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by

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"things you can see from there you can't see from here"

popular Israeli song
Abstract

This study is a comparative analysis of the build-up and coverage of the Barcelona Olympics in British and Israeli newspapers. It employs content analysis, supplemented by interviews conducted with journalists and the detailed analysis of front page items, to examine, comparatively, the build up and coverage in four newspapers (two from each country) over a period of five months, from April 1st to September 1st, 1992.

This thesis focuses on several theoretical approaches in order to analyse the Olympic coverage by newspapers. The approaches include the ‘grand’ theories of media events, news construction and globalisation as well as the concepts of national identity, heroes and gender. The theories and the literature engaged with them are discussed critically while applying them to sport in general and to the Olympics in particular, and guide the empirical study conducted.

The findings of the empirical analysis, most significantly, show that despite the International Olympic Committee’s declarations, which in essence go towards a united world, the factor which determined the newspaper build up and coverage of the Barcelona Olympics, in both Britain and Israel, was the interest in the performance of their own country. Put differently, the local - in this case national - perspective was found to be the prevailing one in the coverage of this global event.
Acknowledgements

There were times I found it hard to believe that one day I will indeed sit down and write the acknowledgements for my PhD thesis. I doubt I would be staring at my computer screen at this stage without the ongoing guidance of Olga Linne, the best tutor anyone can have. It is to her I wish to extend my deepest gratitude. Apart from being an inspiration academically, an insightful and always helpful guide and editor, she also fed me, was always willing to play my 'analyst', and generally did everything within her power to bring me thus far. One of the greatest benefits of going through this long journey with her is that I can now consider her my friend.

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Finally, I would like to thank my friend Frank Meisler. In the acknowledgements to his book On the Vistula Facing East (1996) Frank recalls a story his mother used to tell him "about a bird who saw a little worm crawling on the ground. Days later the bird encountered the worm again on top of a high tree. 'How did you get so far?' the astonished bird asked, and the worm replied, 'On my belly, brother, inch by inch'". I dedicate this thesis to anyone who ever asked me: "when are you going to finish your PhD?".
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>American Broadcasting Company (USA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BBC</td>
<td>British Broadcasting Corporation (Britain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS</td>
<td>Columbia Broadcasting System (USA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNN</td>
<td>Cable Network News</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EBU</td>
<td>European Broadcasting Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FA</td>
<td>Football Association (Britain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBA</td>
<td>Israeli Broadcasting Authority (Israel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IOC</td>
<td>International Olympic Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITV</td>
<td>Independent Television (Britain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NBA</td>
<td>National Basketball Association (USA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NBC</td>
<td>National Broadcasting Company (USA)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPSS</td>
<td>Statistical Package for the Social Sciences</td>
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PART I
Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 The Modern Olympic Games

The rebirth of the Olympic Games, in the late nineteenth century, has been attributed to the French Baron Pierre de Coubertin (Kidd, 1984; Tomlinson, 1984; Wilson, 1992). There is historical evidence of several attempts to institute a modern Olympics in some countries during the nineteenth century (Hargreaves, 1984; Tomlinson, 1984) but it was de Coubertin who achieved enough international support to organise a Congress at the Sorbonne in June 1894 with the purpose of discussing the revival of the Olympic Games. Subsequently, the first modern Olympic Games were staged in Athens during the spring of 1896 (Tomlinson, 1984).

The modern Games, as the myth goes (Kidd, 1984), were based on the ideas de Coubertin borrowed from the ancient Greeks (Wilson, 1992). He presented his Olympic philosophy at the 1894 Congress and his main principals of Olympism were approved almost without debate (Tomlinson, 1984). These included "four year intervals between Games, modern sports, no children's contests, a stable IOC [International Olympic Committee], and different sites for each Games" (Tomlinson, 1984: 91).

Moreover, at the Congress itself and during the early formative period of the modern Olympics, some further ideas, relating to the method by which the IOC perceived the ancient Games, were also embraced. Importantly, the 'spirit of amateur sport' (Hargreaves, 1984) was to become one of the fundamental ideals of the Games (see further discussion of amateurism vs. professionalism below). This basic principal exposes the fact that some of the modern ideals were in fact based on myth (Kidd, 1984), as the "ancient Olympics' amateur status was short lived and the 'full-time amateur athlete' and professional came to predominate" (Hargreaves, 1984: 54).

That which was perceived as the classical Greek ideal of amateurism was accompanied with ideals of moral purity, equality and fraternity. This also meant that the Games came to symbolise "the creation through sport of 'international respect and goodwill' and a 'better and more peaceful world' [my emphasis - a.b]" (Hargreaves, 1984: 53). Evidence to this purpose comes in the way of the symbol of the Olympic Games, five intertwined rings, which together represent the unity of the five continents (Tomlinson, 1984). More supportive evidence can be
found in the manner in which the Games are to be regarded as open to athletes from all nations, and the host city has to welcome all of them, regardless of political affiliation (Kidd, 1984).

This ideal became central to the Olympic spirit (see further discussion in Chapter 6), although there is evidence that de Coubertin himself was aware of the fact that potential tensions between nations could be created by international competitive sport. However he too, "persisted in his belief that an international athleticism could tip the balance towards peace" (Kidd, 1984: 74).

It is important to recall that the idea of goodwill among nations is also linked to the concept of 'the Olympic truce', which used to be proclaimed in the ancient Games. However, as Kidd (1984) notes, this concept was misinterpreted in the twentieth century, as it was mistakenly thought that the ancient Olympics stopped war. "Nothing could be further from the truth [...] the truce was designed to prevent wars from disrupting the Games" (Kidd, 1984: 74).

In this context consideration must also be devoted to the fact that the modern Olympic movement has claimed that the ancient Games were apolitical. Although this very notion is also more myth than fact (Kidd, 1984), the IOC has consistently argued that sport should be protected from the interference of politicians and governments (Kidd, 1984). However, after the 1936 Olympics in Hitler's Berlin, the killing of 11 Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Games, and following the (political) boycotts of the 1976 Montreal Games, the 1980 Moscow Games, the 1984 Los Angeles Games and to some extent the 1988 Seoul Games, it is difficult to claim political neutrality of the Olympics (see also Goldlust, 1987).

Furthermore, it has to be stressed that the competitions themselves are a means by which to 'trumpet' national pride (Tomlinson, 1984) and the overall Games, in some cases at least, are viewed by nations as an opportunity to prove their superiority in the global shop window (see detailed discussion in chapter 6).

Based on linking the ancient Olympics with the modern Olympic Games, "the first modern Olympic Games in 1896 [were] an exclusively male affair; each [Olympics] since then has been dominated by men" (Hargreaves, 1984: 55). Indeed, the ancient Games were intended exclusively for men, women were not allowed to attend them even as spectators (Hargreaves, 1984). The decision not to include female athletes at the modern Olympics was taken by the 79 official delegates, together with representatives of 49 athletic societies from 12 countries at the 1894 Congress. Not
surprisingly, all of these decision-makers were men (Tomlinson, 1984) (see further discussion in Chapter 4).

Not only in relation to gender can the "history of the Olympics be rewritten as a history of power and elitism, obsessions and excesses, divisions and exploitation" (Hargreaves, 1984: 53). Kidd (1984) explains that sport in general "is heavily biased towards the already dominant and exploiting classes, gender and regions" (Kidd, 1984: 83). This is also highly applicable to the Olympic Games, as although sport has been adapted "by most national communities in the world, it is still perceived as an imperialist culture" (Kidd, 1984: 82; see further discussion in Chapter 3).

A detailed history of the modern Olympics is beyond the scope of this thesis (Hill, 1996; Tomlinson and Whannel, 1984 are valuable sources for this). However, a discussion is required of the changes that the Olympic Games have undergone over the years, since their inception. Some of these issues touch on the very nucleus of the traditional Olympic ideals. These changes have resulted in debates which include, most notably, the related issues of the commercialisation of the Olympics, amateurism vs. professionalism and (what has been defined as) the problem of drugs, which are all discussed briefly below.

The Commercialisation of the Olympics

Pearson (1992) states that "these days the Games are fuelled not so much by old fashioned Olympic spirit as by Coca Cola's endless effervescence" (Pearson, 1992). Coke, with various other global corporate giants including Kodak, Mars and Visa use the Olympics for their own marketing success. The involvement of sponsors whose wish is to be associated with the Games is considered to have significantly affected the Olympics in becoming a commercial venture more than a sporting event (Gruneau, 1984). This has occurred to such an extent that the question has been asked whether the Olympic Games are "A sporting event? Or merely a branch of the advertising and entertainment industry?" (The Economist, July 29th, 1996: 13).

It is important to stress that commercial concerns were paramount from the very beginning of the modern Olympics. The 1896 Athens Games, for example, were backed by one million drachma from the millionaire Greek architect and the sale of souvenirs (Pearson, 1992). However, the most significant shift towards a business orientation was witnessed after the bitter financial experience of the 1976 Montreal Games. The now infamous Montreal Olympics (Wilson, 1992) are still, in the
1990's, costing the local Montreal taxpayer. In those Games only a tiny 1.5% of the Olympic budget was raised from all its corporate sponsors (Pearson, 1992).

Since the 1984 Los Angeles Games, nobody loses money from the Olympics, least of all the locals of the hosting city (Wilson, 1992). In the Los Angeles Games, 40% of the Olympic budget, around $200 million were pulled from sponsors (Pearson, 1992). These Games were dubbed the 'Hamburger Olympics' (Gruneau, 1984) as it was here that major private sponsorship deals replaced state and city funds. Since then, private capital finances the Olympic Games and the financial involvement of sponsors is growing every four years; in the 1988 Seoul Olympics $325 million derived from sponsors, while estimates for the 1992 Barcelona Games approached $500 million (Pearson, 1992; see discussion of the Barcelona Olympics below).

From the perspective of the sponsors "the rationale for this is straightforward. Effective advertising is predicated upon establishing a set of deeply rooted symbolic connections with a target audience" (Gruneau, 1984: 1). The Olympic Games offer these symbolic connections, as Ralph Cooper, vice president of Coca Cola succinctly explained it, "the ideals, the spirit and its sheer youth and excitement makes it a tremendous association for Coca Cola" (Pearson, 1992: 61). Furthermore, "for companies the Olympics is a golden moment. Around the world, some 3.5 billion pairs of eyes will notice their logos, slogans and billboards" (The Economist, July 29th, 1996: 13).

Since these sponsoring corporations commit hundreds of millions of dollars, they correspondingly conduct research projects in order to assess the effectiveness of their campaigns. These, as far as they are concerned, seem to confirm their notions of effectiveness, although "despite the millions they spend and all that hard work, the sponsors can not be sure of the benefits" (Pearson, 1992: 61). And yet, as outlined, the global corporations continue to invest their money.

From the traditional Olympic point of view, some believe that "the essence of the Olympic spirit is the practice of sport for its own sake and that the modern Games have distorted this principal" (Gruneau, 1984: 2). The debate surrounding the commercialisation of the Games, related to what is perceived as a departure from the Olympic ideals, is further fuelled by the notion that sponsors influence decisions made by the IOC (see discussion of the Atlanta Olympics below). Thus, it can be argued that "the mythical Olympic ideals, in as far as they ever existed" (Pearson, 1992: 62) are irrevocably lost for ever. But, indeed, the question should be asked of whether they ever existed in the first place. Immediately after the 1984 Los Angeles
Olympics, Gruneau (1984) argued that these Games were "in no way a significant departure from practices established in earlier Olympics" (Gruneau, 1984: 2), rather that they were simply an expression of the ever expanding marketplace of international capitalism. What seems to have been true then is even more convincing following the 1996 Atlanta Games.

Amateurism vs. Professionalism

Related to the discussion of the ever growing commercialisation of the Olympics is the issue of amateurism vs. professionalism.

As previously outlined, the Olympic Games were founded as amateur in ideal. In the early Games even an athlete who was coached was thought to be bending, if not actually breaking, the amateur code. However, throughout the years some nations, in recognition of the international status which could be gained from Olympic success, found ways of enabling their athletes to concentrate full time on training for the Games. In communist countries, for example, athletes were paid as army officers but in fact concentrated on sport, which strictly did not break the amateur code. The Americans, on the other hand, used the 'college' system to achieve the same outcome (Lynam and Searle, 1992).

In the present time, the Games are virtually 'open', and it seems that "every four years [...] the creaking of amateur foundations of the Olympics are about to give way beneath an ever weightier commercial superstructure" (Middleton, 1992: 34). This is reflected in the fact that the world's highly paid tennis stars participate in the Olympics, as do the professional NBA basketball players. In fact,

> Few of the athletes, especially those in the most popular sports, lead ordinary lives away from the track or pool. Training to Olympic standard takes hours out of the day, years of a young life. So amateurism has given way to shamateurism: many of those who parade in the stadium owe their running shows, training facilities and airline tickets to corporate promotional budgets.

*(The Economist, July 29th, 1996: 13)*

However, the point must be made that competitors arriving from different countries vary accordingly in their degree of professionalism.
Additionally, as some writers note (Hargreaves, 1984; Kidd, 1984; Pearson, 1992; Wilson, 1992) "the misty-eyed ideals could be more myth than fact" (Pearson, 1992: 59). Historically, even in the Athenian Olympics, the athletes were by no means strict amateurs. They were fully sponsored for the year proceeding the Games, and were rewarded not only with a laurel wreath for their victories, but "with lavish cash bonuses, life-time pensions, and generous gifts of merchandise" (Kidd, 1984: 73). Moreover, Wilson (1992) believes that de Coubertin 'would smile' at the shift to professionalism, as he dismissed amateurism as a 'ridiculous English concept'.

Ideals aside, in 1981 the IOC formally abandoned its commitment to amateurism, by allowing each individual international federation to decide which athletes could participate the Games. Thus, from the point of view of the IOC, the 'problem' of amateurism "is dead" (Hill, 1996: 249).

Drugs

One of the major problems the Olympic movement has been faced with is that of the use of performance enhancing drugs by athletes. Indeed, "the Communist regimes of the 1970's and 1980's saw the Olympics much as Hitler did in 1936 or China does today: as a chance to prove the superiority of their citizens or systems. If dope was needed to ensure that, then doped their athletes would be" (The Economist, July 29th, 1996: 13).

The issue of 'doping' arose periodically in relation to the Olympic Games, but the case which made it front page news was that of the 100 metre final at the 1988 Seoul Games. The Canadian sprinter, Ben Johnson, who won this race, failed his drug test and traces of stanozolol, an anabolic steroid, were found in his urine. He was subsequently disqualified from the race, stripped of his gold medal and his outstanding record result was expunged from history. This was aptly described in one newspaper,

Drugs have been a problem in athletics for decades; and now, at last, somebody had been caught. The world was set on fire: was there ever so strong a reaction, so crazy and over-reaction, to a mere sports story? But this was the 100 meters sprint, the race of races, and the guilty party was the fastest man on Earth. On the day of the race, September 1988, Johnson looked nothing less
than superhuman. Looked? He was. That was the problem.

(The Saturday Review, July 25th, 1992: 4)

Although, as the above quote also subtly suggests, the illegal use of drugs has been around for many years, and yet no one in the IOC has ever suggested legalising their use. In fact, in one of the recent IOC meetings "all applauded the IOC for its efforts so far, and some speakers saw the next step as establishment of a common list of prohibited substances, which all international federations would adopt" (Hill, 1996: 251).

In the context of the ever embracing professionalism and commercialisation of sport in general and the Olympics in particular, it is worth considering the idea that the growth in drugs use (Hill, 1996) is directly related to the money rewards bestowed on Olympic winners as a result of their achievements. Thus, although the IOC, as well as other sports governing bodies, devise more sophisticated methods for catching 'drug cheats', it is highly unlikely that athletes will abandon the use of banned performance enhancing drugs.

To conclude the above discussions, it is important to observe that although some historians believe the modern Olympic Games were almost entirely founded on ancient Olympic ideals from which recent Olympic Games have departed, it is debatable whether these ideals ever truly existed in practice (see also Kidd, 1984).

In regards to the changes in the Olympic Games, it is important to consider the fact that the most significant influence on what the Games have become, including the fact that nowadays they are 'not so much chariots of fire now as carloads of cash' (Wilson, 1992: 13), is attributed to the media's increased involvement in them.

1.1.1 The Modern Olympic Games and the Media

At present, the media, and television in particular, do not simply cover the Olympic Games, they have become an integral part of them. Indeed, "whatever else the Olympic Games have been, they are now the ultimate media festival. They are an occasion staged for the cameras and seen by a large proportion of the world on television" (Whannel, 1984: 30). In fact, the Olympic movement's rise to riches has been attributed to its close relationship with television, which has more recently
been reinforced by massive marketing programmes (Hill, 1996 and see discussion above).

Television was already present at the 1936 Berlin Games and at the 1948 London Games (Hill, 1996). However, the coverage of the London Olympics used only nine cameras and pictures could be received on a mere 80,000 sets within 50 miles of London’s Alexandra Palace (Whannel, 1984). The first major television Games were planned for Melbourne in 1956, but that was the year of both the Suez crisis and the Hungarian uprising, and ultimately there was a television boycott of the Games. Thus, the first extensively televised Games were those of Rome 1960, although at that stage only in black and white (Lynam and Searle, 1992).

By the mid-1970’s, television’s technological innovations meant that it was possible to relay "top-quality colour pictures from almost any part of the world, and it could transmit its programmes globally" (Whannel, 1984: 34) which applied to the Olympic Games in particular. By the time of the build up to the 1992 Barcelona Olympics, it was clear that "the Games will be watched in every corner of the globe" (Lynam and Searle, 1992: 5).

As outlined, a crucial dimension of the relationship between the Olympics and television is the fact that television has been a major player in transforming the Olympic movement into a business (Hill, 1996). A discussion of the overall economics of the Olympics is beyond the scope of this thesis, and yet, it is important to note that the issue of television broadcasting rights is viewed as central to the fact that television has become a major protagonist in the Olympic Games (Moragas Spa et al., 1995; Whannel, 1984). The figures for broadcasting rights, which currently are paid directly to the IOC, stand at hundreds of millions (see discussion below and in chapter 3) which, in turn, means that an estimated 48% of the Olympic movement’s total income derives from the selling of broadcasting rights alone (Hill, 1996). In this context, it is worth noting that, as outlined above, a further large proportion of the remainder of the IOC’s income is dependent on those sponsors which are attracted to the Games because of their global media exposure. As Moragas Spa et al.(1995) explain: "because of the nature of the Olympics as 'more' than just a sporting event, sponsorship and advertising exposure is highly desirable for companies interested in reaching as wide a profile of the public as possible" (Moragas Spa et al., 1995: 26).

In relation to broadcasting rights, the beginning was slow, with the first broadcasting rights being sold to 1960 for the Rome Games to the American
network CBS for $440,000. By the 1968 Mexico Games, ABC paid $4m for the broadcasting rights, but the major breakthrough was following the 1972 Munich Games. Until then the viewership for the Games was relatively small and thus not very attractive for advertisers. Ironically, the kidnapping and subsequent murder of 11 Israeli athletes turned the Games into major news which drew large audiences. From then on the Games have attracted ever larger global audiences, which was reflected in the fact that ABC was willing to pay $25 million for the right to televeise the 1976 Montreal Games (Hill, 1996). By the time of the 1988 Seoul Olympics, NBC paid $300 million (Moragas Spa et al., 1995). The broadcasting rights for the 2000 Games, which will be staged in Sydney, were sold to the American network NBC for an enormous $715 million (see further discussion below and in chapter 3).

It must be pointed out that broadcasting rights are sold to broadcasters or unions (like the EBU in Europe) all over the world, but to this day the largest proportion is being paid by the American network acquiring the rights (see further discussion in chapter 3). It should also be added that "the sums paid for television rights in the Olympics are not always rationally determined. Indeed, paying huge sums for them has always been seen by the television companies as a loss leader" (Hill, 1996: 78). However, the Olympics have become a matter of pride and self-importance for broadcasting organisations and this explains why they continue paying the high prices for rights, although it may not always make straightforward business sense (Hill, 1996).

As outlined in relation to the heavy involvement of the sponsors, over the years some concern has been expressed as to the influence of the increased media involvement in the Olympics. For instance, it was alleged that American networks had influenced the scheduling of competitions for the purpose that they would coincide with prime-time USA time zones at the expense of athletes. To illustrate this, at the Barcelona Olympics competitors had to run the final stages of the marathon in the mid-day sun (for further discussion see chapter 3).

1.2 The 1992 Barcelona Olympics

Barcelona hosted the XXV Olympiad, nearly 70 years after it first wished to do so. In 1924, when it first asked the IOC to hold the Games, the Committee preferred Paris. Following a visit from de Coubertin in 1926, the city 'fathers' were so confident that they would host the 1936 Olympics that they commissioned the
building of the stadium on the top of Mont Juic (the Hill of Jews). However, the vote went to Berlin, mainly owing to the civil war in Spain. The city applied again in 1972, but by that time the stadium was deemed unusable. The time for Barcelona came when one of its leading citizens, the banker and former politician-diplomat Juan Antonio Samaranch, became president of the IOC (in January 1981). "Nobody was the least bit surprised when, in 1986 Samaranch opened an envelop in Lausanne to reveal that the IOC members had done their duty by granting his city its wish. And, hey presto, what should arise from its own ruins but the old stadium on Mont Juic, rebuilt from within using its old walls to form the centrepiece of the £849 million occasion" (Wilson, 1992: 12; Hill, 1996).

To become an Olympic city, Barcelona, at a cost of almost £4 billion, underwent substantial changes. These included a new motor way system, a new railway terminal, airport terminal, telecommunications tower, marina and thousands of apartments (Wilson, 1992). However, some attributes of Barcelona were beyond the control of the Games organisers, such as the fact that in late July and August, the city was too hot and too humid for all athletes, and especially for the marathon runners who had to complete their event in the Olympic stadium, situated, as mentioned, on top of Mont Juic.

As with all the Olympic Games proceeding it, and indeed that which followed it, the Barcelona Olympics was expected to be bigger and better than any of the previous Olympics of the modern era. The fact that the boycotts, terrorism and political issues which surrounded the Games for two decades were much reduced (Pearson, 1992) ensured that this was a realistic goal. Indeed, the Barcelona Games broke some previous Olympic records in addition to establishing new ones (which were duly broken by the 1996 Atlanta Olympics). Its 10,000 participants came from 172 countries and competed in 28 sports. The competing nations also brought with them some 8,000 officials (Wilson, 1992), a group whose numbers have increased to the point where by Atlanta they exceeded the competitors. This was already true in Barcelona for the 11,000 media representatives (see further discussion below).

These figures included the introduction of two new Olympic official sports, baseball and badminton. Overall, due to the introduction of women's judo and yachting, a 10km walk and four canoe slalom contests, a total of twenty more medals were awarded in Barcelona than at the 1988 Seoul Games (Wilson, 1992).

Political changes around the world have also meant that the list of competing nations has changed. The former Soviet Union participated as the Commonwealth of
Independent States (by 1996 each of the republics competed as a separate team). Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia participated under their own flags for the first time since 1936. Germany competed as a united team for the first time since 1964, and South Africa returned to the Games for the first time since 1960. Furthermore, Cuba and Ethiopia, who boycotted the 1988 Games in Seoul, because of their political alliance with North Korea, also returned to the Olympics. In fact, for the first time since 1964, no country had boycotted the Barcelona Games (Hill, 1996).

Financially as well, Barcelona was bigger than any Olympics that had proceeded it. The top twelve world-wide sponsors contributed an average of $14.5 million to the Games. However, Coca Cola, the first major sponsor to renew their sponsorship for 1992 - was said to have paid close to $30 million. Overall, 9 joint partners, 26 sponsors, 23 suppliers, 33 sports manufacturers and 59 licensees invested an estimated $500 million to be part of the Barcelona Olympics (Pearson, 1992). This prompted Wilson (1992) to write that, "the only things not paying for the right to be seen moving in Barcelona will be the competitors" (Wilson, 1992: 13).

1.2.1 The Barcelona Olympics and the Media

As discussed, over the last decades the media have become a fully integral component of the 'Olympic Circus'. In Barcelona, more hours (in excess of 2,400 live internationally) on more networks (150) than ever before, offered a record television audience - 3,500 million watched the Opening Ceremony alone (Wilson, 1992).

For the rights to cover the Barcelona Games, television paid a total value of $634.6 million, of which the highest fee paid was NBC's $401 million. Japan's NHK, for example, gave $62.5 million, Australia's Channel Seven paid $33 million and Canadian CTV paid $5.9 million (Screen Digest, January, 1991). Since these Games were held in western Europe for the first time in 20 years, viewers in Britain were able to watch many of the main events live at peak evening viewing times. Thus, the BBC broadcast nearly 250 hours of sport from the Barcelona Olympics at the cost of £13.5 million (The Times, June 18th, 1992).

Although, particularly in financial terms, television has become the most important medium to the Olympics; the 11,000 media representatives (Wilson, 1992) to Barcelona included both radio and newspaper personal. According to Hill (1996),
who gives different figures, the 'journalists, written word and photographers' numbered 4,880 and 'radio and television' included 7,951 (Hill, 1996: 195).

1.3 The 1996 Atlanta Olympics

Controversy surrounded the selection of Atlanta over Athens to host the centennial Games. This centred around the notion that 'he who played the piper called too much of the tune' (Pearson, 1992:58). Put differently, it was alleged that Coca Cola, the biggest sponsor of the Games, whose global headquarters reside in Atlanta, influenced the selection of this city. Although Coke denied this allegation, its American division invested at least $350,000 in the Atlanta bid budget, and they also laid on lunches, helped with volunteers and permitted the use of their corporate jets. Furthermore, "by the time the decision was announced, Coca Cola had thousands of Atlanta Olympics commemorative pins ready to hand out at the celebrations" (Pearson, 1992: 62). Moreover, Atlanta's time zone was convenient, and indeed highly desirable, for the American television networks which pay the largest proportion of television broadcasting rights to the IOC (see above and further discussion in chapters 2 and 3).

It is important to emphasise that although my thesis analyses the coverage of the 1992 Barcelona Games, it does also refer to the 1996 Olympics as by the time of writing the Atlanta Games have already taken place. As mentioned, records set in Barcelona, not only in sporting terms, were broken in Atlanta and indeed they are expected to be broken yet again at the 2000 Olympics in Sydney, which will cost an estimated A$2.29 billion (The Times, June 19, 1997: 44), to which both the IOC and the media are currently preparing. These figures will most probably be greater still for the Olympic Games of 2004 in Athens.

1.4 Approach and Research Issues

The central focus of this analysis is the newspaper coverage of the 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games. The theoretical perspectives described below are used to drive the construction of the content analysis posing questions about the nature of newspaper coverage of the Olympics.
At the same time empirical data is used to test and refine the theoretical approaches. In this manner, an intricate of mutual interrogation of theory and data is established.

The use of multiple approaches to understand Olympic coverage is acknowledged by other scholars. As Moragas Spa et al. (1995) note, "because of the diversity of needs and interests which comprise the Olympics it is not possible to approach the Games armed with useful, overarching theory" (Moragas Spa et al., 1995: 5).

The first theory my thesis examines is that of media events as defined by Dayan and Katz (1992). The fact that the Olympics are included in the list of media events put forward by Dayan and Katz (1992) motivated a closer investigation of their definition of this unique genre of television and its applicability to the overall media coverage of the Olympic Games. As well as a special event, the Olympics also constitute an on-going news event, initially from the intensive build up to the Games, and right through to the two weeks of the competitions. Thus, in an attempt to explain the coverage of this event more comprehensively, the second theory - news construction is analysed. This investigation positions the coverage of the Olympic Games between media events as a general frame and news construction which explains more fully the coverage of the entire Games.

The Olympic Games stand as a major sporting event on a global scale. Evidence to this, as discussed, are the vast amounts of money its sponsors - like Coca Cola - invest in them, in an attempt to create 'a global brand image' (Pearson, 1992: 58). In this context, this study looks critically at the a third theory, that of the globalisation and examines its relevance to the understanding of an event which clearly aims, as stated in the IOC charter, "to contribute to building a peaceful and better world by educating youth through sports practices without discrimination of any kind and in the Olympic Spirit, which requires mutual understanding with a spirit of friendship, solidarity and fair play" (Fundamental Principals: Olympic Charter, 1994).

Finally, certain key concepts were adopted as analytic frames to drive my analysis. The first of these concepts is that of national identity. In Barcelona, "a record number of countries have entered, each with the cherished right to march behind their flag in the inaugural parade" (Time Out Barcelona Guide, 1992: 15). These nations, as mentioned above in relation to the illegal drug use by athletes, and as Wilson (1992) put it prior to the Games, "will measure themselves, politically and socially, by how they do. Multitudes around the world will be moved and enthused by their trials, their triumphs and their tribulations" (Wilson, 1992:10). The fact that national pride and national rivalries constitute a fundamental part of the narration of
the Games (see also Moragas Spa et al., 1995), motivated me to examine the role the national perspective plays in the coverage of the Olympics.

The second concept I found particularly useful to analyse was that of heroes. From the ancient Olympics heroes have been an important feature of the Games. Indeed, the successful athletes of the ancient world "achieved hero status along with the financial accoutrements of fame" (Pearson, 1992: 59). Thus, I wished to examine the concept of the hero in contemporary society and relate it to the heroes and heroines of the Barcelona Games.

The third concept I related to my study was that of gender and more specifically, women. As mentioned, the modern Olympic Games were intended to be, just as their ancient forerunners were, exclusively for men and although this is no longer the case, the Olympics themselves are still dominated by men. Thus, I was interested in the media coverage of female athletes in general, and particularly in relation to the Olympics.

As this section outlines, my aim was not to analyse all the different aspects that form the media coverage of the modern Olympic Games. Rather, this thesis concentrates on what I view as central issues which enable a better understanding of the media, particularly newspaper, coverage of the present day Olympics.

### 1.4.1 Methods

My empirical study examines, by means of content analysis, the build up and the coverage of the 1992 Barcelona Olympics in four newspapers, two from Britain and two in Israel. This is supplemented by interviews with sportswriters and editors from those same newspapers and with a detailed analysis of Olympics related items which appeared on the front pages of these newspapers. Thus, the key methodological approach is comparative: looking at coverage from two very different national media systems. In Britain a very established system compared with a relatively ‘young’ one in Israel. Furthermore, a comparison is made between newspapers, ‘high brow’ and ‘middle brow’ in each national press.

The analysis covers the Olympic coverage in the selected newspapers from April 1st 1992 until September 1st 1992, thus including the extensive build up to the Games as well of the coverage of the competitions themselves which took place from July
25th 1992 until August 9th 1992. Importantly, the advance notice of the Games "gives time to anticipation and preparation [...] There is an active period of looking forward" (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 7). In regards to my study, this period is as important to understanding the coverage of the Olympics, as is the fortnight of the competitions themselves.

1.5 Thesis Outline

My thesis is divided into four parts. This introduction constitutes Part I. Part II relates to theoretical aspects of my thesis. It is important to emphasise that apart from informing my empirical research, these chapters formulate a critical discussion of the relevant theory, which exists to date in the literature.

Chapter 2, titled Media Events and News Values, contains a discussion of the relevance of Dayan and Katz's (1992) definition of media events to the media coverage of the Olympic Games. It then proceeds to discuss news construction in order to position the coverage of the Games between the two theories. In doing so, this chapter assesses whether the coverage of the Olympics can be best explained by media events, news values or in fact a combination of both.

Chapter 3, titled Globalisation and Sport, discusses the concept of globalisation and some of the debates surrounding its theorising in the literature, including the role of the media in relation to globalisation. It then proceeds to examine a couple of large scale international studies which have applied the concept of globalisation to their analysis. As this thesis examines the coverage of the Olympic Games, this chapter refers chiefly to the relevance of 'globalisation' to the world of sport and particularly the Olympics.

Chapter 4, titled Women and Sport, relates to the discussion in the literature of gender and sport in general, and specifically to the media's role in relation to it. It goes on to focus on the discussion of women and sport, including the actual presence of women in sport in general and in the Olympic Games in particular, the amount and type of sports coverage female athletes receive, the place of women in the media sport industry, and women as an audience for sports coverage.

Chapter 5, titled Heroes and Sport, examines the concept of the hero in society and the changes it has gone through in contemporary culture - in this context, it then
proceeds to look specifically at the sporting hero with particular reference to the Olympic Games.

Chapter 6, titled *National Identity and Sport*, contains a discussion of issues related to national identity, the characteristics of its construction process and the way these, in turn, can be related to sport, the Olympic Games, and specifically their coverage by the media.

*Part III* of my thesis presents my empirical study of the newspaper build up and coverage of the 1992 Barcelona Olympics in Britain and Israel. Chapter 7, *Methodology*, discusses my selected research method of content analysis, considers the advantages and disadvantages associated with it and the supplementary methods which can enrich it. The chapter then proceeds to describe my own fieldwork.

Chapter 8, *Findings and Discussion (a)* and chapter 9, *Findings and Discussion (b)*, present the findings of my empirical study and discusses this information in relation to the theoretical aspects outlined in *Part II* of my thesis.

Finally, *Part IV*, consists of Chapter 10 which includes the *summary and conclusions* of my study. In it, I also attempt to outline the wider implications which can be drawn from my thesis.

### 1.6 A Note on Translation

My thesis includes an analysis of Israeli newspapers and interviews with Israeli media professionals. This material was originally in Hebrew. In order to be able to refer to it in the text, it was translated by me into English. I take complete responsibility for this translation as I believe, although not always straightforward, the translation always maintained the spirit of the original.
PART II
Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

The Olympic Games are one of the most central events of the sporting calendar. Every four years the summer Olympics takes place and is subject to attention the world over, not in the least - media attention. Nations from around the world participate in these Games and the global media covers them in great detail (Moragas Spa et al., 1995) thus, the Olympics is often described as a *global media event* (see Rowe, 1995; Whannel, 1992). However, within the academic literature on the subject, referring to 'media events' means discussing the concept according to Dayan and Katz's (1992) definition. Indeed, before addressing the question of whether the coverage of the Olympics by the media can be explained in terms of this theory, a discussion of their definition is required.

From examining the media events theory, this chapter progresses to discuss news values in order to position the coverage of the Games between the two. In order to compare the two theories, the initial emphasis of this chapter will be on a critical appraisal of the two approaches, applying them to the case of the Olympic Games. Through comparing them, it then proceeds to assess whether, in fact, the coverage of the Olympics can be best explained by media events, news values or a combination of both.

2.2 Media Events - A definition

Media Events, as defined by Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz (1992), are "events that hang a halo over the television set and transform the viewing experience" (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 1). The research tradition developed by these writers, who remain the scholars most identified with it, is concerned with the study of major occasions, often with a ceremonial or ritual character, which, by definition, are 'not routine'. They argue that such events are held to provide social cement for otherwise atomised societies, by uniting individuals and forging or renewing collective normative bonds.

In defining media events, Dayan and Katz (1992) declare that "despite its heaviness, we shall argue that the elements in our definition are 'necessary', and that no
subject of them is 'sufficient' without the others [my emphasis - a.b.]" (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 9). This does not mean however that the elements cannot exist without one another, but the events are not then "what we call media events; they are something else" (Dayan and Katz 1992: 9). Such a statement requires closer scrutiny of the definition of media events suggested by Dayan and Katz (1992), element by element, in order to be able to understand it, criticise it, assess its validity and then to apply it to further studies. It is, however, worth noting that other researchers in the media events tradition do not always respond to the 'heaviness' proclaimed by its originators. Hallin and Mancini (1992), in discussing the (political) summit as a media event explain how the U.S.-Soviet summits "seem to fit fairly closely [my emphasis - a.b] the model of 'media events'" (Hallin and Mancini, 1992: 121) put forward by Dayan and Katz, and thus conclude that the summit is indeed a media event.

Dayan and Katz (1992) begin by stating that "even if it is true that most of television melds into some [...] seamless 'supertext', there are certain types of programs that demand and receive focused attention. Media events are one such genre [my emphasis - a.b]" (Dayan and Katz 1992: 4). Put differently, these events are not part of routine television production and viewing. This, in fact, is the first component of their definition of a media event, i.e. "the most obvious difference between media events and other formulas or genres of broadcasting is that they are, by definition, not routine [my emphasis - a.b]" (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 5). To be exact, media events are interruptions of routine, they intervene in the 'normal' flow of broadcasting and in the lives of the viewers. Furthermore, "in the most characteristic events" (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 5) the interruption is such that all the channels turn their attention to the event, switching away from their regular programming, perhaps leaving just a few stations outside this broad consensus.

The second, highly important, characteristic of a media event is that "the happening is live [my emphasis - a.b]" (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 5), in that these events are transmitted as they happen, in real time.

Thirdly, these events are organised outside the media, which means that "at least theoretically, the media only provide a channel for their transmission" (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 5). 'Outside', in this context denotes that the events do not take place in television studios and are not usually initiated by broadcasting organisations - although the relationship between the media organisations and the organisers of the events is one of co-operation. Another component of the definition of media events
is that they are "preplanned, announced and advertised in advance [my emphasis - a.b.]" (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 7).

Dayan and Katz (1992) conclude that the above mentioned elements in conjunction, i.e. "live and remote on the one hand, and interrupted but preplanned, on the other take us a considerable distance toward our definition of the genre" (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 7). They do, however, proceed to offer three further components to their definition, the fifth being that these broadcasts are presented with reverence and ceremony to the extent that journalists "who preside over them suspend their normally critical stance and treat their subject with respect, even awe" (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 7). The point made by Dayan and Katz (1991), which is related to this and to the previous element, is "that in media events television rarely intrudes" (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 8), which means that the definition of the event given by its organisers is upheld by the media, while explaining "the meaning of the symbols of the occasion, only rarely intervenes with analysis and almost never with criticism" (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 8). Another aspect of this is that often advertising is suspended on these special occasions.

The sixth element of the definition of media events is that even when these programmes address conflict, "they celebrate not conflict but reconciliation [my emphasis - a.b.]" (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 8), and in doing so they differ considerably from daily news events of which conflict is an integral part. Furthermore, "these events applaud the voluntary actions of great personalities and they celebrate what, on the whole, are establishment initiatives that are therefore unquestionably hegemonic, indeed, they are proclaimed historic" (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 8).

As mentioned previously, another central element of the definition of media events, listed last, but by no means least, by Dayan and Katz (1992) is that these broadcasts are both aimed at, and indeed attract, very large audiences, "a nation, several nations, or the world" (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 8). Furthermore, these audiences, figuratively at least are meant "to dress up, rather than dress down, to view television" (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 8), unlike in the routine viewing experience, the audience is requested to pay special attention. Moreover, media events are characterised by a norm of viewing, which means viewers are expected to put everything else aside. The mandatory nature of the viewing is underlined, according to Dayan and Katz (1992), by the fact that all networks are presenting the same event. This also contributes to the unique nature of the viewing experience of media events as the viewers are called "to celebrate the event by gathering before the
The discussion in this section relates to the elements which constitute the definition of media events according to Dayan and Katz (1992). It is important to note, as discussed above, that according to the authors, television events which do not comply with all the elements can not qualify as media events. Furthermore, in accordance with their analysis, "by converting the elements of the definition into a typology - where elements are variously present or absent, or present in varying degree [my emphasis - a.b.] - we can identify alternative genres of broadcasting that differ from one another by virtue of a particular element. Examination of these alternative forms and the conditions of their occurrence will help define our own events by proving boundary markers" (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 10).

2.3 The Olympics as a Media Event

Within the context of this thesis and Dayan and Katz's (1992) definition of media events, the question of why should the Olympic Games be considered as a media event has to be asked. The answer seems easy as each list Dayan and Katz complied of examples to media events, includes the Olympics. In "Media Events - The Live Broadcasting of History" (1992) they mention a sample of a dozen media events which includes "the funerals of President Kennedy and Lord Louis Mounbatten, the royal wedding of Charles and Diana, the journeys of Pope John Paul II and Anwar el-Sadat, the debates of 1960 between John Kennedy and Richard Nixon, the Watergate hearing, the revolutionary changes of 1989 in Eastern Europe, the Olympics [my emphasis - a.b.], and others" (Dayan and Katz, 1992:4). They are aware of the differences between these events, but in spite "of the differences among them, events such as the Olympic Games [my emphasis - a.b.], Anwar el-Sadat's journey to Jerusalem and the funeral of John F. Kennedy have given shape to a new narrative genre" (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 1), namely media events. In classifying the Olympic Games as a media event, one could also add Dayan and Katz's notion that identifying a media event is a matter of common-sense, according to them "readers will have no trouble identifying the kinds of broadcasts we have in mind" (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 4).
For the purposes of this thesis it is important to look closer and more critically at the Olympic Games and their inclusion as a media event in Dayan and Katz's (1992) list. This section follows up on the discussion of the elements of the definition of media events (see section 2.2) and relates them to the Olympic Games in particular (see also Table 2).

The first element of Dayan and Katz's (1992) definition of a media event is that it is not routine. While the Games take place, they indeed break the routine of television's programming in that they monopolise the channel they are broadcast on for the two weeks of the Games. In doing so this definitely intervenes with the normal flow of broadcasting and also the audience's lives. The intervention with 'our lives' (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 5) is most obvious when the Games are in a time zone which is different to a certain nation's, thus compelling devoted viewers to stay up at night - which happened, for example, in European nations during the 1996 Atlanta Games. Yet, the Olympic Games are different from other events listed by Dayan and Katz (1992) - such as funerals and weddings - in that they come around routinely every four years, in which sense they are similar to other media events like the presidential debates in the USA.

Furthermore, this element relates also to the fact that the interruption of the routine is such that all channels turn their attention to the event. In other words, when a broadcast is indeed a media event all the networks will show it at the same time, according to Dayan and Katz (1992), "the unanimity of the networks in presenting the same event underlines the worth, even the obligation, of viewing" (Dayan and Katz, 1992:9). As outlined (see chapter 1) in regards to the Olympics, the heated battles between the American networks over the exclusive broadcasting rights are now legendary, as they were instrumental in radically raising the price of television broadcasting rights (Hill, 1996). A vast amount of dollars changes hands, orchestrated exactly so other networks would not be able to broadcast the Games. The biggest television deal in the history of sport, at the time of writing, was announced in New York on August 7th 1995, when the American television network NBC, disclosed that it was going to pay the International Olympic Committee $1,250,000,000 for the US rights to the Sydney Olympic Games of 2000 and the 2002 Winter Olympic Games in Salt Lake City (The Guardian, August 8, 1995; see further discussion in chapter 3).

An important aspect of the Olympic Games attraction is the very fact that they are broadcast live, which relates to the following element in the definition of a media event. Indeed, sport in general attracts more viewers when it is broadcast live
(Whannel, 1992). Nicholas Schiavone, director of research at NBC sport, explained in an interview that, "people will say they want all sports and all live". But, he went on to claim that "you have to listen to what people mean more than what they say. What they really want is not live but alive [my emphasis - a.b]" (The New Yorker, August 5, 1996: 27), which does not necessarily mean the same. On the night of the American victory in the women's gymnastics team event at the Atlanta Games, for example, NBC took an event that had actually ended in the early evening - considered to be a dead zone for American television - then held back Kerri Strug's final dramatic vault (see discussion of this Olympic story in chapter 5) until a few minutes before midnight, and achieved the best Olympic ratings since 1976.

Additionally, in describing the NBC strategy that made the Atlanta Games a hit, Dick Ebersol, who runs NBC sports, outlined in an interview that it hardly mattered that "so few of the contests are broadcast live; it is enough that they seem live, that they be, in the network's term, 'plausibly live' [my emphasis- a.b.]" (The New Yorker, August 5, 1996: 27). This, too, seems unique to the Olympics since, as they are composed of various events that can not all be broadcast simultaneously live anyway, leave room for the above described manipulation of time. In fact, it is no longer possible to describe television as relaying on the event. Rather, it is producing an elaborate, entertaining show based upon the event (Whannel, 1984) so that, in the case of the Olympic Games, 'live' refers to a meticulously planned and produced notion.

As for the next element, the Olympic Games were initiated, and continue to be organised outside the media by the IOC (International Olympic Committee). Therefore, the Games themselves do take place outside the television studios. However, this event does not comply with Dayan and Katz's (1992) concept that the media only provide a channel for the transmission of a media event. The coverage of the 1996 Atlanta Games NBC, took the intervention of television to an extreme by shaping them into a soap-opera-style narrative which was designed to attract more viewers (see also chapter 8). This occurred to such a degree that one journalist reflected thus, "foolish me, I nearly missed the story of the Olympic Games. For days, I moved from one event to the next, unaware all the while of the grand narrative being shaped on television. The Olympics that I was watching [...] had more to do with the Games being seen at home on NBC than visiting a soundstage in Hollywood has to do with seeing a final print of 'Independence Day' [a successful movie at the time - a.b.]" (The New Yorker, August 5, 1996: 26). There is an undoubted cooperative relationship between broadcasting organisations and the IOC, but the media are much more than simply a channel for their transmission in
this case (see further discussion below). In fact, Dayan and Katz (1992) themselves are aware of this tension between the broadcasters and organisers of the Olympics over the representation of the Games,

Members of the International Olympics Committee are said to wish to represent the games as part of an unbroken tradition that stems from classical Greece, celebrating individual achievement, healthy minds in healthy bodies, the striving to accomplish more than humans can be expected to accomplish. It is dubious, of course, that they really want this, given the emphasis on National Contest in the organization of the games. For this part, the broadcasters explicitly prefer national over individual competition, thus taking sides with the national rather than the international organizing committees.

(Dayan and Katz, 1992: 67)

It is important to recall that the point raised here by Dayan and Katz (1992) was discussed in chapter 1 and will be further discussed in following chapters.

Another component of the definition of media events is that they are “preplanned, announced and advertised in advance” (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 7). This is particularly true for the Olympic Games which are built-up by the media for months before the Opening Ceremony (see chapter 8). Indeed, the preplanning, announcing and advertising prior to the event are so elaborate that this element also seems to make the Olympics unique, compared with other media events.

The next element in Dayan and Katz’s (1992) definition of a media event is that these broadcasts are presented with reverence and ceremony to the extent that journalists suspend their critical stance. The point argued by Dayan and Katz (1992), which is related to this and to previous elements discussed above, is the fact that in media events television rarely intrudes. This has the effect of upholding the organisers definition of the event by the media, while also ensuring that the media only “rarely intervenes with analysis and almost never with criticism” (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 8). In regards to the Olympic Games only the Opening and Closing Ceremonies appear to be presented in this way, as the actual competitions are covered in such a way that television does intervene with the events, as earlier explained. Furthermore, it is considered ‘fair’ for the commentators to infuse some degree of partiality and present the Games from a nationalistic point of view (see also chapters 6 and 8). Criticism, even of the organising committee is also
considered legitimate. Here again, the Atlanta Olympics can serve as an example - during which (mainly American) journalists complained just about everything ranging from delayed buses to failed computer systems (NBC News, July 18th, 1996).

Moreover, as discussed, the Olympic Games, according to the IOC charter, aim "to contribute to building a peaceful and better world" (Fundamental Principals: Olympic Charter, 1994). If indeed that was possible and if the media were merely a channel which transmitted the event as intended by its organisers, then the Olympics may have celebrated reconciliation. Dayan and Katz (1992) state that even when these broadcasts address conflict, they celebrate reconciliation, and so to my mind, the Olympics are intrinsically concerned with conflict, and they are presented by the media as such (see further discussions in chapter 6 and 8).

As Dayan and Katz (1992) emphasise, another aspect of this element is that often advertising is suspended on these occasions, but this is not applicable for the Olympics. As outlined (see chapter 1) commercialism has become a major part of the Games, initiated largely from the 1984 Los Angeles Games onwards. This is also reflected in the amount of commercials surrounding the Olympics, especially on television, in countries where the Games are broadcast on a commercial channel like the USA.

The last element of Dayan and Katz's (1992) definition of a media event focuses on the audience. It is true that the Olympic Games generate large audiences and that through the intense built-up in the months leading up to the Games a norm of viewing is established, although, as mentioned above, different time zones, hold that only highly devoted viewers would stay up at all hours to watch the competitions. The continuous nature of the Olympics (see below) also means that viewers are less than likely to 'dress up' for each and every broadcast of the Games.

Related to the audience element, it is important to note that in their list of media events, Dayan and Katz (1992) include both media events which are aimed mainly at a national audience, those which are media events in more than one country, and those which are aimed at a global audience. It seems that from their list the only event aimed, by definition, to the whole international community is the Olympics. All the other events appear to be national (for example, the royal wedding of Charles and Diana in Britain) or multinational, (for instance, Anwar el-Sadat's journey to Jerusalem in Israel, Egypt and the USA) but not necessarily global events, although some of them may generate a wide international audience -
increasingly so in the globalised television environment. To illustrate, most of the events on the list were not broadcast live in Israel, thus not qualifying them as media events in this country. The journeys of Pope John Paul II can serve as a pertinent example of this classification. Israeli broadcasters did not think most Israelis, as Jews, would be interested in these journeys and covered them only with short news items.

Hallin and Mancini (1992) address this issue in discussing the fact that a media event is "as much a celebration of the common identity of the audience - as Americans, or Italians, or simply as human beings - as it is a tribute to the individuals who stand for the community" (Hallin and Mancini, 1992: 122). They note that all of these are national media events - although they acknowledge that they may be covered by the media of the entire world which are addressed primarily toward national audiences. As their work focuses on summits, they stress that what they are dealing with are 'truly' international media events, "part of a small category of such events addressed directly toward global audiences" (Hallin and Mancini 1992: 122). In explaining the hypothesis of their study of three major summits between Reagan and Gorbachev, at Geneva in 1985, Washington in 1987, and Moscow in 1988, they state that it would follow from Katz and Dayan's analysis, "and also fit with the common understanding of the symbolic effects of summitry - that summits should push toward international integration, toward a sense of common identity that transcends the nation state" (Hallin and Mancini 1992: 122). Scannell (1995) also notes that, "there must surely be significant differences in how - to take the most obvious case- American and British media respectively present ceremonial events to their national audiences" (Scannell, 1995: 152).

The Olympic Games clearly belong to the 'small category' Hallin and Mancini (1992) identify, even more so than a summit. Summits like the Reagan/Gorbachev discussions they have studied were essentially American/Soviet meetings and were covered as media events on American and Soviet television. This fact proves that even such summits are aimed primarily at the participating countries national audience; indeed the Italian coverage was chosen by the researchers as a 'neutral' one. The Olympics, on the other hand, are aimed fundamentally at an international audience to such an extent that almost any country could be studied regarding its coverage of this media event.

Dayan and Katz (1992) believe that media events integrate societies in a collective heartbeat and evoke renewal of loyalty to the society and its legitimate authority. In the context of the above discussion, it is important to emphasise that for the
Olympic Games the 'nation as one' notion is relevant only within a certain nation, and not for all the global audience of this event (see also discussions in chapter 3, 6 and 8).

The discussion of the central elements of Dayan and Katz's (1992) definition of a media event in this section illustrates that the Olympic Games stand out in their list of examples. A further point should be made in this respect, as briefly mentioned, and that is that the Olympic Games also distinguish themselves as they are a continuous event. This, however, is not unique to the Olympic Games, as they share this characteristic with events like the Watergate hearings and the revolutionary changes of 1989 in Eastern Europe. The Olympic Games take place over two weeks - with certain parts of them qualifying more as global media events, such as the Opening and Closing ceremonies, the men's and women's 100 metre race, whereas other competitions might not be covered at all. As previously mentioned, Hallin and Mancini's (1992) study adds the summit, as yet another continuous event, to the list of media events complied by Dayan and Katz (1992).

I constructed Table 1 (below), according to the above discussion, to show the classification of Dayan and Katz's (1992) list of media events according to the audience they are aimed at and their frequency.

**Table 1: Media Events Categorised**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Events / Type of Event</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Multi-National</th>
<th>International / Global</th>
<th>One-time</th>
<th>More than once</th>
<th>Continuous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 funerals</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 weddings</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 journeys</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 debates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 hearings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 revolutions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Olympics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List of events: 1. the funerals of President Kennedy and Lord Louis Mounbatten; 2. the royal wedding of Charles and Diana; 3. the journeys of Pope John Paul II and Anwar el-Sadat; 4. the 1960 debate between John Kennedy and Richard Nixon; 5. the Watergate hearing; 6. the revolutionary changes of 1989 in Eastern Europe; 7. the Olympics.
Table 1 summarises the discussion above in terms of the audiences the different events are aimed at, and also shows the difference in frequency of the various events. Thus, from this categorisation, it emerges that the various events have different patterns. As the table displays, the Olympic Games are the only truly global event (see also discussion in chapter 3), and furthermore, they are a continuous event (taking place over two weeks). This global-continuous category is unique to the Olympics alone.

**Table 2: The Olympics as a Media Event**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Element of Media Event Definition</th>
<th>A*</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>not routine</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on all channels</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>norm of viewing</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>live</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organised outside the media</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preplanned, announced and advertised in advance</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>presented with reverence and ceremony</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>journalists suspend critical stance</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upholds the definition of organisers</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>advertising is suspended</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>celebrates reconciliation</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>integrate societies in a collective heartbeat</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>applaud the voluntary actions of great personalities</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>are proclaimed historic</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>generate large audiences</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dress up'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gathering in front of the television set in groups</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Classification of Events (see also Table 1):*
National / One time = A (funeral; wedding)
National / More than once = -
National / Continuous = B (debates; hearings)
Multi national / One time = -
Multi national / More than once = C (journeys)
Multi national / Continuous = D (revolution)
Global / One time = -
Global / More than once = -
Global / Continuous = E (Olympics)
I constructed Table 2 to summarise my above discussion of the elements included in Dayan and Katz's (1992) definition and their applicability to the Olympic Games in table form. While the focus of this thesis is on the Olympics (see column E), the table does include other events from Dayan and Katz's (1992) list. It thus shows that other events do not necessarily comply completely with all elements of the definition, which therefore conveys, in my mind, that either some of the events included in the list can not be considered media events, or more likely, that the 'heaviness' of the definition is misplaced. It is my position that if the requirement of an event is indeed to comply with all the components of the definition, some further events apart from the Olympics, would not qualify as media events.

In addition to the elements discussed at length in this section Table 2 also includes some further characteristics of media events mentioned by Dayan and Katz (1992). In terms of media treatment there is the tendency to applaud the voluntary actions of great personalities to proclaim them as historic. At the audience end, apart from generating large audiences, they demand of the viewers to 'dress up' for the occasion which also results in the celebration of the event by the audience, by gathering before the television set in groups. As far as the Olympic Games are concerned, although athletes are not paid for participating in the Games, their actions in this day and age can hardly be considered as voluntary since a gold medal translates into increased pay cheques at following competitions, opportunities for the endorsements of products, and so on. Moreover, some of the athletes are already professionals when they enter into the Games, which continues to fuel the heated debate of the Olympics as a commercial venture, rather than the pinnacle of amateur sporting achievement (Hill, 1996). Each Olympics is proclaimed historic at its time, but as the Games come around every four years they can not be perceived as historic in the same manner that events which occur only once can. As explained, the Olympics does generate very large audiences but these audiences can hardly be expected to 'dress up' for each and every competition during the Games, and this also applies to the gathering in groups.

To conclude, Dayan and Katz (1992) classify the Olympic Games as a media event, which is clearly deduced from the list of media events they offer. Although they acknowledge that all the events they list are not identical, and note that some of them share more common characteristics with one another than others, they classify them as belonging to the same genre - media events. However, if, as Dayan and Katz (1992) proclaim, an event should comply with all elements of their definition in order to be classified as a media event, then, as the above discussion and Table 2 illuminate, it would be a mistake to refer to the Olympic Games as such. It is worth
mentioning that although Dayan and Katz (1992) emphasise that in order for a broadcast to be considered a media event - in accordance with their definition - it should comply with all elements, they themselves use phrases like, 'in the most characteristic events' (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 5), 'typically, these events' (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 5) and so on, which seem to imply that not all events cohere with all elements of their definition.

It is also important to point out that Dayan and Katz did not actually study empirically the Olympic Games, however, accepting their classification of the Olympics as a media event, Rothenbuhler (1989) conducted an extensive study of the 1984 Los Angeles Games. He stresses that the Olympics "are a special kind of media event that has a real potential for creating a community at a distance, even while they are also simultaneously many other things as well" (Rothenbuhler 1989: 42).

Based on my analysis, my position is that the Opening Ceremony, the Closing Ceremony and to some extent the climatic competition of the 100 metre sprint final, may indeed be classified as media events according to Dayan and Katz's definition. These events, in particular, are transmitted live, are preplanned, announced and advertised in advance more than any other specific competition of the Games (see also Moragas Spa et al., 1995). Furthermore, the ceremonies are presented with reverence, although commentators tend to focus on the athletes of the broadcasting nation (see discussion in chapter 6). Television may also be seen as upholding the definition of the Games by the IOC for the ceremonies, i.e. celebrating the youth of the world as united. Additionally, the ceremonies, and the 100 metre final, generate especially large audiences (Moragas Spa et al., 1995) and a norm of viewing is well established.

