bad, timid or courageous, stultifying or brilliant, dull or amusing...is nothing more than the means of attracting the audience. It seems harsh, but it happens to be utterly accurate, that editorial and programming content in the media fulfills precisely the same economic function as the hootchy-kootch girl at a medicine show... she pulls in the rubes so that the pitchman will have someone to flog his snakeoil to... Yes, advertisers are concerned with content, but only insofar as it serves to attract an audience.. in other words, the pitchman would naturally prefer a slender, 17 year old hootchy-kootch girl to a flabby, 45 year old hooper." (1980, p. 9)

Livant in an extension of Smythe's basic position has further emphasized the production by the media of the audience commodity (Livant 1979). For him the audience is not merely the medium by which commodities-in-general are sold but is the key commodity itself of the media. The central problematic becomes how this commodity is made,

unmade, bought and sold. The communications industry here is engaged in not merely superstructural functions but productive functions. For Livant this function stretches even to non-advertising based media (eg. cinema) in that audiences are cross-marketed. Just as a book can be made into a movie and a television serial so audiences created in one sphere can be bought and sold in another. Both Smythe and Livant point thus to the need to view the mass media not as producing messages but as primarily producing audiences that are sold to advertisers.

It seems however, if Livant and Smythe are not careful, that the commodity "analogy" could be over-extended and become theoretically meaningless unless the notion is really thoroughly analyzed and integrated. After all, for Marx the discovery of the commodity proved to be central to his whole vision and the commodity does have certain precise meanings within Marxism. A commodity has use-value and exchange-value. Also the value added is produced by labour. Above all the commodity has an objective meaning and existence. Is there anything in Smythe and Livant's analysis that might help establish their notion of the audience commodity within this framework? The danger becomes of saying that everything "produced" within capitalism is a commodity. Similarly, as will be discussed below, there is a danger in arguing that any kind of work within the process of production

and consumption is labour for capitalism. Put precisely, the danger becomes that by seeing capitalism everywhere, everything becomes an explicit part of the framework of capitalist relations of production. Capitalist relations of production become generalizable to the whole social formation. The real question then becomes how much explanatory value does this have. The argument here is that there is nothing wrong with claiming that everything operates for capital, but the specific links and characteristics of the different parts of the system should be carefully documented and specified. Hence the question is, is Smythe's and Livant's audience commodity like that described by Marx? The answer seems to be that there is enough in both Livant's and Smythe's work to protect them on this score, but it does need some working through.

Livant, arguing to put the audience commodity on an objective footing writes that at present the audience is basically defined by the message it receives. If Smythe's point is to be taken, of switching analysis from ideological content to objective function, it does seem that there is a need to break with the message based definition of the audience. The distinction becomes, thus, for example, between "the audience for the Mary Tyler Moore Show", and an audience which is comprised predominantly of "middle aged married couples with two cars, who own

their own house and have two children, etc." This can be seen and indeed must be seen as an historical process. The movement is from audiences for the movement of commodities-in-general to the production of those audiences for sale, i.e., the production of the audience commodity is not an "accidental" feature of capitalism (the use-value) but is a direct and conscious production for the process of exchange (exchange-value). Marx writes that as soon as any material "emerges as a commodity it changes into a thing which transcends sensuousness. It not only stands with its feet on the ground but in relation to all other commodities" (Marx 1976, p. 163). Now precisely with the development of the modern systems of market research audiences can be composed in terms of objective exchange. Hence some audience commodities exchange for more than others. There is a common source of measuring value. Smythe does indeed talk of these audience commodities being dealt with in markets by producers and buyers and of them bearing specifications known as "demographics" which includes sex, income, family composition urban or rural location, automobile ownership, etc. He also mentions cases where programmes have been dropped because they were not producing the right kind of audience. There is little doubt that the main focus of attack on Smythe's and Livant's position is going to come from those

who will claim that the term "commodity" the way it is used by them loses any real analytical meaning because it covers so much. But if the distinction is made between use-value and exchange-value and the objective nature of the commodity is stressed there seems little reason not to see the discovery of the audience commodity as a major and consistent step forward within the Marxist perspective. Livant does see the need for this clarification but does not quite put it in those terms. He writes,

"It was only on a sufficient preparation of the development of audiences for the exchange of commodities-in-general that the activities of these audiences themselves could become objects of exchange. In the development of the modern mass media the process moves from the production of commodities for sale to audiences toward the production of audiences-to-sell...Smythe has concentrated his study on the first great form of the organization of this commodity - the audience commodity as a market. This form emerged historically first and with the greatest clarity in the U.S....This form is the first but not the last."
(Livant 1979, p. 102-3)

There have been three main stages in the development of these audience commodities in both their forms to the present time. Firstly, market research concentrated on just numbers and markets. This period extended from 1875-1950. The second period (1950-1970) saw the extension of the research techniques of the new sociology and survey

research to include the demographic variables mentioned above. Thirdly and lastly, the 1970's have seen the cultivation and increasing specification of survey research married with an increasingly market oriented psychological theory which has resulted in the production of "psychographs". Markets and audience commodities can now be produced according to the psychological types of people capital needs to create to whom to sell its latest manufactured need. Individual car models are now designed, produced, and marketed to audiences of known psychological characteristics for whom the car was created (Smythe 1980).

II. Sports and the Production of Audiences:

The example of sport is especially instructive for this process of audience commodity production. There is little doubt that the link between sports and television is tied up with the production of specific audience commodities and that the location of franchises is largely based on the purchase of audiences as commodities (see Chapter 5). Smythe talks of the "free lunch" that is offered to draw in specific audiences, and sports are a particularly illuminating example, not least for the tremendous growth in their importance for television. Horowitz (1977) states that the growth in sports broadcast revenues from 1956 to 1976 increased over 1000 percent

(from \$10 million to \$112 million). It will be seen below how sports were changed by this. During the late 1950's and 1960's sponsors came to see in sports the attraction that would draw in the types of audiences they were interested in. The major networks too began to see the potential of sports. For example, CBS, in the late Sixties decided to cancel a number of popular prime-time programs like "Andy Griffith" and "Ed Sullivan" because those types of programs attracted proportionately more elderly, lower income, rural audiences. Instead the new programming had to try and capture the profitable markets of the young, affluent, urban audiences who would be willing to try new products. Parente (1977) writes that, "Among the most difficult demographic segments of the population to reach are the adult males. Sports programming provides advertisers with vehicles to reach them in large numbers without the waste that would normally be realized through other types of prime-time programming". Football for instance was a decade ago the most appealing viewing for beer drinkers, high mileage drivers, men over 18 years of age and people earning over \$10,000 a year (Johnson 1971, p. 215). In addition, football has the most appeal to those who are light viewers (under eight hours a week). The commissioner of the NFL, Pete Rozelle, can say that "our demographics are such that an advertiser paying seven dollars per

thousand commercial minutes for football really has a better buy than if he paid four dollars per thousand for another programme. We have the advantage of being both news and entertainment fare so our word-of-mouth profile is excellent". As William Johnson has written in his excellent but mainly descriptive Super Spectator and the Electric Lilliputians,

"Yes. The Epoch of Super Spectator has, among other things, ushered in the era when the success of sport could be quite properly discussed in the proliferating Newspeak of market research. Good demographics. Viable cost per thousand. Fine word of mouth profile. Good merchandising potential. Real cost efficiency. The selective customer. A maximum prestige vehicle. Behind Pete Rozelle's words one could almost hear the tap-tap- of the pointer against the sales chart." (1971, p. 215-6)

It can be seen that the growth in sports TV advertising has followed the path from the use of audiences to sell commodities in general, to the production and exchange of the specific audience commodity. It will be shown later how the specific "demographics" of the sports audience commodity affected the types of commercial shown during sports events. Notice the specific causal chain is now from demographics to messages.³ One of the other major factors in the production of this audience commodity specific to sports is that because there is an explicit system of monopoly operating within professional sports,

there is also a monopoly of broadcast rights within a specific area. During the time of a sports telecast the sponsor can be sure that he has the full undivided attention of the whole of the possible audience commodity he is purchasing (although there may be competition from other sports).⁴ Whereas most prime-time competition is for the same audience, in sports broadcasting that audience is guaranteed. The role of the State in this will be examined later. Dick Forbes, the advertising director in 1971 of Chrysler Corporation, the single largest sports broadcast sponsor, makes it very clear what the prime reason is for advertising with sports. "Maybe we help keep baseball going and make football a little healthier but it does us no good unless it is a sound business proposition and sensible investment for us to advertise on TV sports and programmes. Well it is. Sports offers Chrysler a selective audience of males. We can reach the 18 to 49 age group, the family oriented men, young minded men."

(Johnson 1971, p. 233)

The huge reliance of professional sports on the revenue to be derived from television has brought massive changes within sports. One indicator of the way that television actually creates audiences as commodities can be seen in the way that sports has moved from being "purely" sports minded programming to being an explicit part of the

entertainment business. In the 1960's sports programming was mostly confined to afternoons, which was an unattractive time for non-sports programming. The 1970's has seen the movement of sports increasingly into the prime-time slots of the major networks. Sports--due to pressure from TV--has changed its "product" so as to be more appealing to the networks for this prime time spot. Television thus "produces" the new demographic aggregates. It does not just draw together existing aggregates. As in the creation of all commodities for exchange, value is added through the conscious activity of producers. The media consciously work to change sports to create a new audience commodity. Although the message is central to the creation of this new commodity it is not defined by the message. It is defined by the objective characteristics of the audience commodity. Put more precisely, the objective characteristics have priority although it is the dialectical unity between them that explains the process of their production and consumption. Howard Cosell explains precisely what prime-time sports programming means. He says,

"Who watches prime time TV? You are not doing a show for sportswriters or a million rabid football fans. You've got to deliver 40 million people. Do you know the strain of that? You've got to deliver them. You've got

to get them somehow watching football. If you don't, you're gone. The business chews you up." (Sport, Feb. 1979)

III. Audiences and Labour:

The other major aspect of Smythe's work is the notion that the audience commodity labours for capital. Once the audience is established as a commodity this is the answer to the question that must be posed -- what precisely does this commodity do?

"In economic terms, the audience commodity is a non-durable producers good which is bought and used in the marketing of the advertisers' product. The work which audience members perform for the advertiser to whom they are sold is to learn to buy particular 'brands' of consumer goods, and to spend their income accordingly. In short, they work to create the demand for advertised goods which is the purpose of the monopoly capitalist advertisers. While doing this, audience members are simultaneously reproducing their own labour power." (Smythe 1977, p. 6)

There are many complex issues at stake here for Marxism, for involved are fundamental questions concerning the labour theory of value and free time. Clearly during productive activity, labour is used to create value in the production of commodities-in-general. Also indisputable is Smythe's claim that in consumption audience members reproduce their own labour power, as consumption

within monopoly capitalism is the only way to survive.

The specious part of the argument however seems to be that part which states that because labour power is a commodity, that which produces it is labour. Taken to its logical conclusion, if it is accepted that monopoly capitalism dominates the totality of social life, then Smythe is led to the conclusion that "all non-sleeping time under capitalism is work time". Livant has written in this vein.

"In the society of modern monopoly capital... all time is labour time. Labour time occupies the totality of time. It has no 'holes' in it, no separate pieces outside it, no blankspots, no leftovers. This totality of time as labour time is not homogeneous; there are qualitative divisions within it, but they are precisely within it. The labour time is one thing, monopoly capital itself has brought all time within the sphere of labour time." (1979)

The point really at stake here is do Smythe and Livant argue that this non-work labour time is productive? Apparently they do. Smythe has written, "The denial of the productivity of advertising is unnecessary and diversionary: A 'cul de sac' derived from the pre-monopoly capitalist stage of development, a dutiful but unsuccessful and inappropriate attempt at reconciliation with Capital" (1977, p. 16). Thus all "labour time", the totality of waking time, becomes productive. The question that is really begged here of course is what exactly is

meant by productivity? For Smythe and Livant the answer would seem to be "if it is essential for the maintenance of the system of monopoly capitalism it is productive". However this is not a very "Marxist" position on production.⁵ Ian Gough has written that productive labour under capitalism is a historically specific relationship in which,

"only labour which is directly transformed into (productive) capital is productive. When wage labour is exchanged for the variable part of capital it reproduces the value of its own labour power and in addition surplus value for the capitalist." (NLR 76)

The important point is that labour creates value which is reflected in the value of the product, i.e., the value for which it is exchanged. Now Smythe and Livant would argue that consumption is productive. For this to be so it would have to be shown that the consumption involved in producing the commodity labour power is adding value to labour power. But if the value of labour power is defined as the value of the means of subsistence of the worker and his family then labour power would have to exchange at this value plus the value added by consumption. Thus labour power would have to exchange at above its value. That this is not so is recognized by both Livant and Smythe. They rightfully observe that this labour is unpaid labour.

Thus consumption does not produce value within a Marxist framework. Smythe writes,

"What kind of 'work' is it which audiences do for advertisers?...What sort of 'work' is it which is not paid money wages, must continue from childhood to death and must wait until the next hour or day before it is presented to the worker? The only comparable form of labour is slavery."
(1980, p. 10)

Clearly then Smythe sees that this work of consumption is different from productive work but seems to insist on labelling it under the same definition. By viewing monopoly capitalism in a holistic manner Smythe and Livant, despite seeing differences label the functional parts with the essence of the whole. They mistake an integration into monopoly capitalism for the installation of monopoly capitalist relations of production. There is no denying or arguing that within the system of monopoly capitalism, consumption and advertising are integral and vital components for the maintenance of the system. But they are also integrated in a different manner than the production of commodities-in-general. Indeed, even though it was argued above that the audience commodity was a "proper" Marxist commodity, it must be recognized that the production of this commodity is dependent upon the production and existence of commodities-in-general. Production

remains prior. Smythe equates consumption with production and thus puts them on the same level. He retains an Hegelian notion of the totality, none of the elements having priority.⁶ A truly materialist analysis on the other hand remains so by pinpointing the priorities. The real problem with Smythe's and Livant's work is that they have undoubtedly "discovered" something of immense importance and as such media studies within a Marxist framework should never be the same again. But they have allowed the discovery to be overblown. Basically the media enter the materialist process of production at the level of consumption and this is a secondary level (even the production of the audience commodity). As such it should be recognized and so integrated. This is really a vital point for if this becomes the starting point then the whole analysis is distorted. As Marx wrote, production, distribution, exchange and consumption "are members of a totality, distinctions within a unity". Production "overdetermines" in various ways. It determines the different relations between different moments and the form of the complex unities. Particularly it specifies the system of similarities and differences. "Differentiated unity" is the key term. We must understand the internal structures and external structures to which production and consumption are related (see Marx 1971, p. 26-44).

IV. Conclusion:

Clearly, Smythe (and Livant) have much to say of value as concerns the nature of the relationship between sports and the media. However there is much in their analysis that merely confuses and overshadows their real discovery. The problem seems to be one of levels of discourse. The most penetrating insight they have contributed is to view the audience as a commodity that is created and produced by the media for sale to advertisers. One of the reasons that this is so valuable is that it is at a level of specificity and clarity that is useful in analysis at a concrete level. It has great explanatory value and illuminates the nature of the relationship between sports and the media. As such Marxist analysis of the ideological role of the media should from now be very aware of within what kinds of everyday and concrete frameworks the processes of the media take place (for the ideological role seen at this concrete level see S. Chibnall 1977). Smythe especially has made a major contribution to the Marxist theory of the media.

However, when Smythe and Livant leave the level of discourse at which the key discovery is made, their analysis is less convincing. Not content to leave the production of audience commodities with advertising-based media, they extend it to other forms of mass communication--

e.g., the cinema. Smythe argues that the cinema fits into the framework because the content is cross marketed. Livant argues that the audience is cross marketed, that in the movies what is bought is the audience for a particular star, personality, etc. He writes that what we should be trying to grasp is "the motion of the media as a whole. What is primary and what is secondary about them are questions which are not isolated and not static"⁷ (1979, p. 95). Indeed they are not, and they are not, as he says, reducible to each other. However the making and selling of audiences is the real relation and this apparently invades the whole framework and becomes its essence." In some of the media, some of the time commodities-in-general are being sold; but in all sectors, all of the time, the audience commodity is being made. In all sectors it is being traded, in all sectors it is being measured" (p. 96). What are the implications for this? Taking the cinema as an example, major movies today are made and distributed to be shown in the cinemas of the producing companies. If it is accepted that the major function of a movie is to produce an audience, who buys this "commodity". Warner Brothers themselves buy what they have created? Surely not. Advertisers? No, for although some ads are shown, revenue from them must be minimal. Where is the major profit made? From attendance revenue. Does this

mean that the audience buys itself? No. Advertising-based media extract profit by selling audiences as commodities to advertisers. Warner Brothers, for example, on the other hand, make money by selling the movie commodity to an audience. Livant and Smythe cannot have it at both levels of discourse. Just as with the labour of audiences that was examined above, the generalization from a sector to the whole does not work.⁸ It serves no useful analytic function. As such this paper accepts, with some reservations, their analysis of the audience as a commodity as a major theoretical advance. As for the rest of their analysis it does not serve as great an analytic and explanatory function, couched as it is at the level of generality. The need now is for the holistic framework they have outlined to be seen in its processes and the "differentiated unity" of the different sectors.

CHAPTER FIVEA MARRIAGE MADE IN HEAVENCONSOLIDATION THROUGH TELEVISION1940-80

We don't give ten seconds thought to our effect on sports. It does not really dawn on us that we have the power to change things in sport. What we want is balanced programming for our network. We are in the broadcast business.

Chet Simmons

National Broadcasting Company
Sports Programming

A MARRIAGE MADE IN HEAVEN
CONSOLIDATION THROUGH TELEVISION
1940-1980

I. Introduction:

Thus far in Part Two the historical basis of the sports/media complex has been discussed and the role that it played in the development of the capitalist mode of production analyzed. In particular it was argued that the symbiotic relationship that sports established with the press (from 1890) and with radio (from 1920) was based on the need to produce audiences that could be sold to advertisers. The spectacle of sports from its inception has been tied into the marketing needs of capitalism. However until 1940 it was still possible to talk of professional sports and the mass media as two separate institutions. Since 1940 this separation has dissolved and sports/media have evolved into almost one institution. The discussion in Chapter 4 was geared to try and conceptualize the theoretical framework that would be needed to understand the relationship between sports and television by examining the seminal work of Smythe. It was seen that the function of providing audiences for sale to advertisers was highlighted and concentrated even more in the case of

television. Information of demographic aggregates was such that television programming was geared to producing particular groups of demographic characteristics. The example of sports was used to illustrate this. In addition to drawing particular people to watch television, other ideological processes are also taking place. These will be examined in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

In relation to the above discussion, it would not be an exaggeration to say that since May 17th, 1939, when the first sportscast took place on television (Columbia vs. Princeton in baseball), that neither sports nor television has ever been quite the same again. In the 40 years since then, television has come to be so vital for sports that no sports league can hope to compete in the major sports markets without a television contract. Sports has also discovered the means in television that can help guarantee profitability.¹ In relation to the major American team sports (football, baseball, basketball, hockey and recently soccer) it is impossible to separate sports and television. To demonstrate the nature of the interconnection between sports and television that has led them to function largely as one institution, this chapter will discuss the relationship between sports and wider structures of accumulation and attempt to answer why television and sports are so vital to each other. The nature of the sports

television audience and the dependence of certain sectors of industry on sports as a means of marketing to relatively inaccessible people will be discussed. In addition to this the specific nature of monopoly that operates within sports will be highlighted as the major reason why sports is such a profitable field of investment, as well as why television considers it such a valuable commodity. The effect that the huge amount of television money has had on sports in relation to franchise location, salaries and changes within sports itself will also be analyzed. The role of the Federal State, the interests of the major networks, the pattern of sports ownership and the possible impact of Pay TV will conclude the discussion.

In the US the development of capitalism and sports have always been intertwined, and Smythe further suggests that since 1948 monopoly capitalism has specifically created a series of new sports markets. People and audiences stand at the centre of a complex system of interlocking markets that include publicly owned stadia, amateur sports, professional sports, gambling, sports equipment, the marketing of non-sports goods and the military (Smythe 1980). The major focus of this paper is not on the entire complex of institutions that feed off professional sports (and its relationship with the media) although in a sense that is

where the real accumulation takes place. The four major professional sports in 1977 had gross revenues of only \$640 million. As Ray Kennedy and Nancy Williamson remark this is just a drop in the economic bucket and "would pass for petty cash at Exxon (\$48 billion)".

"But this is just another of the deceptive things about Moneyball (pro. sports). Though a piker by the standards of the FORTUNE 500, the sports industry scores heavily on other fronts. Apart from the revenue that sports earn for themselves, they generate billions of dollars for TV and for the cities in which they operate. Moreover millions do not cheer the workers at IBM, nor is there an estimated \$150 billion gambled annually on whether Bethlehem Steel meets its production quota. And not only are gaudy pleasure palaces erected in pro. sports honour, not only do they command special sections in our newspapers and dominate weekend TV viewing, but they permeate and influence our lives in myriad other ways that never register on the Big Board." (Kennedy and Williamson 1978, p. 34)

While professional sports are themselves big business the relationship with other markets and their ideological character must also be stressed.

In the discussion previously on audience commodities the example was given of sport as an illustration of the process by which audiences were created. The attempt here is to extend this analysis by way of concrete example. One time president of NBC Sylvester Pat Weaver

stated, "We are first in the advertising business because that is where our revenue comes from". Consequently there is a sense in which television is advertising. Similarly sports as a part of television has become pure advertising, a pure spectacle. It "is a full partner, an enthusiastic participant in the pitchman's parade, part and parcel of television advertising business" (Johnson 1971, p. 62. Also see Parente 1977). As such sports is just one other sector of programming. It has long lost any hope of autonomous decision making. NFL Commissioner, Pete Rozelle, says, "A professional sports league is not a natural product.. (but) a wholly artificial entity created and kept alive by rules of organization developed for that purpose" (in Kidd 1978). Today, the prime purpose of these rules seen in the context of the capitalist economy is to attract more TV money. The real battle of sports is not on the playing field but is fought out as a ratings war between the networks and between sports. As such sports gain enormously from network rivalry. For instance professional football earns \$656 million over four years for selling the TV rights to their games. It is obviously a vital and valuable commodity that sells for a high price on the market. The important question then is to ask, "what is so special about professional football (or other professional sports)

that allows it to command such huge prices?" The converse question is equally important, "Why is television so vital for sports?"²

II. Sports, Demographics and Programming:

Sports, as far as TV ratings are concerned, "deliver the numbers", and have become an increasingly important factor in the marketing considerations of major corporations. The case of Gillette is instructive here. It was shown above how this company was one of the first to discover the value of sports advertising. For the twenty years 1940-60 no other company was more closely associated with sports. Until 1965 it owned the radio rights to the World Series and most probably is best remembered for its regular Friday night boxing. It also invested heavily in the new AFL. Since the sixties, however, Gillette has had to share the sports audience with many other substantial advertisers, but still it spends over \$10,000,000 a year on sports advertising (see Johnson 1971). Al Leonard says, "We're not alone any more. We're only one of many advertisers of an event. There is no way we could afford to buy an entire major event - or even enough of it to get some significant product-identification out of it. We have to spread ourselves around now." Gillette now advertises widely in prime time also. The trouble with prime

time advertising is that although you get quantity, you do not know who you get. This has been called the "kamikaze" approach, i.e., instead of pinpointing one target a whole barrage is sent off in the hope of getting as many as possible. This prime time mass audience is called "bananas". It is also basically female oriented. Contrasted with this is the specificity of sports broadcasting. You not only know who you are going to get but you have a monopoly at that time on those demographic characteristics. The basis of this not only concerns the nature of sports in America but also is based on the system of monopoly that is operating within American sports (which will be dealt with in depth later in this chapter). Because sports can offer these precise demographics it can also generate more advertising dollars. On prime time it costs the advertiser approximately \$4 per thousand customers reached. Sports is about twice this. But as Rozelle was quoted earlier as saying sports can turn out to be a better "buy". As such sports also attract not only the mass consumer package advertisers but also the airlines, insurance companies, the banks and automobile producers. John DeLorean, general manager of Chevrolet says, "the difference in paying \$7 a thousand for sports and \$4 a thousand for 'bananas' is well worth it. You know you're not getting Maudie Frickert. You're reaching men, the guys who make the decision to buy a car.

There's almost no other way to be sure of getting your message out to them." (in Johnson 1971, p. 224)

Thus the first answer to why sports are important for television is that they deliver the right kind of audience. The second answer is less tangible and more ideological and concerns vaguer notions of prestige, programme balance and "Americanism". Here is how network executives rationalize these features (from Johnson 1971). One programmer says, "a TV schedule without football is like mom's apple pie without the apples". Bill MacPhail, the head of the CBS Sports Department says while complaining what a "bad investment" sports are,

"The network keeps programming sports for prestige, for image and because our affiliated stations want it badly. We keep up our heavy programming because sports is part of - well, the American way, I guess. It's also news, it has an immediacy and it appeals to both sexes."

It also helps to sell products because of its place in the American way of life. Chet Simmons of NBC Sports says,

"We don't give ten seconds thought to our effect on sports. It does not really dawn on us that we have power to change things in sports. What we want is balanced programming for our network. We are in the broadcast business."

Roone Arledge of ABC states that,

"essentially, television is a bland mass medium that has to generate lots of bodies, masses, big numbers in order to be successful.. the networks need something to distinguish themselves. The image is built on news and sports. Having exclusive rights to the NFL or the World Series or the Army-Navy game is damned near like owning a space shot or the Pope's visit."

Again, straight from the horses mouth, Dick Forbes, Chrysler's advertising director says,

"There is prestige for Chrysler in having the product associated with these events. Sports is a splendid environment for our commercials because when a man is going to buy a big-ticket item like a car he wants to know that he's dealing with a prestige company. Sports is a wholesome, clean, healthy setting for a product. There's no serious controversy involved, no dissent. I'd a lot sooner have my commercials follow Curt Gowdy than Huntley-Brinkley and that's why we're in sports." (Johnson 1971, p. 234)

Accumulation and ideology here are dialectically inter-related. Sports, advertising, ideology and accumulation are similarly related in that it is the relationships and interconnections between them that define the nature of sports broadcasting.

III. The Monopoly in Sports:

The success of the sports/media complex is derived purely and simply from monopoly. Moreover professional sports is the only self-regulated monopoly in the USA. Bruce Kidd (1978) has observed that there are five characteristics and stages in the development of commercial sport - cartelization, monopoly (one seller market), monopsony (one buyer market), media dependence and public subsidy. The role of the State in the development of this process within professional sports is immense. The basis of the continuity of monopoly in American team sports lies in a 1922 U.S. Supreme Court decision on a suit brought against baseball by a rival league. The charge was that organized baseball (the National and American Leagues) had conspired to destroy the Federal League by buying out its teams and monopolizing the player market. The decision of Justice Holmes was that baseball was the giving of local exhibitions and not interstate commerce and was thus immune from anti-trust laws. Despite the fact that today baseball (and all professional sports) is not only interstate but international, and that the decision has been retested five times in Supreme Court, the 1922 decision still holds. Apparently the Supreme Court's reluctance to reverse the decision is based on the thinking that a sudden change now might disrupt an industry that for decades has been built on that

decision. Many owners have said that monopoly rights were some of the main reasons for getting into sports. Although baseball is the only sport exempted from the anti-trust legislation all the other team sports have benefitted from the same exemption. Congressman Frank Horton states, "basically all four sports enjoy an immunity-baseball because it is immune by judicial decision and others because the executive branch and the Justice Department just have not really followed up and tried to enforce the anti-trust laws." (in Kennedy and Williamson 1978, p. 36)

Although sports teams are in competition with one another, they are also in partnership in a sports league, in which the teams operate a cartel which acts uniformly on matters of mutual interest. Among the interests are such things as collusion, price-fixing and restraint of trade. Congressman John Sieberling, an active anti-trust lawyer, states, "whenever artificial barriers are created to the normal forces of the marketplace and free enterprise, the American people end up paying a higher price and getting less of a commodity" (Williamson and Kennedy 1978, p. 36). The characteristic pattern of American sports has seen a league being created and enjoy financial success, being challenged by a rival league that brings down prices for the game and raises the salaries that the players can command,

and the eventual unification of the two leagues so that prices are again raised as there is once again monopoly of the market accompanied by a fall in player salaries.³ This pattern has been followed in all the major American professional sports - Football (AFL, NFL), Baseball (NL, AM), Basketball (ABA, NBA) and Hockey (WHL, NHL). Even in soccer there is at the moment an underpublicized and undercapitalized opposition to the NASL - the ASL. As soccer becomes more popular and especially as it starts to produce native born players, this competition should intensify. The precise effect of the role of monopoly on sports' relationship with the media will be examined below but immediately the history and analysis of the role of television in the battle that took place between the AFL (American Football League) and the NFL (National Football League) will be examined.

The AFL was set up in opposition to the NFL in the 1950's. The NFL had swallowed up a couple of previous attempts at competition and did not need to be too worried about the AFL, which to start with had a five year contract with ABC for \$1.785M a year (\$200,000 a team). In contrast with the NFL this was unsubstantial. For the first five years of its existence the AFL bumbled along and ABC managed to wind up with a handsome profit by arranging a

complex network of regional tie ins. The AFL did survive and generated some sort of interest. On January 24th 1964 football truly came of age in the era of mass television. With networks beginning to recognize the enormous potential of TV football contracts, the battle was on to get the TV rights for the NFL which in the late 1950's and early 60's had been increasing in popularity. January 24th 1964 would be the day when the bids would be opened by the NFL for the TV rights for the next two years. The NFL's contract with CBS stood at \$4,659,000 a year and there was expected to be serious competition from all the major networks. CBS and ABC spotted that the NFL specifications left room to do doubleheaders (two games in a row, one after the other). NBC did not see this little gem and consequently put in the lowest bid. In the end CBS kept the rights for \$14 million a year, nearly three times as much as the previous contract. Schecter writes,

"Poor NBC. The network not only had egg on its face, it was like a girl who had just broken up with her boy friend, wondering what to do with its Sunday afternoons. Also like a girl, it started shopping around for a new boy friend. The AFL was available." (1969, p. 70)

NBC knew however that to make the AFL competitive with the NFL it needed money to be able to sign the future stars of

the NFL. On January 27th 1964, NBC signed a contract with the AFL for \$42,000,000 over five years. It was five times as much as the previous ABC contract. Suddenly even the NFL contract with CBS lost some of its shine. Joe Foss, Commissioner of the AFL said, "We couldn't have competed without television" and, as Johnson has observed what happened in 1964 was that an entire industry had been bought by television (it will be seen later how the state facilitated this process). Television now owned professional football, lock, stock and barrel. What it really meant was that for the first time there was competition to the NFL -- Real competition (i.e., real capital). What was also significant was that NBC knew they would lose money on the AFL at the start but in order to break the football monopoly which they had lost out on, it was the only thing they could do. For the new players coming out of college it meant huge salaries because there was no longer one common draft but competition from employers who needed them badly. Joe Namath is the most famous of these children of competition. However this situation could not last for long.

"If the NFL had had the power to keep the AFL out of business and thereby protect their right to exploit the market as a monopolist, they would have done so. But the AFL was able to make it a battle. Therefore like all good capitalists, the owners of both leagues realized that their competition was only benefitting

the consumers and the producers, and unlike the spectacles they sell, they decided they would both be winners. Thus in contrast to the ideology they perpetuate, in true monopolistic fashion they decided to merge. This way they could agree to share the market, raise their prices together and ensure the continued rip-off of the consumers (fans). They could also stop the situation which put the producers (players) in a stronger bargaining position." (Kellerman in Hoch 1972)

To this end the two leagues effected a merger in 1966 (which went through Congress as the Football Merger Act) and "realignment" in 1969. There was much negotiation in 1969 about which NFL teams would join the AFL in the new league partition of 1970. Johnson writes that it was believed at the time that the disagreements were caused by Ford and Chrysler who because they had both been identified for so long with one of the leagues (Ford NFL, Chrysler AFL) felt that their carefully established images would be destroyed with the break up of the old leagues. But it was clear that there was going to have to be a break up and that the new leagues that were formed would have to be equally matched. This match up, to show the ultimate influence of television, would not be based on team quality, attendance, or stadia but on the equal division of the top television markets. Under the old system the NFL had a team in each of the major 12 television markets. The

AFL had only one (New York). Where it mattered the AFL was clearly second rate. Said Lamar Hunt, owner of the AFL Dallas Texans, "It would have been degrading to the AFL if the NFL were providing more TV money. People would seize on it as evidence of inferiority no matter what we did in the Super Bowl". As such under the realignment rules the AFL picked up the valuable television markets of Baltimore (9), Cleveland (10), and Pittsburgh (11). The end result of all this negotiation was that once again monopoly was secure and the television money that had gone largely to players would now flow to the owners.

What the 1922 anti-trust decision means is that in American sports there exists a monopoly among corporations that offer the same commodity. The owners of the clubs control the game totally. They have the power to make and change the rules of the game and they control the time and place of the games and the price of the tickets. The acquisition of a sports team franchise is in fact the acquisition of a number of monopolistic rights. Its profitability stems from this monopoly. Specifically these rights include the distribution of existing and additional franchises by the owners, the sale of broadcast rights, the control of the flow of players and the right to depreciate players. For now only the sale of broadcast rights will be

discussed. It has already been seen above how the state has acted explicitly in the interests of sports team owners (1922, 1966 Football Merger Act) and granted sports rights that other sectors of industry do not share. In relation to broadcasting rights it can be seen how the Federal Government has acted to enact laws that are in the best interests of sports team owners and the three major television networks, at the expense of the consumer.

In all the major professional team sports a franchise includes exclusive broadcast rights within the clubs' home territory. These rights have two purposes. Firstly, the club protects its home gate receipts against broadcast of its home games or that of other members. Secondly, they assure each club a home territory broadcasting monopoly. Even before the end of competition in 1961 these were rarely challenged. However, before 1961 there was substantial competition between networks and between teams to buy and sell these rights. But this was of no use to either the networks, who although they did not pay much for the rights were also not guaranteed an audience given that other clubs and networks could fractionate a TV audience with their games, or to the sports teams, which found that broadcast revenues were low because networks could shop around between teams. In effect there was an intensified seller's market so that in 1960-61 ABC televised

AFL games, NBC telecast Baltimore and Pittsburgh games of the NFL and CBS telecast the remaining NFL games. In 1961 the 14 NFL clubs averaged \$332,000 in broadcast revenue. In 1964 without competition they averaged \$1.1 million. Horowitz (1977) writes,

"In view of the artificial scarcity of television channels which the FCC (Federal Commission of Communications) has managed to effect, the sports broadcast competition that existed in 1960 was about as rigorous as it could get, as least insofar as networks - that is regional and national - regular season telecasts are concerned... competitive local broadcasts have only occasionally been a serious concern of the sports interest. In 1961 Congress therefore took it upon itself to help eliminate the potential evils of competition - lower prices and increased quantities - by passing Public Law 87 - 33 (75 Stat. 732)."
(Horowitz 1977, p. 163)

The 1961 law permitted professional sports teams to pool their broadcast rights to sell to the highest bidder. Once these rights were pooled it was obvious that only the major networks would be able to enter the bidding, and despite the increased costs they would have what they wanted most of all - an unfractionated guaranteed audience. Subsequently, their asking price for commercial time rose substantially. Thus in the 8 year period 1962-70 the total receipts for regular season network broadcast of Major League Baseball

went from \$2 million to \$9.6 million and for professional football teams from \$6.5 million to \$43 million. Similarly by 1976 sponsors were paying CBS and NBC from \$56,000 to \$60,000 per minute for early season NFL games. Although no one network has a complete monopoly each network has gained a virtual football broadcast monopoly with the exception of competing Sunday NFL broadcasts. The networks also co-operate with each other over programming to ensure that each game produces its guaranteed audience (see Johnson 1971).

One of the major effects of Public Law 87-33 is to force out of the professional sports telecast market the independent television stations. They can no longer compete with sports and can only respond with movies and reruns as alternatives on Saturday and Sunday afternoons. By driving up broadcast costs this ensures the networks a monopoly on the sports audience - hence higher advertising costs. Roone Arledge of ABC Sports says, "Sports is very profitable...one of the most profitable divisions of the company". Ultimately of course, with skyrocketing broadcast revenues and advertising time the only winners are professional sports and the networks and the losers the independent stations and most of all the consumers who bear the brunt of all the rising prices. The State through Public Law 87-33 has explicitly acted to create the

conditions for increased accumulation by the powerful segments of the capitalist class.

Apart from merger, realignment and broadcast monopoly the other major move within professional football was the introduction of ABC's Monday Night Football. This is an example of football having almost saturated the other times traditionally available to it and looking to prime time expansion. Rozelle said, "We can't expand our box office because our stadiums are filled. There has been talk of over exposure on Sundays with doubleheaders, seven hours of football, that sort of thing. The rights are high and advertising rates are scaring sponsors off. I know that. So we want this Monday night package to have an escape valve - so we don't have to get all of our money on Sunday only" (Johnson 1971, p. 140). CBS and NBC were not keen on doing it as they already had popular prime time shows then. But Rozelle pushed hard for 13 Monday games and found a buyer in ABC, the weakest of the three networks on prime time programming. Also the Hughes Sports Network was bidding and ABC were afraid that if the Hughes Network did get it they would lose a number of their affiliates to it. Arledge says, "We simply couldn't risk the competition."

IV. Television Revenue, Franchise Location and Salaries:

Television rights have since 1940 played a large part in the location and movement of franchises and the success or failure of teams in the major markets is reflected in the kinds of television prices that the league can command. Access to television markets is also reflected in the signing of players and free agents. It was mentioned earlier how television markets had an influence on AFL/NFL reorganization. In fact territorial rights are one of the factors that ensure almost any professional sports franchise will be profitable. Teams in the big cities try and keep out other new teams for the simple reason that more supply means less demand and that means less profit (when the NHL Islanders moved into New York they had to pay the Rangers substantial compensation - about \$5 million). Thus teams in a crowded big market will always look for other markets to move to. Hence in 1958 the Brooklyn Dodgers moved to Los Angeles despite the fact that the Dodgers (in the face even of two other competitors, the Giants and the Yankees) accounted for 44% of the National League pre-tax profits. Among the things that Los Angeles offered was the promise of a lucrative broadcasting deal. "But essentially O'Malley's (the Dodger owner) move was a straight business deal, based on the equation that 100% of a big virgin market was better than 33½% of a big

tested market" (Kennedy and Williamson 1978, p. 42). In 1965 the move of the Milwaukee Braves to Atlanta was wholly based on the considerations of television. The club was sold to new owners in 1965 who decided in a very "rational" manner that Milwaukee was geographically unsuitable for a major league baseball team because both Chicago and Minneapolis TV markets impinged on the Milwaukee area. Despite the fact that the stadium was in good condition and that 950,000 people had paid to see the Braves in 1964, the Braves were moving to Atlanta which offered a TV-radio contract of \$1,250,000 a year. The contract in Milwaukee was \$525,000. Tom Bennet of the Braves public relations office says, "We moved south in the first place because of TV. We filled that gap in eight states which had been without a big league team".⁴

Television also has a huge influence in terms of the signing of players for particular clubs. The most visible example of the effect of TV money is the case of Pete Rose signing for the Philadelphia Phillies for the 1979 season. At first the Phillies could not match the offers of other teams to Rose who had become a free agent at the end of the 1978 season. However the Phillies had an arrangement with a local station, WPHL-TV whereby the Phillies receive \$1,350,000 a year for 75 televised games

(most of them away games) and a 50/50 split of the advertising revenues once they have reached a certain figure. The Phillies, keen to have Rose play for them asked WPHL-TV if they could guarantee a flat \$600,000 in 1979 as the club's share of the extra advertising revenue generated by Rose. After market research, the station found that if Rose played for the Phillies he would significantly raise viewing levels and this would lead to increased commercial demand for advertising airtime. So WPHL guaranteed \$600,000 a year extra and Rose signed for the Phillies because he could generate increased audiences. Here the media were producing audiences that would not have otherwise have existed by allowing the Phillies to sign Rose (see Johnson 1979).

One of the frequent accusations against the winning by players of free agent status at the end of their contract is that this is going to destroy competitive balance as the richer clubs will get all the big players. But as Kennedy and Williamson write, "The order that prevails in professional sports has nothing to do with competitive balance but with overloading the scales in favour of the teams in larger, stronger markets. The imbalance was built into the system long ago and it derives from a formula as straight and decisive as three strikes and you're out.

That is all other things being equal, a team that monopolises a big-city or regional market can draw more fans, earn more money, buy better players, win more games, earn much more money and so on to the championship" (1978, p. 80 . This was clearly the case in the example given of Pete Rose. The simple fact of the matter can be stated in cost/benefit terms. Even if Rose had signed for, say Seattle, for \$600,000 he would not have been worth as much to them as to Philadelphia. Economist James Quirk writes, "The basic difficulty confronting professional sports arises from the fact that franchises are located in cities of differing revenue potential. Consequently a star player is worth more to the owner of a New York franchise than he is to the owner of a franchise in a smaller city" (in Noll 1974). The worth of a player is in terms of drawing power, not ability. As George Steinbrenner, the owner of the Yankees says, "You measure the value of a ballplayer by how many fannies he puts in the seats". Also it is more profitable if a bigger club does well than a smaller club, e.g., if Seattle or Milwaukee improved its record by 10 games - they would draw an extra 25,000 fans but a New York teams' improvement by the same amount would draw it an additional 210,000 (see Williamson and Kennedy 1978). The figures for TV viewing are not available but can be hypothesized to be similar to these.

Let there be no doubt about it. Television to a huge degree controls and supports professional sports. Without TV money professional sports would literally crumble overnight.⁵ Pete Rozelle says, "Television, which is a major support to professional football, also has the capacity to destroy it". But as Johnson says, that is not very likely to happen for a while, because the rules of network competition are profit, corporate jealousy, financial gamesmanship and the fear that your rival will outsmart you. Also there is the "sinister" Hughes Sports Network standing in the wings and behind that, what many people believe to be the future of televised sports - Pay TV. Pay TV is an evolving technology that will provide a much wider range of alternative choices and, it is claimed, without commercials. Instead consumers will pay for individual programmes - sports is hypothesized to be a major featured area of programming.

V. The Future - Pay TV?:

Pay TV seems to be the future of televised sports. But this popular belief has to first face up to a number of facts. The most important of these is that Pay TV and Cable is controlled by the regulations of the Federal Commission of Communication (FCC), an arm of the Federal

State, which in the past has acted widely in the interests of the major networks. In the short term what seems to be brewing is a battle between segments of the capitalist class. What makes it even more interesting is that the members of the emerging class have substantial sporting interests. Jim Fitzgerald (Bucks), John Fetzer (Tigers), Ted Turner (Braves, Hawks), Jack Kent Cooke (Redskins), all have interests in cable and Pay TV companies. In Canada Global Communications, a cable company, have a major owning interest in the NASL Toronto Blizzard. Already some professional teams are dabbling in it but it will most probably be a while before Pay TV can even think of taking substantial sports telecasts away from conventional television. Immediately the FCC regulations are somewhat prohibitive. According to Horowitz in 1977 sports events are available to Pay TV only,

"(a) if fewer than 25% of the events in a given category were broadcast live over conventional television during that season among the preceding five in which the most events in that category were telecast, then the number of events available would be the remaining events not telecast during the high-water-mark season.

(b) if, however, 25% or more of the events in a given category were broadcast live during the highwater-mark season, then only 50% of the remaining events may be available to Pay TV."
(Horowitz 1977)

In both conditions the number of games available to Pay TV is not great. According to Horowitz there are four main reasons why Pay TV is not to be feared as yet by the networks: (1) Conventional TV offers sports a lot of exposure; (2) At the moment sports telecasts are rather profitable and cheap for sponsors and it seems Pay TV would have to bid substantially higher than the current contracts (although interestingly enough in 1977, a California producer offered the NFL \$400 million for the rights to telecast the play offs and the Super Bowl for five years on Pay TV. See Kennedy and Williamson 1978). Also a pay system would have to compensate the league for the five years in which conventional broadcasting revenue would be lost;⁶ (3) As most contracts are multiyear, leagues and clubs are not in a position to immediately switch to Pay TV; (4) In the event that Pay TV becomes threatening, Congress would undoubtedly rescind Public Law 87-33 and turn the whole business upside down again through competition. Horowitz argues that the major impact of the Pay TV FCC anti-siphoning rules is,

"To practically guarantee in the short term, at least, the television networks will not have to compete with pay systems for national rights to league games, and therefore that growth of the pay systems will be inhibited because they are effectively prevented from offering programming that is available on

conventional television. Thus the FCC's anti-siphoning rules complete the process started by the Congress in 1961, whereby ABC, CBS and NBC are assured that the professional team-sports programming that they offer will face minimal, generally no competition from comparable events, and that in the initial bidding process the network will only have to compete among themselves for the broadcast rights to those events." (1977)

However this seems to be a period of struggle within the communication elite/class with the development of new forms of technology which for the moment are at odds with the existing forms. Pearce (1976) has suggested that when the networks are faced with competition and changing technology the response has been to either take control and ownership of the new technology (e.g., domestic satellites) or to stifle **this** new development (as in the case of cable). To be able to answer this question and posit the future development of the sports/media relationship it is necessary to think in a wider fashion the context of the development of technology within capitalism. Marx (1968) posits that the contradiction that lies at the heart of the future development of capitalism was that between the relations of production and the forces of production, i.e., that the relations of production of capitalism (labour/capital) would hold back the development of capitalism because greater surplus value or profit could be

generated within the existing technology. The development of cable, interactive systems and Pay TV does not seem to pose such a problem. The problem seems to be one of control. Given the gigantic resources available to the networks it does not seem outrageous to suggest that the "threat" of Pay TV will be handled by simply taking control of its development, inaugurating it as an advance forward, widely distributing the new technology and making sure that it becomes the dominant form, phasing out conventional television and introducing advertising back on Pay TV so that consumers both pay for the programme and still have to be exposed to advertising. Given the absolute importance of advertising to the whole process of capitalist production/consumption and the fact that advertising is the key function of mass media systems there seems no way that Pay TV will be able to eliminate it. Indeed, the whole system depends on it. All Pay TV is going to do is to increase the profits of the capitalist class by making people pay for what they now get "free". Predictions of the networks need to destroy the new technology forgets the "progressive" nature of capitalism. In summary it is being argued that at present we are viewing an elaborate staged struggle between fractions of the dominant class that will end in the victory of both the fractions, and the capitalist class as a whole, over the mass of media consumers - the

working class. There is a need to look forward from the immediate context.

One thing that has been notable in the analysis so far is the very active role that the State has played in facilitating the media/sports relationship as profitable as possible to the two sides. From the 1922 Supreme Court decision (on which lies the whole foundation of monopoly sports) through to the 1966 Football Merger Act, the 1962 Public Law 87-33, the State has acted to give sports and the major networks substantial concessions. If other rights are added to this, such as the right to depreciate players in a franchise for tax writeoffs, and cheap stadium rental, as well as the FCC anti-siphoning regulations against Pay TV, then the role of the State in regard to the development of sports stands as an area that needs careful further analysis. The representation of media and especially sporting interests within the State and political parties (e.g., Gerald Ford is the principal owner of the NFL Cleveland Browns) is a neglected field of study but one which would shed much light on the development of sports within the American monopoly capitalist complex, e.g., Goldman and Wilson (1977) in their work on the rationalization of leisure in the 1920's suggest that the State aided greatly in providing the facilities that

were necessary for the process to be successful (for sports and the State see Noll (1974), Horowitz (1977), Kidd (1978), Parente (1977), Hoch (1972)). In summary this seems to be a classical case whereby the State is involved in the twin functions of accumulation and of legitimation. Put bluntly the State provides favourable conditions for capitalist accumulation because it recognizes the importance of sports as opiate and legitimation (see James O'Connor, The Fiscal Crisis of the State; Louis Althusser, Lenin and Philosophy).

VI. Television and Changes in Sports:

The stress so far has been on the uses of sport by television, but television is also vital for sports. Most importantly television revenues now represent a substantial amount of the gross revenue of professional sports teams and this is a relatively stable source of income that does not depend much on fan allegiance. TV revenue also has the potential for expansion whereas stadium attendance and ticket prices have really been stretched. Also a factor that is often ignored is that sports use the media for publicity purposes. When Tony Morabito, the owner of the San Francisco 49ers was approached initially with the idea for showing the road game with the Rams he responded, "You mean you'll give me \$5,000 to show us here in northern

California when we're in Los Angeles? Hell I ought to pay you for the exposure". TV has not only become sports greatest sponsor but sports get hours of free publicity. Because sports is so indebted to television, "the decision makers in sports have apparently found it easier to change the nature of their sport to appeal to the desires of television rather than to the wants of the live spectator" (Parente 1977). The most obvious example of this is that television now tells sports when to play their games. The 1977 National League pennant was decided in a monsoon rain-storm because television dictated that it could not be postponed. The 1978 Super Bowl was played at night so that there would be an increased audience. The 1967 All Star Baseball game in California was started at 4 o'clock so that the big eastern markets could be reached in prime time. Schechter writes, "the late afternoon sun made it so difficult for the batters to see, the best hitters in baseball managed to score only 3 runs in 15 innings" (1969 p. 75). These are only a few examples. The truth is that the scheduling of sports fixtures is made after television has presented its time sheet. One local example of this is that the Vancouver Canucks normally start their games at 8 p.m. except when CBC and CTV cameras are there, in which case they start at 5 p.m. so that the eastern markets of Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa can be captured live. As

Jerry Colangelo, general manager of the Phoenix Suns, says, "if TV wants us to play at 4 a.m., we'll just have to leave early wake-up calls."

The interference of television within the actual playing structure of the game is perhaps what most annoys the purists of sport. There are phoney time outs in hockey and football to allow for commercials. Clearly these are not in the best interests of the "game" or the consumers, unless one believes that the reason people watch football is primarily to do with deciding which beer to drink or which car to buy. In 1978 the NFL negotiated with the networks to increase the number of commercials shown during a game from 20 mins to 22 mins. This is no small concession. Over the regular season of 16 Monday Night Football games ABC was able to collect \$5.4 million more. The cost over a season of all games is phenomenal and very profitable to the networks. Even within television circles there is opposition to this increasing commercialization and again it concerns the interests of the big networks. Westinghouse Broadcasting which is the largest commercial broadcasting concern after the major networks has petitioned the FCC for an inquiry into network/affiliate relationships. At the present the local affiliates have no control over network programming - they have to show what they are given which includes the amount of commercial

time the networks have allocated, which has been increasing in the last five years and now stands at 8 mins an hour. When the NFL announced that they were running these extra advertisements Westinghouse announced that it would refuse to carry these extra commercials. The networks responded swiftly and Westinghouse capitulated. Joy Francis of Westinghouse says, "we were given an ultimatum by all three networks that they would not abide covering off any commercial, or part thereof, and that if we insisted on it they would not feed us any NFL games...Flag, motherhood, the NFL - who can go on without the NFL" (Sports Illustrated Feb. 19th, 1979, p. 38). As Johnson says, "and there the State of the Game stands: four-square behind network power plays and ever more clutter for the buck".

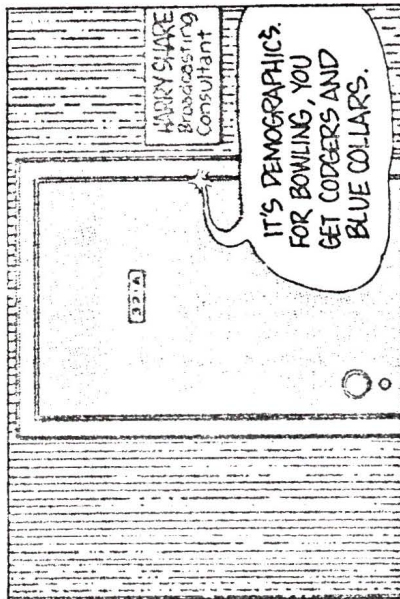
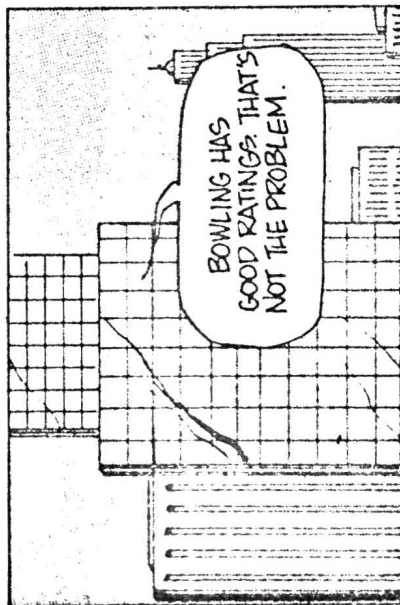
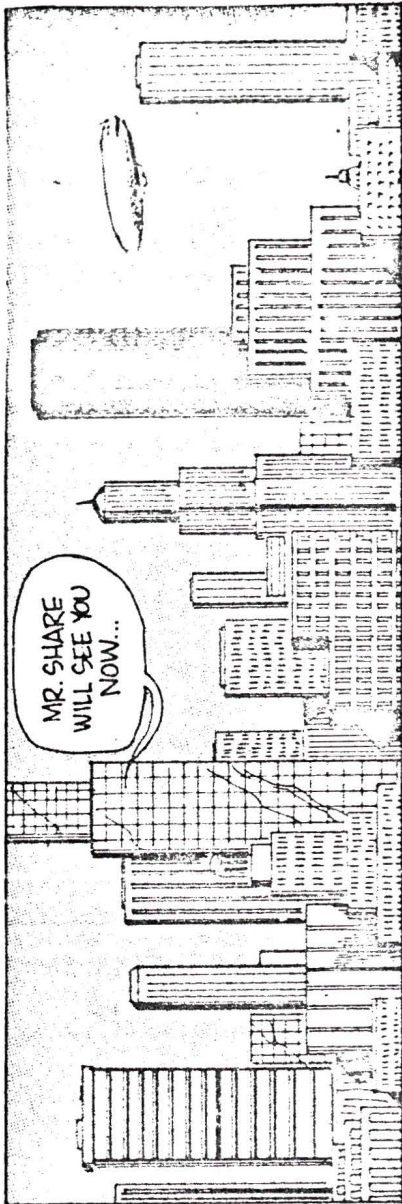
Rozelle says, "commercials are the compromise we had to make", but there are abuses connected to this which show the NFL is interested not in the consumer (the fan) but only in what television demands. As the networks come to increasingly fund professional sports so the "true" nature of the game is mutilated and destroyed. The calling of commercial time outs is a gross intrusion into the very structure of the game. In football it upsets the whole flow and tempo but such is the reliance of sports on TV and so passively has the American armchair public accepted it, that network executives now talk openly of it. CBS's Bill MacPhail says,

"Three years ago I wouldn't talk about this outside my most trusted colleagues at the network, but we've either gotten thicker skins or people are just getting more realistic. We used to have those semisecret signals from guys in red caps or white gloves. Now a man just waves his hand at the referee when we need a commercial. Nobody cares. Of course we don't just go busting in whenever we feel we should try to sell some beer. We have a rule that we never stop play inside the 20 yard line. If the game has gotten seven minutes into any quarter without a touchdown or a timeout for us to stick in a commercial, we try and get the referee to call a timeout. They are very cooperative." (Johnson 1971, 1137)

It is frightening to think how many teams have had their momentum destroyed because Chrysler wanted to peddle its latest model or Miller wanted to sell some beer. At present soccer is trying to sell itself to the networks. One of its major "difficulties" is that it is a continuous game and does not have many extended breaks. So commercials are shown during the action but this is not very satisfactory to either party. It seems it is not too far away that the timeouts will be introduced into soccer. And as Johnson says, "the influence of television on professional football has come to be more apparent in the self-determined and voluntary acts of football entrepreneurs themselves than in any pervasive coaxing or gentle arm twisting brought to bear by network executives".

TANK McNAMARA

by Jeff Millar & Bill Hinds



Thus because the networks like neat packages the NFL cut the halftime break from 20 minutes to 15 minutes so that the programme could fit nicely into a 2½ hour segment. Examples from other sports include the switch in golf from match to stroke play to ensure big names at the ends of telecasts, the introduction in tennis of tie breakers to end drawn out sets and the introduction of the three point field goal in basketball. Perhaps the most blatant and obvious example of the intrusion into sports was when NBC made a team take the kick off again because they missed it first time at a Super Bowl (see Johnson 1971, p. 83). Most of the changes that take place in sports today are done for the purpose of making it a more "marketable" product in terms of television.

VII. Sports Ownership:

The attempt in this chapter has been to show the real and concrete nature of the interpenetration and reliance of sports and television and also ultimately to show the role that sports play both as accumulation and as aiding accumulation (advertising) in the American corporate/state complex. One further indication of this would be to look at who owns and controls professional sports. Because of the ever increasing value of franchises the ownership of

sports teams is difficult to plot as they seem to be being constantly bought and sold. Using Hoch's (1972) work and Kennedy and Williamson (1978) hopefully some kind of structure will emerge in terms of corporate interlocks.

It was mentioned earlier that one of the rights involved when purchasing a professional sports franchise was the right to depreciate players for tax writeoffs. As such sports owners are very wealthy businessmen with substantial other interests or large corporations. Sports in this sense is directly connected to the corporate/state complex and again this shows how the state acts in the interests of capital, because the part that is written off is passed on to the government (see Bill Veeck, The Hustler's Handbook). Ultimately the taxpayers bear the cost of these corporate power plays.

Hoch in his review of ownership in sports posits a couple of important connections. Firstly, he points to the increasing centralization between the ownership of teams and facilities. The owners of the big indoor arenas have often had strong interests in hockey and basketball teams. Before the anti-trust laws applied in part to sports, for example, James Norris owned the "rival" Detroit Red Wings, New York Rangers and Chicago Black Hawks of the NHL, as well as the basketball teams in those cities and

the arenas in which both sports were played. He also owned the International Boxing Club which operated from Madison Square Garden. In 1972 the chairman of Madison Square Garden was Irving Mitchell Felt who was also chairman of the New York Rangers, the New York Knickerbockers, Madison Square Boxing, Holiday on Ice, Roosevelt Racing, Cinema City, the HCA Food Corporation and the Graham-Paige Corporation. The new owner of the Detroit Red Wings is Bruce Norris who is also president of the Norris Cattle Co. and Canadian American Agys. In Chicago the owner after Norris was Arthur Wirtz who is also president of the Consolidated Broadcasting Company, Consolidated Enterprises, the First National Bank of South Miami and Chicago Stadium Inc. The old owner of the Los Angeles Kings, Los Angeles Lakers and the Los Angeles Forum, Jack Kent Cooke was also owner of Cable TV (which broadcast the first Ali-Frazier fight) president of radio features company and vice president of the Washington Redskins. In the biggest financial deal in sports history Cooke sold the Lakers, the Kings and the Forum to Jerry Buss for \$67.5 million. Let there be no doubt as to why Buss bought the two teams and where he sees the future as lying. "The Lakers are good ordinary investment, nothing spectacular. In the past they have probably averaged around \$500,000 a year in operational

profits and the franchise value has appreciated \$500,000 a year. You could get the same return with high quality bonds. However, if we get into some pay television there, that could add as much as \$2.5 million in profits...also we're in a controlling position for all pay TV out of the Forum. We get a piece of it for any concerts or boxing matches or whatever. That could also help make it a very profitable venture" (Sports Illustrated June 18, 1979, p. 24). Here we can see the important connections epitomised in one man-sports/stadia/media. Even where this close connection does not exist between ownership of facilities and ownership of sports teams the municipal authorities have very often seen fit to rent at very low prices. In fact under one arrangement the city of New York actually ended up paying the Yankees for using the state owned Yankee Stadium. Hoch sums up "typically the hockey owners are multi-millionaires who own other large corporations, have close links in the media and banking interests, own the arenas they play in and also have big interests in other sports" (1972, p. 57).