However, the media coverage of the entire Games can not be fully explained by the theory of media events. On the whole, the Games do generate large audiences, but not all events, in all countries, at all hours, entice a 'norm of viewing'. Thus, it is also not plausible that audiences gather in front of the television set in groups, or 'dress up' for the whole duration of the two weeks of the Olympic Games. Furthermore, as discussed, not all competitions are transmitted live, nor presented with reverence and ceremony. Journalists do not suspend their critical stance when it comes to the competitions and do not uphold the definition of the Olympics by its organising committee. Moreover, the Olympic Games are covered by a broadcaster who has acquired exclusive broadcasting rights, and in countries where this channel is commercial advertising is definitely not suspended.
Thus, while the initial interest in the Games - as generated by the media - is linked to the fact that they are a special sporting event, the actual coverage can be much more fruitfully understood by combining the theory of media events with that of news construction.

2.4 News Construction - An Introduction

Much of the mass media research attention has been directed towards news. According to McQuail (1987) the news genre deserves this attention as an original contribution of contemporary mass media to the range of human expression. Indeed, over the last 50 years numerous studies of news were conducted, but it is beyond the scope of this thesis to describe in any detail this area of investigation. For the purposes of this thesis, the relevant discussion is that which relates to the set of values by which events are accorded a place on the hierarchy of importance and interest that determines their merit of coverage, known as *news-values*. The following sections consider, briefly, news values in general and proceeds to focus on their relevance to sport and the Olympic Games in particular. Furthermore, throughout the stages of the discussion, the Olympic Games are discussed in relation to both the media events theory and news values.

In this context, it is important to note that although Dayan and Katz (1992) title their theory 'media events' they emphasise that it applies exclusively to television. Studies of new construction, on the other hand, refer to all media. My study (see chapters 7 and 9) relates to newspapers, viewing them as playing an important role in the coverage of the Olympics as a media event.

Although television coverage is highly important to the Olympics and has in fact become the cash life-line of the Games (see discussions in chapters 1 and 3), it is obvious that (nowadays) its world-wide audience is exposed to a combination of media. As Skeet (1992) observed on the week the Barcelona Games opened, "between 25 July and 9 August it will be hard to escape the Olympics: the commercial sponsors, TV channels and newspapers [my emphasis - a.b.] will see to that" (Skeet, 1992: 25). Newspaper coverage may not share the qualities of immediacy and apparent 'realism' that typify television, neither does it transmit globally, nor can it make use of instant action-replays, super-impositions, multiple framed images, and automatic wipes or other visual elements which are overt manipulations of the event itself. However, newspaper coverage does not have to
submit to restrictions associated with broadcasting rights, and is able to devote more than television, by way of space to interviews, previews and post-mortems. As Craig Lord (The Times) stated to me (in an interview conducted on November 21st, 1993),

They [television] will cover a swimming event, that may take 2 minutes, say, so they cover the event, the swimmer gets out, goes straight on to camera, spends 30 seconds talking to camera and it's finished, that's it, and they move on the next thing [...] especially in the Olympics, when somebody gets out of the water, 30 seconds, what do you know about the person? nothing. The job of the newspaper, as I see it, is to tell you much more than the TV could ever tell you.

Which means that the print media has an important role to play in the coverage of sport in general and in the Olympic Games in particular (see further discussion in chapter 7). Furthermore, newspaper coverage can focus on the athletes of the specific nation, most notably in nations which can not afford an extensive (and expensive) television coverage - which is what a national media, and audience, are most interested in (see also discussion in chapters 6 and 9).

Relating the newspaper coverage of the Olympics to the definition of a media event, shows that it complies with the necessary conditions in several ways. For example, there is a break in the routine coverage of sport - leading to, and especially during the Games - the Olympics coverage interrupts the routine of the sport section with extensive coverage, special Olympic supplements, and indeed the monopolising of the sports section (it is also worth noting that the coverage of the Games also gets out of the sport section 'ghetto', and in doing so breaks the routine coverage of newspapers which 'normally' confines sport to the sports section - see chapter 8). Moreover, on the sports pages, the Games are preplanned, announced and advertised well in advance.

2.4.1 News Values

News values can be defined as "the professional codes used in selection, construction and presentation of news stories in corporately produced mainstream press and broadcasting" (O'Sullivan et al., 1994: 201). These values provide an
indication as to the kind of events which will be selected for coverage by the media. Furthermore, they suggest the priority which would be allocated to different stories, so that "the more of these conditions a given story fulfills, the bigger it will be" (Hartley, 1990: 79). Hartley (1992) quotes the earliest account of these values from an item published in the Spectator newspaper of July 14th 1714. This early account of how to maximise the newspaper's audience reflects very similar codes to those identified some 250 years later by Galtung and Ruge (1965). Indeed, from as early as the 18th century, items of bad news are considered to be more newsworthy than good news, and events containing scandal, elite personalities and adversarial controversy have an increased likelihood of becoming media news.

The foundation study of news values was conducted by Galtung and Ruge (1965), and this classic (Bell, 1991) study of foreign news in the Scandinavian press proposed a dozen factors which govern the media's selection of news. Their list includes: Frequency; Threshold; Unambiguity; Meaningfulness; Consonance; Unexpectedness; Continuity; Composition; Reference to elite nations; Reference to elite persons; Personalisation and Negativity (Galtung and Ruge, 1965). It is worth stressing that scholars group Galtung and Ruge's proposed values in different ways. Hartley (1990), for instance, divides them into 'general news values' and values which apply mainly to the selection of news media in the 'north-western corner of the world' (Hartley, 1990: 76). Bell (1991) divides - what he refers to as 'news factors' - into three groups, the first 'values in news actors and events', relates to the content of news and the nature of its events and actors. This group includes all but two of Galtung and Ruge's news values (excluding 'continuity' and 'composition'). The second group, 'values in the news process' relates primarily to news gathering and processing and includes - apart from 'continuity' and 'composition' - four factors added by Bell (1991): 'competition', 'co-option', 'predictability' and 'prefabrication'. The third group, 'values in the news text' is also composed of factors added by Bell (1991), and these are related to the quality or style of the news text which affects its value labelled as: 'clarity', 'brevity' and 'colour' (see discussion below).

However, writers agree (Bell 1991; Fowler 1991; Hartley 1990; McNair, 1994) that for a discussion of news selection and construction, Galtung and Ruge's (1965) original news values are a valuable starting point. This is also my position, although for the purposes of this thesis the order in which the values are presented by Bell (1991) was found to be more fruitful. It is important to note at this juncture, that these values are very different in their nature from the elements composing Dayan and Katz's (1992) definition of media events (see further discussion below).
2.4.2 News Values and the Olympics

As a media event, the Olympic Games are, on the whole, newsworthy, which grants them extensive media coverage. However, within this context, some competitions are perceived as more newsworthy than others, and it is at this stage where standard news values come into play. It is important to stress that these news criteria do not affect different journalists in different media outlets in the various countries covering the Olympics in an identical way. For instance, nations like the USA, who have athletes representing them in most major competitions, and who also entertain a realistic chance of winning many of these events, have a much larger variety of competitions - specifically relevant to their audience - to choose from, than a small country with few representatives. Put differently, certain aspects of the coverage is predetermined in a certain country by its interest in its own athletes (see Moragas Spa et al., 1995 and discussion in chapter 9). Other special interests of a certain nation can further predetermine the newsworthiness attached to specific competitions, like the routine interest of a nation's media - and indeed its audience - in particular sports. In Israel for example, these sports, according to Raffi Naee, (Chief sports editor, Yedioth Aharonoth, interviewed on September 21st, 1993) include "athletics, first and foremost, basketball swimming and gymnastics which actually are the central sports in the Olympics". This also means that "during the Olympics we try to cover all sports but some of them are just 'colour items' for us" (Raffi Naee, Yedioth Aharonoth; see further discussion in chapter 8). Thus although the discussion below relates to news construction in general terms, it is imperative to view it in this context. The following discussion considers each news value suggested by Galtung and Ruge (1965) and its relevance to sport in general and the Olympic Games in particular.

Negativity essentially relates to the notion that for the media 'bad news is good news', in the sense that the more negative an event is in its nature (conflicts, for example) and consequences, the more newsworthy it will be. In this context sport is different, as its routine coverage is of events which have 'just happened' (Hartley, 1990) and can be perceived as 'positive'. In other words, many pages of newspaper sports sections around the world are written daily about sporting events, the way these unfold and reach the final result, regardless of what exactly happened. When it comes to the routine coverage of the Olympic Games in newspapers, the reports are based on recounting the events of the previous day, which include items ranging from simply listing results, to extensive feature items concerning stories that have been considered most central. For instance, an event like the marathon will be covered extensively regardless of the manner in which the actual competition
unfolded. In the television treatment, much of the coverage is preplanned and transmitted live, (see discussion above) and so the newsworthiness of an event is predetermined and is not related to the particular way ('positive' or 'negative') the event unfolds. However, the television coverage also includes highlights and magazine programmes for which news values, including negativity, exert considerable influence. Thus, for sport in general, and for the Olympics as a sporting event, good news is news and positive events are covered in depth. Indeed, the better the quality of news, the more extensive the coverage will probably be, so that good news from a sporting perspective, like a world-record being broken will receive much attention. Good news from a national perspective, as in the case of a nation's athlete winning a medal, will attract considerable coverage in that nation's media, and so the pattern continues.

Nevertheless, in sport generally and also in the Olympics, 'bad news' does have an undoubted tendency to receive more attention than its 'good' counterpart. Drug abuse by top athletes in the Olympic Games has become one of the most visible examples, as with the case of the Canadian sprinter Ben Johnson during the 1988 Seoul Olympics (see discussions in chapters 1 and 8). It is also illuminating to note that when a (negative) non-sporting event surrounding the Olympics occurs, it takes precedence over the (positive) sport. At these times, sport's significance is relegated to comprehend the enormity of the situation. Such was the case with the killing of the Israeli athletes in the 1972 Munich Olympics and with the bomb in Centennial Park at the 1996 Atlanta Games.

The frequency criterion refers to how well an event conforms with the working cycles of the media. This criterion is met by sport in general as most competitions are played and concluded in a short, reportable span. However, this is the case only to some extent in regards to the Olympics. On television, as previously outlined, many of the competitions are transmitted live and break the routine by monopolising much of the air-time of the transmitting channel, thus reducing the relevance of the frequency criterion. Conversely, in newspaper coverage, the interruption in routine does not effect normal deadlines, which retains the significance of this criterion. Thus, competitions which conclude within the reportable time frame of the newspaper cycle, stand a better chance of becoming news, whereas some of the competitions - depending also on the time zone of the Olympics location - have to be reported on the following day, often diminishing their newsworthiness in the process.
Meaningfulness denotes that the closer (geographically and otherwise) an event is to the society and culture of a given media outlet, the more newsworthy it will be perceived by it. This value is relevant to sport in general and is particularly significant in the coverage of the Olympic Games. Competitions in which a home nation's athletes take part, have the greatest likelihood of becoming news items in that nation's media, indeed the most newsworthy events are generally those that are closest to home (see Moragas Spa et al., 1995 and further discussions in chapters 6 and 9). Furthermore, for those nations which have no athletes representing them in the major competitions, the media will also regard as newsworthy, related athletes based upon other standards. For example, Jewish athletes will be deemed newsworthy by the Israeli media, as was the case with the American-Jewish swimmer Mark Spitz in the 1972 Munich Olympics, whose performance received much coverage by the Israeli media. More generally, cultural familiarity with certain sports, countries and athletes, also affects the newsworthiness attributed to competitions within the Games.

The consonance criterion refers to the compatibility of the event with the script journalists and editors have of the unfolding of an event. More specifically, it relates to the preconceptions media decision makers have of a social group or nation from which the news actors come, and thus, it relates these to the stereotypes editors have concerning these actors. This is relevant to the coverage of sport in general as competitions are consonant with few exceptions, and the 'scripts' various sports follow generally exhibit a familiar pattern, as with the example of a football match always having two halves of 45 minutes each. The argument extends further than this for the coverage of the Olympics, as compatibility with preconceptions about the performance of nations and athletes effect the perceived newsworthiness of events (see chapters 8 and 9). For instance, long distance runners from Kenya are expected to perform well in the these events deeming their coverage newsworthy well in advance. In relation to this, it is also worth acknowledging that the coverage of these athletes follows familiar stereotypical scripts, like stories of Kenyan runners becoming Olympic champions through having to run every day to a distant school in their youth (see Whannel, 1992). Within the context of following the familiar script, the media nevertheless - in the Olympic Games as in sport as a whole - perceive surprises as newsworthy (see discussion below).

Typically sport is highly unambiguous, and thus it meets the unambiguity criterion. According to this criterion, the chances of an event becoming news is greater the more clear cut it is, and the less it is open to interpretations. Sport is usually composed of competitions that conclude in results, and this is clearest when the
results separate winners from losers. Moreover, even a draw in this context, although not a clear-cut result, is not ambiguous as it confers that a result has transpired. However, during the Olympics, specific events which are considered newsworthy (meeting other criteria) are covered even if they are highly manifest with ambiguity. For example, in the 1992 Barcelona Games the story of the 10,000 metre distance race was covered extensively exactly because its result was not clear (see discussion in chapter 9). This factor can also be linked to the following criterion.

The unexpectedness criterion refers to the surprise element, i.e., an event which is unexpected or rare is very likely to be perceived as newsworthy, as it interrupts the 'norm' in such a way that attention is immediately bestowed upon it. This is a central feature of sport in general, for although sports events are themselves prescheduled and preplanned, their specific outcome remains unexpected; indeed the fact that sport is unscripted in results terms is what enriches it with a compelling quality (Bell, 1991). This is highly relevant in the Olympic Games as in the case of world records which are expected to be broken but with the exact timing and result always unpredictable - and so such occurrences are considered highly newsworthy. Furthermore, the Olympics is itself a scene in which unexpected results form a considerable element of the fascination, as the Games provide a unique opportunity for unknown individuals and nations to surprise the world. It should be noted that 'unknown' in this context refers to the specific national media perspective, but is chiefly defined in terms of the American and/or Western media.

As discussed, the Olympics as a complete event does not have to pass any 'threshold' in order to receive media coverage, but when concerning the hierarchy of the competitions covered, this criterion is highly relevant. Threshold refers to the notion that the 'bigger' (in size, amount, strength and so on) an event is, compared to other events taking place at a given time, the more newsworthy its status will be. The essence of the Games is stated in the Olympic credo: 'citius, altius, fortius' (faster, higher, stronger). Thus, athletes whose performances are the most successful tend to be perceived as most newsworthy, especially if they have overcome hardship and/or display unique qualities such as bravery to achieve this (see discussion in chapter 8). Additionally, athletes who are the 'most' in a range of aspects are considered especially newsworthy. For instance, the youngest and the oldest athletes, the athlete who has participated in the most Olympiads and other such feats attract news attention. It is, however, important to emphasise that in different national media thresholds vary and a nation's athletes do not necessarily have to perform unusually well in order to be covered by their national media - although the
ones who perform most successfully, within a national context, are considered more newsworthy as compared with those who have not achieved quite as much (see chapter 9).

In the Olympics, national teams compete for medals, but essentially individual athletes remain at the centre of media attention (see discussion in chapter 5 and Whannel, 1992). In this respect personalisation - which refers to the notion that an event is perceived as newsworthy if it can be explained in personal terms - is not actually required in order for a competition to be considered newsworthy. As the Games are, in their very nature, concerned with personalities this standard has already been met (and see also discussion in chapter 8). However, in the Olympics as well, there are specific stories which are perceived as more newsworthy when they can be personalised. For example, the 'Olympic Spirit' is an abstract term, however when the American gymnast Kerri Strug, personalised it during the 1996 Atlanta Games - by playing through pain, convinced that she had to continue for the team jeopardizing her own chances of gaining individual medals (TIME, August 5, 1996) - the 'Olympic Spirit' in itself became newsworthy (see detailed discussion of this story in chapter 5).

Additionally, during the Olympic Games, athletes from certain nations which, at the time of the Games, feature regularly in non-sporting news can be perceived as newsworthy themselves because they personalise the wider story of their nation. This was the case with the South African long distance runner Elana Meyer at the 1992 Barcelona Games, whose own story was used to personalise the return of South Africa to the Olympic Games (see discussion in chapter 9).

The criteria of reference to elite nations and reference to elite persons relates to the notion that events which are concerned with elite nations are perceived as more newsworthy than those events referring to 'lesser' nations. In a similar vein, events related to elite persons - from politicians to movie stars - are attributed a greater newsworthy quality as opposed to those events comprising 'regular' persons. Both these criteria are met in the general sphere of sport and in the Olympics in particular.

Reference to elite nations goes some way to explaining the media coverage in many countries, owing to the fact that 'elite' in the context of sport applies specifically to a handful of nations (most notably the USA) which win most of the medals. Reference to elite persons is also highly significant in terms of the Olympic athletes, who are the elite within their field. Top athletes at an international level, namely
those who win medals and break world records in certain events, are considered newsworthy around the world. Indeed, these athletes, in many cases are competitors from first world (elite) nations, and/or athletes who train in these nations. However, it must be pointed out, that this criterion can potentially vary in different nations, as in any national media their elite athletes - who might not have acquired such a status at the international level - are generally perceived as newsworthy, and consequently receive headline coverage on the front pages in their national media (see also Niblock, 1996) when they succeed (for a further discussion of this see chapter 9).

The **continuity** criterion refers to the fact that once an event has passed the threshold of newsworthiness and is covered by the media, it will continue to be followed. This criterion is highly relevant to the Olympic Games, as the nature of their story is a continuous one (see discussion above and Table 1), and so this event in its entirety is an on-going story. Within the Games, most competitions are composed of several continuous stages which are all considered newsworthy, although the final stages are in many instances perceived as more newsworthy than those that occur at the earlier ones. However, if a national media happened to be interested in the initial stages of a certain competition, perhaps because one of its athletes participated in them, it will continue to accord the following stages of that competition with coverage, even if that nation's athletes (or team) has subsequently lost out in it. Additionally, when a certain story breaks out, such as the case of athletes being caught for the use of banned performance enhancing drugs, the following stages of the story - laboratory tests, the punishment inflicted on the athlete and so on - are considered newsworthy as a continuing story (see discussion in chapter 8).

As with the case of newspaper coverage, or a television news programme in general, a sport section or supplement covering the Olympics requires a mixture of items. This trend means the **composition** criterion is applicable to the newsworthiness of stories from the Olympic Games. Overall, the coverage of the Games follows a common thread, as all items are related to the Olympic competitions. Nevertheless, a balanced coverage means, for example, that both hard news and soft news items are included. This will tend to favour the inclusion of 'colour' stories, for instance, which are required to create a good mixture. This occurs to the extent that journalists "walk through the Olympic Village and look for colour stories" (Raffi Naee, *Yedioth Aharonoth*). Thus, certain events are considered newsworthy if they contribute towards a complete, balanced sport section or supplement.
I found it productive to summarise the above discussion of Galtung and Ruge's (1965) news values and the way by which they relate to the coverage of the Olympics in table form.

**Table 3: News Values and their Relevance to the Coverage of the Olympic Games**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>News Values</th>
<th>Relevance to the Olympics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negativity</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaningfulness</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consonance</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unambiguity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unexpectedness</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threshold</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personalisation</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference to Elite Nations</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference to Elite Persons</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuity</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composition</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

++ highly relevant; + relevant; +/- partially relevant

Table 3 summarises my above analysis, and from it I infer that in determining the relative newsworthiness of specific events during the Olympic Games, standard (and sporting) news values go a considerable way to explaining much of the media coverage. Thus, for instance, the values of meaningfulness and reference to elite persons are highly significant to the perceived newsworthiness of specific events from the Games, and are related to the emphasis conferred by national newspapers to their own athletes (see further discussion in chapter 9). Overall, the 12 values
suggested by Galtung and Ruge (1965) are all relevant to some extent in regards to the coverage of the Olympics. Over half of them (7) are particularly applicable, including meaningfulness, consonance, unexpectedness, threshold, reference to elite nations, reference to elite persons and continuity. Three are relevant (unambiguity, personalisation and composition) and only two are partially relevant (negativity and frequency).

As previously explained, writers (Bell, 1991; Hartley, 1990) divide Galtung and Ruge's (1965) news values in different ways, and in some cases added some further criteria. Bell (1991) in his discussion of news construction, suggests to include factors (as he labels them) which relate to the news process. These include: competition, co-option, predictability and prefabrication. He also identifies a further category of 'values in the news text', which includes factors related to the quality or style of the news text which affects its value (clarity, brevity and colour). The former category is relevant in the context of the discussion of news construction in relation to the Olympics.

For example, the factor of competition refers both to the desire each media outlet exhibits to having exclusive scoops, and the competition between the stories themselves. The coverage of the Olympics involves this factor to some extent, as competition exists between national television channels for exclusive broadcasting rights prior to the Games (see discussion above). Such a tendency however is irrelevant to newspapers which are not restricted by such matters. As a general rule, during the Olympics, facts, figures and most stories are equally open to all journalists via the central information supplied by the organisers of the Games. This, however, does not mean that no competition exists as journalists do consider especially newsworthy the stories which are unique to them. Raffi Nae (Yedioth Aharonoth) for example, stated that he was primarily interested in "a story which nobody else had", or at least in introducing to the coverage a new angle compared with other media outlets.

The factor of co-option refers to the notion that a long-running story is accompanied in the media by related stories. Thus, an event can be perceived as newsworthy by association, although in its own right may not have generated much news attention. This is highly relevant when considering the coverage of the Olympics. This goes back to the fact that many stories are considered newsworthy simply by association with the Olympics, i.e., the fact that they are part of the Games. The predictability factor is also highly applicable to the coverage of the Olympics, as this factor refers to the notion that if an event is prescheduled a greater
likelihood of journalists covering it exists, than if it is not so. To a large extent, the coverage of the Olympic Games, as far as the news gathering process is concerned, is a coverage of a predictable occasion, owing to the fact that all competitions are prescheduled. However, as discussed above, the results of the competitions are unexpected so that, according to this factor, between several developments, the more predictable ones will gain favourable placement with the media. For example, the Israeli wind-surfer Gal Friedman was not expected to win a medal at the 1996 Atlanta Games, and so the coverage of that discipline was very thin (in Israel). Only when it became clear that he was in a medal winning position, did the media coverage become more extensive. This occurred to such a degree that a special effort was made by Israeli television to acquire footage of the final stages of the competition and to show Friedman (unpredictably) securing a bronze medal.

The discussion of these examples displays that, apart from Galtung and Ruge's (1965) set of news values, any further values/factors which seem integral to the issue of newsworthiness to scholars (such as Bell, 1991), can also be readily applied to the coverage of the Olympics. This reinforces the view that general news construction criteria are relevant to the discussion of sports coverage in general, and to the coverage of the Olympic Games in particular.

2.5 Conclusion

The Olympics is a special sporting event both in the sporting and in the media calendar. According to Dayan and Katz's (1992) theory of media events, the Olympics is in fact a media event, classified in accordance with their list of events as such. This required a thorough examination of their theory when considering the media coverage of the Olympic Games. From this discussion, elaborated in this chapter, it emerges that as with other media events, the Olympic Games are covered extensively by the media, interrupting the routine of the media outlets covering them, before and most particularly during the Games. In fact, the coverage of the Olympics monopolises television channels and newspaper sports sections, and generates widespread interest around the world in the competitions.

However, it is important to recall that Dayan and Katz (1992) argue that an event can be classified as a media event only if it complies with all the components of their definition. Apart from the Opening and Closing Ceremonies, this would entail Dayan and Katz (1992) only mistakenly include the Olympics in the list of media
events. In this context, it is my position that the mistake is in their requirement of an event to comply with all the elements that constitute their definition of a media event. I believe that this prerequisite should not be taken to the letter, and would instead argue that the Olympics is in many respects a media event. Indeed, some of the characteristics Dayan and Katz (1992) suggest go some way to explaining the coverage of the Olympics (see Table 2 and discussion in section 2.3).

From the above analysis, it is clear that the entire fortnight of the Games can not be fully explained within the parameters of the media events theory. Standard news values exert a more fruitful influence in explaining the coverage of the entire Games (see discussion in section 2.4). However, it must be emphasised that news values alone, or even sporting news values in themselves only partially explain the complexities involved in the coverage of the Olympics.

What is required therefore is a combination of both news values and the media event theory in order to fully comprehend the coverage of the Games - from their build up, through the Opening Ceremony, right through to the Closing Ceremony. The Olympic Games are more than a routine news event in that they entail coverage regardless of the specific way in which they unfold. Within this context it is important to note, that events in general do not simply appear in the news by happening (Hartley, 1990). In order for them to be included as news, they need to fulfil certain criteria which will deem them newsworthy. In general, sport has different rules, in the sense that its routine coverage is of events which have 'just happened'. In other words, many pages of sports sections around the world are written daily about sporting events, they way they unfold and reach the final result, regardless of what exactly transpired. This is especially true for the coverage of the Olympics.

Thus, the initial media interest in the Olympics and the extensive coverage it is surrounded with, are related to the media events theory. Arguably, the Opening and Closing Ceremonies constitute media events according to Dayan and Katz's (1992) definition. However, as the Olympic Games are composed of thousands of athletes from over 170 countries, competing in over 30 sports, no media outlet could cover the Games in their entirety. Because of this, news criteria do assert a considerable influence in determining the hierarchy of the different reports from the competitions during the Games. Thus, the more values a given sporting event complies with, within a national context, the greater the likelihood it will receive extensive coverage, a big headline and so on. For example, an elite British athlete - like Linford Christie - winning a race in a record-breaking time will receive much more
coverage on the sports pages than any other Olympic event taking place on the same day (see discussion in chapter 9).

Furthermore, much of the coverage of the Games reports on positive events, whereas negativity is a central news value. Such a trend can be explained by the media events theory which dictates that as the event in itself is considered important, it is covered extensively although it is, essentially, a 'good news' story which usually is not perceived as newsworthy. Some further news values can fruitfully be linked to the media events theory when attempting to explain the coverage of the Olympics. For example, in being part of a media event, all competitions meet the threshold criterion to some extent (although specific thresholds differ in various national media). Also, as a continuous media event the Olympic Games, overall, meet the continuity criterion.

To conclude, as my discussion shows, the coverage of the Olympic Games can neither be explained solely by the media events theory, nor exclusively by news values - a combination of the two provides a more complete understanding of the issues involved. Thus, I would argue, the coverage of the Olympic Games should be viewed as being framed by their definition as a media event, whereas the coverage of the entire unfolding of the Games as they proceed, is better understood in terms of traditional news values.
Chapter 3: Globalisation and Sport

3.1 Introduction

The classifying of the Olympics as a **global media event** evokes, inevitably, the "catchy" (Wenner, 1996: 235) concept of **globalisation**.

The first part of this chapter relates to the literature which attempts to theorise the concept of globalisation in general and by doing so touches on some of the debates surrounding it. It then proceeds following from this, to discuss briefly the role of the media in relation to globalisation as viewed by some scholars. The reminder of this chapter investigates a few of the large scale international studies, which analysed news and sport, applying the concept of globalisation to the analysis. Consequently, questions emerge concerning the applicability of globalisation as a concept when looking at it more closely.

Since the focus of this thesis is on the Olympic Games, this chapter examines mainly the relevance of globalisation to the world of sport generally and to the Olympics in particular.

3.2 Defining Globalisation

A look at the world around us reveals that nowadays "goods, capital, people, knowledge, images, communications, crime, culture, pollutants, drugs, fashions, and beliefs" (McGrew, 1992: 66), all flow across traditional borders of the nation state. Indeed, the "global interconnectedness" seems to have intensified considerably in recent years (McGrew, 1992). In this context, the concept of 'Globalisation' has become a fashionable term, used in both public and academic discourse, ranging from media, business, financial and other circles, to social commentators and social scientists. It is worth noting, that this process (or indeed, processes) has also been equated with, or discarded in favour of other terms, such as Internationalisation, Westernisation, Americanisation and even the older notion of Cultural Imperialism.

The concept of globalisation was not recognised as significant in academic discourse until the mid-1980's, from when its use increased to such an extent that one can find discussions of it across a wide range of fields (Robertson, 1994). More
specifically, during the 1980's this concept prompted a diverse body of literature in
the social sciences and other disciplines. The interest in globalisation and its
consequences was, and is, related both to the wish to understand current changes
and to the realisation that the future of "individual national communities were
increasingly bound together" (McGrew, 1992: 65).

As can be expected, "conceptual clutter has led to theoretical confusion" (Harvey et
al., 1996: 258) and in the field of social theory, numerous publications on
globalisation in recent years (Braman and Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1996;
Featherstone, 1994; Friedman, 1994; Hall, 1992; McGrew, 1992; Robertson, 1994,
Robertson, 1990; Wallerstein, 1991) reveal an array of factors that have led to
globalisation, processes involved in globalisation, and indicators used to measure
global trends. The literature is also multidimensional when it comes to assessing the
impact of these factors, processes, and indicators at the international and the
national levels. Indeed, "popular use of the term and its many definitions within the
social sciences have imbued the concept with multiple meanings" (McGrew, 1992:
65), to such an extent that it is now used quite loosely and even in contradictory
ways (Robertson, 1990).

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to address in any great detail the thorny concepts
of globalisation, world-system, world-society, identity, culture and all other related
terms as they are being discussed in contemporary social science and other
disciplines.

The aspect of this debate that needs to be explored in the context of this thesis is that
"Globalization has been, and continues to be, associated with a 'crisis of the
territorial nation-state'" (McGrew, 1992: 87). One of the more crucial aspects
assessed in the literature regarding globalisation is the degree to which it is
characterised by processes and tendencies which take place beyond the reality of the
nation-state (Harvey et al., 1996; and see also Featherstone, 1994; Friedman, 1994;
Robertson, 1994). These processes include four major aspects of the modern nation-
state: its competence, its form, its autonomy and its authority or legitimacy
(McGrew, 1992). Although "a powerful argument can be made that globalization is
compromising the authority, the autonomy, the nature and the competence of the
modern nation-state" (McGrew, 1992: 92). It is important to note that some theorists
acknowledge the evidence that although the state might seem redundant
functionally, "culturally and psychologically it remains of critical significance in
structuring the political and social organization of humankind" (McGrew, 1992: 93).
Such a line of thinking is reinforced by considering the extent to which nationalism
is very much alive and well (for a further discussion of both the dissolving and the rejuvenating of the nation-state see McGrew, 1992).

In this context I find it important to emphasise that although globalisation processes are very evident, the extent to which our world is now globalised should remain open to debate. My position is that globalisation has reached such a point where we can support the belief that industrialised countries already exist, to a great extent, within a global world, but that globalisation processes are at different developmental stages in countries and even within parts of the same nations. Such a contention applies even more specifically in the case of developing nations. Thus we need to be careful in applying the term sweeping as it clearly differs in several contexts.

3.3 Globalisation and the Media

For the purposes of this thesis, a brief discussion of the media in the context of globalisation is required. The notion of the responsibility of the media, especially television, to the world 'shrinking' can be traced back to Marshall McLuhan's conception of 'the global village' (1960). This is echoed in much more recent discussions which refer to modern communications technology (not only, or even mainly television) as one of the reasons the globe has effectively 'shrunk' in the contemporary age (see McGrew, 1992 for further discussion).

In the literature, and following in the footsteps of writers who stress the multiple causal logics of globalisation (Robertson, 1994; see also McGrew, 1992 for this discussion), the media is not viewed as the causal factor of globalisation, but is definitely considered to be one of the major forces involved in these processes. McGrew (1992), for example, writes that the expanded awareness of "global interconnectedness was reinforced [my emphasis - a.b.] by the electronic media", which were capable of bringing to their audience's immediate attention distant events "so creating a sense of a globally shared community" (McGrew, 1992: 65). From the literature it becomes clear that the media are, and will certainly remain, central to developing the analysis of the processes of globalisation (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1996).

The literature focusing on globalisation and the media has covered a variety of issues, and numerous topics can be raised in relation to this. In the context of the
discussion in this chapter the most relevant strand to consider is that of globalisation and news.

3.3.1 Globalisation and News

As outlined in chapter 2, the topic of media news has been addressed by academics for many years and from various angles, resulting in numerous writings and research projects into this area. Over the last 50 years, the news process on the international level has become of special interest (for a further discussion see Galtung and Vincent, 1992). For the purposes of this thesis, the analysis of 'news flow' on such a level is especially relevant as the reporting of sport events in the media indicates some similar characteristics to news coverage in general (see discussion in chapter 2). As Sreberny-Mohammadi (1994) observes, this type of analysis has come into focus again in recent years because of technological developments and the changing global political environment. Sreberny-Mohammadi (1994) asks whether national news media indeed reflect on an emerging global, shared news agenda, or conversely whether "regionalism remains a key factor in news selection" (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1994: 5). In this debate the dichotomy of the global and the local is therefore illuminated (see further discussion below).

Contrary to what Robertson (1994) asserts (see section 3.2), the issue of globalisation of news media is, in fact, not new or even recent (see Schramm, 1960), as this area of investigation has started with the printed press but has shifted its interest to television which, with the aid of satellite technology reached a 'global' status, the most notable example being CNN (Cable Network News). In relation to that, an extensive international study was conducted by Cohen, Levy, Roeh and Gurevitch (1996; also reported, while in progress, in Gurevitch, Levy and Roeh, 1993). In their project, titled "Global Newsrooms Local Audiences", the researchers studied, using both quantitative and qualitative research methods, the Eurovision News Exchange, using it as a 'live laboratory'.

The underlying assumption of this study is that "different societies tell themselves - on television and elsewhere - different stories" (Gurevitch et al., 1993: 205), the point being that these can be diverse stories about the 'same' events. In fact, that is the departure point of this study rather than a 'finding', as "it is precisely the richness of the spectrum of narrative variation that we find fascinating" (Gurevitch et al., 1993: 205). Thus, their comparative research is viewed by them as an opportunity to
compare the meaning in stories of the 'same' event. For them, a comparative analysis is especially important in an era characterised by increasing globalisation of news, as,

[..., it offers an important antidote to 'naive universalism' that is, to the assumption that events reported in the news carry their own meanings, and that the meanings embedded in news stories produced in one country can therefore be generalized to news stories told in other societies.]

(Gurevitch et al., 1993: 205)

The researchers found in their study several commonalities and differences among the stories told to different nations of the same events. Indeed, the very fact that they could ascertain certain similarities across various national media implies "a measure of shared professional culture, a certain commonality in news values [my emphasis - a.b.] and news judgments" (Gurevitch et al., 1993: 202). However, at the same time,

[... the diversity of judgments on lesser items also suggests that this sharing of news values is not complete and that national social and political differences, as well as differences in journalistic norms between nations, also play a part in shaping patterns in news coverage.]

(Gurevitch et al., 1993: 202)

The results of this extensive study touch on various important issues. For the purposes of this thesis the most relevant notion that emerges from it is that of 'news domestication', "a concept which ties together the work of journalists, the content of the news, and the audience as decoder of mass media messages" (Cohen et al., 1996: 143), which is considered by the writers themselves as one of the core characteristics of the process they explored. For Cohen et al. (1996) this concept serves two aims; first, as a counterpoint to the notion of globalisation and second, to conceptually link media professionals and their audiences. I would like to emphasise the first (for a discussion of the second dimension see Cohen et al., 1996), i.e. the idea that the use of the domestication concept "may be thought of as a necessary corrective to discussions of media globalization" (Cohen et al., 1996: 152). In fact, the tendency to domesticate news stories is regarded by the researchers as a countervailing force to the pull of globalisation. Furthermore, 'if the 'same' events are told in divergent ways, geared to the social and political frameworks and
sensibilities of diverse domestic audiences, the 'threat' of homogenization might have little base" (Gurevitch et al., 1993: 207). In other words, *domestication*, highlights the fact that media professionals (and audiences) 'counter-pull' the globalising forces, a fact ignored by many other writers whose assumptions and arguments concerning the globalisation of the media news tended to be very much "imbued with the spirit and the vision of the 'Global Village'" (Cohen et al., 1996: 152).

To conclude, based on their analysis, Gurevitch et al. (1993) state,

*Global events* [my emphasis - a.b.] [...] are shaped and reshaped by television news reporters and producers in ways that make them comprehensible and palatable for domestic audiences. Thus, while the images may be global currency, the meanings given to them may not necessarily be shared globally. Television news in different countries, feeding on an increasingly similar global diet, facilitated by a global system of distribution and exchange of news materials, still speak in many different voices. The Global Newsroom is still confronted by a Tower of Babel.

(Gurevitch et al., 1993: 214-215)

Thus, it is important to note that when a large scale and in-depth empirical study is conducted the results show a different face of globalisation, i.e. that the local aspects are very much in evidence.

3.4 Globalisation and Sport

This section relates to the topic of globalisation and sport, in general, as discussed in contemporary literature, before focusing on globalisation and the coverage of the Olympics in particular (see section 3.5).

The spread of modern sport is considered to provide an interesting example of globalisation (Horne, 1996; Rowe, 1996; Whannel, 1992). In fact, sport sociologists began their interest in international issues during the 1960's and 1970's, when a series of studies attempted to explain success on international and Olympic sport in social and demographic terms (Grimes, Kelly, and Rubin, 1974; Levine, 1974; see also discussion in Donnelly, 1996). Additionally during the 1970's, some sport
sociologists began to explore the way certain games had spread throughout the world (Dunning and Sheard, 1979; Guttman, 1978) with the notion of Americanisation also being examined (for example, see a discussion of the Americanisation of Canadian sport in Donnelly, 1996).

Sport sociologists entered the globalisation debate during the 1980's, i.e. from the very beginning of the concept being dealt with in the social sciences in general. The discussion of global sport, which originates mainly from North American sociologists of sport (see Harvey, Rail, and Thibault, 1996), takes different forms and the various contributors to this ongoing debate explore many angles of it (Wenner, 1996). As with the theorising of globalisation in general, this results in a literature range which is sometimes "confusing, often contradictory, and always partial" (Harvey et al., 1996: 258). Confusion also remains concerning the basic question of whether the globalisation trends are actually influencing sport in a significant manner. Writers who do recognise a noticeable impact of global processes on sport, have identified the process of Globalisation, whereas others have suggested Americanisation, Modernisation, Cultural Imperialism and Cultural Hegemony (Harvey et al., 1996: 259; for a further discussion see Donnelly, 1996 and Rowe, 1996).

Wishing to clarify the issue of global sport, Harvey, Rail, and Thibault (1996) developed a model of globalisation which incorporates political, economic, social, and cultural dimensions. Their 'web-model' provides a theoretical framework to enable analyses of the influence of globalisation of sport on national sport policies, taking into account the tensions between the local and the global. Indeed, one of the prominent discussions in the globalisation and sport literature explores a whole series of tensions between the local and the global (Whitson and Macintosh, 1996; and see section 3.7). One such example is the tension surrounding international sporting events which have become occasions of nationalism and national comparisons inevitably occur (Donnelly, 1996; see also Boyle and Haynes, 1996 and discussions in the following section, and in chapters 6 and 9).

Although, as briefly discussed above, literature relating the concept of globalisation to sport does exist (see also dedicated issues of the *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, 1996 and of *Media, Culture & Society*, 1996) it is interesting to note that sport falls more convincingly into the concepts of Americanisation and Cultural Imperialism. Indeed, much of the debate expressed in the literature, within the sport context is engaged in the issue of globalisation versus Americanisation (Donnelly, 1996). It is true that, "arguments about the imperialist Americanization of sport have not been
quite so straightforward as those for film and television because the product is not always so clearly American" (Donnelly, 1996: 245). One example to support such a view is basketball, which is popular around the globe (although not in Britain) but is not played in most countries in its American version. On the other hand, basketball is indeed an example of American marketing (on American marketing of sport see also Rowe, 1996), headed by the NBA (National Basketball Association) which led to a world-wide interest in American basketball peaking with the entry of the American Dream Team to the Barcelona Games (see further discussion in chapter 9).

The hypothesis of Americanization in the sport context may seem problematic when remembering that truly international sports like football (soccer), tennis, boxing, and athletics (track and field), and international events like the Olympics and the football World Cup are not American.

Such examples may deny the Americanisation of sport as a sole explanation to the changes in global sport. Yet, it must be clarified that another aspect of Americanisation has emerged in the literature, relating to 'corporate sport' (McKay, Lawrence, Miller, and Rowe, 1993 and see also Rowe, 1996). This entails the notion that sport has become less important than its capacity to be a vehicle for attracting massive audiences, and even more than that, that sport has come to expresses ideas about "competition, excellence, corporate efficiency, and what it is necessary to do to win - ideas that have their origins in the United States" (Donnelly, 1996: 246). The point being that the American style of sport has become the international example for corporate sport around the world including aspects of 'show-biz', the ability to attract sponsors and not in the least, having the characteristics necessary for good television coverage.

Thus, Donnelly (1996) concludes that, "Americanization as cultural imperialism has at least some explanatory power" [my emphasis - a.b.] (Donnelly, 1996: 248). Rowe (1996) and others (see Whannel, 1992), also advocate that for global sport, Americanisation and Cultural Imperialism make a persuasive argument (for a discussion of the economic aspect of this, see section 3.6).
3.5 Globalisation and the Olympics

From their inception de Coubertin intended the modern Games to be on a global scale. The fact that several of the earliest modern Olympiads (in 1900, 1904, and 1908) were actually held in conjunction with the world’s fair, is considered as evidence to that (Whitson and Macintosh, 1996). Over the years the Games did transform into "the most prominent regular global event of our times" (Whannel, 1992: 173; and see discussions in chapters 1 and 2), most of the transformation taking place in the last 20 years. It is worth drawing attention to the fact that the current status of the Olympics, as a global event, has been attributed to its media coverage, especially that of television (see Tomlinson, 1996 and discussions in chapter 1 and section 3.6).

In relating the globalisation process(es) and its consequences to the Olympics various issues can be raised, for instance the fact that the IOC (International Olympic Committee) is an example of a non-governmental international body which influences and affects the making and changing of sport policies in different countries around the world (Donnelly, 1996; Hill, 1996). Another issue raised in the literature is the question to what extent the Olympic Games have led the merger of professional and corporatised sport (see discussion in section 3.4). This has been underlined by rumours that the IOC President, Juan Antonio Samaranch, has threatened to withdraw baseball as an Olympic sport if American major league players are not permitted to participate in the 2000 Olympics in Sydney (Donnelly, 1996). This can be seen as an example of the degree to which the Olympics has been Americanised (see further discussion in section 3.6).

In keeping with the thrust of this thesis, the main focus in this section is on the question of whether the Games reflect on a world which is truly 'globalised'. It is worth noting, for example, that in proposing the possible consequences of globalisation on 'cultural identities', Hall (1992) suggests that one possible consequence is that national identities are being *eroded* as a result of the growth of cultural homogenisation (Hall, 1992: 300).

However, in a comparative study of the television coverage, by 28 broadcasters around the world, of the Opening Ceremony of the Barcelona Olympic, Moragas Spa, Rivenburgh and Larson (1995) found varying local perspectives of this (same) event. According to them, these local perspectives "serve as an important reminder that local circumstances can greatly colour the experience of a global event like the Olympic Games" (Moragas Spa et al., 1995: 11). They proclaim their most
interesting finding the fact that while the Opening Ceremony, and by extension the Olympics as a whole, certainly have a global character, it is the local dimensions of it that sustains the broadcasters and audiences interest (Moragas Spa et al., 1995). By local dimensions they refer to such features as special attention to specific performers, largely to a nation's own performing athletes (see further discussion in chapter 9).

To conclude, it is important to stress, that both the empirical analysis of international news conducted by Cohen at el. (1996) (discussed in section 3.3.1), and the empirical study of the coverage of the Opening Ceremony of the Olympics (Moragas Spa at el., 1995) point to the local within the global context.

3.6 The Global Economics of Sport and the Olympics

To further clarify the argument with respect to sport, and the Olympic Games in particular, being more Americanised than globalised, I have chosen to ascertain the economic aspects of the globalisation of sport and especially the Olympics. This decision is based on the idea expressed in the literature that contemporary theories of globalisation deal with the fact that political, economic and social activities are increasingly becoming world-wide in scope (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1996).

Regarding sport in general, evidence can be found to substantiate the claim that the global (though not necessarily American) economic forces have increasingly influenced both the sport itself and the media coverage of it. For instance, Koenig (1995) notes that over the years sport has gradually crystallised into "celebrity-driven mass entertainment" (Koenig, 1995: 161) with examples like Pele in football, Bjorn Borg in professional tennis and Muhammad Ali in boxing pioneering the concept of the global sport celebrity (see also Whannel, 1992). This, in turn, according to this argument, has conditioned sport into an attractive proposition for people like the media tycoon Rupert Murdoch, who, after moving into newspapers, television and Hollywood, turned his attention to sport, resulting in a refashioning of "virtually all sport into a global business" (Koenig, 1995: 161).

Other broadcasters have led the way to globalising sport via the media. The British Channel 4, for example, started transmitting sports popular in one nation to the British audience, and then selling these programmes on to other countries. Sumo wrestling is a prime example of a Japanese sport made popular around the world,
introduced first on Channel 4 in the mid-1980's. Murdoch extended this idea a few steps further by turning his satellite channels into a "global sport bazaar" (Koenig, 1995: 162).

As for the Olympic Games in particular, much of the evidence clearly points in the direction of Americanisation as an explanatory concept to the developments over the years. Scholars (Hill, 1996; Tomlinson, 1996; Whannel, 1992) attribute to television, especially American television, the fact that the Olympics has become a global event. The most important factor has been the massive sums of money that have become readily available to the Olympic movement from American networks battling over exclusive broadcasting rights. Indeed, these fights between the American networks are by now legendary for having caused the price of television rights to soar. This is illustrated by the fact, as discussed in chapter 2, that the American television network NBC will pay the IOC $1,250 million for the US rights to the Sydney Olympic Games of 2000 and the 2002 Winter Olympic Games in Salt Lake City (The Guardian, August 8, 1995).

In Europe, the IOC negotiates with the EBU for the rights, which means, for example, that for the Barcelona rights the BBC paid £6.5 million, its portion of the European cost of £40.5 million (The Times, June 18, 1992) (for a discussion of the financing of the Games see also Hill, 1996). Whereas the EBU, negotiating for all European broadcasters, pays the IOC large amounts for broadcasting rights (see table 4), the whole of the African continent will be paying the IOC, from the Atlanta Games onwards, zero (!) dollars.

| Table 4: Figures of Broadcasting Rights of the Olympics | (in million dollars) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| USA | 401 | 456 | 715 | +3% every year | +3% every year |
| EBU | 90 | 250 | 350 | | |
| Australia | 33 | 32 | 35 | | |
| Africa | 0.250 | 0 | 0 | | |
| South America | 3.5 | 4 | | | |

figures supplied by the IOC (empty cells represent deals which were not yet finalised at the time of writing).
Table 4 makes clear why American money exerts a great influence over the IOC which has, in turn, become increasingly dependent on it. One aspect of this is the location of the Olympic Games themselves, as prime-time live broadcasting of the major events is of crucial importance to television. Thus, not surprisingly, Atlanta (city of Coca-Cola and CNN) was the choice for the 1996 Games although the Games were away from the USA for just two Olympiads since Los Angeles 1984 (see also discussion in chapter 1). There is also small wonder that the Games have never been hosted by an African nation, illustrated yet again by the selection of Athens over Cape Town to host the 2004 Games.

In this context it is important to note that after ABC lost around $50 million covering the 1988 Calgary Winter Olympics, "the American television industry began making very bearish noises about the future of Olympics right fees" (Whannel, 1992: 173). This, in turn made the IOC very much aware of the dangers of "having all the Olympic eggs in one basket" (Whannel, 1992: 173) and yet, as Table 4 shows the fees from the American networks continue to be as resilient as ever, and combined with American sponsors (see chapter 1 and Hill, 1996) also continue to contribute the largest proportion of the IOC funds.

To conclude, it is important to emphasise that the economic aspects - and the actual figures - surrounding the Olympic Games, as discussed in this section (and also see chapter 1), clearly point in the direction of Americanisation, rather than globalisation, as the explanatory factor in relation to this global event.

3.7 Discussion

Previous sections have already stressed the applicability of the macro-micro approach to globalisation, which unfolds in the idea of 'the global and the local'. The following discussion inspects this concept a little further, maintaining the focus on the Olympics.

The sense of complexity and ambiguity which surfaces from the existing literature on the topic of globalisation may result from the fact that this process(es) is understood as "a process which is essentially dialectical" (McGrew, 1992: 74), 'dialectical' simply in the sense that it embraces contradictory dynamics. For this thesis, as should be apparent by now, the most relevant of these 'binary oppositions'
or 'dualities' (terms used by McGrew, 1992) is indeed that of 'the global and the local' (see also Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1996).

A few important points to make in relation to the 'local' are first, that if the 'global' is difficult to conceptualise, so is the 'local'. Hall (1992) cautions of the 'local' being "confused with older identities, firmly rooted in well-bounded localities" (Hall, 1992:304; and see also McGrew, 1992). But, for some writers 'the local' is indeed 'the national', and this is especially true for academics who focus on sport in the globalisation context (Harvey et al, 1996; Moragas Spa et al., 1995). Another valid observation to point out is that for writers from the sport perspective, the global does not mean the disappearance of the local, and this is "underlined by virtually everyone who has written about globalization" (Harvey et al., 1996: 260).

In relation to the Olympics, the global and the local (in this case, national) conception was explored in literature in two main directions. The first aspect is of the tension between the ideals of the Games, which bring nations together in the hope of enhancing international understanding (see chapter 1), which in essence goes towards globalisation (nations of the world united), and the fact that the Games are, and are portrayed by the media as, a competition between nation-states (Billig, 1995; Blain et al., 1993; and see discussions in chapter 6 and 9). The second aspect is the different ways in which various nations ('locals') perceive the Games, as the media coverage of the Opening Ceremony reveals (Moragas Spa et al., 1995; and for another study of opening ceremonies see Tomlinson, 1996). This perspective shows that the images of the Olympics are not that global, thus emphasising the importance of 'the local' within 'the global'. Both directions, based on empirical studies, prove that although the Olympic Games are a global event, reported worldwide, they retain an important rooting in the local (national) (for this discussion see also Rowe, 1996). In this context I would argue that indeed "the 'decline' vision of 'the end of the nation-state' seems somewhat premature" (McGrew, 1992:94; and see also Boyle and Haynes, 1996). In fact, in the context of sport there is much evidence to suggest that the nation-state is very far from its demise, an issue that will be pursued in further detail in chapters 6 and 9.

The idea that the concept of globalisation is a leaky one when examined closely (see also Boyle and Haynes, 1996; Horne, 1996), and that the local is no less, and maybe even more important, is not unique to the study of sport. It is also supported by the international study of news (Cohen et al., 1996 as discussed in section 3.3.1). I agree with Boyle and Haynes (1996) who argue that specific case studies should alert researchers to the fact that, "more empirically grounded theoretical discussions
regarding globalization in all its various forms" (Boyle and Haynes, 1996: 563; and see also Horne, 1996) are required. This, as the empirical studies which have been conducted, tend to reveal a different picture of globalisation from the one found in theoretical writings, especially in regards to the manner by which they emphasise the importance of the local.
Chapter 4: Women and Sport

4.1 Introduction: Gender and Sport

Feminist theorists writing about gender and sport in general, and the media's role, in relation to gender and sport in particular, tend to focus on women, femininity and the media's portrayal of female athletes (Creedon, 1994b; Kane and Greendorfer, 1994). As noted by Dunning (1986), the issue of modern sport and the part it plays in maintaining male hegemony, for example, is addressed only by "a handful of feminist writers, who have tended to focus on such issues as discrimination against women" (Dunning, 1986: 79-80). Even writers who do address masculine identity in relation to sport do so by juxtaposing it with the feminine identity (Hargreaves, 1986b).

To approach the analysis of gender and sport by focusing solely on the representation of the female athlete might mean ignoring the full picture. For example, much has been attributed to the fact that female athletes nowadays wear outfits resembling swimming suits. Very little, if any, academic attention has been paid to the fact that male athletes wear lycra shorts which project sexuality in no less a manner, as in the case of Linford Christie, a fact which was not lost on popular press and British stand-up comedians.

In recent years it has become obvious that masculinity (or more precisely, masculinities) should not be perceived as unproblematic and it seems that a study of masculinity is emerging (clearly influenced by feminist thought). In the few cases were masculinity was addressed in the sport context (Dunning, 1986; Sabo and Curry Jansen, 1992) it has been made very clear that an analysis of masculinity is needed. Sabo and Curry Jansen (1992), argue that "as masculinity and sport have been culturally equated in the United States there is strangely very little research into this area" (Sabo and Curry Jansen, 1992: 169) and also point out that the content analysis that does exist, focused on women whereas men's roles in media have not been viewed as being problematic.

This should come as no surprise considering that it is consistent with "the lack of attention paid to other dominant groups" as Katz (1995) writes, this is also true for the discussion of race, which does not deal with whites and whiteness.
The issue of femininity(ies) and masculinity(ies) will be discussed further in the next chapter relating it to the issue that men are the "stars and primary definer [my emphasis - a.b.]" (Whannel, 1992: 206) in the world of sport, as portrayed by the media. The current chapter directs attention to women and sport including the actual presence of women in sport in general and in the Olympic Games in particular, the amount and type of sport coverage female athletes receive, and the place of women in the media sport industry, and women as audience for sports coverage.

4.2 The Presence of Women in Sport

Historically, women were excluded from sport for generations, some writers attribute that to gender role exceptions (Kane and Greendorfer, 1994). Whatever the reason (see discussion below), these writers agree that within the last two decades there have been significant changes regarding women's roles in general and women's involvement in sport in particular.

One of the main arguments in the discussion on the representation of women in sports media is that the media persist in covering mainly male athletes although female athletes have increased their presence in sport dramatically in the last century.

Figures from the United States - and indeed most of the studies in this area originate in the US - about sport participation seem to support the view that women's participation in sport has increased dramatically. For example, currently, "158,000 women - approximately one third of all intercollegiate athletes - participate in college sports, compared to 31,000 or 15% who participated in college sport in 1971" (Kane and Greendorfer, 1994: 32). The same source cites the 1993 figures from the [American] National Sporting Goods Association which show that over 7 million women participate in softball, more than 7.5 million women are involved in basketball and another 7.4 million participate in tennis.

According to a consultation document titled Women and Sport published by the British Sports Council (1992), women outnumber men in their participation in indoor sports (swimming, jogging, exercise to music etc.), but in outdoor team games women's participation accounts for only 6.7% of participants. This relatively small percentage does, however, represent an increase since 1977, when only 5.5% of all participants were women. As for the most 'committed' category (i.e. indoor
and outdoor sport excluding walking) the proportion of women rose from 26% to 34% between 1977 and 1986.

Women's football in Britain can serve as an example of the changes in participation of women in an organised, competitive, high performance spectator sport. In 1921 the FA (Football Association) banned women's football, claiming that it was not a suitable game for women. It was not until 1969 that women's soccer became official again, with the formation of the Women's Football Association. The association was launched with 44 clubs. In 1992 there were 410 in England and Wales, compared with 250 in 1990. In the 1992 season a National League of 24 teams, divided into a Premier Division and Division One, North and South was introduced (The Times, April 25, 1992).

These are but few examples which show that women's participation, from the fitness related sports (where it is most evident) to organised sports, has increased, in the West, in recent years. The modern (summer) Olympic Games is another.

4.2.1 The Presence of Women in the Olympic Games

The Olympic Games are a very clear example both of the changes in attitudes towards female athletes and of the increased numbers participating in organised, high performance sports. When the modern Olympic Games started they were meant to be reserved for the male sex only, as they had been in ancient times. Pierre de Coubertin, to whom the revival of the Olympics is attributed (see chapter 1), through his whole life believed that women should not 'dirty' the Games with their sweat, but should merely crown the victors (Leigh, 1974). Indeed, at the first modern Olympics, in 1896 there were no women participants.

Fortunately for women, the IOC (International Olympic Committee) did not have total control over the Games and by the second Games there was a move away from the "Olympic Spirit" with regard to women's sports. In her analysis of the Olympic coverage in German newspapers (1952-1980) Pfister (1989) recounts the development of women's sports in the Olympic Games and the following picture emerges: at the 1900, second Olympic Games in Paris, 12 women participated in tennis and golf competitions. At the Olympic Games in St. Louis (1904) only 8 American women were represented in archery. In 1908 the Olympic Games were held in England, this was the first time Olympic women's sports achieved a relative
upward swing, women had access to four sports: tennis, sailing, ice-skating and archery. In 1912, Stockholm Olympics, for the first time, women competed in sports in which the achievements are measured in seconds, namely, swimming. As many as 57 women, i.e., 2.2% of the competitors, participated in those Olympic Games in Stockholm. Despite all this development, women's sports remained marginal, the IOC had not even officially recognised them. Also women were only allowed to compete in those sports which had no connection with visible effort, physical strength and body contact. The femininity of female athletes, so it was still believed, should be preserved as far as possible.

After the First World War women fought more and more for their rights and one of the scenes of struggle was sport. In 1921 the International Women's Sporting Organisation, was founded in Paris and achieved, in 1928, the acceptance of athletic competitions in the Olympic Women's programme. And yet, the discussions over the acceptance of women in the Olympic Games continued even after the Second World War. Avery Brundage, the president of the IOC at the time, pushed for the removal of women from the Olympic programme or at least limiting their participation to what was perceived as 'typical feminine sports'. He was unsuccessful. Pfister (1989) offers figures which show a continual increase in female participation, for example: in 1920, 76 women participated (2.9% of all participants), they came from 12 nations and competed in 10 sports (6.8% of all competitions); by 1948 there were 385 women participants (9.4% all of participants) from 33 nations and they took part in 19 sports (12.7% of all competitions); in the last year Pfister's (1989) study relates to - 1980 there were 1112 women participants (21.6% of all participants) who came from 57 nations and took part in 24.6% of all competitions. Although this indeed shows a steady increase, it can be seen that as late as 1980, only 21.6% of the participants were female and only 24.6% of the competitions were open to them (see also Fuller, 1989).