Switching to baseball, the Yankees in 1972 were owned by CBS, a very clear indication of the kinds of connections that are operating between media and sports, although since then the Yankees have been purchased by

George Steinbrenner. The California Angels are owned by Gene Autry (an old star of western movies and a close friend of Richard Nixon's) who has close connections with CBS, owns television stations KOOL in Phoenix and KOLD in Tucson and radio stations in Hollywood, San Francisco, Seattle and Portland. The Detroit Tigers are owned by John Fetzer who also has connections with CBS and is president of his own broadcasting company, TV company, music company, the Cornhusker Television Corporation, Wolverine Cablevision and Amalgamated Properties. In the discussion above on Pay TV it was seen how a number of other owners of sports franchises had interests in Pay TV and related media. The connections between sports, finance, media are becoming increasingly obvious. Hoch writes,

"The interlocking directorates of sports and the mass media are hardly surprising. One sells the other. They form part of a single complex. As for the connections with finance, it would be hard to find any big business these days without them." (1972, p. 59)

Kennedy and Williamson (1978) think that the era of single occupancy ownership, of the "sportsman owner" is coming to an end. "In their stead have come faceless ranks of syndicates, shareholders and conglomerates". For example, all the Chicago teams are owned by local investment

groups. This trend has been called the "corporatizing of sport". The New York Knicks and Rangers are subsidiaries of Gulf and Western industries. The Houston Astros are jointly owned by divisions of General Electric and Ford, the St. Louis Blues are owned by Ralston Purina, the Seattle Supersonic are a subsidiary of First Northwestern Industries of Americas Inc., the New York Cosmos are owned by Warner Brothers, and Labatt's Breweries own 45% of the Toronto Blue Jays.

Although media corporation/sport connections are not obvious here (except for the Cosmos) such is the inter-connection between business and the media that it would be surprising if media interests were not heavily represented in sports control. Howard Ehrlich (1974) has documented the extensive corporate control of the three major commercial networks. [For example, ABC owns ABC TV networks (1,968 affiliated), 4 ABC radio networks (1,254 affiliates), the largest motion picture distribution chain in the U.S., ABC records, ABC international (controlling interests in 16 foreign companies) and is associated with TV stations in 26 foreign countries and ABC Worldvision which owns 64 foreign TV stations. ABC also has composite ownership of, among others, Chase Manhattan, First National Bank of Boston, Continental Bank, Merrill Lynch and First

Jersey National Bank. It has major corporate interlocks with (among others) with Allied Stores, Chrysler Corporation, American Electric Power, Bethlehem Steel, New York Telephone, Western Pacific, New York Jets Football Club and Western Union Telegraph.] The sports/business/finance/media complex is so intertwined that only in superficialities does it seem reasonable to talk of them as separate spheres. The viewing of monopoly capitalist structures from the point of view of sports offers a unique viewpoint and insight into the corporate structure and the role that social institutions (such as sport) play in the maintenance, reproduction and accumulation process that is the driving force of capitalist interests.

VIII. Summary:

Part Two has attempted to provide an outline of the concrete processes by which professional sports and the mass media have become closely interconnected. In particular the stress was on changes in production leading to the integration of sports into structures that were concerned with social control and marketing. The latter function was the specific focus of this part of the paper. At the same time the advancing forms of capitalist technology provided new forms of mass communication throughout the

late nineteenth and twentieth centuries with which professional sports were constantly articulated. As a result of this relationship between changing productive conditions (scientific management and increasing use of machinery), changing consumer patterns and needs, and an evolving communication technology the development of the sports/media complex has been an especially dynamic and changing process. As advanced capitalism increasingly took over many aspects of social life in an attempt to assert social control even in leisure time so sports have more and more played a role of mediating and masking the central contradictions of capitalism as an exploitative system. (This will be closely examined in Part Three.)

Although the function of producing audiences for sale to advertisers was one that sports fulfilled in their relationship with both the press and radio (and one which they continue to perform) it was the connection of sports with television that led them to be viewed almost as a single institution. The last chapter has examined the precise nature of this relationship and has seen that sports are important for television in that they provide access to parts of the population that are otherwise notoriously inaccessible to mass communications and also because they add prestige to the image of networks because they

represent an integral part of the ideology of "Americanism". Television revenues have become vital for sports in that they provide the means by which the huge salaries of players have to be met. In this sense the players have as much at stake, in the sports/media complex as the owners because without television the employer/employee relationship would not yield them the vast rewards that it presently does. Although their relationship remains one of objective exploitation in the sense of extraction of surplus value, they are the "aristocrats of labour". However a large proportion of television money also goes in the pockets of the owners so it is no surprise that franchise location and relocation is based on capturing the best television markets. In addition the owners of professional sports have been very anxious to appease the networks by making changes within sports that will lead to bigger audiences and thus more television money. Given this relationship between sports and the media it is also no surprise to find that there are numerous examples of interlocking directorships and ownerships between sports and the media.

Thus in conclusion to this section on the role of sports in aiding accumulation it can be seen that in the last 100 years the relationship between sports and the media has become ever more complex, evolving and adding

various new forms of media technology, growing into an industry that plays a vital role in the marketing process of advanced capitalism as well as sports itself being a sector of the economy that accounts for a substantial amount of accumulation within the structures it has helped to create.

PART THREE

THE SPORTS/MEDIA COMPLEX AND IDEOLOGY

Chapter 6 The Mass Media in Capitalism - Ideology,
Semiotics and Spectacle

Chapter 7 The Rules of the Game - Sports and Ideology

Chapter 8 Sports, Ideology and Advertising

Up till now it has been thought that the growth of the Christian myths during the Roman Empire was possible only because printing was not yet invented. Precisely the contrary. The daily press and the telegraph, which in a moment spread inventions over the whole earth fabricate more myths...in one day than could have formerly been done in a century.

Karl Marx 1871

OVERVIEW OF PART THREE

Part Two examined the role that sports played in the material reproduction of advanced capitalism. Part Three will examine the other half of the dialectical couplet within which the sports/media complex is located - ideological legitimation. The accumulation function was discussed first because of the priority that Marxism gives to the effectivity of material processes, but it should not be thought that the legitimation function is secondary in any real sense of the term. Indeed it will be argued here that as the sports/media complex has evolved and expanded through its relationship with, respectively, the press/radio/television, so it has increasingly come to mediate the wider tensions that advanced capitalism as a progressive mode of production engenders. At the same time it reflects in part these same tensions so that the legitimation process itself is caught up in contradictions. It is the relationship between reflection/mediation/escape/socialization that has to be properly conceptualized for an understanding of the ideological role that the sports/media complex performs for advanced capitalism. To facilitate this, this present section of the paper is composed of three chapters. Chapter 6 discusses the

theoretical orientations that are necessary to properly understand the concrete ideological processes that will be examined in Chapter 7. In particular the work of Althusser, Barthes and DeBord will be discussed as it is useful to the purpose of understanding the broad ideological processes of advanced capitalism as they operate at the three connected levels of dominant ideology, the ideological structure of everyday life and commodity fetishism. Chapter 7 is a demonstration of the precise way that sports fit into the theoretical concerns of the previous chapter. The dialectic that this chapter is attempting to conceptualize is sports as both an escape from the real world and as a reinforcement of the values of that world. In particular it examines the notion of sports as an opiate and a means by which capitalism imposes a false community on the audiences it has created. The themes of the ideological role of sports heroes, the kind of changes that sports as a TV commodity undergoes and the role of sports in propagating the value of competition are developed. In addition to this the way that sports aid in and legitimate a process whereby relations between people are increasingly transformed into a relation between things, and the implications of this for the idealized nature of the workplace as presented by sports is discussed. A further note to this is the way that sports help to

legitimate the racial division of labour of society in general. Finally, the role that sports play in legitimating passivity as a form of political action and consumerism as a form of social action and in the propagation of certain notions of masculinity are discussed. In conclusion and summary Chapters 6 and 7 argue that the sportscast presents ideological messages at a number of connected levels and these messages help to legitimate advanced capitalism as an exploitative system. Chapter 8 is an attempt to briefly suggest the ways that the marketing sector (advertising) has appropriated sports ideology and looks at the various techniques by which this is accomplished. In particular the role of women in sportscasts advertising is hypothesized as being important.

CHAPTER SIXTHE MASS MEDIA IN CAPITALISM -
IDEOLOGY, SEMIOTICS AND SPECTACLE

Connotative codes are the configurations of meaning which permit a sign to signify, in addition to its denotative reference, other additional implied meanings. These configurations of meaning are forms of social knowledge, derived from the social practices, the knowledge of institutions, the beliefs and the legitimations which exist in a diffused form within a society, and which order that society's apprehension of the world in terms of dominant meaning-patterns.

S. Hall

in Cohen and Young (1973, p. 177)

THE MASS MEDIA IN CAPITALISM -
IDEOLOGY, SEMIOTICS AND SPECTACLE

I. Ideology, Hegemony and Common Sense:

Within Marxism there can be identified two distinct approaches to the study of ideological domination (a third will also be discussed later). By far the most influential one in the English speaking world has been that which takes the explicit utterances of the mass media and analyses the way that they help to reproduce and legitimate the existing relations of production. Here the media are seen as explicitly providing frameworks of meaning within which social actors locate themselves and through which they make sense of reality. In contrast to this, within French Marxism has emerged a strong school of structuralists who locate ideology in the meanings that are embedded in cultural artifacts. Here the message is not written and not often audible in an explicit manner. However both these approaches do have some common features and they are brought together in the work of Louis Althusser, a French Marxist structuralist, who has had an enormous influence also in the English speaking sociological world, especially in the field of media studies.

In his most well known essay Althusser (1971) is concerned with problems concerning the reproduction of labour power.¹ In order to exist all social formations have to reproduce the conditions of their production simultaneously to their own production and in order to be able to proceed with the latter they must reproduce the productive forces (the means of production and labour power) and the existing relations of production. Labour power, Althusser notes, is reproduced by way of wages (and as was seen above, also by consumption within the monopoly capitalist market). But in addition to this reproduction, labour power also has to be competent and "skilled". Smythe argues that part of the "labour" which audiences do for capital is to "learn and reaffirm belief in the rightness of their politico-economic system" (1980). For Althusser the chief agency that teaches these skills in the production of labour power is the education system, but in terms of a wider ideological training others have argued that the chief agency is the media (Chibnall 1977) or the workplace (Collier 1973).

Althusser thus is partly concerned with how labour power is reproduced "through" ideology. Marx wrote in a famous passage:

"The ideas of the ruling class are, in every epoch, the ruling ideas, i.e., the class which is the dominant material force in society is at the same time its dominant intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production so that in consequence the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are, in general, subject to it... the ruling class...regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age!" (1956)

These ideas have been termed by subsequent writers in the Marxist tradition as dominant ideology, a "central system of practices, meanings and values" (Williams 1973) which are selected for emphasis and used as the basis of social action. Gramsci's notion of "hegemony" is central here (see Gramsci 1971). This concept has been used often in recent years as a substitute for "ideological domination" but this draws attention away from the richness of the term. Hegemony for Gramsci is a dialectic between force and consent by which the dominant class not only coerces (by means of force) but exerts a "total social authority" over the subordinated classes. The winning of hegemony takes place at the level of both the "base" and the "super-structures". At the latter level hegemony works through ideology. This level of ideology involves a special concept of power - not only the power to coerce and arrange the agenda so that some issues are excluded, but also

involves the winning and shaping of consent for the legitimation of the existing order. This process involves the institutionalization of definitions of reality that are in the best interests of the ruling class in all spheres of the social complex, so that the subordinate class come to live their domination as legitimate and just. This ideology provides what Gramsci calls the "cement" of society, holding together its very many contradictory and diverse elements. It gives unity to fragmentation. Hall writes,

"This operates not because the dominant classes can prescribe and proscribe in detail the mental content of the lives of the subordinated class...but because they strive and to a degree succeed in framing all competing definitions of reality within their range, bringing all alternatives within their horizon of thought. They set the limits - mental and structural - within which subordinate classes "live" and make sense of their subordination in such a way as to sustain the dominance of those ruling over them." (1977, p. 333)

For the present text the stress is on a conjunction of this explicit level of the ideological process with the structural messages that are passed on in everyday life. As such this particular level coalesces in common sense and everyday language. Common sense is the basic and commonly agreed knowledge of society. The world is classified through a refraction of this common sense into

simple and meaningful patterns. This is the vital element that makes common sense such a potent and powerful hegemonic force in any society. Through common sense one cannot learn how things are, their true nature, but only how they fit in. The explanations of ideological common sense only serve to reinforce and give legitimation to the existing relations of production. This is no movement of one-dimensionality but a complex interplay between ideology and reality. Because common sense has this spontaneous quality its premises cannot be examined and explicated. It moves in its own closed circle of reality. Ideology here is not seen as false or illusionary. ~~Instead it is real but~~ distorting.

II. Ideology and Reality:

Roland Barthes (1973) writes that mythical speech (ideology) "is a message. It is therefore by no means confined to oral speech. It can consist of modes of writing or of representations; not only written discourse, but also photography, cinema, reporting, sport, shows, publicity, all these can serve as a support to mythical speech" (p. 110). Ideology is present in "any significant unit or synthesis, whether verbal or visual". But ideology or myth does not exist statically in these objects. As in everything else ideology is a relational

concept. Signs, the "carriers" of ideology "cut at one and the same time into two floating worlds". As was mentioned earlier in the critique of the Weberian notion of ideological meaning and sport, signs (sports) communicate meaning because they are located within a wider ideological discourse. Events do not have a single, natural, necessary meaning. We come to know events "through" language which is itself mediated "through" ideology. Volshinov writes,

"A sign does not simply exist as a part of reality. It reflects and refracts another reality. Therefore it may distort that reality or be true to it, or may perceive it from a special point of view and so forth. Every sign is subject to the criteria of ideological evaluation....the domain of ideology coincides with the domain of signs. They equate with one another. Everything ideological possesses a semiotic value." (in Hall 1977, p. 329)

The ideological field of discourses thus organizes the arrangement and relation of signs so that they are all made intelligible within that framework.

How these signs come to have meaning within particular discourses is a complex matter. Clearly what is involved is not mere false imposition. Much crude Marxist analysis is rooted in the view that the dominance of bourgeois ideology is based on the fact that the bourgeoisie

control and disseminate "ideas". As John Mepham (1973) has written, the view that implies that ideas are transmitted via diverse institutions into the "otherwise empty minds of the working class", locates mystification one sidedly. One-dimensionality is the result of a technical imposition of ideology. Clearly this view is very mechanistic, determinist and undialectical. Mepham restates what the real problematic should look like.

"It is not the bourgeois class that produces ideas but bourgeois society. And the effective dissemination of ideas is only possible because, or to the extent that, the ideas thus disseminated are ideas, which for quite different reasons, do have a sufficient degree of effectiveness both in rendering reality intelligible and in guiding practice within it for them to be apparently acceptable. It is the relation between ideology and reality that is the key to its dominance. To show this one would have to explore the relation between the 'representations in men's brain's' and the reality of which these are representations both as a cognitive and as a practical relation." ✓

Marx saw scientific exposition as being a progression from essential relations to phenomenal forms, i.e., from the real to the imaginary (inquiry is a progression from phenomenal forms to essential relations). Although imaginary, these phenomenal forms are not illusions, they are concrete existing relations. For Marx the problematic

was not only to discover the essence behind the superficial surface realities but to discover the structure by which essential relations were transformed into phenomenal forms. Clearly, if these phenomenal forms were false or mere inversions of the real relations then reality would be unworkable. The point is that although these phenomenal forms are not the true reflection of the real relations they do have some connections with it which renders them real. Henry Lefebvre writes that,

"Social reality, i.e., interacting human individuals and groups, produces appearances which are something more and else than mere illusions. Such appearances are the modes in which human activities manifest themselves within the whole they constitute at any given moment - call them modalities of consciousness. They have far greater consistency, let alone coherence, than mere illusion or ordinary lies. Appearances have reality and reality involves appearances." (in Mephram 1973, p. 14)

The central contradiction within capitalism is that between capital and labour, but it is experienced as something else and only in moments of crisis is the true nature revealed. Ideology keeps these real social relations hidden by talking about them. In social life actors spontaneously think their relations with others. In isolation the dominant ideology is an idealist term, for this exists not just in thought but in social action.

If it were false per se there would be a danger that there could be clear contradiction with the experiencing of social reality. Althusser has suggested that the notion of "false consciousness" be replaced with that of "imaginary relationship to reality" and this does have the advantage of incorporating into an explanation of ideology its relationship to real material social conditions. Mepham has argued that "social life is structured like a language" or rather,

"the conditions that make it possible for social life to be of a particular kind (a particular mode of production) are also conditions for the possibility of a particular language. These conditions are material conditions and are the social practices which constitute a particular mode of production. The "natural self-understood" meanings encountered in social life form a text we need to decipher to discover its true meaning." (1973, p. 15)

III. Cultural Production - Creation and Control:

Signs thus both help to create this social world (language) and to make sense of it. They act as guides in its interpretation. Culture has been a term not as yet utilized in this text but perhaps now is the time to introduce it as an aid to our comprehension of the relation between ideology and reality. For Stuart Hall (1977) culture refers to the form of social existence under specific

historical conditions. Culture is not substantially different to the social but refers to another aspect of it. For the purposes of this exposition culture will be taken to mean the forms of appropriation of objects and ideas within determinate social relations. Culture here does not refer to something distinct from ideology but to a different aspect of it. Culture is transmitted through language and signs. Marx states in The German Ideology that culture, knowledge and language are rooted in social and material life and are not autonomous of it. The question then really becomes, if culture and ideology (and language) are a product of material and social conditions and if ideology is not a false imposition how does the everyday activity of social men bring about these "imaginary relations with reality"? The answer of course is that men do not have full control of these material and social conditions. Men are decentred by the material conditions of existence and production "and depend on circumstances and conditions which are not of their making and which they enter involuntarily...they cannot in any full and uncontradictory sense, be the collective authors of their action (Hall 1977, p. 320). Thus a situating of themselves in a social context which is made "intelligible" by their practice is out of the control of men, even though they themselves "create" this subjective world. Here then can

be seen the ultimate dependency of the "superstructures" on the "base". Practices and action in what can be labeled the "superstructures" are determined elsewhere, "experienced and realized only in ideology". In addition to this initial disarticulation, with the advancing division of labour and the separation of mental and manual labour there appears a second disarticulation between practice and ideology. As the means of mental production are increasingly expropriated by the dominant classes, so the concept switches from just ideology to dominant ideology - to ruling ideas. As the working class create their culture through their practice so increasingly under the system of monopoly capitalism they have to mediate this practice and locate themselves and their position, through and in "the already objectivated ideological discourses, the sets of ready-made and pre-constituted 'experiencings' displayed and arranged through language which fill out the ideological sphere" (Hall 1977, p. 322). (Sports are one set of these "objectivated ideological discourses".) Working class culture is "expropriated" from outside. Although created internally in determinate historical conditions its control lies outside of that class.

IV. Myth, Structure and Semiotics:

What then is the nature of ideology (or myth)?

Roland Barthes in his superb little book, Mythologies, lays out a scientific process by which to interpret everyday life. The science of signs is semiology. This is an offshoot from French structuralism. Saussure thought that language is a structured system and that the value of linguistic units is not determined by an absolute relationship with a non-linguistic unit, but with its relationship with other linguistic units within language. He advocated that the code could be discovered by analyzing the structure of "messages". Levi-Strauss extended this study of systems of value to include kinship, economic exchange and myth. Burgelin (1972) argues,

"There is no reason why those principles should not prove equally applicable to the study of mass communication. Like the linguist, the student of mass communication is surrounded by a universe of messages. Certainly, not all these messages are coded linguistically: the mass media include a vast amount of visual matter, music and non-linguistic signs generally. But all the messages appear non-the-less to relate to a general science of signs, the principles of which were laid down by Saussure and which he christened semiology." (1972, p. 314)

More widely the study of signs locates them in the broader cultural framework within which they originate and within which they function. Semiologists are not simply content with "facts", with appearance. For them they are also

defined as carriers of something else. The attempt is to discover their essence. Barthes claims that in any semiological system there are three different terms that have to be dealt with and that they are grasped not one at a time but as a unit - the signifier and the signified are united in the sign. Barthes gives an example: a bunch of roses signify passion. In reality there exist only "passionified roses" but in analytical terms this can be separated, "for the roses weighted with passion perfectly and correctly allow themselves to be decomposed into roses and passion: the former and the latter existed before uniting and forming this third object, which is the sign" (L 973, p. 13). But this is only the first level on which ideology (myth) is built: myth proper is a second order semiological system. The first level is that of language and the sign of this level becomes on the second level a signifier which unites with an ideological signified to produce the myth. Barthes writes,

"It can be seen that in the myth there are two semiological systems, one of which is staggered in relation to the other: a linguistic system, the language (or the modes of representation which are assimilated to it) which I shall call the language-object because it is the language which myth gets hold of in order to build its own system; and myth itself, which I shall call meta-language, because it is a second language, in which one speaks about the first." (p. 115)

What Barthes is positing here is an underlying level of meaning, of the form of the meaning - of structure. Again his example is illuminating. On the cover of Paris-Match a young black soldier in French uniform is saluting the tricolour. This is the meaning of the picture on the level of language. Barthes continues "but, whether naively or not, I see very well what it signifies to me: that France is a great Empire, that all her sons without any colour discrimination faithfully serve under her flag, and there is no better answer to the detractors of an alleged colonialism than the zeal shown by this Negro in serving his so-called oppressors" (p.116). The vital point to emphasize here is that the form (the myth) does not suppress the meaning but only impoverishes it: "the meaning loses its value, but keeps its life, from which the form of the myth will draw its nourishment". Thus capitalism does not impose upon sport a false form but distorts the meaning as it already exists. Again the dialectic between control and resistance, between imposition and creation. In Mythologies Barthes brilliantly demonstrates this method by an analysis of TV soap-powder commercials (p. 36).³

The final ideological (mythical) form is the only level which is seen in a full sense, "the only one which is consumed in actual fact". As stated above, myth is not

pure false imposition. It hides nothing, it distorts but does not destroy. The meaning is deformed by ideology. That which is full, meaning, becomes that which is empty, form. Thus in the Barthes example the Negro is deprived of his history and changed into a gesture. This deformation alienates the meaning. But it is the dialectic between meaning and myth that gives ideology its legitimation as truth. Ideology is defined not by its literal sense but by its intention which is frozen, purified, externalized and absented by the literal sense. Myth makes itself look neutral and innocent. Barthes writes,

"The appropriation of the concept is suddenly driven away once more by the literalness of the meaning. This is a kind of arrest, in both the physical and the legal sense of the term: French imperialism condemns the saluting Negro to be nothing more than an instrumental signifier. The Negro hails me in the name of French imperialism; but at the same moment the Negro's salute thickens, becomes vitrified, freezes into an eternal reference meant to establish French imperialism. On the surface of language something has stopped moving: the use of the signification is here hiding behind the fact and conferring on it a notifying look, but at the same time, the fact paralyzes the intention, gives it something like a malaise producing immobility; in order to make it innocent, it freezes it. This is because myth is speech stolen and restored." (p. 125)

Another major aspect of myth is that it naturalizes ideology. It transforms history into nature. The motivation behind

ideology is explicit but it is frozen into something natural. Barthes writes that if we read the Negro-saluting as a symbol of imperialism, the picture is discredited. Similarly, if it is seen as an alibi the obviousness of its motivation is clear. For myth to work "everything happens as if the picture naturally conjured up the concept, as if the signifier gave a foundation to the signified" (p. 130). We do not need to do any "work" for ideology on this level to impose itself. Also at this level myth is essentially aiming at causing an immediate impression. It is the corollary to the ideology of explicit speech. It reinforces in a very direct manner the wider ideological explanations through which social agents react to and create their reality. "A more attentive reading of the myth will in no way increase its power or effectiveness: a myth is at the same time imperfectible and unquestionable; time or knowledge will not make it better or worse." (p. 130)

Ideology turns history into nature and mere contingency appears as eternal. This loss of historical intention, of interest, has the effect referred to above of naturalizing distortion. "The world enters language as a dialectical relation between activities, between human actions; it comes out of myth as a harmonious display of essences. A conjuring trick has taken place; it has

turned reality inside out, it has emptied it of history and has filled it with nature, it has removed from things their human meaning so as to make them signify a human insignificance" (p. 143). This act of naturalizing bourgeois society and relations as eternal has the effect of depoliticizing speech. Ideology does not deny things but explicitly displays them, talks about them, explains them. In the process it makes them natural and eternal and turns explanation into fact. It does away with the complexity of capitalism, denying contradiction and presenting a harmonious whole. Included in this depoliticization is an injunction to celebrate the spectacles presented and not to act upon them.

V. The Society of the Spectacle - Separation and Unification:

So far this text has examined the dominant Marxist approaches to the study of ideological processes (the "propagandist" and the structural). To these can be added a third approach that is not so prominent but which can be directly found within the writings of Marx - this is the fetishism of commodities. (this will be discussed in more concrete terms in Chapter 7). Dallas Smythe's work is an attempt to say that the commodity form of capitalism becomes generalizable to the whole of that social formation and to look for its presence in previously ignored locations (i.e.,

audiences). A much more spectacular, abstract, philosophical, polemical and almost poetic attempt to do the same is Guy Debord's Society of the Spectacle (1970). Marx thought he had discovered the secret of capitalism in the commodity.⁴ For Debord instead,

"The entire life of societies in which modern conditions of production reign announces itself as an immense accumulation of spectacles. Everything that was lived has moved away into a representation." (I)

The attempt in this section has been to locate the forms of ideology found within capitalism at two distinct but dialectically related levels. Firstly was the traditional Marxist level of propaganda and secondly was the structuralist appropriation of everyday life (Barthes). Added to these is Debord's all pervading diffusion from capitalist forms of commodity production to all sections of social life, where everything within capitalism shows the effect of commodity production. Debord's notion of spectacular production posits that everything has moved away into a representation. As such we see social life as contemplation only. The spectacle is the autonomous movement of the non-living. What defines for Debord what the spectacle is, is wide-ranging.

"The spectacle, understood in its totality is simultaneously the result and the project of the existing mode of production. It is not a supplement to the real world, its added decoration. It is the heart of the unrealism of the real society. In all its specific forms, as information or propaganda, advertisement or direct consumption of entertainments, the spectacle is the present model of socially dominant life...The form and content of the spectacle are identically the total justification of the condition and the ends of the existing system. The spectacle is also the permanent presence of this justification, to the extent that it occupies the principal part of the time lived outside of modern production." (6)

The power of the spectacle is not merely propagandist because it does not just present images. Rather it is a social relation among people mediated by images. In addition it is an objectified vision of the world. The dialectical relation between creation and imposition was discussed above and there is little doubt that Debord's stress is on the all persuasive influence of the spectacle, but its complexity and recognition of the contradictory character of cultural and ideological processes should not be allowed to be hidden by his polemics. He recognizes that the spectacle cannot be contrasted to actual social activity because although the spectacle is itself produced, it invades material reality which takes within it the spectacular order. "Reality arises up within the spectacle and the spectacle is real" (8). Barthes pinpointed tautology as

one of the characteristics of myth and here too the spectacle means nothing more than "that which appears is good and that which is good appears". Debord argues that the spectacle is an indispensable decoration of the production of commodities and as the "general exposé of the rationality of the system...the spectacle is the main production of present day society".

What is the main ideological effect of the spectacle? For Debord the answer to this is separation - separation of people from themselves, from the means of production, from the objects of production, from their "free time" and most importantly from others (basically this is the Marxist theory of alienation). Separation reaches into the totality of life, both work and non-work. Monopoly capitalism encompasses everything within it. The social division of labour of capitalism has come to take on sacred character.

"The spectacle is the preservation of unconsciousness within the practical change of the conditions of existence. It is its own product, and it has made its own rules: it is a pseudo-sacred. It shows what it is: separate power developing within itself, in the growth of productivity by means of the incessant refinement of the division of labour into a parcelization of gestures which are then dominated by the independent movement of machines; and working for an ever more expanded market. All community and all critical senses are dissolved during the movement in which the forces which could have grown have separated and have not yet been discovered." (25)

With the increasing division of labour any direct communication between producers is lost. Any form of unity and communication has to come exclusively through the spectacle. Non-work time cannot rediscover the stolen activity of work by submitting to its result. In fact the monopoly of non-work time by commodities works to complete a circular production of isolation. "From the automobile to television, all the goods selected by the spectacular system are also its weapons for a constant reinforcement of the conditions of isolation of 'lonely crowds'" (28). The production of the spectacle has at its heart the loss of unity and it expresses the extent of this loss, but it presents it as a unity - a unity of separation. Further as the spectator comes to recognize and identify himself with the images of the spectacle, which for him is very real, so control about his own desires and knowledge of his existence is ripped away from him. Man is separated from himself in that "his own gestures are no longer his but those of another who represents him". This is especially true of sports spectating where passive acceptance is substituted for real activity, but that passivity because of its link with a perfected spectacular representative takes on the sense of purposive real activity. More widely, as the spectacle is everywhere so alienation is constant. "The man separated from his product himself produces all the details of his

world with ever increasing power and thus finds himself even more separated from his world. The more his life is now his product, the more he is separated from his life" (33).

This notion of separation and unification is a prevalent one within recent Marxist analysis of ideological domination. For instance Nicos Poulantzas (1973) talks about the process of masking/fragmenting/uniting that ideology engenders. The first ideological effect is that of masking and displacing the antagonistic and contradictory basis of the capitalist complex. The second effect is that of fragmentation whereby the interests of the working class are fragmented into internal oppositions between different fractions of the subordinate class. An additional effect is that classes are fragmented into the democratic individual, the "citizen". The third effect is to replace the real unity of the first level with the imaginary unit of the "community", the "nation" and "public opinion". This third level again produces unities but in terms which hide the nature of class conflict and antagonism by representing them as non-antagonistic relations between groups with fundamentally similar interests (i.e., unification as separation).

The problem with Debord's otherwise brilliant

polemics is that they tend to suffer from a kind of one-dimensional overkill. For instance Debord writes of the mass media,

"The spectacle is the uninterrupted conversation which the present order maintains about itself, its laudatory monologue. It is the self-portrait of power in the epoch of its totalitarian management of the conditions of existence. If the spectacle, taken in the limited sense of the "means of mass communication" which are its most glaring superficial manifestation, may seem to invade society as a simple instrumentation, this instrumentation is in fact nothing neutral but is the very instrumentation which is suited to the total self-movement of the spectacle. If the social needs of the epoch in which such techniques are developed can only be satisfied through their mediation, if the administration of this society and all contact can no longer take place except through the intermediary of this power of instantaneous communication, it is because this "communication" is essentially unilateral. As a result the concentration of "communication" accumulates within the hands of the administration of the existing system the means which allow it to carry on this particular administration." (24)

Now this is an undoubtedly accurate statement of the overriding tendency and function of the media, but it tells little of the process by which it is accomplished.⁵

Stuart Hall writes that the mass media of capitalism have colonized the cultural and ideological sphere. One of the most important roles that the media perform is in the

construction and transmission of social knowledge through which we make sense of the reality around us. But what is presented is not just one simple view of the world, one dimensionally or unproblematically, because the different classes in a class society have different paramount realities which must be reconciled with the content of the dominant ideology (the relation between ideology and reality). The media reflect this pluralism and reflect on it as well, providing almost an inventory of the different life-styles available. "The different types of social knowledge are classified and ranked and ordered, assigned to their referential contexts, within the preferred 'maps of social reality'" (Hall 1977, p. 341). Different perspectives of social reality are classified thus within a framework of preferred meanings. It is here that the crucial boundary between preferred and excluded explanation is constantly negotiated, defended and redrawn. The media as well as providing social knowledge and "reading" the wide variety of life styles within preferred meanings also "orchestrate and bring together that which it has selectively represented and selectively classified". It is in this last part of the process that the construction and emergence of consensus and legitimation can be recognized. But the complex nature of the production of consensus should not hide the

crucial role of consensus as a basic feature of everyday life. The presentations of the media within familiar frameworks recharges these frameworks and gives them added strength as well as creating the impression of "eternal recurrence" where society is seen as constantly innovating but not moving. This construction of ideology takes place as much within advertising as it does in the more conventional locations of news and entertainment programming.

David Noble writes,

"Modern Americans confront a world in which everything changes, yet nothing moves. The perpetual rush to novelty that characterizes the modern marketplace, with its escalating promise of technological transcendence, is matched by the persistence of pre-formed patterns of life which promise merely more of the same. Each major scientific advance, while appearing to presage an entirely new society, attests rather to the vigour and resilience of the old order that produced it. Every new, seemingly bold departure ends following an already familiar path." (in Smythe, 1980)

VI. Summary:

This chapter has been a somewhat difficult, complex and sometimes abstract attempt to try and understand the ideological processes by which capitalism legitimates itself. In particular, it was an attempt to address "the central problem of explaining how radical inequalities in the distribution of rewards come to be presented as natural and

inevitable and are understood as such by those who benefit least from this distribution" (Golding and Murdock 1977, p. 12). The approach to ideology was seen at three different but connected levels. The traditional Marxist notion of hegemony was briefly mentioned as subsuming under it the "propagandist" functions of the media in capitalism. In addition the relationship between ideology and reality was discussed. Secondly Roland Barthes' seminal work on mythology was examined as an example of the structuralist appropriation of ideology. The stress here was on ideological reproduction through everyday life. Thirdly, Guy DeBord's notion of capitalism as being an "immense accumulation of spectacles" was analyzed and the idea that commodity relations spread into the totality of social life was examined. An extension of the notion of commodity fetishism was the keynote to this approach.

The next chapter is going to examine the precise way that sportscasts help in the ideological reproduction of advanced capitalism and as such this last chapter should be seen as providing a vital theoretical framework. Without this much of what follows may appear crude and unrealistic. For example, the relation between ideology and reality and between meaning and myth should be seen as vital in explaining why sports ideology succeeds and is not

dismissed as crude propoganda. The role of human agents as being active creators of ideology should be stressed but it must be integrated within a framework where control of what is deemed acceptable "creations" is not in the hands of the vast majority of the population. ⁶ ~~The construction of common sense knowledge is especially~~ important here. Also the structures which aid separation should be seen as part of the commodity form itself and not necessarily as produced solely during the sportscast. In addition to this, much of the next chapter is devoted to demonstrating how sports "naturalize" bourgeois reality and this chapter has provided the theoretical background (the relation between meaning and myth) by which this process can be explained. Marx wrote that "there is no royal road to science" and indeed bourgeois reality is not easy to comprehend. It is complex and mystical. The relation between Chapters 6 and 7 should be seen in this light.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE RULES OF THE GAME - SPORT AND IDEOLOGY

The sports system is a sediment made up of several ideological layers, which have a natural place in everyday life. This is because this ideology, which it is our task to demolish, corresponds exactly to the norms, according to which capitalist, industrial society functions.

J.M. Brohm

Sport - A Prison of Measured Time, p. 59

Section A The Dialectic of Escape and Socialization

Section B Ideology, Sports and History

Section C The Sportscast and Ideological Reproduction

THE RULES OF THE GAME - SPORT AND IDEOLOGY

It is argued here that the sportscast acts to both provide an escape from the reality of capitalism and also to act as a socializer of the dominant values of capitalism. It is able to do the latter because sports come to reflect the structures and values of dominant American culture. The added dimension to this is to view sports as a social institution which is seen as part of the totality and which interacts with other institutions to determine these structures and values. Here the dialectic involves reflection/determination, in addition to the previously mentioned escape/socialization dialectic.

To discuss and help demonstrate the ideological role that sports via television play this rather lengthy chapter is itself divided into three sections. The first, The Dialectic of Socialization and Escape, will attempt to show that there is an established relationship between sports and ideology in the sociological literature, and will also argue that the sportscast acts as a form of escape from everyday reality. The second section, Ideology, Sports and History, will examine how changing material conditions have led to the adoption of different forms of sport to fill in the content of the escape/socialization

dialectic, and will examine how the nature of sporting heroes has also changed. The third section is directly concerned with The Sportscast and Ideological Reproduction and deals with TV sports as a commodity and the way that it mediates and reinforces dominant values and processes of the wider social formation concerned with competition, reification, the labour process, the racial division of labour, political and consumer passivity, and finally masculinity.

SECTION A: THE DIALECTIC OF SOCIALIZATION AND ESCAPE

I. Sports and Socialization:

In the theoretical overview undertaken above the ideological process was argued to work at three distinct but concretely connected moments. These were the level of propaganda, the level of structures and the level of commodity structures. The realm of ideology in capitalism involves the simultaneous effect of these three levels as a single moment. Sporting events are particularly effective in communicating easily understood semiotic signs because they are a form of mythic ritual anyway, and through the mass media become mythic spectacle within the specific capitalist framework of corporate America (see Real 1975). Lipsky (1979) argues that the ability of sports to function as both a socializer of dominant values as well as providing

a form of refuge "is derived from its existence as a dramatic life-world". The link that we are attempting to draw here between sports and ideology is not a new idea, although it is generally underrecognized and underemphasized. Boyle (1963) notes that sport permeates a number of levels of contemporary society and even arch liberal positivists such as Ingham can recognize that sports "reflect the prevalent ideology while sustaining the myths of the past". Gruneau has argued that the rationalization of sport has led it to adopt many of the features of capitalism and its dominant values, chief among which is the "success ideology". Martin and Berry (1974) argue that sport reflects the society in which it is found as well as being functional to deeper cultural values. Many other writers have commented on how sport steers young people into the mainstream of American life by inculcating the appropriate values (Hoch 1972, Kenyon 1972). In addition, Luschen (1970), arguing from a Parsonianist systems-maintenance stance, thinks that sport aids the continuation and perpetuation of dominant values. R. Thompson, in a review of the relevant literature argues that there is also substantial empirical evidence for the link between cultural values and sport and provides a number of examples of work that substantiates the relationship between dominant ideology, culture and sport. He sums up,

"Undoubtedly, there is considerable evidence which suggests that the ideological characteristics and value structure of sport are in harmony with those of the dominant ideology in contemporary society. There is equally strong support for the notion that sport has a vital role to play in socializing the participants into the dominant value system of the society and this is supported by cross-cultural analysis and empirical research. The claim then, that sport and the dominant ideology in contemporary society are interdependent would appear to be well founded." (Thompson 1978, p. 90)

In terms of the effect of televised sports Robert Prisuta (1979) has found that there is a high correlation between watching televised sports and conservative values and Goldstein and Bredemeier (1977) argue that the values transmitted by televised sports are more conservative than those of society at large. Writing from a Marxist standpoint, Brohm (1978) states,

"Sport has the function of justifying the established order. Sport is a positivist system and as such always plays an integrating and never an oppositional role. This justificatory function flows from sports typically optimistic ideology of indefinite linear progress...Sport thus functions as a justification of the joys of the 'American way of life'...by camouflaging the class struggle sport operates in every social formation in the world as a new type of opiate of the people...The sports spectacle reinforces the commodity spectacle by presenting, as a spectacle human commodities...As the biggest mass spectacle, sport operates as a sort of catharsis machine, an apparatus for transforming aggressive drives. Instead of expressing themselves in the class struggle, these drives are absorbed, diverted and neutralized in the sporting spectacle." (1978, p. 179-80)

The above observations strongly suggest that there is a relationship between sports and ideology and that sports act to socialize agents into certain forms of thought and behaviour. Most of the ensuing analysis thus is devoted to an examination of the way that sports on television aid to legitimate and perpetuate existing relations of production by providing appropriate codes of behaviour within which reality is located and "fitted in". Sports ideology does not go so far as to offer an explanation of everyday reality but merely of how it fits into the overall system of capitalist social life. Paul Hoch (1972) has pointed to similar types of functions of sports within capitalism.

II. Escape - Opiate, Community and Nationalism:

However it is the nature of the specific link between ideology and sports within capitalist relations of production that needs to be closely examined. For Paul Hoch sport is the new opiate of the people (1972, 1974). Beisser (1972) too sees sports as a response to alienation in "post-industrial" society. It is the release that maintains the system. Traditionally, sports have been aimed at potentially restless minority groups as either spectators or participants and the vast majority of athletes come from working class backgrounds (Hoch 1972). Hoch writes of the "opiate",

"What we mean by an 'opiate' is anything that tends to frustrate the solution of social problems by providing individuals with either (1) a temporary high (or as Bill Bradley put it, a fix) which takes their minds off the problem for a while but does nothing to deal with it; or (2) a distorted frame of reference or identification which encourages them to look for salvation through patently false channels. Things like sports spectacles, whiskey and repressively desublimated sex provide examples of the first kind." (1972, p. 20)

Also the "poisonous ideologies" of the sports opiate have the effect of dividing people who have objective common interests (blacks, workers, women) into separate groups who compete against each other. Because sports spectacles are commodities and the fetishized relations of commodity production spread to all parts of the social formation, Debord writes, "the spectacle, like modern society, is at once unified and divided...it builds its unity on tearing apart. But the contradiction when it emerges in the spectacle is in turn contradicted by a reversal of its meaning, so that the demonstrated division is unitary and the demonstrated unity is divided" (54). Thus, what should be divided (labour/capital) appears unified and what should be unified appears divided (the division of labour by race and sex). Part of the ideology of the spectacle consists of a false unification. Instead of the real unity of class we get the false unity of the team, of the city, of a manufactured community.¹

Richard Lipsky (1979) argues that sports function as a dramatic life world and part of their function is to reinforce community cohesion. He refers to this as the "belief in the powers of team symbolism". Allegiances to sports teams are intense and persistent. There are many instances of fanatical behaviour by spectators in the length and degree of their identification with various teams. The phenomenon of the radical sports fan was mentioned earlier and it is difficult to explain in rational terms the obsession with results of teams from half way around the world. This is a widespread enough phenomenon to require serious explanation. It is the symbolic power of sports that explains its huge influence and "allows us to see how sports involvement can become a counterpoint to the decline of political effect and the widespread nostalgia for community in America" (Lipsky 1979, p. 64). In sports thus the nature of the phenomenon, dramatic and symbolic, is related to its function of providing a form of community in a world where people otherwise find themselves alienated from each other. Neil Offen writes "sports is life to the nth degree. It is life in extremis; every season you are born and you die, every 48 minutes or more innings, you win and lose. Every play encompasses an eternity" (in Lipsky) and although it is important to realize the sports world is not objectively separate from the rest of the social world it is also

important to realize that it draws its signification from being able to appear as such. This significance is in addition highly charged with human meaning. Berger and Luckman argue that the social order of everyday reality is given meaning by its integration into a "symbolic canopy" i.e., the relation between ideology and reality that was referred to in Chapter 6. Edwards has posited the existence of the American sports creed whose central watchword is that of winning (1973). This is achieved through certain types of proscribed behaviours which centre on mental and physical self-discipline. "These normative structures are dramatized in the struggle to make the team" (Lipsky 1979, p. 66). The hierarchy of authority that is part of these structures will be examined later. Lipsky writes,

"The language of sports is the symbolic glue that holds the entire social life-world. It is the common idiom that links (heretofore male) Americans in their taverns, living rooms, car pools and offices. The rise of sports language was com- comitant with and influential in the rise of the modern newspapers and the democratization of American society. It has literally generated a national sports consciousness. ...The team acts in many ways as the symbolic community of sports. It is this feeling of community that unites belief systems and authority structures with people's everyday lives." (p. 67-8).

To look for really explicit examples of this it is perhaps easier to look for them at the national level. When

Argentina won the soccer World Cup it was widely recognized as a legitimation of the military junta of General Videla and as a serious blow to the revolutionary guerilla forces. What else mattered? Argentina were the world champions. What could be wrong with such a country? Closer to home, the mad scenes of nationalism that greeted the event of the U.S. Olympic Hockey team beating the Soviet Union world champions in the midst of the Afghanistan crisis attest to the effectivity that nationality can have. Sports is one of the, and perhaps even the key institution for large segments of the population, which ensures the success of the process of masking/fragmenting/unity. (Interestingly celebrity status and national heroism in America mean only one thing. Less than two weeks after the Olympic final Jim Craig, the U.S. goalkeeper, was doing commercials for Coke.)

This sense of communal spirit is an important part of the role of sports on TV in the United States. Apart from all the stress in the commercials on the goodness of the mythical American way of life, almost every team sport event on television is preceded by the playing of the American National Anthem. It is here that the media explicitly act as mediators and manipulators. It is difficult to convey in words the amount of emotion that television draws out of such moments. "The Star Spangled Banner", no

matter how much one may detest the sentiments being expressed, is undoubtedly a very powerful and moving song, and when the event is to be televised it is always performed in a rousing manner. It is always introduced with the phrase "and now to honour America, please stand for the playing of the national anthem" and seems to be more often than not sung by a black singer, no doubt to signify, like Barthes negro soldier, the integration of blacks and the loyalty of blacks to the American social system. While the audio section of the telecast is continuing, the video section almost all the time contains an impression of the stars and stripes superimposed upon shots of athletes looking suitably patriotic. (It is one of the contradictions in ideology that sometimes these staged moments break down, e.g., when a player suddenly spits while the camera is on him.) In baseball, the traditional and old fashioned "national game" this nationalism is strikingly demonstrated. During the national anthem all players, officials and coaches have their caps off, held to heart, looking at the American flag. During the 1979 World Series and during the playing of the anthem before the 1980 Super Bowl, soldiers in full uniform presented the colours. Militarism and patriotism set off against the spectacle and illusion of freedom represented by sports. That sports are deeply political has been hypocritically brought home by President Carter's stand on the

Moscow Olympic Games.² In addition, have been the explicit salutations and prayers to "our brothers in Iran, held captive" before televised games (e.g., Sonics vs. Bucks, CBS 9th April 1980). Howard Cosell, during the Houston Oilers and Pittsburgh Steelers Monday Night Football game of 10th December, 1979, on the fact that some of the released (black) hostages from the early days of the Iran crisis were there before the game (and as the hostages were pictured with the Houston cheerleaders) commented that the great thing about this night was that the crowd had shown a sense of balance, "had shown more class, more poise and yet showed the escape that football can provide". Now whether the crowd had actually acted in the way that the overblown Cosell describes is beside the point. What is important is that Cosell has the home audience believing that is how to behave. It is right to be concerned for the hostages, to show them that America cares, but at the same time to demonstrate just what makes America great (democracy, liberty, equality, opportunity) through the symbolism of sport. Sport, through its continuation "supports" the hostages. At this level there is no pretence even of objective reporting of the Iranian situation. The real issue is the threat to American power, not the conditions that led to the hostage taking and the role of the U.S. government in provoking the crisis. At this level news is mediated purely and simply through

myth and ideology. Sports here are used to construct and reproduce the "false" unities of nationality over and above the "real" unity of class. One of the great values of Howard Cosell to the critical viewer is that he is a very important and influential media figure so that when he talks we should listen. Thus as though to echo the above analysis of sports as a symbolic refuge, a community, an opiate, Cosell talks about the greatest function that sports can provide is in the "elevation of the spirit of a great city". Cosell is very aware of this function of sports and his dramatic delivery is a very conscious effort to make people believe that sports is vital, that it offers an escape from the reality of everyday life. Pete Rozelle also is aware of this function of sports. He says,

"People look to sports, I feel, for relaxation and relief from the very serious problems of the day...Sports are entertainment. They are diversion for all of us. If we were restricted to just thinking about those things (serious matters) constantly in our waking hours, I think we would be very depressed people. So all of us need an outlet and sports would be one of the basic forms." (in Brower 1977)

SECTION B: IDEOLOGY, SPORTS AND HISTORY

III. Baseball, Football and the Development of Capitalism:

• Sports are both a socializer of dominant cultural

values and also an escape from a world in which these dominate. They both reflect the structures of the wider complex and help to create them. In terms of trying to understand the historical progress of sports ideology in relation to the escape/socialization/reflection relation in American capitalism the changing roles of baseball and football in the twentieth century will be examined.

Baseball is a game of early capitalism. It mediated the switch from rural to urban. Lahr writes,

"Sport is tied to industry because it represents a reaction to industry. Baseball became the nation's favorite during violent, squalid industrialism. The game melded field with factory, incorporating the techniques of an emerging capitalism with a pastoral panorama. The sward of green turf still exists amidst the bleakness of surrounding industrial tenements it was meant to deny. The pace, now too slow for an electronic age, promised long outdoor hours as an antidote to the boredom of industry...Baseball was not only an escape: it reinforced capitalist values." (Lahr 1972, p. 110)

Similarly Dulles saw baseball as a pastoral retreat from the process of urbanization. Guttman (1978) also sees baseball as representative of a pastoral genre which acts as a mode of reconciliation, as a middle landscape between the frontier (forest) and the city. Ross (1972) writes that baseball "is a pastoral sport, and...the game can best be understood as this kind of art. For baseball does what all

good pastoral does - it creates an atmosphere in which everything exists in harmony" (p. 103, emphasis added).

So baseball represented a supposed golden age of pastoralism, of long hot leisurely afternoons that the newly arrived immigrants from the fields of Europe or from the American frontier were able to identify with. As examined earlier (Chapter 3) participation in and identification with sports was part of the process of "Americanization". The baseball team was seen to translate into good citizenship and good government. Lahr further argues that by treating people as property (trades) and emphasizing efficiency (bonuses), stealing ("risk proportional to an individual's ability and his luck"), standardization through quantification and specialization, baseball contributed to the creation of a value-system that early capitalism needed. "Invoking an uncomplicated past, statistics and the umpire's rule book bring the authority of 'science' and 'law' onto the field...The game allows the illusion of freedom, but violent disagreement is not tolerated...Baseball dramatizes acquiescence to system, law and the mathematics of production" (p. 111). It is a game of early American capitalism, of hard work, competition and individualism which needed some patterns of mutual cooperation. It was through the early years of Taylorism in the 1920's and 1930's that baseball reached its peak of popularity, that it became the national

game. Lipsky writes that the 'apolitical' nature of sports was used by the emerging American corporate complex to "decorate its own hierarchical structure".

However, capitalism itself is a system in constant change and flux and as the work ethos switched from early Taylorization³ to an even more intensified Taylorization after the 1939-45 war, and as it developed ever more efficient and intricate systems of production, so also did the leisure activities and cultural artefacts of the subordinated class change. Football became the new national game. Just as the "rationalization of leisure" in the 1920's was a response to changing conditions of work, so too did the ideological contradiction that arose from the fragmentation and specialization of work tasks lead to the rise of what William Whyte sees as a new mythology of togetherness and belongingness. Elton Mayo, while building on the techniques of scientific management of Frederick Taylor criticized the latter for his lack of understanding of the worker as a person at the center of and involved in a complex set of relationships which if not handled carefully would lead to disorder and open tensions. The new approach he advocated would concentrate on "human relations" and the purpose now was to create a sense of teamwork in the work process. This was paralleled with the creation of sports teams. Lipsky writes,

"Mayo...felt that the existence of absenteeism, strikes and sabotage was a result of the failure of administrators to instill the ideal of teamwork. The point must be emphasized again that the ideology of teamwork and cooperation ('getting along') rising to the level of a moral imperative is a form of pyramidal mysticism that obscures the vital question of what the goals of teamwork should be.

I think it is quite clear that the sports team, as an analogical extension is profoundly congruent with the goals of administrative capitalism. It is no accident that the more complex and bureaucratic American society became, the more the corporate games of football and basketball rose to popularity." (1979, p. 85)

The twin purposes of socialization/escape are seen in this transformation from baseball to football. Below, the precise way that football aids in the process of socialization of dominant values will be closely examined. The escape side of the sportsworld emphasized the team symbolism of community and fraternity which stood in stark contrast to what was going on in the increasingly alienated "other" world of work and play, and also in contrast to the attempts of the isolated individual to relate to wider institutions which were seen as too bureaucratic and instrumental. Habermas calls this the "technical lifeworld", from which the flight to sports and especially football is warm and personal. "The rationalization of the real world is ameliorated by an injection of charisma, magical performances, gifted leaders and intense rituals." (Lipsky 1979, p. 86).

The football team is the factory in miniature. Identification with one helps involvement in a similar fashion with the other.

Issac Balbus has suggested that this transformation in the role that sports play has in recent years mediated a crisis of ideology peculiar to monopoly capitalism. The traditional values of hard work and postponed gratification are increasingly difficult to maintain in the face of an economy that requires ever increasing consumption. The creation of a consumerized leisure time and its corresponding hedonistic ideology seems to be at odds with the bourgeois values of work. However if the values of team symbolism can be applied to work and work can take on the appearance of a game then the same values can be utilized in both production and consumption and the potential ideological contradiction be smoothed over for the moment. Moreover the introduction of leisure values to the workplace can help to legitimate work as a creative playlike activity. Marx envisaged that in a non exploitative society work and play would become united as part of one creative and free process. Balbus suggests that what we are witnessing is a "deadly inversion" of the Marxist dialectic, the false unification of the opposites of work and play. Goldman and Wilson (1977) think that with this latest shift in ideological values "industry thus took back the 'gift'

its technology has bestowed and reincorporated leisure firmly within the capitalist system". A rationalized leisure re-enters a rationalized work.

The argument thus far in this section has been that changes in the organization of capitalist relations of production/forces of production were reflected in changes in the types of sport that became popular and which were effective in terms of the escape/socialization dialectic. In particular the stress was on the switch in the "national game" from baseball to football. In terms of the project of this text, the role of sports on television, it seems that the new technology of television also had an effect on this transformation. Television arose as an advertising medium in response to changes in the production process that necessitated the creation of vast consumer audiences. And this new technology itself necessitated changes in the vehicles it used to create and produce these audiences. It was mentioned earlier how sports change themselves to become more adaptable to television. Marshall McLuhan, commenting on the effect that television has had since its advent writes that baseball,

"is a lineal game which like golf, is perfectly adapted to the outlook of an individualist and inner-directed society. Timing and waiting are of the essence, with the entire field in suspense, waiting upon the performance of a

single player. By contrast, football, basketball and ice hockey are games in which many elements occur simultaneously, with the entire team involved at the same time. With the advent of TV, such isolation of the individual performance as occurs in baseball became unacceptable...baseball belongs to the age of the first onset of the hot press and the movie medium. It will always remain a symbol of the era of the hot mammas, jazz babies, of shietis and shebas, of vamps and gold diggers and the fast buck. Baseball, in a word is a hot game that got cooled off in the new TV Climate." (1964, p. 284)

Simply put, baseball does not transfer well on to the screen. It is too intellectual, diverse and strategic a game to be able to capture the essence in one camera shot, whereas in the concentrated action of football this is more possible, although again it cannot capture it all. While baseball may not be the dead game that McLuhan seems to imply there is little doubt that TV has elevated football above it in the American sporting order. On the other hand, it remains ahead of basketball and certainly well ahead of hockey in the popular consciousness. It will be interesting to see how the emergence of soccer will effect it.

IV. Sports, Spectacles and Heroes:

Michael Real thinks that the Super Bowl can best be explained as a form of mythic spectacle and ritualized mass activity (Real 1977). For others the sports spectacle is "America's right-wing theatre" (Lahr) moulded by the

technology that surrounds it and indeed incorporating that technology. Sports spectacles are merely dramatized versions of the work process, a glorification of the technology that capitalism has developed in response to the needs of its own production system. Football "confirms America's abiding faith in technology as a means of progress. Football is a spectacle of superhuman effort attesting to the value of research, training, discipline and refinement... it is a triumph of technique and community" (Lahr 1972, p. 113). The sports spectacle is a device that allows the American corporate complex to help work through its contradictions, to mediate the relations of reality through an idealized world. It may not work for everyone but the very process of ensuring that meaning can only be achieved through the articulation of reality with a social institution (hence even at sports events, spectators confirm what they have seen on the field, either through the replay system or through the radio and TV which is featuring the game) ensures that even everyday life can be partly defined elsewhere (i.e., specialization and routinization and remoteness are redefined through sports as efficiency and teamwork). Cummings writes,

"The spectacular ceremonial feature of sport is combined with an elementary symbolic portrayal. Because the realm of sport is one of play,

pretend, fantasy, it contains the mythological framework of the culture in miniature. Time is compressed and relatively clearcut patterns emerge." (1972, p. 106)

But sports spectacles in the USA have to be recognized as more than simply fulfilling this function of celebrating the dominant values of society in a kind of abstract manner, for it is explicitly a celebration, as well as being a large part of the process of consumerism, i.e., the ritual of football is different than the ritual of Levi-Strauss's pre-capitalist societies for the ritual activity of football is at the same time a part of ideology and of accumulation. They do not exist in separation. The ideology propagated does not just legitimate accumulation, it is accumulation and is reflected in its content. The attempt here is to extend the standard interpretation of ritual and the role of heroes that have taken place within a largely bourgeois ideological framework by placing it within a Marxist framework that locates ideology not merely in the superstructures but also in the base - to locate ideology materially.

The heroes of the American popular consciousness of the twentieth century have been largely sportsmen and this reflects the important role that sports have played in the development of American monopoly capitalism. Lipsyte has written that "the hero as object gives us role models we can manipulate, notches in time as nostalgic as old hit

tunes and diverting amusement". Heroes, being a part of mythic ritual, celebrate dominant values and the way that they are used will thus vary from era to era. Above all heroes represent an idealized set of relations. When Simon and Garfunkel sing "where have you gone Joe DiMaggio" they call for the "spirit, courage and style" that their age could not give them, yet was immortalized in the figure of a single baseball player (see Schecter for a debunking of the legends of Ruth and DiMaggio through an examination of the reality that they are).⁴ But the choice and emergence of heroes will also reflect the contradictions of the era and its dominant values.

The heroes of the 1920's were undoubtedly Ruth, Grange and Dempsey. They represent the first flush of capitalist "excess, of excitement, of extremes", the early consolidation of sports as part of the American way of life. Gerard O'Connor (1972) writes "if there were no Babe Ruth, Red Grange and Jack Dempsey in this age, then it would have been necessary to invent them - and in a sense that's what really happened...(they) were popular heroes, national idols, legends in their own colourful times. And certainly the Twenties were colourful times - but the colour was white" (p. 89-90). Joe Louis emerged as a major hero in the 1930's but because he was black he fulfilled another function (this will be examined below). The white heroes

of the 1930's were baseball players - Joe DiMaggio and Ted Williams.