Figures supplied to me by the IOC headquarters in Lausanne, Switzerland (January 30th, 1996) differ slightly from Pfister's (1989), but, as the IOC suggests, differences in the number of competitors (and nations, for that matter) comes from data given in the Official Reports which have numerous errors. These differences, however, do not change the overall picture. It is important to note that in more recent Olympic Games the percentage of women participants has continued to grow slowly but steadily. In the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics there were 1,567 women athletes constituting 23.1% of all participants; in Seoul (1988) there were 2,186 women athletes, representing 25.8% of all participants, and in the Barcelona
Olympics of 1992 there were 2,708 women athletes who constituted 28.9% of the overall number of participants.

**4.2.2 Discussion**

Figures suggest a rise in women's participation in sport, however these are, at best, of mixed value - they do not seem to sustain the premise on which some of the feminist writers base their arguments i.e. that there is a major social change in the participation of women in sports, although it is true that in Western societies there has been such a change in fitness related activities.

The reasons for that may well be gender related in that, for example, women lack the leisure time to participate in sport (Cooper-Chen, 1994). Further reasons provided by the Sport Council document include: cultural factors, myths, fear of being out alone after dark, lack of self-confidence, self-image, lack of motivation, lack of money, lack of transport, and even the clothing worn for the activity and equipment needed.

A related fact, which is pointed out by people within the sport, in that girls have so few visible female role-models in sport, and hardly any from team games, that it is easy for them to infer that grown women and sport do not mix, and be discouraged from continuing with sport at all (*The Times*, April 25, 1992)

This can be seen as one of the causes of the media's attitude towards women's sport. However, it can also be regarded as one of its results. This vicious circle is clearly visible with regards, for example, to Women's football in Britain. The growth of this sport is hindered by the lack of funds, which as for all organised sports comes nowadays primarily from sponsorship. Sponsors wish to invest in sports and teams which feature regularly on television and as the Women's football does not qualify as such it does not get the big cash injection.

As sport and the media have been inter-connected in various ways in the last decades any discussion of women and sport must consider the role of the media in this.
4.3 The Presence of Women in Sports Media

Feminist scholarship virtually ignored sport until the late 1970's (Creedon, 1994b), although by the early 1970's there were many sport studies in various disciplines which dealt with issues, such as the relationship between sport and racism, class inequality, nationalism, violence, drug use, and other social issues. The concept of gender, however, remained underdeveloped in most of these studies of sport and society. "The fact that the institution of sport was constituted from inception as an exclusive and exclusionary arena of male experience and male relations was ignored or taken for granted as natural" (Sabo and Curry Jansen, 1992: 171).

In the late 1970's a feminist critique of sport emerged, it viewed sport as a sexist institution, male dominated and masculine in orientation. The feminist studies of the time explored the sex differences in patterns of athletic socialisation, aimed at demonstrating how sport as a social institution naturalises men's power and privilege over women. They concluded that the marginalisation and trivialisation of female athletes serves to reproduce the domination of men over women (Sabo and Curry Jansen, 1992).

The feminist analysis of sport began to flourish during the early 1980's. In this period a dialogue between critical theorists in sport sociology and the feminist theorists resulted in the recognition, by some scholars (Bryson, 1990; Hall, 1990; Messner, 1988) that the concept of hegemony should be employed to analyse gender relations in sport. A number of authors argued that perhaps more than any other social institution sport perpetuates male superiority and female inferiority (Duncan and Hasbrook, 1988; Hargreaves, 1986a).

Essentially this argument is based on the notion that in sport physical and biological differences interface with social and cultural interpretations of gender role expectations. As sport is about physical activity it offers an arena for reproducing concrete, everyday examples of male physicality, muscularity and superiority. In other words, "the very physicality of the female body represents subservience, frailty and weakness" (Kane and Greendorfer, 1994: 31). Hargreaves (1986b), for example, argues that physical sizes or muscularity is an essential symbol of male power in Western cultures. Ultimately, as this argument goes, "this physical, biological, 'natural' supremacy of males becomes translated into the 'natural' supremacy of males in the larger social order" (Kane and Greendorfer, 1994: 31).
Within mass communication research gender was not generally ignored, nevertheless, not much research was done into mediated sport until the early 80s. From then on literature about the role of sport media in relation to gender tended to focus on two main issues: the amount of coverage of women and the portrayal of female athletes in the media.

This section focuses on the amount of coverage dedicated to female athletes in the media in view of the argument of what Tuchman (1978) called 'symbolic annihilation' of women in the media in general. In other words, the emphasis in this section is less on the portrayal of women and more on the absence of women from sports media, which in turn establishes the dominance of the male representation (for a discussion of the portrayal of female athletes see section 4.6).

Writers approaching mediated sport from the feminist perspective agree that in sport media men predominate in numbers and prevail in presence (Sabo and Curry Jansen, 1992). The view that sports programming is an almost all-male world is supported by studies like Woolard's (1983), who in his content analysis of women's and girl's sports articles in newspapers found that 85% of newspaper coverage of sport was devoted to men's sports or Coakley's (1986) study which concluded that an estimated 95% of all sports coverage dealt with males (and see also Shifflett and Revelle, 1996).

According to this argument, at least regarding the United States, although women have increased their presence in sport dramatically in the last century the media persist in covering mainly male athletes (see also discussion in previous section). As Kane and Greendorfer (1994) put it, "One consistent finding well documented in the literature is the quite noticeable underreporting (and thus underrepresentation) of female athletes and their sporting events throughout all mass media. This severe underrepresentation often creates the impression that females are nonexistent in the sporting world" (Kane and Greendorfer, 1994: 34).

As the media reflect on what is important and has prestige (Kane and Greendorfer, 1994), at least in the American culture, by hardly showing women the media send a message that female athletes have little value in society, especially compared to the male athletes. The evidence of this comes from a variety of studies which include print (especially magazines) as well as broadcast journalism. Apart from much less coverage, in both visual and print media, another difference in coverage is that female athletes are more likely to be covered when they participate in individual sports, rather than team sports and even those are limited to the 'feminine' sports and
not the ones which are considered to be 'masculine', like shot-putting (Duncan and Hasbrook, 1988; and see also Boutilier and SanGiovanni, 1983; Kane, 1988).

The evidence of the relative absence of women indicates, as the above mentioned writers think, that female athletes are still excluded from the world of sport as it is represented in the media, they seem not to be taking part in that world. Moreover, this "creates a false impression of women's athleticism by denying the reality of the modern female athlete" (Kane and Greendorfer, 1994: 35).

It is, however, important to notice that not all figures support this argument. For example, in Pfister's (1989) study of female Olympic participants in the Summer Games German newspapers (the Frankfurter Zeitung/ Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung) were examined. Pfister's (1989) quantitative analysis of sports reporting showed results which are consistent only in some respects with findings of other researchers. Pfister's (1989) findings show that the amount of press coverage of women's sport did increase in correspondence with the growing number of female participants in the Olympics, perhaps even slightly over-proportionally. The very important point she makes is that since the media, "concentrates on the athletes (male and female) of their own country and on the medals they win, the share of German female athletes and/or the share of German female medal winners must be chosen as a reference point" (Pfister, 1989: 11-28; see further discussion in chapter 9).

This, her study shows, resulted in an underrepresentation of female athletes, which, as other writers have concluded, points to a relatively low importance of women's sports in comparison to men's sports. This imbalance between the importance of the female athletes and their consideration in the press did not diminish over the years. It is important to notice that although Pfister's (1989) concludes that female athletes were underrepresented her table, titled Women's Participation in the Olympic Games and Sports Reports, shows that in 1928 19.4% of German medals were won by women and 19.4% of sports reports were about women. The exact percentage seems to be coincidental but the same sort of correlation existed in 1932, 1936, 1952, 1956 and all the following years Pfister studied. This may very well show that, definitely when it comes to the Olympic Games, coverage in a nation's media is related to the success of this nation's athletes regardless of gender.

Indeed in a comprehensive look at the relationship "Women, Media and Sport" (Creedon, 1994a) it is suggested that a change has been taking place both in the world of sport and in the amount of coverage given to women. On the surface, it is
suggested by Kane and Greendorfer (1994), the media coverage of the 1988 and the 1992 Olympics "departed from past practices, as women athletes appeared finally to have achieved visibility in the national media" (Kane and Greendorfer, 1994: 28). But, as they go on to discuss, the focus remained on such sports as gymnasts and the image of the female athletes remained feminised and sexualised. Thus sheer numbers are not the only important factor to consider (see chapter 9).

All this is not to argue with the general notion, and indeed with the studies which show that women athletes are underrepresented, but to question whether the aspiration of the feminist writers is for a fifty-fifty coverage, or coverage which is consistent with the number of female athletes taking part in an event like the Olympics or, as in certain national newspapers, an amount that correlates with the success (measured by medal winnings, for example) of the female athletes.

It may be useful, in this respect, to draw a distinction between the routine coverage of women's sport and female athletes and their coverage in major events like the Olympic Games. Dror and Stamel (1995) examined the coverage of male and female athletes in the Israeli press both routine and around (before, during and after) the Barcelona Olympics. They found that routine coverage of female athletes in the Israeli press is very poor. They selected (randomly) the week between 19/11/95-24/11/95 in the *Yedioth Aharonoth* newspaper and their analysis showed only 15 items (less than 5% of the coverage) were about women's sports, and even those were mainly covered by small items (11 were less than 30 words long). As mentioned before, these sort of findings about the routine coverage of women's sports and female athletes are well documented in literature (Creedon, 1994a).

However, when it came to the Barcelona Olympics Dror and Stamel (1995) found that Yael Arad (the female Judoka who won Israel's first ever Olympic medal) received more coverage than any other Israeli representative, male or female, only the amount of coverage dedicated to Oren Semadga (the male Judoka who won a bronze medal within 24 hours of Arad's silver) was close. Their main conclusion, to that point, was that when an athlete is successful the media covers him or her extensively regardless of their gender (see detailed discussion in chapter 9).

This seems especially relevant when considering Cooper-Chen's (1994) argument that "given the worldwide similarity of news values, it is safe to assume that Olympic champions and winners are covered extensively by the media in their home country regardless of their gender and as a result, in most cases, achieve celebrity status" (Cooper-Chen, 1994: 267).
In both the routine and a special event like the Olympics, it seems to me, the amount of coverage should be related to the actual figures of female participation in sport. This, bearing in mind the previous discussion of women's presence in sport and Creedon's (1994b) point that at the most fundamental level, "gender even influences which games or activities are defined as 'real' (read 'macho') sports" (Creedon, 1994b: 5) which in turn, it can be assumed, effects the types of sports which get a larger proportion of coverage. To stress this latter argument from a slightly different angle, it is worth noting that, in the United States, the most celebrated sporting event of the television calendar is the Super Bowl. Creedon (1994b) believes that this spectacle also says something about the differences between males and females in the American culture. First and foremost as professional football is, to date, a male-only preserve it conveys the notion that males are privileged in that culture. Furthermore, by not letting women in, except in roles such as cheerleaders and spectators, one can argue that women are less qualified, powerful or physical than men and should be subservient (Creedon, 1994b).

4.3.1 Discussion

Many studies do show that women are underrepresented in sports media. It is, however, important to consider the question whether this is, first and foremost, a reflection on the inequality of opportunity female athletes face in the (high performance) sport world. In other words this could be seen as a case in which it would be "a mistake to blame or praise the messenger for the nature of the message" (Halloran, 1982). Evidence about the Olympic Games in particular shows that, to date, female athletes get less coverage than their male counterpart, but they are, indeed, only a quarter of the participants.

All this is not to argue with the general notion, and indeed the studies which show, that women athletes are underrepresented in the routine coverage of sport but to emphasis that in this respect, the Olympic Games are unique. The uniqueness being that the amount of coverage of female athletes is more consistent with the number of female athletes taking part in the Games and moreover, in certain national newspapers this amount correlates with the success (measured by medal winnings, for example) of the female athletes. My point here is, as Cooper-Chen (1994) also notes, that the media are interested in heroes of the Games, especially of their home country, and they are the ones covered extensively, regardless of their gender (see discussion in chapter 9).
The discussion about the **amount of coverage** female athletes receive in the media brings some scholars (Creedon, 1994b; Kane and Greendorfer, 1994; Sabo and Curry Jansen, 1992) to the conclusion that female athletes are marginalised by appearing less in the media. Having discussed this issue above it is worth considering the next step writers take from the exclusion argument. This is to question whether sports reports on female athletes are not only fewer but also different from those of their male counterparts. The answer emerging from literature is yes, bringing forth such issues as: the visual production techniques, language, terminology and commentary in women's sport which provide a highly stereotypical feminised view - one that tends to sexualise, commodify, trivialise and devalue women's sporting accomplishments (Duncan and Hasbrook, 1988). In section 4.5 attention will be directed to these, and other related issues.

Before addressing the portrayal of female athletes in the media a point of context is needed. The idea, expressed by some writers, that sports reporting, especially in events like the Olympics, follows certain general rules which apply to both male and female athletes seems valid. Nevertheless it is worth considering the fact that women's sports and female athletes are covered from a male point of view (Theberge and Cronk, 1986; Creedon, 1994d), and this issue is discussed in the next section.

**4.4 Women and the Production of Sport**

The discussion in the literature about the gendered nature of media sport focuses, to a great extent, on the **content** of the media. However, as writers acknowledge (Cramer, 1994; Creedon, 1994b) an analysis of the production and the audience is also required for an understanding of the issue at hand within a wider context.

At the production end the most obvious point is that there are very few female sport journalists and broadcasters (Fuller, 1989; Jenkins, 1991; Creedon, 1994c; Schmitt, 1996). One study of 109 major daily national newspapers in the United States found that only 9% of staff employed by sports departments were female and even those were reporters and not columnists or in managerial positions (Eberhard and Myers, 1988). It is worth noting that for my own studies, I have interviewed journalists, editors and heads of sports departments, both in print and electronic media, in Britain and Israel - *none of them was a woman.*
Pfister (1989) suggests that one of the causes for the stereotypical portrayal of female athletes might be the lack of female sports journalists. Her study shows that in 1984, only 3.6% of sport reporters and freelance journalists, in Germany, were female. In both Britain and Israel there are very few female sports journalists, Cooper-Chen (1994), for example, notes that in England, the number of sportscasters is growing but sports reporting remains a male preserve world-wide (see also Cramer, 1994).

Most women who do work in sports departments feature as presenters of sport programmes. Jonathan Martin, of the BBC, put it in a press launch thus: "It's a matter of policy rather than accident that we have two women presenters [Helen Rollason and Anna Walker] - and we are looking for more." (The Times, April 22, 1992). Ms Rollason, for example, is a former PE teacher with television credentials in production as well as front of camera - that could be considered as 'good news'. In Israel, however, two of the most recent women to join sport departments are a former beauty queen who is married to a footballer and the other is married to a leading football coach. Though anecdotal these facts contribute to the understanding of the view media organisations (at least in Israel) hold regarding women in sport departments.

In literature it is sometimes assumed that having more female sportswriters may change the amount and type of coverage women's sports and female athletes get and even the general mode of sport writing (Cramer, 1994). However, to what extent having more female journalists and editors (viewed, possibly, as different gatekeepers) would change the picture is not clear for various reasons. For example, in the USA, the work routine of sports departments means that reporters are assigned "to topical and geographical areas where, according to past experience, news is most likely to happen on a regular basis" (Cramer, 1994: 167), only then can the organisation attain economic efficiency. This system makes it more difficult for women athletes and women's sports to obtain coverage, because "sports media organizations traditionally have determined that women's sports are an area where news is least likely to be made [my emphasis - a.b.]" (Cramer, 1994: 167).

In her study, Cramer (1994) interviewed 19 of the most visible and experienced female sports journalists in the USA and found that nearly half of them believed an increase in their numbers "would have little, if any, impact on sports coverage" (Cramer, 1994: 175). One of the interviewees even thought that women cover sports "the way they think a man wants them instead of doing what they want to do"
(Cramer, 1994: 175). However, some of the journalists interviewed believed that an increase in female journalists is bound to mean more coverage of women's sports providing that women will also fill top level positions (i.e., editor and columnist). It is worth noting that the debate surrounding the possible consequences of having more female journalists and editors in the media is not exclusive to the coverage of sport (Cramer, 1994).

Furthermore, it seems that the answer to what effect a larger proportion of female journalists would have is not clear cut because it is very much related to the view held in media organisations regarding the audience for sport. In other words, "sports reporters, editors and directors base news value decisions on their perceived audience and that audience's interests" (Cramer, 1994: 167).

4.5 Women as Sports Viewers and Spectators

Both scholars and media professionals seem to agree that sport is the prime means of attracting male viewers. Goldlust (1987), states that sports programming provides advertisers with a vehicle to one of the most difficult demographic segments of the population: adult males. Thus the desirability of American football, for instance, for television programming can be attributed not only to its high audience ratings but also to the nature of its audience, for according to Nielson ratings (in the USA), the television audience for football is the only television sports audience which is composed of at least 50 percent adult males. Adrian Metcalfe, former commissioning editor at Channel 4, and more recently chairman of API Television and director of venue production in the Atlanta Olympics, also believes that programming is not only up to sports editors, he attributes a semi-editorial influence to advertisers and said in an interview: "They want a male audience to which they can sell men's products, traditional sports programming gives them that audience. They can get women at other times of day" (The Times, April 22, 1992). Thus, the 'blame', by both theorists and practitioners is being laid at the advertiser's door (see also Jahlly, 1989).

The expanding exposure of sport on satellite and cable channels might have been an agent of change, at least in so far as minority - in the case of this discussion women's - sports, are covered (see Creedon, Cramer and Granitz, 1994 for this assessment of what might happen in the future). According to the media professionals, interviewed by me, that does not seem to be the case. George Black
(in an interview conducted on January 28th 1991 when he was Head of Programming at Screensport) thinks that,

[...] to bring a top quality sport that is already popular, that's the quickest way to financial success. It's only when you're making money that you can spend money on marketing and you can develop other sports. You can't develop a sport that's new to the public purely on the screen, you have to get the press behind you, you have to advertise, you have to make people start to appreciate it, sample it.

If so, then one of the assumptions the communicators have of their viewers is that they like what they already know and what they are used to watching. 'Educating' the audience into liking something they do not know is, if possible, very expensive - as Channel 4 has found out in trying (and failing) to introduce basketball to the British audience. According to Black, the newer, thematic sports channels try to find the gaps, the sports that are 'wanted' but not shown much by other communicators. Motor Sports may serve as an example of this point.

As the literature shows, the media professionals tend to believe that they know what the public wants and that is what they provide. The interviews conducted by me reflect this very clearly. Bob Burrows (interviewed on March 15th, 1991 when he was Controller of Sport at Thames Television) explained thus how he knows what the audience wants: "It's part research, it's gut feeling, if you're a journalist you have an instinct- don't you? [my emphasis - a.b.] People are more interested in that, they want to know more about that, they'll watch that." Yoash Alroyi, Head of the Sports Department of the Israeli Television (Public Broadcaster) explained (in an interview conducted on October 15th, 1990): "We know what the public's taste is, we know what our viewers like to watch, according to surveys we conduct. These may be limited or deceptive but I do know what the most popular sports in the country are, I have no doubts about that [my emphasis - a.b.]". Adrian Metcalfe (interviewed on January 29th, 1991 when he was Head of Sport at Eurosport) thinks,

[...] really you're using your common sense, you say people love football, it's probably nine o'clock at night before they can watch or ten o'clock so you put it on then, in the morning there are more women watching, let's put Tennis and Gymnastics in the morning rather than Boxing, you're left making slightly primitive decisions like that and predictable decisions [my emphasis - a.b].
It seems a matter of "common sense" to the media professionals that women watch at certain hours of the day and that if they watch sport at all it is particular sports they are interested in. Research reaches similar conclusions: "in the United States and abroad, women watch more than men in every time and program category except one: sporting events" [my emphasis - a.b.] (Cooper-Chen, 1994: 258).

Although the global counterpart of the United States story must be pieced together from television ratings data and anecdotal evidence Cooper-Chen (1994) reports that world-wide, more men than women watch televised sports. In Norway, for example, 64% of men and 49% of women watch televised sports. In Germany, 75% of men and 52% of women regularly watch televised sports. Even more importantly, she found that the sex-appropriateness of sports seems to hold across national borders. Individual sports, especially those with graceful movements and minimal body contact, appeal to female viewers. As in the United States, women elsewhere like to watch ice skating, swimming, diving and gymnastics. According to data from Norway, for example, women are more likely than men to watch swimming and gymnastics. However, it is important to emphasise that this evidence does not imply that women prefer to watch female athletes performing in these sports.

Taking the argument of women's preferences to a different direction Cooper-Chen (1994) suggests that game shows seem to assume for women - especially older Western women - the role that television sports hold for men.

As the media professionals aspire to the large audience figures, and as women do not consist regularly a high percentage of the sport audience some writers conclude that the media are covering sports women do not want to watch. They also imply that what women would want to watch are women's sports. As mentioned above there is no empirical evidence of that.

Generally speaking, very little has been done to explore audience preferences for televised sports involving women. Creedon and Becker (reported in Creedon, 1994b) began a research project in 1985. However, six years of experiments and surveys only reconfirmed, empirically, what has been already written in the literature (see also discussion above): people do not like the unknown, female sports are perceived as inferior, and some sports are viewed as inappropriate for women. They went on to discuss theoretically what they could not find empirically and that is that "we still don't understand why preferences exist for men's sports or why exposure did not alter them" (Creedon, 1994b: 14). It should be noted, I believe, that
to this day the reality is that the media output of sports coverage consists mainly of men's sports and thus when women do watch sport it tends to be men's sport they watch, one example to that is football, which spells in the media: Men's football.

With respect to this I would like to discuss football in Britain, although it should be mentioned that in countries like Italy and Brazil women have been keen football spectators for many years. At the British football grounds a change in female fanship has been evident in recent years, the reasons for a growing number of female spectators may be attributed to facts like the stadia in Britain improving their condition. The FA Premier League Survey 1995, produced by the Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football research (University of Leicester) shows that 24% of new fans are women. If women are interested in the sport as spectators at the stadium there is a good chance they are watching and reading about it as well.

The growing interest of female viewers in football, in Britain, may also be attributed to the fact that after the Football World Cup of 1990 (Italia '90) the game seemed glamorous. To illustrate, in the semi-final, a record 28 million Britons were watching the match on television and half of them were women. According to a popular women magazine: "Pavarotti sang, Lineker scored, Waddle missed, Gazza cried and women were hooked" (Cosmopolitan, September 1995). It is worth noting that this quote in itself is very simplistic and sexist in that it reinforces the notion that women are only interested in sport when it is served with a large portion of melodrama.

4.6 The Portrayal of Female Athletes in the Media

As mentioned above, scholars (Creedon, 1994b; Kane and Greendorfer, 1994; Sabo and Curry Jansen, 1992) conclude that female athletes are marginalised by appearing less in the media. They go from the exclusion argument to the question whether sports reports on female athletes are not only fewer but also different from those on their male counterparts. Their answer is yes, although how exactly this process takes place and what should be done about it - "to eliminate it", in Creedon's (1994b) words - differs slightly. Sabo and Curry Jansen (1992), for example, identify two major patterns in the way the media treats women in sport: exclusion and trivialisation. As mentioned before, exclusion refers to the fact that women's sporting events attracts much less coverage by the media. However, when they are covered, "the skills and strengths of women athletes are often devalued in
comparison to cultural standards linked to dominant standards of male athletic excellence, which emphasize the cultural equivalents of hegemonic masculinity: power, self-control, success, agency, and aggression" (Sabo and Curry Jansen, 1992: 176).

It is important to stress that a large proportion of what is being written focuses on women athletes in comparison to the male athletes. The above mentioned writers sustain that the male athletes are "valorized, lionized, and put on cultural pedestals" (Sabo and Curry Jansen, 1992: 174). In their view, the male athletes are today's last heroes left in American popular culture (see also discussion chapter 5). Even the visual and audio-visual aspect of their coverage supports this notion with slow motion, soundtracks of roaring crowds and thundering drums.

In contrast, female athletes are infatanised by the sport commentators who refer to them as "girls" or "young ladies" (whereas males are "men" or "young men"). Messner, Duncan and Jensen (1990) found, in their study of the coverage of tennis, that commentators referred to female tennis players by their first names 52.7% of the time and men only 7.8% of the time. Pfister's (1989) findings also show that while men are often addressed by their surnames, women are often introduced by their first name, a nickname or a fantasy name and that diminutive, especially intimate or overly polite forms of address, are among the strategies which are almost exclusively applied to women. This phenomenon is perceived by various writers as a display of a hierarchy of naming namely a linguistic practice which reinforces the existing gender-based status differences.

Another issue was studied by Duncan, Messner, and Williams (1990) who examined the verbal descriptors applied to men and women athletes. They found that "men were framed as active subjects whereas women were framed as reactive objects" (Duncan et al., 1990: 21). Male athletes tended to be described in terms of strengths and success, while the female athlete's physical strengths tended to be neutralised by ambivalent language. Furthermore, while the male performance was often linked with power metaphors (like war) the coverage of female athletes was often framed within stereotypes which emphasised appearance and attractiveness rather than athletic skill.
Kane (1988) studied the American journal *Sports Illustrated* from the perspective of the portrayal of female athletes. In a content analysis of articles on women athletes from 1964 to 1987, in this magazine, she found that many articles focused on women in sports like figure skating and tennis which are considered to be more sex appropriate or feminine sports. Boutilier and SanGiovanni (1983) also conducted a study of *Sports Illustrated* and found that not only were women underrepresented in photographs, but when they did feature it was in a limited number of sports and the female athletes were much more likely than the male athlete to pose in passive and non-athletic positions.

Whitson (1986) also stresses that the focus on the female athletes as sexual beings, rather than serious performers "trivialises" and "exploits the women's athletic endeavor" (Whitson, 1986: 104-105). He notes this dimension of male hegemony: in the case of named individuals they are defined in relation to husbands and children while anonymous women are rendered a sex object by camera work, in programming which is then marketed to male audiences as (in his view) a new form of soft porn.

Kane and Greendorfer (1994) found in their study that approximately 60% of all photographs depicting females portrayed them in passive, non athletic roles. In contrast, only 44% of the photographs depicting males portrayed them in a similar fashion. Media coverage given to professional female tennis players focused on their physical attractiveness rather than on their athletic accomplishments. Furthermore, they also conclude that "commentary alluding to female athletes' youthful or adolescent status also trivialized their athletic accomplishments" (Kane and Greendorfer, 1994: 37).

Sabo and Jansen (1992) say in conclusion of this issue that sport media inferiorise women as sex objects and this sexualisation of the female athletes robs them of athletic legitimacy and preserves hegemonic masculinity.

It is important to emphasise that quite a few of the studies mentioned above refer to sport magazines (mainly the *Sports Illustrated*; see also discussion in Shifflett and Revelle, 1996). I believe a distinction should be drawn between magazines and the daily media, this is not to say that in general such a distinction should be made, but rather that for the purpose of research it seems useful, my notion is that analysis of the two would show that magazines which are openly aimed at a male readership are more demeaning towards female athletes than the daily sports pages. For example, to the sexualisation point, in August 1995 a magazine titled *Total Sport* was
published in Britain. In it there were only three pictures of sportswomen, one of which was of Gabrielle Reece, a volleyball player, photographed in just a pair of knickers. Another was of Sally Gunnell, with a 'jokey' caption suggesting she looks like a horse. As a popular women's magazine put it: "You'd never know women even play sport if you read this magazine" (*Cosmopolitan*, September, 1995). As mentioned before, most of the examples the American writers bring to this point is from the magazine *Sports Illustrated* and not from daily national newspapers.

Underlying the above mentioned arguments in literature is the theoretical assumption that contemporary mass media preserve, transmit and create important cultural information and more specifically that sport is a microcosm of gender values. Different writers also agree that the media does have a role in presenting stereotyped images of women in sport (Creedon, 1994b).

When discussing, in literature, the portrayal of female athletes certain issues are emphasised more than others. Much attention has been paid, for example, to the mention of age when reporting about female athletes. Pfister (1989) notes that "in all time frames studied, the reader was informed much more often about the age of the female [my emphasis - a.b.] athletes than about that of men" (Pfister, 1989:11-29). Which, in her view, means that sports reporting is in keeping with the social practice of using age as an impotent criterion for judging women and setting youth as a social norm. However, in her own table titled 'Statements About the Age of the Athletes' she shows that in 1980 in 22.6% of women's reports there was an indication of age and in 20% of men's, which in my view can not be considered a big difference (in the previous years she studied there was a larger difference in the percentage of reporting of women's and men's ages, however this difference was still not significant).

Furthermore, it seems to me that the mention of an athlete's age has a lot to do with referring to the unusual. In the case of tennis, for example, at one point the female players coming into the game were especially young, which made it a theme referred to often. In the coverage of the Olympics, the theme of age comes up quite often but that happens mainly in the extreme cases and/or when there is a confrontation between an 'old lion' and a 'new kid on the block' male or female (see discussion in chapter 8). Indeed the very young age of the Chinese diver Fu Mingxia was mentioned often in the coverage of the Barcelona Olympics but so was Linford Christie's 'old' age. In the build up to the Atlanta Olympics, for example, in the Summer 1996 special edition of the American *TIME* magazine the following was written about athletics (track & field):
The shifting demographics of elite track and field - from "amateurs" to career professionals - have placed an unusually large number of ageing veterans among the favorites. Top contenders in the men's 100 meters include Americans Carl Lewis, 35, and Dennis Mitchell, 30, as well as Britain's reigning Olympic champion Linford Christie, 36. Their younger challengers are Canada's Donovan Baily, 28, the current world champion; Obadele Thompson, 20, of Barbados and Ato Boldon, 22, of Trinidad. In the women's 100, there seem to be no youngsters to threaten the four veterans who have dominated the event for four years: Gwen Torrence, 30, and Gail Devers, 29, of the U.S.; Russia's Barcelona bronze medalist Irina Privalova, 27; and Jamaica's defending Olympic champion Merlene Ottey, 36.

*(TIME, Summer 1996 special edition: 45)*

It is hard to find in such examples a major difference in the discussion of age regarding male and female athletes. This is true not only in the American culture, in Pfister's (1989) systematic analysis, mentioned above, some further data from the German press coverage of the Olympic Games from 1952 to 1980 Pfister (1989) shows that in keeping with general principals of reporting sporting achievements, successes and sensations play a central role in the portrayal of both male and female athletes. Where the reports on male and female athletes differ decisively is in the amount of information which has nothing to do with sport, in that respect the reports on female athletes are much more varied (a tendency which has increased since 1968). Here, as well, it seems that today's coverage lends itself to much more 'background' details and 'colour' information, which is true for both male and female athletes, including the age element (see discussion in chapter 8).

Other points of difference noted by writers include the fact that for female Olympic participants, appearance is of central importance. According to Pfister (1989) in 1976, 33.3% of reports about women's sports included a mention of appearance. The press praised blond hair, a model's waist and long legs. Pfister (1989) also found that in descriptions of appearance, sexual references emerged, this did not occur very often, but there were references which included referring to the seductive looks of gymnasts, to round breasts, tight-fitting underwear or body suits, which she concluded "are aimed at the sexual fantasies of the reader" (Pfister, 1989: 11-29).

To this day open expressions of this kind can be found. In the first rounds of Wimbledon 1996 a sports commentator on Sky News expressed joy at the advance
of one female tennis player to the next round as she is a 'gorgeous blond'. But as Kane and Greendorfer (1994) also note, such references have not been the norm in recent years.

The conclusion of Pfister's (1989) study of the Olympic coverage in German newspapers is that the coverage reflects both on the inequality of opportunity female athletes face in Olympic sports and on the fact that women, in every way, are presented as minor to the actual Olympics. As mentioned above, it is true that nowadays openly prejudiced expression are becoming rare (especially when compared to pre W.W.II statements) but implicit clichés of femininity can still be easily be found (see chapter 9). This can be linked, as discussed, to the fact that female athletes are described from the point of view of male journalists, who, see and comment not only on the athlete but also on the women and her body (Pfister, 1989; and see also discussion in section 4.4). It is however, worth observing that if unusual, the appearance of a male athlete will also be referred to in the coverage, however irrelevant to the sport itself it may seem. For example, in the final of the 100 metre sprint of the Atlanta Games Dennis Mitchell's (male) pierced eye-brow got no lesser mention than Gail Devers's (female) long fingernails by the commentator of the Israeli television.

One further argument regarding the type of coverage female athletes get, based on Duncan and Hasbrook's (1988) findings and their concept of 'Ambivalence', maintains that verbal and visual depiction of female athletes often combined positive and flattering portrayal with subtly negative suggestions that trivialise or undermine their sports performance. One example they discuss is from female basketball television commentating: they found that the players were described as powerful, skilful and courageous but at the same time they were also characterised as vulnerable, cute, dependent and anxious. Generally speaking, the same kind of ambivalence emerges every time a female athlete is covered by the media not because of her sport performance but because she is glamorous and conveys sex appeal (see discussion in chapter 9). It is important to note that Duncan and Hasbrook (1988) say that there are more subtle and insidious forms of ambivalence that frequently occur in media portrayal. The consequence of this ambivalent media portrayal, in their view, is that it denies the female athletes the power and prestige that is their due. Kane and Greendorfer (1994) suggest that this ambivalence serves the function of allowing those in power to acknowledge (and therefore to accommodate) the social changes that have taken place over the last decades while simultaneously offering resistance through the maintenance of the status quo.
Related to this is the suggestion made by Kane and Greendorfer (1994) that the media coverage of the 1988 and the 1992 Olympics departed from past practices, as women athletes appeared finally to have achieved visibility in the national media. But, they go on to say, on a closer look, the media coverage of female athletes in the Barcelona Olympics focused on gymnasts, namely on a graceful, aesthetic, feminine sport. In other words, although it seems that the female athletes are no longer invisible in the media their image is still feminised and is nothing but a modernised attempt to reinforce traditional stereotypical images of femininity and female sexuality. These feminised and sexualised images of the female athletes are simply new variations on very old themes: "media images as a product or tool of patriarchal oppression of women - and their bodies - through an institutionalized socially constructed system of gender roles and values" (Kane and Greendorfer, 1994: 28-29).

Kane and Greendorfer (1994) conclude, that by portraying female athletes as feminised and sexualised others, the media trivialise and therefore undermine their athletic achievements and eventually this kind of media portrayal results in constructions of female athleticism as less important than male athleticism (Kane and Greendorfer, 1994). They also stress that gender difference not only defines the female athletes as 'other than' but as 'lesser than' the male athletes. In Western culture males are expected to be 'active, aggressive, and spontaneous' whereas females are 'weak, passive and responsive', the hierarchy being that the former is superior to the latter (Kane and Greendorfer, 1994). Furthermore, as sport is essentially an institution of male dominance and control, women's entry into this arena on a national and international scale represents, by definition, "a fundamental challenge to male power and privilege" (Kane and Greendorfer, 1994: 32). According to them, the central mechanism for accommodating and resisting women's entry into sport has been through the messages socially constructed in the mass media.

In these respects, it is my position that more attention should be paid to the context of the portrayal of female athletes. One example which shows how relevant context might be for a more fruitful discussion is the case of the American sprinter Florence Griffith Joyner (Flo-Jo), who made Olympic history in the 1988 Seoul Games. Griffith Joyner features as one of the principal examples in literature to illustrate the media coverage of female athletes. Kane and Greendorfer (1994) use this example to outline how sport in general, and media portrayal of female athletes in particular, are vehicles through which sexual difference, gender difference and gender hierarchy are achieved. One important consequence of this, in their view, is the maintenance
of the status quo, a power structure in which males and male athletes are perceived and portrayed as different from (sexual and gender difference) and better than (gender hierarchy) females and female athletes (Kane and Greendorfer, 1994). Furthermore, they write, "Joyner's presence on the covers acknowledges that social change has taken place, yet the specific type of portrayal indicates a resistance to fundamental social change because she is primarily linked to her 'appropriate' role as female, not athlete" (Kane and Greendorfer, 1994: 33).

Furthermore, Kane and Greendorfer (1994) ask whether we remember Florence Griffith Joyner an outstanding athlete who won three Olympic gold medals in track and field or do we remember Flo-Jo, a women who is portrayed (and therefor socially constructed) as different from and other than her athletic male counterparts - primarily because "the dominant media themes emphasized her femininity and sexuality, not her athleticism" (Kane and Greendorfer, 1994: 30) by that referring to the media attention to FloJo's long fingernails and extravagant running gear. In the build up to Atlanta the American TIME magazine summarised past Olympics under the title 'The Fabulous Games' two athletes were mentioned from the Seoul Olympics, Ben Johnson (remembered mainly for being caught using anabolic steroids; see chapters 1 and 8) and Florence Griffith-Joyner of whom it was written,

Her glitzy Dragon Lady fingernails suggested the high-heeled glamour girl living inside U.S. sprinter Florence Griffith Joyner, but the display said nothing about her raw athletic power. Dubbed Flo-Jo she won two gold medals by huge margins in the 100-and 200m dashes, and added a third in the 4X100m relay.

(TIME, April 29, 1996: 68)

So she may be remembered for her fingernails but her outstanding athletic achievements are not forgotten.

More importantly, one should not forget that Florence Griffith Joyner is a fashion model/designer who performed, leading to the Games in her own designs, most probably trying to promote them. An analysis which does not give any credit to the power this female athlete was practising, and views her only as a 'victim' of media portrayal, seems surprising from feminist writers (especially within the context of wishing for women empowerment). The question whether she actually wished for the type of media attention she got is never dealt with in the literature..
4.6.1 Discussion

Scholars (Creedon, 1994b; Duncan and Hasbrook, 1988; Kane and Greendorfer 1994; Sabo and Curry Jansen, 1992) find that female athletes are not only marginalised by appearing less in the media but that their portrayal is also different from that of their male counterparts. This includes female athletes being infatuated by commentary in which they are referred to as 'girls' or 'young ladies'. They also tend to be referred to by their first names whereas male athletes are usually referred to by their surname, a phenomenon which is perceived as hierarchy of naming. Furthermore, while the description of male athletes tends to be linked with power metaphors the coverage of female athletes is often framed within stereotypes which emphasise appearance and attractiveness rather than athletic skill. This focus on the female athletes as sexual beings, rather than serious performers, 'trivialises' and 'exploits' (Whitson, 1986: 104) them, which in turn robs female athletes of athletic legitimacy and preserves hegemonic masculinity. Underlying these arguments is the theoretical assumption that contemporary mass media preserve, transmit and create important cultural information and more specifically that sport is a microcosm of gender values (Creedon, 1994b).

There seems to be a consensus in the literature as to the fact that even when female athletes are covered by the media they are consistently trivialised and marginalised through the type of coverage they receive (see also Kane and Greendorfer, 1994). Specific findings suggest that visual production techniques, language, terminology and commentary applied to women's sport are selectively imposed by the media to provide a highly stereotypical feminised view - one that tends to sexualise, commodify, trivialise and devalue (through marginalisation) women's sporting accomplishments (Duncan and Hasbrook, 1988).

There is a suggestion in some of the literature that the media coverage of recent Olympic Games departed from past practices, as women athletes appeared finally to have achieved visibility in the national media. But, according to these writers (Kane and Greendorfer, 1994), on a closer look, the media coverage of female athletes focuses on a graceful, aesthetic, feminine sport. They take the view that,

[...] increased interest and participation rates represented only superficial social change because deep-seated ideological change has not occurred. The mass media have been used as one means of resisting ideological change, as media practices, production,
content and message continue to perpetuate notions of sexual difference, gender difference and gender hierarchy.

(Kane and Greendorfer, 1994: 40)

They continue to write that acknowledgement of female athletes will only occur when their physicality stops being associated with traditional, stereotypical beliefs regarding the female body and its 'proper' use - in graceful and aesthetically pleasing ways. In relation to that it is worth observing that in the Olympic Games female athletes do get exposure in many sports including shot putting, which is the example used in literature as the ultimate non-feminine sport (see also discussion of judo in chapter 9).

I tend to agree with Pfister (1989) when she writes that Olympic sports reporting must follow certain general rules for men and women (see further discussion in chapter 9). Which to my mind means that in general more contextualising is required when discussing the portrayal of female athletes in the media. One aspect of this is that the literature concerned with the role of the media in the coverage of male and female athletes is too focused on women, femininity and the media portrayal of female athletes, more discussion is needed regarding the portrayal of men and masculinity (ies) in the media (see also discussion in Chapter 5).

I do not wish to dispute the notions expressed in much of the feminist writing nor the findings of the research. I would like, however, to question the totality of some of these arguments and suggest that indeed much more contextualising is required.
Chapter 5: Heroes and Sport

5.1 Introduction

For sport in general, and the Olympic Games in particular, some athletes, usually those who have acquired the most success, become heroes (Izod, 1996). This chapter examines the concept of the hero in society and the changes it is going through in contemporary culture - firstly within the societal context, before proceeding to investigate the sporting hero as a specific case.

5.2 The Concept of the Hero

The pocket Oxford English Dictionary (1991) defines hero as: "demigod: man admired for great or noble deeds; chief man in poem, play, or story". Beyond the laymen's definition, this concept has been an object of study by scholars in such diverse areas as sociology, psychology, anthropology, and history. The fact that the literature referring to the concept of the hero derives from many disciplines gives rise to different focal points when referring to it.

The psychologist, Becker (1971) goes as far as offering a hero-oriented definition of culture:

Culture-heroes have to have available to them some kind of heroic action system in which to realize their ambition, and this symbolic system is what we call "culture". Culture is a structure of rules, customs, and ideas, which serve as a vehicle for heroism.

(Becker, 1971: 78)

It is worth observing that from a psychological point of view, studies have focused largely on the functions of the hero. For example, Becker (1971) - influenced by Freud - suggests that the most powerful driving force acting on human beings is the awareness of death, and fear of it. To counter this emotion, people seek to maintain and enhance their self-esteem, which, according to Becker (1971), is our dominant motive in life. Thus, he describes the need for self-esteem as a need to see oneself as heroic. This is a clearly psychological function of the hero, although Becker (1971) places it in a larger cultural context, as the above quote illustrates.
Erikson (1978) argues that at an early age children begin to form a sense of their own identity by identifying with others, who serve as role models. Such role models are often located in interpersonal relationships, but Erikson (1978) suggests that they may also come from popular culture in general, and the media in particular. The thrust of this argument is that the hero can serve as a role model, especially for children (see also discussion in section 5.3).

Other scholars put more emphasis on the actual characteristics of the hero. Here, again, the literature comes from a range of disciplines, but it can be broken down into three major perspectives: the historical, the monomythological, and the cultural relativist (Strate, 1991). Boorstin (1978), from a historical angle, describes the hero as a human figure characterised by greatness and fame, admired for his courage, nobility, or exploits. However, what exactly the term 'greatness' refers to is debated by his critics.

From a similar perspective, Hook (1955) offers the following definition: "the hero in history is the individual to whom we can justifiably attribute preponderant influence in determining an issue or event whose consequences would have been profoundly different if he had not acted as he did" (Hook, 1955: 153). While Boorstin (1978) emphasises fame, Hook (1955) believes the hero in history does not necessarily have to be famous and indeed the famous need not necessarily be a hero. He proceeds by drawing a distinction between the 'hero of historical action' and the 'hero of thought', excluding the latter from his definition of hero and thus limiting the concept to those who shape historical events. For the purposes of this thesis, this is a much too narrow definition, which does not lend itself to study from a broader cultural perceptive. However, other historians, like Boorstin (1978), have adopted a wider definition for the study of the hero, so that heroes of thought are included along side heroes of historical action.

According to Campbell (1973), the hero is not a person but a symbol. From this perspective, scholars have attempted to determine what meaning the symbol holds for a culture, or indeed for all humanity. Writers who adopt this position emphasise the similarities among heroes of different cultures. Campbell (1973), probes for these parallels in order to uncover a deep structure, or archetype, common to all cultures. Also influenced by psychological thought, he regards myths and dreams as two manifestations of the same phenomena: the human psyche. Among the common elements he identifies in these myths are, conflicts between the hero and his father or king, and competition between the hero and a sibling. Other scholars, like Fishwick (1969) stress much more the narrative form and ritual drama, showing, for
example, how the story of the modern day hero JFK coheres within the pattern of stories of traditional heroes. It is important to note that viewed from this angle, the hero is seen as a product of formal requirements. Overall, scholars who argue from this perspective concentrate their attention on the similarities amongst heroes of different cultures. The cultural relativism perspective, adopts the opposing stance by drawing attention to the differing characteristics between different cultures (Berger, 1973). These theorists also claim that cultures change over time, and consequently, their heroes with them.

It should be emphasised that common to many of the scholars discussed above perspectives, is the assertion that the concept of the hero changes over time. Thus, it is not a static phenomenon, rather one which is subject to continual adaptation dependent on cultural and social forces that act upon it.

5.2.2 Changes in the Concept of the Hero

"We search for heroes but we are no longer sure what we are looking for."
(Coward, The Guardian, 19.2.96)

Viewing the hero as a dynamic phenomenon can be related to the idea that modern, mediated reality has replaced heroes with celebrities. A number of contemporary writers comment on the changes in the nature of the hero in recent history. The starting point for many of them (Chalip and Chalip, 1989; Strate, 1991) is Boorstin's 'The Image' (1978), in which he argues that contemporary heroes are unlike those of pervious generations and relates these changes, in part, to the rise of the mass media. He claims that,

In the last half century the old heroic human mold has been broken. A new mold has been made. We have actually demanded that this mold be made, so that marketable human models - modern "heroes" - could be mass-produced, to satisfy the market, and without any hitches. The qualities which now commonly make a man or a woman into a "nationally advertised" brand are in fact a new category of human emptiness.

(Boorstin, 1978: 48-49)
As previously mentioned, the hero is defined by Boorstin (1978) as a human figure admired for his courage, nobility, or exploits, thus stressing intrinsic greatness and achievements as its essential qualities. However, in contemporary culture it seems that admiration should be stressed over any particular quality (Strate, 1991). Put differently, a hero is defined as any human figure who is the object of worship, admiration, adulation, and/or imitation. According to this emphasis then, it is possible that seemingly ordinary or paradoxically even evil individuals can become the objects of such sentiments. Indeed, the British popular press elevates 'ordinary' people to the status of heroes, at least for a day, on a regular basis. As Coward (1996) notes "finding heroes is a popular British pastime. The tabloids search for them in all disasters or celebrate everyday heroism of brave children" (The Guardian, February 19, 1996). Evil individuals, such as serial killers in the American culture, also acquire adoration via the media (an issue Oliver Stone's movie 'Natural Born Killers' tried to tackle). According to this argument then, what determines who is a hero is dependent upon by admirers and societies, not judged against any particular standards.

In this context, it is important to emphasise that the focus of this thesis is on heroic figures who are admired by an entire society, or large segments of it to such an extent they can be defined as 'cultural heroes' (Strate, 1991). Strate (1991) considers that these heroes are known to their admirers only through some form of mediated communication. In that they do not encounter the actual subject of their respect, only information on that person. Thus, heroes are not human beings but rather, texts.

The celebrity is defined by Boorstin (1978) as a 'human pseudo-event', a product of deliberate promotion, whose fame has been generated by appearing regularly in the media. It is important to discuss the concept of 'celebrity' as it frequently emerges in the literature on contemporary heroes. Some scholars are critical of Boorstin's (1978) assertion that the celebrity is a recent phenomenon. Braudy (1986) argues that promotion and self-promotion have been essential to the establishment of heroes since the age of Alexander the Great, and questions the notion that heroism and its expression can be separated. Although this statement may be true, it is clearly manifest that contemporary writers use the concept of celebrity to refer to the type of heroes who have appeared during the 20th century. Closely related to the concept of celebrity is the concept of fame which Braudy (1986), in his study of the history of fame, defines as being composed of four key elements: "a person and an accomplishment, their immediate publicity, and what posterity has thought about them ever since" (Braudy, 1986: 15).
According to Boorstin (1978), where once we had heroes famous for their actions or ideas, we now have celebrities, famous for being well known. To Boorstin (1978) the hero is great, while the celebrity only seems great. Thus, he is clearly critical of the celebrity and does not equate him with the hero. It is important to witness, as indeed Strate (1991) does, that a contradiction emerges when examining some of the heroes Boorstin (1978) himself names as examples. Essentially, Boorstin (1978) idealises the heroes and when measuring contemporary heroes against heroic figures from the past, they inevitably fall some way short, which leads him to the conclusion that contemporary heroes are not real heroes. Even in the early 1960's, Klapp (1962) was also highly critical of the 'new' heroes. In his work he uses a cultural approach, focusing on the American culture and in doing so he identifies different social types of heroes, villains and fools. Like Boorstin (1978), he relates many of the changes in types of heroes and their characteristics to the media's increased presence in modern society.

It thus emerges that as long as 30 years ago, writers (Klapp, 1962 and a little more recently Boorstin, 1978) referred to the relationship between the media and heroes as a crucial one. These scholars suggested that the change in the concept of the hero may be related to the communication media that a culture utilises. Boorstin (1978) included the 'graphic revolution', beginning in the late 19th century, and the rise of the modern mass media, among the factors which contributed to the displacement of the hero by the celebrity. He also includes the rise of democracy, critical history, critical biography, the social sciences, and the unintelligibility and collaborative nature of modern art and science, which has the affect of not attributing the change solely to the media.

In an elaborate study of this topic, Strate (1991) directed his attention to the link between the concept of the hero and the mass media and made this connection more explicit. Following Innis, McLuhan and Postman, Strate (1991) suggests that the media function as an environment - structuring, limiting, and directing the form that cultural content takes - a perspective which is referred to as media ecology. Strate (1991) argues that as a culture's dominant medium of communication alters, other aspects of the culture undergo change as well. The 20th century, according to this argument, has been a period of such change as it has been characterised by a process of transition from a typographic media environment to an electronic one. Strate's (1991) study set out to "examine the relationship between media and changing conceptions of the hero in Western culture" (Strate, 1991: 2). He accomplished this by examining the relationship between a media environment and the concept of the

Significantly, his study does not imply that a culture's concept of the hero can be reduced to an effect of the media environment of that culture. He does acknowledge the fact that many different factors influence the type of heroes admired by members of a particular society. He argues that media environments do not determine cultural conceptions of the hero but that they do set the parameters within which such conceptions are formed. From his study Strate (1991) concludes that,

\[
\text{The concept of the hero has undergone two major mutations in the history of Western Civilization. The first is the shift from mythical and legendary heroes to historical heroes, a transition that begins in the ancient world but is not completed until the early modern era. The second involves the decline of the historical hero and the emergence of the celebrity, a change that begins during the 20th century and continues to this day. Both these mutations coincide with changes in media environments: mythical and legendary heroes are characteristic of oral cultures, historical heroes first appear in literate cultures, dominate in typographic cultures, and are displaced by celebrities in electronic cultures. (Strate, 1991: 531)}
\]

While stating that the relationship between media environments and cultural conceptions of the hero is complex, and also acknowledging that the mechanisms by which a media environment limits and shapes the concept of the hero are not simplistic, Strate (1991) believes the hero can be subjected to systematic analysis. Consequently, some of the points he makes as a result of this analysis seem valid. He argues that today's rapid turnover of information causes increased volume which in turn makes possible a greater numbers of heroes characterised by "lesser qualities, abilities, and acts, to the extent that there are little or no prerequisites (such as greatness) for hero status" (Strate, 1991: 537). He draws attention to several other consequences of the increased volume such as the fact that it allows for greater variation in occupation and social status to the extent that ordinary people may become heroes, as discussed above. The rapid turnover of information also makes it possible to disseminate more detail about individual heroes, humanising them to the point of trivialisation, and undermining the concept of the hero as characterised by greatness. This results in an emphasis shift "away from the public actions and career of heroes towards their private acts, personalities, and psyche" (Strate, 1991: 537).
Moreover, the speed of obtaining fame also means that the heroic status can be lost as easily and as rapidly as it was gained. This is also true as the accessibility of information, coupled with enhanced possibilities for surveillance, makes it increasingly difficult for heroes to control their image and present themselves as they wish. It is important to note, however, that this process is complex and not straight forward. The O.J. Simpson case may serve as pertinent example here. Already after his first trial he has definitely fallen from grace but he is still very well known nevertheless. For instance, at the Atlanta Olympic Village, 'an O.J. Simpson sighting' (*TIME*, August 5, 1996: 43) was still worth a mention in the news media. This means he is still a celebrity as his media presence is valued, although the extent to which he is a 'hero' is questionable.

A further assertion Strate (1991) makes is that as the emphasis has shifted to the image of the heroes, they are admired for their appearance and personality which has the effect of reducing their acts to posing and gesturing, performing and entertaining. A related point being that, as performing and self-display have become the common denominator of heroes, a range of media professionals, entertainers, actors, and models have obtained hero status in contemporary culture. Furthermore, as externalised action is favoured over intellectual activity and specialisation is reduced, occupations are transformed into interchangeable roles, and the contemporary hero is able to change sectors easily. Strate (1991) also observes that each shift in the type of hero is associated with the delegitimisation of older categories of heroes, which in his view, provides an explanation for the tendency for today's celebrities to almost always being contemporaries.

Lastly, according to Strate (1991) although national heroes still dominate, the increased ability to transmit information via the media makes possible a much larger number of international and global heroes. For the purposes of this thesis, it is important to emphasise that national heroes within a certain nation, receive much more coverage by their national media and achieve a higher status, than any international hero within that nation's media (see Izod, 1996; Moragas Spa et al., 1995; and discussion in chapter 6).
5.2.3 Discussion

The above sections attempted to show how the concept of the hero is approached in the literature from different angles - including sociology, psychology, anthropology, and history - with various focal points in mind. The psychological perspective, for example, focuses on the functions of the hero (Becker, 1971) and the tendency for heroes to serve as role models, especially for children (Erikson, 1978), whereas the historical perspective emphasises the essential characteristics of the hero (Boorstin, 1978; Hook, 1955).

As previously described, there are different definitions of the hero. However, writers seem to agree that this concept is not static and thus as cultures change over time, their heroes change with them. The discussion up to this juncture illustrated how scholars refer to the shift from one conception of the hero to another.

Viewing the hero as a dynamic phenomenon is related to the idea that modern, mediated reality has replaced heroes with celebrities. Thus, nowadays, a hero is defined more as any human figure who is the object of worship, admiration, adulation, and/or imitation than an individual with any particular characteristics. This occurs to the extent that today's hero seems to be a product of deliberate promotion, gaining fame by appearing in the media (Boorstin, 1978). According to this argument, where once we had heroes famous for their actions or ideas, we now have celebrities, famous for being well known. As early as 30 years ago some of the writers (Boorstin, 1978; Klapp, 1962) were critical of this kind of 'pseudo-hero' and laid much of the blame for its creation at the media's door. They suggested that media function as an environment, structuring, limiting, and directing the form that cultural content takes, including the concept of the hero. I would argue that nowadays, what definitely does happen is that the moment a hero enters the stage he will be put on 'hero track' which leads to media interviews, chat-show appearances and other such media show pieces.

It is important to note that from the dictionary definition of hero: "man [my emphasis - a.b.] admired for great or noble deeds" through the writing of the (all male) scholars discussed above, the concept is related, even when writing in general terms, to male heroes only, a point I will go on to discuss at further length (see chapter 9).
5.3 Sporting Heroes

It has been argued that culture can be understood by observing its choice of heroes. The argument proceeds from the premise that heroes serve as symbolic leaders by instantiating what people want or want to do (Klapp, 1962). Accordingly, the hero's prestige reinforces and legitimates the morals, aspirations and achievements for which the hero stands (Chalip and Chalip, 1989).

Very little academic discourse has centred directly on the sporting hero (see Izod, 1996). The following section considers this issue within the context of this thesis.

When analysing sports coverage by the media it becomes apparent that some sports stories receive far more coverage than others. These involve major events such as championship games, the Football World Cup and the Olympic Games. Moreover, these stories concentrate on "major sports and celebrity athletes" (Muller, 1995: 157), who are perceived as our modern day sports heroes.

As discussed in the previous sections, the contemporary heroes are celebrities and this applies to sports heroes as well. In fact, sports stars have become marketable icons as they have the advantage of being very well known, and this makes them very favourable for advertisers (Lewis, 1996). So much so that sponsors and advertisers try to 'bet' on the future success of athletes and sign them up on contracts even before they have become heroes. For example, the American basketball player Tracy McGrady was signed by the athletics company Adidas on a $12 million contact (over six years) before he played his first NBA (National Basketball Association) match (TIME, June 30, 1997).