"Clearly DiMaggio and his Yankees were Something To Believe In, something solid, dependable, trustworthy, safe, secure, sacred. In 1941 DiMaggio hit safely in 56 consecutive games: he was a rock of consistency and dependability in an exploding world. And the image never faded."
(O'Connor 1972)

Ted Williams on the other hand was the first of the anti-heroes. Hot-tempered, loafish, he was a threat to security. Only when he calmed down did America accept him. Micky Mantle, Rocky Marciano, Jackie Robinson, Johnny Unitas were the heirs in the 1940's and 1950's to Ruth and DiMaggio. With the exception of Robinson none of these new heroes reflected anything different than the earlier heroes had stood for, even Williams. Deep down they still believed in the American way. The huge ideological revolution of the 1960's was reflected in the sporting world also. Heroes are used to celebrate the absolute basis of values of society and one way of accomplishing this is to see threats to the traditional system "worked out" in this sphere. Joe Namath reflected the changes of the 60's and brought to light very clearly how American society has used its heroes. Cummings describes him as,

"the mythic youth of the sixties, a symbolic figure of student unrest, of the mod style, of another type of arrogance. Believe anything, everything. Most of all, believe in yourself and your own ability. America is a land of promises and dreams come true, of log cabins to presidents, of lowly New York Jets to Super Bowl. Joe Willie was a combination of an idealist view of personal freedom and individuality and ironically the male vision of Hugh Hefner." (1972, p. 109)

Namath was middle-class morality personified. The anti-hero that everyone would like to be. The sports establishment actually traded on his image, "he could be sold, merchandized and mythologized as anti-establishment proof that pro football was with it" (Issacs 1978, p. 48). But he went too far over the edge of bourgeois morality. He invested in a cabaret and brought himself into contact with "unsavoury" characters. The NFL demanded a release of his holdings and they got it complete with public apology, "the all-American thud, the crying outside the commissioner's office, saying how much he loved football" (Cummings 1972, p. 110). Anti-establishment behaviour was only acceptable on the establishment's terms. Since Kent State and the co-option of the counter culture, America's heroes have been in the traditional mould - and increasingly black: Wilt Chamberlain, Bill Russell, O.J. Simpson, Roger Staubach, Terry Bradshaw, Reggie Jackson, Pete Rose, Guy LaFleur, Bobby Orr, etc. The flight back to the reality of the 1970's

was accompanied by real heroes. The prime example of this is Pete Rose, a hugely untalented⁵ man who represents the epitomy of what financial success awaits those who work hard.⁶

Lahr (1972) speculated that after the spectacular technological and scientific successes of the 1960's as concerns spaceflight, that the astronaut should join the list of American heroes as a representative of spectacular technology. Indeed the failure of the spaceman figure to emerge alongside sporting heroes seems inexplicable given the importance that was attached to the space race in the 1960's and 70's, and given that it was a spectacular showcase in which to legitimate an alienating technology. Neil Issacs (1978) too has pondered this issue. He argues that in order for someone to become a hero he (and to a much lesser extent she) has to personify qualities that are admired and also to perform feats that are memorable. As long as the feat is real the other can be a fiction, and that was why the astronaut did not become a popular hero. His feats were too machine like and too technological. It was not he who was performing the feats. For the astronaut to enter the popular mythology certain transmutations had to occur. Issacs suggests that these changes are exemplified in the figures of the "Bionic Man" and the "Bionic Woman". Steve Austin is the Bionic Man, an astronaut involved

in a near fatal accident, who is brought back to life by the wonders of modern technology, and who cost six million dollars to "build". "Thus the traditional values of heroic origin have been transmuted by the contemporary alchemy. He is heroic in nature because he combines ancient virtues and futuristic technology in the immediate knowledge of how much it cost to make him...Steve Austin is a top rated hero not for what he is but for what he does. He is the greatest athlete of all, the ideal hero for a sports minded society" (Issacs 1978, p. 35-6). If this is what it takes to create a fictional hero no wonder that America finds most of its heroes in the sportsworld. All that is needed is a record.

V. Black Heroes and Ideology:

Black heroes have in the last 30 years played a huge part in the development of professional sports. Joe Louis in the 1930's became a hero not only for blacks but for America as well. He sped off to war in 1942 with the words, "We'll win because we're on God's side". There was nothing threatening about Joe Louis. He was "a credit to his race". The emergence of Jackie Robinson as the first black baseball player was of a different nature for not only was he as good as the white man in a white man's game but as intelligent as the white and proud also to be black.

Because whites despised him he never took on the heroic stature of Joe Louis. O'Connor writes, "Joe Louis was patronized by whites, Robinson incensed them. Historically, Joe Louis is the founding father of the Uncle Tom line of black athletes: Willie Mays, Henry Aaron, Elston Howard, Floyd Patterson, Arthur Ashe. Robinson spawned their alter black ego's: Jim Brown, Bill Russell, Muhammed Ali, Kareem Jabbar, Tommy Smith, Curt Flood" (1972, p. 93). For a while it looked as if the alter ego's had won. Ali became a hero to blacks all over the world and to white liberals by being arrogant, by boasting, by being the "greatest" fighter in the history of boxing, by refusing to go to Vietnam, having his title unfairly stripped from him and coming back from a long lay off to win it twice more. He was the synthesis of all that made up the black experience in the 1960's and early 70's. He was the "upperty nigger" personified. All white men were the devil and the only way forward was by black solidarity. It would be possible to argue that today Muhammed Ali is the most famous man in the world. But what else is he now? He is the black "militant" who campaigns for President Carter, becomes his personal envoy on a mission of cold war politics to Africa and who also sells car batteries and roach killer. Just as Ali was the focal point of a crisis of ideology and race in the 1960's today he is just as surely a personification of the corporate black

athlete made good, fighting for millions of dollars, involved in bourgeois politics and using his new found respectability in the sale of commercial products. Who needs Joe Louis, Sonny Liston or Floyd Patterson when you have Ali, a "born again capitalist" (a phrase that Bill Walton, another former rebel uses to describe himself). Ali played on the tensions and contradictions of his time to become a world-wide phenomenon. But he paid a price, the price for appearance in the spectacle. Debord writes,

"Passing into the spectacle as a model of identification, the agent has renounced all autonomous qualities in order to identify himself with the general law of obedience to the course of things. The star of consumption, while being externally the representation of different types of personality, shows each of these types having equal access to the totality of consumption and finding similar happiness there." (61)

The dominant culture appropriated what Ali represented and turned it into a marketable product and the imagery of the spectacle is so real that the ideas that Ali presents become reality. Part of the price of a continued appearance in the spectacle is a sell-out to the principles of the spectacle.

Similarly, the other heroes of American society do not abstractly represent the essence of that society, they represent it concretely as capital and as the rule of

capital. Capitalism both creates the forms of mythic ritual, informs its content as a device for working through contradictions and crisis and reappropriates it in the direct service of accumulation. Thus even "anti-establishment" figures such as Namath and Ali can be incorporated. "The smug acceptance of that which exists can also be combined into one, with purely spectacular rebellion: this translates the simple fact that dissatisfaction itself became a commodity as soon as economic abundance was able to extend its production to the treatment of such a raw material" (Debord 1970, p. 59). Debord argues that the star/hero encompasses the seemingly lived which compensates in some manner for the reality of specialized fragmentation. Heroes in capitalism are heroes of consumption, they represent the inaccessible result of social labour.

SECTION C: THE SPORTSCAST AND IDEOLOGICAL REPRODUCTION

VI. TV Sports As A Commodity:

It has been argued that the media distort and mould the events they communicate. What we see on the television screen is not the initial event itself but the way that TV presents it. Steve Chibnall argues that newspapers and television do not merely monitor the events of the real world, "they construct representations and accounts of reality which are shaped by the constraints imposed upon them"

(1977, pix). In terms of sports telecasts the constraints that operate are mostly to do with the need to produce audiences, to make the telecasts seem interesting, dramatic and entertaining. As Howard Cosell was quoted before, "You've got to deliver 40 million people...You've got to deliver them. You've got to get them somehow watching football. If you don't you're gone. The business chews you up". So the sports telecast is not intended as an accurate description of the event but as an entertainment whose prime aim is to get people watching television. Richard Lipsky argued above that part of the symbolic importance of sports stems from sport itself being a very concentrated spectacle which dramatizes within its structures the structures of everyday reality. But in addition to this the media add one more layer of dramatic interpretation onto the symbolic canopy.

Bryant, Comisky and Zillman (1977) in a content analysis of televised football games examined the proportion of the commentary that was devoted to description compared with that which was dramatic and whether what dramatic language there was, was used in a praiseworthy or derogatory manner. From the six games that they analyzed a total of 5,728 sentences were coded of which 72% were classified as descriptive and 27% were classified as dramatic. This would seem to suggest that the sports broadcaster does more than merely report the action and that his duties

also include complementing the drama on the field and generating excitement in the audience. An additional finding was that there were significantly more complimentary dramatic sentences than neutral and more neutral than derogatory ones. It is salient to note here that given the link between sports and the media and given the everyday structures that bring athletes and broadcasters together there does not seem much of a possibility of "objective reporting". Interestingly, in the early days of televised soccer, with most American broadcasters knowing absolutely nothing about the game, the old Tottenham Hotspur and Northern Ireland captain and present Northern Ireland national team manager, Danny Blanchflower, was brought over to do the "colour" commentary. The only trouble with Blanchflower as a broadcaster is that he is a man of deep integrity and convictions who simply told the truth. If someone made a mistake he said so, whether it be player, coach or referee. Suffice to say that he did not last very long in the broadcast business in America. Indeed to get to the opposite one need only listen to Howard Cosell on any edition of Monday Night Football (e.g., "he regards a field goal not as a personal challenge but as a holy writ.", "That man will never quit, look at the pit of the chin, the jaw"). Yet despite his own overblown delivery and his overdramatic style Cosell can recognize what the medium does for the

function of the commentator, even if he cannot recognize the criticism of his own performance. He says, "Our major failure in television is being non-journalistic in our concept. We are brought by sponsors and by club owners. They dictate who the announcers will be and they have insisted that the announcers' job be reduced to nothing more than the performance of a sideshow skill. It's become a production by shills for fools.....Our ultimate failure in television is a lack of journalistic philosophy. It is our failure to tell it like it is" (in Johnson 1971, p. 199). Presumably Cosell believes his own pompous pronouncements are "telling it like it is". To be fair to him he is most probably the best of the announcers. Lipsky, arguing from the perspective of the print media writes that the sports reporter mediates between the event and the consumer, emphasizing drama, controversy and hidden meanings. The figures become larger than life as they have to do in order to be part of the symbolic canopy (ideology) by which we make sense of the structures of everyday reality. "The nature of fan involvement creates a demand for dramatic reporting. It is clear that any newspaper that attempted to give fans 'objective' reporting would rapidly lose its devoted sports section readers. These dynamics also explain Howard Cosell's huge popularity in the role of media villain." (1979, p. 72)

In a further study Comisky, Bryant and Zillman (1977) argue that whereas the live audience at an event witness the event, the TV audience view a "media event" that is the result of a process of editing, embellishment and emphasis of certain points. To test their thesis that the "role of the contemporary sports commentator has expanded to include the responsibility of dramatizing the event, of creating suspense, sustaining tension and enabling the viewers to feel they have participated in an important and fiercely contested event the fate of which was determined only in the dramatic closing seconds of play", they conducted a laboratory experiment using audio/visual taped segments of two different hockey games, one of which, when viewed without the commentary was designated as rough and the other which was viewed as normal play. However when the audio section alone was judged in the same manner a reversal took place. That which was objectively (visually) rough was seen as normal and that which was normal was viewed as rough. It seems that the commentary in the (visually) rough segment had let the action carry the game with little commentary, whereas in the (visually) normal segment the commentators had added enough information and drama to make it appear as very rough. This was all discovered in the pre-test. In the main experiment, subjects were assigned to one of four groups and asked a number of questions

concerning amount of action, enthusiasm of participants, roughness of the action, etc. The segment that was seen as being the most violent, rough and action packed was the segment of the visually normal play with the commentary stressing roughness, followed by the rough play segment with no commentary. Interestingly, the rough play segment with the commentary ignoring roughness was ranked last of the four on action, violence, enthusiasm, etc. Comisky et al write,

"These findings are suggestive of the great potential of sports commentary to alter the viewers perception of the sport event. The viewers seem to get 'caught up' in the way the sportscaster interprets that game, and they allow themselves to be greatly influenced by the commentators suggestion of 'drama' in the event. The viewers, in the end, may 'see' fierce competition where it really does not exist."

Brien Williams (1977) in an article examining the structure of televised football argues that the telecast represents the intersection of the event, the audience and the medium, with the media imposing their own structures on the final product. Three events can be seen to co-exist at the time of the telecast - the game event, the stadium event and the medium event. The stadium event is almost totally ignored except for shots of the crowd and the cheer-

leaders and whereas the medium event reflects and is somewhat limited by the game event, it does possess its own internal unity. "In terms of the total telecast, medium unity was further imposed upon the game event by pre-game, halftime and postgame program elements. These tended to enclose the game within a larger structure, incorporating news of other football games as well as news of other sports. Extra game show elements also tended to call attention to a particular network and its sports department as mediating agents."⁷ Further, even the shots of the live play action are highly mediated. The least mediated shots of the game event would take the form of wide angle shots whereas the predominant shot was a concentration on the ball carriers, i.e., attention was focussed at the point of immediate action. Play action was presented largely in the form of individual performances rather than team effort. Also sound mixture and levels were highly mediated to "orchestrate" the action and to highlight the force of physical contact. Williams sums up, "the television coverage of a live, unscripted event such as a football match imposes its own structures and provides its own ideological viewpoints. The televised version of the game has its own structures, its own units and provides points of reference and emphasis which are unique to the medium event".

The analysis above of a number of empirical studies of sportscasts emphasizes that the sports telecast is a "news" event like any other and suffers a similar form of distortion, mediation and moulding which reflect the constraints under which it is produced and the uses to which it must be put. The sports telecast is produced thus as a commodity for exchange. The way that ideology works through the levels of propaganda and structure (reflecting the social order) is easier to see than the way that ideology works through the Marxist notion of fetishism of commodities. The work of Debord was referred to above as emphasizing the kinds of ideological structures that exist as part of any commodity (spectacle) within capitalism and indeed the sports telecast can be seen as a supreme example of the commodity/spectacle. The studies examined above pointed to the sports telecast taking on certain ideological characteristics because it was being produced as a product that itself produces audiences. Marx in a famous passage points to what makes the commodity an ideological tool, what mystifies it,

"The mystical character of the commodity does not therefore arise from its use-value...Whence, then, arises the enigmatic character of the product of labour, as soon as it assumes the form of a commodity? Clearly it arises from this form itself. The mysterious character of the commodity form consists therefore simply

in the fact that the commodity reflects the social characteristics of man's own labour as objective characteristics of the products of labour themselves as the socio-natural properties of these things...the products of labour become commodities, sensuous things which are at the same time supra-sensible or social."

Thus it is the production of the commodity for exchange that leads to mystification. As Leiss (1978) has pointed out there remain huge questions to be answered in relation to Marx's theory of commodity fetishism (and similarly with Debord's derivation of this for his own work). In the theoretical overview presented earlier there were three distinct notions of ideology presented and they were deliberately presented as analytically separate so as to fully appreciate the value of each approach. Later in the text, especially in regard to the discussion of heroes, mythic structure and ritual, it was suggested that the traditional structuralist approach should be more explicitly located within a Marxist problematic of commodity structures. One such theorist who has attempted this is Jean Baudrillard who sees consumption as involving the "systematic manipulation of signs" which form a systematic behavioural code whereby objects only take on meaning in relation to concepts within this code. Leiss writes that for Baudrillard,

"Symbolic determinations provide the key for understanding generalized commodity production.. (He) extends the semiological approach to embrace political economy and suggests that there is a strict analogy between the nature of a sign and the nature of the commodity form. The two fold character of the sign, as signifier (the sign's manifest form) and as signified (its meaning) duplicates the duality of use value (the material or utilitarian aspect) and exchange value (the relation with other things) in the commodity. In D'Amico's words; "We are able to understand the connection as follows: exchange value and signifier designate relational forms, whereas use value and the signified stand for the content or object of the relations'." (Leiss 1978, p. 40)

While recognizing that Baudrillard does seem to ultimately call into question the basic distinction between use-value and exchange-value, he does give a lead to the unification of semiology and the ideological processes associated with commodity exchange. Leiss quotes Marshall Sahlins as rescuing the distinction between use/exchange while at the same time recognizing the "interpenetration of the concrete material and cultural (symbolic) determinants in the satisfaction of needs".

Thus in relation to televised sports the final form is a result of the appropriation of an already formed commodity form (sport) for a process of creating further commodities which involves the moulding of the product at a linguistic level (drama, action). It also involves the appropriation of meanings already embedded in sports and

moulded to fit the needs of the news medium, as well as meanings that derive from the role that sports play as an "escape world" from the real life process of alienated work. Television sports are created for exchange (of product, of audience) and not just use.

One aspect of the creation of this commodity form which ties in with wider ideological forms and by which we can keep the distinction between exchange/use is the emphasis in American sports on outcome. The commodity form of the sports telecast directly reflects the Lombardian type philosophy which states that "winning is everything, tying is like kissing your sister and losing, nothing". There is a demand for a result because what the public is buying is a finished product and this is indicated by a result one way or the other. The stress on competition, the symbolic manifestations of equal opportunity must end in victory for one and defeat for the other. After all, what kind of society is it that does not produce any winners, that does not guarantee the victor the spoils. It is not the production process that generates satisfaction in capitalism, but consumption. Production must end in consumption but the dialectical unity is reversed. Under capitalism it is consumption that appears as prior and vital. The activity and action that makes up the commodity is only completed in its final consumption. This can be witnessed in the fact

that the three major North American sports, football, baseball and basketball, have to produce winners for each individual game (thus although in England there is also a need for a winner overall, individual games do not have to produce results. English sport is situated at a different level of commodity structure) and the organizers of the NASL (soccer) have quickly realized that a major network contract (and the existence of the League) depends on them conforming to the strictures of American sport: hence the shootout. Only in the USA, where the commodity form of production has most deeply reached into sports does soccer have such an absurd ending to a drawn game. It will be seen later how the introduction of the 35 yard offside law has resulted in a further redefinition of the division of labour within the teams to more reflect the structures of commodity production.⁸

This section has sought to emphasize the production of the sports telecast as a commodity and to point to some of the implications of that in regard to the ideological characteristics of televised sports. Some of the other characteristics will be examined below.

VII. Competition and the Rules of the Game:

In the above section the emphasis on outcome was pointed to as a result of sports becoming increasingly commodity like which was in turn tied up with the relationship

between sports and the media. Goldstein and Bredemeier (1977) argue that the emphasis on outcomes is largely the result of mass media involvement in professional and amateur sports and that competition has led to the view that the result is the primary aim of sports events. Neil Issacs has written that contemporary sports has bred a wholesale corruption of values whereby the winning of the game becomes more important than the value of the game,

"Competition structures more than our athletic activities, more than our political, economic, legal and educational lives, more than our artistic striving for prizes and grants and recognition. Competition is at the heart of our social interacting. We still win the hands of spouses and the intimacy of friends and seductions are scores, so that even making love instead of war is just a rechanneling of the competitive drive." (1978)

The sports creed that Harry Edwards (1973) identifies also has as one of its central features a stress on competition and a stress on winning.⁹

This stress on competition and on winning contributes to the process of fragmentation whereby workers are separated falsely from one another by "poisonous ideologies". Debord has already reminded us that the central characteristic of the commodity/spectacle is separation. Paul Hoch has written that "competitiveness, discipline and

positive thinking (give) a scorecard of the supposedly desirable attributes for capitalism's well worked out, composed working class". The mythology of sports states that the rules are neutral and the game must be played within them and that hard work and never giving up will ensure success.

"Of course, we all know that in sports as in life there can only be a few winners - that is the way the game is set up. This is the reason why the others must learn how to be good losers, accepting their defeats gracefully, always imagining that we'll do better next time, but never questioning the Rules of the Game. If the system is to continue, the losers must be socialized both to accept their position and to continue to play. In fact both the sports ethic and the Protestant Ethic teach you that if you lost the game, it was basically because you didn't work hard enough."
(1972, p. 101)

The Rules of the Game embody in a dramatized form the rational-legal structure of the wider society. They are personified in the officials whose decision we accept because the referee is always right (even when he isn't). Authority may occasionally be wrong (it may lock up strikers and political activists without trial) but sports makes this a profoundly human act ("everyone is human and allowed to make mistakes") which glosses over the technical/rational legitimation and repression that the system must engender. Sports make repression acceptable by giving it a human and dramatic face.

Also by dramatizing the sacrifice that authority sometimes makes in the wider interests of order, sports perpetuate a paternalistic myth of the existing structures being in the interests of everyone. Joe B. Hall, the Kentucky Basketball Head Coach, announced on national TV (NBC Dec. 29, 1979) why he had suspended his two star players for a crucial game. "Rules must be obeyed. If we are to have an ordered society it is necessary to have discipline.... discipline is more important than anything." The "Rules" have gained a sacrosanct respect. They are abstracted from the concrete materiality of the capitalist mode of production and then held constant as the ultimate criteria on which social action is based. Any possibility of tracing the "rules" to reality is vetoed by the placing of authority in such light. Rules in society or in sports have to be obeyed because they are...the "Rules". Goldstein and Bredemeier write that,

"The values which are most often stressed by coaches, players and sportscasters, most of whom were once athletes themselves, epitomise the business values of competition, personal success and corporate obedience to the managerial hierarchy. In general, coaches stress the importance of end-states and the characteristically masculine values of aggressiveness, dominance and assertion. There is little room in the schema for also-rans, liberals or females."

Brohm's (1978) major critique of sports is based on a critique of the role of competition. However in his analysis it is not the relations surrounding sports that make them a repressive activity, but the activity itself. Thus for Brohm there will be no sports under socialism. While this paper disagrees with the conception of viewing a phenomenon non-relationally Brohm does have some interesting insights into how competition functions in sports within capitalism.¹⁰ He quotes J. Ellul as writing,

"Sport is a factor for reducing the population to a mass and for exercising discipline and in both these respects it corresponds to a totalitarian, technical civilization. Thus sport follows on directly from mechanized work: when a man leaves his work, sport takes over so that he is at no time independent of technique. In sport he finds the same mentality, the same criteria, the same morality, the same movements and the same objectives - all the laws and habits required by technical work organization - which he has only just left behind him at the factory or the office."
(in Brohm, p. 40)

For Brohm an entrance into the world of sport has to leave behind the world of play for the individual is subjugating himself to a given set of authority structures by which he must train his body to give a certain quantity of output. Categories such as maximum output and competition are bourgeois categories and merely reflect the wider social complex. The inherent joy and playfulness of games is destroyed by

sports for it turns men "into efficient machines who know no joy other than the grim satisfaction of mastering and exploiting their own bodies". In addition Brohm argues that sports are a means of sexual repression in that if the body is seen as a non-sexual domain, and seen in terms purely of muscles and system, then the problem of instinctual drives is no longer posed and the only answers needed are technical ones. The body is a social institution that has to be understood in relation to other institutions. Levi-Strass has noted that "each society imposes on the individual a rigorously determined utilization of his or her body" and in capitalism we see an increasing reification of the body as labour power, as a reproductive force and as an abstract consumer. Sports here help to define for us the means by which we reproduce our labour power (technical, competitive, maximum output) by which we define ourselves sexually (through its appropriation by the advertising industry) and how we become consumers in the system of advanced capitalism.

Thus far in this section the values internal to sports as regards competition and respect for abstract authority have been examined and there is no doubt that these come through strongly in sports telecasts. They are part of the appropriation process. But there is another side to the competition concept that is more of a creation

of the networks and the owners. Competition as it pertains to sports telecasts is itself a dialectical unity of opposing concepts. Bob Kellerman (in Hoch 1972) argues that the relationship between players may appear to be one of competition but essentially it is one of cooperation in the production of a commodity (the game event). The commodity in fact is not a game at all but a "spectacle of competition" which can only fulfill its function if the fans really believe in competition. Kellerman gives the example of the computer produced Marciano-Ali fight which was no more than a merging of images but which produced reactions as if there had been a real fight. Despite the stress that the sports creed puts on winning, this is in fact the least important part of the process, because the spectacle is the real key. After all the reverse to winning is losing so that the losers are just as essential to the spectacle. This need to retain a myth of competition can be seen in the bureaucratized structures of the various leagues and their draft rules by which the weakest teams get the pick of the new players coming into the league. The real basis behind competition is cooperation. Similarly, during the games it is very rare to see a really one-sided game. If it is getting too one-sided the referees or umpires will ensure that the scores stay a little closer. Similarly sports announcers never tire of telling us that the game is never over until

the final whistle, hooter, bell, etc., even if one side has a huge lead. After all the commodity they are selling and producing has competition as an integral part of it. They could not really tell viewers to turn off at halftime because the result is obvious. That would detract from the use value of the sports telecast commodity - the movement of commodities in general. Kellerman writes,

"It is important to see that in their behaviour as capitalists in the monopoly stage of capitalism, these owners avoid competition with each other at all costs while, at the same time, they sell a product whose main ideological function is to perpetuate the belief in competition." (Hoch 1972, p. 121)

Competition and cooperation thus can be seen as part of the dialectical duality which capitalism has moulded to fit the functions the system requires to be fulfilled.

VIII. Quantification and Reification in Sports:

As sports take on more and more the form of commodities, and as the sports spectacle becomes a commodity whose use value is the marketing and movement of other commodities, the more the main characteristics take on fetishized and reified forms.¹¹ To quote Marx once again on commodity fetishism,

"The commodity form and the value-relation of the products of labour within which it appears, have absolutely no connection with the physical nature of the commodity and the material relations arising out of this. It is nothing but the definite social relation between men themselves which assumes here, for them, the fantastic form of a relation between things. In order therefore, to find an analogy we must take flight into the misty realm of religion. There the products of the human brain appear as autonomous figures endowed with a life of their own, which enter into relations both with each other and with the human race." (1976, p. 165)

Thus in sports, just as the worker vanishes into the fetish of commodities he produces so the athlete disappears into an abstraction of quantification. Athletes are not recognized for the intrinsic value of the ability but in the measurement of it. Jim Brown, a very successful footballer says, "I hold more than a dozen records and as a result have been turned into a statistic." (in Guttman 1978, p. 68). No wonder Brohm calls sport an explicitly positivist form. He writes, "Into all human relationships, into all sectors of social life, capitalism begets quantification. In capitalist society everything is a commodity. Thus the essence of all activity is the comparison within a homogeneous framework such as the market, the Courts, the sports field or the Stock Exchange, etc., of rates of profit, quantities of labour, commodities, monetary symbols, crimes and prison sentences, sexual exploits and last but not least,

sports records" (p. 60). Athletes thus are recognized and relate to each other not as human beings but as numbers, as the .300 hitter or the 1,000 yard runner or the 25 game winner. While watching a Monday Night Football, the number of times a statistic was presented for an individual was noted. In a telecast of total time three hours (including commercials, pre-game, half time and post-game shows) player statistics were shown 65 times. As the game event most probably only featured about 1-1½ hours this amounts to almost a statistic a minute. Also very rarely were statistics repeated - they were almost always different ones, the same figure being changed during the course of the game. Television is obsessed with statistics. Most of the spare moments of sports telecasts are filled with bits of statistical irrelevance. In this sense, it is true to say that television has vastly added to the statistical and quantification tendencies already inherent in American sports. It has in a sense produced our numbers mania. The reverence that American sports have for numbers perhaps is best summed up by the "retiring" of numbers when a particular star player leaves the club or the sport. It is as if the number was his, as if it represented him concretely. He was and is the number.

The tendency to separate player and activity even extends to separating different aspects of the same player.

i.e., his figures against different clubs for the same activity. The American game par excellence for this is baseball. It is a game that could not survive without its own statistics. Indeed major league baseball even has its own statistics center. In it the Taylorization of the body becomes complete, (figures against left handers, right handers, batting left, batting right, against certain teams, against certain pitchers, etc.), with each act being parcelled out, ready to be used in a certain situation. Also Roger Kahn suggests that the pauses in the action lend themselves to the presentation of statistics. Roger Argell claims it "is the most intensely and satisfyingly mathematical of our outdoor sports...Scientists speak of the profound moving aesthetic beauty of mathematics and perhaps the baseball field is one of the few places where the rest of us can glimpse this mystery". However, where Argell sees beauty perhaps there is only fetishism and ideology.

Robert Coover in his novel The Universal Baseball Association Inc. J. Henry Waugh, Prop. presents a story of an accountant, J. Henry Waugh, who lives emotionally in a world he himself has created, by way of a board game played with three die and probability tables. He creates a baseball game that replaces for him the real game which bores him. What lures him to this fantasy world is "records, the statistics, the peculiar balances between individual and

team, offense and defense, strategy and luck, accident and pattern, power and intelligence". From the statistics Waugh conceives personalities, tales, songs, journalists and he withdraws more and more into his fantasy world. The point is that once the statistics take on a significance they have now in American sports, who needs personalities? The characteristics of the commodity form take on a life of their own so that relations between people become relations between things. An obvious example of this is the way that the trading and transferring structure of American sports treat players as commodities to be bought and sold. In the vast majority of cases the players have no choice as to where they go, or even if they go. They are owned by the franchise owners. We have already noted that federal tax laws allow owners to depreciate players, just as they would any old or new piece of machinery that they possess in their factories.¹²

This tendency to quantify and separate the activities of even one person can have an effect on the game. Kennedy and Williamson (1978) cite a case where a basketball player is paid so much extra for a number of blocked shots, with the result that the player concentrates so much on this part of the game that other aspects of his overall play and ability are exploited by the opposition. Soccer is a game that is trying desperately to break into the major

American sports markets and has had to adopt this tendency to quantify in an attempt to compete. The problem with soccer is that it is a vastly unquantifiable game. Not being a game of breaks and sudden action the only real quantifiable aspect of it is the number of goals scored, and indeed in Europe and South America this has been the extent of quantification. American soccer NASL style is quite different in its outlook. A category of "assists" has been created and the goalkeeper, not the team is now responsible for the number of goals conceded. One of the effects of quantification in sports is separation of acts that only make sense in a unity. It creates a specialized division of labour. There is nothing inherent in any sporting/gaming activity that leads to quantification. It is a result of the surrounding relations and forces of production. Balbus (1975) has talked of professional sports labour becoming alienated labour, which is,

"Increasingly evaluated by means of abstract efficiency criteria rather than by concrete qualitative criteria: nothing more dramatically signals the transformation of what was formerly known as play into alienated labour than the universal obsession with the record - the constant comparison of performance on the basis of a common quantitative scale - and the concomitant neglect of stylistic and aesthetic dimensions."
(1975, p. 13)

Marx argued that capitalist relations of production necessitated that labour be treated as both abstract and concrete (see Marx 1976). Clearly in American sports it is legitimate to view athletic ability as true capitalist labour power complete with its alienating tendencies. In contrast to this it can be seen that the ancient Greeks never kept records of their sporting achievements although they undoubtedly had the technology to do so.

IX. Sports and the Labour Process:

One of the major arguments of this chapter has been that sports come to reflect in a broad sense the society in which they are found and that they at the same time serve to reproduce these same conditions (the dialectic of reflection/determination). In the case of televised sports it has been argued that the ideological process is further reinforced by the mediation of television, which appropriates the sports commodity. One of the most important aspects of the ideological function of sports on television is the idealized picture that is presented of the work process. In this sense sports directly intervene in a legitimation process that attempts to hide the cracks and contradictions that are a part of the ever increasing process of proletarianization within capitalism. They are a perfected vision of the way that capitalism would like the working class to view the workplace in terms of the division of

labour , specialization, functionality, elitism, the separation of mental and manual labour and the personalization of authority. The following analysis will use football as the perfect example of this and will highlight the points made by reference to a game in the process of becoming Americanized - soccer.

Harry Braverman, in a classic Marxist work, Labour and Monopoly Capital (1974) has pointed to the process that already has been referred to in this paper, beginning in the 1920's named Taylorization. Braverman argues that the 20th century has seen an intensification of work processes whereby the knowledge that has traditionally been a part of working class culture has been appropriated by the bourgeoisie, and because of a division of labour that separates different tasks of one process, is "given back" in a fragmented manner. Traditionally craftsmen possessed all the knowledge they needed to make the object at hand. What Braverman is interested in showing is the way that the laws of capital accumulation have transformed the historic unity of conception and execution into a situation where the vast majority of the population of monopoly capitalist societies now fulfill only the latter part of the dissolved unity with the former now in the hands and control of a minority capitalist class who control labour power and the labour process. The scientific management of Taylor involved three basic

principles, (1) the dissociation of the labour process from the skills of the worker in that management assumes the "burden of gathering together all the traditional knowledge which in the past has been possessed by the workmen and then of classifying, tabulating and reducing this knowledge to rules, laws and formulae" (Taylor); (2) access to and the concentration of this knowledge within management so that conception is divorced from execution; (3) the use of this knowledge by management to layout, control and separate the labour process into its constituent elements. Management systematically pre-plans and pre-calculates all the elements and the labour process now completely exists only in the realms of management and not in the minds of the workers who now view it in a particularistic and fragmented manner. One of the main effects of this separation of conception and execution is that the two are not only separated but become hostile and antagonistic, "and the human unity of hand and brain turns into its opposite, something less than human" (Braverman, p. 125). Thus the main effects of this movement were the breaking up of unified work processes and an increasing division and specialization of labour. It has already been argued above that Mayo attempted to displace tension caused in this structure by the class struggle by introducing the notion of teamwork into industrial management. This was matched by a switch also from

baseball to football as the "national game". (See Section III, this Chapter).

Braverman's book has generated a widespread debate within Marxism on a variety of points, one of which has been the issue of the labour process and social control. Andrew Collier (1973) has argued that the workplace is one of the primary producers of ideology along with the main producer, the family. And Nicos Poulantzas, talking about ideological state apparatuses has written,

"The reproduction of positions in the relations of ideologicopolitico domination does indeed invoke the apparatuses, but it also invokes apparatuses other than the state ideological apparatuses....most importantly the economic apparatus itself. As a unit of production in its capitalist form, an enterprise is also an apparatus in the sense that by means of the social division of labour within it (the despotic organization of labour), the enterprise itself reproduces political and ideological relations concerning the places of the social classes." (NLR 78, p. 52)

But it is suggested here that the ideological reproduction that takes place at the workplace, at the objective point of production, also produces tensions and contradictions (strikes, absenteeism, etc.) and that the degree to which it does dominate and help to produce the "imaginary relationship to reality" is mediated through other ideological apparatuses such as sports/media. According to Braverman

the proletarianization of the workplace is spreading to whole new areas (clerks, secretaries, key punch operators, etc.), and so one would expect are the ensuing tensions of a concentrated exploitation. The explicit argument being advanced here is that these tensions are eased and hidden in part by the idealized view of the work process that sports provide. The "appearances" of the two conditions seem familiar but sports give a reactionary explanation of the "essence" of it.

Paul Hoch has written that "organized team sport is really becoming the passive robot production of the assembly line, and increasingly of the now proletarianized white collar jobs as well" (1972, p. 122). At the very center of both American sports and the work place lies the unquestioned principle of specialization and the division of labour. Indeed Debord has noted how the language of the spectacle includes and utilizes signs of the mode of production. American football is the perfect example of the division of labour and specialization, and the separation of conception and execution. Football is a deeply separated game. Its frequent stops entail easy switching of personnel. For every different situation that arises there is a special unit or a specialized technician that has been highly trained for the task (punt returner, field goal kicker, wide receiver, punter, special defensive teams, etc.). At

the heart of the action is the quarterback who (increasingly less in the modern game) calls the signals and who gets the most protection on the field. Below him on the hierarchical rung come the backs and the ends and below them the offensive linemen who do the blocking, etc. (the dirty work, the functional work). Glory is only reserved for the quarterback, backs and ends in whose action the final product (points, yards gained) is consummated. It is interesting to note that the free substitution rule which allowed increasing specialization coincided with the spread of scientific management to previously skilled fields (late 1950's, early 1960's). Interchangeability and specialization were spreading to all parts of the social formation and football here merely reflected the changes, as well as reflecting the notion of "teamwork" that Mayo tried to introduce. This division of labour and specialization is not merely restricted to games like football whose rules make it easy to utilize separate units, but to fluid games such as basketball and soccer. Lipsky quotes Jeff Greenfield writing about the Boston Celtics,

"If there is one fundamental to be learnt from the astonishing reign of the Boston Celtics, it is that a team wins when players are permitted to concentrate on their skills and forget about their weaknesses. Let the defensive specialists harass the opponents best ball-handlers and shooters and reward them for what

they do well...Tell your shooters to shoot. In other words, look at the game of basketball as a series of necessary skills that can be scattered among your team - as long as one player possesses an essential skill in high quality." (1979, p. 723)

Basketball today is a very specialized game of giant centers, rebounders and guards all with their allotted tasks. This division of labour and specialization is obvious in baseball which is even more conducive to interswitching of personnel. The designated hitter is a relatively recent innovation and influential spokesmen such as Howard Cosell have called for the introduction of substitute base runners.

In a sense, football, baseball and basketball, are American games and it could be argued, not very convincingly, that it is a coincidence that these characteristics evolved. However in the past few years a non-American game has been pressed on the American sporting public (soccer) and it is illuminating to see how it has been changed within the context of American advanced capitalism. The most obvious change which has already been mentioned is the introduction of the shootout to prevent drawn games. Also this practice has had the effect of producing its own specialists for this particular situation, i.e., specialist goalkeepers, who have developed shootout skills, and specialist shootout offensive players. The other change requires a more technical argument. The introduction of the

35 yard offside law has had the effect of slowing the game down and of spreading the area of the pitch where most of the action is concentrated. Johan Cruyff, the top soccer player in the world, talking of the 1974 (and to a lesser extent 1978) Dutch World Cup sides exhibition of "total soccer", argued that the offside law was vital to their style.¹³ Simply put, the offside law as it is played in the rest of the world allows a side to "close up" the area of play by moving up to the half way line. As Cruyff says, if you are going to have constant switching of players and positions ("total soccer"), given the physical limitations of human beings, it is much easier to do this when space is limited and players are close to each other. What the 35 yard law does is to increase the area that a team can close up and thus makes it much more difficult to switch positions. What it leads to is players having to pay more attention to their particular position, a first step to specialization.¹⁴ Given the dynamics of American sport that have been examined in this paper, it does not seem an outrageous prediction to state that within the next decade soccer will introduce free substitution and time outs (necessary for television commercials). The same dynamics can also be seen in regard to the professionalization of volleyball. Whereas in amateur volleyball the players have to move around the various positions of the team, in pro-

fessional volleyball this law has been changed to allow for specialization in one position.

Just as in the workplace this increasingly concentrated process of rationalization produces tensions and alienation, sports too, suffer from these contradictions. Paul Hoch quotes former All-Pro George Sauer as saying, "they don't really allow the athlete to be a human being. On the one hand he is supposed to be more human and on the other he is supposed to be less human...The attitude still exists that we are a body and that we are property and we do the heavy work while the thinkers are out doing something else...The way football is structured, being an athlete is like being kept in a perpetual or prolonged adolescence". Frank Champs, a star quarterback at Harvard, quit the game because it was "too mechanized. It doesn't allow for the human being...we're like pieces of machinery...The whole concept of machine sports was just stopping me". Even today's top stars can feel this sense of dissatisfaction with the type of role they have to fulfill, and at the division of labour. Lynn Swann, the star wide receiver of the Pittsburgh Steelers says "as long as the QB is the star I'll always be just another guy out there and that hurts. Now this isn't whining. A wide receiver gets more attention than a lot of other positions...But last year when we won again, it wasn't just the Steelers. For the first time,

it was Terry Bradshaw and the Steelers. And it jolted me back to reality. All of a sudden I realized that no matter how good a wide receiver you are, you're always going to be in the QB's shadow. It's just a fact" (SI Dec. 10, 1979). Other eloquent protests have also been heard from football players Dave Meggyesey and Chip Oliver in their internal attack on football. What this really comes down to is the separation between mental and manual labour, and it is the function of sport to help socialize the workforce to accept their position in the grand game (factory) plan. Lipsky (1979) quotes the Knicks coach as lionizing a player whose job it is to come off the bench and "give a foul" (a menial task). "It is just as important for Mike Riordan to give a foul at the right time as it is for Willis Reed to score 35 points. I never had to explain to Riordan why he was being used mainly to give fouls. He did it because he felt it was important. It was his involvement with the team" (p. 72). Similarly in the factory, the menial task is a functional task that adds to the "team effort". The coaches know best. Part of the function of television thus is to legitimate this division of labour, to present the sports team as model work community. Howard Cosell on a Monday Night Football game made this explicit (Houston vs. Pittsburgh 10 Dec. 1979, ABC). Continually he mentioned the role of the functional player, e.g.,

- "he is not as good as (another player) but he is very functional"
- "Houston does not have a lot of publicized players but it does have functional players"
- "We must remember the jobs done by the functional players tonight"

As presented through the media the team symbolizes in a dramatic, idealized and most of all human way that rationalization of hierarchy, specialization and the division of labour of the workplace. In return for this loyalty the players are hugely rewarded. It is interesting here to note the example of Darrel Stingely, a New England Patriots football player who was paralyzed from the neck down in a "tackle" by Jack Tatum of Oakland. Appearing on a Monday Night Football game in the wheelchair he was given a long and moving applause by the huge crowd. The television scene lingered on the whole moment, presenting it as a special tribute (which no doubt it was) and then interviewing the homecoming hero. To complete the effect Cosell was the interviewer. During the interview Stingely said he felt no anger towards Tatum and was very grateful to the Patriots for having found and given him a lifetime job within the organization and he looked forward to doing the best job he could for the club. Here dramatized in a very intense way was the mutual loyalty of worker and employer. It was to be

fair to the Patriots a superb public relations job and a moment of intense ideological legitimation of the existing system.

As well as legitimating the place of agents within an alienating work process, sports, through the mediation of television and the press, also work to legitimate the separation of mental and manual labour and the relationship of workers to social knowledge and social action. The process of Taylorization is very complete in sports. In football all the moves and plays have been presented before the game and very often the decision as to the play that will be run in any particular situation comes in from orders from the sidelines. The action on the sidelines of a football game symbolizes the acceptance of high technology into all spheres of life. Coaches have earphones and microphones and Quarterbacks talk to coaches in the stands. There is a whole army of mental workers behind the manual labourers of the team. There is no spontaneity in football or in most American sports. Lynn Swann is undoubtedly a superb athlete but he does no more than run a prescribed pattern and perform all kinds of acrobatics at the end of it. Indeed Balbus has written,

"The more efficiency, the less spontaneity: the seemingly most spontaneous, even breathtaking movements of a football back, for example, depend on the capacity of ten other

players to execute ten planned and precisely delimited functions without which no 'spontaneous' individual achievement would be possible." (1975, p. 32)

Similarly baseball is a game of clinical perfection. There are certain practised actions that have to be performed correctly (if not, they are designated "errors", an official quantification of mistakes). Most of the offensive signals are made by the coaches. After every pitch in crucial situations the batter looks at the third base coach (very few of whom are black).¹⁵ In basketball too, the tendency is to go to prescribed plays especially at the end of games. Indeed the last two minutes is little more than an exercise in running set plays. Interestingly, television and sports are so interlocked these days that the home audience knows what the play is going to be before it takes place, as a result of hand cameras listening into the team talks. Television is also very aware of where the source of action lies in sports. During crucial and vital periods of play or before a crucial play, the cameras will inevitably focus on the coach, as though he will decide the ensuing action (which he will). This is especially so where a team has a reputation for being clinical, professional and very well organized, e.g., the Dallas Cowboys. During the Cleveland vs. Dallas Monday Night game of 1979, which Dallas unexpectedly lost, the camera continually panned away from the

action to show Tom Landry, the Dallas Coach. It showed him three times as often as the Cleveland coach. Any sports telecast spends an inordinate amount of time focusing on non-players, i.e., coaches. A new technique which basketball coverage has devised is to show the action on the main part of the screen and then picture the reactions of the two coaches in the top corners of the screen. To sum up the vital role that coaches and owners play in American sports it is illuminating to note that trophies are mostly presented to the owners of the teams. As in corporate life the owners own the final product. It is a symbolic act to legitimate the existing relations of production and the legitimacy of labour power being purchased and owned by the capitalist.

Of course the mere fact of emphasising the role of coaches and owners is not legitimacy in itself. What the media accomplishes though is to make authority structures that are exploitative, seem concrete, personal and human. They make them acceptable by presenting them with a human face. Lipsky writes,

"The humaneness exudes through the poignant tears of a street-tough Al McGuire when he wins a college basketball championship prior to his retirement. It likewise flows from such hard boiled coaches as George Allen (in a tearful press conference), Red Auerbach (emotionally embracing a tear-streaked Bob Cousy) and John Wooden (his

reserve discarded in an embrace with star UCLA player, Sidney Wicks). These scenes resonate with Robert Nisbet's view of the nature of authority in the idyllic community. Only in the discipline of the small group can authority be effectively communicated and identification occur...Personal authority and intimacy, when successfully synthesized lead to the creation of a cohesive team order. The potentially estranging aspects of the division of labour are overcome by the intimacy of the locker room and the collective pursuit of common objectives." (Lipsky 1979, p. 74)

The media also seek to add further "humanity" to this authority by recounting tales, etc. Again to use Howard Cosell as an example, he said, talking of the presence of Pittsburg coach Chuck Noll at a cystic fibrosis dinner, "that man held up a little child, tears in his eyes. The President of the Steelers was there and there were tears in his eyes. It was a beautiful day for America and for sports". Only Cosell could have dramatized it so effectively. Make no mistake, Howard Cosell is one of the greatest ideologues of the American/corporate way of life. His danger and popularity, lie in incorporating a considerable intelligence into his explicitly ideological statements.

In these scenarios, an abstract alienated authority is personally mediated in the role of very visible owners and coaches. As Lipsky says they are "not an impersonal corporate elite but concerned leaders who are clearly anguished over defeat as they are visibly exultant in

victory" (1979, p. 68). At the lower level of coaches, the fans have someone visible and touchable on whom to displace frustrations on and this is important because "order is enacted in a struggle between good and bad principles and people, in which the guilty are purged through a ritual of victimization". In relation to the way that sports help to legitimate the authority relations of the workplace the argument of Issac Balbus referred to above where work is seen in play terms should be connected to this discussion.

This examination of the ideological role of sports on television has so far tended to emphasize the imposition of ideology in a fairly uncontradictory manner. The changes that have taken place within the ideological structures that were analyzed were seen as responding to an effect of the influence of the class struggle on the wider social formation, to an effect of the changing relations of production and the tensions caused by these. But this ideological domination, this hegemony is not an automatic mechanism of the capitalist mode of production. Hegemony has to be continually won and secured, on both the ideological and the economic and political levels. There is no permanent hegemony. Just as it can be won it can be lost. Althusser (1971) writes that the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA's) reproduce precisely the dominant ideology in all its contradictions so the ISA's become "not only the stake but the

site of class struggle". For Althusser (and for Brohm) sport is an ISA and is part of the class struggle, and because hegemony is dependent on the class struggle, particular historical moments signal a "crisis in hegemony". Thus there are contradictions reflected in the ideology of the spectacle when the class struggle intrudes there, i.e., players strikes or employers lockouts, or umpire strikes. The mass unionization of players in recent years has ensured that the labour/capital contradiction will surface even in the ideal work world of the sports spectacle. There is very little that can be done when television has to explain why the stadia are empty and there are no games because of striking players. Just as the workplace is featured in an idealized and concentrated image, so the presence in the spectacle of overt class conflict will be likewise intensified as an image. It will be seen below how these contradictions also effect race and gender issues.

X. Sports and the Racial Divisions of Labour:

Integrated into the elitist division of labour there is also a racial element. Harry Edwards has argued that blacks in sport fulfill the same functions as did gladiators in ancient Rome and the racist practices within professional sports have been shown in a number of other works (e.g., Jack Olsen (1968), Harry Edwards (1973), Curt

Flood (1970), Dave Meggyesey (1970), Barnes (1971)). The concern here is with the particular ideological impact of blacks in sports.

The subject of the black population in capitalism is a very complex and highly debated area of study. It is not the argument of this paper that capitalism created racism, for American capitalism "inherited" racism from the slave system of the Old South (Baran and Sweezy 1966, p. 244). But within capitalist relations of production the position of the black population has changed in response to the developing needs of that mode of production. Without getting bogged down in the complexities of the problem, it is the view taken in this paper that the position of the black population is explained by their being a part of the "reserve army of labour", which acts both to keep the price of labour power down and which exists as a permanent surplus population to respond to the employment (and unemployment) needs of the economy. (see Braverman 1974, p. 386-401, Sweezy 1968, p. 87-92). A. Cambridge defines this reserve army in the following manner:

"Along with the accumulation of capital, the life blood of the capitalist mode of production created by the surplus labour of the working class and vital for expanded reproduction of the conditions of production goes the reproduction not only of their means of exploitation (employment) but also of their own dispensibility

(unemployment). The reproduction of the capitalist mode of production depends on it constantly finding new markets and unproductive sectors of production must go. In this connection, capitalism has a two fold need - on the one hand, for a mass of labour-power always ready for exploitation which allows for the possibility of throwing great masses of productive workers on the decisive point of production without upset to the scale of production, and on the other, to dispose of these workers when their exploitation is no longer profitable. Capitalist production depends, therefore, upon the constant transformation of a part of the labour force into an 'unemployed' and 'underemployed' disposable 'industrial reserve army of labour'. In the Imperialist dominated world economy, where unemployed, the Black Masses form a substantial section of this industrial reserve army of labour, increasingly unlikely to be used in production as the productivity of labour increases in the context of centralized capital." (Hall et al 1978, p. 375)

The concentration of large proportions of the black population at the lower end of the occupational and income scale and the huge rates of unemployment for blacks, lend support to this notion of the reserve army (see Braverman 1974, Baran and Sweezy 1966, p. 244-72)¹⁶. Hall et al (1978) argue that blacks are a "sub-proletarian stratum" of the general working class and that they are exploited and oppressed at two different levels: as black workers (super-exploitation) and as a racial minority (racism). Indeed the separation of black and white workers not only serves an economic function but an ideological one as well in that exploited groups are divided from each other and are in fact placed in opposi-

tion. As such the sportscast will be viewed as both re-
flecting and aiding in legitimizing the racial division of
labour for both blacks and whites.

Earlier in the text (Chapter 2) it was mentioned in reference to the critique of positivism, that bourgeois sociology has established that black and white players are differentially distributed by position in professional baseball and football. In terms of the hierarchy of decision making in football all decision making flows through the quarterback and in baseball, of the players on the field, it flows from the catcher who gives the signals to the pitcher. Also these positions are involved in the greatest amount of action and the greatest amount of interaction. Loy and McElvogue (1970) using the theory of centrality from the sociology of organizations sought to see if race and centrality were correlated. Centrality was defined as "how close a member is to the 'center' of the groups interaction network and thus refers simultaneously to the frequency with which a member participates in interaction with other members and the number or range of other members with whom he interacts and the degree to which he must coordinate his tasks and activities with other members" (p. 6). For baseball, Loy and McElvogue hypothesized that blacks were more likely to occupy outfield positions and less likely to occupy infield positions. The "most" central of the

positions would be that of catcher, pitcher, shortstop and 2nd base, followed by 1st and 3rd base and the outfield. The findings matched almost perfectly the hypothesis. Blacks were underrepresented in positions of catcher, shortstop, 2nd base, etc., in the correct order. For football Loy and McElvogue hypothesized the offensive positions of centre, right guard, left guard and quarterback and the three defensive linebacker positions as the most central. Again they found very few blacks represented here. Even a casual survey of televised games today will show that these findings generally hold. The ideological implications of this are immense, for the racist stereotypes are reinforced. Given the existence of blacks in positions such as running back and wide receiver and given their overrepresentation in professional sports generally it is truly amazing that no black quarterback has yet emerged as a star player.¹⁷ At present Doug Williams of Tampa Bay offers the only hope that these racist barriers can be broken.¹⁸

Blacks in sports are seen as doers and not thinkers, as the functionaries of orders from their white team mates. If the division of labour of football is an accurate and depressing reflection of the manual division of labour then the racial division of labour is an even sharper reflection. Blacks in sport and in capitalism generally are vastly overrepresented at the lower end of the occupational order.

What sports do is to reinforce both blacks' and whites' perception as to the legitimacy of the reality of everyday life. Even with the "ideal work community" the spectacle builds its unity on tearing apart. An extension of this argument is the absence of blacks from any position of manager or coach of football and baseball teams. There is an almost total absence of blacks on the mental side of the mental/manual separation. Again given the number of successful black athletes in professional sports this is an astonishing fact. The causes of this racial discrimination are not easy to pinpoint but as was argued earlier the variable of individual prejudice is not on its own a sufficiently powerful factor to explain this. An adequate answer would instead show how diverse functional and structural imperatives of the system of exploitative capitalist relations are mediated through prejudice to produce discrimination. The answers to racism (and sexism) are to be found in structural features inherent in capitalism as a system of production, distribution, exchange and consumption, that determines that there be oppressed and separated groups within the exploited class.

But racial orientations within sports are not limited to merely legitimating and reflecting the place of blacks at the lower end of the occupational scale and their absence from managerial positions, for bourgeois ideology

is profoundly (and superficially) liberal. Also to reinforce the self-image of an oppressed group as pointing to the inevitableness of their final determination in the social complex would be self defeating to capitalism for it would do nothing but raise the tensions and resentments that already exist. At the same time as reflecting and reinforcing existing conditions ideology also has to hold out the hope of success to oppressed groups. In this sense the black athletes of the spectacle are held out as examples of the rewards that await the successful blacks. Little wonder that blacks are so over represented in sports and that so many look to it as the one way out of the ghetto. But that is precisely the sports "carrot" - give the illusion that success is possible and that all it requires is just effort on the individual's part.¹⁹ As Earl Cambell told his hometown audience recently, "If Earl Cambell can achieve his goals, then any of you can achieve yours" (Sport Sept. 1979 p. 27). In the discussion above on black heroes it was argued that Ali had been appropriated by the spectacle as a "star of consumption". As Debord was quoted,

"The star of consumption, while being externally the representative of different types of personality, shows each of these types having equal access to the totality of consumption and finding similar happiness there." (61)

We have come a long way from the Uncle Tom image of earlier days. Today the black hero is flashy, aggressive and "cool" (it seems almost stylish to be black these days). But most of all he is recognized by his consumption activities.

The only American sport for which the above argument concerning the distribution of blacks in relation to centrality and to the mental/manual distinction does not hold is basketball. Here blacks are well represented at positions such as centre and guard and also to a very small extent in management positions. An adequate theory must account for this non-fit. The only obvious argument is that in other sports there are most probably an even number of equally talented proportion of black and white athletes and a small enough demand as to ensure that teams do not lose anything by going for the white player. In contrast, basketball is so dominated by blacks in terms of amount of ability (probably a result of the stress placed on the game in the inner cities as an escape from the ghetto) that it is impossible to ignore, i.e., it would be pretty hard to ignore players of the talent (and size) of Kareem Abdul Jabbar or Moses Malone. Also there are indications that the types of dynamics that were recognized in the other sports do have an effect on basketball. Recently basketball has seen a decline in popularity (TV ratings) and there has been much open speculation that this is because there are too many

black players in the NBA (compare this with college basketball where the teams of the mid-West provide a host of white dominated teams). As if to highlight this as a problem when Larry Bird entered the League in 1979 he commanded the highest salary any rookie has ever received, even more than Earvin Johnson, the undoubted star of the 1979 NCAA tournament. As Johnson stated, Bird deserved the salary as he'd spent longer at college, was the College Player of the Year and besides which he was white. Bird has high aspirations pinned on him as the Great White Hope. It seems very much as if basketball would like a similar structure in terms of black/white relations and distribution as other sports but it has evolved a structure where the personnel are just not available (just as boxing authorities would like a white heavyweight champion - another unlikely occurrence in the foreseeable future).

Basketball is one of the contradictions within the race/sports ideological realm. But the whole race field is a dense accumulation of contradictions and this is because there is not one message emanating from ideology. Individuals from different positions in the social complex take from it what they will, e.g., the white racist reinforces his view of the position of blacks in the occupational and decision making structure. The white liberal sees the success of blacks in a major field and the retreat of

discrimination. The black ghetto kid sees hope. The black militant sees stereotypes reinforced. Women (both black and white) see their role as regards social action. Just so employers and executives take different things as points of appropriation than workers from the sporting idealization of the division of labour, etc. The ideological field is a contradictory field. By giving access to the spectacle, capitalism also gives access to mass communication. Control of the content of the spectacle undergoes crisis which reflect broader movements. In relation to black athletes it gave a platform for the views of Muhammed Ali and also a platform for the poetic, symbolic protest of Tommy Smith and John Carlos at the Mexico Olympics. Perhaps in the future, as blacks come to have more of a consciousness of themselves as a sub-class, more black athletes will use the means of mass communication that they have access to as a result of their position within the production/consumption process to highlight the position of the black population as a whole.

XI. Sports, Spectatorship and Passivity:

Hoch has written,

"Sports watching is still one of the most powerful socializers for the habit of passive consumption around. For example, consider the similarity between the fan, the consumer, the

voter and the student. All have learned to take in, more or less passively, a product assembled by other people - be it a sports spectacle, a consumer good, a candidate or pre-processed particles of knowledge." (1972, p. 133)

By sitting back and watching the action of the sports spectacle we instill ourselves with the same attitude towards consumption - we just accept passively what is presented to us. The consumer does not create the demand for the object, as in a truly democratic society, but the object which creates the consumer. Just as in sports most people remain merely spectators rather than participants, so we have this passive non-critical stance towards what is presented for consumption. It was argued earlier that one of the emphases in American sports was on outcome rather than process, result rather than any intrinsic satisfaction derived from participation. Goldstein and Bredemeir (1977) write "an emphasis on intrinsic satisfaction associated with participation in sport might be economically detrimental to the networks, for people might then conclude that they would enjoy themselves more by playing tennis than by watching Connors and Borg playing tennis" (p. 157). The whole commodity nature of sport perpetuates thus the consumption of commodities from which we are ultimately alienated.

Issac Balbus (1975) in an important article has argued that sports activity and political activity have

increasingly been conceptualized as interchangeable and that this has important ideological consequences. The modern capitalist state is finding that the large complex of activities which it has to perform to help reproduce the social formation are becoming increasingly difficult to fulfill within the traditional, liberal-democratic, pluralist structures of the state, without violating the norms that underlie these. "The accumulation functions of the American state stand in inverse relationship to the availability of appropriate legitimating mechanisms". Balbus argues that the response to this has been to increasingly locate state decisions in a "technical" neutral language. Active participation as such is no longer needed, as decisions are based not on interest but on technical expertise. In fact not only is active participation not needed but it is disfunctional to the reproduction of the system. The central argument in this thesis is that as sporting activity has taken on a more technical, expert, rationalized nature, the language of this sphere is increasingly being used in the political sphere to instill the same kind of attitude towards political activity. The argument relies on sports being seen as not only taking on a technical form (as was demonstrated in the sections above on the division of labour, specialization, hierarchy, authority and quantification) but as taking on a technical meaning. Balbus thinks that

the popularity of football, the most "technical" of the games, and the fact that it is the technical language of the game that is most emphasized in the content of the sports pages, indicate that this argument could be made. He also gives numerous examples of the sports metaphor being used to legitimate action in the political field (Watergate hearings, Gerald Ford's vice-presidential confirmation debate) and thinks that if politics is conceptualized as sport, then politics becomes conceptualized in instrumental terms where political ends become unproblematic and "politics itself becomes nothing more than the search for the most efficient means to achieve this end. Political choice is transformed from a normative debate over ends into a technical search for the most appropriate strategies" (1975, p. 34). An additional effect of this conceptualization of politics as a neutral quasi-scientific activity is to foster an attitude of non-participation on the part of those who do not have the required expertise. If sports is becoming the means by which people come to relate to politics then we have the same relationship with state representatives as with a football team and its leaders, "politics becomes a spectacle to which the masses passively react, which they may second guess but in which they can never participate actively. In short, through the application of the sports metaphor, politics becomes the preserve of the expert and

citizenship is transformed into acclamation" (p. 36). Alan Wolfe's notion of alienated politics would prove useful (1975). Issues are even further removed from the political field and the important question becomes who is going to win, from a purely spectatorial viewpoint.