The relationship between the media and the sporting hero has a range of consequences, according to the literature. Whannel (1992) identifies a conflict between sports itself and the media, in that the media tend to concentrate on the individual celebrities thus de-emphasising teamwork and team tactics. In fact, the media seek to "lift star individuals from out the background of the team" (Whannel, 1992: 191). Other scholars also refer to the fact that in contemporary culture,

"...traditional values of sportsmanship, civility, the suppression of the individual ego for a higher cause, play for joy of the game, all tended to give way to winning at all costs, number one-ism, incivility, self-indulgence and the blatant enlistment of the game on behalf of monetary interests."

(Rader, 1984: 197)
This, it should be noted, may be true in many cases of professional sports (see also Izod, 1996) but heroes will still be very much celebrated when they do display a suppression of the individual ego for a higher cause - especially in events like the Olympic Games where the athletes are expected to display the 'Olympic Spirit'.

Aris (1990) points out that although television captures vividly the excitement of sport it can also trivialise, which therefore means, sporting heroes "are now being asked not only to perform to the limits of their capacity, but are expected to be super salesman as well. It seems to me that sport has been hijacked by industry and TV to serve their own very different ends" (Aris, 1990: xii). Izod (1996) states that one reason why broadcasters lionise stars, is that the practice marries with the sports reporter's need to create a story,

(...) although the forms of narrative employed in the coverage of sporting events are rather different from those employed in fiction, commentators are still required to create "characters" to people them. This is [...] why today's sporting heroes are required to have distinctively marked individual personalities.

(Izod, 1996: 178)

The flamboyant American basketball player Dennis Rodman can serve as an extreme example of this.

In general, writers are quite critical of what the media has done to sport and to the sporting hero in particular. In that they share a view expressed by some of the scholars mentioned in the above discussion concerning heroes in general. Some further points can be outlined relating the change in the conception of the hero to the case of sport in particular. For instance, the emergence of the international sports heroes is generally attributed to television. Whannel (1992) states,

Television has been a major force in the development of an international star system in sport. Top sports stars have become major celebrities. The increasing financial returns available to top sport stars have made sport success seem like one more path to self-reliance and self-sufficiency, and provide a highly public form of success.

(Whannel, 1992: 183)
He also argues that this results in a much greater number of heroes. It is interesting to note, in relation to this argument, that in a Channel 4 programme (NBA XXL, February 28, 1996) about the NBA super-stars, it was stated that only five years ago there were no more than five major stars who were household names, as well as advertisers favourites, whereas now there are 10-15 such basketball players. Although anecdotal this is an example which illustrates the pattern for a growth in sports stars generally.

One of the most interesting aspects, to my mind, of the media relationship with celebrities is what has been referred to as the 'build them up knock them down' phenomenon. In other words, building celebrities - in sport as well as in other areas - to later pull them down. Building sports heroes 'up' involves coverage both in sports sections and programmes and also outside them. The British footballer Paul (Gazza) Gascoigne, features in the tabloids regularly which fuels his celebrity status much more than appearing in a (directly) sport related context. A range of publications contribute to that, Gascoigne's wedding to Sheryl Failes, for instance, featured on the cover of Hello magazine and the exclusive photos from the wedding were spread over 19 pages (Hello, No. 415, July 13, 1996). It is worth mentioning that this issue pushed the British circulation of the magazine to a record 650,000 copies (The Guardian, September 30, 1996: 2). 'Gazza' also provides ample opportunity for the media to 'knock him down', something which several other athletes do not seem to need the assistance of the media in creating the 'falling down' story. The nature of newsworthiness is such that many of the stories deemed newsworthy are negative ones (see also discussion in chapter 2), which in turn means that Michael Jordan's alleged gambling and the O.J. Simpson charge of double homicide, 'naturally' become headline news. Arguably, another fact which contributes to the more general phenomenon of sporting idols rising and falling in swift succession is simply the short professional life cycle of most athletes.

As the discussion in this section reveals, sporting heroes are part of our (definitely Western) culture. Although writers seem to agree that the sporting hero has become a celebrity, it is important to note that these are still very much figures whose status is accomplished first and foremost by their actions. Going back to Boorstin's (1978) definition of the hero, they are admired for their courage, exploits and mainly achievements - although nobility does not seem to be essential to the sporting hero, a point forcibly displayed by 'Gazza'. This is not a case of people being famous just for being well known, the basis of their status is being excellent at what they are doing. The sports heroes may acquire their celebrity status because they have interesting or unusual personalities, but first and foremost they must excel in their
sport by performing extraordinary feats like breaking world records, winning against the odds and excelling within their field. Thus, for example, the American basketball player Michael Jordan, is considered to be a global sporting hero, which is essentially based on the fact he is the “greatest athlete in the history of sport” (*TIME*, June 23, 1997).

A favourite reason with the media to single out an athlete as a hero is when he overcomes hardships like a physical handicap (see further discussion in chapter 8). In the 1996 Atlanta Olympics (the American swimmer) Tom Dolan's - 'the Michigan torpedo' - struggle with asthma "has made him one of the Games' heroes [my emphasis - a.b.]") (*TIME*, August 5, 1996: 50) when he "captured a gold in 400-meters individual medley but felt his lungs seize up and his legs burn as he touched the wall" (*TIME*, August 5, 1996: 50). Thus, it can be argued that sports heroes are indeed 'real' heroes according to Boorstin's (1978) definition.

It is important to note that within the context of the sporting hero, as well as with heroes in general, it also emerges that the literature - again, predominantly written by male writers - tends to relate the concept to male athletes. Thus, a closer look at the issue of masculinity and mediated sport is required.

### 5.4 Masculinity and Sport

This section discusses masculinity in the context of the sporting hero as the literature, both about heroes in general and sporting heroes in particular, relates the concept of the hero exclusively to males.

It should be emphasised that scholars tend to focus on women, femininity and the media portrayal of female athletes when discussing gender and sport (see discussion in chapter 4). Even the (few) writers who do address the masculine identity in relation to sport do so by juxtaposing it with the feminine identity. Hargreaves (1986b) claims that, "in sport 'masculine' identity incorporates images of activity, strength, aggression and muscularity and implies, at the same time, and opposite 'feminine' subjectivity associated with passivity, relative weakness, gentleness and grace" (Hargreaves, 1986b: 112). Sabo and Curry Jansen (1992) state that masculinity and sport have been culturally equated in the United States which, in their view, makes it surprising that there has been little research into this area. They too emphasise that the content analysis of gendered images in sport, which does
exist, focuses on women, whereas men's roles in media "have been tacitly viewed as unproblematic" (Sabo and Curry Jansen, 1992: 169).

As mentioned, the lack of literature about masculinity is, in fact, not surprising as it is consistent with a lack of attention to dominant groups in other areas of research. Nevertheless, a handful of scholars (see Sabo and Curry Jansen, 1992) have been writing in recent years about masculinity in the sport context, influenced by feminist discourse. Dunning (1986), for example, set out to examine sport as a male preserve and the part it plays "relative to other sources, in the production and reproduction of masculine identity" (Dunning, 1986: 80).

Sabo and Curry Jansen (1992) note that once attention is directed to masculinity, it becomes quite clear that the "dominant narrative structures in sports media construct and valorize hegemonic masculinity" (Sabo and Curry Jansen, 1992: 169). This, examining the literature, can be taken in two directions. The first relates to the coverage of male athletes as compared to that of their female counterparts.

Following this direction, several arguments emerge. For example, in the literature that does exist (see Duncan, Messner, and Williams, 1990), it has been noted that the sports media emphasise men who succeed, concentrating on success stories and more specifically on the theme of fighting back from adversity like injury, drug addiction and so on (see example of Tom Dolan in section 5.3 and discussion in chapter 8). Indeed, "the media do not ordinarily focus on men who fail to measure up in sports or life" (Sabo and Curry Jansen, 1992: 178). In fact, the media hardly ever tell the other side of the story, that of all the athletes who fail to succeed. In 1994 a surprise hit at the box office was the American documentary Hoop Dreams, the story of two young black Americans from the ghetto, struggling to make their way into basketball's big league (NBA) and not finding success in their quest. The film had huge box office success in American cinemas and went down unexpectedly well around the world. This, however, is not the type of story one normally encounters in the media.

In cases of male athletes who fall from grace in the midst of a scandal, the coverage becomes a site for testing out the challenges a fallen hero poses to the legitimacy of dominant cultural values. But, as Sabo and Curry Jansen (1992) note, "the net effect of the extended coverage is to rescue hegemonic masculinity by framing the transgressor as an anomaly, whether as a cheat, an impostor, a tragic victim of flawed judgment, or a compulsive personality" (Sabo and Curry Jansen, 1992: 178). Ben Johnson, the Canadian sprinter who was striped of his gold medal when he
tested positive to taking performance enhancing drugs, can serve as an example (see discussions in chapter 1 and 8). Once his story broke out he was portrayed as a cheat and an anomaly. The American basketball player, Irwin 'Magic' Johnson is yet another example. The media coverage, after he announced that he was HIV positive, centred on him as 'Tragic Magic' who was flawed in terms of personal strength 'accommodating' his female groupies and sleeping with (one) too many of them (Rowe, 1994).

According to Izod (1996) winners, rather than losers, receive the most attention because of "the constant pressure to compete in most 20th-century societies encourages the adulation of victors" (Izod, 1996: 178). Thus, the heroes will, in most cases, be selected by the media from the winners; the exception to that may emerge in cases where a nation's own athlete is involved. In such cases the media may well be interested in an athlete who lost and even built him as a hero (see also chapters 6 and 8). Indeed, in Britain, Paul Gascoigne became a national hero following the semi-final in the Football World Cup of 1990, in which England lost and was knocked out of the competition.

In addition to the notion, found in the literature, that media sport concentrates on success rather than failure, when it comes to male athletes there is an argument that male athletes are represented in sports programming in relation to "competition, strength and discipline" (Hanke, 1992: 191). More specifically, they tend to be described with metaphors such as "pounds, misfire, force, big guns, fire away, drawing first blood, or battles" (Sabo and Curry Jansen, 1992: 175). Indeed, Duncan, Messner, and Williams (1990) found, in their comparative study of the coverage of women's and men's basketball in the USA, that whereas male basketball players were described by commentators as 'attacking the hoop', female basketball players on the other hand 'went to' the hoop.

The second direction the literature takes in relation to hegemonic masculinity investigates within the definition of masculinity and thus touches on Craig's (1992) argument that the discussion should not be simply about 'masculinity' but rather refer to 'masculinities'. Examining the representation in the media, of the male in general and the portrayal of male athletes in particular, it emerges that non-hegemonic forms of masculinity are being marginalised. In fact, "alternative or counter-hegemonic masculinities are not ordinarily acknowledged or represented by sports media" (Sabo and Curry Jansen, 1992: 177). Furthermore, the "valorization of a highly stylized version of traditional masculinity in sports media [...] expresses and reinforces hegemonic models of manhood while marginalizing alternative
masculinities" (Sabo and Curry Jansen, 1992: 179). A clear example of this argument is the very minimal coverage of the Gay Olympics. Moreover, the fact that some male athletes are gay is ignored by the media. A contemporary illustration being Greg Louganis - the American Olympic gold medalist diver - who came forward with the disclosure that he has contracted Aids, the coverage of this case of a gay athlete was much less sympathetic than that of the heterosexual 'Magic' Johnson - the American Basketball player - when he announced that he was HIV positive (Rowe, 1994). As noted in other programming (Hanke, 1992), gay men are largely viewed as a problem and the perspective from which they are represented is that of 'straight' men. This seems to apply equally in sport as well.

The discussion about masculinity and sport in the media context, and sport heroes in particular, touches on some further significant issues. For example, Katz (1995) points out that, "violence on-screen, like that in real life, is perpetrated overwhelmingly by males. Males constitute the majority of the audience for violent films, as well as violent sports such as [American] football and hockey. However, what is being 'sold' to the audience is not just violence, but rather a glamorised form of violent masculinity (Katz, 1995). Within this framework, it is important to note that the concept of the (male) sports hero as a role model, was brought into severe doubt in both the cases of Mike Tyson and O.J. Simpson. In regards to the boxing heavy-weight champion Mike Tyson, Rowe (1995) explains,

\[
\text{[...]} \text{it may be argued that the violence, arrogance and contempt for women that he displayed was consonant with a sycophantic culture of celebrity in masculine sport [my emphasis-a.b.], where women are routinely regarded as 'groupies' and 'hangers-on' with nothing to 'trade' but their sexuality [...]} \text{Rather they demonstrate the ways in which the economic structure and cultural complexion of professional sport interact in a manner that produces problematic forms of (especially masculine) sports celebrity.}
\]

(Rowe, 1995: 116)

The case of Simpson - one time American football hero and actor - brought the problem of gender violence to the forefront of America's social agenda (Lapchick, 1996) and also called the concept of sports hero into question, by placing it within a violent context.
5.5 Discussion

Various factors encourage the sports media to build up athletes into heroes. Izod (1996) assesses that "in creating heroes, sports programs satisfy what appears to be an incessant audience need. That is one reason why broadcasters lionize stars. Another is that the practice marries with the sports reporter's need to create a story" (Izod, 1996: 178). Whatever reasons the media has for putting certain athletes at the centre of attention, when discussing sport the concept of hero inevitably emerges. Therefore, this chapter examined the concept of the hero in society in general terms, and the changes it had undergone in contemporary culture, before relating these to the sporting hero in particular. From the analysis it emerges that both in the general discussion and in the discussion of sport, the concept of 'hero' is applied predominantly to men.

Writers emphasise that male athletes are valorised, lionised, and put on cultural pedestals to the extent that "they are our modern gladiators: the last heroes left in American popular culture" (Sabo and Curry Jansen, 1992: 174). However, in the realm of sport there exists both heroines and heroes, particularly at the Olympic Games, and it is the media which unequivocally elevates the status (see further discussion in chapter 9).

In the USA, Kerri Strug became the heroine of the Atlanta Games after "she played through pain, convinced that she had to for the team, risking a worse injury and jeopardizing her own chances for more medals" (TIME, August 5, 1996: 53). Strug completed her final vault at the Atlanta Olympics - ignoring the ankle she had sprained on her previous vault - landed in extreme pain and needed to be carried away (see further discussion of struggling and overcoming injury in chapter 8). In doing so, she secured the gold medal for the women's USA gymnastics team. From this, she became instantly, a national heroine and was "put on the usual media hero track: TV interviews, a call from President Clinton, the promise of lucrative endorsements deals" (TIME, August 5, 1996: 54). In fact,

[... the 39.5-kg 18-year-old shoved aside Shaquille O'Neal, Billy Payne and all the big, bad Olympians. There were other heroes, to be sure, in the first eight days of the 16-day competition, but none as endearing as the Seven Sisters of U.S. gymnastics.

(TIME, August 5, 1996:40)
Thus, the gymnasts distinguished themselves in an otherwise American medal-count table that contained "about as much soul as the meter on a cab" (TIME, August 5, 1996: 44), their outstanding achievement attributed to "their collective effort" (TIME, August 5, 1996: 44). However, as pinpointed above, the media does tend to focus on the one individual, and Strug was the one singled out, featuring on the cover of TIME. She would have appeared on it smiling in close up ("A cover that was supposed to be", TIME, August 5, 1996: 17) had it not been for the bomb in the Olympic Park, which made for a more newsworthy photograph.

Kerri Strug is not the only example, Merlene Ottey, the Jamaican sprinter is an international heroine to such an extent that she has been able to capitalise on her fame within the sporting sphere and become a fashion model (see also discussion of Florence Griffith Joyner in chapter 4).

Sabo and Curry Jansen (1992) believe that mediated sport can be understood "as a nexus of patriarchal ritual that reproduces hegemonic forms of masculinity and femininity" (Sabo and Curry Jansen, 1992: 173). Thus, it is important to note that the construction of heroines is not at all straightforward, for it includes an array of gender based issues. For example, Alison Hargreaves, the British mountain climber, died while climbing K2. This provoked ambivalence for as a mother - it was argued in certain areas of the media - she had no right to take risks with a life on which others depended. This case led Coward (1996) to the conclusion that "as long as they are young and single, women are now entering this last male preserve [of heroism-a.b.]" (The Guardian, 19.2.96). Thus, it is important to draw attention to how the discussion of masculinity in this chapter and the discussion of femininity in chapter 4, serve to reinforce one another.

To conclude, I would argue that female athletes are largely absent from the discussion of the hero in the literature. Creedon (1994b) explains how that sport influences such diverse areas ranging from language to clothing style, and even so far as influencing our "concepts of heroes and heroines [my emphasis - a.b.]" (Creedon, 1994b: 4). This instance is an exception, only emphasising the fact that in all other cases (male) writes refer only to male heroes. However, as earlier stressed, female heroines are not absent from the media. This is particularly apparent in the Olympic Games, where it is clear that the media are indeed constantly looking for heroes, who can be drawn from both male and female athletes. It is also important to emphasise that a national media is most interested in finding its own national heroes and such figures can equally be male or female (see discussions in chapter 6 and 9).
Chapter 6: National Identity and Sport

6.1 National Identity and Sport

The literature dealing with the notion of national identity and nationalism looks at a complex and wide range of issues, ranging from the politics of nationalism to the ideology-psychology of the collective identity (Tomlinson, 1991). This section relates to issues of national identity, the characteristics of its construction process and the way these, in turn, can be related to sport in general and specifically to its coverage in the media.

Benedict Anderson (1983), when writing about the historical origins of nationalism, defined the nation as an 'imagined political community': "It is imagined because members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson, 1983:15). The important point extract from this is that national identity is placed by Anderson at "a certain level of abstraction" (Tomlinson, 1991: 80) and that although national identity is an entity which exists only in the imagination of people, Anderson does not imply that this constitutes a false imagination. For Tomlinson (1991), the virtue of Anderson's approach is that it represents nationhood as it is liable, "to be experienced (highlighted in original) by people. This experience, which we could call the sense of national identity [my emphasis - a.b.], is of an imagined community limited by territorial boundaries and offering certain freedoms to its nationals in respect of the sovereign power of the nation-state" (Tomlinson, 1991: 80).

The question of the role that the media might be assume in the construction of collectivities, with specific focus on nations, has been addressed by several writers (Schlesinger, 1995, Tomlinson, 1991 and see also Van den Bulck and Van Poecke, 1996 and Moragas Spa et al., 1995 for a further discussion). Schlesinger (1995), in an article in which he analyses contemporary Europe in relation to this question offers some general features of collective identity. These include amongst them, that the construction of a collective identity consciousness involves "active strategies of inclusion and exclusion. In other words, "We' are defined, in part at least, as being different from how 'They' are [my emphasis - a.b.]" (Schlesinger, 1995: 30; see also Schlesinger, 1991). This notion of 'us' versus 'them' is integral to sport fanship, and applies particularly to nations in events such as the Olympic Games. For example, one trailer on the American television network NBC attempted to rally audiences for
the coverage of the 1996 Olympics by describing the Atlanta Games as the scene where the USA team would be 'taking on the rest of the world in their own backyard'. As was discussed in the Israeli press, for Israeli audiences the Olympic Games serve both as an opportunity to encourage a sense of belonging to the rest of the world, and at the same time retaining a feeling of being distinct from it.

A related characteristic identified by Schlesinger (1995) is that this process extends through time "involving both memory and amnesia". Thus, what is understood to be typically 'national', "is usually a highly selective account" (Schlesinger, 1995: 30). In turn, self-understanding of a collectivity is defined in accordance with its version of history. With the case of Israelis for example, the Olympic Games continue to be remembered and commonly associated, first and foremost, with the murder of 11 Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Games. A delegation of family members of these murdered athletes present at the Atlanta Olympics were deeply offended by the fact the IOC (International Olympic Committee) president did not mention the Munich massacre in his opening speech. This was rectified in the closing speech, although not before the bomb explosion in Centennial Park had evoked memories of Munich in the entire Olympic community.

The same process also 'extends in space' in the sense that the collective identity is not territory bound. Indeed, collectivities may be conceived as "enjoying diasporic identities for which the strict territorial condition does not apply" (Schlesinger, 1995: 30). Once again, the case of Israel may serve as an example, when recalling that there are many Jewish athletes in the diaspora which during the Olympic Games are 'adopted' by the Israeli media, and probably the audience, as 'one of us', especially when they are winning. The most illustrative example of this was the 'adoption' of the American-Jewish multi-medal winner Mark Spitz.

With regard to the specific impact of the media on collective identities, it is important to mention Dayan and Katz's (1992) point that this impact can not be understood without looking into what they refer to as 'festive television', namely television media events, including 'epic contests' of politics and sports, most notably the Olympics (see discussion in chapter 2). According to them, national identity, is a sense of membership, similarity, equality and familiarity. It is however, worth noting, that Dayan and Katz (1992) perceive these media events as portraying "an idealised version of society, reminding society of what it aspires to rather than what it is" (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 17). This occurs to the extent, for example, that the nation is represented as an imaginarily united 'whole' (Scannell and Cardiff, 1991; and see also discussions in section 6.2 and chapter 10).
In their account of the media in Britain, Scannell and Cardiff (1991) also refer to the nation as an abstract collectivity, which is "too big to be grasped by individuals" (Scannell and Cardiff, 1991: 319). Thus, the sense of belonging, the 'we-feeling' of the community, has to be continually engendered by opportunities for identification. The media is a potent agent for manufacturing this 'we-feeling', according to Scannell and Cardiff (1991). In addition to the coverage of such events as royal occasions they emphasise the importance of "the coverage of sporting events [my emphasis - a.b.] - football, rugby, cricket, horse racing, tennis and boxing" (Scannell and Cardiff 1991: 319) in order to facilitate such an emotion.

It has already transpired from the discussion up to this point that scholars accord sport with a centrality in generating "nationalist sentiment" (Rowe, 1995: 135; see also Billing, 1995; Boyle and Haynes, 1996). As also outlined, the critique of nationalism "focuses on how the image of the nation is fashioned by stitching together an imaginary unity out of the fabric of difference and division" (Anderson, 1983: 15). Since the nation "contains within it the seeds of its own potential destruction (or at least disruption) in the shape of class, racial/ethnic, religious, regional and other groupings" (Rowe, 1995: 136) the nation must hold itself together and this can be achieved by generating symbols of common identity. As there are in present time limited opportunities for (many) nations to "render themselves as effectively compelling" (Rowe, 1995: 136), it is no wonder that sport is central to the manufacturing of imaginary unity, particularly via the media (for a further discussion of this see also Billig, 1995).

Although "athletes and teams become our symbolic warriors defending the honor of our schools, towns or nation" (Creedon, 1994b: 4) it must be made clear that sport is by no means a substitute for more violent means of national assertion, but rather it is argued, that it is one legitimate arena in which national flags can be raised and other patriotic rituals can also be exercised (Billig, 1995). It is worth observing that some scholars extend this so much as to suggest that sport is in fact a substitute for war (for a discussion of this in relation to the Olympic Games see Whannel, 1984). In regards to the media, sporting competitions, especially international events such as the Olympic Games and the Football World Cup are indeed portrayed as a 'substitute war' (Blain at el., 1993: 77). The military metaphors which accompany the coverage are applied to all nations, but it is interesting to consider the findings of Blain at el.'s (1993) study of the European Press coverage of the 1990 Football World Cup (Italia '90). Interestingly, they found that military metaphors were applied, above all, to the German team. In this case, these metaphors were
developed to an extent "which far exceeds their use in relation to any other nationality" (Blain et al., 1993: 144). Such a pattern was also evident in individual sports, like tennis "[...] the similarities between powerful tennis serve and the notion of firing a bullet from a gun, or better still a cannonball, are obvious" (Blain et al., 1993: 144). Such a style resulted in the use of military metaphors in the coverage of Wimbledon, for both male and female players. Here too, this kind of discourse, applied particularly to the German players (for further discussion see section 6.3).

As Rowe (1995) explains, international professional sport provides a compelling means by which "the nation can be represented as positive and dynamic" (Rowe, 1995: 136). When supporting national teams and individuals who represent the nation there "lies a sense of unity" (Rowe, 1995: 136) which accedes internal differences. This "heady cocktail of sport and national chauvinism" (Rowe, 1995: 136) might not seem seductive to all sections of the population, but for many, according to Rowe (1995), it is seductive indeed. Which in turn means that sports fans as citizen-supporter are transformed, at least temporarily, into fans of the nation itself (see also Billig, 1995). Actually winning a major international competition provides a great opportunity for the nation's celebration, as with, for example, England winning the Football World Cup in 1966. Another interesting strand to note is that generally speaking, in recent years, increasing focus has been conferred upon the role of national teams and their importance for national prestige (Whannel, 1992: 182) especially as the media celebrate nationalism and national identity when it comes to the coverage of sporting competitions.

In regards to the concept of unity, a further point should be made and that is that the coverage of international sporting events seems to promote a feeling of 'one team, one nation'. In their study of the European press coverage of Italia '90, Blain at el. (1993) concluded that, "the most universal form of expression we have found is the notion of the nation as one sentient being" (Blain at el., 1993: 80). Furthermore, "this idea of the nation as one is the leitmotiv par excellence (emphasised in original) of World Cup reporting" (Blain at el., 1993: 81). Examples they provide include such statements as: "All of Italy is speaking of Toto [Schillaci]", "A nation [Italy] rejoices" and "An entire land is wakened rudely from a dream" and other such labels of unity (see also discussion in chapter 10).

To conclude, the link between national identity and sport is both strong, and reveals overt political dimensions. "Sports have frequently been used to promote political socialization within countries and to establish prestige and power in international relationships" (Lever, 1989: 158). As some of the examples included in the above
discussion imply, the Olympic Games are a particularly good example to this linkage between national identity and sport. Within the context of this thesis this topic merits a separate discussion.

6.2 National Identity and the Olympics

The link between collective identity and sport has been traced by some to the Greek Olympic Games. Since that time, athletes and teams have served as important sources of collective identity (Hill, 1996). Hill (1996) also observes that during the course of the Olympics Games in particular, there is de facto a competition between nations, which in itself results in victory and defeat that, in turn, can be transformed into signs of progress or decline. One of the most striking examples in this context, closely related to the Olympics, is the fact that one of the first acts of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia as separate nations has been to establish Olympic committees in order to be able to compete in the Games (Whannel, 1992). Such a trait can be witnessed as early as when the initial bid for hosting the Olympics is made. A successful bid to host the Olympics provides an economic opportunity of considerable potential benefit (as well as risk) to any nation (see discussion in chapter 3). Moreover, its real significance lies with its ability to act as a central "vehicle for the advancement of the national image" (Rowe, 1995:137 and see also Whitson and Macintosh, 1996). For example, the successful bid for the 2000 Olympics has conferred upon Sydney, and more widely for Australia as a nation, a confirmation of many grand assessments of progress (Rowe, 1995).

The connection between the Olympic Games and political matters also has a long history. Even the ancient Greeks utilised the games at Olympia to enhance the prestige of their respective city-states in order to gain public support for local political policies. Although the ancient Olympic Games were usually accompanied by temporary truces between warring city-states, they did not prevent wars from being fought. When the modern Olympic Games were revived by Baron Pierre de Coubertin, one of his primary purposes was to rejuvenate the spirit of young people in late-19th century France. A consequence of this, he hoped, would be that the French would be less vulnerable to military attack (Hill, 1996). Another, very central goal, Pierre de Coubertin set for the Olympics was the development, through sports, of international amity and goodwill, ultimately leading to world peace. Coubertin hoped and believed that peace could be furthered by the Olympic Games. This, as discussed in chapter 1, was made very clear in the IOC charter, which states
that the aim of the Games should be "to contribute to building a peaceful and better world by educating youth through sports practices without discrimination of any kind and in the Olympic Spirit, which requires mutual understanding with a spirit of friendship, solidarity and fair play" (Fundamental Principals: Olympic Charter, 1994).

Reality however, assumed a very different form from these high aspirations. Within a political context this meant that political issues have resulted in boycotts of the Games by African countries in 1976, by the United States in 1980, and by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in 1984 (Whannel, 1984). The murder of 11 Israeli athletes in Munich, mentioned above, was also an acting out of political issues (see also chapter 1 and chapter 9).

Even more fundamental than these particular cases is the notion that, "[...] unlike other currencies of communication, sports contains an overt element of competition that can destroy its potential for unity" (Coakley, 1989: 165). In fact, the case of the Olympic Games is a matter of delegations drawn from over 170 countries which compete in order to "prove who is fastest, highest and strongest" (Wilson, 1992: 11). Furthermore,

[...] for 16 days, the great athletes of this generation will lay claim to sporting deification and great nations will measure themselves, politically and socially, by how they do. Multitudes around the world will be moved and enthused by their trials, their triumphs and their tribulations.

(Wilson, 1992: 10)

The actual picture, especially during the Cold War years, was of nations willing to extend themselves to great lengths to show the rest of the world that their system is better. As Craig Lord (The Times) explained,
champions'. There is nothing cultural about that, it's a political thing.

(Craig Lord, *The Times*)

Thus, the central notion required for the creation of national identity, 'us' versus 'them', is given ample opportunity to express itself at the Olympic Games. Which evidently, is not in accordance with the Olympic ideals of international co-operation and the Olympic goals of international understanding. Real et al., (1989) claim "[...] this Olympic global spectacle can (underlined in original) serve human needs and international cooperation, but only if participating countries, including especially the super powers, are also committed to those goals" (Real et al., 1989: 44).

The desire of nations to prove superiority via the Olympic Games has not disappeared with the Cold War, as may be implied in the above quote from Real (1989). The following quote clearly suggests similar thoughts sardonically:

 [...] the Olympics lack the moral imperative they had back when the Cold War was all frosty and the failure of Communism could be plainly demonstrated in a hundredth of a second. But the games still offer a profound test of our strength as a nation. Hey, when you're the only superpower left, the least you can do is put together some kick-ass athletes [my emphasis - a.b.].

(Time Out, New York 17-24 July, 1996 Issue No. 43)

Thus, although intentional sports events, and particularly the Olympics, have long evoked the discourses and imagery of internationalism (Whitson and Macintosh, 1996), in fact they serve as occasions for national 'flag-waving' (Billig, 1995). Tomlinson (1986) proposes that large-scale international sporting events embody fundamental tensions, as can be identified in their governing bodies, such as the IOC, associating themselves with the idealistic discourse of internationalism. They also seek to represent their events as catalysts to international understanding (see discussions in chapter 1 and 3), but at the same time these exact events, like the Olympic Games, offer perfect occasions for "the public fanning of nationalist sentiments" (Whitson and Macintosh, 1996: 278). Tomlinson (1986) proceeds by suggesting a colourful metaphor to this, writing that it is "as if nations wanted to reach out to each other for a handshake, while simultaneously puffing out their chests in self-satisfaction" (Tomlinson, 1986: 83).
While this tension is inherent in the sporting event itself, the media coverage of these international gatherings, most notably the Olympic Games, definitely do not promote the 'Olympic Ideals' and notions concerning the Games. This occurs because, "[...] nationalistic feelings are fanned, and, simultaneously, people are united in a global folk culture" (Lever, 1989: 158).

What the media does promote is the presentation of sport as war, a sense of nations battling it out, most notably in international events (Billing, 1995). Drawing on the discussion of sport and war in the previous section (6.2), it is worthwhile to observe that examples of sports as a powerful currency of mass communication are not difficult to locate,

Since the 1960s the Olympic Games and soccer's World Cup have been among the most attention-getting non-military international events [...] The attachment to sports is so strong that people all over the world use athletes and sports teams as symbols of self-identification and community pride, and sometimes as sources of national pride [my emphasis - a.b.].

(Coakley, 1989: 161)

As outlined in section 6.1, one of the most frequently used metaphors in the coverage of sport is that of the military (Blain et el., 1993). Flags, national anthems and national colours are very evident in the Olympic stadium and in that respect the battle ground has been prepared. Moragas Spa et al. (1995) note that,

The Olympic Opening Ceremony, in particular, showcases rituals and icons (Olympic rings, flag, lighting of the flame, etc.) meant to symbolize peace, friendship and intentional community. Despite this, the structure and design of the Opening Ceremony also promotes a nationalistic perspective - from the use of national flags, colours, costumes, host anthems and performances, invited Heads of State, to the centrepiece segment: the athletes' parade.

(Moragas Spa et al., 1995: 144)

Erikson (1993), actually views this as a stylised introduction to a metaphorical war between nation-states (Erikson, 1993), while Moragas Spa et al. (1995) believe that, "at the very least, participation in the Olympics is seen as a presentation of national membership, ability and identity in a global arena as expressed through athletic teams" (Moragas Spa et al., 1995: 144). In other words, the Olympic Games, despite
their ideals, are in fact a gathering of nation-states on a metaphorical battle ground, a
trend that has been strongly emphasised by the media.

This is the norm with regard to the media coverage, although they also tend to
emphasise, at times, the acting out of the Olympic ideals,

Nothing, not the Atlanta Olympic committee, not commercialism,
not even the bomb, can extinguish the Olympic ideal. Some of the
most heated matches in these Games - Boxing, baseball, volleyball
- will be between Cuba and the U.S. Yet the other night, after Jeff
Rouse of the U.S defeated two Cubans, Rodolfo Falcon Cabrera
and Neisser Bent, in the 100-m backstroke, Cabrera took his seat at
the press conference, smiled at Rouse in admiration and patted the
chair next to him as an invitation. It was the smallest and the
largest of gestures.

(Time, August 5, 1996: 47)

One highly important dimension of this is the fact that the national media gets
behind 'our' team. In studying the British coverage of the 1980 Moscow Olympics,
Whannel (1992) concluded that, "in Moscow you could have been deceived into
thinking that some events had only British competitors" (Whannel, 1992: 38). This
is not a particularly British phenomenon, as illustrated by the Atlanta Journal-
Constitution summary of the first day of competitions at the 1996 Atlanta Olympics:
"NO GOLD FOR US" (quoted in the Time, August 5, 1996: 43).

Raffi Naee (Yedioth Aharonoth), explained that "the readers in a certain country are
most interested in how their athletes performed" and although "relatively speaking
the performance and achievements of the Israeli athletes is just a drop in the sea of
the Olympics" still the Israeli maintain more interest in reading about the success of
the Israeli athletes (see detailed discussion in chapter 9). Related to this point is the
idea that even in the supposed 'global village' we now live in (see chapter 3), with
its global heroes (see chapter 5) national heroes still dominate, and constitute an
integral component of (internal) national identity.

Such tendencies can be seen in the British context (see section 6.1), for when there
are no British competitors in with a chance of winning, "surrogate Britons had to be
found" (Whannel, 1992: 38). This occurred to the extent that in the case of the 3,000
metre "the affections of television viewers were directed to Polish runner
Malinowski, on account of his Scots mother!" (Whannel, 1992: 39). This sort of
phenomenon was also found to be apparent in the coverage of the Atlanta Olympics in the Israeli media (Orviniak, 1996; and see discussion in section 6.1).

Whannel (1992) also found that ranged against the 'army' of "Brits and the surrogate Brits" are 'foreigners' (Whannel, 1992: 39), who are of two types: those who are ruthlessly efficient and humourless, mainly from Eastern Europe. They also tend to beat 'us' (the Brits), which permits speculation about the use of drugs and "factory-farming methods of rearing athletes" (Whannel, 1992: 39). The second type are those whose performances are regarded as "erratic, comic, or tactical naive" (Whannel, 1992: 39). What was striking was that these athletes mostly, although not exclusively, came from the third world countries (Whannel, 1992). A supplementary strand of the issue in terms of the representation of nations is the character of their portrayal in the media of other nations. This topic was studied in relation to sport in an extensive study conducted by Blain et al. (1993) (see discussion in the section 6.3).

Up to this point the discussion has focused on the manner in which the mediated sport in international events, like the Olympic Games, contributes in creating national identity internally. The construction of a 'we' feeling is related to a feeling of 'one team, one nation', a national unity beyond the divides which exist in any nation (a unity which is inevitably false). As the example from the British coverage of the Moscow Olympics displays, an additional aspect of the issue of national identify is how nations are viewed externally, namely the image of various nations outside their own. If internally 'national identity' is a very complex concept, viewed by others it seems simple, even simplistic, and in most cases highly stereotypical.

6.3 Images of Nations

When examining the issue of internal national identity it is immediately evident that it is composed of many components. In a way we are all like Yugoslavia, and although this is perhaps an extreme example, Schlesinger (1995) points out, "the Yugoslav ethno-national disputes [is] offering a sobering example of what could be in store for other" (Schlesinger, 1995: 29). In comparison, the image of nations to outsiders is much less complex.

For example, in the European press there is a lack of clarity about internal British distinctions (Blain et al., 1993), whereas in the British press the animosity between
England and Scotland, for instance, is clear. To illustrate, prior to a Rugby match at Murrayfield, Fergus Kelly wrote in The Sunday Times (March 3, 1996) "[...] it is said that Scottish fans always support two teams: Scotland and whoever is playing England. The rivalry dates back centuries". In the same article, Jim Telfer, Scotland's rugby coach, declared in forthright terms his dislike of certain English traits:

They still see themselves as superior, condescending and arrogant, but that's not just to us; it is to the whole world [...] They tend to think they are the masters of everything, whether it be soccer, cricket, rugby, economics or politics. They tend to think they are the ruling class. I feel other countries resent that.

(The Sunday Times, March 3, 1996)

There exists then an extremely thin line from generalisations to "crude national stereotypes" (Whannel, 1992: 30), with regard to the imaging of nations. Moreover, "Stereotyping can make an easy transition into out-and-out racism" (Whannel, 1992: 30). To illustrate such a pattern Whannel (1992) draws on the example of a commentator who "described the Indian hockey team as being on a bonus of 100 popadoms per man" (Whannel, 1992: 30). He proceeds to explain that,

The underlying message is that people less competent than the British are comic, erratic and happy-go-lucky; people who do better than 'us' are too serious, and probably have 'unfair' advantages. Our own triumphs are given all due praise an acclaim; those of others are sometimes treated in flip fashion. One day it 'was a great day for a Pole with a pole' - in fact, he won the gold medal.

(Whannel, 1992: 30)

These stereotypes have revealed themselves from the very introduction of the Barcelona Olympic Games. For example, "there will be doll-like Russians and bear-like Bulgarians [...] the circus comes round every four years, gathering new sports and nations, and breaking Olympic records of its own" (The Official BBC Sports Magazine Olympics '92: 11)

Blain, Boyle and O'Donnell (1993) conducted some comprehensive studies of the images of nations through the sports coverage in the European media. This section relies mainly on examples from their work which was composed of large scale
studies that focused to a great extent on newspaper coverage (following studies were
carried out by Wagg, 1995 and Boyle and Haynes, 1996). In their studies of the
press coverage of Italia '90 and the press and television coverage of Wimbledon
1991, Blain at el. (1993) found many examples of stereotypical images of nations
and their athletes who participated in these competitions. Furthermore, their
interpretation of these findings hold that the behaviour of both the participants and
their fans, read like "an index of the nature of national characteristics" (Blain at el.
1993: 57; see also Wagg, 1995).

The most extreme cases of stereotypical portrayal of 'other' nations could be found
in the English popular press which is routinely expressing actual xenophobia in
many cases (Blain at el., 1993; Wagg, 1991). To give but one example, "while the
press throughout Europe referred to the Egyptians as 'the Pharoes' [...] the English
Sun is not willing to dally with the glorious days of Egyptian history. 'Charlton's
Heroes Stymied by Camel Men' it says acidly" (Blain at el., 1993: 63).

More recently, the Daily Mirror caused a heated debate in Britain when, during the
European Championship, Euro 96, it portrayed Paul (Gazza) Gascoigne and Stuart
Pierce in battle gear with the caption 'ACHTUNG! SURRENDER' and 'For you
Fritz, ze Euro 96 Championship is over'. This serves both as an extreme illustration
of the war-like coverage of sport, especially in the tabloids, and an example of the
xenophobia expressed within them.

Although the English popular press is, indeed, an extreme example, other European
and North American media were found to express a stereotypical view of other
nations. Blain at el. (1993) in their study of Italia '90 were particularly refer to,

[...] the conservatism and idealist nature of discourses of national
identification and identity. By this we mean, first, that the
rootedness of the ideas which Europeans have about each other is
something located very deeply in the soil of the history of myth:
and, second, that ideas about other peoples' national identity are
strongly resistant to considerations of material influence. By the
latter we have in mind the twin facts that national characteristics
and national feeling are continuously reconstituted, rather than
stabilised within some pre-historical or extra-historical realm, and
that, consequently, national character, if it exists, must change and
keep changing. Yet the reporting of Italia '90 is frequently locked
into that form of discursive paralysis which we call stereotypification.

(Blain et al., 1993: 65)

Returning to the German example, Blain et al. (1993) found that "the homologies relating sport to politics are never more obvious in Italia '90 than in the reporting of German matches" (Blain et al., 1993: 68). Throughout Europe, the German team was found to be presented as the personification of "discipline, dedication to work and reliability" (Blain et al., 1993: 69). Additionally, they were presented as a 'machine team'. However, their findings also showed that a 'problem' may arise when the stereotype 'does not fit', such as when the German team displayed much flair and individual skill. Journalists however have their solutions, and "rather than simply throw overboard these ascriptions of national character" (Blain et al., 1993: 69) they find bizarre and revealing metaphors to explain such a phenomenon, for instance, "Germany speaks Italian" (Blain et al., 1993: 69).

It is worth pointing out that the image of Britain itself in the British popular press, was also found to be simplistic, and emphasises in the British such traits as never giving up until the final whistle or "a 'never-say-die' approach" (Blain et al., 1993: 66). The British also seem to posses a unique ability to take punishment, withstand pain, furthermore their 'fair play' is also stressed (Blain et al., 1993). As the above mentioned example from the Daily Mirror also reveals, the discourse of Britishness derives essentially from definitions of Britishness which arose in connection with the Second World War, and it is matched by discourses of Germanness which also derive from the same period. "'Bravery' is an essential element not only of the Continental view of Britain, but also of Britain's own way of viewing its performance in international arenas, sporting and otherwise" (Blain et al., 1993: 68).

The Italia '90 Football World Cup provided the media with an opportunity to describe a successful African team. In subsequent years it became clear that the success of the Cameroon team was the beginning of the emergence of African football (Egypt drew with the European champions Holland at the same tournament), which climaxed with the Nigerian team winning the Football gold medal in Atlanta 1996. At the time (1990), the relative success of the Cameroon team was completely unexpected by the media, as indeed was the victory of the Nigerian team six years on. "In terms of their football, there was, initially, a noticeable tendency to describe the Cameroon players by reference to European or South American stars, present or past" (Blain et al., 1993: 71). Thus, in accordance
with this portrayal, the Cameroon player Omam Biyik was described as 'a black van Basten' and 'an African Pele' (Blain at el., 1993: 71).

However, this approach changed to one which highlighted the differences between African and European football, and this was where the main stereotypes revealed themselves. The Cameroon footballers were described as "joyful, uninhibited, enthusiastic" (Blain at el., 1993: 71), and like the Brazilians before them, the Cameroonians were also credited with bringing 'magic' to the game. Blain at el. (1993) see this as,

[...] closely connected for European commentators with the magic of childhood, but it is not simply the childhood of the individual - this discourses connect with well-established European discourses of the childhood of Man, set in some idealised pre-industrial non-European society where people were free of the constrains of modern living and able to act in accordance with their instincts.

(Blain at el., 1993: 72)

Additionally, they note that their play was regarded in many newspapers as 'temperamental', 'inventive', 'creative' and above all 'joyful' (Blain at el., 1993: 72). In extreme cases, the Cameroonian style of play was presented as 'irrational', "as befits children below the age of reason" (Blain at el., 1993: 72). Indeed, the Cameroonians were described as football's version of the 'savage infant', a pattern which was repeated in the Israeli coverage of the Nigerians in Atlanta 1996. Not surprisingly then, when Cameroon was eventually eliminated from the tournament, the coverage attributed this to the very same characteristics which made them attractive in the first place - "their ingenuousness, their lack of professionalism and polish, even their lack of cynicism, in short, a style of football which had not yet grown up" (Blain at el., 1993: 76).

In this context, one further point which needs to be stressed here is that the media, in certain countries, seem to express surprise by the achievements of certain nations simply because the media itself was not looking for the winners to come from these nations (see also discussion in chapters 1, 8 and 9). At the Atlanta Games, for example, Ireland's Michelle Smith winning three gold medals and a bronze came as a big surprise although "[...] for those who cared to notice, Smith was never quite the dark horse she appeared to be in Atlanta. In 1995 she won gold medals at the European championships in the 200-m butterfly and the 200-m individual medley" (TIME, August 5, 1996: 51).
In their studies, Blain et al. (1993) discuss their findings regarding the coverage of some further nations to the ones mentioned above. For instance, the Latins, in this case mainly the South Americans, were described with the aid of clichés like 'calypso-footbal-lers' (Costa Ricans) and 'samba kings' (Brazilians). All these nations were presented as being passionate, a passion which, "binds the South Americans with their European Latin cousins, in particular the Italians, [and] shows how the same hot blood runs through their veins" (Blain et al., 1993: 70). The Italians, in turn, were portrayed by 'volcanic' metaphors.

The above discussion relates to nations participating in sports. Whannel (1992), as well as others (see Billig, 1995), points out that "top-level sport has indeed foregrounded national identity and national prestige, and hence chauvinism [my emphasis - a.b.]" (Whannel, 1992: 191).

Beyond the portrayal of national teams, attention should also be drawn to individual athletes representing their nation. Nowadays, top performers in the same teams may often be competing against each other for star status and to enhance their earning power (Whannel, 1992). Even in the Olympic Games some athletes are foregrounded and become personalities and celebrities (see also discussion in chapters 5 and 9). In certain cases the athletes arrive at the Games as stars which makes them stand out during the course of the Olympic Games. The media then tends to highlight statements such as the one made by the German Tennis player Boris Becker when, together with Michael Stich, he won the gold medal in the men's doubles in the 1992 Olympics: "It's a very special moment for us. You cannot compare it with winning at Wimbledon, There, you are playing for yourself - in the Olympics you play for a land [my emphasis -a.b.]" (Herald, 8 August 1992 quoted in Blain et al., 1993: 121).

At the Olympic Games it seems obvious that even individual athletes like Becker are playing for their country. In this context it is worth considering the question of whether national identity exerts an important role in the coverage of individual sports in which the athletes in fact represent only themselves. The answer is that it is less evident than in national-team sports and yet references to the athlete's country of origin - accompanied by similar descriptions as those mentioned above - do exist. For example, although Wimbledon is an individual competition it is a major international tournament,

[...] on such a world stage, the emergence of nationalist interpretations of even the most individualistic of sport (not only
tennis) appears to be irresistible. Indeed, the presence of a country's players at Wimbledon can even be something of a national media event [my emphasis - a.b].

(Blain et al., 1993: 122)

In their study of the European press coverage of Wimbledon 1991, Blain at el. (1993) found that newspapers did indeed refer to the tennis players as 'representatives' of their country. Two main sets of discourses of national identity were found by the researchers in the coverage of Wimbledon 1991: the Swedes and the Germans (Blain et al., 1993: 141). The major component of discourses of Swedishness was coolness; Bjorn Borg was always described as an 'iceberg' and Stefan Edberg has also been portrayed as a 'Swedish iceberg'. According to Blain et al. (1993), the Swedish newspapers themselves clearly view this notion of 'Nordic coldness' as a foreign generalisation (Blain et al., 1993: 142). Similarly, the Germans were consistently found to be described in accordance with the 'machine' metaphor, an important element of this metaphor being the notion of efficiency (Blain et al., 1993: 143). In this case as well, the British tabloids represent the extreme, "[...] the most exaggerated discourses of Germanness are, however, reserved for the British tabloids. They concentrate on notions of violence, aggression, greed and arrogance, pleasure in inflicting pain" (Blain et al., 1993: 146-147).

To conclude, the external images of nations are very simplistic in comparison to the complex issues of internal national identity. Often, nations are portrayed both in the print and visual media, in terms which can be referred to only as stereotypical. This applies to individuals representing their country in events such as the Olympic Games and to a lesser extent even to individuals competing in tournaments in which they do not represent their country, such as Wimbledon.

6.3.1 Discussion

When discussing the media representation of nations in international competitions, as with the Olympic Games, one should note a couple of further points. Firstly, the Olympic Games include both team and individual sports, and so it is safe to assume that the whole delegation representing a nation would be considered a 'team', both as the local and the international media view them, which, in turn, makes it 'easier' to refer to them in generalisations.
Secondly, the point of reference of the studies discussed in section 6.3 is fundamentally a Western one. This occurs to such an extent that when seeking to introduce another point of view, Blain et al. (1993) give the American one, "[...] to provide a non-European point of comparison, a study of a sample of the American press was also included" (Blain et al., 1993: 120).

Thirdly, the question has to be raised as to the effect of the portrayal of nations in the context of the IOC's wish to promote international understanding through the means of the Olympic Games (see discussions in chapters 1 and 3). Although the possible answers to this question are beyond the scope of this thesis, it is worth mentioning that such studies have been carried out over the last 30 years. James Halloran (1982) addressed the specific question of the development in young people of images, knowledge and attitudes concerning other people and other countries in relation to the Olympic ideas. Halloran (1990) concludes that among other issues, the media are more likely to play a part in the formation of attitudes about people from another continent, than they are with regard to attitudes of neighbours, or even to people from another country which they have visited, or with which they have some connection.

Another interesting aspect of the national identity discussion is the manner in which the media perceive themselves in this context. Such an attitude can be gauged by observing how a journalist for The Independent outlined his stance on the front page of that newspaper,

On Friday night, in an act suggesting self-assurance to an almost arrogant degree, the BBC offered us a short documentary piece about how the Olympics were being shown in other countries. The Algerian presenter seemed to be broadcasting in front of an old television set in an attic somewhere. The Japanese preferred to commentate in pairs, but both talked at the same time. Though there was some debate about the favouritism of our own commentators, it was as nothing compared with the Australian front-man as his team shot forward during the rowing: "Six meters to go, you little beauties".

(The Independent, 10 August 1992)
6.4 Conclusion

In the introduction to their study of the television coverage in various nations, of the Opening Ceremony of the Barcelona Olympics, Moragas Spa et al. (1995) suggest that analysing these broadcasts enables not only insights into national and cultural self identity, but also a better understanding of the "different ways of seeing global events and issues in the broader schema of intentional and intercultural relations" (Moragas Spa et al., 1995: 2-3). In this chapter I attempted to address both the internal national identity and the way national images are portrayed in the realm of sport media, particularly in the Olympic Games.

My main conclusion in this chapter is, that despite the Olympic Games being perceived by its own governing body (as expressed in its charter) as an international event unprecedented in its levels of cooperation and goodwill (see also discussion in chapters 1, 3, 9 and 10), they have everything to do with national identity and with the way nations perceive 'other' nations, especially as it is covered by the media. Even proceeding the parade of nations with their flags at the Opening Ceremony, and most certainly after it, the Games are presented as a contest between nation-states gathering for an international sporting event which will eventually separate them into winners and losers.
PART III
Chapter 7: Methodology and Fieldwork Design

7.1 Content Analysis - An Introduction

Content analysis is "the analysis of frequencies in manifest content of messages using the identification and counting of key units of content as a basis of its method" (O'Sullivan et al., 1994: 62). In accordance with this definition, content analysis is a statistical method, and thus is most suitable when dealing with large numbers of units. Being statistical, it uses the empiricism of its data to define itself in contrast to more interpretative methods of studying content. O'Sullivan et al. (1994) explain that the results of content analysis may be expressed as raw figures, but are more frequently and usefully given as percentages. Furthermore, they note that a comparison between sets of figures is usually necessary. In defining content analysis thus O'Sullivan et al. (1994) address quantitative content analysis and emphasise certain significant aspects of it.

The following sections discuss some further definitions of quantitative content analysis and consider the advantages and disadvantages associated with this method, while relating to some of the debates surrounding it. This chapter proceeds to briefly address qualitative content analysis, taking into consideration Holsti's (1969) statement that, "there is a group which accepts distinction between 'quantitative' and 'qualitative', but which insist that systematic documentary studies of the latter type constitute an important, and perhaps more significant, form of content analysis" (Holsti, 1969: 6).

7.1.1 Definitions

Over the years, content analysis has been used as a research method for a wide range of studies in mass communication (see Hansen, 1992; Holsti, 1969; McQuail, 1987). In fact, this tool was developed primarily for the investigation of issues for which "the content of communication serves as the basis of inference" (Holsti, 1969: 2; for a discussion of the history of content analysis see Holsti, 1969; Hansen, 1996). Although it has been criticised for producing many unimaginative studies and also for its general misuse (Hansen, 1992; Krippendorff, 1980), it is still considered a useful tool in communications and social science research (McQuail, 1987). Most often, the focus of content analysis in media research centred on "the examination of
how news, drama, advertising, and entertainment output reflect social and cultural issues, values, and phenomena" (Hansen, 1996: 126).

As observed by Holsti (1969), "nearly all research in the social sciences and humanities depends in one way or another on careful reading of written materials" (Holsti, 1969: 2). However, content analysis requires more than a simple ‘careful reading', according to Berelson (1952), in that "content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (Berelson, 1952: 18). Other definitions are consistent with describing content analysis as reliant on objectivity, system, and generality. **Objectivity** refers to the requirement of the research being carried out to be "on the basis of explicit formulated rules and procedures" (Holsti, 1969: 3) in such a way that the researcher's decisions are least subjective. In this manner, the most important yardstick of objectivity is the possible replicability of the analysis, by other researchers. **Systematic** denotes that "the inclusion and exclusion of content or categories is done according to consistently applied rules" (Holsti, 1969: 4). **Generality** relates to the requirement that the information be of theoretical relevance, and not be simply descriptive information. Moreover, this means that,

> [...] a datum about communication content is meaningless until it is related to at least one other datum. The link between these is represented by some form of theory. Thus all content analysis is concerned with comparison, the type of comparison being dictated by the investigator's theory.  

(Holsti, 1969: 5)

Holsti (1969) notes that the conditions of objectivity, system, and generality are not unique to content analysis, as any scientific inquiry should similarly obey these rules (Holsti, 1969: 5).

Berelson's (1952) definition has been criticised for restricting itself to manifest and quantitative analysis. Consequently, Holsti (1969) offers the following definition: "content analysis is any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages" (Holsti, 1969: 14). This definition incorporates the above mentioned three criteria, yet it does not refer to quantification, as he views the qualitative-quantitative distinction as a rigid, unwarranted one (see further discussion of this debate below). Holsti's (1969) definition also does not include "the stipulation that content analysis must be limited to describing the manifest characteristics of messages" (Holsti, 1969: 14). He
acknowledges the fact that only manifest attributes of the text may be coded, but believes that this is already covered by the objectivity requirement. Thus, "inferences about the latent meanings of messages are [...] permitted" (Holsti, 1969: 14), in his view, and even required.

7.1.2 The Advantages of Content Analysis

The advantages of content analysis over other research methods include the tendency for it to be a 'nonreactive' or 'unobtrusive' research technique (Holsti, 1969: 16; see also McQuail, 1987), and the fact that it can deal with current events or past events, or even both (Berger, 1991). It also has the technical benefits of being inexpensive, aligned to the fact that it is usually relatively easy to get material to conduct it on (Berger, 1991).

One of the most important advantages of content analysis is "that it lends itself to the analysis of large bodies of text or content" (Hansen, 1996: 131-132). This is inherent in the method, but was made easier still with the developing use of computers. As long as three decades ago Holsti (1969) assessed that with the introduction of computers "the more laborious chores associated with content analysis" (Holsti, 1969: 20) will become their domain. Indeed, nowadays, the use of computers CD-ROM and other technical innovations offers a major advance on traditional content analysis procedures (Hansen, 1992). In such a way the use of content analysis has become easier and more sophisticated enabling it to deal with even larger bodies of content.

However, for all its advantages, Holsti (1969) argues that content analysis can not be used for all documentary research, as it can not determine the truth, and neither can it evaluate the aesthetic qualities of a text. Even when relevant, this method still engenders a few potentially significant difficulties.

7.1.3 Disadvantages and Difficulties Associated with Content Analysis

Content analysis involves a number of problems which were emphasised by both its critics and its users. Berger (1991) outlines in a list of the method's disadvantages, the notion that doubt surrounds the representative nature of the sample, and the idea
that it is often difficult to obtain a good working definition of the topic being studied. He adds that it is not always easy to find a measurable unit as well as the notion that it is not possible to prove with complete certainty that the inferences made on the basis of a content analysis are correct.

The latter, i.e. questions surrounding the inferences drawn from texts, highlight what is considered to be one of the primary limitations of content analysis (Holsti, 1969). This touches on the essential requirements of objectivity, system, and generality briefly discussed above. In fact, much of the early debate concerning content analysis has dealt with the notion that it is simply not 'objective'. Thus, later definitions of content analysis have concentrated on the conditions of 'system' (Holsti, 1969) and 'replicability' (Krippendorff, 1980).

As revealed by its definitions, content analysis is a quantitative method, and in this way it is not "difficult to find studies in the research literature which get carried away with complex statistical analyses far removed from any sense of how texts are produced, read, and received" (Hansen, 1992: 14). On the other hand,


(Hansen, 1992: 14)

Thus, explicit rules and the use of systematic methods are required in order to conduct content analysis effectively. Krippendorff (1980) believes that researchers strive to their utmost ability to avoid bias, and thus he suggests that researchers should make explicit what they are doing and share their findings "so that others may examine or replicate them" (Krippendorff, 1980: 11). Moreover, "we are aware of the qualitative differences between methodology that provides us with a platform from which we can talk about data and scientific procedure and what these phenomena mean to us individually" (Krippendorff, 1980: 11). This forms a crucial point as the "danger of fragmentation and decontextualising of meaning" (Hansen, 1992: 3) appears to be inherent in the use of the traditional method of content analysis. Both Krippendorff (1980) and Holsti (1969) observe that 'content analysis' must be guided by theoretical guidelines in order to contextualise the analysis and avoid counting for counting sake (see also section 7.2).
Although content analysis has been criticised for such alleged characteristics as not being scientific enough, and/or producing many unimaginative studies (Krippendorff, 1980), it is considered as a very useful tool when correctly employed (Hansen, 1996). Thus, it is important to discuss the steps which should be adopted in order to exploit it to its fullest.