XII. Sports and Masculinity:

Issac Balbus (1973), in a critique and review of Hoch's book, argues that although Hoch understands the strength of the American males' identification/obsession with sports he does not come to terms with the question of why this hold is so powerful. It has been suggested in this text that part of the identification comes from sports being a form of escape where the tensions and contradictions of everyday life are worked through by being dramatized and idealized. But as Balbus points out if this is the case, if we find in sports a reflection of dominant ideas and values, why are radicals equally drawn into an "active" spectator role. Hoch argues that part of the attraction of sport lies in it being viewed as a distorted version of a genuine human need, "the play impulse", where there is at least the appearance of freedom and spontaneous play. But again this does not answer why it has become such a set of male oriented activities. Balbus suggests that part of the answer, even the main part, lies in viewing how males

in America "become men" through sports. Arnold Beisser (1972) has argued that as the traditional differences between men and women have come to be eroded, in that modern technology makes everyday displays of strength and prowess less dependent on individual ability and more dependent on access to machinery, and as women have increasingly joined the labour force, albeit in female task oriented activities, so the "authority and uniqueness of the American man has diminished" (1972, p. 264). The "rites of passage" to manhood which once were incorporated into productive activities must now be performed in another realm - sports. It has been part of the function of mass communication to mediate this "rite of passage". Now, mere spectatorship counts as entry into the sporting community. To be able to talk to a stranger in a bar, or a bus, or someone in the office of the ball game, to show knowledge ensures that one is a man. If the link with maleness is this strong perhaps it is not surprising that radicals find themselves drawn into this repressive realm. As Balbus writes, "ultimately the fight for liberation from sports is a fight for liberation from sexually defined social roles" (1973, p. 601).

In investigating the link between maleness and sports a couple of vital questions need to be confronted. Firstly, what exactly is the nature of this masculinity, how is it accomplished?; and secondly, what is the location

of this form of masculinity in relation to other forms of sexuality? In answer to the first question, Lipsky has suggested that the "team" fulfills many symbolic functions for the American male. It was mentioned earlier how the potential tensions caused by the specialized division of labour are overcome in the intimacy of the locker room. The team does create a certain type of warmth and intimacy that also spreads to the fans. Ex-basketball star, Bill Bradley, writes that in the locker room "I relax, my concerns lost among relationships that are warm and real but never intimate, lost among the constants of an athlete's life" (in Lipsky 1979, p. 75). Lipsky writes that in his survey of team literature he began to detect a model of fraternity that consisted of, (1) limited numbers; (2) shared goals and values; (3) related to ego identity; (4) intensity; (5) emotional nurturance; (6) tension to society at large. As he writes, "no discussion of the sports team or American sports symbolism in general should fail to come to grips with the way in which sports has historically been a refuge for male warmth and meaning" (p. 75). Also the sports world is warmly physical. What would be unthinkable in the real world gets dramatized and idealized in the sports world as the norm. Players hug each other, kiss each other, pat parts normally left unpatted and even shake hands in a hugely physical manner. The masculinity of the

sportsworld is strong enough to overcome these "unmasculine" emotions. Even here the genuine emotions of the sportsworld are mediated in an aggressive "macho" manner. The "intimate" actions are intensely masculine. The fierce hug (not a tender embrace), the quick kiss on the cheek (not a lasting one on the lips) and the slapping of palms and the "high fives" (not the warmth of "real" congratulation) are all fiercely aggressive masculine gestures designed to signify happiness, warmth and fraternity but never love. Indeed in the popular consciousness, how can a white and black man "love" each other. This is never the issue. The ideological moment is that in this act black and white come together as part of one team (unit, factory, society) and are seen rejoicing in that fact.

In addition to this, or as a consequence of it, the sportsworld is designed to win girls and not men. It will be argued later that this image of hard, tough, masculine, aggressive heterosexuality is explicitly used in the advertising world both as an attractive world in itself for men and as the means of winning women. For the moment it is enough to stress that the ideological focus of this world is not on any form of homosexuality, as this is totally dysfunctional to the sportsworld's location as a dramatized symbolic canopy that reflects and strengthens dominant values. An analysis of sports from a sexual perspective illustrates

how it is a dramatized life world where heroes take on larger than life proportions. Neil Isaacs (1978) reports how in 1975 the Washington Star ran a series on "homosexuals in sport" which concerned how sports groups, like other specialized occupations tended to contain a larger proportion of homosexuals than the norm. The response from the reading public was almost totally negative and mostly concerned how heroes were being destroyed in the eyes of children (and no doubt their parents). In replying to this response, Jane O'Reilly wrote that, "sports is the place for myth, sacred cows, untouchables, ancestor worship and ritualization of trivia", and that the sportspage's glorification of the sportsworld depends "on a basic marketing concept of pure macho: aggressiveness, winning, hard living" and projects the image of "Mythic Masculine Hero" (see Issacs 1978, p. 46). It is clear that the real world, especially its "unsavoury" aspects has no place in the idealized realm of sport. In addition to providing these pictures of masculinity the sportsworld, as mediated by TV, also provides visions of femininity and the connection of and relationship between these visions of masculinity and femininity and their relationship to the wider world of consumerism (see next chapter).

CHAPTER EIGHT

SPORT, IDEOLOGY AND ADVERTISING

The spectacle is capital to such a degree of accumulation
that it becomes an image

Debord

1970, 30

SPORTS, IDEOLOGY AND ADVERTISING

I. Introduction:

The last chapter dealt with the interconnections between sports and ideology at the level of legitimation. In this chapter the aim is to locate ideology more "materially" and examine the way that sports ideology is used within television advertising, i.e., to analyze ideology directly within the structures of capital accumulation. However, the whole Marxist analysis of advertising is relatively underdeveloped at the present stage. The attempt in this last analytical chapter is to indicate in a brief, sketchy and largely impressionistic manner the direction that the study of sports and advertising should take, and some of the theoretical orientations behind it. As such this chapter will initially introduce a discussion on the use of codes within advertising and seek to argue that the vital relationship is between codes and audiences. Following this, the relationship between audiences and products advertised, and the various ways that sports is appropriated by advertising will be briefly examined. The concluding section will look at the role of women in sports and sports advertising.

Advertising is more than a mere marketing of

products. Today, with the huge influence of television, advertising also plays an important part in the construction and maintenance of ideological systems that perpetuate and legitimate the social order of advanced capitalism. Kline and Leiss (1978) state that the consumer marketplace is the most important socializing agency of contemporary society, and Judith Williamson (1978) has argued that advertisements are selling us not merely commodities but, "in providing us with structures in which we, and these goods are interchangeable, they are selling us ourselves" (p. 13). This is no crude theory of ideological manipulation for advertising does not simply create this commoditized world within which we must locate ourselves. It is not powerful enough to present us with totally new information and visions of living. What advertising does is to appropriate material from wider aspects of the ideological system (from "referent systems") and remould them to fit ~~the marketing needs of a commodity, for a particular audience.~~ Once these "referent systems" are utilized we have a code by which we can "read" the commercial. It is suggested here that one of these ideological areas to which advertising makes reference is sports (especially advertising within sportscasts), and in particular the kinds of ideological discourses that are mediated through sports as they were examined in the last chapter. In television advertising,

these codes are utilized through the techniques associated with imagistic modes of communication (see Kline and Leiss 1978). There has been a separation introduced in defining the operation of these codes between open codes of interpretation, and the use of more restrictive and closed codes of interpretation for more specific markets. What this leads to is the attempt by advertisers to include in the marketing and packaging of their commodity, a process by which consumers respond not to the "objective" information presented, but to other stimuli that lead individuals to utilize information they already possess. Kline and Leiss (1978) suggest that,

"There is more to the advertising system than the mere association of symbolic attributes with products. Advertising emphasizes the primacy of the world of commodities and transforms this world into symbols of both personalized qualities and contextualized attributes. Ultimately, commodities become integral, if not defining, features of modes of human interaction as well as satisfaction."

Advertising thus does not present unambiguous messages but groups of symbols that demand interpretation within the context of a broader code. It was argued in Chapter Six that individuals play an active role in the creation and internalization of ideological explanations, be they news, sports, or advertising. One of the features of sports that

was pointed to earlier was the identification that people felt with that world and with the teams and individuals. Sports ideology is successful because we perceive it not as imposition, but as our creation. Similarly, Williamson (1978) argues that advertising is successful not because the commercial speaks for the makers of the advertisement, (for there is no one there behind the speaker of the commercial), but because there is a space left where the speaker should be, and the consumer is drawn in to fill this gap "so that we become both speaker and listener". The interpretation of advertisements thus depends on access to, and knowledge of, the particular code being utilized.

One of the key arguments of this paper in trying to understand the development and function of the sports/media complex in advanced capitalism was that the most important element of the relationship was the need for media to produce audiences, and the ability of sports to produce audiences of particular demographic characteristics. In connection with the discussion above on the use of codes in advertising (and given the key element of the media as producing audiences) it would seem that sports programming and advertising, being a specialized market activity, would develop along the lines of using more restrictive codes. However the widespread use of, and the role of sports, within the wider social fabric would also indicate that it might

develop imagistic modes of communication, as regards advertising, that would encompass use of a wider and more open image pool. It would be expected that advertising within sports programming would use the more restricted image pool of that audience, but that the use of sports ideology during other (mostly prime time) programming would use a wider pool of images. It has already been argued above that the advertiser situates the product as part of stimuli that encourage us to interpret the image in the desired manner. But in addition to this, the commodity takes on this meaning in communication, it becomes a message in itself. However the construction of the message is mediated through sports. Consumption itself thus is mediated through sports.

"Considered as information it is a means by which the consumer may communicate to others his relationship to a complex set of abstract social attributes - it identifies him or her within the social structure. The use of the commodity with particular symbolic qualities merges with the identity of the user. In this sense, product images were never designed merely to increase purchases, but to transform the personal significance of the products' everyday use." (Kline and Leiss 1978)

Ideology thus is present in everyday commodities. Sports ideology is materially based and located in the real world. The attempt in the next couple of sections is to specify

some of the means by which sports ideology is mediated and transposed into concrete objects. However it will remain a brief and impressionistic guide into a very complex field. To even begin to understand the processes involved in the world of advertising and ideology would require another massive project.¹

II. Audiences and Advertising:

Following the discussion earlier of the production of audiences by television the attempt will be made now to pinpoint just who the advertisers are to whom the audience commodity is sold (see Table 1).

As can be seen from Table 1, beer and automobile related products account for 46% of all commercials, and as leisure products and men's cosmetics and toileteries are added to this the figure rises to 69.5% - over 2/3 of all advertising within sportscasts can be coded into these four categories.² Although this analysis did not examine prime time viewing, it would be expected that the leading advertisers in that time slot would look to females as prime consumers (see Johnson 1971, p. 227-229).

TABLE 1Advertisers During Sportscasts:

	<u>Product</u>	<u>Number of Commercials</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Cum. %</u>
(1)	Automobile related	58	29	29
(2)	Beer	34	17	46
(3)	Leisure/technology (TV, Stereo)	26	13	59
(4)	Men's cosmetics and toileteries	21	10.5	69.5
(5)	Insurance/banks	14	7	76.5
(6)	Camera's	9	4.5	81
(7)	Soft drinks	9	4.5	85.5
(8)	Business technology	7	3.5	89
(9)	Hotels	6	3	92
(10)	Restaurants/quick snack	4	2	94
(11)	Foods	4	2	96
(12)	Airlines	3	1.5	97.5
(13)	Department stores	3	1.5	99
(14)	Wines	2	1	100
(15)	Handicraft tools	<u>1</u>	<u>0.5</u>	<u>100.5</u>
		201	100%	
			approx.	

Taken From Sampled Segments Of:

ABC	Cleveland vs. Dallas Monday Night Football	7 p.m.
NBC	Tate vs. Coetzee WBA Fight	Saturday afternoon
ABC	Rams vs. Falcons MNF	19 Nov. 7 p.m.
ABC	Baltimore vs. Pittsburgh	12 Oct. 7 p.m.
CBS	Clippers vs. Lakers	12 Oct. 11:30 p.m.
ABC	Houston vs. Pittsburgh	10 Dec. 7 p.m.
NBC	USC vs. Ohio Rose Bowl	1 Jan. 2 p.m.
CBS	76's vs. Lakers	Sunday 10 Feb. 10 a.m.
CBS	Borg. vs. Gerulitis	Sunday 10 Feb. 2 p.m.

III. The Appropriation of the Sportsworld in Advertising:

It was argued above that advertising was successful because it made an appeal via a referent system which was used to read the commercial in a certain desired manner. It was further argued that one of these referent systems was the sportsworld. There are four main ways that this appropriation is achieved:

- (1) - through the use of sportsmen in commercials;
- (2) - through the use of sports as a background or by appropriating an explicit theme of the sportsworld;
- (3) - through the location of commercials during sports-casts using the unstated link between programming and commercials;
- (4) - through the location of commercials during non-sports programming using sporting themes.

These four areas will be examined in this section by way of examples.

(1) Sportsmen in Commercials:

The most explicit way that the advertising world appropriates from the referent system of the sportsworld is by the use of sportsmen in commercials. This is a technique which anyone who watches television can easily and directly observe. What may require deeper thought and analysis is to examine what sportsmen are used, and how they are used.

The most successful commercial of 1979 (sports or otherwise) was a Coca-Cola one which features "Mean" Joe Greene of the Pittsburgh Steelers with a young boy.³ It opens with Greene, a huge (black) man, limping, injured, down a stadium tunnel while the game is still going on, a jersey over his shoulder. A small boy, about 10, follows him. Timidly the boy asks, "Mr. Greene...Mr. Greene...you need help?" Greene, tired, sweating and hurt, replies "uh, uh", without even turning around. "I just want you to know.. I think you're the best ever", the boy continues and offers his Coke bottle to Greene. At first Greene refuses but the boy persists in his offer and Greene finally takes it. As he starts drinking it, the theme tune, "a Coke and a Smile", starts playing. Greene finishes the Coke without putting the bottle down, and then calls to the boy who is starting to walk away, "Here...catch" and throws him his jersey with a smile. The boy too breaks out into a huge smile and exults, "Wow...thanks Mean Joe". Sports Illustrated writes that "there is more poignancy in this small scene than there is in many full-length dramas", and Coca-Cola's director of marketing operations, William Van Loan says, "I think the commercial is so good, it's like a drama. When Joe turns around to face the kid he looks like Othello" (SI Dec. 17, 1970, p. 61). What Coke is doing in this commercial is using Greene's (and football's) image of

toughness and introducing into it, but not displacing, moments of tenderness, compassion and caring. Coke has made our heroes more human, but only in an idealized way. It has brought star and fan together.

The Pittsburgh Steelers of the NFL have a reputation among sporting circles of having achieved their success by honest, workmanlike effort, and advertising agencies have found that these qualities help to sell products. Nine of the Steelers took part in 1979 in a series of commercials for Uniroyal tires and in fact the name, "the Steeler", was thought up by the Young and Rubicorn advertising company, after Uniroyal asked the agency to come up with a tire name that emphasized toughness. Say Michael Grauper, director of advertising at Uniroyal, "The agency's idea was that the Steelers were the toughest team in football. The name Steeler was perfect for a steel-belted radial tire. We could have picked any team, but the Steelers are known as a tough and winning team, as opposed to Oakland, which is also a tough team but is considered to be dirty, or the Giants, who are thought of as sissies". Here advertising is explicitly appropriating material from inside the sportsworld (it is doubtful if anyone outside of sports knowledge knows too much of the differences between the teams). Toughness, honesty and workmanship are the themes that are used by advertising. In addition to this set of

commercials, the Steelers, both collectively and individually, have been involved in many others, selling luggage, Ford Fairlanes, chewing tobacco and shaving cream.

One of the other products that relies heavily on material appropriated from the sportsworld is beer. The Lite beer commercials especially rely heavily on sportsmen to advertise the product. The reasoning is quite solid. Lite beer is generally not considered very strong, not masculine, not tough. By associating it with tough aggressive sportsmen, the sponsors obviously hope that sports fans will start drinking it as a real sportsman's beer. In fact, contained within the Lite commercials is a concentrated version of the American ideal of sports machismo, aggression and toughness. There are a number of commercials in the series and they tend to change quickly, but a small number will be described and interpreted here. During a recent basketball play-off game on CBS (Boston vs. Philadelphia April 20, 1979), Lite ran a string of commercials in close proximity. Three of these will be discussed here. The first one featured two ex-football players, Bubba Smith and Dick Buktus (one black and one white) who march into a bar in tennis whites and announce that they are not just a pair of uncivilized animals, but people who prefer something with a little refinement, i.e., Lite beer. One extolls the fact that it "tastes great" and

the other that it is "less filling" than other beers, and then they ask anyone in the bar if they would like to play doubles. As they ask this, Smith opens the tennis can ball carrier in two with his bare hands and asks "doubles anyone?" People turn away totally intimidated, as Smith and Buktus smile, satisfied that their message has gotten across. The whole commercial is a total approval of toughness, aggression and intimidatory behaviour (and of the connection with Lite). The second commercial featured an ex-football player, Paul Hornung, dressed in tails and a bowtie, walking out of a bar, saying that when he used to play he was good because he always practiced long after the rest of his teammates had stopped and that was why he drinks Lite beer (less filling, etc.). Then walking out in front of his waiting limosine he says that he still practices like the old days and looks into the back of the car where we see a woman's crossed bare legs (nothing else is shown of her). Hornung turns to the camera and smiles, "practice, practice, practice". Here it is the image of sportsman as stud, as womanizer, that Lite is appropriating into its own product. When we drink Lite beer we are womanizing like Hornung, we are as tough as Buktus and Smith. The third commercial in the set featured Carlos Palamino (ex-welterweight champion) in a bar telling his Mexican friends about America and Lite beer. Again the link (boxing, toughness) is obvious.

Other companies of course also use sportsmen to display and present key themes. O.J. Simpson and Jimmy Connors advertise Hertz as "where the winners rent" and 7UP of the soft drinks companies have leaned very heavily towards sportsmen as product representatives. It is not being suggested here that this is anything new. Sportsmen have been selling products for many years (Namath and Panty Hose to Ali and Roach Killer). What is being highlighted is the way that these sportsmen are used and how material created within the sports/media complex is reappropriated and utilized. In particular sportsmen have been used in commercials to associate products with images of toughness, aggressiveness, womanizing (as opposed to romancing) and ultimately of honesty and hardwork.

(2) Situational and Lifestyle Appropriation of the Sports-World:

The second major technique which is used by advertising is to use sports as a background by which to market products. Here it is the situational association and lifestyle connotations that are used to establish the link between brand products and symbolic attributes. A Volkswagen, a very unsophisticated item, is sold by linking it with the jetset, the sailing crowd. Similarly, cars are marketed by linking them with background sporting activities. Televisions and Video Cassette recorders are sold by using

sports as their example of great viewing, etc. ("watch the game in colour"). A National Car Rental advertisement explicitly uses the images of team symbolism, where the stress is on working together as a team ("two work like one") and includes shots of hockey and basketball matches and players hugging and shaking hands. This kind of reliance on imagery is a very visual medium and relies less on little vignettes or scenarios, and more on the wholesale experiencing of the imagistic communication. Without concrete visual examples, a verbal analysis is incomplete and ineffective, so this technique will not be elaborated on further. It is however a very important technique.

(3) Implicit Appropriation, of the Sportsworld:

The first two techniques examined have explicitly used material appropriated from the sportsworld and the re-reading of it in regard to identification with particular brands. This third technique to be discussed here is more problematic in terms of pinpointing the appropriation from the sportsworld. Three examples will be examined:

(a) Capitalism as a mode of production has produced technologies that are profitable to capital but which are damaging to the ecological system (see Commoner 1971). Simultaneous to this capitalism has created an urbanized landscape, closing down on nature. It is being suggested

here that sports on TV are used to mediate the contradictions and tensions that this creates. Sports become our modern technologized substitute for nature, and capitalism legitimates its polluting technology by associating with the clinical cleanliness of sports' nature. Ronald Cummings has written that,

"Nature has disappeared from most contemporary lives, shut out by gigantic buildings, train and walkway tunnels, a densely populated atmosphere. We have restructured our environment and our relations to it, and the artificial turf and Astrodome are physical symbols in the sport realm, a realm which has historically been associated with the 'outdoorsman'." (1972, p. 104)

Sports thus are our link with nature, but more and more this is mediated by an alienating technology. Grass is fast disappearing as a surface in most modern parks. Increasing numbers of indoor stadiums are being erected so that even the light of nature is displaced by electric light. Also the traditional seasons have come to mean not the real seasons of weather, but the seasons of sports (spring training, the fall classic). It has also been suggested that sports have taken over religious and sacred functions, so that national holidays increasingly lose their original meaning and become associated with sports events (Real 1977). Thanksgiving and New Years Day mean football, Christmas means basketball tournaments, etc. "Sports overlay the

sacred cycle of mythic time to provide a needed psychic relief from the tedium of Western linear time" (Real 1977 p. 100).

This role that sports have come to play is a result of the development of capitalist technology (also see Chapter 7, Section B). The environmental movement that has grown since the 1960's is potentially a very dangerous and articulate movement against capitalist interests. Feenberg (1979) has written that the initial response to the environmental movement was one of distraction but this could not continue in the face of mounting concern. Capitalism turned this problem of legitimation over to its public relations men. The anti-littering campaign was extended to take in environmental issues. Keep America Beautiful Inc. generated an anti-littering campaign that stressed individual and not industry action (a typically idealist response). Feenberg writes,

"The business men who sponsored this campaign and President Nixon who praised their civic consciousness, had no illusions about the implications of the environmental movement. They did not see it as promising a universal good in which all could share equally, apart from class and national differences. Rather, their hope was clearly that the political energy, mobilized by the increasingly articulate critics of capitalist environmental practice could be focussed on private options that would leave the basic economic institutions unaffected." (1979, p. 337)

In the present era the environmental concern has been somewhat deflected into an energy issue. Cars are now sold through an appeal to economy and good sense (although highspeed cars are still marketed via sports programming). The argument here runs that the environmental issue is not only turned into an individual choice but that it is mediated through the "naturalized" technology that sports presents. Sports is nature mediated by capitalist technology. In the sportsworld the environment is free and clear, and this world is filled not with the realities of life (dirty clothes, screaming kids, hungry pets, etc.) but with the rewards of a modern consumer/leisure society (video recorders, stereos, computer games, etc.). And in sports we see nature (sports) using this new technology (playbacks, ear-phones, microphones, telephones to experts in the stands, interviews with TV while the game is progressing, electronic scoreboards, etc.). Into this naturalized/technological sportsworld filled with healthy, young men and an idealized natural world (astroturf) and the rewards of industrialized societies, are situated automobile, gas, oil, and airline commercials. How could all these be bad for the environment, situated in these idealized "natural" relations? As Dick Forbes of Chrysler was quoted earlier, "Sports is a splendid environment for our commercials...sports is a wholesome, clean, healthy setting for a product". Especially

a product which is one of the biggest pollutants.

(b) The second example used here is that of men's cosmetics (deodorants, shampoos, aftershave). The appeal here is to those young bachelor viewers that sports attract. At one level the connection to sports is obvious. Demonstrating strength and physical ability is all very well to attract women but they can only be won and held through the use of something else that compliments the fierce muscularity of the sportsworld. The heterosexuality of the sportsworld is dressed up here in a consumable fashion. The most idealized of the commercials shown during sportscasts are the Old Spice advertisements. Here the scenario of the idealized heterosexual sportsworld (which is populated with nubile young girls just waiting to pounce on the nearest healthy male who has proved himself a man) is completed only when the young man does the one thing that will attract girls, i.e., use Old Spice. The question that really needs to be posed is why would anyone believe such an absurd and nonsensical scenario? The answer is because the sportsworld within which it is situated ensures that this is the only relationship shown between men and women (e.g., the only women shown during a sportscast are the Cheerleaders - young, beautiful, desireable women who worship the athletes on the field. This will be analyzed in the

next section). The idealized nature of the sportsworld is absolutely necessary for this commercial to fully succeed. As the President of Revlon has said in the context of women's cosmetics, "We manufacture lipstick, but we sell hope" (in Smythe 1977, p. 16).

(c) The third example to be used here concerns another beer commercial - that for Miller. These commercials shown during sportscasts focus on men at work in heavy manual occupations, (mining, forestry, rock blasting, sea fishing) working together. They relax afterwards with, of course, Miller beer. Here there is a direct analogy being drawn between sporting activity and work activity in that there is a similar sense of masculinity/fraternity being called upon. The distinctive thing about work within advanced capitalism is that it fragments individuals. Community and fraternity is an idealized thing created outside of the work world. In the Miller commercials a real sense of friendship and fraternity develops which is celebrated in true masculine fashion in a bar (invariably watching baseball on TV). Obviously this type of atmosphere could be created during a commercial, but when these commercials are shown during a sportscast, the effect is highlighted.

(4) The Sportsworld in Prime Time - The Soft Drinks:

The fourth technique to be discussed is where elements of the sportsworld are used outside of sports programming. Before the Pepsi-Cola Grand Slam Final (Tennis) at Boca West in 1979, the managing director of Pepsi gave a short speech in which he said that Pepsi had tried to present "a sports event that captures the Pepsi winning generation. This is what Pepsi advertising has tried to capture: not only what you see with your eyes, but what your heart feels". Indeed the Pepsi (and Coke) commercials utilize precisely what Kline and Leiss have called the imagistic modes of communication. Even 7UP, to a lesser degree, relies on this in its commercials. All the soft drink commercials are based on particular themes. 7UP - "America is turning 7UP", Coke - "Have a Coke and a Smile", Pepsi - "Taste that Pepsi (winning) spirit, drink it in".

The appropriation by 7UP of the sportsworld is pretty explicit and the same commercials are run during both sports and non-sports programming. Sportsmen (and one woman) are grouped into threes, each extolling how they are "turning 7UP". Of 7UP commercials viewed in the period February-April 1980, approximately 75% of the non-sports programming advertising featured ~~x~~ these sports/commercials. The 7UP non-sports commercials consisted of Linda Carter (Wonder Woman) at a Hollywood poolside party

and featured Diet 7UP. It seems that 7UP like all their characters larger than life.

The Coke appropriation of the sportsworld is also pretty explicit. The two major commercials here were the Joe Greene one described earlier, (its dramatic quality is enough to carry it over into non-sports programming), and one which featured Jim Craig, the goaltender and hero of 1980 USA, Olympic gold-medal winning, hockey team. Such was the impact of the US win on the whole nation, coming as it did during the Afganistan confrontation, that the nationalism of the sportsworld was easily transferred to the real world. Coke celebrated the uplift of the whole nation and the victory became one made by Coke. Other Coke commercials in the viewing period did not explicitly use the sportsworld but they did use the leisure world associated with it. It was hypothesized earlier that advertising during sports programming would use a more restricted code of interpretation and the advertising within non-sports programming a more open code, and that if sports were used in this later sphere they would be integrated in a different way than they are during sportscasts. When imagistic communication which features sports is used in non-sports programming it falls more into the leisure category rather than a specialized sporting one. Different things are emphasized. For Coke this consists of using shots of youth-

ful exuberance and relaxation to create the image of a young and carefree society. At the start of the spring season of TV in 1980, Coke introduced a new "Coke and a Smile" version, featuring a young boy practising soccer at what seems a summer camp/family picnic - a sure sign that soccer is being accepted into the American way of life.

Pepsi has three main types of commercial - that aimed at women, that aimed at the sports audience and that aimed at a general audience. The one aimed at women will be examined later. That aimed at the sports audience features various sports. The one in the period being viewed was lacrosse and featured shots of a rather hectic game and ends in the scorer of a goal ripping off his mask and guzzling down a bottle of Pepsi. The one aimed at the wider audience is a Coke/Pepsi test. Obviously more people prefer Pepsi than Coke. The theme here is "taste that winning spirit". Here the stress on competitiveness and stress on winning is used to turn the battle between Pepsi and Coke into a sport. "You know a winner when you taste one". The implications of this are that one should buy Pepsi not only because of the taste but because it is a winner, it has beaten Coke. The identification is with end results (winning), not process (taste). As Vince Lombardi said, "winning is the only thing".

IV. Women, Sport and Advertising:

The discussion of women in sport has been left to this point because an analysis of this is impossible to understand without an examination of their role in advertising. During the sportscasts proper the only place that females appear is in the crowd (shots of pretty women) and of course as cheerleaders. They play no role whatsoever in the main action of the game or in the analysis of it. As Real writes in his analysis of Super Bowl VIII,

"Sexually, male domination of the Super Bowl is total. Of the hundreds of players, coaches, announcers, personalities in commercials, halftime entertainers, celebrities in the crowd and others transmitted into millions of homes across the nation by Super Bowl VIII, only two halftime entertainers - Miss Texas and Miss Canada - and a small handful of anonymous actresses in commercials and faces in the crowd were not male. The Super Bowl is covered by newspapers whose sports and business pages are both about as predominantly male as are society pages female."

The cheerleaders are the hallowed virgins worshipping at the altar - except they do not have the image of virgins any longer. They are male America's titillation from the real business of sports. They are embellishments to the commercial exploitation of the game and reflect their role in the ideology of consumerism as "things" to possess and display. Just like night club strippers (indeed they are a

part of the "jiggle show" of TV), there is the vital barrier between looking/longing/desiring on the one hand and possessing/satisfaction on the other. The sexual behaviour prescribed by commercials in general and especially by their articulation with the notion of sports, enhances this basic alienating relationship even more.