### 7.2 Procedure

Hansen (1996) outlines the key steps which should be followed in content analysis: defining the research problem, selecting the media and sample, defining analytical categories, constructing a coding schedule, conducting a pilot study in order to check the reliability of the coding schedule, and preparing the data and analysing it. These steps are closely related to the three requirements which Holsti (1969) identifies as basic to content analysis (and indeed, to other types of research methods): sampling, reliability and validity.

The initial task of **defining the research problem** applies equally to any type of research, not only content analysis. As content analysis is a research method, there is a necessity that it be anchored in theory and related to a review of the relevant literature as well as to related studies (Hansen, 1996). This framework should provide "pointers to what aspects of texts should be examined, or how those dimensions should be interpreted" (Hansen, 1992: 4). In accordance with this, the researcher is likely to avoid the danger of counting things 'for the sake of counting' which "is almost certain to yield precise findings which are either meaningless, trivial, or both" (Holsti, 1969: Preface). It is important to note that the requirement for a clear conceptualisation of the research problem, "and the subsequent definition of what aspects and categories of content should be analysed" (Hansen, 1996: 131), touches on the concepts of 'validity' and 'reliability'. **Validity**, being the degree to which the analyst is indeed measuring what s/he thinks s/he is measuring and **reliability**, represents the "accuracy, dependability, stability, consistency, and predictability of result" (Holsti, 1969: preface).

The following stage is that of **sampling**. Holsti (1969) argues that in the studies of media output, the analyst can rarely afford to examine all relevant data purely because of the sheer amount generated. One possible solution to this problem is employing a sample and using the findings that this produces to make inferences "about the larger universe from which it was selected" (Holsti, 1969: 18).
Importantly, he cautions that thorough procedure must be adopted to ensure that the sample is representative. He also emphasises that the relevant characteristics of the sample have to be described precisely. Although one of the major advantages of content analysis is its ability to process large volumes of text, finding the relevant texts and sampling them is a highly important dimension to any study. In the content analysis of mass media output, sampling involves the selection of the medium or media to be analysed; the time-period to be covered; the genres and the types of coverage within these media. Once these have been defined "there still remains the task of identifying, by applying some pre-defined selection criteria, texts or programmes which are about or refer to the subject matter to be analysed" (Hansen, 1992: 5).

According to O'Sullivan et al. (1994) "the most problematic part of content analysis is the categorization, that is how to choose and classify units to be counted" (O'Sullivan et al., 1994: 62). The definition of the analytical categories refers basically to the choice of the dimensions of the text which will be analysed, the important point here being that these categories should logically follow from the initial definition of the research problem. This notion also touches on the concept of validity, where the selected categories must produce information which is central to the research problem - again, precluding findings which are irrelevant. Put differently, the researcher should exercise caution in selecting the analytical categories so that they answer the specific research problem at hand as, "content analysts are not generally agreed on standard categories, even for given classes of problems, the investigator often finds himself in the position of having to develop his own" (Holsti, 1969: 11). Furthermore, Holsti (1969) also suggests that the analyst must read his data before constructing the categories so as to acquire "a 'feel' for the types of relevant symbols or themes" (Holsti, 1969: 11).

The definition of the analytical categories forms the bases of the construction of the coding schedule. When the choice of dimensions to be analysed has been formulated, constructing the schedule is a formal procedure. It should be stressed that the schedule must establish clear guidelines and definitions for the coding practice (Hansen, 1996). Failure to attain this could raise very serious problems when drawing conclusions from the resultant data (Holsti, 1969).

Conducting a pilot study holds considerable importance for the 'fine-tuning' of the coding schedule and it also provides an opportunity for inspection of its reliability. Reliability, as mentioned, is the condition of the "accuracy, dependability, stability, consistency, and predictability" (Holsti, 1969: Preface) of the analysis. Through
conducting a pilot study, the analyst can verify whether the coding schedule meets all the above requirements. That is, does the analysis fulfil the conditions of accuracy, dependability, stability, consistency and predictability.

As previously explained, nowadays, computer analysis is widely used in the process of content analysis. This occurs in the preparation of the data and its analysing and involves, firstly, creating a data file of the coding schedules. In social science the most "powerful package which has traditionally been popular, and continues to be so [...] is SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences)” (Hansen, 1996: 150). It is important to note that although the analyst will be guided by his own expectations of the collected data, by this stage of inquiry, the use of the computer package still enables flexibility in discovering further trends.

To conclude, in order to avoid the pitfalls of content analysis and exploit it as a research method to the best of its abilities, the analyst is advised to follow certain steps - as outlined above. To further strengthen the analysis and contextualise its findings, it is also productive to complement quantitative content analysis with other research methods.

### 7.3 Supplementing Quantitative Content Analysis

Holsti (1969) advocates that content analysis may be useful as a supplementary source of data, according to him "the investigator may check the results of questionnaire or interview data by comparing them with content analyses of the subject's statements” (Holsti, 1969: 16). If indeed, "two or more approaches to the same problem yield similar results, our confidence that the findings reflect the phenomena in which we are interested, rather than the methods we have used, is enhanced” (Holsti, 1969: 19). One viable supporting tool to quantitative content analysis can be qualitative content analysis. In fact, as has been increasingly accepted, in social science, quantitative and qualitative approaches to text analysis can be used productively in a complementary manner (McQuail, 1987).

Indeed, in their large scale study of news, Cohen et al. (1996) forward the argument that their study represents,

 [...] a good example of how quantitative and qualitative methods can be combined to produce different meaningful interpretations of
mass media messages. At a time when scholars still debate, often vehemently, the relative merits of each of these approaches, we have tried hard to score points in both fields thereby producing deeper appreciation for the topic under investigation.

(Cohen et al., 1996: 146)

Cohen et al. (1996) are not alone in the observation that the traditional dichotomy of quantitative content analysis and qualitative approaches to textual analysis is fading (Hansen, 1992). Without engaging too deeply in the quantity-quality issue, a debate which is certainly not a trivial one (Holsti, 1969), I would agree with the perspective that "qualitative and quantitative are not dichotomous attributes, but fall along a continuum" (Holsti, 1969: 11; for a further discussion of this debate see Holsti, 1969). From this argument, it follows that the content analyst should employ both qualitative and quantitative methods to supplement each other (Holsti, 1969). Combining qualitative and quantitative approaches for the social analysis and interpretation of texts is also considered as fruitful by Hansen (1992), who argues that "the analysis of newspaper text can proceed with a combination of quantitative mapping and qualitative exploration, which may itself in turn lead to quantitative re-examination" (Hansen, 1992: 31).

7.4 Conclusion

Throughout its history, content analysis has been extensively used as a research method for many studies (see Hansen, 1996; Hansen, 1992; Holsti, 1969; McQuail, 1987). Although it is not without its faults, I perceive it to be the most appropriate tool for my data requirements, chiefly as, "content analysis is a flexible research technique for analysing large bodies of text" (Hansen, 1996: 150). Furthermore, as the literature also points out, when correctly implemented, content analysis can avoid the negative aspects associated with it which are not inherent in the method, but rather stem from a misuse of it.

Since quantitative content analysis is considered to be most productively used in combination with other research approaches (Hansen, 1996), I have chosen to supplement my quantitative analysis with both qualitative content analysis and interviews.
7.5 Fieldwork Design

The following sections relate to the analysis I conducted on the newspaper build up and coverage of the Barcelona Olympics of 1992, in Britain and Israel. Planning my research, I found it useful to follow the same 'key steps' outlined above (section 7.2), and in doing so relate my own research to the general requirements of content analysis. Firstly, the definition of the research problem was informed through several theoretical aspects, as discussed in Part II of this thesis, which constitute the theoretical framework of my study. Put differently, the objectives of my analysis of newspaper coverage was to assess in what ways the particular case of the (Barcelona) Olympics relates to the theories of media events, news values and globalisation, and the concepts of gender, heroes and national identity (for a further discussion see section 7.5.2).

7.5.1 Selection of Media and Sample

As previously mentioned, in the content analysis of mass media output sampling involves the selection of the medium or media to be analysed. I chose to investigate the newspaper coverage of the Barcelona Olympics, and this choice of medium was based, firstly, on my wish to maintain control in terms of the overall media output. Control is highly relevant in enabling the study to examine all theoretical aspects of this thesis, for example, only total control can show when exactly the build up to the Games begins, and also how it develops, which relates to both the issues of media events and news values. Newspapers lend themselves to this required condition of control above all other media forms, particularly with a comparative study in two countries.

It was also important for this study to inspect the large scope, in-depth reporting offered by newspapers, including the build up to the Olympics, in regards to events reports and articles concerning the personalities involved. While newspapers can not provide live coverage as television can, they hold a distinct advantage by having "more scope for analysis and can often devote several pages or a pull-out supplement whereas radio and television in sports coverage does not always have the same analytical scope" (Niblock, 1996: 48).

As discussed in chapter 2, it is certainly true that television excels at delivering spectacles into the home, and that the reality of a major event, brought straight into
the sitting-room with all the immediacy of live television, has generally been a guarantor of huge audiences (Whannel, 1984). However, in regards to the coverage of sport in general, newspapers retain an important role. For example, George Black (Screensport) stated that to encourage an audience taste for a new sport, "you can't develop a sport that's new to the public purely on the screen, you have to get the press behind you". In this manner, newspapers exert a supportive role in building up the popularity of a new sport. The same applies also for building sporting heroes (see, for example, discussion of Paul (Gazza) Gascoigne in chapter 5).

In regards to the specific case of the Olympic Games, television on its own cannot be viewed as the only relevant medium. It is worth recalling that indeed television has not always been the dominant medium for the coverage of the Games. For decades the Olympics were only available to newspaper readers and cinema goers, days and sometimes even weeks after the events had taken place. Live coverage was transmitted only on radio (Equinox, Channel 4, August 1992). Although television is considered to be the dominant medium in contemporary society in commercial terms.

As outlined (see also chapter 2), newspaper coverage does not share the qualities of immediacy and apparent 'realism', that television relays, neither does it transmit globally but at the same time it is not required to submit to particular restrictions associated with broadcasting rights and is able to dedicate more space to interviews, previews and post-mortems of sports events. Furthermore, it can focus extensively on the athletes of the specific nation, particularly in the case of nations which cannot afford a comprehensive (and expensive) television coverage - which is what a national media, and audience, are most interested in (see also discussion in chapters 6 and 9).

The role newspapers play in the coverage of the Olympics is highlighted by the comments made by the journalists I interviewed. James Mossop (The Express) for instance, believes that newspapers achieve a further dimension than television in that they, "get behind the pictures, [...] tell them [the readers] something they haven't seen or don't know about". For example, "when Christie wins the gold medal, we all see that and we all applaud and he is interviewed, I would like then to say in my piece something about his background, how he was a little rebel in West London and didn't want to train". Furthermore, "there are more features being written now, [...] deeper features, sitting down with a guy and talk to him for an hour and get the real story about the man or the woman. So that, again, it's something that television didn't know about, hasn't seen. We try and write about things that TV has missed or
doesn't know about". In fact, "the advantage the written media has over the electronic media is that we can spend more time with people, we can get deeper into people. Also our product is not as flicking as the television picture, people can sit and digest it an read it, so I think there is still a lot to be said for the written word" (see further discussion of the coverage of an athlete's background in chapter 8).

Such sentiments were reinforced by Israeli journalists, as illustrated by Raffi Nae (Yedioth Aharonoth) who observed that,

> Nowadays, in our technological, highly televised world we need to concentrate on bringing the reader the stories television didn't give them [...] we can add things, for instance, the next day [after Yael Arad and Oren Semadga, two Israeli Judokas who attained Israel's first ever Olympic medals - a.b.] we had a photograph of Yael with Semadga after he won his medal, that wasn't on television. That night there was a spontaneous celebration party which the television didn't show, we were there and covered it.

(Raffi Nae, Yedioth Aharonoth)

Thus, sports editors and journalists (see also Craig Lord in chapter 2) agree with opinion that newspapers assume a significant role in the coverage of the Olympic Games. In the context of this thesis, it is important to recall that all theoretical aspects of my analysis (discussed in Parts I and II) are applicable to newspapers. In regards to the media events theory, it must be underlined that, according to Dayan and Katz (1992), the definition of a media event relates to an occasion transmitted on television. However, my position is that it is highly relevant to discuss the place newspapers occupy in the coverage of the Olympic Games. In fact, it is viable to argue that the coverage of the Olympics in newspapers, is very closely linked to the theory of media events, as discussed in greater detail in chapter 2.

For my analysis, once the choice of medium was made, it was of crucial importance to decide on which newspapers would be representative of general coverage in Britain and Israel. As already discussed, a comparison of two nation's press coverage drove the construction of my sample channels. In Israel, there are relatively few daily newspapers, thus the representative newspapers were deemed to be Yedioth Aharonoth the newspaper with the largest circulation, and Hadashot which had a significant impact on sports coverage in this country. In Britain the chosen newspapers were The Times and The Daily Express, and in order to maintain continuity, The Sunday Times and the Sunday Express were selected as Sunday
papers. These newspapers were selected so as to provide a cross section of the coverage devoted to the Olympics in Britain, while maintaining a close as possible a parallel between the British and Israeli newspapers.

The following brief description of the collected newspapers (as they were at the time of collection) also clarifies the reasons for their selection, as opposed to other alternatives.

The Times - At the time of collection, The Times had a circulation of 362,793 (source: ABC figures for April-September 1992). Its history includes ownership by Astor, and later, Thompson organisation (first The Sunday Times and from 1966 The Times itself). In 1981 it was sold (along with The Sunday Times) to Rupert Murdoch. For many years, The Times was considered to be an elite newspaper. A summary of the esteem with which The Times was held for many years, both in Britain and indeed in Israel, can be illuminated by referring to Caspi and Limor (1992). When describing the most prestigious Israeli newspaper, Ha'Aretz, they draw comparisons with newspapers from around the world and state that it is "maybe like the elite newspapers in other countries which include the American New York Times, the French Le Mond or London's Times [my emphasis - a.b.] under its old ownership" (Caspi and Limor, 1992: 54). Under the ownership of Murdoch, The Times has distinctly altered from the days of the Astor, and later the Thompsons ownership, when it claimed a special quality of independence, similar to this of The Observer and later The Independent. For many years, The Times prided itself on being a 'journal of record', in that it carried items that were not easily justifiable by the standard news values, but which also recognised the importance of the institutions concerned to the established social order, among them the monarchy (Seymour-Ure, 1991). Even though The Times has changed markedly in recent years, it is still perceived as one of the broadsheets in Britain (for the definition of the distinction between broadsheets and tabloids, see Seymour-Ure, 1995).

At the time of collection, in line with this perception that The Times was no longer considered 'elite' but still a quality newspaper, it was judged as suitable for comparison with the Israeli Yedioth Aharonoth (see below). Furthermore, The Times was appropriate for the purposes of analysis, as it carries an extensive quality (as opposed to tabloid) of sports coverage.

The Express - In the period of collection, the circulation of this newspaper was 1,503,214 (for the period September-February 91/2 - Source ABC). The Express is generally considered a 'middle-range paper' ever since it became tabloid in the
1970's (Seymour-Ure, 1995). At the present time, together with The Mail, The Express is aimed at the middle market, middle class and middle brow of society, and in that seems squeezed between sectors (Seymour-Ure, 1991). Since there are no tabloid equivalents (of The Sun variety) in Israel, the choice of a middle-brow paper indicated the best method of representing the coverage in a non-broadsheet newspaper (for the Israeli counterpart see below). It must be noted that the sports coverage of The Express shares some common characteristics with the sport coverage in the tabloid press, in regards, for instance, to the way in which the back page of the paper doubles as the front page of the sport section.

Yedioth Aharonoth - During the time of collection, there were three 'evening newspapers' in Israel: Yedioth Aharonoth, Ma'ariv and Hadashot. These papers were labelled 'evening papers' for historical reasons, although the escalating 'war' between Yedioth Aharonoth and Ma'ariv meant that in recent years their subscribers have the assurance that their newspaper will reach their front door by 7am. Although Yedioth Aharonoth and Ma'ariv are, and have always been rivals, they share many similar characteristics. At the time of collection Ma'ariv was undergoing a series of changes following the death of its owner for a couple of years, Robert Maxwell. Thus, Yedioth Aharonoth, the more stable of the two, which has also enjoyed a higher circulation for many years, was selected.

Yedioth Aharonoth has grown steadily in popularity over the years, and during the time of collection it had the largest circulation in Israel for a daily newspaper: 294,351 during weekdays and 523,944 for its weekend equivalent (Caspi and Limor, 1992). Its trade marks include short items, popular language and lively editing. In short, it adopts a 'tabloid-like format', as revealed by its popularity with the masses, yet it cannot be perceived as a tabloid (Caspi and Limor, 1991). Its format may bear closer resemblance to The Express, but in terms of content it is more akin to The Times. The sports coverage of Yedioth Aharonoth is considered to be the most extensive of all Israeli newspapers.

Hadashot - Hadashot was launched in February 1984 as a tabloid newspaper, modelling itself on the British Sun and German Bild. The result was a tabloid format which remained with the paper for years to come. However, in regards to its content, within a year of its launch, its editors had to reconsider the whole concept of tabloid news in the Israeli culture, as it appeared that the Israeli public simply did not accept 'yellow' news. Since this realisation, Hadashot proceeded into the direction of the two other evening papers. Given that it was slow to shake off its initial image thereby inhibiting its ability to gain a large readership, in 1991 it had managed a
circulation on weekdays of 43,500, compared to 82,000 on weekends (Caspi and Limor, 1992). Through the years, the paper gained a leftist, Tel-Avivian image, which enhanced its popularity on weekends in the centre of Israel, as a second newspaper. By 1993 however, it was closed down.

The chief motive for the inclusion of Hadashot in my study lies in the impact it had on the sports coverage within the Israeli press. Its initial tabloid format resulted in its launching with a back page which doubled as the front page of its sport section. This characteristic changed after a while, along with other strategies to dispel its tabloid image, but the newspaper maintained an extensive sports section (or supplement, depending on the day of the week). More significantly, the language used in the sports section of Hadashot influenced the sports coverage in other Israeli newspapers. The changes in the language of Israeli journalism in general has been attributed to the aggressive use of language in Hadashot, particularly amongst its sports pages (Caspi and Limor, 1991).

By the time of collection, Hadashot had the chief attributes of a tabloid newspaper with middle-brow content, that was judged to resemble The Express in Britain. As previously outlined, the newspaper has closed down since collection.

One further observation should be highlighted regarding the difference between British and Israeli newspapers. Whereas Israeli newspapers are released 6 days a week - no newspapers are printed on Saturdays and the weekend supplements are sold on Friday - the British equivalents are printed a full 7 days per week. This creates a problem by way of comparing the number of items in the newspapers of the different cultures, and it also effects all the raw data figures. One technique of avoiding this problem could be through omitting one day of the British coverage. Harrison (1996) conducted a content analysis of the coverage of the Barcelona Olympiad, and in it he decided not to include the Sunday editions of the British newspapers. This decision was informed by the fact that "in many cases different writers are commissioned for the Sunday editions and the 'review' in the Sunday edition covers not only the events of Saturday but a review of the previous week and it is common practice for the Monday edition of newspapers to cover events that took place on both Saturday and Sunday" (Harrison, 1996: 2). For these reasons he decided to completely exclude the Sunday editions of newspapers from his investigation.

Arguably more sophisticated methods, than simply omitting one day for the purposes of levelling the comparison between the British and Israeli newspapers
could be employed, for example, excluding different days of the week in consecutive weeks. However, the fact that newspapers are printed 6 days a week in Israel and daily in Britain reflects a major cultural difference, and thus I decided not to artificially exclude a certain day, nor to use any random method that would examine only 6 days of newspapers publication in Britain. Furthermore, I share a similar view to Cohen et al. (1996), who asserted that,

[...]

...when sampling news we are faced with the problem of item specificity. By this we mean that each news item has both common and unique characteristics, thus no two items can even be considered as precisely identical even using the notion of probability.

(Cohen et al., 1996: 146)

Because of this, it is important to inspect all items and discuss general trends, rather than simply levelling the raw figures.

After selecting the medium and media outlets, the time-period of analysis had to be selected. The Barcelona Olympic Games took place between July 25th and August 9th, 1992. In order to widen the scope of the analysis to cover the build up to the Games as a media event, the coverage of the Olympics itself and the reporting of the immediate aftermath, I decided upon gathering the newspapers from April 1st 1992 until September 1st 1992. The starting point for the research was selected as April 1st, even though the count down to the Olympic Games in the media can be traced back to at least a year before their Opening Ceremony. However, I was most interested in the main build-up to the Games, which typically occurs during the last few weeks leading up to the commencement of the Games. In order to locate the exact juncture at which the extensive coverage began, I decided to collect newspapers as early as three months in advance. The cut-off point was selected at September 1st so as to include the post Olympic Games period which would thereby include summary of the Games. My collection of the newspapers continued up to almost a month following the Closing Ceremony, for the reason that it enabled me to identify when both countries' newspapers relaxed their interested in the Games.

As it remains imperative to pre-define which texts will be analysed (Hansen, 1992), a choice was made to examine all items relating to the Olympics which were printed in the sport section and/or the sport supplements (when they existed). Items printed on other pages of the newspapers which concerned the Olympics and referred to athletes, were also included in the coding. For example, in some instances during
the Games items reporting the achievements of athletes were printed on the front page - and such reports were included in the study (see further discussion in chapter 9). I would like to emphasise that once the decision regarding the sampling of newspapers and dates was confirmed, no sampling of items was involved. All items which covered the Barcelona Olympics, and related to athletes in the four newspapers, were coded.

7.5.2 Definition of Analytical Categories

As previously outlined, the definition of the analytical categories forms the basic core dimensions of the text to be analysed, which should logically proceed from the initial definition of the research problem. These chosen categories should then constitute the building blocks of the coding schedule (see chapters 8 and 9). The definition of the analytical categories in my study relates to the theoretical issues already raised in chapters 2-6 of this thesis.

Firstly, I was interested in exploring the issue of the Olympic Games in terms of a media event, as discussed in chapter 2, for that I choose to assess the build up towards the Games. Such a focus, supplemented by the media events theory, could reveal the level of intense build up that emerges prior to such an event. Furthermore, examining the overall coverage during the Olympic Games could also illustrate the extent to which such an event monopolises the media coverage, which in this case refers to the sports pages of the newspapers:

For the purpose of relating the analysis to the theory of news values, as discussed in chapter 2, a category of 'themes' was selected so as to enable an analysis of the contents of items to be traced back to the original newsworthiness attributed to them. In essence, news values denote the selection and construction of events which become media news. According to the literature, these values can be revealed mainly through the means of participant observation in newsrooms, and by examining the end result of their operations - i.e. the media text itself. According to Bell (1991), we see that news values can be initially identified through the means of analysing textbooks, which teach news skills, but they can only be fully assessed by deduction from what actually appears in the media. This deduction, he believes, approximates the (often unconscious) criteria which newworkers are guided by in their professional judgements as they process stories. Despite this, I decided to try
and go beyond the content analysis by putting questions to sports journalists and editors in the interviews I conducted (see section 7.5.5).

Issues relating to the globalisation theory, previously discussed in chapter 3, touch on the dimension of national identity, as outlined in chapter 6. Put differently, the category of 'nation' could illuminate the extent to which the coverage of a global event, like the Olympic Games, has indeed a global nature, or whether the coverage, as would be expected from some of the topical literature, concentrates itself on national interests. This issue also raises the matter of heroes, discussed at greater length in chapter 5, as the literature makes it safe to assume that the focus of the coverage would be on the national heroes in each nation. The observation which should be highlighted from this example is that some of the categories inter-play in relation to the various dimensions; that is, the same category can assist in assessing the validity of more than any one theory, as applicable to the Olympic Games.

A further issue which I found important was the coverage of male and female athletes, discussed earlier in chapter 4. A category of 'gender' was thus selected for the main actors, through which it was possible to address the 'symbolic annihilation' argument. As mentioned above, the 'themes' category could also allow a further inspection of this issue. It should be pointed out here that for all dimensions analysed the category of 'themes' enabled a more qualitative analysis of the main themes of the coverage.

Although the theoretical dimensions of my analysis touch on many aspects of the Olympic Games, it can not possibly examine the whole plethora of angles. Of the paths I did not pursue, it is important for me to refer to the issue of race and sport, and relate the motives which influenced my decision not to analyse it in this study for all its relevance to the realm of sport. The issue of race in relation to sport has been dealt with in recent years in the literature, originating mainly from the USA. For instance, in a volume edited by Lapchick (1996) titled *Sport in Society - Equal Opportunity or Business as Usual?*, several researchers deal with aspects of this issue, including higher education and the plight of black male athletes (Siegel, 1996) and the cultural diversity on campus (Anderson, 1996). A special issue of the *Journal of Sport & Social Issues* (August 1994, Vol.18 No.3) focused on Race and Sport, and also raised these and other closely related issues.

In regards to Britain, aspects of racism and sport were raised both in the literature as well as in radio and television documentaries. The BBC radio documentary *Across The White Line*, for example, concentrated on the fact that black footballers are less
likely to represent Britain in the National Teams as compared to their white counterparts. In an interview with *The Guardian* (February 19th, 1996), Hepburn Harrison-Graham, the producer of the above mentioned programme posed the question, "How many black players play currently for England? Is there something going on there?". He continued to say that, "black players I have spoken to generally feel that England is not for them". Furthermore, as the research for that programme also proved, black footballers can not feasibly express hope in attaining careers in management positions after the completion of their playing careers. Such a pattern holds true for black American football and basketball players in the USA too (Lapchick, 1996).

When considering the media's role in relation to race and sport, Sabo and Curry Jansen (1992) point out that,

> Media images of black male athletes are a curious confluence of athletic, racial, and gender stereotypes. The intermeshing of racial stereotypes with images of hegemonic masculinity, in effect, reflects and reinforces time-worn racist notions about the sexuality and masculinity of black men. It would therefore appear that sport media are complicit in, not somewhat separate from, the larger institutional and cultural processes that reproduce and exonerate white men's domination over black men, and men's domination over women.

(Sabo and Curry Jansen, 1992: 182)

Whannel (1992) also conveys the point in relation to Britain, that "the world of sport as seen on TV is a world in which women are subordinate, blacks are not quite full-status Britons [my emphasis - a.b.], and men are the stars and primary definer" (Whannel, 1992: 206). These, in addition to other aspects of the media representation of black male athletes, was the focus of several studies (see Rowe, 1994).

While acknowledging the ongoing relevance, and indeed utmost importance, of the inquiry into race issues in the context of mediated sport, particularly in those cultures of American and Britain, as previously stated, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to pursue this topic. Since this thesis focuses on a comparison of two nations, Britain and Israel, it must be pointed out that in Israel no black minority exists as such - although this is currently changing since the immigration of Ethiopian Jews to Israel. Moreover, for the purpose of this thesis, 'black' was not selected as a
category; the analysis of the Olympic Games refers, by definition, to dealing with black athletes from Kenya, as well as other athletes from all-black nations. Whannel (1992) also stresses that, "in this world we are divided, not by class, by race or by gender, but by our individual sporting preferences, our local identity and our club loyalties. We are united by our common individuality, but above all by the constant appeal to our sense of national identity [my emphasis - a.b.]" (Whannel, 1992: 206). Thus, the more central issue, to my mind, in the Olympics lies with that of nationality and national identity (see also discussion in chapter 6) and not in the realms of ethnicity.

To conclude, the definition of the analytical categories was informed by my interest in the Olympic Games as a global media event, of which the coverage is also governed by news values. Furthermore, the analysis focused on the dimensions of gender, heroes and national identity (see detailed discussion in chapter 9).

7.5.3 Coding Schedule, Pilot Study and SPSS

When planning my content analysis, I proceeded according to the key steps suggested by Hansen (1996). This entailed the key step of including the construction of the coding schedule, followed by the necessity of conducting a pilot study, which was designed to check the overall reliability of the schedule. Based on the selection of categories outlined in the previous section, a coding schedule was constructed (see Appendix 9) and this will be reported in chapters 8 and 9, alongside the findings which emerged from the analysis.

A pilot study was carried out in the second week of June - from June 8th 1992 to June 14th 1992 - in all four newspapers. Following the pilot study, a few minor changes were made to positions of categories of the coding schedule.

The final stage in a content analysis study is data preparation and analysis. The data that resulted from the coding of the items under investigation, was organised into data computer files to prepare for the application of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The reporting of the results and their discussion follows in chapters 8 and 9.
7.5.4 Supplementing Quantitative Content Analysis with Qualitative Analysis

In order to subject my study to additional scrutiny, and also following the advice given in literature (see section 7.3), I decided to supplement my quantitative analysis with the qualitative content analysis of 30 items which featured on the front pages of the newspapers relating to the Barcelona Olympic Games. Thus, I employed quantitative analysis as a map, and once drawn, I was able to illustrate my findings with examples from items which were considered by newspaper's editors to exceed the sports 'ghetto', and be of interest to the general readership of their newspaper (see further discussion in chapter 9).

7.5.5 Supplementing the Analysis with Interviews

For the purpose of contextualising the content analysis, and also to supplement it with an accompanying approach, I interviewed sportswriters or editors from each of the newspapers subjected to analysis. This draw from the notion expressed by Cantor (1982) that owing to the fact that decisions concerning media content are made within media organisations, it is likely that the best explanations will be found there. However, the interviews were utilised only as a supplementary method, baring in mind McQuail's (1987) observation that because media organisations are constrained by the pressures of the moment, as well as traditions and conventions, in addition to their own myths and untaught-out assumptions, the explanations offered by those media professionals, should not be accepted totally at face value.

List of Interviewees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Job (at the time of interview)</th>
<th>Date of Interview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>Craig Lord</td>
<td>Sportwriter</td>
<td>21.11.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Express</td>
<td>James Massop</td>
<td>Chief Sportswriter</td>
<td>23.11.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yedioth Aharonoth</td>
<td>Raffi Naee</td>
<td>Chief Sports Editor</td>
<td>21.9.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadashot*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* by the time of interviewing, the newspaper had closed down and its sportswriters could not be traced.
In conducting the interviews, I did not use any form of closed questions; my questions, guided by both the theoretical framework and the findings of the content analysis, were open-ended. Watson (1991) defines these as broad, usually unstructured questions which simply introduce the topic of discussion in such a manner "that allows the interviewee a good deal of freedom in answering" (Watson, 1991: 90). I did prepare a list of questions which I did want to pursue in the interview. These questions corresponded with Watson's (1991) definition of 'primary questions' i.e., those questions which essentially introduce the subject or each new aspect of the subject under discussion. I pursued these with 'secondary questions', i.e. those questions which followed from the answers to the primary questions. Furthermore, as in certain cases, the interviewees included in their answer to one question, comments which directly related to another pre-prepared question I decided as the interview progressed whether to focus further on the issue at hand with another question, or be satisfied with the answer I had already received. Thus, the progress of the interviews differed, although the answers to the pre-prepared 'primary questions' were nonetheless included in all of them. It must be emphasised that I have attempted as 'neutral' a stance as possible in the wording of my questions, so as not to suggest to the interviewees any preferred response.

I decided to use the interviews as a means of controlling the content analysis, and to accomplish this, I conducted the interviews after the content analysis. I asked the journalists, amongst other things, their opinions of my findings. Overall, the questions raised included questions relating to the theoretical dimensions I was interested in. For example, referring to media events - 'In what way is covering a big event different from your routine work?'; referring to news values - 'Which stories do you decide to write about and why?'; referring to gender - 'Do you think there is a difference in the coverage of male and female athletes?'; referring to the national angle - 'Which countries do you cover most?'. As mentioned, specific questions stemming from the results of my analysis were also asked, once the initial answer had been obtained. For example, following the general question 'Who do you think the heroes of the Barcelona Olympics were?' I requested the journalist's opinion concerning the heroes I had found. Further questions, which also stemmed from the results, were subsequently posed, including 'Which sports do you think your newspaper covered most? Why?'. Questions positioning the journalist's newspaper within the context of his own country and a world-wide framework, were also included. Similarly, various further questions were forwarded contingent upon the answers the journalists provided.
The interviews will not form a separate part of this thesis, and indeed some of the answers outlined by the journalists and editors have already been included in previous chapters of the thesis. Some further relevant answers will be reported when discussing of the findings of my content analysis (see chapters 8 and 9).

In a related research project, I interviewed all heads of sport in television organisations in both Britain and in Israel. These interviews will not be reported separately, but answers I got in some of these interviews are included in the thesis (the list below refers only to interviews quoted in my thesis).

**List of Television Interviewees**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Job (at the time of interview)</th>
<th>Date of Interview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BBC</td>
<td>Jonathon Martin</td>
<td>Head of Sport</td>
<td>1.9.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITV</td>
<td>Bob Burrows</td>
<td>Controller of Sport, Thames TV and Head of Sport ITV</td>
<td>15.3.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Screensport</td>
<td>George Black</td>
<td>Head of Programming</td>
<td>28.1.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eurosport</td>
<td>Adrian Metcalf</td>
<td>Head of Sport</td>
<td>29.1.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israeli Television (IBA)</td>
<td>Yoash Alroyi</td>
<td>Head of Sport</td>
<td>15.10.90 + 20.8.91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As earlier stated, the interviews with the newspaper journalists were designed as a supplementary tool to the content analysis, and relate to the findings from a media perspective. The interviews with the heads of sports departments in television organisations, which were conducted before the commencement of the Olympics, offered some further insight into the more general coverage of sport.

### 7.6 Conclusion

As content analysis was selected as the research method for the analysis of the newspaper build up and coverage of the Barcelona Olympics in Britain and in Israel, this chapter has examined the essential characteristics of this method, including its advantages and disadvantages. It then proceeded to describe the fieldwork I conducted and the analytical steps involved, which also included supplementary
research methods. The following chapters report on the findings of the overall research, and discuss them in relation to the theoretical aspects I was most interested in.
Chapter 8: Findings and Discussion (a)

8.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of my content analysis concerning the build up and the coverage of the 1992 Barcelona Olympics in four newspapers, two in Britain (*The Times* and *The Express*) as well as two in Israel (*Yedioth Aharonoth* and *Hadashot*). The analysis refers to items collected from April 1st, 1992 to September 1st, 1992 - a period which included the most extensive coverage of the Barcelona Olympics including the build-up, the two weeks of the actual Games and their immediate aftermath (see section 8.3).

The discussion of these findings relates them to the theoretical aspects explored in Part II of my thesis. It also combines references to the schedule used for the coding of the items analysed. Furthermore, the discussion also relates the findings to the interviews I conducted with the studied newspapers' sports writers and editors.

This chapter is concerned with the pattern of the build up and coverage and its characteristics. Chapter 9 discuss in greater detail the links between the findings and the theoretical framework which relates to the theories of media events theory, news construction, globalisation and the concepts of national identity, heroes and gender.

8.2 The Extent of Coverage of the Barcelona Olympics

For this study, as described in chapter 7, items covering the build-up and the Barcelona Olympics themselves were coded. Table 5 shows the overall number of coded items - which formed the basis of my analysis - broken down in accordance with the two newspapers in each country.
Table 5: Number of Items by Newspaper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>No. of Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>833 65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>The Express</td>
<td>457 35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Britain total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>1290</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>Yedioth Aharonoth</td>
<td>676 60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>Hadashot</td>
<td>439 39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Israel total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>1115</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>2405</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 displays the extent of the newspapers coverage of the Barcelona Olympics in Britain and Israel. The overall coded coverage in Britain included 1290 items and the overall coded coverage in Israel totalled 1115 items.

As discussed in chapter 7, the Israeli newspapers are printed 6 days a week whereas in Britain they are printed daily. Once this is taken into consideration, it can be argued that the coverage of the Barcelona Olympics in the two countries was quantitatively similar, as the (175 items) difference in raw figures is explained by the difference in the overall amount of days on which newspapers are printed.

It is important to stress that this parallel refers not only to the total coverage in the two countries but also applies specifically to the selected newspapers, i.e., the coverage in the 'high brow' newspapers in both countries was more extensive than the coverage in the 'middle brow' newspapers. Although the raw figures may imply that the coverage of the Olympics was more extensive in The Times and in Yedioth Aharonoth than in The Express and Hadashot, this is not the case. It is the case that these figures correspond with the size of the sport sections in these newspapers, i.e. the sports sections in the 'middle brow' newspapers in both counties are (routinely) smaller.

The percentages included in Table 5 illustrate clearly that the pattern of the Olympic coverage in the two selected newspapers in each country studied was similar. Of the overall coverage coded in Britain, 65% of items were printed in The Times and 35% in The Express, while in Israel 60% of items were printed in Yedioth Aharonoth and 39% in Hadashot.
Overall, the percentages verify that there was a basis for comparing the coverage of the Barcelona Olympics in Britain and Israel, and in the specific newspapers selected, as the overall pattern they followed exhibited similar characteristics.

From this section onwards, for convenience of structuring tables, the titles of newspapers will appear (in tables only) as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Version in Tables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>Times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Express</td>
<td>Express</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yedioth Aharonoth</td>
<td>Yedioth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadashot</td>
<td>Hadsot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.3 The Pattern of the Barcelona Olympics Coverage

The discussion in chapter 2 focused on how the Olympic Games correspond in certain respects with the definition of a media event. One component of this definition is that a media event is "preplanned, announced and advertised in advance" (Dayan and Katz, 1992:7). In accordance with this, the Olympic Games are clearly a media event. The Games themselves are preplanned years in advance, a fact which is made clear by the announcement of the host city seven years (previously six years) in advance of those forthcoming Games (Hill, 1996). This enables the organising committee to thoroughly preplan. The media also preplan, a fact which is conveyed when noting that American networks, for example, have broadcasting rights deals with the IOC (International Olympic Committee) up to the year 2008 (see chapter 3).

As with all Olympic Games, and most certainly over the last few decades, the Barcelona Olympic Games were also announced and advertised well in advance, thus setting the scene for the Games themselves. The coverage in the selected newspapers in Britain and in Israel illustrates this clearly, with Table 6 summarising the breakdown of the Olympics related coverage by month.
Table 6: Newspaper Items by Months

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>paper */ month</th>
<th>Times</th>
<th>Express</th>
<th>Yedioth</th>
<th>Hadsot</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>831</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>2403</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* paper = newspaper (from this table onwards)

Opening Ceremony July 25th; Closing Ceremony August 9th

Analysing the coverage in all newspapers month by month (Table 6) shows that from April - over three months before the Opening Ceremony - onwards there were items related to the forthcoming Games. Overall, in each of the following months, the number of items related to the Olympics steadily increased to peak in July, the month leading up to the Opening Ceremony (July 25th). Overall, the figures in Table 6 clearly reveal an event oriented coverage, of which the build up - over the 115 days prior to the Olympic Games - explains 45% of the overall Olympics related coverage in the four newspapers (50% in *The Times*, 44% in *The Express*, 40% in *Yedioth Aharonoth* and 43% in *Hadashot*). A day by day breakdown of the coverage (see Appendix 1-5 for this breakdown of the coverage) reinforces the event orientation argument, although it also highlights that the increase in the amount of coverage leading to the Games, on a daily basis, was not a linear phenomenon. Following this analysis, it can be argued that the extensive advance coverage - which takes place over a lengthy period of time - confirms the Olympics as a media event according to Dayan and Katz's (1992) criterion of "preplanned, announced and advertised in advance" (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 7).

Once it had emerged how extensive the pre-Olympic coverage in all newspapers was, it became clear that more than simply announcing and advertising the Games in advance of this coverage was an integral part of the Olympic coverage itself, building them up and setting the scene for the two weeks of the actual competitions. Beyond the extent of the pre-Olympics coverage, the themes in these items included, for instance, the build up of Olympic hopes in a national context, predications and assessments in regards to the unfolding of the competitions (see
further discussion in section 8.7). Since the content of the coverage of the actual competitions inevitably referred to the build up, and as the amount of build up accounted for nearly half of the Olympics coverage, I viewed it as an integral component of this coverage. Furthermore, as Dayan and Katz (1992) also advocate, the media guide the audience out of a media event. Thus, the following analysis was conducted on the overall Olympic coverage, from the beginning of the extensive build up (April), to the end of the 'leading out' period of the Barcelona Games.

Table 5 illuminates the pattern of the overall coverage in the four newspapers studied. Generally speaking, the build up to the Games started slowly in April, doubling (on average) in May, and then increased by almost twofold again in June. Most of the coverage (40%) - across the newspapers in Britain and in Israel - occurred during July. A day by day breakdown (see Appendix 1-5) reveals that during each of these months, the coverage increased from the first half of the month to its second half. During May, for example, the overall coverage extended across all of the newspapers, and a clear direction of increase can be identified by the fact that across the newspapers, the coverage (at least) doubled from the first half of the month to its second half.

By August, the month in which 9 more days of the Barcelona Games took place, the coverage began to drop, explained by a sharp decrease in coverage immediately after the Games reached their conclusion. As Table 6 shows, by September there were no Olympic Games related items in the Israeli newspapers and almost none in the British press. Overall, the 'leading out' from the Olympics, or the 'post mortem' of the Barcelona Games, explained, on average in all four newspapers 6% of the Olympics related coverage. A day by day breakdown (see Appendix 1-5) reveals that from August 11th to September 1st, the coverage accounted for 8% of the overall Olympics related coverage in The Times, 7% in The Express, 5% in Yedioth Aharonoth and 4% in Hadashot, of which most items appeared on the 5 days following the completion of the Games, the period in which the athletes returned 'home'.

Overall, the pattern the coverage exhibited in the four newspapers in both countries displayed similar characteristics. However, there were some notable differences worth commenting on between the countries, and indeed between the newspapers within the same country. Figures show that the most extensive build-up to the Games was in The Times (50% of the overall Olympics related coverage), starting in April (6% of the overall Olympics related coverage), whereas in The Express and the two Israeli newspapers, their extensive build-up began in May, a month in
which, except for Hadashot, the coverage at least doubled. During June, The Times showed the smallest increase in coverage compared with April, whereas in the three other newspapers, the coverage at least doubled again.

The extensive pre-Olympics coverage in The Times compared with the Israeli newspapers, can be explained by the fact that there were many more British than Israeli athletes trying to qualify for the Barcelona Games. In this way, there were many more Olympics hopes to discuss and report on. The pattern in The Express assumed more similar features to the Israeli newspapers in that it concentrated more on the Games themselves. However, in the case of The Express this is related to its tabloid-like characteristics (see further discussion in section 8.5.6), whereas in the Israeli newspapers it is attributable, as outlined, to the number of participating Israeli athletes.

Since the build up to the Olympics was more extensive in The Times, its relative coverage during the months surrounding the actual Games was lower than in the other newspapers. Even its coverage in terms of the unfolding of the event itself was relatively small (see Table 7).

As previously outlined, the build up and the leading out coverage form an integral component of the Olympic coverage. However, it remains important to examine the coverage of the actual Games in the four newspapers, because this shows the event oriented nature of the coverage, as well as revealing its position in relation to other theoretical dimensions. The breakdown of the coverage of the Olympic Games themselves - i.e. from the Opening Ceremony (July 25th) until the day after the Closing Ceremony (August 10th, as newspaper coverage of the last day is printed on the following day) - is shown in Table 7.
Table 7: Number of Items During the Olympics by Dates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper / Date</th>
<th>Times</th>
<th>Express</th>
<th>Yedioth</th>
<th>Hadsot</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>25/7 Opening Ceremony</strong></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>Sat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26/7</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27/7</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28/7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29/7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30/7</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31/7</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/8</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>Sat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/8</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/8</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5/8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7/8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8/8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>Sat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>9/8 Closing Ceremony</strong></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10/8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>355</td>
<td></td>
<td>224</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>2405</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Sat. = In Israel no newspapers are printed on Saturday.

n = total coverage during the Olympic Games (of which percentage in table)
N = total overall coverage of Olympics related items

As Table 7 shows, the coverage of the Barcelona Games themselves - across all the newspapers - explains about half of the Olympics related coverage. However, as the Israeli newspapers and *The Express* covered the Olympic preparations to a lesser extent than *The Times*, they subsequently devoted themselves to the actual Games significantly more. On average, the Israeli newspapers dedicated to the unfolding of the Games 55% of the Olympics related coverage whereas the British newspapers reporting of the Games accounted for 48% of the overall Olympics related coverage.
As mentioned, this trend can be explained by the fact that in the period leading up to the Barcelona Olympics, the Israeli newspapers had less to report on by way of the preparations of the Israeli delegation, since this was significantly smaller than their British counterparts.

An analysis of the day by day coverage of the actual Games reveals further important characteristics of the newspapers and the countries. One major difference is related to the weekly cycle of the Israeli press. As there are no newspapers printed on Saturdays in Israel there were empty cells for these newspapers on July 25th, August 1st and August 8th. Additionally, these newspapers 'compensated' with an extensive sport supplement on Sundays, which is evident on July 26th, August 2nd and August 9th. Furthermore, on Fridays, Yedioth Aharonoth has no separate sport section; only a few pages of sport combined with the news pages, which explains the relatively lower percentage of coverage in this newspaper on July 31st, and August 7th.

Overall, the percentage of the coverage on each day - calculated from the event coverage - in both the British newspapers, were either identical or at least very close throughout the period. Thus, on 7 out of 17 days of coverage, the percentage was identical and on 7 days the difference was no bigger than 2%. Only on July 26th did the difference amount to 3%. On this date, The Express continued with its routine coverage of sport, in contrast with The Times, which had already dedicated its main coverage to the Olympics. Such a characteristic is related to the focus of The Express, which centred on the actual competitions (see also section 8.5.6) and is also reflected in the earlier 'departure' of this newspaper from the coverage of the Games on August 10th.

In the Israeli newspapers, the differences between the newspapers were more substantial, and yet on 3 dates the percentage of coverage was identical and on 8 dates the difference was no bigger than 2%. The bigger differences (3%-4%) occurred on July 29th and August 4th. On these dates, Yedioth Aharonoth provided special Olympic supplements which included larger feature and profile items concerning certain athletes, which explains the larger proportion of coverage in this newspaper on these dates.

From these examples it becomes clear that during the mid-week days of the two weeks duration of the Barcelona Olympic Games, the coverage in the two countries followed a similar pattern. However, it is important to note that the British coverage was relatively evenly distributed across the duration of the Games. There was a low
of 3% (*The Times*, July 25th) and a high of 9% (July 31st in *The Express*), but out of the 17 days of coverage, most days the coverage accounted for between 5%-7% of the overall Olympics related coverage in the two newspapers. In contrast, the Israeli coverage was much less evenly distributed with peaks of as much as 10% on some days. As already mentioned, this is attributable to the size of the Sunday sport supplement, but in two cases these peaks appeared in mid-week sections (July 29th in *Yedioth Aharonoth* and July 30th in *Hadashot*).

Although from this analysis it emerges that the quantitative pattern followed by the four newspapers was similar in some respects, there were significant differences which necessitate a discussion of the perceived newsworthiness of stories from the Barcelona Olympics. The inference is that the same stories are not regarded as identical when viewed from different corners of the world (Britain and Israel), or indeed from specific perspectives (newspapers) within each 'corner'. This is confirmed when examining more closely the dates which stood out in Table 6 as dates of extensive coverage within the four newspapers. As discussed, these dates were very clear in the Israeli context and from them, August 2nd emerged as the climax of the Barcelona Olympics in both newspapers. Both the July 29th edition of *Yedioth Aharonoth* and July 30th of Hadashot clearly stand out at 10% each as dates with especially extensive coverage. In the British newspapers, 9% marked the highest proportion of coverage (in *The Express*). It is important to emphasise that on 2 other dates the proportion stood on 8% in *The Times*. A detailed discussion of the reasons explaining this extensive coverage on the above mentioned dates in the different newspapers can be found in the following sections.

To conclude, the analysis up to this point shows that (on average) approximately half of the overall Olympics related coverage is explained by the Games themselves, which correspondingly but that means that almost half is explained by the build up. Furthermore, the coverage leading up to the Olympics and the period of the Games themselves, followed a similar pattern in Britain and in Israel, although some differences which were found require further discussion (see below).

### 8.4 The Location of the Coverage

The coded items were further categorised according to their location in the newspaper, and then more specifically in terms of their exact positioning on the page itself. Niblock (1996) suggests that the sport section always "has a defined
position in every newspaper so the reader can instantly find the section" (Niblock, 1996: 49). In fact, the routine coverage of sport is confined to the sport section and/or supplement of a given newspaper.

However, as Niblock (1996) also notes, an indication of sports relative importance in the media is that "stories involving our sporting heroes frequently receive headline coverage on the front pages" (Niblock, 1996: 49). Thus, the coding of the location of the items was further aimed at assessing the extent to which the Olympic Games are an important event, an issue which would emerge from the findings concerning the amount of coverage outside the sport section and/or supplement, particularly on the front page (see further discussion in chapter 9). More specifically, by employing Niblock’s (1996) observation, it could indicate who the Olympic sporting heroes were according to the different newspapers.

While coding the items it became evident that the majority of items were indeed located on the sports pages. Table 8 shows the breakdown of the Olympic items analysed for all newspapers combined, as a breakdown by newspaper resulted in empty cells and many cells in which the percentage of items was zero.

**Table 8: Location of Coverage**
(for all newspapers)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in sport section / supplement</td>
<td>2262  94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>front page</td>
<td>30    1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>news</td>
<td>45    2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>home news</td>
<td>11    0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>overseas news</td>
<td>7     0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>business</td>
<td>4     0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'life and times'</td>
<td>5     0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gossip</td>
<td>1     0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weekend supplement</td>
<td>22    1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>18    1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>2405</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 8 shows, overall 94% of items were confined to the sport section and/or supplement, from which it can be deduced that the Olympic Games are, in terms of
their coverage, perceived by newspapers as a sporting event. Nevertheless, the remaining 6% of items exceeding the boundaries of the sport 'ghetto', are an indication of the perceived relevance of the Olympics to the general newspaper readership. Items about the Olympics can be sometimes categorised as business or be included in the weekend supplement. In most cases though, they were categorised as news (3%) and mainly general news (2%). It should be pointed out that overall in 30 cases Olympics related items made the front page of newspapers (see chapter 9).

This trend of the coverage of the Olympics being largely restricted to the sport section and/or supplement, was consistent across the newspapers - although there existed a significant difference between the British and the Israeli newspapers.

**Table 9: Items in Sport Section or Supplement by Newspaper**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>Times</th>
<th>Express</th>
<th>Britain total</th>
<th>Yedioth</th>
<th>Hadsot</th>
<th>Israel total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>items in</td>
<td>758</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>1172</td>
<td>661</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>1090</td>
<td>2262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sport section</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>1290</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>1115</td>
<td>2405</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 9 reveals, the Israeli newspapers retained this 'segregation' of the Olympic coverage to a greater degree than their British counterparts. This can be viewed as a cultural difference, as the percentage of items in the sports sections was identical in the two newspapers studied in each country. Generally speaking, in the Israeli context, there is a multitude of newsworthy events (including for example, the Middle East peace process and internal Israeli politics) and thus sport is very rarely considered as 'news' and/or regarded as front page material. Thus, in covering the Barcelona Olympics, only 2% of items in the Israeli newspapers were printed outside the sport section, whereas in Britain, over 9% of the coverage was located externally from the sports section.

This is also closely linked to the discussion of news values (see chapter 2), as the general meaningfulness of the Games was considered greater in a nation (Britain) in which many athletes had a realistic chance of winning medals, which eventually was indeed the case. Furthermore, two British weightlifters were embroiled in a drug scandal (see chapter 9), a matter which was perceived as newsworthy beyond sport. This (British) scandal was not perceived as newsworthy in Israel.
To conclude, this analysis shows that most of the Olympics related coverage was confined to the sports pages and supplements. This was especially true in the Israeli context but applied also in the British case. As mentioned, one indication of the importance of the Olympics is the fact that occasionally its coverage exceeds these boundaries, and Olympics related items even reached the front page. The front page items were of particular interest to my analysis and they were selected for further detailed analysis, as chapter 9 explains in more detail.

8.5 Characteristics of the Coverage

Some further criteria were analysed in order to assess the prominence of items, which enabled further discussions to relate the analysis to both the amount of coverage and its essential characteristics (see below). This analysis also allowed a more general description of the coverage of the Barcelona Olympics related coverage in the four studied newspapers.

8.5.1 The Position of the Coverage

The first of these criteria was the positioning of the item on the page itself (alone on page; beginning at the top of the page; beginning at the top half of the page or beginning at the bottom half of the page). Items which were printed alone on a page were perceived as most prominent, while items which began at the top of the page were perceived as more prominent than items which began on other positions of the page and items beginning at the top half of the page were perceived as more prominent than items beginning at the bottom part of the page (see also Niblock, 1996). The table below summarises this breakdown by newspaper.
Overall, as Table 10 displays, relatively few items (4% on average) were printed alone on a page, while almost a third of the items (30% on average) began at the top of the page, 22% (on average) of items began at the top half of the page and 44% (on average) began at the bottom half of the page. In this respect, there were similarities and differences between newspapers, relating to their different formats, and countries of origin. Whereas in Israel 5%-6%, of items had one page dedicated items, in Britain there were half as many such cases (2%-3%). As far as items beginning at the top of the page are concerned, The Express stood out - with 41% - as a newspaper which tended to begin nearly half of its items at the top. All of the other three newspapers began much less of their coverage at the top, with The Times and Yedioth Aharonoth beginning 29% and 28% (respectively) of Olympics related items at the top and Hadashot beginning 22% at the top. Indeed, whereas the proportion of items beginning at the top half of the page were similar in the four newspapers, the proportion of items beginning at the bottom half of the page differed considerably between the newspapers.

The criterion of the position of items on the page relates largely to the varying characteristics and different formats of the four newspapers, most significantly the page size. This can be witnessed most notably with The Express, which has 'attention grabbing' characteristics of a tabloid, the tendency to print relatively few items on one page, as well as large print and the smallest page size had 65% of the items beginning at the top of the page (when beginning at the top and beginning at the top half are combined). The three other newspapers, with a more similar page

Table 10: Position on Page by Newspaper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper / Position</th>
<th>Times Express</th>
<th>Britain total</th>
<th>Yedioth</th>
<th>Hadot</th>
<th>Israel total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alone on page</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beginning at the top</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beginning at top half</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beginning at bottom half</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>541</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>1290</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>1115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
size, smaller print and more items per page, were closer in terms of the proportion of items *beginning at the top* and the *top half* of the page. It is worth noting that *The Times* and *Yedioth Aharonoth*, the more 'high brow' newspapers, exhibit a similar trend in this category as well as sharing many other common characteristics (see below). However *Hadashot* which in many other categories was most similar to *The Express*, had a different page layout from it which explains the big gap between them in this category.

Overall, the Olympic Games were prominent on the sports pages of the four newspapers and so the different positioning of Olympics related items between newspapers should not be viewed as reflecting the varying prominence of these items, but more so in terms of reflecting the differing style and format of the four newspapers.

8.5.2 Headline Size

The second prominence category, which also goes towards a general description of the coverage, concerned itself with the *headline size*. As discussed, the formats of the four newspapers differ considerably, and thus headlines were not measured but categorised in relative terms - *large*, *medium*, *small*, and *other*. In this respect, an item was considered most prominent if it received a large headline and similarly least prominent if it acquired a small headline (*other* related to items which had no headline). This is also related to the argument that "the sports pages are designed in a way that is attention-grabbing and gripping to keep the reader interested" (Niblock, 1996: 49), and in accordance with this, headline size is one of these 'attention-grabbing' techniques.
Table 11: Headline Size by Newspaper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper / Headline Size</th>
<th>Times</th>
<th>Express</th>
<th>Britain total</th>
<th>Yedioth Hadsot</th>
<th>Hadsot total</th>
<th>Israel total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>large</td>
<td>523</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>717</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>626</td>
<td>1343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medium</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>1290</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>1115</td>
<td>2405</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As is evident from Table 11, overall the Olympics related items were composed of a greater proportion of *large* headlines, supporting the argument that the Olympic Games were covered as a prominent event across all of the newspapers. The pattern in the two countries was almost identical, averaging on 56% and following the same distribution between the two newspapers in each country. However, it should be pointed out that in *The Express* in many cases, *large* headlines were 'extra large' headlines, consistent with its tabloid style.

The similarity continued between the countries in regards to the *medium* size headlines, averaging 22% in both Britain and Israel. There was however a difference between the newspapers, it that they followed a similar trend by which the more 'high brow' newspapers consisted of less *medium* size headlines than the 'middle brow' newspapers.

The next two labels, that of *small* and *other* illustrate again the differing styles of the four newspapers. Most notably, whereas in *Yedioth Aharonoth* the less prominent items were much more likely to receive no headline (19%) than a small one (1%), in *Hadashot* both alternatives existed.