Commercials during sports are vastly male oriented - they are selling to men. This is in sharp contrast to prime time where the majority of commercials are directed at women. The major difference here is on how images of women are presented to the different audiences. In prime time women are sold to themselves as they would like to appear. But unfortunately reality does not match this fantasy creation. What prime time advertising does is to show how this gap can be bridged, how reality can become fantasy and vice versa. It provides the tools by which women attempt to make themselves in the image of capital. There is much less emphasis on men producing themselves as sexual beings. Their personal identification as such comes not by changing themselves but by the use of status products. (Of course there is an element of the creation of sexuality through the use of cosmetics.) In sports advertising the woman as sexual being arrives readily created. The male audience is not interested in how women become such creatures. For them the woman in sports advertising

appears as an object to be chased, captured and possessed⁴ (e.g., Old Spice girls). This interaction between sports and advertising is not a deflection away from the sensual, but a redefinition of it in ideal terms. But for both men and women, the roles are never played out as the media portray them. For that to happen would involve that the goal that consumerism holds out, the perfect sexual image, would be achieved. Once that has been reached, what else is there for capitalism to sell given the central place of sexuality in its commercial mythology. The power of the sexual imagery of capitalism lies in the fact that it is never completely within reach, but always a fingertip away. Just as failure in the work world is your own fault, so failure to achieve the promised goal is your own fault. You go back and start again in search of the perfect image. To spectate and consume is to set out on the road to sexual fulfillment, but only on the terms that ideology lays out. Judith Williamson (1978) writes that she could not have done her own work on advertising,

"Without the battle throughout my teenage years, and still now, between the desire for magazine glamour and the knowledge that I will never achieve it, that it is a myth. So what made me want it? A real need - but falsely fulfilled: in fact, sustained by its perpetual unfulfillment."
(p. 9)

The use that the soft drinks have made of sports was discussed above, but an important question was left unanswered, and it is the analysis of women in advertising that points us in the right direction. The question is "why sports?" Why did Pepsi, etc., not pick showbiz celebrities, singers, actors, etc. The answer lies in the nature of the product and the audience to which it is appealing. As a beverage the major soft drinks are vastly unhealthy. They are laden with sugar and calories. But by a strange transformation, Pepsi/Coke have a healthy image, and this is precisely because of their association with sports (health).⁵ Nothing else could have done it for them. But the "calories counters" could not be fooled by this and the soft drink companies were left with a huge market that had not been tapped. So they introduced their various "Diet" drinks to try and capture this audience, and again they relied on sports to provide the push. But this time it was sports of a different kind - now it would be women and tennis, cycling, sailing, roller-skating. Leisure cum sporting activities were appropriated by the soft drink companies to market their new line. Indeed team sports and women could not be used together because of the link between sports and masculinity. It is only leisure that provides the link with health/active life that the soft drinks needed. The 7UP commercial with Linda Carter has already

been mentioned.⁶ A Pepsi commercial that is a superb mix of leisure/sporting/active, liberated female imagery demonstrates the ideological stance. It features a number of women taking off tops and skirts to reveal T shirts, bathing suits and shorts as they are about to start one of the leisure activities mentioned above. Needless to say the women are attractive and concerned about their figure. "You're looking good all over, you're looking good today, you're looking Pepsi Light and its just one calorie", is the theme. This commercial is shown primarily on prime time.

The lack of women among sports commentators has been noted by many people. For example, Sports Illustrated wrote that when Phyllis George left CBS Sports in 1978, it offered a unique opportunity to see how the networks viewed the role of women in sports broadcasts, i.e., did they want them to be like George - beautiful and totally ignorant about sports - or did they want knowledgeable women sportscasters. The networks all claim to be looking for women sportscasters but insist that none are available. In their "absence", ABC in 1978 hired Cheryl Tiegs, the top model in the country, and introduced her on a tennis tournament and a Kentucky Derby Special. Even those women who do get hired are soon steered into certain roles. Jane Chastin was hired by CBS in 1974 but she lasted only 18 months. She says, "At my first NBA game, the producer told me not to talk to

any athlete or coach but to act impressed with how tall and sweaty the players were" (SI 1978). Making the absence from the sportscast even more noticeable is the easy acceptance of women on national network news. Houston sportscaster Anita Martini asks, "Why can women talk about wars, riots and presidential trips and not be able to talk about sports. Why is there such a sacred bond between men and sports?"

As a final word to this discussion of women, the impact of the development of women's professional team sports will be analyzed briefly. Increasingly, colleges are devoting more funds to women's sports, we have seen an increase in the popularity of and the funds available for women's professional tennis and golf, and there is a fledgling professional women's basketball league that is starting to receive substantial financial backing. We are on the verge of a major expansion of women's sport in the U.S. Herbert Marcuse, in an interview shortly before his death, stated that he saw great hope in the women's movement because it brought to the struggle femininity, gentleness, grace, compassion, etc. (traditional female qualities). He suggested that we use as weapons the very things that capitalism has created to suppress women. But in sports what seems to be happening is that women's sport is set to follow the model layed out by the men's game. Dorothy McKnight

argues that this recapitulates the mistakes of the men's games (in Issacs 1978). Capitalist (male) sport is moulding women's sport in its own image. However this could lead to some contradictory tendencies in the ideological discourse. Nancy Lieberman of Old Dominion, the premier women's college player, looks set to be given a chance to perhaps establish herself as the first real star of women's professional basketball. Sports Illustrated writes of her, "the reason she is such a pioneer, the reason she altered the strategy, the style, the face, the very direction of women's basketball is that Nancy Lieberman plays like a man" (Dec. 3, 1979, p. 109). This is Lieberman talking of how she intimidated a Bulgarian in this "non-contact" sport:

"My knees hit that girl so hard in her chest, somebody else had to shoot her free throws. When the U.S. and Bulgaria played again at Montreal, every time the other girl came in, Billie put me in. The girl wised up. All I had to do was get close to her and she got rid of the ball. She wanted no part of me."

There has been some stress in this paper on contradiction in ideology, and the development of women's sport in a male image could pose some problems. The new sports look as though they are going to follow the men in terms of toughness, roughness, aggression, professionalism, etc., - the

traditional male sporting qualities. On the other hand, the existing image of women in sports (in advertising and as cheerleaders) is based on traditional feminine qualities in terms of sexual attractiveness. The question is, if these opposing tendencies do develop, how will capitalism deal with this masculinity of femininity?" It is here that we can perhaps see a contradiction between short term profit and long-term social control. It is part of the contradiction of capitalism as a system in process.

Summary:

This last chapter sought to examine the role that sports play in the marketing techniques of capitalism as they pertain to television. It is no more than a suggestive guide. However the attempt was to locate ideology once again in a material sense directly within the structures of accumulation. The commodity form was seen as a symbolic manifestation of qualities imposed upon it by the advertising process. The discussion of Debord in Chapter Six should be of relevance here. After a general introductory discussion of the use of codes in advertising, and the relationship of codes to audiences, the relationship between sports audiences and products advertised was briefly examined. Following this, the next part of the chapter examined the way that the ideology of the sportsworld is appropriated by

advertising and the various techniques used to accomplish this. In particular, beer commercials and the soft drinks commercials were used as a point of reference and focus. The last part of the chapter looked broadly at the role of women in sports, the role of women in sports advertising and the general development of women's professional sport. It was suggested that the development of women's professional sport in a masculine image might lead to some contradictions in the sports ideological discourse.

PART FOUR

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER NINE CONCLUSION

There is no royal road to science

Marx

CHAPTER NINECONCLUSION

To 'attack' sports would be like the old witch's attacking the mirror that showed her how ugly she is, for sports is nothing else but a mirror, a socializing agent, and an opiate of the society it serves. To 'reform' the mirror while leaving the society untouched would change nothing at all. We will have humane, creative sports when we have built a humane and creative society - and not until then.

Paul Hoch

Rip-Off the Big Game

1972, p. 10

CONCLUSION

The stated aim at the start of the paper was to treat sports and especially the sport/media complex from the method of dialectical materialism. As such this study examined the place of the sports/media complex in the process of the development of American advanced capitalism in the late 19th and 20th centuries. It was seen that the sports/media complex aids in performing two key functions for the advanced capitalist mode of production.

Firstly, the sports/media complex aids in the marketing (and production) process by producing audiences as commodities which the media sell to advertisers. It was argued that sports are especially valuable to capitalism because they help to give advertisers access to parts of the population who are difficult to reach in any other manner. From the 1890's to the present time, the symbiotic relationship between professional sports and the mass media has been a valuable tool for the material processes of advanced capitalism. This is however an unequal relationship in that sports today have become largely dependent on television revenue to maintain the existence of sports leagues. As such the demands of television have led the owners of professional sports to make changes in sports to

suit the needs of the mass media. The state has also aided in the process whereby sports have become an important part of the accumulation and distribution structures of capitalism, by ensuring professional sports leagues a monopoly over the commodity which they produce and sell. This ensures that the audience which is created through the use of sports broadcasting is unfractionated, and also that control of sports broadcasting is left in the monopolistic hands of the major networks. In summary, the sports/media complex as it has developed has played an important part in the processes of the monopoly and concentration of capital, and today it is impossible to talk any longer of sports as a separate realm in advanced capitalism, so integrated are they into the complex framework of capital accumulation.

The second major function of the sports/media complex for advanced capitalism, is to aid in providing ideological legitimation for an exploitative system of production whereby the wealth and surplus that is socially produced is privately appropriated in a relatively few hands. Here the sports/media complex is engaged in ideological functions that help to reproduce the advanced capitalist mode of production. It is able to aid in this process because it stands at the centre of a complex dialectic that unites the opposites of escape and socialization. By this sports on television provide an escape from the tensions

that are created by the objective conditions of capitalist production, while at the same time they serve to socialize people into those very same conditions. As such sports act as a dramatic life world that provide escape through community, fraternity and an illusion of freedom, in a world where urban living and the fragmentation of the work process has seen these destroyed. They also act to socialize people into the very structures they seek an escape from by presenting the exploitative structures not as instrumental features of a technical life world, but as deeply human, caring and compassionate components of social life. The production of the sportscast as a commodity mediates between sports and the audience to create certain ideological messages. In addition, the sportscast inculcates notions of passivity, competition and masculinity, and legitimates processes of quantification and reification. This escape/socialization dialectic was conceptualized to operate at three connected levels of a single ideological moment ("propoganda", structure, and commodity structure). The changing ideological needs of capitalism in the twentieth century as regards this dialectic were seen in the way that first baseball and then football became the most popular sport. In the first rush of industrialization, where the mass of workers were transposed from the rural countryside to the urbanized environment of the new factories,

baseball acted as a form of escape, reminding people of their pastoral roots, as well as at the same time inculcating in them the ideology of the new mode (quantification, division of labour, hard work, competition, etc.). But as capitalism itself underwent change and the work ethos switched to an even more intensified and fragmented production, the need became not for pastoral escape but teamwork and the legitimation of alienating technologies and environments. As American society became more bureaucratic and complex, so the more corporate game of football rose to popularity. The last part of the paper looked at the way that the sports ideology which capitalism created as a form of legitimation was reappropriated and used directly in the actual structures of marketing. Ideology was directly reappropriated into the structures of accumulation. In summary, this analysis has treated the sports/media complex as one of the important social institutions of advanced capitalism, that both plays a part in its reproduction and which reflects the developing and moving structures of that mode of production.

II.

This analysis has during its course come across various aspects of the place of the sports/media complex within advanced capitalism that need to be further studied

and researched. Immediately, the most important areas are, firstly, the use of sports ideology within advertising and the use of sports in interpreting commercials through the use of a code, and secondly, the relationship between owners and elites of the networks, the owners and elites of the emerging technology of Pay TV and the owners and elites of professional sports. Here the analysis would focus specifically on the place of the sports/media complex within the intricate and diverse structures of corporate control and capital accumulation. Other areas of research could include the nature of the blindspot in communication theory as Smythe has identified it, the historical basis of the sports/media complex, and a more detailed and systematic account of the nature of sports ideology.

This paper has been a theoretical (interpretive and suggestive) analysis of the place of sports and the sports/media complex within the structures of advanced capitalism. It needed to be such because the sociology of sport (especially a Marxist sociology of sport) is an underdeveloped field of study. Its aim was to extend the seminal work of Paul Hoch, and it did this by placing the study of sports explicitly within a dialectical framework that stressed process and contradiction, and by giving a priority to the material integration of sports into the structures of advanced capitalism. Hoch's analysis was a polemical

attempt to draw attention to a neglected area, and while he succeeded it also meant that he had to abandon some of the theoretical sophistication that was needed to properly place it within advanced capitalism as a system in process. The contribution this paper has hoped to make has been to stress process, history and the relationship between accumulation and legitimation within the capitalist mode of production as necessary tools to understand the place of sports. As such, although interpretive, by being theoretically consistent, this is not an abstract but a very concrete analysis.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter One

(1) Again this is not to suggest that we can choose any part to reflect fully the whole. Some are better than others, e.g., the commodity was for Marx the thing that best reflected the whole in both a concrete and abstract manner. Sport is used as a point of reference here because it shows us things that other starting points do not. Ruben (1977) has criticized Ollman for not giving a priority to some parts of the whole.

(2) Sports programmes are most probably under-represented as regards their share of the market, for Neilson's ratings are based on 2000 sets around the country. They do not include bars, where a large number of people watch TV Sports. Thus most sports ratings are probably lower than their true figure.

(3) I would like to thank Dallas Smythe for making available to me various chapters of his forthcoming book, Dependency Road: Communications, Capitalism, Consciousness and Canada. In the text this is referred to as Smythe (1980).

Chapter Two

(1) Even Hegel's dialectical system was ultimately metaphysical in that with Hegelian philosophy, mankind came to know the Absolute Idea. The Prussian state was for Hegel the full development of the Absolute Idea. The historical process had come to an end and the dialectic was destroyed. What Marx did by making it a materialist dialectic was to rescue the idealist dialectic from the inconsistencies of its logical process. Also Feuerbach argued that in Hegelian dialectics no true unity of opposites exists between thought and being. "One can only deduce being from thought by first tearing apart the true unity of the two, by first abstracting the soul and essence from being and then (after the event) rediscovering in this essence, abstracted from being, the sense and principle of being emptied of itself". The unity of thought and being within thought is not consistent with the rest of Hegel's dialectics. His own dialectical system insists that idealist philosophy be transcended.

(2) Guttman carries on to a second critique in the same vein by arguing that the view that football is a game which inculcates values of docility and subservience is negated because of the fact that "the ruling class, led by none other than Richard M. Nixon has victimized itself.... Marxist and neo-Marxist interpretation of the values transmitted through particular kinds of sports are the product of ideology rather than the result of careful empirical analysis". (p. 71). This issue will be explored later in the text (Chapter Six) but at present it is sufficient to say that the Marxist theory of ideology is not as simple as presented by Guttman. Relationally the ideas and values of football mean different things to subjects who find themselves in different relational positions to the game. The receivers of ideology are not passive subjects. The overriding feature of any study of ideological effects has to do with the relationship between ideology and reality. Different people bring different realities to the game and "mould" it likewise. So for executives the values of leadership, decision making and winning are important from their position in the capitalist social complex. Their identity is different to the shop floor assembly line worker who sees in the game the legitimation of an alienated division of labour, authority from above and the quantification of social products. The meaning of any cultural and social artefact has to be considered relationally. The issue is not "mass culture" but class culture. (See Swingwood, The Myth of Mass Culture (1977).)

Chapter 3

(1) Betts (1974) writes that the leading leisure activities before 1830 were related to the everyday practices of production - hunting and fishing.

(2) See Reisman and Denney (1972) for an account of how football came to take the form it did. In their origins rugby and football were the same game.

(3) It must be stressed that this is not giving a determining role to rechnology in the abstract, but to capitalist technology.

(4) Elias (1972) has argued that "fair play" became an important concept when the state had consolidated its monopoly over the use of force.

(5) Hoch writes "So in a situation in which workers were given less scope for creativity and decision making in

production, it was only to be expected that they should seek (and be provided with) some sort of pseudo-escape and pseudo-satisfaction and pseudo-community in consumption. Sports spectacles were in the vanguard of the new consumption opiates. Participation sports for the elite was gradually readapted into spectator consumption for what was to become "the masses": a sort of opium for the people" (1972, p. 38).

Chapter Four

(1) Smythe's 1977 article was a polemical attempt to start a debate about these issues. In this he succeeded. See Murdock (1978), Smythe (1978), Livant (1979).

(2) There could be a distinction made here between short-term profitability and long-term social control. If the way the media is viewed is switched so that the accumulation function (advertising) is given a priority over the ideological function, then when the two contradict (i.e., when money can be made on "anti-capitalist" messages) the profit motive dominates. Herein lies one of the seeds of capitalist self-destruction (the contradictions within the functions of the mass media). I am indebted to Rick Ogmundson for this insight. I point to the same contradiction in Chapter 8 in regard to women, sports and advertising.

(3) This should not be seen as a response to the market. It is still creating a need but has now reached such a refined level that needs can be created for specific audiences. There is less waste for capital.

(4) However, even here there can be a differentiation between audiences for different games, e.g., between bowling audience and football audience.

(5) Braverman (1974) calls this "the Universal Market" whereby all aspects of life come under the control of capital and aid in the enlargement of capital. However he does not equate this activity by people as productive, as Smythe and Livant do.

(6) Thus Marx, according to this view, could have started his analysis anywhere, with anything, for if everything reflects the whole in an equal manner then anything is as good a starting point as anything else. That Marx spent so long searching for the starting point indicates

that he gave priority to certain parts of the system and distinguished between functions and the level of their analysis.

(7) See Murdock (1978) for the position that Livant is attacking. Murdock does make the useful distinction between advertising and non-advertising based media.

(8) Livant argues that to look at the whole segmentally is wrong, but his argument can only work if it can be shown that the audience is exchanged between sectors.

Chapter Five

(1) Kennedy and Williamson (1978) write that, "All things considered, the vast majority of teams are profitable going concerns, but none is likely to produce any budding Onassisies."

(2) There is going to be a great deal discussed in the ensuing pages concerning the television networks so it might be just as well to briefly mention their role and location within the media complex. The three major networks, NBC, CBS and ABC, control the purchase, production and distribution of television programming nationally. They also own the three most powerful and profitable groups of broadcasting stations. Pearce (1976) gives an extensive breakdown of the extent of network power and ownership and offers three reasons as to why they control programming. Firstly, only the networks with their vast resources can afford the cost of popular entertainment shows, cost of making movies, cost of dramas, etc., and the cost of sports broadcasting rights. Secondly the networks are the most effective form of advertising in terms of reaching large numbers of people at the least cost. Thirdly the small scale and the limited resources of local affiliates mean that they can only really produce news shows themselves. Otherwise they have to rely on the networks for their programming.

(3) The coming of free agency has somewhat changed the level of player salaries. The hope now seems to be on the part of the owners that they can get some compensation for losing a free agent, and thus encourage themselves (as a group) not to outbid and drive up the price a player can bargain for himself. The baseball negotiations of 1980 centered around the issue of compensation and the right of players to freely negotiate new contracts at the termination of the old one. Here the contradiction between being both

competitors and partners manifests itself. It points to the importance of immediate considerations.

(4) In addition though, the mere presence of those teams in the market areas is not the sole criterion of determining television rights. People also have to watch the team on TV and the American public is very loath to watch a loser. The blame for the declining ratings of professional football in recent years has been laid at the door of the New York franchises, the Giants and the Jets, who have not been particularly successful. Similarly the ratings of basketball have been explained in like fashion. In 1978 CBS paid out 74 million dollars for the rights to the NBA for four years and there is some concern that the network may be rethinking their policy come 1982. The whole success, resurgence and downfall of leagues is talked about today in the jargon of TV ratings and contracts. In the 1979-80 there was somewhat of a rise in the popularity of the NBA and this was largely laid at the door of the improved play of Boston and Los Angeles and the arrival of a bunch of talented youngsters (Bird, Johnson, Cartwright). Stan Issacs wrote in Sports Illustrated, understanding perfectly the link between a sports popularity and television. "The general view in the NBA and at CBS is that this years improvement is merely a start. Boston's resurgence is important because the Celtics are the closest thing to a national team in the NBA. The big TV markets are important so Los Angeles' rebirth is significant. But the league won't hit full stride until there is a revival of the Knicks, with the huge New York audience, and the Bulls, with the big numbers Chicago can provide" (Sports Illustrated, March 31, 1980, p. 34).

(5) Salaries would have to come skyrocketing down but existing contracts would have to be honoured. In addition, operating costs would have to be reduced by cutting down of travel costs. National leagues would have to be transformed into local leagues.

(6) Interestingly in hockey, the Philadelphia Flyers have denied local TV access to their home games so that they can explore Pay TV. Perhaps the early success of Pay TV in sports might come in those sports without network contracts, i.e., hockey.

Chapter Six

(1) Althusser has come under heavy criticism from many diverse directions and has been accused of idealism

(Thompson 1978) functionalism and economic determinism (Hirst 1976) and lack of class specificity and class struggle, among other things. This paper puts more value in the seminal work of Althusser, and suggests that many of the criticisms stem from generalizing too widely his 1971 essay. The criticism of ignoring class struggle also suffers from an incomplete reading of this essay.

(2) The opening line here should perhaps read, "It is not only the bourgeois class that produces ideas but bourgeois society", for clearly there is a sense in which the bourgeois class help to produce ideas, e.g., newspaper ownership has an effect on editorial content and control.

(3) Barthes here examines the way that the abrasive function of the detergent is disguised under the "delicious image of a substance at once deep and airy and which can govern the molecular order of the material without damaging it."

(4) Marx wrote, "The wealth of societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails appears as an 'immense accumulation of commodities'."

(5) See Steve Chibnall, Law and Order News, Glasgow Media Group, Bad News, S. Hall et al, Policing the Crisis, for good analyses of how this is accomplished in the concrete processes of media organizations.

(6) See S. Lukes, Power: A Radical View for a perspective on power based on the notion of hegemony.

Chapter Seven

(1) Here, "real" refers to the unity found in the production process, the objective conditions of existence - "false" refers to unities based on the effects of the mode of production and on subjective criterion, (i.e., a subjectivity "created" by the objective conditions).

(2) Hypocritical, not because sport has nothing to do with politics, which it deeply does, but because the USA, for the whole of the twentieth century, has supported a spectacle that is a mere excuse for nationalism. See Brohm 1978.

(3) See later section on sports and the labour process for an elaboration of Taylorization.

(4) Shecter (1969) has written of how the legend of Ruth was far different from the reality. He ate gluttonously, was an enormous drinker, lost large amounts at the racetrack, left many IOU's unpaid, and found it difficult to remember even the names of his close friends. He was very conscious of his fame and popularity and became a law unto himself, ignoring club rules and battling umpires. But this never came out in the press, though available. "The fake Babe Ruth is more palatable than the real one. As poor currency always drives out the good, so does the fake drive out the real" (p. 119). Similarly, DiMaggio is described in reality as a vain, lonely man who is a tyrant to the sychophants who surround him.

(5) What I mean by untalented here is lack of natural ability. Rose has disciplined himself to be what he is today.

(6) Who will be the heroes of the 1980's? In basketball, talent and enjoyment seems to have been discovered in Magic Johnson. But more importantly, whiteness and talent have been discovered in Larry Bird. Football still awaits the rise of a black superstar quarterback to take his place alongside Earl Cambell, who looks as though he will dominate football for a decade. Anyone could emerge in baseball, and hockey is a dying game in terms of the American audience.

(7) Real (1977) reports that of the telecast for the 1974 Super Bowl, 3% of the time was actual live play-action, 25% was the official scoreboard clock time, 21% was pregame and postgame shows, 39% on between play, half time and other commentary and entertainment and 15% was advertising.

(8) An example from outside North America concerns the "revolution" that cricket is undergoing. Since the "Packer revolution", cricket has finally entered the modern age of monopoly capitalism. The modern game bears little resemblance already to the pre-1976 game with the introduction of coloured uniforms, coloured balls, night cricket, limiting field positions, and most importantly, an increase in the number of one day matches that ensures a result. Undoubtedly the most difficult thing for North Americans to understand about cricket is to comprehend how two teams can play for five days and tie. It seems in the increasingly commoditized societies of Australia and England too, this could become a difficult issue.

(9) These can be summed up in a few famous quotes:

- "I will demand a committment to excellence and to victory and that is what life is all about."
- "Winning isn't everything, it's the only thing."
- "To play the game you must have fire in you and there is nothing that stokes fire like hate." - Vince Lombardi
- "Everytime you win, you're reborn: when you lose you die a little."
- "The winner is the only individual who is truly alive." George Allen
- "Defeat is worse than death because you have to live with defeat." Bill Musselman

(10) It should perhaps be stressed here that Jean-Marie Brohm's critique is an attack on sports as an activity in any social system. Competition and sport are inseparably linked so that no matter what the surrounding relations the definitional inclusion of competition under sport ensures that it will always remain a repressive activity. Thus for Brohm, under socialism, there should be no sports but merely games. However, Brohm is led to this conclusion by an insufficient emphasis on the relational definition of phenomena. Sport is abstracted and then held constant, regardless of the surrounding relations. Much like the sometime illuminating work of the Frankfurt school this approach ultimately ends in idealism. Under a relational sociology of knowledge, on the other hand, competition is not necessarily an evil phenomenon. It only becomes so under capitalism when it is used to repress people from their true potential and to act as an agent of division. Competition thus has to be seen in relation to and in a dialectical unity/opposition to cooperation. In capitalism one side of the relation has gained precedence because of the needs of the system. In socialism similarly cooperation/competition will exist in different relations which will define what competition means and how it functions. The role of competition in capitalist sports ideology will be examined later but at present it is important to stress the positive side of competition. Neil Issacs (1978) quotes at length from the journal of a woman who learnt the joy in sailboat racing when she gave up worrying about the result. Issac stresses the "enormous pleasure of competative sport when the sport maintains its ascendancy over the result, when the structure serves the content, not itself. If there were not such great value in the sports, they would not be worth saving from the corruption and subversion. But I suppose,

if the sports were not such potent forces in our lives, they wouldn't be worth the effort of those who would co-opt, corrupt and subvert them" (p. 107). It is not sport itself that has this socialization function but the way that capitalism uses sports for socialization. Part of the way that sports fulfill this role in capitalism is that they come to reflect the structures of the wider social formation. But of course, they do more than this for they also help at the same time to create and recreate the very structures that they represent. They reflect the whole but are at the same time part of the determining structures.

(11) Berger and Luckman, The Social Construction of Reality, define reification thus: "Reification implies that man is capable of forgetting his own authorship of the human world, and further, that the dialectic between man, the producer, and his products is lost to consciousness. The reified world is by definition a dehumanized world." (p. 89)

(12) It has been mentioned before that free agency is affecting this condition. However trades are still commonplace in all sports. Indeed football has, through an agreement with the player's union, restricted the inflationary effects of free agency. As a result, some of the top draft picks end up in Canada.

(13) The Dutch team's demonstration of "total soccer" was the ultimate example of what sports are capable of achieving in the realm of competitive sport - freedom with discipline. But theirs was a discipline that came from within the team and not from alienated authority outside. Discipline is important to allow the freedom of expression that sport is capable of.

(14) At present this is not really that apparent because the majority of players come from South America and Europe and are used to playing the conventional offside law and thus to an extent they can overcome this barrier. However, when American soccer players, who have been trained to play in the NASL come to provide the bulk of the players, this should be very apparent.

(15) As Frank Robinson, the only black player to be a manager (only for two years though), says, "No team has a black third base coach. They must figure that blacks are a little too slow to accurately relay signs from the manager to the batter and don't have sufficient judgement to make go-no-go decisions for runners to score" (Sport March 1980, p. 16).

(16) "This relative surplus population, the industrial reserve army, takes a variety of forms in modern society, including the unemployed; the sporadically unemployed; the part-time employed; the mass of women who, as houseworkers, form a reserve for the 'female occupations'; the armies of migrant labour, both agricultural and industrial; the black population with its extraordinarily high rates of unemployment; and the foreign reserves of labour." (Braverman 1974, p. 386)

(17) For a discussion of this see Jerry Izenberg, "Pro Football's Lily White Position". True, Feb. 1969.

(18) It is true that in Canada black quarterbacks have enjoyed some success. But this is a lower level league compared to the NFL and because black quarterbacks are better than what is left to the white quarterbacks, they cannot be completely ignored. The case is similar for basketball and explains why blacks have been able to enter it in such large numbers.

(19) It is important to stress that what is held as important is individual effort (see Bryant et al 1977, p. 146). It is not class effort. Also Baran and Sweezy (1966) label the appearance of a few blacks at the higher occupational order (in salary if nothing else) as tokenism.

Chapter Nine

(1) A truly adequate analysis of the advertising message and its location within a code would require a detailed semiotic analysis. While this is easier with printed advertising, it is somewhat more difficult with TV advertising if video-taping is not possible. The "semiologist" sees the commercial quickly and without immediate replay. As such the present analysis is couched at a pretty much impressionistic level. However it points the way a more detailed semiotic analysis would proceed. For a very good example of this "impressionistic" approach see Barthes (1971). Other more systematic examples of semiotic analysis of static advertising are Williamson (1978) and Leymore (1975).

(2) It may be noticed that many of the games that this table was constructed from, come from "prime time" viewing. As stated in the text (Chapter 4) sports have made a distinct effort to expand into prime time to capture a larger and more varied audience. As such I would hypothesize that the advertisements for Saturday and Sunday after-

noons - the true sportstime - would differ from prime time sports. In that sense this table underrepresents what a distribution based solely on the hardcore sports audience would reveal.

(3) This commercial won the "Clio" - the advertising industry's equivalent of the Oscar.

(4) A viewing of a Monday Night Football games commercials (Rams vs. Falcons, 19th Nov. 1979, ABC) found that for a total of 33 commercials, there were no women featured in 22 of them. Of the ones that did feature women they were shown as a pretty desk clerk, pretty waitress, Los Vegas showgirl, a woman at a business dinner, pretty girls in a tennis group, a young woman in a social group and as a secretary. The woman of the sportscast is thus pretty, young and appealing.

(5) This is again similar to Barthes' analysis of the transformation of soap powders. See footnote 3, Chapter 6.

(6) It is interesting to note that even in Linda Carter, 7UP has gone for a female personality who is a super heroine and known for her athletic and physical feats.

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