Although from the headline size category the observation also emerged that the four newspapers had different styles, it is the case that they all shared a high proportion of *large* headlines, highlighting the importance attached to the coverage of the Olympic Games.
8.5.3 Item Size

The *item size* category was used as a further indication of the prominence of an item, and thus the relative importance attached to it. Items which were *half a page* long, for example, were considered to be more prominent than items which were mentioned only *in brief*. Initially this category included 18 positions - ranging from *in brief*, to 4 pages - using every 1/4 of a page as a new position, i.e. the second position included items which were 1/8 of a page long, the third position included items which were a 1/4 of a page long and so on. In this category too (see above), relative positions were used owing to the fact that the page sizes in the four newspapers varied. As the 12 positions beyond the *full page/nearly full page* position, when combined explained, on average, only 3% of coverage across the newspapers all these positions were calculated as an *other* position. Thus, Table 12 summarises the items size by newspapers for the 6 first positions plus an *other* position.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper / Item Size</th>
<th>Times Total</th>
<th>Express Total</th>
<th>Britain Total</th>
<th>Yedioth Total</th>
<th>Hadsoth Total</th>
<th>Israel Total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in brief</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/8 page</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/4 page</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2 page</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/4 page</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full page / nearly</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>1290</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>1115</td>
<td>2405</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Across the newspapers, as Table 12 conveys, most of the items covering the Olympics were up to a 1/4 of a page long. Thus, the first three positions - *in brief*,
1/8 page and 1/4 page - combined explain, on average, 79% of the coverage (87% in The Times, 69% in The Express, 77% in Yedioth Aharonoth and 76% in Hadashot). Although this trend was shared by all the newspapers, there were some differences between them which are most evident in the larger items. Thus, for instance, whereas both Israeli newspapers had 10% of 1/2 page long items, The Times, with the largest page size, had 1/2 page items in 8% of cases, half the proportion of The Express. Furthermore, The Times dedicated to items a full page (or nearly a full page) only in 1% of cases, whereas The Express had in 4% of the overall coverage such cases. Although, as discussed, overall relatively few items consisted of more than a page it should be pointed out that in the Israeli newspapers there were more such cases (5% on average) than in the British newspapers (2% on average).

The (routine) layouts and styles of the sport pages in the newspapers studied, reflected their general Olympic coverage as well. Since the Olympic Games consist of many competitions and many competing athletes, The Times, Yedioth Aharonoth and Hadashot fitted at least four items on a page in most cases. However, The Express, consistent with its tabloid style sports pages, accommodated less items per page. In fact positions 1/2 page to other combined explained 31% of its coverage, whereas for The Times this proportion was only 13%. In the Israeli newspapers, this proportion was 22% for Yedioth Aharonoth and 25% and for Hadashot, which is consistent, although on a much smaller scale in this case, with the previously observed similarities between the 'high brow' and 'middle brow' newspapers in the two countries. It is worth noting that the proportions for these positions in the Israeli newspapers were very close, while the gap between the British ones was quite substantial.

Overall, the item size category shows that there were shared trends between the newspapers in the two countries but there were also key variations. These can be traced to the differences between the formats and styles of the newspapers.

8.5.4 Photographs

To further assess the prominence of an item, categories relating to photographs accompanying items were also analysed. This was examined both by the number of photographs and also, in terms of the total size of photograph area [nearly full page; 1/2 page; 1/4 page; 1/8 page; small (passport); other]. As the first 4 categories
(no photographs up to 4 photographs) accounted for 99% of the overall coverage across all of the newspapers, all other categories were grouped under other.

Furthermore, from the analysis of the data generated, it emerged that most items did not include a photograph, as Table 13 clearly displays.

**Table 13: Number of No-Photograph Items by Newspaper**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper / Photo.*</th>
<th>Times</th>
<th>Express</th>
<th>Britain total</th>
<th>Yedioth</th>
<th>Hadsoth</th>
<th>Israel total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no photo.</td>
<td>586</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>818</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>733</td>
<td>1551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>1290</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>1115</td>
<td>2405</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* photo. = photograph; N = total number of Olympic related items

As Table 13 shows, regarding all the newspapers, most items - 65% on average - did not have an accompanying photograph. In this respect too, the tabloid style of *The Express* is evident, as this newspaper had an accompanying photograph for almost half (49%) of its items. Such a pattern is conveyed more forcefully when compared with *The Times*, in which only 30% of items included a photograph. The Israeli newspapers shared a similar trend to *The Times*, with *Hadashot* (33%) in this case displaying more similar characteristics with *The Times* (30%) than *Yedioth Aharonoth* (35%), although the overall difference was relatively small.

Table 14 and 15, as well as the discussion below, progress to consider the items which were accompanied with a photograph. The two tables - number of photographs and total size of photograph area - are discussed together as they complement one another.
Table 14: Number of Photographs by Newspaper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper / number of photo.*</th>
<th>Times</th>
<th>Express</th>
<th>Britain total</th>
<th>Yedioth</th>
<th>Hadsot</th>
<th>Israel total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 photo.</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 photo.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 photo.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 photo.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>854</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* photo = photograph
n = total number of items with photograph
N = total number of Olympics related items
Table 15: Total Size of Photograph Area by Newspaper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper / total size of photo.*</th>
<th>Times</th>
<th>Express</th>
<th>Britain total</th>
<th>Yedioth</th>
<th>Hadsot</th>
<th>Israel total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nearly full page</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2 page</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/4 page</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/8 page</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>854</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* photo = photograph
n = total number of items with photograph
N = total number of Olympics related items

As the above tables illustrate, across all of the newspapers, 854 items (35% of the overall coverage) included photographs. 74% of these items had only one accompanying photograph and furthermore, when combining the cases in which items were accompanied by one and two photographs, it becomes evident that the majority of items (91% from the overall coverage) were indeed accompanied by one or two photographs. In regards to the size of the photographs, the majority of them (64% of the overall coverage), were 1/8 to 1/4 page in size. These trends were similar in the two countries, and show that most items were accompanied by no more than one to two photographs, and in the majority of cases, these were no larger than a 1/4 of a page.

However, the category of photographs shows very clearly the difference between the two British newspapers. The Express had a greater probability (31%) of including two photographs or more per item, and to have a total photograph area of 1/2 to a full page (12%) than The Times, which included 2 photographs or more in only 11%
of the items and had 1/2 to a full page photograph in only 6% of cases. This again can be attributed to the tabloid style of *The Express*.

In the case of Israel, the two newspapers followed a closer pattern with *Yedioth Aharonoth* including two photographs or more in 34% of cases and *Hadashot* using two photographs or more in 32%. Once the total size of picture area is analysed, *Yedioth Aharonoth* stands out with 17% of photographs being 1/2 a page in size. Although in the majority of categories *Yedioth Aharonoth* can be compared to *The Times* and *Hadashot* to *The Express*, this category illustrates that this is not a 'mirror' parallel as in its sports pages, *Yedioth Aharonoth* included 1/2 page photographs in 17% of cases, which is almost double the cases than *Hadashot* (9%) and *The Express* (9%). It can thus be concluded that although *Yedioth Aharonoth* followed in most categories the pattern of a 'high brow' newspaper, it has its own unique style of sports pages by which it is least likely (8%) to include small photographs, and at the same time is the most likely (17%) to include 1/2 page photographs when compared to the other three newspapers.

To conclude, the analysis of the number of photographs illuminates with great clarity the tabloid style of *The Express*, which included photographs with almost half (49%) of its items. This can be contrasted with the other three newspapers, who included photographs in only 30%-35% of their items. *The Times* stands out as the newspaper with the least proportionate share of photographs on its pages. Of the items which did include photographs, in 88% of cases items were accompanied with only one photograph, and the smaller photographs (small-1/8) accounted for 61% of photographs on its sports pages. These categories also confirm the unique style of *Yedioth Aharonoth*, in both the Israeli and the overall context, since it included photographs in 35% of cases was most likely to use large photographs. Indeed, as explained in chapter 7 this newspaper has, in some respects, a tabloid-like format although content-wise it is more akin to 'high brow' newspapers.

### 8.5.5 Item Format

A further category which was aimed at assessing the characteristics of the coverage in the four newspapers centred on *item format*. In this category, items were coded according to six possible formats, listed below.
Lead story referred to reports which gave more than simply a straightforward account of the unfolding of competitions. That is, stories which included such content as quotes from athletes and elaborate descriptions of the participating athletes. Conversely, news report referred to the straightforward account of the unfolding of competitions. Interview related to those items whose main focus was an interview with an athlete or athletes (when an item included, as part of the reporting, some references to athletes' comments, it was coded as lead story). Comments referred to columns written by journalists (or in some cases, past and present athletes) which reflected on the Olympics. List of results alluded to catalogue-like lists of results which only included reporting on athletes names and the results they achieved. Other referred to the remainder of items which could not be coded according to the above positions. These included, for example, editorials, letters from readers and captions accompanying photographs (in those instances where the photograph did not accompany an item).

Table 16: Item Format by Newspaper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper / Item format</th>
<th>Times</th>
<th>Express</th>
<th>Britain total</th>
<th>Yedioth</th>
<th>Hadashot</th>
<th>Israel total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lead story</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>695</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>1178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>news report</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interview</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comments</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>list of results</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>1290</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>1115</td>
<td>2405</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16 shows that the majority of Olympics related items were either news reports or lead stories. This was a trend exhibited by all the newspapers and these combined positions accounted for 81% of coverage in The Times, 85% of coverage in The Express, 80% of coverage in Yedioth Aharonoth and 87% of coverage in Hadashot. However, the British newspapers had significantly more lead stories (54% on
average) than news reports (28% on average), a finding which can be explained by
the fact that they had many British athletes to report on, including their personal
background and their athletic background such as past performances (see chapter 9).
Although in the Israeli newspapers, as well, there was a greater presence of lead
stories (43% on average) than news reports (40% on average), the difference
between them was much smaller. This characteristic is related to a much smaller
number of total national athletes to report on in great detail (see also discussion in
chapter 9).

The interview position reveals a difference in the coverage between the two
countries, as can be observed in the British newspapers there where hardly any
interviews (3, overall) whereas in the Israeli newspapers this format was employed
in their Olympic coverage, most notably by Yedioth Aharonoth which printed 19
(3%) interviews. The similarities between the more 'high brow' newspapers in both
countries emerge from the use of the comments format (11% in The Times and 9%
in Yedioth Aharonoth), whereas the 'middle brow' newspapers employed this to a
much lesser degree (3% in The Express and 4% in Hadashot). The list of results
format was most widely utilised by The Express (7%), which can be explained by its
concentrating on relatively few sports (see section 8.6) and yet it attempting to also
report on the rest of the competitions. This format was seldom used by either of the
Israeli newspapers (1% on average).

In general terms then, this category, in line with categories discussed above
illustrates that some trends were shared by the four newspapers. However, in some
respects there are significant differences between the two countries, while and in
other respects it can be seen that the specific style of the newspapers affected the
characteristics of their coverage of the Olympics.

8.5.6 Link to the Olympic Games

Since this study examined the Olympics related coverage over a period of five
months, I also found it necessary to assess how closely linked to the Games
newspaper items were. I devised a classification which included 6 positions ranging
from loose/non sport, which related to items referring to the Olympics but which did
not report on specific competitions and/or athletes, through to items which referred
to the Olympics alone, labelled as strong Olympics only. This breakdown revealed
that most items (87% on average across the newspapers) displayed a strong
affiliation with the Games. Thus, Table 17 summarises these positions, with other indicating loose/non sport, loose/sport and strong/non sport combined (individually each of these positions was proportionally very small).

Table 17: Link to Olympics by Newspaper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper / Link</th>
<th>Times</th>
<th>Express</th>
<th>Britain total</th>
<th>Yedioth</th>
<th>Hadsot</th>
<th>Israel total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>strong Olympics+</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strong Olympics only</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>521</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>610</td>
<td>1131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>1290</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>1115</td>
<td>2405</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17 shows that overall, most items were linked strongly to the Olympics, but additionally refer to other competitions as well, for example, previous races. In the British newspapers, on average 40% of items referred to the Barcelona Games alone, but another 44% linked the coverage to other competitions. This finding can be explained by the fact that in the British delegation, there where many athletes whose relatively long athletic history and prospects beyond the Barcelona Games. In contrast, the Israeli newspapers concentrated more directly on the Barcelona Games themselves; on average over half (55%) of the Olympics related items in these newspapers focused solely on the Games and did not link them to other competitions and/or races.

8.6 Sports Covered in the Barcelona Olympics

In the routine coverage of sport, those sports which are prominent in a cultural context are the ones accorded the most coverage in that culture's newspapers. In Britain, for example these are "football, rugby, cricket, tennis, boxing and athletics" (Niblock, 1996: 48), whereas in Israel they include "football, basketball and tennis" (Yoash Alroyi, Israeli Television). Sports editors, as this argument goes (Niblock, 1996), determine what to include in their coverage, and this depends on the
availability of space and reader demand, which in turn means that the sports covered also vary from newspaper to newspaper within the same culture. Thus, for example, "whereas tabloids lend more space to big-name sports, including boxing, horse-racing and football, the broadsheets write stories about activities such as cycling and hockey" (Niblock, 1996: 49; and also see Valgeirsson and Snyder, 1986).

To assess the extent to which the Olympic Games coverage was defined by these parameters, a category of sport was selected. This would also indicate to what degree newspapers coverage followed the sports it 'normally' covered or whether regarding the Olympic Games other factors influenced the coverage as well.

My schedule included a list of all 31 sports played at the Barcelona Olympics as listed in the Olympic programme (including the demonstration sports). The schedule further included a general/mixed position, to include items which did not singularly refer to a specific sport, and/or items which reported on several sports of which none was dominant enough to deem the item as having a central focus of only one particular sport.

The analysis of the sports coverage during the build up and the course of the Barcelona Olympics showed that across the newspapers in the two countries, five sports received the majority of coverage (on average totalling 60% of the overall Olympics related coverage): athletics, basketball, equestrian, judo and swimming.
### Table 18: The Most Covered Sports by Newspaper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper / Sport</th>
<th>Times / Sport</th>
<th>Express / Sport</th>
<th>Britain total</th>
<th>Yedioth / Sport</th>
<th>Hadashot / Sport</th>
<th>Israel total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Athletics</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>560 43%</td>
<td>175 26%</td>
<td>151 34%</td>
<td>326 29%</td>
<td>886 37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basketball</td>
<td>27 3%</td>
<td>4 1%</td>
<td>31 2%</td>
<td>59 9%</td>
<td>50 11%</td>
<td>109 10%</td>
<td>140 6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equestrian</td>
<td>79 9%</td>
<td>39 9%</td>
<td>118 9%</td>
<td>4 0%</td>
<td>4 0%</td>
<td>122 5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judo</td>
<td>16 2%</td>
<td>5 1%</td>
<td>21 2%</td>
<td>81 12%</td>
<td>23 5%</td>
<td>104 9%</td>
<td>125 5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swimming</td>
<td>51 6%</td>
<td>27 6%</td>
<td>78 6%</td>
<td>51 8%</td>
<td>29 7%</td>
<td>80 7%</td>
<td>158 7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>1290</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>1115</td>
<td>2405</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 18 clearly shows, the sport which stood out in both countries was **athletics** (track and field), which accounted (on average) for **over a third** of the overall coverage. It is important to note that athletics, unlike some of the other sports in the list, is composed of many sub-sports. However, as the IOC lists it as one sport, I have similarly used this classification for my analysis.

The overriding prominence of athletics in all of the newspapers is not surprising as this sport is considered to be 'the focal point' of the Olympic Games. In fact "athletics is the centrepiece of the Olympic Games and the exploits of the great performers here are usually the ones that live most vividly in the memory" (Lynam, 1992: 21).

The most striking proportion of athletics was found in **The Express** (51%). Indeed, when asked which sport his newspaper was most interested in, James Mossop (**The Express**) replied: "track and field, track and field". **Yedioth Aharonoth** also covered this sport extensively (26%), as Raffi Naee (**Yedioth Aharonoth**) also confirmed that his newspapers was interested in "athletics, first and foremost". Furthermore, he added "I think you will find that is true for all countries [...] because Athletics is considered the Queen of sport".

The amount of coverage of the other main sports, as Table 18 shows, reflect different areas of interest in Britain and Israel. For the British newspapers, **equestrian** was the most extensively covered discipline after athletics (9% in both), whereas in one Israeli newspaper (**Yedioth Aharonoth**) it was hardly ever mentioned (4 times overall) and in the other (**Hadashot**) it gained no coverage whatsoever. This can be explained by a routine interest for the British in equestrian sport, which
contrasts with Israel. Raffi Naee (*Yedioth Aharonoth*) when describing the 'colour items' one of the newspapers' journalists was assigned to, said "he went to the horses", which reflects the view of this sport in Israel. However, Naee (*Yedioth Aharonoth*) acknowledged that in other countries this sport generates considerable interest "the Germans, for example, have excellent horse-riders, they have been winning medals in their events almost in all the Olympics, so it's clear that there is a big team of German journalists who don't miss a single competition. That's natural and understandable; if we had a rider we would also be there". This quote is related to a further explanation provided by James Mossop (*The Express*) for the coverage of equestrian in his newspaper: "it comes down to where the British are likely to win gold medals, that is why I think we did quite a bit on the equestrian because we're pretty good at that, and a little on any minor sport we had a British interest in". The national perspective of the coverage of the Olympics is further discussed in chapter 9). However, it is important to note that this factor also explains the difference in the coverage of judo. Although judo was reported to some extent in the British newspapers (2% on average), in Israel it was covered extensively, since this was the sport Israel was expected to be, and indeed eventually was, most successful in at the Barcelona Games.

Swimming, another central sport of the Games, which is also composed of several disciplines, was covered relatively extensively in both Britain and Israel. Basketball, on the other hand, reflects a key cultural difference between the two countries. In Israel, basketball, in the routine coverage of sport, constitutes one of the major sports (see Alroyi quoted above), which contrasts with Britain where it is considered much less central. This difference is also related to the Americanisation of the sports coverage in Israel (see discussion in chapter 3). The American NBA league is covered extensively in the Israeli media (and is hugely popular), which meant the American 'Dream Team' representing the USA in Barcelona, included players who were very familiar to Israeli readers. Raffi Naee (*Yedioth Aharonoth*) referred to one example when explaining the coverage of the Dream Team, labelling it 'the Magic Johnson effect'. In explaining the coverage of basketball in general, stated that "when you know that the USA will come for the first time in the history of the Olympics with the Dream Team, it's obvious we'll give Basketball a lot of attention, even more than in previous Olympics". The interest in this team, according to Naee (*Yedioth Aharonoth*) was not a uniquely Israeli phenomenon, as he explained, "wherever the American Dream Team went everybody went crazy - athletes included. Their bus was always surrounded, their shirts torn, people hunted them for autographs".
The second group of sports which emerged from the analysis as relatively prominent included sports which accounted for at least 1% of coverage in one of the newspapers.

**Table 19: Sports Covered 1%-5% of the Overall Coverage by Newspaper**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper / Sport</th>
<th>Times Express Britain total</th>
<th>Yedioth Hadsot Israel total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boxing</td>
<td>17 2% 14 3% 31 2% 11 2% 11 2% 22 2% 53 2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canoeing</td>
<td>11 1% 8 2% 19 1% 3 0% 1 0% 4 0% 23 1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cycling</td>
<td>51 6% 14 3% 65 5% 2 0% 6 1% 8 1% 73 3%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Football</td>
<td>3 0% 3 0% 20 3% 21 5% 41 4% 44 2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gymnastics</td>
<td>14 2% 1 0% 15 1% 18 3% 14 3% 32 3% 47 2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hockey</td>
<td>27 3% 13 3% 40 3% 3 0% 1 0% 4 0% 44 2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rowing</td>
<td>36 4% 17 4% 53 4% 3 0% 1 0% 4 0% 57 2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shooting</td>
<td>6 1% 4 1% 10 1% 13 2% 4 1% 17 2% 27 1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennis</td>
<td>16 2% 14 3% 30 2% 25 4% 18 4% 43 4% 73 3%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weight-lifting</td>
<td>10 1% 5 1% 15 1% 21 3% 10 2% 31 3% 46 2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>833 457 1290 676 439 1115 2405</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a similar vein to Table 18, Table 19 illustrates some of the similarities and differences in the interest in particular sports in Britain and in Israel. For instance, in both countries there was some (3% on average) coverage of tennis, which can be explained by the fact that top (professional) tennis players competed at the Barcelona Olympics. Boxing as well generated a similar (on average 2% of the overall coverage) interest in the British and Israeli newspapers.

What is of particular interest is that football, which in the routine coverage of sport is the "number one sport around the world, almost everywhere" (Raffi Naee, Yedioth Aharonoth) was mentioned only 3 times in the British coverage (in The Times) and relatively little (4% on average) in Israel. Raffi Naee (Yedioth Aharonoth) explained this by making the observation that in relation to the Olympics Games, the coverage of football "goes down to almost zero because the teams are second or even third rate". This had a greater effect on the British coverage than on the Israeli coverage.

Cycling and rowing are two further examples of sports in which Britain was expected to, and indeed did, excel in at Barcelona. The first British gold medal at
the Barcelona Games was won by Chris Boardman in the cycling, and the great expectations of Steve Redgrave and Matthew Pinsent as well as the Searle brothers in the rowing materialised into gold medals (see discussion in chapter 9). In Israel, the prevailing attitude to sports like rowing emerges from the interview conducted with Raffi Naee (Yedioth Aharonoth) who explained how, "some of them [sports] are just 'colour items' for us; we had a man who was assigned to that and he went to [...] rowing [...] everything". These differences in the profiles of the sports explain the differences between the British and Israeli one.

The third group of sports included sports which accounted for less than 1% of the coverage in all the newspapers (see Appendix 6). This group included 12 sports: archery, badminton, baseball, fencing, handball, modern pentathlon, diving, synchronised swimming, water polo, table tennis, volleyball and wrestling. However, in this group as well it can be observed that there were differences - although in proportions these are hardly noticeable - between Britain and Israel, in addition to those between the newspapers in each country. These contrasts reflect cultural differences, the various reasons for covering sports, and the difference between the newspapers themselves.

For example, volleyball is widely played in Israel and routinely covered (although not very extensively) by the Israeli press. This explains the fact that it was covered a little (1%) by the analysed Israeli newspapers during the Barcelona Olympics, whereas The Times mentioned it only twice and in The Express it was not mentioned at all. In contrast, badminton is played and routinely covered (although in this case too, not extensively) by newspapers in Britain, which accounts for the fact that it was covered to some extent by The Times (1%). However, since it is not a 'big sport', and neither does it involve well known personalities it was mentioned only twice in The Express. In the Israeli newspapers, badminton was hardly mentioned at all (3 times in Yedioth Aharonoth).

As previously outlined, an important factor in the coverage of a sport is the nation's participating athletes. In this way, modern pentathlon was covered a little in Britain (1% on average), as there were two British athletes participating in this event, whereas in Israel it was not mentioned even once. Britain also entered a participant in archery, who surprisingly (according to the newspaper coverage) won a medal, which explains the coverage of this sport in the British newspapers. In this case, as with badminton, The Times (1%) was more interested in this minority sport than The Express (3 mentions overall). On the other hand, Israel had a high profile participant in fencing (1% in both newspapers) and what seemed as a medal chance
in wrestling (2% in Yedioth Aharonoth and 1% in Hadashot), which made these sports interesting for the Israeli newspapers.

For both countries, sports like baseball, handball and water polo were of no major interest. Apart from the sports discussed above, it is worth mentioning that across the newspapers in the two countries, the three demonstration sports of the Barcelona Olympics - basque pelota, roller-hockey and taekwondo - were not mentioned even once, at any stage of the coverage.

As the findings and discussion of the coverage of sports clearly illustrate, the routine interest in a certain sport within a cultural context affects the coverage that this sport is accorded in relation to the Olympic Games. For example, basketball in general, and its American version (NBA), are popular in Israel and covered as a matter of routine by the media. In contrast, in Britain it does not arose anywhere near as much interest, and thus is much less covered. These patterns of interest were found to be reflected in the different newspapers coverage of the Barcelona Olympics in these countries. However, in relation to the Olympics, apart from the routine media interest in a certain sport, the newspaper coverage of sports was found to be strongly related to the expected performance and the medal winnings (during the Games) of national athletes. This explains, for example, the extensive coverage of judo in Israel and of rowing in Britain.

8.8 Themes

In order to relate the content of the coverage themes were coded for each item. These included four possible themes, of which there was one main theme and three secondary ones. In order not to be constrained by pre-determined themes and base my analysis on themes which emerged from the texts, I coded each new theme by ascribing it a number and adding it to the list of themes kept separately. This resulted in a total of 260 coded themes.

As the initial analysis showed there were no significant differences between the main theme and the secondary themes I decided to report and discuss the findings regarding all the themes combined. Furthermore, in order to be able to compare the prominence of certain themes, their proportions (see tables below) were calculated in relation to the overall number (N) of items.
Table 20 relates to the themes which accounted for at least 1% (24 mentions) of the overall coverage in at least one of the coded newspapers. These themes were viewed as the most prominent of themes in the build up and coverage of the 1992 Barcelona Olympics.

**Table 20: Most Prominent Themes in the Build Up and Coverage of the 1992 Barcelona Olympics by Newspaper**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Times</th>
<th>Express</th>
<th>Britain total</th>
<th>Yedioth</th>
<th>Haasot</th>
<th>Haasot total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Olympic bid / trying to qualify</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prospects/ chances of medal</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous performances</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>results in races / matches leading to</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barcelona qualified/ selected/ will take part</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reporting and analysing results</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>1082</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>732</td>
<td>1814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>1290</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>1115</td>
<td>2405</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 20 displays, the majority (75%, on average, of the overall coverage) of the Olympics related coverage included themes which can be classified in terms of the straightforward reporting on sport. These range from information concerning past performances of the athletes, to their anticipated performance at the Games, as well as their actual performance during the Olympics. Indeed, the most prominent theme (22% on average) in all the newspapers was that of reporting and analysing results during the Games, followed (17% on average) by the reporting of athletes previous performances.

Further themes in this table illuminate the relevance of the build-up to the overall Olympics related coverage as the themes of Olympic bid/trying to qualify (7% on
average); prospects/chances of medal (11% on average); qualified/selected/will take part (5% on average) combined, accounted for a total of 23% (on average) of the overall coverage. Although it can be argued that the prospects/chances of medal theme is more a speculation than a straightforward reporting of sport, this theme was based, in most of the items analysed, on a factual basis - such as previous performances and realistic chances - rather than merely on 'wishful thinking'. This is reflected in the fact that in the British newspapers this theme appeared more prominently (13% on average) than in the Israeli newspapers (8% on average). Overall, all of the themes which related to the build up and expectations for success during the Barcelona Olympics were more prominent in the British newspapers as Britain had a much larger delegation of athletes which also included more world-class competitors than the Israeli one. This meant firstly, that there were more athletes to report on. Moreover, the calibre of the athletes, also meant that British athletes had more of a past to report on (before and during the Games), as well as more of a realistic chance of winning medals in Barcelona than their Israeli counterparts. It remains however, important to emphasise that this is relevant only to some extent, as the newspaper coverage was not exclusively concerned with the national athletes in each country (although as discussed in chapter 9 it was predominantly about them).

Table 20 also reveals that news construction in the British newspapers was, in general terms, relatively close, although it is clear that The Times relied more on straightforward reporting themes for its coverage (86%), while the tabloid-style Express (79%) utilised this to a lesser degree. However, in regards to the specific theme of reporting and analysing results, it is The Express which showed itself to have a larger proportion (24%) than The Times (18%). The fact that the theme of results in races/matches leading to Barcelona was much more prominent in The Times (19%) than The Express (9%) contributes to explaining this phenomenon. As discussed in previous sections, the coverage of The Express was more 'event-focused' and thus, the most prominent themes in this newspaper were related to the reporting of the Games themselves. One theme stands out particularly in this context, and that is prospects/chances of medal which The Express employed in 17% of its coverage, compared with only 11% in The Times. This shows that The Express was much more preoccupied than The Times, with the prospect of winning rather than just taking part, both in the build up and in the eventual coverage of the Olympics.

In the Israeli newspapers, the news construction of the two studied newspapers was much closer; indeed the total of the most prominent themes was 66% in both
newspapers. In fact, there was no significant difference between them in relation to
the most prominent themes, with the difference in proportion being no larger than
3% in 5 out of the 7 most prominent themes. This, too, reflects on the fact that in
some respects (as also discussed in previous sections) the studied newspapers in
Israel are more similar to one another than their British counterparts. It is further
important to observe, as outlined previously, that the parallels between the Israeli
and British newspapers are not always between Yedioth Aharonoth and The Times,
and between Hadashot and The Express. Thus, for example in the Israeli context,
Yedioth Aharonoth was more preoccupied with prospects/chances of medal (10%)
than Hadashot (5%).

Overall, in comparing the most prominent themes in the newspapers of Britain and
Israel, it emerged that, on average, in 4 out of the 7 themes, the difference amounted
to no larger than 3%. The more significant differences existed in the themes of
Olympic bid/trying to qualify and previous performances, which are related, as
outlined above, to the differences between the British and Israeli delegations to the
Games.

To conclude, the above results demonstrate that the main themes in covering the
Olympics were related to the straightforward reporting of sport. They also reveal
that the overall news construction in the build up and coverage of the Barcelona
Olympics in Britain and in Israel, followed a similar pattern. In this context, the
differences between the British and the Israeli coverage are explained by the
differences between the material which can be reported, namely the national athletes
(see further discussion in chapter 9).

The discussion above related itself to the most prominent themes in the build up and
coverage of the Barcelona Olympics. In addition to these themes, the analysis of the
items pointed out that no other individual themes featured significantly in the
coverage. However, when combining certain related themes, some further inferences
could be drawn. Thus, the discussion below focuses on the combined findings of the
themes which could be grouped under the same general topic. As the figures for
each individual theme were relatively small, and the proportions for many of them
were close to zero, the tables below include themes which were mentioned at least 5
times in any one of the newspapers; further related themes were combined into an
other theme. For the same reason, the proportions in the tables were calculated only
for the total of all the themes which appear under the same topic, and not for each
individual theme.
The discussion of these themes includes many references to the interviews I conducted with sports journalist and editors of the studied newspapers. As mentioned (see chapter 7), the literature warns of accepting such comments at face value (McQuail, 1987). However, it is my position that the explanations offered by the journalists in relation to the relevance of certain themes in the coverage, go a considerable way towards understanding why these themes feature in the analysed items. Furthermore, it should also be recalled that these interviews were conducted after I had the first results of my analysis, and the interviewees were asked, in some cases, to comment on my findings.

Personal matters

The theme of personal matters/background/family, featured on its own prominently in the coverage and in fact could be included in Table 20. However, since it can not be classified as the straightforward coverage of sport (see above), I decided to dedicate a separate discussion towards it.

Table 21: Themes Related to Personal Matters by Newspaper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper / Theme</th>
<th>Times Express</th>
<th>Britain total</th>
<th>Yedioth</th>
<th>Hadsot</th>
<th>Israel total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal matters/Background/</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disadvantaged background</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>1290</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>1115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21 clearly shows that personal matters/background/family, combined with (in Britain) the specific theme of disadvantaged background, was a theme which accounted, on average, for 10% of the overall coverage. The explanation offered by journalists to the question of why they find it important to report on the personal aspects of the athlete's lives, their families and related themes, proceeds along the lines of:

First of all, people worship stars; that is true all over the world.
Everywhere people love stars and worship them full stop and the
more of a star he is, the more he is worshipped. Michael Jordan for instance, people want to know everything about him. The bigger star he is, any story about him will catch the public's attention; there will always be something new to tell. When Michael Jordan gambled in Las Vegas, it got a lot of coverage, made big headlines. We get into the personal life because the public is interested in that, full stop. Gossip interests on all levels.

(Raffi Naee, Yedioth Aharonoth)

Apart from this notion of the general public interest in athletes (and indeed heroes; see also chapter 9), James Mossop (The Express) believes that offering the personal story of an athlete provides the reader with a more rounded story:

[...] if Linford Christie keeps pigeons, I think the reader then ends up building an image of this guy who turns to his pigeons or feeds his cat or lives in a mansion or whatever. I think that is all part of the image of the guy. I think it would be flat and boring and all grey if we just referred to people by name and didn't tell anybody anything about them.

(James Mossop, The Express)

To support this view held by the journalists, it is worth recalling that in the television coverage of the 1996 Atlanta Games, the American network NBC adopted the same method and accompanied the coverage with short, sentimental and personal segments about the competing athletes. These generated in the viewers a sense of empathy for these athletes, and resulted in extraordinary ratings (Remnick, 1996; and see discussion in chapter 2).

Table 21 also shows that there were some differences between the newspapers and the two countries in relation to these themes. In the British case The Express employed such themes slightly (2%) more than The Times. Craig Lord (The Times) suggested that his newspaper refers to the personal background of athletes only when it is deemed relevant to the performance of that athlete. Although "in reporting a particular race or match, at least for our paper, the family background, the personal side is of almost no importance, if it has no baring on the outcome of the event", he acknowledged that by the same token "if someone is very successful for a long period you might, in a personal interview, say, you know, 'you have a very stable family life' or 'your parents are very good to you' or 'you have two or three children who help you relax' or whatever. Then you might start to talk about the family
background, the private life, but that would be in a detailed interview". However, my findings suggest this is not necessarily the case.

In the Israeli newspapers, the references to these themes were far fewer 8% on average compared with 12% on average for the British newspapers. In this case too, and as also explained in the interviews, this was related primarily to the fact that there were fewer Israeli athletes on which a detailed background was perceived as interesting to the readers.

From the findings and discussion of the personal matters themes, it also emerged that the knowledge of the trial and tribulations an athlete faced on his or her way to Olympic success, was regarded highly in terms of the 'story value' such items contained. As James Mossop (The Express) conveyed in relation to Linford Christie, "now there was a lad who is the oldest winner of a gold medal in the Olympics. He'd been a bad boy in his youth, he got himself together, he'd come through and he won the Olympic gold. That was a good story for everybody" (see further discussion of Linford Christie in chapter 9).

Injury and illness

As previously outlined, the adversities athletes had faced, formed an important element of the Olympic build up and subsequent coverage. Part of this, which can also be viewed as generating empathy in relation to athletes, could similarly be detected in themes relating to struggling and/or overcoming injury and illness.
Table 22: Themes Related to Overcoming Injury and Illness by Newspaper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper / Theme</th>
<th>Times</th>
<th>Express total</th>
<th>Britain total</th>
<th>Yedioth total</th>
<th>Hadsoth total</th>
<th>Israel total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overcoming injury</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Struggling with injury/ Strikes</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illness strikes/ struggling with Overcoming</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>1290</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>1115</td>
<td>2405</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As table 22 shows, on average 10% of the Olympic coverage included themes whose focus alluded to injuries and illness. This was related by James Mossop (The Express) to "the men at home", who wish to know whether an athlete is going to be fit so that s/he can perform to the best of their abilities, and be in contention for medals. In other words, he added, "there are different degrees of news and I think if someone is injured, the public wants to know 'are they going to be fit, or aren't they'".

Another journalist offered a different explanation by describing how,

[...] it's the human struggle, some of the greatest heroes in sport are those people which overcome [...] Well, just the athlete on his own, who is very fit, has to overcome immense pain and immense amounts of training, you know. They go through a whole process to get actually get to that one thing. When they get there and there is an injury, that is like an obstacle that is thrown in their path. If they overcome that, it's something superhuman, it becomes something else.

(Craig Lord, The Times)

The differences between the newspapers and the countries are also evident in Table 22. For instance, it is clear that the tabloid-like Express contained the most (15%) interest in such themes, and that overall there was a difference between the British (12% on average) and the Israeli (8% on average) newspapers in relation to these
themes. This can be explained, for example, by the fact that in the period leading up to the Barcelona Olympics, the British newspapers followed closely Daley Thompson's injury and subsequent withdrawal from the qualifying competition. However, it is also clear that in this context, the general pattern of what was perceived as those relevant themes in the build-up and coverage of the Games exhibited many similar patterns in both countries.

**Relationships between athletes**

A further group of themes featured in describing athletes in terms of the relationships between the athletes themselves. These ranged from the more straightforward reporting of who the *competitors/rivals* in a certain competition were, to references to the actual relationship between them, be it one of friendship or hatred.

**Table 23: Themes Related to Relationships Between Athletes by Newspaper**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper / Theme</th>
<th>Times</th>
<th>Express</th>
<th>Britain total</th>
<th>Yedioth</th>
<th>Hadsot</th>
<th>Israel total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Competitors/Rivals</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rivals and friends</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athletes criticise athletes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationships between athletes</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rivals hating each other</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenge</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athletes opinion of athletes (prediction)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>1290</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>1115</td>
<td>2405</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As becomes apparent from Table 23, that the build up and coverage of the Olympics were presented in terms of competition between athletes in relatively many cases (14% on average). Such a focus is aimed at describing and intensifying the dramatic
aspect of sport (Whannel, 1992). The theme of competitors/rivals, which featured most prominently within this group of themes, refers to the description of who the competitors/rivals of a certain athlete in a given event were. In other words, this is another aspect of reporting on what, or in this case who, the athlete was competing against.

In addition to this theme, a number of the other themes in this group related to the actual relationship forged between the competing athletes. These included the theme of rivals and friends, which was employed most often by The Express, namely the description of certain athletes as rivals in sport but friends in 'real life'. The same newspaper was the only one to use the dramatic notion of athletes who hate each other in its coverage. Not surprisingly, it also extensively employed (although, here too, in relatively small figures) the motivation of revenge in competition, this was related to cases were a given athlete had been defeated in the past by a competitor and was motivated in exacting revenge in competing with him or her at this event. Overall, it is important to emphasise, The Express used themes from this group of themes more than any of the other newspapers studied (18%).

In this group of themes, there existed a small difference between the two British newspapers (2%), while between the Israeli newspapers the difference was slightly larger (3%), with Yedioth Aharonoth using these themes to a larger degree (11%). Between the two countries the findings showed, on average, a 7% difference. Since it is very likely that the journalists are more familiar with the background and sporting history of the athletes from their own country, this finding too can be attributed to the fact that there were many more British, than Israeli, competitors.

Mental Aspects

Competing with other athletes can form part of an external struggle. No less dramatic is the internal struggle of an athlete with his or her own psyche. A variety of themes related to this aspect of the athletes’ fitness, and these were also included in the build up and coverage of the Barcelona Olympics in the studied newspapers.
Table 24: Themes Related to the Mental Aspect by Newspaper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper / Theme</th>
<th>Times</th>
<th>Express</th>
<th>Britain total</th>
<th>Yedioth</th>
<th>Hadsot</th>
<th>Israel total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attitude</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morale/Frame of mind/Mood</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental/Mental Pressure/lack of</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will power/Feeling positive/Positive thinking</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courage/Bravery</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>1290</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>1115</td>
<td>2405</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 24 highlights mental aspects such as morale/frame of mind, will power and positive thinking feature, on average, in 5% of the items peaking at a high of 10% in The Express, down to a low of 2% in Yedioth Aharonoth. In this context, it is worth noting that training and physical preparations featured, on average, in 9% of the overall coverage of all the coded newspapers.

In general, the above findings demonstrate that this group of 'mental' themes was used more widely in the British newspapers (7% on average) than the Israeli ones (3% on average). However, it is also apparent that this group of themes was employed by both the British and Israeli newspapers in covering the Olympics, and this is related to the fact that in the realm of sport, mental preparation has become a central component of the general preparation of athletes. Indeed, "the Olympic Games replete with [...] a new job creation role. No team is now complete without nutritionists, physiologists and psychologists [my emphasis - a.b]" (Wilson, 1992: 11). Furthermore, 'mental power' is regarded nowadays as the factor which separates "the exceptional from the very good. When they line up for the final of the 100 meters sprint in Barcelona, there will be nothing to choose between them, talent for talent, training for training. What separates them is what goes on behind the eyes" (The Times, July 25, 1992: 5). Such a notion has the support of Craig Lord (The Times) who explained that, "the difference between the top six or the top ten or
maybe the top twenty is often very small and the distinguishing, the determining, factor on the day is much more mental than physical).

In this respect, the most striking example of mental fitness at the Barcelona Games has to be Linford Christie's performance through all of the stages in the 100 metre competition - which also goes some way in explaining why the British newspapers were more interested in such themes. His mental power has become his trade mark even prior to the Games: "watch Christie walk to his start [...] the loping out and high-head carriage say it all: the thought of defeat is inadmissible" (The Times, July 25, 1992: 5). Thus, the notion holds that for "great sprinters, the race seems often to be won before the gun has fired. Psychological domination wins races" (The Times, July 25, 1992: 5).

Since mental aspects have become central to the sport itself, Craig Lord (The Times) believes that "of course there is more and more emphasis and talk about how well is a person prepared mentally, how much they're assisted by their coach, how much are they able to relax, concentrate and so on [...] that becomes a factor, and one would write about it".

Age

In describing both the internal and external struggle of athletes, themes concerning age also emerged as themes used relatively often. The table below relates to cases where the age of an athlete was not simply mentioned, but additionally referred to as an issue in relation to that athlete. This, for instance, would highlight his or her struggle against 'old' age (in sporting terms) as a mitigating factor in the competitions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper / Theme</th>
<th>Times</th>
<th>Express</th>
<th>Britain total</th>
<th>Yedioth</th>
<th>Hadsot</th>
<th>Israel total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age as factor (old)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age as factor (young)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>1290</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>1115</td>
<td>2405</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Age
As Table 25 shows, age as an issue, in terms of forming more than the simple mention of an athlete's age, featured, on average, in 3% of the build up and coverage, peaking with a high of 7% in The Express and showing a low of 2% in Yedioth Aharonoth.

When the journalists were asked the reasons for why they discussed age, Raffi Naee (Yedioth Aharonoth) explained, "because it's out of the ordinary. If a 12 year old girl comes along and the average age is 20, than it's unusual and likewise if the average of Basketball players is 30 and there is a 40 year old player, an age by which most players have retired". Such sentiments convey that age by itself does not generate interest, yet it is the extraordinary cases, when an athlete is especially young or old in his or her sport, or that there is an especially wide gap between athletes (which in Table 24 is included in the other category) interest is particularly generated. This was also reflected in the following answer to the question of why age was an important issue in the coverage:

I agree, I think that comes up a lot. I don't really know why there is an obsession with the age, it is a fact that has always been. The fact that Linford Christie is 33, or whatever he was, 'gi, this guy is a little bit old to be doing this', you know, it's the young guy's game so age is relevant. If a kid of 15 is running against them, than that would be relevant too.

(James Mossop, The Express)

Clearly, Mossop's (The Express) view that there is "an obsession with age" is reflected in the newspaper he writes for (7%). In The Times and the two Israeli newspapers, there were references to these themes, but they accounted for only 2%-3% of items.

Emotions

Another group of themes which can be related to the psyche of athletes are those which describe their emotions.
Table 26: Themes Related to Emotions by Newspaper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper / Theme</th>
<th>Times</th>
<th>Express</th>
<th>Britain total</th>
<th>Yedioth</th>
<th>Hadsot</th>
<th>Israel total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tears</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disappointment</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>1290</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>1115</td>
<td>2405</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 26 conveys that the description of athlete's emotions explained, on average, 4% of the overall coverage, with a high of 6% in Yedioth Aharonoth and a low of 2% in The Express. It is important to note that the range of emotions referred to was very small. Only two were mentioned slightly more than others and these included tears, which could express both joy and sorrow, and disappointment. Interestingly The Express did not employ this theme whatsoever, which indicates, like the prospects/chances of medal (see above) theme, that this newspaper was chiefly interested in success stories and not in emphasising the angle of disappointment. The Israeli newspapers however could not ignore this theme, as the sporting performance of the Israeli athletes offered many opportunities to report on this emotion, this is reflected mainly in Yedioth Aharonoth.

In regards to the tears, Craig Lord (The Times) explained that the fascination with athletes who cry is related to the more general interest in people who show emotions: "that is no different in sport than if a someone is receiving an award in the theatre or films if they burst into tears, of course it immediately attracts a particular focus. I don't think there is a kind of morbid or misplaced interest in people crying it's a fact of life".

Goals/Expectations

A further group of themes that featured relatively prominently in the build up and coverage of the Olympics was that of goals and expectations. A few of these themes can be linked to disappointment, mentioned above, as this emotion is related to the initial aims athletes set for themselves and the expectations they, and the media, have of their performance. It can also be connected to the chances of medals in Barcelona/prospects explained in Table 20 (see discussion above).
Table 27: Themes Related to Goals and Expectations by Newspaper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper / Theme</th>
<th>Times</th>
<th>Express</th>
<th>Britain total</th>
<th>Yedioth</th>
<th>Hadsoth</th>
<th>Israel total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Gold medal hope'</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trying to get into/ make/ making history</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aiming for Olympic gold</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Olympic hope'</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not much chance in Barcelona</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoping for a medal/Gold medal</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No chance of medals/ Low expectations</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>1290</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>1115</td>
<td>2405</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 27 shows that goals and expectations accounted, on average, for 10% of the build up and coverage of the Barcelona Olympics, exhibiting a high of 16% in The Express and a low of 6% in The Times. This group of themes included a variety of goals and expectations with goals referring mainly to those statements the athletes themselves made in which they outlined their aim during the build up and the Games. This included aiming for Olympic gold - a theme mentioned far more in the British coverage, as there was a greater proportion of athletes in this country who could realistically aim for that objective. Expectations refer more specifically to what the reports in the newspapers believed the athletes could achieve. This is reflected in a theme like Olympic hope and not much chance in Barcelona, which was not mentioned in the British coverage, but which featured in the Israeli newspaper coverage, since there were a number of Israeli athletes in the delegation who held absolutely no realistic chance of achieving medals in Barcelona.

It should be pointed out that these hopes and expectations could in turn be crushed (a theme mentioned, overall 6 times, 5 of which appeared in The Express), or end in failure/disaster (mentioned 4 times overall).
Drugs

As outlined in greater detail in chapter 1, one of the main problems the IOC is faced with nowadays is that of the use of banned performance enhancing drugs by athletes. When Ben Johnson failed his drugs test at the Seoul Olympics, it became a major worldwide news story. James Mossop (The Express), classified it as the ‘best story' in Olympic terms, and when discussing the "great stories of the Olympics" stated that, "first of all, in Seoul Ben Johnson being caught for drugs, that was a sensational story worldwide with all the implications". This was news not in the least, as it contained the surprise factor, although: "that Johnson took drugs is not surprising. What is surprising is that he got caught" (The Times, July 25, 1992: 5). Since then, it has become almost a part of the Olympic expectations that a similar story will be exposed. This is revealed in the example of the 'unexpected' story Raffi Naee (Yedioth Aharonoth) described: "if suddenly something comes up, something unexpected like a well-known athlete caught for taking drugs it's obvious we'll decide to cover it".

Table 28: Themes Related to Drugs by Newspaper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper / Theme</th>
<th>Times</th>
<th>Express</th>
<th>Britain total</th>
<th>Yedioth</th>
<th>Hadsoy</th>
<th>Israel total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appealing against drug ban/ 'Innocent'/ 'Can't be'</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug testing, its results/ Problems with</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug ban lifted/Not lifted</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explaining the various type of drugs</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is athlete clean of drugs or not?</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Drug cheats'</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs -&gt; the end of the athlete/should be</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>1290</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>1115</td>
<td>2405</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As Table 28 illustrates, themes relating to drugs explained, on average 13% of the build up and coverage of the Barcelona Olympics in both Britain and Israel. In this context it is important to recall that the discussion of themes reports on figures relating to all coded themes in a given item, which in the case of drugs related themes meant multi-coding existed as the items picked up on several aspects of this issue. In fact, during the Barcelona Olympics there was no major drug scandal akin to the Ben Johnson story. However, themes concerning drugs framed a part of the build up and subsequent coverage. This is evident from the figures in the Israeli newspapers (8% in both cases). This proportion is explained, as discussed above, by the now routine interest in this topic, and by the stories of Katrin Krabbe and Butch Reynolds, two top track and field athletes who failed drugs tests in the years prior to the Barcelona Olympics and who had both served their respective bans by the time of the build up to the Games.

The findings reveal, that the proportions for the British newspapers were much larger; 19% in The Times and 17% in The Express, explained by the fact that there were two drugs related stories concerning British competitors which were covered extensively by the media in Britain. These stories focused on the three 'disgraced athletes' (The Times, July 31, 1992), the sprinter Jason Livingstone and the weightlifters Andrew Saxton and Andrew Davis. All three were sent back to Britain from Barcelona after they had tested positive for drugs "in a random out-of-competition test carried out by the Sports Council in Britain" (The Times, July 31, 1992) in the month proceeding the Games. These stories made the front pages of the national newspapers and intensified an entire debate on drugs, drugs tests, their results and what the adequate punishment for 'drug cheats' should be. All these themes are reflected in the themes shown in Table 26, and it is clear that they featured much more prominently in the British coverage than in the Israeli one (see further discussion of these stories in chapter 9).

To conclude, it is clear that in the build up and coverage of the Olympics there is no escaping the drugs issue. Yet, when there are no stories related to elite athletes who are exposed as 'drug cheats', this does not become one of the major themes of the coverage. However, within a national context, drug scandals concerning the nation's own athletes still generate considerable media interest.
Controversy

In the context of drugs, but not exclusively in relation to such issues, it is worth noting that the theme of controversy was mentioned overall in 23 cases across the newspapers (proportionately 1% of the overall coverage). This can be explained by way of the news value of negativity (see chapter 2). As Craig Lord (The Times) described: "controversy is part of life, controversy creates interest, it's the old newspaper expression that 'dog bites man is not news, man bites dog is news'. I mean, it's a silly over-simplification but it does describe part of the basis of news, and so controversy will always help to build up an event". In chapter 9, I discuss in greater detail some of the controversial stories that appeared in the coverage of the Barcelona Olympics.

Themes related to national identity, heroes and gender

As previously outlined, the main focus of my analysis (see detailed discussion in chapter 9) centred on the coverage in relation to national identity, heroes and gender (mostly concentrating on women) in the context of the Barcelona Olympics. Thus, I was also interested in considering the overt mentions of these very same themes in the analysed items themselves.

Although it can be seen in the build up and the coverage of the Barcelona Olympics that a range of themes related, overtly, to national identity they accounted, when combined, for less than 1% of the overall coverage. Within these small figures, there still existed an evident strand of difference between the British and the Israeli coverage. The Times mentioned (no more than once) themes such as beating the Americans, while The Express mentioned this theme twice and also referred to the carrying of the flag a total of 3 times. However, the Israeli coverage - in Yedioth Aharonoth more so than in Hadashot - utilised themes related to national identity more (although all appeared on relatively few occasions) including those themes referring to the fact that their athletes represent the nation; represent the Jews of the world and have enhanced the Israeli national pride.

Main themes relating to heroes, when combined, accounted for less than 0.5% of the total coverage. Those themes which related to a hero's welcome and athletes as legends/role models, appeared both in Britain and in Israel - although more often in the Israeli coverage. This group of themes however can be classified as relatively rare in the build up and coverage of the Barcelona Olympics.
Themes relating openly to athletes as women formed an even smaller proportion of the coverage, in the British coverage, there was only one reference to a theme relating to women's rights at the Games in *The Times* and, in contrast, two discussions of pretty women as a theme in relation to female athletes - not surprisingly appearing in *The Express*. From these figures, it is clear that overt references to themes relating to athletes as women featured extremely sparsely in the studied newspapers.

In conclusion, it is important to emphasise that as overt themes, national identity, heroes and women featured relatively rarely in the newspaper build up and coverage of the Barcelona Olympics in both Britain and Israel. Thus, my own discussion of these issues (see chapter 9) is based on my detailed analysis of this coverage.

### 8.7.1 Conclusion

The analysis of the themes in the build up and coverage of the 1992 Barcelona Olympics in the studied newspapers reveals that the most prominent themes were those relating to what can be classified as the straightforward coverage of sport itself. These included themes such as the reporting and analysing results as well as references to athlete's previous performances. However, several other themes featured relatively prominently in the newspaper coverage, and these centred on, most notably, themes relating to personal matters regarding the athletes, themes concerning the athlete's struggle with injury and illness, the relationships between athletes, mental aspects of athlete's preparations and performance, the athlete's age, their emotions, and goals and expectations leading up to and during the Games. All of these themes concentrate on the athletes, their trials and tribulations, and can be viewed as providing a background and a context to their sporting performance which, in the journalist's view, make it more 'interesting' and rounded for the readers. It can also be argued that these themes personalise the sporting stories and generate empathy with the athletes.

Themes relating to drugs formed the only group of themes relating to an issue - rather than the athletes - which emerged as relatively prominent in the build up and coverage of the Barcelona Olympics. As discussed in chapter 1 and also in this section (and see also chapter 9), this issue has become central to the Olympics and is one of the main problems that the IOC is faced with. Such factors explain the initial media interest in this theme, and yet since there were no major international drugs
scandal leading to and during the Barcelona Games, this did not subsequently feature as the most prominent theme in relation to it. In the British context, there were two drugs related stories which resulted in the newspapers in Britain devoting over double the proportion to this issue as compared to their Israeli counterparts (18% on average compared with 8% on average). This can be linked to the news value of negativity and also to that of meaningfulness, which is related to the fact that the British newspapers covered those stories that involved British athletes (see detailed discussion in chapter 9). It is important to note that the aspects I was most interested in when studying those issues in relation to the Olympics newspaper build up and coverage, namely, national identity, heroes and women were hardly ever referred to as overt prominent themes in any of the items analysed. Which, in turn means that my discussion of these issues in the following chapter is based on a detailed analysis of the build up and coverage of the Barcelona Olympics.
Chapter 9: Findings and Discussion (b)

9.1 Introduction

Chapter 9 proceeds to discuss the findings of my study of the build up and coverage of the Barcelona Olympics in Britain and Israel in relation to the theoretical aspects discussed in chapters 2-6 of my thesis. As previously discussed (see chapter 7), to supplement my quantitative analysis I have chosen to interview sports editors and journalists from the newspapers studied, and also to analyse more closely the Olympics related items which were printed on the front pages of the four studied newspapers. The front page items illustrated - and indeed highlighted - the theoretical perspectives that I found important in relation to the Olympics which were issues of national identity, globalisation, heroes and gender (mainly in relation to women). Furthermore, both the quantitative findings and the detailed analysis of the front page items enable a discussion of the overall news construction of the Games, which is also linked to the media events theory.

The table and discussion below refer to the front page items analysed. However, this analysis will not be reported separately, it will be used in the text to illustrate the quantitative findings and the theoretical discussion. It also contributes, in some cases, to putting question marks on the discussions found in the literature (as discussed in chapters 2-6).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper / Items</th>
<th>Times</th>
<th>Express</th>
<th>n Britain</th>
<th>Yedioth</th>
<th>Hadsot</th>
<th>n Israel</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>front page items</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>1290</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>1115</td>
<td>2405</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = total number of Olympics related items

Table 29 illustrates the fact that, across the newspapers, a total of 30 items were printed on their front pages, which together explained 1% of the overall coverage. This reveals that items concerning the Olympic Games appeared only rarely on the front page (or indeed outside the sport 'ghetto' as discussed in chapter 8). These
items were subjected to further analysis as it became clear when examining the items, that these which were deemed newsworthy enough to be printed on the front pages of the newspapers, and that this could shed light on the entire build up and coverage of the Barcelona Olympics in Britain and in Israel. For example, as figures in Table 29 display, more items were printed on the front pages of newspapers in Britain than for Israel. This, in turn could be attributed to the theoretical aspect of national identity and would contribute to making this discussion clearer (see section 9.2).

Thus, the following sections proceed to discuss the findings of my study in a theoretical context, incorporating further discussion of the items printed on the front pages of the four newspapers, as well as the interviews conducted with sports journalists and editors in both countries.

9.2 National Identity, Globalisation and the Barcelona Olympics

In the nations parade - which forms an integral part of the Opening Ceremony of the Olympics - of the Barcelona Games, 172 nations entered the stadium waving their flags. However, of these nations, the British and Israeli newspapers concentrated on a relatively small number of nations: 102 of the nations were not mentioned even once - as main actors - in the combined coverage of the British and Israeli newspapers, and 50 nations were mentioned only between 1-4 times (see further discussion below). Put differently, 20 nations participating in the Olympics accounted for most of the coverage of the Olympic Games, even when the coverage of the two countries is combined. Table 30 refers to the overall Olympics related coverage of the most covered nations. These nations were selected to be included in this table only if their coverage accounted for 1% of the coverage in at least one of the newspapers studied. This breakdown relates to the main actor in each item.
Table 30: Most Covered Nations by Newspaper
(for main actor)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper / Nation</th>
<th>Times total</th>
<th>Express</th>
<th>Britain total</th>
<th>Yedioth</th>
<th>Hadsot</th>
<th>Israel total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>9 1%</td>
<td>1 0%</td>
<td>10 1%</td>
<td>11 2%</td>
<td>9 2%</td>
<td>20 2%</td>
<td>30 1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>14 2%</td>
<td>6 1%</td>
<td>20 2%</td>
<td>15 2%</td>
<td>6 1%</td>
<td>21 2%</td>
<td>41 2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>10 1%</td>
<td>4 1%</td>
<td>14 1%</td>
<td>13 2%</td>
<td>5 1%</td>
<td>18 2%</td>
<td>32 1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>11 1%</td>
<td>3 1%</td>
<td>14 1%</td>
<td>14 2%</td>
<td>10 2%</td>
<td>24 2%</td>
<td>38 2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>502 60%</td>
<td>360 79%</td>
<td>862 67%</td>
<td>16 2%</td>
<td>19 4%</td>
<td>35 3%</td>
<td>897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>45 5%</td>
<td>14 3%</td>
<td>59 5%</td>
<td>25 3%</td>
<td>34 8%</td>
<td>59 5%</td>
<td>118 5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>315 47%</td>
<td>128 29%</td>
<td>443 40%</td>
<td>443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>12 1%</td>
<td>1 0%</td>
<td>13 1%</td>
<td>6 1%</td>
<td>6 1%</td>
<td>12 1%</td>
<td>25 1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Africa</td>
<td>19 2%</td>
<td>3 1%</td>
<td>22 2%</td>
<td>2 0%</td>
<td>6 1%</td>
<td>8 1%</td>
<td>30 1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. Team</td>
<td>26 3%</td>
<td>8 2%</td>
<td>34 3%</td>
<td>32 5%</td>
<td>20 5%</td>
<td>52 5%</td>
<td>86 4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>99 12%</td>
<td>34 7%</td>
<td>133 10%</td>
<td>129 19%</td>
<td>107 24%</td>
<td>236 15%</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>747 90%</td>
<td>434 95%</td>
<td>1181 92%</td>
<td>578 85%</td>
<td>350 80%</td>
<td>928 83%</td>
<td>2109 88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>1290</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>1115</td>
<td>2405</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

S. Africa = South Africa
U. Team = Unified Team
n = total coverage of the most covered nations
N = total Olympics related coverage

From Table 30 it becomes evident that the focus in national newspapers was firmly fixed on the performance of the delegation of athletes from that country. The coverage of British competitors in The Times accounted for well over half (60%) of this newspaper's Olympics related coverage. In The Express, consistent with its tabloid style of coverage, which in general tends to focus on the British angle of sporting events, the coverage of Britain accounted for 79% of the overall coverage. Since Britain was represented by a relatively large delegation, of which some
athletes performed very well, indicated by their tally of 20 medals, there were relatively many national interest stories to report on. However, although the Israeli delegation to the Barcelona Olympics was much smaller than the British one and that only two of its athletes won medals (in judo), and a third progressed to the final of a major competition (Kerasnov in the pole-vaulting), the coverage of Israel in the Israeli newspapers was most extensive (47% in Yedioth Aharonoth and 29% in Hadashot).

Further cross-tabbing of the coverage of the two countries in their national newspapers through the means of the prominence categories reinforced the finding that these newspapers concentrate primarily on their own national team. Thus, for example, cross-tabbing nation by position on the page (for the main actor), resulted in the following findings: in The Times, of the overall items beginning at the top of the page 66%, and 64% of items beginning at the top half of the page concerned Britain. In The Express of the overall items beginning at the top of the page 74%, and 85% of items beginning at the top half of the page dealt with Britain. In Yedioth Aharonoth, of the overall items beginning at the top of the page 53%, and 54% of items beginning at the top half of the page focused on Israel. In Hadashot of the overall items beginning at the top of the page 41%, and 24% of items beginning at the top half of the page were about Israel.

These results indicate that as well as accounting for the majority of the coverage, the coverage of the national athletes in each country featured most prominently. This was further confirmed by the cross-tabbing of other prominence categories, i.e., most of the large headlines and most of the accompanying photographs concentrated on the nation's own athletes. It should be clarified that these findings, as well as the above detailed proportions of the position on page category, reveal a clear pattern in Britain and Israel, in addition to also showing some differences between the newspapers in each country. For instance, The Express retained a focus on Britain to a greater extent than The Times, and Yedioth Aharonoth was more focused on Israel than Hadashot, which covered the USA nearly as prominently as it covered Israel (see further discussion below).

The above discussed findings were further reinforced by comments conveyed by the sports journalists I interviewed. James Mossop (The Express), for example, stressed that: "what happens is that [...] we have the trials, the build up to the Olympics and I think that if you went to the United States you'd find there greater percentage [...] on American coverage, so we do tend to follow our own people quite a lot". In Israel, Raffi Naee (Yedioth Aharonoth) acknowledged that in terms of its sporting
performance and achievements, Israel "is just a drop in the sea", but elaborated by adding that "the readers in a certain country are most interested in how their athletes performed [...] they are more interested in reading about the success of Arad and Semadga [the Israeli judokas who won medals in Barcelona - a.b.] and also about failures. If an [Israeli] athlete before the Olympics, a wrestler or a weightlifter, says he could win a medal and then goes out after one round people are interested why he went out. A story like that wouldn't interest Canada or the USA".

Moreover, as Craig Lord of *The Times* explained:

In an event like the 100m breaststroke in swimming we had two people that were clearly in a position to win medals [...] in fact we had the reigning Olympic champion and the fastest man in the world [...] so we had every reason to believe that there was a good chance. They both made the final [...]. So, whatever then happened, even though they were 7th and 8th, the story was still a British story. It was about British failure but the perspective was British, rather than foreign [my emphasis - a.b.]. [...] other newspapers, like the American newspapers for instance, would be able to write about Nelson Dibble, the man who actually won the race, and they concentrated on him, reformed drugs character, it's a wonderful story, lots of colour. I can get a taste of that in my piece but couldn't write about it [...] you can't ignore *The Times* is a British paper, [...] and you can't ignore what happened in terms of the British perspective. You have to consider that the people reading the paper will want to know what happened to 'our boy' or 'our girl'. [...] I love going to an event where there is no British interest because then I can really just concentrate on the theme of the moment, it doesn't have to be slanted with any nationalistic sort of angle, it can be just the general thing.

(Craig Lord, *The Times*)

In other words, the local - in this case national - perspective of this global event (the Olympics) prevails. This indeed constituted a major finding of the comparative study of the television coverage of the Opening Ceremony of the Barcelona Olympics, conducted by Moragas Spa, Rivenburgh and Larson (1995). The researchers proclaimed their most interesting finding that "local circumstances can greatly colour the experience of a global event like the Olympic games" (Moragas Spa et al., 1995: 11; and see also discussion in chapters 3 and 6).
In the context of my study, another finding contextualises this discussion into perceptive, that is that the coverage of Britain accounted for, on average, 3% of the overall coverage in Israel (2% in Yedioth Aharonoth and 4% in Hadashot), while Israel was not mentioned at all in the British coverage.

Lastly, the items printed on the front pages of the newspapers also illustrate this trend: in Israel, the items which appeared on the front page in 100% of cases, dealt with Israeli athletes. In the British newspapers, the proportions were not as absolute, and yet 69% of items on the front page of The Times and 88% of front page items in The Express, were concerned with British athletes. Thus, there is a clear direction to the findings, which shows that the Olympic stories deemed most newsworthy and considered by newspaper editors to be of most interest to the general public and not only to the devoted sports fans (who read the sports pages), were the stories relating to the nation's own performance. Put differently, in general terms, the 'big stories' of the Barcelona Olympics in Britain and Israel centred on Britain and Israel respectively.

In addition to the focus on the national team, Table 30 also illustrates that the coverage of athletes from relatively few nations accounted for the majority of the Olympics related coverage in both Britain and Israel. In The Times, the 11 most covered nations accounted for 90% of the overall Olympics related coverage (of which Britain totalled 60%), while in The Express, these nations constituted 95% of the coverage (of which Britain had 79%). In Yedioth Aharonoth, the most covered nations accounted for 85% of the overall Olympics related items (of which Israel totalled 47%), and in Hadashot these nations made up 80% (Israel share being 29%) of the overall Olympics related items.

Generally speaking, in the two countries, those nations that attracted most coverage were dominant western nations, such as Australia, Canada, Germany, and most notably the USA (see further discussion of the USA below). This is both related to the news value of reference to elite nations, as well as to the actual sporting achievements of these nations in the Barcelona Olympics. To illustrate, the USA won a total of 108 medals (second only to the Unified Team - see further discussion below), Germany achieved third with a total of 82 medals, Australia attained 27 medals and Canada a total of 18 (see Appendix 7 for the complete medals table of the Barcelona Games). The fact that these nations were successful in the sports like athletics, which generated the most extensive coverage in the two countries (see discussion in chapter 8), contributes further to explaining the coverage of these nations.
The relative prominence of other nations (as shown in Table 30) can be explained by the expectations that these nations held in the build up to the Games, their sporting achievements in sports which are popular - and extensively covered - in Britain and in Israel, and also by more general news values which further explain their place within the coverage of countries other than the newspaper’s own. The former USSR (totalling on average 4% of the overall Olympics related coverage), for example, participated in Barcelona for the last time as a Unified Team. By the time of the Atlanta Olympics each of the teams composing this unity competed under a separate flag - this in itself generated interest, but in this case as well, the sporting achievements of this team in events such as gymnastics also explain the coverage.

However, it is important to emphasise that the former super power attracted far less coverage in the Barcelona Games than in previous Olympics (see Whannel, 1984). More importantly, this occurred even though it was the most successful team in terms of achieving medals at the Barcelona Olympics, with a total of 112, of which 45 were gold. Indeed, the Americans who won a total of 108 medals overall, placing them second in the medals table after the Unified team received much more coverage in both Britain and Israel (totalling on average 15%), very likely owing to a much greater meaningfulness - namely cultural familiarity - in both Britain and Israel with this nation and its athletes, than with the former USSR. Moreover, this finding can also be related to argument that in sporting terms, Americanisation is a more convincing term than globalisation (see discussion in chapter 3).

Although this trend was very clear in the two countries, it is important to observe that the USA was covered, proportionally, much more in Israel than in Britain. Whereas in Britain, the coverage of the American team accounted on average for 10% of the overall Olympics related coverage (12% in The Times and 7% in The Express) in Israel, Yedioth Aharonoth dedicated 19% of its coverage to the USA, and Hadashot 24% (an average of 21%). It can be argued that as Israel did not have as many (successful) athletes as Britain, thus the remainder (or the 'leftover') of the coverage was dedicated to the USA. This, in turn, can also be related to the great cultural familiarity Israel has with the USA in general, its athletes, and many of the sports in which the USA has been successful in (see also discussion in chapters 2 and 8). As discussed, this is also relevant within the British context, although it was reflected in a much smaller proportion of the coverage than had been evident in Israel.

The general relevance of news values and meaningfulness in particular were also reflected in the relative large proportion of coverage other nations (see Table 30).
Spain, (on average gaining 2% of the overall Olympics related coverage) as the host of the Barcelona Games, was considered newsworthy to begin with. Moreover, the local supportive crowds were attributed with effecting positively the performance of their nation's athletes - who performed much better than expected in athletics and other sports. Their achievements of a total of 22 medals, including 13 gold, brought the news value of unexpectedness into play.

China (attracting on average 1% of the overall Olympics related coverage) was becoming a major sporting power in the period up to the Games. This became evident during the Games when China won a total of 54 medals of which 16 were gold (placing it in 4th in the medals table), such achievements were reflected only to some extent in the degree of coverage this nation received. In this case there was an element of unexpectedness, as the majority of the Chinese athletes were not well known in the West. However, in contrast to the Spanish case, this meant that in fact the Chinese delegation received less coverage than might have been expected from its sporting performance. As Craig Lord (The Times) explained, "It's a cultural thing, we find it difficult to pronounce their names, remember their faces. And we don't know anything about their life style, we don't know where they came from, we don't know anything about their lives".

Kenya (on average gaining 1% of the overall Olympics related coverage) has become over the years, the world's leading 'long-distance nation'. In news values term, Kenya is an elite nation with elite persons (i.e. athletes), in this context high sporting achievements have been predictable, which explains the coverage of this nation in the build up as well as the Games themselves, and its inclusion in this 'top-nations' table. Such a case serves as an example of the importance of the sport in which the a nation has been successful, as although Kenya 'only' achieved a total of 8 medals, of which 2 were gold, these were in the high profile sport of athletics.

The analysis above demonstrates that the defining factor in the build up and coverage of the Olympics is national interest. Following that, standard (and sporting) news values come into play, most significantly meaningfulness, as the above discussion underlines. These findings, were further supported by the answers given by sports journalists and editors who when asked what guided them in determining which nations to cover. Raffi Naee (Yedioth Aharonoth), for instance, claimed: "it's obvious that when we went to cover a certain event, to write a story, then in centre stage were the Americans, Chinese, the Russians that competed for the last time as a unified team". It is important to observe, however, that this sentiment was reflected, according to my findings, only in the coverage of the
American team and to a much lesser degree to the Chinese and Russians (see above).

As mentioned previously, the sports journalists interviewed believe that, apart from the focus on the performance of their national athletes, the remainder of the coverage relies on 'the story' and not on the nations athletes represent. When questioned which countries he thought his newspaper covered most, Raffi Naee (Yedioth Aharonoth) put it bluntly: "I don't think that's a relevant question because we cover the sports". The interviews with the British journalists also confirmed the view that the guiding principle in the coverage of the Olympic Games is, what I would label, the *story values* of events which are reliant on certain sports in which a given newspaper expresses the most interest (see chapter 8), as well as the personalities involved (see further discussion in section 9.3). Thus, for example, James Mossop (*The Express*), by employing the famous 'gut feeling' argument explained: "It's really where is the best story, now, where is the best story is obvious, your news sense tells you 'that is what they [the readers - a.b.] would be most interested in'. It's a combination of a few things plus the names that we know about". Although in general, as already mentioned, I bear in mind the warning in the literature of accepting arguments made by journalists at face value, my own findings support this argument to some extent. That is, the reasons behind the coverage of certain nations is related to the sports they were successful in, the athletes involved, and other traditional sporting (and general) news values, and not necessarily which nation was involved.

Algeria, Cuba, France, Ireland, Italy, Morocco, Korea and Sweden can be grouped together as nations which were mentioned as main actors in the Olympic coverage, either in Britain or Israel - or both - at least once (see Appendix 8). In these cases the coverage can be related to a major Olympic story, mainly in the athletics competitions. These can also be explained by way of athletes who were expected - largely based on their previous performances - to perform well in these competitions. Thus their coverage began in the build up to the Games, and even when failure to succeed occurred, it still made for 'a good story'. For example, Algeria was represented in Barcelona by two long-distance world champions, and they both indeed won this nation's 2 medals. Hassiba Boulmerka, the women's champion, made for a particularly interesting story, defying a ban in her native country for running in shorts and eventually winning a gold medal.

*Negativity* as a prevailing news value also contributes to explaining the inclusion of Morocco (who won 3 medals ) in Britain and Israel's coverage (on average 1% of
the overall coverage) in this group of nations. The negative story which reached the front page of *The Times* was described thus - under the headline, "Olympic winner loses 10,000m gold medal" (August 4, 1992) - "Khalid Skah of Morocco finished first in the Olympics 10,000 metres last night but was disqualified for being paced by a team-mate [Hammou Boutayeb - a.b.] whom he had lapped towards the end of the event". Richard Chelimo of Kenya, who received the gold medal which then was awarded after all to Skah - to the sound of booing and hissing by the Barcelona crowd - were in contention for this competition in the build up to Barcelona, the scene had already been established for this race ahead of the Games, which made it simultaneously 'predictable' and 'unexpected' in news construction terms.

Of the nations participating in the Barcelona Games, 50 nations were mentioned 1-4 times (proportionally close to zero, thereby further discussion relates to the number of mentions) in the combined newspaper coverage for Britain and Israel. This list included the following nations (in brackets the total number of medals they won in Barcelona): Angola; Bhutan; Brazil (3); Bulgaria (16); Colombia (1); Costa Rica; Denmark (6); Ecuador; Egypt; Ethiopia (3); Finland (5); Ghana (1); Greece; Hong Kong; Netherlands (15); Hungary (30); Indonesia; India; Iran; Iraq (3); Iceland; Jamaica (4); Jordan; Japan (22); Kuwait; Latvia (3); Lithuania (2); Mexico (1); Mauritania; Namibia (2); Nigeria (4); Norway (7); New Zealand (10); Oman; Poland (19); Portugal; Democratic People's Republic of Korea (9); Romania; Switzerland (1); Syria; Czechoslovakia (7); Turkey (6); Uganda; Venezuela; Yugoslavia (3); Zaire; Zambia; Bosnia; Croatia (3) and Slovenia (2).

This list can be read, to some extent, in terms that relate it to the news construction preference of *elite nations*, or indeed as related to political issues, since it includes smaller West European countries, East European countries and African countries. However, it should be pointed out that in a sporting context, some of these nations were less successful in the sports which were most covered at the Barcelona Olympics, than the nations covered extensively. Such a tendency has its root in the criteria which guide sports editors and journalists in the construction of news from the Olympics. Moreover, 22 out of these 50 nations did not win any medals whatsoever and a further 13 won between 1 to 3 medals. However, the argument that the news values of *elite nations* and *meaningfulness* are central in determining the newspaper coverage is supported by the examples of Netherlands, Hungary, Japan and Poland, all of whom attained an impressive amount of medals and yet were not covered extensively in Britain and Israel very likely owing to a relatively small cultural familiarity with these nations, their athletes and the particular sports they were successful in.
When indeed covered the reasons for covering these nations varied, with one such example focusing on the fact that nations were mentioned simply because they competed against an *elite nation* in a sport which was covered. This was clearly the case with Angola, who was the first (unfortunate) team to meet the mighty American Basketball Dream Team, which accounted for its coverage in the Israeli newspapers. In other cases, the nation itself generated interest owing to its position on the general news agenda, as with Bosnia, despite the fact that it did not win any medals.

However, the notion that the *story values* comprise the essential guide for the newspapers in many cases, is confirmed by the fact that nations which were mentioned only once to four times, were mentioned prominently in some cases. For example, Ethiopia, although mentioned on very few occasions (once in *The Times*, three items in *The Express*, once in *Yedioth Aharonoth* and twice in *Hadashot*) featured prominently on the front page of *The Times* (August 8, 1992). This item, accompanied by a 1/4 of a page size photograph, covered the winners of the women's 10,000 metre race, Derartu Tulu of Ethiopia (gold medal) and Elana Meyer of South Africa (silver medal). The fact that this item appeared on the front page is related to various general and Olympic stories, it was the story of the return of South Africa to the Games - after 32 years of exclusion - of which this race seemed symbolic, as indeed the headline conveyed this by proclaiming: "Olympic 10,000 symbolises new Africa harmony". This was emphasised by the smiling faces of both athletes taking a lap of honour together, each holding her national flag, which was described in the item thus, "the pair embraced and ran round the track arm-in-arm, their flags draped around their shoulders". This theme was supported in this item by a quote from Meyer who stated that "We did it for Africa. The continent needed two really good runners. We were an example for the continent", made poignant by the fact Meyer is white and Tulu black. It was the story of a surprise winner in a high profile race, and not in the least, particularly in the British context, it was also the story of Britain's Liz McColgan, the reigning world champion who was expected (at least by the British newspapers) to win this race but failed. All of these story lines combined account for the prominence of this item and for the entire coverage of Ethiopia in the Barcelona Olympics.

This example also illustrates that in some cases the performance of one athlete in a high profile sport accounted for all mentions of that nation. This was the case with the Namibian 100 and 200 metre finalist Frankie Fredericks, who was covered from a British angle, owing to his training background in Britain. Another such example
can be detected in the coverage of the tennis performance of (the Swedish) Stefan Edberg, which accounted for the coverage of Sweden.

In this context, it is important to stress that 102 nations were not mentioned even once in the build up and the coverage studied. Overall, at the Barcelona Olympics, 64 nations won at least one medal (see Appendix 7 for the complete table), which means that the majority of the nations which were not mentioned, were not expected to, and did not perform well at these Games in medal winning terms.

The discussion above focused on the nations coded for the main actor in each item. However, as the trend for the second and third actors shared similar traits, I will not discuss them separately.

9.2.1 Conclusion

The findings in relation to the coverage of nations, discussed above, reveal that newspapers of a certain nation were, first and foremost, interested in the performance of their own nation. Indeed, this was not explained through the Olympic success this nation had, as the coverage of Israel in the Israeli newspapers, in particular, shows. Furthermore, such results display that in a global event (the Olympics), the local, in this case, national, perspective acts as the central determining factor in the coverage of the event.

The fact that sport in general and major international sporting events in particular serve as an opportunity for 'flag waving', has been referred to in the literature, even though it has not always been studied empirically (Billig, 1995; Whannel, 1992). My own study supports strongly this notion, as the discussion in section 9.3.1 will further elaborate.

As outlined, the coverage of certain nations other than the newspaper's own was found to be determined by general and sports news values. Thus, nations which were successful in sporting terms were covered, in general, more than nations which did not perform well in medal winning terms. However, it should be emphasised that the national perspective featured in this context too, as nations which were successful in sports which are of routine interest in Britain and Israel, were perceived as far more newsworthy in their newspapers than nations who excelled in other sports.
Most centrally, the news value of *meaningfulness* meant that nations closest culturally - in terms of the nations in general, their athletes and the sports they were successful in - were perceived as the more newsworthy. This was most evident in the coverage of the USA, especially when compared with the coverage of the Unified Team (the former USSR) in both Britain and Israel. It is important to stress that the American performance was covered more than any other nation, other than the newspaper's own, in both studied countries, although in medal winning terms, the Unified Team was more successful at the Barcelona Olympics. All of which illustrates clearly that the coverage of nations can not be explained exclusively by their performance in sporting terms at the Games despite what some sports journalists seem to believe.

9.3 Most Covered Athletes of the Barcelona Olympics

'Over 10,000 representatives the youth of the world' (Olympic Games Official British Guide Barcelona, 1992; in fact, figures supplied by the IOC headquarters reported 9,367 participants) gathered together at the Catalan capital to compete at the Barcelona Olympics. However, no national media could plausibly cover all the participating athletes and thus, a separate list of athletes mentioned was maintained while coding - for each newspaper - in order to analyse the coverage of the participants. The complete list included all the athletes mentioned (actors 1-3) in the four newspapers - i.e., even those athletes who were mentioned only once in an *in brief* item - which resulted in a list of a *thousand* athletes. This figure shows that only 10% of the athletes participating in the Olympics accounted for the total coverage in Britain and in Israel combined. Moreover, the top 15 mentioned athletes in each of these countries accounted for approximately 50% of the coverage. It is important to note that a mention in a given item does not imply that the item reported exclusively on a certain athlete, but that s/he was mentioned in it as one of its three main actors. The figures describing these athletes and their appearances in the newspapers are summarised in Tables 31 and 32.
Table 31: Most Covered Athletes in Britain by Newspaper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>name</th>
<th>nation</th>
<th>Times</th>
<th>Express</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Linford Christie</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carl Lewis</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sally Gunnell</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steve Redgrave</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liz McColgan</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jason Livingstone</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chris Boardman</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roger Black</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben Johnson</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katrin Krabbe</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew Pinsent</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Whitaker</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Tompson</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butch Reynolds</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elana Meyer</td>
<td>S. Africa*</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| n                  | 422           | 241   |
|                    | 51%           | 53%   |

| N                  | 833           | 457   |

* S. Africa = South Africa
n = total 15 most mentioned athletes
N = total number of items
### Table 32: Most Covered Athletes in Israel by Newspaper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>name</th>
<th>nation</th>
<th>Yedioth</th>
<th>Hadsot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yael Arad</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oren Semadga</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carl Lewis</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yual Sela &amp; Eldad Amir</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amit Inbar</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yevgeni Kerasnov</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rogel Nachom</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben Johnson</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katrin Krabbe</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eran Garomi</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timea Tott</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butch Reynolds</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linford Christie</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mike Powell</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irwin 'Magic' Johnson</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>406</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>676</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n = total 15 most mentioned athletes  
N = total number of items

Tables 31 and 32 indicate that in all the newspapers, overall, a relatively small number of athletes accounted for a high proportion of the Olympics related coverage in both Britain and Israel.

From a comparison of the two tables it emerges clearly that national newspapers tend to focus chiefly on athletes from their nation, which is consistent with the findings previously discussed in relation to the coverage of nations (section 9.2). In regards to the 15 most covered athletes in the two British newspapers, 10 were British, in the Israeli newspapers, of the top 15, 8 were Israeli athletes (Yual Sela & Eldad Amir were coded as one as this yachting pair were mentioned together consistently in the coverage).

This interest in the national athletes was reflected in the interviews conducted with the sports journalists and editors. Raffi Naee (Yedioth Aharonoth) believed that "the
readers in a certain country are most interested in how their athletes performed". James Mossop (The Express) shared a similar sentiment and insisted that this was an international phenomenon: "I think you will find it for almost any nation, we get excited more about our own people".

This was clearly the case when national athletes were successful in their medal pursuit. The extensive coverage accorded to athletes such as Linford Christie, Sally Gunnell (see further discussion of these athletes in section 9.3.1), Steve Redgrave and Chris Boardman, in the British context, and Yael Arad and Oren Semadga in the Israeli context (see further discussion in section 9.3.1) were related both to the expectations from them and to their eventual success at the Barcelona Olympics. However, it was applicable when athletes were less successful, as shown in the cases of Liz McColgan (Britain) and Yevgeni Kerasnov (Israel). This, too, was reflected in the interviews, as Raffi Naee (Yedioth Aharonoth) explained: "they [the readers] are interested in reading [...] also about failures, if an Israeli athlete before the Olympics - a wrestler or a weightlifter - says he could win a medal and then goes out after one round, people are interested why he went out. A story like that wouldn't interest Canada or the USA". Indeed, athletes who were expected to perform well at the Games, for example McColgan and Black (Britain) and Kerasnov and Sela and Amir (Israel), generated newspaper coverage both prior and during the Olympics, although eventually they did not achieve high levels of success (i.e. a medal). In the case of McColgan, her performance at the Games, perceived as a failure, was reported on 1/2 of the front page of The Express (August 8, 1992), under the headline "Brave lassie Lizzie fails to win medal". This item was accompanied by a 1/4 page photograph of the tired looking McColgan during the race, under which the caption read "HEARTBREAK: Liz finished fifth in the 10,000 metres". This, it should be noted, was the very same race which was covered on the front page of The Times (August 8, 1992), but which emphasised the winners of the race - Derartu Tulu of Ethiopia (gold medal) and Elana Meyer (silver medal). Such differences are related to the overall (relatively) higher emphasis The Express placed on the British angle of the Games.

The interest in the nation's own athletes also extended to include negative stories, which in the Olympic context are often linked to the use of performance enhancing drugs (see discussions in chapters 1 and 8). The treatment of Jason Livingstone, in the British newspapers, serves as an example in this case. Livingstone was covered positively in the build up to the Games, and yet, as mentioned previously, he was sent back from Barcelona after the results of a drugs test conducted in Britain a month prior to the Games revealed traces of illegal stimulants. This story made the
front page of The Times (July 31, 1992) - accompanied by a 1/4 page archive photograph of the jubilant Livingstone at the end of a race - and was immediately linked to the symbol of drug abuse at the Olympics, Ben Johnson, by the headline "Baby Ben made shamed Johnson his hero". The item itself explained that "Jason Livingstone idolised Canadian sprinter Ben Johnson and dreamed of winning gold but without the help of drugs. Livingstone, known to family and friends as 'Baby Ben' adorned his wall with photographs of Johnson who was stripped of his 100 metres gold medal at the Seoul Olympics after testing positive for drugs". All of this would have been new information to the readers, as this was not the context Livingstone was covered in prior to Barcelona.

It is worth mentioning that in similar circumstances to Livingstone, two further British athletes - the weightlifters Andrew Saxton and Andrew Davis - were sent back from Barcelona. Similarly, they featured on the front pages of both the British newspapers studied. As these athletes were not expected to win medals, they did not receive initial coverage, but once this negative story came to light, they instantly became newsworthy. The national perspective is evident is this case as in the Israeli newspapers these athletes did not appear at all.

The discussion of drugs related coverage links to the coverage of athletes from nations other than the newspaper's own (see discussion of the national perspective in section 9.2). Tables 31 and 32 show that in Britain, the five non-Britons most covered included two Americans, one Canadian, one German, and one South African. For Israel, the seven non-Israeli athletes who received the most attention included three Americans, one Canadian, one Briton, and one German. The comparison between the tables demonstrates that three of these athletes - Johnson, Krabbe and Reynolds - were among the athletes who were covered relatively extensively in both countries (although the proportions vary). Significantly, all these had been involved in drugs related issues in some way. As mentioned, Johnson will continually epitomise the drug abuse in the Olympic context (see discussion in chapters 1 and 8). The performance of this 'shamed' athlete generated interest, despite the fact that in the actual Barcelona Games he progressed only through the early rounds of the 100 metres heats. Reynolds, previously successful American runner, was banned from running in international competitions, although he was allowed back in American competitions. Thus his first comeback to the international arena at Barcelona generated considerable interest. Krabbe, the German sprinter was expected to make a comeback from a drug ban, but eventually did not arrive at Barcelona, which makes her coverage even more interesting, as although she did not
participate in any Olympic race, she was still one of the most covered athletes in both Britain and Israel.

Overall, apart from the focus on national athletes, the coverage of international (from a British and Israeli perspective) athletes was related to the expectations and performances of these athletes in sports which generate interest, and to the personalities involved. As Craig Lord (The Times) explained, "if there is no British competitor who is winning than [...] we would be interested in seeing who is winning those sports in which we have a special interest". He added "I'm sure they [the readers] would be most interested in the big story of the moment, it doesn't matter who it is, whether it's an African or South American, if it's an interesting, colourful person, with an interesting background, that's great".

In this context, the American Carl Lewis serves as a prime example, as he was covered extensively both in Britain and in Israel. In fact, as Table 31 and 32 indicate, Lewis was covered proportionally, both in Britain and in Israel, to a greater degree than some of the national athletes. The interest in this multi-medal Olympic winner was based not only on the expectations of his performance at the Barcelona Games, but additionally on his past performances. Indeed, Raffi Naee (Yedioth Aharonoth) believed that he was covered "not because of his achievements, but because of his past performances [...] I think around the world he is a star". It can thus be argued that, in news constructions terms, Lewis was not required to pass any threshold in order to be deemed newsworthy. Indeed, continuity - i.e. the fact that he was already an established Olympic star - made him newsworthy regardless of his actual performance in Barcelona. James Mossop (The Express) also argued, "Carl Lewis is an absolute phenomenon, one of the best athletes the world has ever seen and clean [from drugs - a.b.] with it". Apart from excelling in athletics, which is the most extensively covered sport in the Olympics (see above), and having a colourful personality, Lewis could be linked to the themes the newspapers were interested in (see chapter 8). For example, by the Barcelona Games, he was a relatively 'old' athlete, a theme which, as discussed previously, generates interest. Furthermore, in the British context, Lewis - in a similar age bracket - was a long standing rival of Linford Christie's, which, as also previously outlined, constitutes another theme that the newspapers were interested in.

The rivalry theme also explains the coverage, granted to the South African Elana Meyer, as in the British newspapers she was perceived, during the build up to the Games, as Liz McColgan's main rival for the 10,000 metre gold medal. Her outspoken personality further played a role in her coverage, as Craig Lord (The
explained: "I was very impressed with Elana Meyer, in the press conference, interesting that she, in some ways, is a bigger name than the girl who beat her. I can't even remember her name, because of the personality'.

Comparing the coverage of athletes in Britain and Israel further highlights the different interests in certain sports in the two countries. Basketball, as discussed, featured prominently in the Israeli context which accounted for the coverage of Irvine 'Magic' Johnson. In Israel, readers were familiar both with Johnson's basketball career and his personal background story (the disclosure in November, 1991 that he was HIV positive). As Raffi Naee (Yedioth Aharonoth) explained, "when people just 'smelled' him coming in, all the crowd stood [...] as far as I'm concerned, he was a hero, the fact he retired and came back and played well and his personal story". When asked the reason behind the negligible British coverage James Mossop (The Express) replied, "if I were to write about Magic Johnson, and I know of Magic Johnson, what a big name he is in America, I think the reaction would be, 'who cares?'".

When comparing the above tables, it also emerged that overall, in the Israeli newspapers four American athletes were covered prominently, and their coverage accounted for a total 11% of the Olympics related coverage in Yedioth Aharonoth, and 13% in Hadashot. In the British newspapers, the coverage of two American athletes accounted for 7% in both newspapers. As discussed in section 9.2, this can be explained by the fact that the coverage of the Israeli newspapers 'compensated' with the coverage of the, culturally familiar, USA for a fewer number of Israeli athletes who were expected to perform well, and indeed succeed, at the Barcelona Games.

The above discussion relates to the 15 most mentioned athletes in the build up and the coverage of the Barcelona Olympics in Britain and in Israel. It is however, important to note that in the British context some further athletes, in additions to those included in the table, were covered relatively extensively, and also made the front pages of the newspapers. These included, for instance, Nick Gillingham and Adrian Moorhouse, whose exploits in Barcelona were described on the front page of The Times (July 27, 1992) thus: "in a day of mixed fortunes for British sport, the swimmers Nick Gillingham and Adrian Moorhouse failed to get a flying start at the Olympics yesterday". The item was accompanied by a 1/4 page photograph of the disappointed swimmers in the pool following the completion of the race. The caption under this read, "Back to back: Nick Gillingham and Adrian Moorhouse, after taking only [my emphasis - a.b.] seventh and eighth places in the 100 metres
Olympic breaststroke". Both the item and the caption reflected on the disappointment (see discussion of this theme in chapter 8) of the swimmers performance, and yet the exceptions prior to the Games retained this as a newsworthy story.

This example reinforces the overall conclusion of the analysis in this section, which is that the coverage of athletes, showing similar characteristics to the coverage of nations in general, was determined predominantly by the national perspective (see section 9.2). This is evident both from the figures and from the actual coverage, which used (overtly) phrases including "in a day of mixed fortunes for British sport [my emphasis -a.b.]" (The Times, July 27, 1992), and "a wonderful weekend for Britain [my emphasis -a.b.]" (The Times, August 3, 1992), in the front page item reporting the rowing victory of Greg and Jonathan Searle.

9.3.1 National Heroes and Heroines of the Barcelona Olympics

As previously discussed, national interest was an important factor in explaining the extensive Olympics related coverage of athletes in both Britain and Israel. In the two countries it can be seen that two athletes (of each country) were covered most extensively of all the Barcelona competitors. In Britain, these were Linford Christie (7% of the overall coverage in The Times and 13% of the overall coverage in The Express), and Sally Gunnell (3% of the overall coverage in The Times and 5% of the overall coverage in The Express). In Israel, they were Yael Arad (13% of the overall coverage in Yedioth Aharonoth and 7% of the overall coverage in Hadashot) and Oren Semadga (9% of the overall coverage in Yedioth Aharonoth and 5% of the overall coverage in Hadashot). Put differently, the combined coverage of these two corresponding athletes in each country accounted, on average, for 7% of the overall coverage in Britain, and 9% of the overall coverage in Israel. Based on these findings and the coverage of these athletes on the front pages of the newspapers in their country (see further analysis below), I would argue that these athletes were the national heroes and heroines of the Barcelona Olympics in their respective countries. Thus, this section proceeds to discuss the coverage of the above mentioned athletes in more detail.

Although these athletes were already mentioned in previous discussions (both in this chapter and those previous), in order to contextualise the following analysis, I have included here a brief description of their Barcelona related performance, in relation
to their newspaper coverage. The veteran (32 years old at the time) sprinter Linford Christie was a gold medal hope, from the British perceptive, in the 100 metres race from the initial stages of the build up to the Barcelona Games. This was perceived as his last chance at the gold medal, which he had failed to achieve in previous Olympic Games. He indeed went on to succeed in achieving the gold medal in what was described as the "race of his life" (front page of The Sunday Times, 2 August, 1992). Through this victory, he became the oldest winner of this race in Olympic history. Sally Gunnell, the commonwealth champion, was also a gold medal hope in the 400 metres hurdles race, and succeeded in fulfilling this expectation. In doing so, she became the first British women to win a track event since 1964 (The Times, August 6, 1992). These two athletes were also the men's and women's captains of the British delegation.

In Israel, Yael Arad was portrayed as a gold medal hope in judo from the initial stages of the Barcelona related coverage within the Israeli newspapers. She eventually won, by narrowly losing in the final bout, an Olympic silver medal. This was Israel's first ever medal at the Games which prompted a large blue and white (the colours of the Israeli flag) headline "AFTER 2000 YEARS" (Yedioth Aharonoth, July 31, 1992:6) in the report of her achievement. Oren Semadga was expected to perform well in Barcelona, but was a lesser medal hope than Arad which is also reflected in the proportion of the coverage devoted to him. Nevertheless, within 48 hours of Israel's first ever medal, he secured the second, a bronze medal in judo.

The coverage of these athletes was perceived as newsworthy well ahead of the Games, as James Mossop (The Express) explained when outlining the coverage of the Olympics in general: "there is no strictly preconceived idea what we are going to do, but you have a rough idea that yes, of course, Linford Christie is the man to watch in the 100 metres, and Sally Gunnell is the Commonwealth record holder and can get the world record in the 400 metres hurdles". This in turn meant that whichever way these events subsequently unfolded, they would have merited coverage, not least by virtue of the consonance and continuity news values. Such characteristics were also evident in the Israeli context, as Raffi Naee explained: "what is 'important'? [...] people who are involved in Judo are interested in Judo, but in this case we knew the whole country would be interested in Judo - 'will she or won't she win a medal'".

Overall, in the period leading up to the Games the 'will s/he won't s/he' question in relation to the medal hopes were linked to the physical and mental fitness of these
(and other) athletes, as previously outlined in chapter 8. As James Mossop (The Express) explained, "the man at home wonders is Sally Gunnell going to be fit or has she got a cold or is she injured and it is our job to report the progress, you may think that is a bit tedious but [...] it's all part of the news gathering". In fact, as discussed (see section chapter 8), all information concerning these athletes was perceived as newsworthy, ranging from personal matters, to who their compatriots/rivals were, and also what their relationship with them was, and what their own goals were.

After these athletes had succeeded in their medal pursuit, their coverage became newsworthy to a greater extent. James Mossop (The Express) explained the reasoning behind this, "the best stories are the happy stories". Thus, "the good stories in Barcelona, from our point of view, were the gold medals, Linford Christie and Sally Gunnell". Such a comment illustrates again, importance of the national perspective.

Thus, the overall coverage of these athletes was related to both the expectations from them during the build up, followed by their successful performances in Barcelona. The extensive coverage of the British athletes was additionally related to the sports that they competed in. Athletics, as discussed (see chapter 8), was the most covered of Olympics sports. In fact, "most Olympic heroes [my emphasis - a.b.] in track and field are household names" (Lynam, 1992). This was particularly the case with Linford Christie, bearing in mind that athletics is the 'focal point' of the Games in general, the highlight and indeed the climax of the entire Olympics is the men's 100 metres race. The prospect of winning this race was described in The Times leading up to the Barcelona Games thus:

This is the ultimate achievement in the ultimate event: the ultimate event not in track and field athletics, but in all sport. It is the only discipline to posses perfect simplicity. There is nothing arbitrary, nothing artificial, no roles, no conventions to limit endeavour. It is the pure unadulterated essence of sport; straight line speed. Fastest wins.

(The Times, July 25, 1992: 5)

Linford Christie entered with a realistic chance of winning this the "world's greatest accolade: the fastest man on Earth" (The Times, July 25, 1992:5), in which "there is no second chance, no possibility of redeeming yourself. An error in sprinting is the end of it [...] in sprinting, at the highest level, only perfection will do" (The Times,
July 25th, 1992:6). This goes a long way towards explaining his extensive coverage both in Britain and indeed outside it. The coverage in the Israeli newspapers supports this argument, as Christie was among their 15 most covered athletes, accounting for 2% of the overall Olympics related coverage, in both of the newspapers studied. In this context, it is worth noting that judo was not a sport routinely covered by the Israeli media prior to the Barcelona Olympics, and yet other news values meant it escaped its 'minority sport' label to be covered extensively, as Nae (Yedioth Aharonoth, quoted above) also explained. Furthermore, in the aftermath of Barcelona Olympics in Israel, judo became a more popular sport both in terms of participation figures and in its media coverage.

In addition to their overall extensive coverage, the Olympic success of the four athletes discussed was celebrated on the front pages of their national newspapers. Indeed, Niblock (1996) observes that in general "an indication of sport's importance in the media is that stories involving our sporting heroes frequently receive headline coverage on the front pages" (Niblock, 1996:49). In Britain, both Christie and Gunnell featured twice on the front page of The Times, in one instance photographed together. In The Express, both appeared three times on the front page, of which twice were photographed together. In Israel, Arad featured twice on the front page of Yedioth Aharonoth, of which one occasion was together with Semadga. The only front page Olympic item in Hadashot featured Arad.

An analysis of these front page items demonstrates that according to the newspapers themselves, these athletes indeed became national heroes and heroines of the Games. The Express (August 6, 1992) declared this clearly in its coverage of Sally Gunnell's performance, under the headline 'SOLID GOLD SALLY', with a sub-headline which read, "Lap of honour for Barcelona heroine [my emphasis - a.b.]".

The very fact that the success of national heroes and heroines was celebrated beyond the sport 'ghetto', by appearances on the front pages of newspapers reinforces the argument that the Olympic Games are an arena for 'flag-waving' (see discussion in chapters 3, 6 and 8). Further analysis of these items reinforces this. Quite literally can this be witnessed in the British newspapers, with the British flag appearing in photographs accompanying items in four out of the six front page items covering Christie and Gunnell. Furthermore, in The Times, one caption under a 1/4 page photograph of Sally Gunnell's wrapped with the flag following the race, read "Flying the flag: Sally Gunnell acknowledges the Barcelona crowd's applause after becoming the first British women to win an Olympic track event since 1964" (August 6, 1992).
In all such cases, the accomplishments of these athletes were translated into a national achievement. For example, in Yedioth Aharonoth (July 31, 1992), the sub front page headline read: "silver medal for Yael Arad in Barcelona: A first Olympic medal for Israel". The national pride associated with winning an Olympic medal (the first ever, in the Israeli case) was most evident in the blue and white banner of the top front page headline: "RABIN: ISRAEL IS GRATEFUL TO YOU, YAEL" (the late Itzhak Rabin was the Israeli Prime Minister at the time). On the front page of The Sunday Express (August 9, 1992), the British Prime Minister featured in a 1/4 photograph alongside the two Olympic heroes, and the caption read "GOLD STANDARD: John Major with Olympic winners Sally Gunnell and Linford Christie in Barcelona yesterday".

In the Israeli case, there was a further national aspect involved as Arad herself stated "this is my vengeance for the murder of the athletes in Munich" (in the front page sub headline, Yedioth Aharonoth, July 31, 1992) referring to the murder of 11 Israeli athletes by the Palestinian organisation 'Black September' at the 1972 Olympics. In the full item (p. 6) she added, "the win over the German in the semi-final closed a cycle for me". Such a position is related to the view, held by many in Israel, that the Germans were, at the very least, partially responsible for failing to rescue the Israelis in Munich.

Further front page items positioned the winning of the medals into a (mainly sporting) historical context. In Britain, as discussed, the significant issue was that Christie was the oldest athlete in Olympic history to emerge victorious in the 100 metres race and for Gunnell, the fact that she was the first British women in nearly 30 years to win a track event. In Israel, this point was more striking as Arad and Semadga achieved the first ever Olympic medals won by their country. Thus the achievement was described as "history in Barcelona" (front page caption, Hadashot, July 31, 1992).

The associated feelings of national pride and history in the making, were clearly expressed by Raffi Naee (Yedioth Aharonoth), who said, "small Israel won, for the first time, two medals in Judo [...] there were many stories to be told and the whole nation, or at least most of it, was excited by this because it was an historical event [my emphasis - a.b.]".

As discussed in this section, Christie and Gunnell in Britain, and Arad and Semadga in Israel, became national heroes and heroines by winning Olympic medals. It should be pointed out that in both countries, the two winning athletes were featured
together in front page items (except for Hadashot), thus linking them together as the national hero and heroine of the Barcelona Games in their respective countries. In the Israeli case, these competitors were in fact the only athletes to achieve medals, yet in the British case, the hero status of Christie and Gunnell was underlined by the fact that on the return of the British team, their photograph together appeared on the front page of The Times (August 11th, 1992), personifying the entire team as successful and generating national pride.

9.4 Gender and the Barcelona Olympics

As the analysis in the previous section showed, the Olympics related coverage of the Barcelona Games was determined, to a great extent, by issues of national interest, which also affected the heroes and heroines highlighted in the four newspapers studied. As Craig Lord (The Times) explained: "what is news is who is winning the most important events, and [...] obviously, there is a strong interest if a British competitor, a man or a woman, is winning [my emphasis - a.b.]". In the context of this thesis, such claims require a discussion of the findings concerned with the coverage of male and female athletes.

Chapter 4 discussed how the literature on this topic explains the role of the sports media in relation to gender. It was observed that this tends to focus on the coverage of women, and more particularly, on two main issues, namely, the amount of coverage female athletes receive and their subsequent portrayal when they are covered. Although, as discussed, it is my view that it is imperative to analyse the coverage of male athletes as well, in the context of my thesis, this section proceeds to assess the Barcelona Olympics related newspaper coverage of female athletes in Britain and Israel. It is important to note that, in some respects, issues concerning the coverage of male athletes will emerge from a comparison with the coverage of their female counterparts.

Overall, (mainly feminist) writers have based their discussions on a notion that female athletes are excluded from mediated sport (Sabo and Curry Jansen, 1992). In fact, the view that sports programming is an almost exclusive all-male world is supported by empirical studies conducted by Woolard (1983) and Shifflett and Revelle (1996). Most striking was Coakley’s (1986) finding that an estimated 95% of all sports coverage dealt with male athletes. According to this evidence, which originates mainly from the United States, even though women have increased their
presence in the sporting arena itself over the years, the media persist in covering mainly male athletes, which in turn creates the impression that female athletes are non-existent in the sporting world (Kane and Greendorfer, 1994).

However, as outlined, not all empirical studies support this argument. Pfister's (1989) study of the German newspapers coverage of the Olympics displayed that the amount of coverage of female athletes, did increase in correspondence with the growing number of female participants in the Olympics. In fact, Kane and Greendorfer (1994) also agree that in the media coverage of the 1988 and the 1992 Olympics, women athletes did achieve visibility (see detailed discussion in chapter 4). What is common to both is the fact that they refer to the Olympics, in this context. Table 33 shows the findings of my study on this issue in regards to the 1992 Barcelona Olympics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper / Gender</th>
<th>Times</th>
<th>Express</th>
<th>Britain total</th>
<th>Yedioth</th>
<th>Hadsot</th>
<th>Israel total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>954</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>817</td>
<td>1771</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
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<td>182</td>
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<td>23%</td>
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<td>453</td>
<td>1281</td>
<td>671</td>
<td>427</td>
<td>1098</td>
<td>2379</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* N = total number of athlete mentions (in some items there was no clear indication of gender).

The figures in Table 33 show that in the British and Israeli newspapers studied, male athletes were covered, on average, three times more than their female counterparts. This trend, as the figures indicate was consistent across the four newspapers studied (and indeed for all actors). This finding might be interpreted as supportive evidence to the argument that female athletes are covered much less than male athletes. However, clearly, these figures do not reflect a similar ratio to that found by Coakley's (1986) study of the routine coverage of sport. They are, however consistent with findings concerning the coverage of the Olympic Games (see above).

More importantly, to gain more insight these figures must be discussed in the context of the number of female athlete participation in the Barcelona Games. In fact, figures supplied by the IOC headquarters reveal that at the Barcelona
Olympics, there was a total of 9,367 participants, of which 6,659 (71%) were male and 2,708 (29%) were female. Thus, I would argue that, proportionally to their participation in the Games, women were not visibly under-represented in the Barcelona Olympics newspaper build up and coverage in Britain and Israel. Furthermore, it is important to consider the idea that an overall smaller percentage of the coverage of female athletes is, first and foremost, a reflection on the inequality of opportunity female athletes face in high performance sports in the sport realm (see also Hargreaves, 1984) rather than to regard it as a media bias.

It should be pointed out that of athletes mentions, it is plausible that the coverage of the same female athlete accounted for a high percentage of the overall coverage. Indeed, as Tables 31 and 32, discussed above, illustrated this was in fact the case. A further comparison of these tables shows that in Britain of the 15 most mentioned athletes, five (33%) were female, while in Israel 3 (20%) were female. In the British case, this analysis results in a higher proportion of female representation than in the overall coverage. In the Israeli case it is significantly lower, such a finding however, can be explained in relation to the national perspective, by an overall lower proportion of Israeli female participants as well as fewer who were expected to and/or performed well in Barcelona. When considering this point, it is relevant to stress that the figures of female participants differ in the nations competing at the Olympics.

This analysis, and indeed the analysis in previous sections, reinforce empirically Cooper-Chen's (1994) notion that "given the worldwide similarity of news values, it is safe to assume that Olympic champions and winners are covered extensively by the media in their home country regardless of their gender [my emphasis - a.b.] and as a result, in most cases, achieve celebrity status" (Cooper-Chen, 1994: 267).

These findings are further supported by the view held by the journalists interviewed. As one journalist explained:

If there is a lesser percentage of women it is not for any other reason than that the men's team is probably twice as large as the women's team. Sally Gunnell, you know, because she is our best women she had masses of space, similar before her Tessa Sanderson and Fatima Whitbread. There is no policy of concentrating more on men and belittling the women. That's a
myth, I think, because if there is a story there and it is about a female you are going to go there and get it and do it.

(James Mossop, The Express)

Craig Lord (The Times) similarly believes that, "for both [male and female athletes] it's according to their achievements [...] I don't think that we are a sexist paper". In the Israeli context, Raffi Naee (Yedioth Aharonoth) also explained: "this goes according to the matter at hand, the most covered athlete in this Olympics was Yael Arad. She is a women, so what? If she wasn't successful she wouldn't be covered [...] it is all a matter of how successful the athlete is and then it doesn't matter male or female". Although in this context too, it is important not to accept the journalists view at face value, my findings, as outlined, tend to support this perspective.

However, it is crucial to stress, in this context as well, that the Olympic Games are a unique media event; one that does not necessarily reflect on the routine coverage of female athletes in the sports media. As discussed, the underrepresentation of female athletes is well documented in the literature (Creedon, 1994a; and see also discussion in chapter 4). It is my position that during the Olympic Games, a national media concentrates on the athletes, both male and female, of their own nation and on the medals they win (see also Cooper-Chen, 1994; Pfister, 1989). Put differently, when it comes to the Olympics, the amount of coverage of female athletes is more consistent with the number of female athletes participating in the Games. Moreover, in certain national newspapers, this amount correlates with the success - measured predominantly in terms of medal winnings - of the female competitors.

Yet, in the tabloid-like Express in particular, what can be viewed as sexist news values did in fact emerge. The coverage during the build up to Barcelona of Sharon Davis, the British past medal winner swimmer, who attempted (unsuccessfully) to make a 'comeback' in Barcelona can serve as an example. As the sports editor of The Express, a newspaper which dedicated 7 photographs accompanied items to this athlete acknowledged:

Sharon Davis, you see, the attraction there is that Sharon Davis is one of our former heroines who did very well and took a long time out of swimming and came back. So the interest factor was there, you got a woman who was making this great comeback swimming against much younger kids, punished herself through all sorts of early-morning late-night schedules, so there is interest to see how she would go. I think that was legitimate, you may also argue, but,
ah, you only did that because she is pretty. Well, you know, maybe, she is photogenic.

(James Mossop, *The Express*)

In *The Times*, Davis was mentioned a total of 8 times, proportionally less than in *The Express*, but more notably, these were items related to her swimming preparations and none of them was accompanied by a photograph. Craig Lord (*The Times*) explained such findings thus: "Sharon Davis, who has not achieved anything in swimming of any great note for years and years, and didn't make the finals [...] got enormous coverage in the tabloid press. I think that certainty plays a part in the tabloid press, if she is glamorous, if she is a women, if she is a sellable commodity then she will get more coverage and it is unfortunate that someone like Sharon would get as much, even more coverage, than Nick Gillingham at an Olympic Games". Which, it should be noted, was not the case for *The Express*, Gillingham (see discussion in section 9.3) was covered in this newspaper more extensively than Davis.

The Sharon Davis example is linked to a further discussion of the coverage of female athletes found in the literature. As discussed in chapter 4, writers (Creedon, 1994b; Kane and Greendorfer, 1994; Sabo and Curry Jansen, 1992) proceed from the exclusion argument to consider whether the coverage of female athletes is different from the coverage of their male counterparts. There seems to exist a consensus as to the fact that even when female athletes are covered by the media, they are consistently trivialised and marginalised through the type of coverage they receive.

Kane and Greendorfer (1994), for example, find that female athletes are portrayed as feminised and sexualised others and that they are not only portrayed as 'other than', but in fact as 'lesser than', male athletes. Within Western culture, they argue, males are expected to be 'active, aggressive, and spontaneous' whereas females are 'weak, passive and responsive'. The hierarchy being that the former is superior to the latter. This is related to various 'strategies' that are involved in the coverage, outlined by writers. Some (Messner et al., 1990; Pfister, 1989) have found, for instance, that while male athletes are often addressed by their surnames, women are often introduced with their first name which in these writers view, displays a hierarchy of naming. Duncan et al. (1990) found that male athletes were framed as active subjects whereas female athletes were framed as reactive objects. Furthermore, while the male performance was often linked with power metaphors, the coverage of female athletes was often framed within stereotypes which emphasised appearance
and attractiveness, rather than athletic skill (see also Pfister, 1989; Sabo and Jansen, 1992). Whitson (1986) observes that female athletes are likely to be defined in relation to husbands and children to a far greater extent than male athletes. Additionally, Kane and Greendorfer (1994) as well as Boutilier and SanGiovanni (1983) in studying photographs, came to the conclusion that female athletes were more likely than the male athletes to pose in passive and non-athletic positions within sports photographs.

In this context, it is also important to recall that Kane and Greendorfer (1994) (and also Kane, 1988) write that the media tend to focus, at those times when they do actually cover female athletes, on sports which are considered to be feminine, namely the more graceful and aesthetic sports, such as gymnastics.

As previously discussed (see section 9.1), the items printed on the front pages of the studied newspapers show the essence of my arguments. This is very relevant to the discussion of the portrayal of the female athletes in these newspapers. Thus, I decided to analyse some of these cases, in the context of the literature outlined above (see detailed discussion in chapter 4), in order to illustrate the newspaper portrayal of female athletes in relation to the Barcelona Olympics.

In Britain, The Times, on August 6, 1992 featured a 1/4 page (at the top) front page item celebrating Sally Gunnell's gold medal under the headline: "Essex girl [my emphasis - a.b.] races to Olympic gold". The item proceeds to concentrate on reporting the actual race. However, it does include this information such as, "The farmer's daughter from Chigwell, Essex". The reference to Sally Gunnell as 'girl' supports arguments made in the literature. However, it can not be argued that in this newspaper she was framed exclusively in relation to her family, this was part of the information given about her. It was the case that she was framed chiefly in terms of being a successful athlete (see discussion of The Express below). The accompanying photograph shows a smiling Gunnell after the race, wrapped in the British flag (see discussion in section 9.3.1). In this context, it should additionally be pointed out that on August 11, 1992, a quarter page photograph on the front page featured Gunnell and Christie on their return from Barcelona, in which "Britain's Olympic team captains and gold medallists" were treated equally in the photograph itself, and in the caption under it.

The Express, as discussed previously (see chapter 8), also included front page items featuring female athletes. On August 6, 1992, Sally Gunnell's gold medal was celebrated on 1/2 page front page item under a banner headline accompanied by a
small photograph of the smiling athlete wrapped in the Union Jack. The caption under it reads: "Champion: Sally after last night's race". Here the reference is indeed by first name and the item itself opens with "Farmer's daughter Sally Gunnell [...] and proceeds to also include her age, and then frames her in relation to her boyfriend and parents: "she spotted boyfriend Jon Bigg and parents Leslie and Rosemary at the trackside and ran sobbing [my emphasis - a.b] into their arms". Almost a catalogue of the arguments made by the writers discussed above.

In the same newspaper, on August 8, 1992, a 1/2 page item on the front page was devoted to Liz McColgan's 10,000 metres disappointing race. The headline read "Brave lassie Lizzie [my emphasis - a.b.] fails to win medal". Apart from referring to McColgan by a nickname and labelling her 'lassie', the item itself frames her as 'The Scots mother', and goes on to include what can be viewed as the following irrelevant (in sporting terms) information: "Last night Liz's 20-month-old daughter Eilish was tucked up in bed at their Dundee home. Liz and husband Peter [...]". Thus, the item persists in referring to this athlete by first name and framing her in her roles as mother and wife.

Not surprisingly, the tabloid-style The Express provides supportive evidence to the arguments found in the literature in relation to the portrayal of female athletes. However, it is important to emphasise at the same time, that the coverage of male athletes is not far removed from this newspaper's style outlined in the above analysis. Thus, for example, in the coverage of Chris Boardman's gold medal win in the cycling the front page item persisted in referring to him by his first name and framed him in relation to his family: "His tearful wife Sally-Anne hugged him at the trackside and whispered: "I love you. I knew you could do it". The photograph accompanying the item showed him after the race as, "Riding high: Victorious Chris kisses his wife after last night's race". In fact, some of the phrases used were identical to those employed to describe Sally Gunnell's victory (although how the journalist knew what Sally-Anne whispered to her husband is a mystery). However, it is worth noting that it was not Boardman, but his wife who was 'tearful' compared with Gunnell's 'sobbing'.

In Israel, Yedioth Aharonoth, on July 31st, 1992, the day after Yael Arad won Israel's first ever medal, a half page item was printed on the front page of the newspaper, accompanied with both a large (quarter page) and passport size photographs of Arad under the headline "RABIN: ISRAEL IS GRATEFUL TO YOU, YAEL". The sub-headline read "silver medal for Yael Arad in Barcelona; A first Olympic medal for Israel" (see also discussion of this item in section 9.3.1).
The large photograph is of Arad posing in her Judo outfit, and although non-athletic, shows a confident Arad looking straight into the camera. The caption under it reads: "Yael Arad. An archive photograph. The wonderful accomplishment was tainted with disappointment, after she was so close to gold". This can be interpreted as undermining her 'wonderful accomplishment', and yet, I would argue that it shows no allowances are made for a female athlete. It is possible that she could have won the gold medal, but the newspaper does not imply that a silver medal is good enough "for a women". The smaller photograph (taken from the television coverage) shows Arad receiving the medal, under which the caption reads: "the climax moment: Yael Arad on the winners podium, receiving the silver medal". These headlines and photographs are accompanied by an 1/8 of a page item in which Arad's mother comments on her daughter's achievement, under the headline "My daughter did it!". This could be further supportive evidence of the argument that female athletes are defined in the context of their family. However, in this case, the Yedioth Aharonoth journalist writing the item was in fact Yael Arad's mother, which is stressed above the headline: "Yedioth Aharonoth journalist Norit Arad, Yael's mother".

In the edition of August 2nd, 1992, in the middle of the front page there was a quarter page size photograph of Yael Arad and Oren Semadga, of which the headline read "Better the two", supplemented with the caption, which said: "A smile of victory from the pair of our successful Olympians: the Judokas Oren Semadga and Yael Arad". Both the headline, caption and photograph of the two are treated equally, for example, with reference in both cases to their full names. The photograph shows a mirror image of both smiling Judokas, wearing their medals, leaning against each other and gesturing a sign of OK with their fingers.

In Hadashot (July 31st, 1992), the front page item was relatively small item highlighted by a red ink headline which read "Silver Medal to Yael Arad". This was accompanied by a passport size photograph of Yael Arad's face, under which the caption simply said "Arad. History in Barcelona" and in brackets the reader was referred the sports pages. In this case Yael Arad's is either referred to by her forename or by her surname, and although the photograph is non-athletic, Arad looks straight at the reader and smiles very openly and confidently.

The analysis of the front pages of the Israeli newspapers shows they do not lend themselves to supporting the arguments made in the literature in regards to the portrayal of female athletes. It is also worth noting that the sport Arad succeeded in, Judo, is not generally considered feminine and yet, in this case, this did not affect the extent of the coverage.
In the analysis of the front page items in Britain and Israel, some supportive evidence could be found to the discussions relating to the portrayal of female athletes in the media, as found in the relevant literature. However, in these cases no references were made to the athlete's appearance and/or attractiveness, and neither were they framed as weak or passive. Concerning photographs, in all cases, the front page photographs (of both male and female athletes) were not taken during the races, which in most cases meant those were 'passive' photographs, but ones which showed the athletes in their athletic context.

This analysis, combined with the findings that overt references to the 'femaleness' of athletes were very rarely mentioned as main themes of the items analysed (see discussion in chapter 8) in addition to the proportion of the coverage of female athletes in the build up and coverage of the Barcelona Olympics in both countries, all point to the conclusion that the women competitors are neither significantly underrepresented nor portrayed in entirely different terms than their male counterparts.

It is important to stress that I do not argue that the coverage of female athletes in the Olympic Games, as covered by the studied newspapers in Britain and Israel, was completely gender blind. It is, however, my position, supported by my findings which are different to the findings found in the literature in relation to the routine coverage of female athletes, that in the context of the Olympics, considerations of national pride, including national heroes and heroines assume precedence over issues of gender.

The findings reported in this chapter will be further discussed in the following, concluding, chapter.
PART IV
Chapter 10: Summary and Conclusions

In my thesis, I have attempted to draw a broad picture of the build up and coverage of the Olympics within the context of the theories and the literature which I believe should be applied to it. More specifically, I compared, empirically, the newspaper build up and coverage of the 1992 Barcelona Olympics in Britain and Israel, studying the coverage from April to September 1992 in two newspapers from each country. By doing so, I was able to analyse comparatively the coverage of the Barcelona Games and also to relate to the coverage of the Olympic Games in general. Furthermore, I was able to examine closely the theories and the literature I applied to my study. Thus, this summary and conclusions chapter outlines my findings and relates them to more general conclusions regarding the ideas, assumptions and studies found in the relevant media studies literature.

Since the Olympic Games are a global media event (Rowe, 1995; Whannel, 1992), the first theory I applied to them was that of media events according to Dayan and Katz’s (1992) definition. I started with a discussion of this theory and proceeded to assessing its applicability in regards to the Olympics, guided by the fact that Dayan and Katz (1992) themselves include the Games in their list of examples of media events.

It is important to emphasis that this theory, although labelled media, events refers specifically to television and yet I have employed it to analyse newspaper coverage. The reasoning behind this, as discussed in detail in chapters 2 and 7, being that the event itself - i.e. the Olympic Games - is a media event (see further discussion below) and its coverage in newspapers shares certain characteristics with Dayan and Katz’s (1992) definition (see discussion below). Furthermore, it is clear that newspapers assume a central role in the coverage of this event with the further advantage of not having to submit to restrictions associated with broadcasting rights. Newspapers also have the ability to devote more space to previews and post-mortems, minority sports and specific sports and athletes a certain newspaper is interested in. Thus, the analysis of newspapers enabled a comparison between different media outlets within the same country to be conducted, a task which would be impossible when it comes to television, where the Games are broadcast exclusively on one channel. Importantly, the analysis of newspapers also enabled a close control over a long period of the collected data in the two countries, virtually
impossible for a lone researcher when it comes to collecting, for example, the material relating to the building up stages of the Olympics on television.

According to Dayan and Katz (1992), media events are major occasions, often with a ceremonial or ritual character, which, by definition, are 'not routine'. Importantly, they declare that "despite its heaviness, we shall argue that the elements in our definition are 'necessary', and that no subject of them is 'sufficient' without the others" (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 9). Thus, they state that these elements can exist without one another, but if this is the case then they are not what they label media events (see further discussion below). This, as outlined, prompted a closer examination of the central elements of their definition of media events and its applicability to the Olympics. The theoretical discussion (see chapter 2), reinforced by empirical evidence (see chapter 8) illustrated that in some respects, the Olympic Games are indeed a media event according to Dayan and Katz's (1992) definition. For instance, this event, as required by their definition is not routine in that it interrupts the routine of the media. This is true for television but was also found to be applicable for the sports sections of the studied newspapers in the sense that, leading up to the Olympics and especially during the Games, the coverage of the Games monopolised the sports pages. Moreover, sport was not entirely confined, as in its routine coverage, to the sports pages, but was considered newsworthy enough to appear on the front pages of the newspapers (see discussion of a further aspect of the not routine component below).

Additionally, in accordance with the elements required of an event to be regarded a media event, the Olympic Games are indeed organised outside the media by the IOC (International Olympic Committee; although see discussion below). Another central component of Dayan and Katz's (1992) definition is that media events are "preplanned, announced and advertised in advance" (Dayan and Katz, 1992: 7). This is particularly true for the Olympic Games, as my study showed with the figures for the extensive build up in all studied newspapers standing at an average of 51% of the overall coverage studied between April 1st and September 1st, 1992 (the Barcelona Olympics took place between July 25th and August 9th August, 1992). Indeed, such is the extent of the build up to the Olympics, that I regarded it as an integral part of the Games' coverage and thus, also of my study.

However, set against this discussion and evidence, it is important to recall that the analysis of Dayan and Katz's (1992) definition also resulted in the finding that the Olympic Games stand out in their list of events as unique by being a global,
continuous event (see also Tables 1 and 2). Moreover, this analysis clarified that the Olympic Games do not comply with all of the elements of their definition.

For example, an important element in the definition of a media event, according to Dayan and Katz (1992) is for the event to be broadcast live. Since the Olympic Games are a continuous event composed of various events, some of which take place simultaneously, the entire Games can not plausibly be broadcast live. Indeed, in relation to the television coverage of the Olympics, 'live' refers to a meticulously planned and produced broadcast which, it should be emphasised, in some cases also includes the manipulation of time so as to make broadcasts seem live. This, naturally, is irrelevant in regards to the newspapers coverage of the Olympics.

Additionally, nowadays, the IOC relies financially, to a great extent, on the money broadcasters are willing to invest in acquiring exclusive broadcasting rights (see discussions in chapters 1, 2 and 3, and below). Which means the Olympics do not comply with the not routine requirement of a media event, manifested in the event being broadcast on all national channels at the same time.

In the financial context, it is further important to note that Dayan and Katz (1992) argue that in the broadcasting of media events, advertising is temporarily suspended. As I have outlined in chapters 1, 2 and 3, sponsorships have become an integral component of the Olympic Games, and constitute a major source of revenue for the IOC. To a great extent, sponsors capitalise on the large sums of money they have invested by advertising this very fact in commercial breaks before and during the Games (see also discussion below).

As previously outlined, a further component of Dayan and Katz's (1992) definition is that the event must be organised outside the media, which is the case with the Olympics. However, Dayan and Katz (1992) argue in this context that the transmission of a media event by the media, uphold the event's definition according to its organisers. The IOC ideals, stated in its charter, do not appear to be transferred by the media. I have argued that the Olympics are inherent with conflict, and are not about 'building a peaceful and better world' (Fundamental Principals: Olympic Charter, 1994), and indeed they are presented by the media as such (see further detailed discussion below). It is however worth observing that Dayan and Katz (1992) themselves are aware of this tension in the specific case of the Olympics. It is important to note that further evidence to support this idea of a tension is illustrated by history's example of numerous boycotts, political turmoil and symbolic power politics, such as "the horrific events that followed the Palestinian
terrorists' capture of Israeli competitors inside the Olympic village in Munich in 1972" (Goldlust, 1987: 119; and see discussion in chapter 1).

To conclude, from examining the Olympics in relation to Dayan and Katz's (1992) definition of a media event (see detailed discussion in chapter 2), it can be concluded that either they are wrong in including the Olympics in their list of examples of media events, or else that the 'heaviness' of the definition is misplaced. I would argue that the case is the latter. It is further important stress that, based on my analysis, I have argued that the Opening Ceremony, the Closing Ceremony and to a certain degree the climatic competition of the 100 metre finals, may indeed all be classified as media events in the terms provided by Dayan and Katz's (1992) definition.

Within the framework of this discussion, it is also important to note that Dayan and Katz (1992) did not study empirically the Olympic Games, or indeed any of the events that comprised their list. This was also emphasised by Scannell (1995) who in reviewing Dayan and Katz's book, has observed that,

There are detailed analyses of the roles of various participants in the events - broadcasters, performers, audiences - and yet in all this, the actual events themselves remain curiously remote [...] There is very little empirical data about the actual presentation of events [my emphasis - a.b.].

(Scannell, 1995: 152)

My own research on the newspaper coverage of the Barcelona Olympics proposed to close some of this gap, although I must emphasise that it is my view that further research should be conducted so this theory can be more fully and fruitfully assessed.

Regarding my own study, it should be pointed out that I took aboard Hallin and Mancini (1992) view, expressed in their study of the summit as a media event, which argues that: "because [the summit] is in essence a global media event, it makes sense to consider its presentation in a number of different national media" (Hallin and Mancini, 1992: 122). Thus, my empirical study analysed the coverage of the global media event of the Barcelona Olympics as covered in the different national media of Britain and Israel.
In the context of discussing media events in general, it is also important to consider the possibility that the future of these events is by no means clear. For example, in Australia one sports channel has decided to broadcast the Sydney Olympics in 2000 via 12 digital television channels, which means it will be able to cover all the major field and track events at once from a variety of different angles in the sports stadium. Through this, the viewer at home could act as a television director, with the ability to choose which country or event to follow, and even to decide from where in the stadium they wished to view the action (The Times, 13 August, 1995). In such a scenario watching a televised event will become much less directed by the broadcasting organisation and its definition of the covered event.

Overall, it is my position that the Olympic Games are, to a great extent, a media event and that Dayan and Katz are only mistaken in demanding of such an event to fully comply with all elements of their definition. This, I believe, could also be supported by a further close analysis of other events included on Dayan and Katz’s (1992) list of events. If the requirement of an event is indeed to comply strictly with all the components of their definition, it would follow that the Watergate hearing and the revolutionary changes of 1989 in Eastern Europe, for example, would not belong in Dayan and Katz’s (1992) list. This, in my view, merits a further analysis and could result in a re-evaluation of the media events theory.

Since the media events theory is not fully sufficient in explaining the coverage of the build up and the coverage of the Olympics in their entirety, I decided, as outlined in chapter 2, to further examine this in relation to news construction. Indeed, as I have argued, the initial media interest in the Games, which are more than simply a routine sporting event, can be explained in terms of its being a media events. However, the build up and the coverage of the two weeks duration of competitions can be better and more fruitfully explained in terms of news construction.

To examine the news construction of the Olympic Games, I have analysed Galtung and Ruge’s (1965) classic set of news values in relation to sport in general and the Olympic Games in particular. These values include: Frequency; Threshold; Unambiguity; Meaningfulness; Consonance; Unexpectedness; Continuity; Composition; Reference to elite nations; Reference to elite persons; Personalisation and Negativity (Galtung and Ruge, 1965). In general, as discussed in chapter 2, news values both provide an idea as to the sort of events which are selected by the media to be covered as news, and to the priority given to different stories (see also Bell, 1991; Hartley, 1990). As a sporting, and indeed media event, there is no doubt
that the Olympic Games, in general fulfill the threshold requirement - the notion that the 'bigger' an event is, compared to other events occurring at any given time, the more newsworthy its status - and are thus perceived as newsworthy. However, as my study of the Barcelona Olympics illustrated, certain sports, athletes and stories are considered as more newsworthy than others. Thus, the priority of different Olympic stories could be explained by news values, while acknowledging that "the more of these conditions a given story fulfills, the bigger it will be" (Hartley, 1990: 79).

According to my findings, the values which accounted for much of the coverage were meaningfulness and reference to elite nations and persons. I have also found that negativity, which in general forms a central news value, did not dominate the coverage of the Barcelona Games, although it did explain certain aspects of it. Further values, including mainly consonance, unexpectedness and continuity also contributed much explanatory power in the build up and coverage of the Barcelona Olympics. In fact, most of Galtung and Ruge's (1965) values came into play, at least in conjunction with the above mentioned. Thus, as I have argued, the coverage of the Olympic Games should be viewed as being framed by their definition as a media event, but the coverage of their entire unfolding is more fully explained by news values. These values, and their relevance to explaining my findings, are further woven into discussions below.

A further thread I incorporated into my discussion was the theory of globalisation. This concept, as discussed in chapter 3, has become a fashionable term, especially since the mid-1980's, utilised in both public and academic discourse, including media studies (see Braman and Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1996; Featherstone, 1994; Friedman, 1994; Hall, 1992; McGrew, 1992; Robertson, 1994, Robertson, 1990; Wallerstein, 1991). The central idea here is that "global interconnectedness" (McGrew, 1992: 63) has intensified considerably in recent years, surpassing traditional national borders. As discussed, this interest in globalisation and its consequences was, and is, related both to the desire to understand current changes and to the realisation that the future of "individual national communities were increasingly bound together" (McGrew, 1992: 65). This interest resulted in a "conceptual clutter has led to theoretical confusion" (Harvey et al., 1996: 258), in numerous publications on globalisation. Of the various aspects of this debate that I have focused on the idea that globalisation has been associated with "a 'crisis of the territorial nation-state'" (McGrew, 1992: 87).
While arguing that we need to exercise caution in applying the term *globalisation* sweepingly I further related it to comparative *empirical* studies of the media (Cohen et al., 1996; Moragas Spa et al., 1995), which revealed that different nations tell themselves different stories of the *same* events by *domesticating* (Cohen et al., 1996) them. This process, according to Cohen et al. (1996) serves two aims: first, as a counterpoint to the notion of globalisation and second, to conceptually link media professionals and their audiences. Thus, it is important to stress that large scale, in-depth empirical studies display a different face of globalisation, in that the local perspective forms a crucial explanatory factor. Indeed, in their study of the coverage of the Opening Ceremony of the Barcelona Games, Moragas Spa et al. (1995) also concluded that local perspectives of this event "serve as an important reminder that local circumstances can greatly colour the experience of a global event like the Olympic Games" (Moragas Spa et al., 1995: 11; see further discussion of these studies in chapter 3). This, in turn, illuminates the more general debate of the *global and the local* found in the literature (Braman and Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1996; Hall, 1992; Harvey et al., 1996; McGrew, 1992) which refers to the fact that *globalisation* embraces contradictory dynamics between global and local forces. For all the complexity of defining both the global and the local, in the context of my thesis it should be highlighted that, although this is not argued by all scholars, some do equate the *local* with the *national* (Harvey et al., 1996; Moragas Spa et al., 1995).

Overall, based on the above mentioned studies (which were both reported on *after* I had conducted my own study) and my discussion in chapter 3, I have argued that the *theoretical* concept of globalisation emerges as a leaky term when studied *empirically* (see also Boyle and Haynes, 1996; Horne, 1996), and that the *local* is a no lesser an influential pulling force than the *global*.

Furthermore, in this context it is also important to observe that in relation to sport in general and the Olympics in particular, *Americanisation* applies as a more relevant explanatory concept than *globalisation*, an idea I have supported with a discussion of the financial aspects of the Games. As outlined in chapters 1 and 3, the struggles within the American television market, have resulted in the American networks becoming the major source of revenue for the IOC, which in turn has left the IOC over time as increasingly dependent on these networks. Whannel (1992) also notes that, "In effect, US television pays for the Olympics, and plays a major role in influencing how they run, including the layout of site and stadia, the nature of ceremonies, the choice of events and the timing of events" (Whannel, 1992: 171-172). Moreover, since the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics commercial sponsorship has also become a central source of revenue for, and allegedly influence on, the IOC. It
should be noted that the major players in this context too, namely the main sponsors - most importantly Coca Cola - are also American.

The concept of globalisation, the debates and (few) empirical studies surrounding it was important to my study, as it dealt with a global event, the Olympic Games. It was particularly relevant to address this concept in view of the fact that the IOC declares that the "goal of the Olympic Movement [...] which has arisen from modern Olympism, is to contribute to building a peaceful and better world" (Samaranch, 1995: 3). Moreover, such notions fundamentally oppose the "glorification of nationalism [my emphasis - a.b.]" (Samaranch, 1995: 5). However, it should be emphasised that the Games themselves are engulfed by symbols of nationhood ranging from the Opening Ceremony when the athletes march behind their respective national flags, through to the national anthems of gold medal winners played during the victory ceremonies (see also Hill, 1996 and Goldlust, 1987). Furthermore, and despite the declarations of the Olympic movement, tables of comparative national medal rankings can additionally be "generally interpreted as a crude rank ordering of national and/or ideological strength" (Goldlust, 1987: 118; see Appendix 7).

Thus, as I have argued, a tension exists between the ideals of the Games, as proclaimed by the IOC, which in essence go towards globalisation (nations of the world united), and the manner in which they truly unfold, and are portrayed by the media (see also discussion above). My findings in this context (see below) were further linked to the concept of national identity (see chapter 6).

Although it can be argued that in essence the Olympic Games include contests between individuals (see also below), in fact they are fundamentally contests between national teams. Indeed, Kidd (1984) suggests that "the ferocity of the ancient Games can be more readily understood if we consider that they originated as war games" (Kidd, 1984: 76). Furthermore, "elements of competition when linked to quantitative measures of comparative achievement make sport an ideal arena for symbolically signifying the relative strength and 'success' of entire nations and political ideologies" (Goldlust, 1987: 118). Moreover, as argued in chapter 6, the literature (Billig, 1995; Whannel, 1992) indeed views major international sporting events as a prime opportunity for 'flag waving'.

My empirical findings, as discussed in detail in chapter 9, have clearly shown that in both Britain and Israel, the most significant factor in determining the newspaper build up and coverage of the Barcelona Olympics was the interest in the
performance of their own country. Thus, the coverage of Britain in The Times accounted for a total of 60% of this newspaper's Olympics related coverage. In The Express, a newspaper which was consistently found to have tabloid-style coverage, the coverage of Britain accounted for 79% of the overall coverage. It is important to stress that Britain was represented by a relatively large delegation, of which some athletes performed very well, exemplified by the medal count of 20 medals including 5 gold medals. Such factors resulted in a relatively high number of national interest stories to report on in the British context. The fact that Britain supplied Olympic stories on an international level was further reinforced by the finding that its coverage accounted for, on average, 3% of the overall coverage within the Israeli newspapers.

Although the Israeli delegation in the Barcelona Olympics was composed of far fewer participants than the British one, and even though only two of its athletes succeeded in winning medals (a silver and a bronze in judo), the coverage of Israel in the Israeli newspapers was also found to be the most extensive coverage of any nation, forming 47% in Yedioth Aharonoth and 29% in Hadashot (see Table 30).

It is important to note that in addition to the large proportion of coverage, further analysis of prominence categories also demonstrated that national newspapers retained a focus on their own national team. Furthermore, as discussed in chapter 9, findings regarding the coverage of the Barcelona Olympics on the front pages of the newspapers, illustrated that in Israel, the items which were printed on the front page were in 100% of cases concerned with the Israeli athletes. In the British newspapers, the proportions were not as absolute, and yet 69% of items on the front page of The Times and 88% of front page items in The Express were about British athletes. Thus, this clear trend revealed that the Olympic stories deemed most newsworthy and considered by newspaper editors to be of interest to the general public, and not only to the devoted sports readers, were the stories related to the nation's own performance. It is worth observing that these, and other findings, showed a clear pattern in Britain and Israel, but also highlighted some differences between the newspapers in each country dependant on their own individual styles.

Throughout my thesis, I have referred to interviews I have conducted with sports editors and journalists of the studied newspapers (see chapter 7). These interviews took place after I conducted my analysis and the interviewees were asked, amongst other questions, to comment on my findings. In relation to the finding that their newspapers focused on their own national teams, the journalists in the two countries shared similar sentiments by arguing that, "the readers in a certain country are most
interested in how their athletes performed" (Raffi Naee, Yedioth Aharonoth). This, they believed, was an international phenomenon as conveyed by the following comment: "I think that if you went to the United States you'd find there greater percentage [...] on American coverage" (James Mossop, The Express). Thus, while I was cautious of accepting all comments made by the journalists at face value, in this, and many other cases, their answers reinforced my own findings from the content analysis.

Thus, clearly, the local - in this case national - perspective of this global event (the Olympic Games) prevails. Additionally, the previously discussed findings revealed that despite the IOC declarations, the newspapers do celebrate the performance of their own nation above everything else (see also below). This, as I have further argued, is not necessarily related to the Olympic sporting success of the given nation, as the coverage of Israel in the Israeli newspapers illustrates best.

In this context, it is further important to note that the coverage itself emerged as important in the construction of national identity as a united entity, masking all underlying tensions within a nation (see also discussion in chapter 6). To illustrate this, when Yael Arad achieved won the first ever Israeli medal (a silver in judo), a front page headline read "RABIN: ISRAEL [my emphasis - a.b.] IS GRATEFUL TO YOU, YAEL" (Yedioth Aharonoth, July 31, 1992), thus representing Israel as one whole, unified nation. This was reinforced by the explanation provided by Raffi Naee (Yedioth Aharonoth) to the extensive coverage of this event, who stated that 'the whole nation' was excited by this achievement. Additionally, the content of the front page items displayed that the accomplishments of national athletes was perceived in terms of achievements of the nation. To illustrate, the front page item reporting the rowing victory of Greg and Jonathan Searle included the statement, "a wonderful weekend for Britain [my emphasis -a.b.]" (The Times, August 3, 1992; see also below).

The focus of the newspapers on their own nation can also be explained through the news value of meaningfulness, which denotes that the closer (geographically and otherwise) an event is to the society and culture of a given media outlet, the more newsworthy it will be deemed by its media. This news value also goes some way towards explaining the coverage of nations other than the newspaper's own.

Most notably, meaningfulness can account for the extensive coverage of the USA that appeared in both Britain (12% of the overall coverage in The Times and 7% in The Express), and Israel (19% of the overall coverage in Yedioth Aharonoth and
24% in Hadashot). Thus, in the studied countries, the Americans were the most extensively covered athletes other than the nation's own. However, as the figures reveal the coverage of the USA was much more extensive in Israel than in Britain. Such a pattern can be explained by the fact that Israel did not have as many (successful) athletes as Britain, as outlined previously and thus dedicated much of the 'leftover' coverage to the USA, a nation which is culturally most familiar to Israel, not in the least in sporting terms. As discussed in chapter 2, the Israeli readers are familiar with the USA in general, its elite athletes and many of the sports in which it was successful (see also below). The findings discussed in chapter 9 demonstrated that in Britain too, the USA was the most covered nation after Britain itself, although in a much smaller proportion than in the Israeli case.

This discussion must also take into account the context, namely that the American athletes were indeed very prominent - in both numbers and in terms of medal success - at the Barcelona Olympics. However, it should be stressed that the Americans won a total of 108 medals overall, placing them second in the medal winnings behind the Unified team (112 medals). The Unified Team was covered much less (on average 3% of the overall coverage in Britain, and 5% in Israel) than the American team (on average 10% of the overall coverage in Britain, and 21% in Israel) in both Britain and Israel, which in turn can be related to the argument, outlined in chapter 3 and also discussed in chapter 9, that in sporting terms Americanisation is a more convincing term than globalisation. Put differently, in both Britain and Israel, the cultural familiarity with the USA meant that the American team was deemed much more newsworthy than the Unified Team, although in sporting terms the latter enjoyed more success at the Barcelona Games. As outlined, this was not the case in previous Olympics when the confrontation between the two super-powers was a focal point of Olympic coverage by the media (see Whannel, 1984).

As my findings further illustrated, of the 172 participating nations in the 1992 Barcelona Games, the coverage of 20 nations accounted for the majority of the coverage in both Britain and Israel; 50 nations were mentioned only 1-4 times, while 102 of the nations were not mentioned on a single occasion in the combined coverage of the British and Israeli newspapers. More specifically (see Table 30), in The Times the 11 most covered nations, other than Britain, accounted for 30% of the overall Olympics related coverage. In The Express, these same (excluding Britain) nations accounted for 16% of the coverage. The most covered nations in Yedioth Aharonoth, except Israel, accounted for 38% of the overall Olympics related items,
while in Hadashot, these nations accounted for 51% of the overall Olympics related items.

As discussed in chapter 9, in both Britain and Israel, the top most covered nations were dominant Western nations: Australia, Canada, Germany, and most notably the USA (see above). This, as I have argued, can be further related to the news value of reference to elite nations as well as to the actual sporting achievements of these nations in the Barcelona Olympics (thus, elite in sporting terms). To illustrate, Germany finished third in the medal table, winning a total of 82 medals, while Australia attained a total of 27 medals and Canada a total of 18 (see Appendix 7 for the complete table of medals won by nations in the Barcelona Games).

The relative prominence of other nations in the build up and coverage in both Britain and Israel was also related to news values and the sporting achievements, measured in terms of medal success, of these nations. For example, the coverage of Spain accounted, on average, for 2% of the overall Olympics related coverage in both Britain and Israel. The athletes of this host nation performed far better than expected - winning a total of 22 medals of which 13 were gold, which brought the unexpectedness news value - the criterion which denotes the surprise element - into play for the coverage of the Spanish team.

Kenya served as a further example to the manner in which news values influenced the coverage. This nation, whose coverage accounted, on average, for 1% of the overall Olympics related coverage in Britain and Israel, is the world's leading 'long-distance nation', dominating consistently the long distances races for many years. In news values term, Kenya is considered an elite nation with elite persons (i.e. its athletes). The achievements of this nation's athletes were expected, and indeed materialised. Thus, its relatively prominent coverage could also be explained by the news values of predictability - the notion that if an event is prescheduled and predictable, it has a greater likelihood of being covered. Further explanation was provided by continuity, the criterion which refers to the tendency that once an event has passed the threshold of news worthiness and is covered by the media, it will continue to be followed.

The example of Kenya also ties in into the discussion of the importance of the sports a nation was expected to, and eventually was successful in, in explaining the coverage of nations (see discussion in chapter 9). In fact, according to the journalists, this assumes much more importance than the nations from which the athletes come from. Raffi Naee (Yedioth Aharonoth) actually believes that the home
nation of the athletes is irrelevant "because we cover the sports". This can be supported by the example of Kenya when recalling that this nation won 'only' a total of 8 medals, of which 2 were gold, but that these were in the high profile sport of athletics.

As my findings demonstrated (see Table 18), in both Britain and Israel, athletics (track and field) featured as the most extensively covered sport, accounting for (on average) over a third of the overall coverage. This is not surprising in view of the fact that athletics is considered to be the 'focal point' of the Olympic Games. Another sport which was covered extensively in both countries was swimming (6% on average in Britain and 7% on average in Israel). However, the cultural differences between Britain and Israel became apparent in this context. Thus, for example, the British newspapers covered the equestrian sport extensively, 9% in both newspapers, whereas in one Israeli newspaper (Yedioth Aharonoth) it was hardly ever mentioned, while it did not appear at all in the other (Hadashot). The lack of interest in this sport in Israel was further manifested by Raffi Naee's (Yedioth Aharonoth) description of this event as the sport "with the horses". The opposite applied for the coverage of basketball, which was extensively covered in Israel (10% on average) and relatively little in Britain (2% on average). Indeed, basketball is one of the most popular and most routinely covered sports in Israel. Furthermore, the Israeli media covers the American basketball league, the NBA, on a regular basis. This explains why, although there was no Israeli basketball team in Barcelona, this sport retained considerable coverage, concentrating on the American Dream Team, whose players are very familiar to Israeli readers. As mentioned previously, this is a further illustration of the Americanisation of sport within the Israeli context.

It is important to observe that in the coverage of sports, as with other determining factors of the coverage, the most significant consideration centred on the interest in national athletes, regardless of the sport that they participated in. To illustrate this, in the routine sports coverage in Israel, judo has a minority sport status and yet in the Barcelona Olympics related coverage it was covered extensively (9% on average of the overall coverage). This can be explained by the fact the Israeli judokas were expected to perform well in this sport and eventually succeeded in securing Israel's first two Olympic medals ever. The coverage of rowing (4% in both newspapers) displayed a similar pattern in Britain.

Returning to the discussion of the coverage of nations other than the newspaper's own, my findings revealed that in many cases the reasons behind the coverage of
some nations (other than the newspaper's own) could indeed related to the sports that those nations were successful in, the individual athletes involved, and other traditional sporting (and general) news values, and not necessarily which nation was involved. For example, the coverage of Algeria, although not extensive (overall, 4 mentions in the British newspapers and 5 mentions in the Israeli newspapers) can clearly be related to fact that this nation was represented in Barcelona by two long-distance (athletics) world champions, who eventually won its two medals. Hassiba Boulmerka, the women's champion, made for a particularly interesting story, defying a ban in her native country for running in shorts and going on to win a gold medal. Another illustration was provided by the coverage of Morocco (on average 1% of the overall coverage in Britain and in Israel), which was principally explained by the negativity news value - essentially the idea that for the media 'bad news is good news'. This controversial story involved two Moroccans and a Kenyan runner, and ended with the Moroccan Khalid Skah being awarded the gold 10,000 metre medal, despite protests from the Kenyans, and to the sound of booing from the Barcelona crowd. Apart from negativity, this story was of special interest also because it was unexpected and happened in a sports event which predictably is of interest in the Olympics.

Yet, it is important to recall that certain successful (in medal winning terms) nations were not covered proportionately to their success. Most notably, the former USSR which competed in Barcelona under the title of Unified Team, was the most successful nation in these Games - winning a total of 112 medals - but its coverage accounted, on average for only 4% of the overall coverage in Britain and Israel. Furthermore, the list of nations which were mentioned 1-4 times in the coverage included countries such as Bulgaria, Netherlands, Hungary, Japan and Poland, all of whom won more than 10 medals. It should be emphasised, as discussed in chapter 9, that these nations, although successful in medal winning terms, are culturally less familiar to Britain and Israel, thus not meeting the meaningfulness news value. Moreover, these nations were successful in sports which, in general, were of less interest to the British and Israeli newspapers.

In this context, it is further significant to observe, that the coverage of certain nations could be traced to the story value attached to a particular athlete in a high profile sport, which was particularly the case with the coverage of Namibia. The mention of this nation can be explained by the interest in Frankie Fredericks, the Namibian 100 and 200 metres finalist, who, importantly, trained in Britain (see further discussion of individual athletes below).
As previously outlined, 102 nations were not mentioned at all in the build up and coverage of the studied newspapers in both Britain and Israel. Overall, at the Barcelona Olympics, 64 nations won at least one medal (see Appendix 7 for the complete table) which means that of the majority of the nations which were never mentioned, they were not expected to, and did not, perform well at these Games in medal winning terms.

To conclude, the coverage of nations other than the newspaper's own was found to be determined by general and sport news values. Thus, in most cases nations which aroused expectation of success which they subsequently justified were covered, in general, to a greater degree than nations which were not expected to and did not perform well (in medal winning terms) in Barcelona.

Importantly, the findings discussed above, were linked to the discussion of globalisation and national identity. Moreover, they showed that some patterns of the coverage were similar in the two countries and amongst their different newspapers, reinforcing the notion that a shared 'professional culture' (Gurevitch et al., 1993) does exist in the coverage of the Olympics. However, the empirical evidence clearly illustrated that news criteria affect differently the coverage of the Olympic Games in different countries, most notably through being predetermined by a focus on the newspaper's own nation. This is particularly important in the context of the Olympic Games, a global event which is being covered by newspapers from a local perspective. Thus, it is also clear that despite declarations made by the IOC, the media does celebrate national identity in the context of this prestigious international sporting event.

A similar pattern of celebrating national identity was found in the coverage identification with the nation's own athletes. In this context, it is important to note that of approximately 10,000 athletes who competed at the Barcelona Olympics, the top 15 most covered athletes in each country accounted for around 50% of the coverage. This means that a relatively small number of athletes accounted for a high proportion of the Olympics related coverage in both Britain and Israel. More specifically, from these findings (see Tables 31 and 32) it emerged that national newspapers tended to focus principally on athletes from their own nation. Thus, of the 15 most covered athletes in the two British newspapers, 10 were British while in the Israeli newspapers, of the 15 most covered athletes, 8 were Israelis. These findings were further reinforced by comments made by the journalists I interviewed. For instance, one proclaimed with confidence that "you will find it for almost any nation, we get excited more about our own people" (James Mossop, The Express).
Consistent with the discussion above, some of the most covered athletes were covered chiefly because they were national athletes who were expected to, and indeed were, successful in winning medals, including, for example, Steve Redgrave in the British context (see further discussion of successful British and Israeli athletes below). However, national athletes were also covered extensively when they were expected to perform well, but eventually failed to fulfil expectations, such as Liz McColgan, Nick Gillingham and Adrian Moorhouse for Britain and Yevgeni Kerasnov of Israel. This finding was supported by Raffi Naee (Yedioth Aharonoth) who explained that "they [the readers] are interested in reading [...] also about failures. If an Israeli athlete before the Olympics [...] says he could win a medal and then goes out after one round people are interested why he went out".

In regards to the coverage of individual athletes, general and sporting news values were also found to come into play, but in this case too they were principally determined by the athlete being the nation's own. For example, the negative drugs related story of the British sprinter Jason Livingstone (see chapter 8) resulting in him being one of the most covered athletes in the British newspapers (3% of the overall coverage in The Times and 4% of the overall coverage in The Express), including a front page item in The Times (July 31, 1992), whereas in the Israeli newspapers this story was barely mentioned. In this context, it is worth observing that the coverage of some of the most covered athletes other the nation's own, were similarly determined by negativity and specifically drugs related stories. Thus, the coverage of Ben Johnson, Katrin Krabbe and Butch Reynolds is explained chiefly by the context of drug abuse, as these athletes were amongst the most covered competitors in both Britain and Israel.

Other news values also contribute to explaining the extensive coverage of international (from a British and Israeli perspective) athletes. The coverage of the American Carl Lewis accounted for 4% of the overall coverage in The Times and 6% of the overall coverage in each of the other three newspapers. Which means that he was covered, proportionally, more than some of the national athletes of Britain and Israel. The extensive coverage of this multi-medal Olympic winner was based on his Barcelona related performance, but also on his past achievements which established him as an elite athlete. Thus, as I have argued, Lewis was not required to pass any threshold in order to be deemed newsworthy. Continuity - i.e. the fact that he was already an established Olympic star - made him newsworthy regardless of his actual performance in Barcelona. Apart from excelling in athletics, Lewis is also credited with having a colourful personality, which also accounts for the media
interest in him (see discussion in chapter 5). Furthermore, in the British context, Lewis was a long standing rival of Linford Christie's (see discussion of Christie below), which as discussed in chapter 8, is a theme newspapers relate to relatively often (on average 17% of the coverage in Britain referred to the relationships between athletes).

The extensive coverage devoted to Carl Lewis can also be referred to as a further illustration to the Americanisation argument. This was additionally reinforced by the finding that overall, in the studied Israeli newspapers, four American athletes were covered prominently with their coverage accounting for 11% of the Olympics related coverage in Yedioth Aharonoth and 13% in Hadashot. In the British newspapers, the coverage of two American athletes accounted for 7% in both newspapers. However, in this context too, there existed differences between the British and Israeli coverage, as illustrated by the relative extensive coverage of Irvine 'Magic' Johnson in Israel (2% of the overall coverage in both newspapers), a country in which he is regarded as 'a hero' (Raffi Naee, Yedioth Aharonoth), and in which the readers are familiar with both the sport he plays (basketball) and his personal story (being HIV positive). In Britain Johnson received very little attention and when asked about this, James Mossop (The Express) replied: "if I were to write about Magic Johnson, and I know of Magic Johnson, what a big name he is in America, I think the reaction would be 'who cares?'". Thus, what is perceived as newsworthy, as the 'big story', is clearly determined by a national perspective.

The national perspective was particularly evident in the cases of the athletes who emerged as the most covered athletes in the two countries studied. These athletes, as discussed in chapter 9, could be defined as the national heroes and heroines of the Barcelona Olympics in their respective countries and they were, in Britain, Linford Christie and Sally Gunnell and in Israel, Yael Arad and Oren Semadga.

For the British newspapers the coverage of Linford Christie accounted for 7% of the overall coverage in The Times, and 13% of the overall coverage in The Express. The coverage of Sally Gunnell accounted for 3% of the overall coverage in The Times and 5% of the overall coverage in The Express. In Israel, the coverage of Yael Arad accounted for 13% of the overall coverage in Yedioth Aharonoth and 7% of the overall coverage in Hadashot. The coverage of Oren Semadga amounted to 9% of the overall coverage in Yedioth Aharonoth and 5% of the overall coverage in Hadashot. As discussed in chapter 9, the proportion of the coverage of these athletes was related to the expectations of them in the build up to Barcelona as well as their actual performance.
These athletes also featured on the front pages of their national newspapers. In Britain, both Christie and Gunnell appeared twice on the front page of *The Times* and three times on the front page of *The Express*. In Israel, Arad featured twice on the front page of *Yedioth Aharonoth*, of which once was together with Semadga, and the only front page Olympic item in *Hadashot* showed Arad. Indeed, the very fact that the success of national heroes and heroines was celebrated beyond the sport 'ghetto' on the front pages of newspapers demonstrates that the Olympic Games serve as an arena for 'flag-waving'.

The extensive and prominent coverage of these athletes was firstly related to their sporting performance, measured in the Olympic Games in terms of medal success. In the Israeli case, Arad and Semadga were the only Israeli medal winners in Barcelona and in fact became the first ever Olympic medal winners of this nation. Thus, it is clear why they became national heroes, meeting the threshold criterion, in fact that they emerged from the Barcelona Games as the best Israeli Olympic competitors ever. In this case, as outlined previously, the fact that the medals were achieved in what was perceived as a 'minority' sport in the routine media coverage in Israel, did not affect the extent of the coverage. As mentioned, their national hero/ine status was celebrated on the front pages and was overtly linked with national 'flag waving' literally, by showing them with the national flag and by translating their achievements into a national achievement through such headlines as "Silver medal for Yael Arad in Barcelona; A first Olympic medal for Israel" (*Yedioth Aharonoth*, July 31, 1992; see also headline quoted above). In Arad's case, a further national and historical perspective emerged from her own statement that her achievement was her vengeance for the murder of the Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympics.

In Britain, Linford Christie and Sally Gunnell were not the only gold medal winners, but they were additionally captions of the British delegation, a position which illustrates their national status prior to the Barcelona Games. Furthermore, they became gold medal winners in the extensively covered and prestigious sport of athletics. This is especially applicable for Linford Christie who was successful in the event which, as discussed in chapter 9, is perceived as the climax of the Olympics, the 100 metre race. He won this race despite his relative old age (in sporting terms), his disadvantaged background and having failed to do so in any previous Olympics. He succeeded against all this, producing the "race of his life" (front page of *The Sunday Times*, 2 August, 1992) when it mattered most, to become the oldest ever 'fastest man on Earth'. The fact that it was a major sporting
achievement on an international level was illustrated by the fact that in Israel too Christie was amongst the 15 most covered athletes, accounting for 2% of the overall Olympics related coverage, in both newspapers studied. Sally Gunnell, the 400 metre hurdles gold medallist was also clearly positioned as a national heroine. Indeed, one front page headline celebrating her achievement declared: "Lap of honour for Barcelona heroine" [my emphasis - a.b.] (*The Express*, August 6, 1992).

As outlined in chapter 5, apart from foregrounding national identity and national prestige, these athletes reached, or reinforced their star status and become personalities and celebrities in their own countries. Such achievements enhanced their earning power, not in the least via endorsements of products which were not necessarily sports related. Yael Arad, for example, signed a high profile endorsement contract with a major Israeli bank immediately after the completion of the Barcelona Games.

To conclude, as outlined in chapter 9, my findings and discussion of the coverage of individual athletes, as with the coverage of nations (see above), demonstrated the importance of the local perspective in the coverage of the Barcelona Olympics. This has proved that although the Olympic Games are a global event, reported worldwide, they retain an important rooting in the local, in this case, national. It is, thus, my position that in the context of the Olympic Games, there is much evidence to suggest that this is the most significant factor in determining its newspaper coverage. This also ties into the discussion of the coverage of female athletes in the Olympics.

As discussed in chapter 4, a feminist critique of sport, which views sport as a sexist institution, male dominated and fundamentally masculine in orientation, started in the late 1970’s and flourished in the 1980’s. Within media studies, research into mediated sport began in the early 1980’s and from then on tended to focus on two main issues: the amount of coverage of women and the portrayal of female athletes within the media.

In relation to the amount of coverage, there is much evidence in the literature to substantiate what Tuchman (1978) called 'symbolic annihilation', namely that female athletes are relatively absent from the sports media, which in turn establishes the dominance of the male athletes. Put differently, according to the literature by hardly showing women athletes, the media send a message that female athletes have little value in society, especially when compared to their male counterparts (see also Sabo and Curry Jansen, 1992). To illustrate, Woolard (1983) found that 85% of
newspaper coverage of sport was devoted to men's sports, while Coakley (1986) concluded that an estimated 95% of all sports coverage dealt with males (and see also Kane and Greendorfer, 1994; Shifflett and Revelle, 1996). According to this argument, at least in regards to the USA, where most of these studies originate from, although women have increased their presence in sport over the last century, the media persist in covering mainly male athletes (Kane and Greendorfer, 1994).

As discussed in chapter 9, my findings (see Table 32) illustrated, consistently across the newspapers studied in Britain and Israel, that male athletes were covered, on average, three times more than their female counterparts. This finding might have been interpreted as supportive evidence to the argument that female athletes are covered much less than male athletes. However, as I have argued, contextually the gender discussion is in general, highly important and in this case the relevant context is the number of female athlete competitors participating in the Olympics. Indeed, at the Barcelona Olympics there were 9367 participants of which 6659 (71%) were male and 2708 (29%) were female. Thus, according to my findings, proportionally to their participation in the Games, women were not visibly underrepresented in the Barcelona Olympics newspaper build up and coverage in Britain and Israel.

Based on these findings, it is my position that the overall smaller percentage of the coverage of female athletes does not represent a media bias, but is instead a reflection on the inequality of opportunity female athletes face in the field of high performance sports in general and in the Olympics as well. In this context, it is important to consider the following quote from the IOC's president:

In 1894, none of the participants thought of the possibility of allowing women into these Games. In spite of his modern ideas, even the restorers of the Olympic Games, Pierre de Coubertin, was against women taking part in the Games. One must look for reasons for this opposition by the great humanist in the influence which the ancient Games held over him and the unpopularity of women's sport at the time. Nevertheless, historically, the development of women's sport on a global level is essentially due to participation by women in the Olympic Games, and after an
initially hostile attitude towards women, the IOC finally gave the go-ahead for equal rights for women in sports activities.

(Samaranch, 1995: 3)

As I have emphasised, I do not argue with the general notion, and indeed the findings in the literature which support the claim that women athletes are underrepresented in the media. I do however argue that the Olympic Games are a special event in which the newspaper coverage, when examined in its context, shows figures which are consistent with the number of female athletes participating in this event. In this context, it is useful to observe that Pfister's (1989) study of the newspaper coverage in German newspapers of female Olympic participants resulted in similar findings. Pfister's (1989) study displayed that the amount of press coverage of women's sport increased over the years in correspondence with the increasing number of female participants in the Olympics. Additionally, Kane and Greendorfer (1994) concluded from their study of the media coverage of the 1988 and the 1992 Olympics that there has been a departure "from past practices, as women athletes appeared finally to have achieved visibility in the national media [my emphasis - a.b.]" (Kane and Greendorfer, 1994: 28).

Furthermore, set against the discussions above of the importance of the national perspective, it is additionally important to emphasise that this perspective, reflecting news values as well, meant that national Olympic athletes, and particularly medal winners were covered extensively by the studied newspapers regardless of their gender. To illustrate, in Britain of the 15 most mentioned athletes, five (33%) were female. In Israel, the figures showed that 3 (20%) were female. In the British case, this analysis results in a higher proportion of female representation than in the overall coverage. In the Israeli case it is significantly lower which can however be explained by a lower proportion of Israeli female participants who were expected to and/or performed well in Barcelona.

It is important to stress that the journalists I have interviewed, as discussed in chapter 9, reinforced my findings by arguing in the British context that: "Sally Gunnell [...] because she is our best women she had masses of space [...] if there is a story there and it is about a female you are going to go there and get it and do it" (James Mossop, The Express). In the Israeli context, too, Raffi Naee (Yedioth Aharonoth) argued that: "the most covered athlete in this Olympics was Yael Arad. She is a women, so what? If she wasn't successful she wouldn't be covered [...] it is all a matter of how successful the athlete is and then it doesn't matter [if they are] male or female".
Thus, from my findings it emerged that when considering the Olympics, the amount of coverage of female athletes is not only consistent with the number of female athletes participating in the Games, but in national newspapers this amount correlates with the success - measured principally in terms of medal winnings - of the female athletes.

As further elaborated in chapter 4 from the exclusion argument, feminist writers proceed to suggest that female athletes are portrayed differently from their male counterparts (Creedon, 1994b; Kane and Greendorfer, 1994; Sabo and Curry Jansen, 1992). Indeed, there seems to be a consensus in the literature regarding the thought that even when female athletes are covered by the media, they are consistently trivialised and marginalised through the type of coverage they receive. To illustrate, Kane and Greendorfer (1994) find that female athletes are portrayed as feminised and sexualised 'others', and that female athletes are not only portrayed as 'other than' but as 'lesser than' male athletes (see also Boutilier and SanGiovanni, 1983; Duncan et al., 1990; Kane and Greendorfer, 1994; Messner et al., 1990; Pfister, 1989; Sabo and Jansen, 1992; Whitson, 1986). According to this literature, the strategies which are employed in this context include framing female athletes as weak, passive and responsive, addressing them by their first name, defining them in relation to husbands and children, and using photographs of female athletes posing in passive and non-athletic positions. Additionally, it is also important to recall that another difference between the coverage of male and female athletes reported in the literature, is that when female athletes do attract coverage, they are more likely to be covered when they participate in 'feminine' sports (Duncan and Hasbrook, 1988; and see also Boutilier and SanGiovanni, 1983; Kane, 1988).

As discussed in chapter 9, I have not found overwhelming support to the argument of the existence of a completely different portrayal of female athletes in my study of the Barcelona Olympics. I have illustrated this with an analysis of the front page items in which female athletes were the main actors (see chapter 9). To illustrate, in the Israeli context, Yedioth Aharonoth celebrated Yael Arad’s medal with a half page item accompanied by a large (quarter page) photograph of Arad posing in her Judo outfit, and although non-athletic, it showed a confident Arad looking straight into the camera (Yedioth Aharonoth, July 31st, 1992). It should also be pointed out in this context that judo is not generally perceived as a feminine sport.

Overall, as I have argued, the analyses of the front pages, particularly in the Israeli newspapers, did not lend itself to supporting the arguments conveyed in the literature. However, I do not suggest that the coverage is completely gender blind,
as I have illustrated with the coverage of the British swimmer Sharon Davis in the tabloid-style of The Express. She was covered in this newspaper during the build up to Barcelona with 7 items accompanied by photographs. James Mossop (The Express) believed that her's was a perfectly legitimate story, but also acknowledged that, "you may also argue, but, ah, you only did that because she is pretty [my emphasis - a.b.]. Well, you know, maybe, she is photogenic...". In the analysis of the front pages of this newspaper, I have also found references such as "lassie Lizzie" (The Express, August 8, 1992) in the coverage of Liz McColgan's 10,000 metres disappointing race. Additionally, stories were supplemented with relatively elaborate descriptions of the female athlete's families in The Express. However, in this case too, context is very important, as the coverage of the male athletes, as I have showed in chapter 9, also included very similar descriptions. Moreover, as I have also consistently found, The Express had tabloid-style coverage, thus it is not surprising that this newspaper provided most of the supportive evidence for the arguments found in the literature that addresses the portrayal of female athletes.

The analysis of the front pages combined with the findings, discussed in chapter 9, that overt references to the 'femaleness' of athletes were very rarely included as a main theme in the items analysed, resulted in my conclusion that female athletes were not portrayed completely differently from their male counterparts in the build up and coverage of the Barcelona Olympics in the studied British and Israeli newspapers.

To conclude, my findings with respect to the amount and type of coverage dedicated to female athletes in the Barcelona Olympics related coverage in Britain and Israel, illustrated that they were neither grossly underrepresented nor portrayed completely differently. However, as mentioned, I do not imply that the coverage was found to be completely gender blind, which can also be linked to the fact that none of the editors and journalists who covered the Olympics in the newspapers I have studied was female (see also discussion in chapter 4).

These findings are very different from the findings and arguments made in the literature, as discussed in chapter 4, which in my view is explained by the fact that the Olympics are a unique event. Thus, my position is that the Olympics related coverage follows news values which apply equally to both male and female athletes. Moreover, the coverage focuses on the national perspective, foregrounding national heroes and heroines, and such considerations assume precedence over issues of gender.
Final thoughts

This thesis could not feasibly touch on all possible aspects related to the coverage of the Olympic Games by the media. I did, however, analyse and discuss the most central aspects of this relationship in the newspaper coverage of the 1992 Barcelona Olympics in Britain and Israel and thus, was able to demonstrate that some of the assumptions found in the literature, particularly in relation to *globalisation*, *media events* and *gender*, need to be further re-examined, especially when regarding this unique global sporting event. Furthermore, I was able to prove empirically that although the Olympic Games are indeed a *global* media event, the most prominent determining factor in their coverage in a certain nation is the *local*, in this case *national*, perspective. Thus, I believe, my study of the coverage of the Olympics provides a window to a phenomena which is relevant beyond the scope of my thesis.

From my study it can be concluded that national identity is instrumental in the construction of sport in the media. However, after studying the Barcelona Olympic Games, their build up and their coverage in newspapers, and the manner in which they are viewed in media organisations, it is my position that the Olympic Games, precisely because they are an event which is being played in a global environment, are in fact an important arena for the construction of national identity, and this is indeed how the media cover them.
APPENDICES
## Appendix 1: Items by Dates by Newspapers - April 1992

(in raw figures)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper/Date</th>
<th>Times</th>
<th>Express</th>
<th>Yedioth</th>
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(in raw figures)

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* Modern Pentathlon; Synchronized Swimming; Table Tennis
Appendix 7: Medals Table of the 1992 Barcelona Games by Nations

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The above table, which was printed in *Yedioth Aharonoth*, is constructed in descending order of the gold medals won by each nation.

Appendix 8: Nations Mentioned 5-10 Times by Newspaper

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Appendix 9: Content Analysis Coding Schedule

The Newspaper Coverage of the Barcelona Olympics in Britain and Israel.

1. Case Number [ ][ ][ ][ ] 1-4

2. Story (headline/s):

3. Date: [ ][ ][ ][ ][ ] [9][2] 5-10

4. Day: [ ] 11
   1. Monday
   2. Tuesday
   3. Wednesday
   4. Thursday
   5. Friday
   6. Saturday
   7. Sunday

5. Newspaper: [ ] 12
   1. The Times
   2. The Express
   3. Yedioth Ahronoth
   4. Hadashot

6. General Location: [ ] 13
   1. Sport Section -> go to 7
   2. Sport Supplement -> go to 8
   3. Outside Sport Sections -> go to 9

7. Sport Section Page: [ ][ ] 14-15

8. Sport Supplement Page: [ ][ ] 16-17

   1. front page
   2. news
   3. home news
   4. overseas/foreign/world news
   5. business
   6. life and times
   7. gossip
   8. weekend supplement
   9. other (specify ____________________________ )
10. Position of item on page:
   1. alone on page
   2. beginning at the top
   3. beginning at the top half
   4. beginning at the bottom half

11. Headline Size:
   1. large
   2. medium
   3. small
   4. other (specify __________________________)

12. Item Size:
   1. In Brief
   2. 1/8 page
   3. 1/4 page
   4. 1/2 page
   5. 3/4 page
   6. full page/nearly full page
   7. 1 1/4 page
   8. 1 1/2 page
   9. 1 3/4 page
   10. 2 pages
   11. 2 1/4 pages
   12. 2 1/2 pages
   13. 2 3/4 pages
   14. 3 pages
   15. 3 1/4 pages
   16. 3 1/2 pages
   17. 3 3/4 pages
   18. 4 pages

13. Picture/s:

14. Total size of picture area:
   1. nearly full page
   2. 1/2 page
   3. 1/4 page
   4. 1/8 page
   5. small (passport)
   6. other (specify __________________________)

15. Sport:
   1. Archery
   2. Athletics
   3. Badminton
   4. Baseball
   5. Basketball
   6. Boxing
   7. Canoeing
   8. Cycling
   9. Equestrian
  10. Fencing
  11. Football
12. Gymnastics
13. Handball
14. Hockey
15. Judo
16. Modern Pentathlon
17. Rowing
18. Shooting
19. Swimming
20. Diving
21. Synchronized Swimming
22. Waterpolo
23. Table Tennis
24. Tennis
25. Volleyball
26. Weightlifting
27. Wrestling
28. Yachting
29. Basque Pelota
30. Roller Hockey
31. Taekwondo

**MAIN 3 ACTORS**

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<th>Item Format:</th>
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<th>second</th>
<th>third</th>
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<td>18. Nationalities</td>
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<td>[ ][ ][ ][ ][ ][ ][ ] 29-37</td>
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<td>2. female</td>
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**Themes of Item:**

- [ ][ ][ ] 42-44
  main theme
- [ ][ ][ ] 45-47
  secondary theme one
- [ ][ ][ ] 48-50
  secondary theme two
- [ ][ ][ ] 51-53
  secondary theme three
22. Link to the Olympic Games: [ ] 54
   1. loose/non-sport
   2. loose/sport
   3. strong/non-sport
   4. strong/Olympics + other (specify) _________________________
   5. Olympics only
   6. Other (specify _________________________)

23. Sponsor/s: [ ] 55
   1. in item
   2. outside of item
   3. competition
   4. dedicated supplement

24. Sponsor/s: [ ][ ] 56-57

SPECIAL COMMENTS:

_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________

25. Is there a reference to the item on the front/back page? [ ] 58
   1. Yes
   2. No

Separate lists:
1. list of themes
2. list of athletes names
3. table of nations by gender (for all actors)
4. list of sponsors
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'Hello' magazine, No. 415, July 13, 1996.


'The New Yorker', August 5, 1996.


'TIME' magazine: June 30, 1997; June 23, 1997; Summer 1996 special edition; August 5, 1996; April 29, 1996.


Television


'NBC News', July 18, 1996.