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Cultural Production and the Reproduction of Power:

Political Economy, Public Television and

High Performance Sport in Canada

by

Richard Patrick Cavanagh

A thesis submitted to the Department of
Sociology and Anthropology in conformity with
the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

July 1989

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The undersigned hereby recommend to
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CULTURAL PRODUCTION AND THE REPRODUCTION OF POWER:
POLITICAL ECONOMY, PUBLIC TELEVISION AND HIGH
PERFORMANCE SPORT IN CANADA

submitted by

Richard Patrick Cavanagh, B.A., M.A.

in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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(i)

Abstract

Sport and broadcast media have had a long and intimate association within Canadian society, from limited range radio broadcasts of professional hockey in the 1920's to an internationally connected multi-million dollar industry of the 1990's. Within this historical development, the emergence of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's English-language television network as a primary producer of high performance, or elite-level, athletics has been most notable, bearing implications of state control in the spheres of sport and broadcasting alike. The central argument of this dissertation is that the televisual presentation of "amateur" sport on the public television network constitutes an important site of cultural production, and its critical analysis reveals a seemingly innocuous area of social practice as profoundly supportive of conditions favourable to particular forms of power. Specifically, I argue that the systematic organization of sport and the logic which informs its televisual production contributes to the reconstruction of dominant/subordinate relations of gender within a cultural realm which is anything but politically neutral.

Beginning with a discussion of the philosophy of sport as it exists under liberal-democratic capitalism, I move to a descriptive overview of amateur sport and the television industry, mapping the history of the Canadian high performance system onto the emergence and increasing diversification of television broadcasting. The next part of the thesis presents a series of theoretical arguments (based on conceptual treatments of hegemony, culture and feminism) wherein I suggest that the hegemonic process, carried forward and elaborated within a sphere of society often deemed "unproductive", exists in partnership with patriarchal structures, and that the interconnective power of the state, private capital, the broadcasting industry and the high performance sport community works toward the systemic structuring of relations of gender.

The final part of the thesis presents evidence collected from a series of interviews with broadcast officials and field research conducted at production sites. Three events (international-level speedskating, diving and track) are examined in terms of their origin and location on the agenda of CBC Sports and the production practices which shapes them for public presentation. This is followed by a critical analysis of documents relating to the role of the state and capital in elite sport, and further analysis based on the established theoretical framework. The issue of consensual power, emanating from and reinforced by fractionally located forms of control, is examined in light of evidence which reveals a significant application of a gendered logic of production. The thesis concludes with suggestions for the extension of a research agenda based on the critical study of culture, sport and power.

(ii)

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(iii)

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And, while it has been clear to me for some time that critical analysis and activity is necessary in order to publicly question power and authority, it has also become clear to me that how we care for our children determines how our world will be shaped in the future. It is to Rema-Jane and her yet to arrive sister or brother - and to their critical view - that this work is dedicated.

Richard P. Cavanagh
Kingston, Ontario
July, 1989

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List of Abbreviations

AAP	Athlete Assistance Program
CAC	Coaching Association of Canada
CADA	Canadian Amateur Diving Association
CASSA	Canadian Amateur Speedskating Association
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CFL	Canadian Football League
CFN	Canadian Football Network
CGF	Canadian Gymnastics Federation
CIAU	Canadian Intercollegiate Athletic Union
COA	Canadian Olympic Association
CTFA	Canadian Track and Field Association
CTV	Canadian Television Network
FAS	Ministry of Fitness and Amateur Sport
FASD	Fitness and Amateur Sport Directorate
IAAF	International Amateur Athletic Federation
IOC	International Olympic Committee
NHL	National Hockey League
NFL	National Football League (U.S.)
NSO	National Sports Organizations (Canada)
SFC	Sports Federation of Canada
TSN	The Sports Network

Introduction

A Study of Sport and Broadcasting in Canadian Society:

Theoretical and Methodological Parameters

This dissertation presents an examination of social processes which underlie the construction of cultural practice and official power in Canadian society. The term "social process" is important here, since it indicates a view of society, and its structures, as historically-rooted and subject to the ebb and flow of historical change, and permits a conception of the social world as an interactive, dynamic and complex place, rather than as a uniform and static system. The particular social processes analyzed through this study revolve around the production of culture and its relationship to the reproduction of particular conditions which nurture and sustain certain forms of pervasive power. More specifically, I examine the television production of amateur sport by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's English-language network, and the relationship this bears with the reconstruction of power relations based on gender. Interestingly, the analysis of this particular set of social processes required the development of a research process which would uncover the dynamics of these interrelationships. In this sense, this dissertation is an example of what happens when social relations are examined through the critical application of theory and method: something about the social world which we live through and work in and experience as

historically conceived members is peeled away and exposed to reveal how and why it emerged and continues to thrive. In doing this, in engaging in a process which has as its goal a better understanding of other processes, my intention is to allow the reader to recognize a certain range of factors which are related to the structural workings of liberal-democratic capitalism. Thus while the focus of the study presents a series of arguments and evidence about the relationship between culture and power, my intention is to make the reader aware of the development and organization of the political, economic and ideological forces which motor a set of social processes on a specific site of cultural practice.

Students in my sociology classes often express surprise when I use sport, or the sports broadcasting industry, to illustrate arguments about social history and social relations. What I argue to them, and throughout this study, is that despite its liberating qualities and potential, sporting practice does not take place in an autonomous realm of practice, but occurs in an arena which is controlled and highly structured by political, economic and ideological forces, as socio-cultural practice woven into the fabric of Canadian social life. It does not take much imagination to sort this notion out; the sale of Wayne Gretzky to an American-based National Hockey League franchise and the moral panic surrounding the use of steroids or other performance enhancers by Canadian track athletes clearly denote that sporting practice resides under an umbrella of extended control and influence. These examples, and many others noted in this thesis, point to the notion

that the enabling or liberating essence of sport, as a product of human agency and tangible reconstruction of human capability, is intricately tied to, and struggles within, the constraints or limitations imposed by humanly constructed social structures. Just when we are lead to believe once again in the escapist, dramatic possibilities of sport, the reality of its social layering becomes all the more evident.

As part of the complex process engaged in the social construction of sport, the media, notably the television broadcasting industry, have become actively involved in the production of meaning associated with athletic endeavour. Indeed, most closely associated with sporting achievements in contemporary Canadian society are their media presentations, which alternately capture the dramatic moment of win or loss as a formal account of sport's expression of competitive spirit or intensity. Set in these terms is a popular argument: that we know about these occurrences because the media have brought them to us, whether fashioned as news or entertainment, in place of our being there ourselves. But it becomes clear as well that the media are themselves a product of particular forces and influences, and bear a distinct relationship with the world of sport: events or occurrences, the game or the drama, are not merely presented in a singularly passive method, as they hinge on a complex and structured system of production. If sport is a form of broadly-based, historically developed socio-cultural practice in Canadian society, deeply penetrated and shaped by external forces, the broadcasting industry

may be understood for its role in this shaping process. Again, however, it is crucial to recognize that broadcasting itself is an enterprise which has emerged under the aegis of political and economic structures, and has itself been shaped and re-shaped into a multi-dimensional producer and reproducer of culture. Evolving socially through history in their respective relationships with structural features of our society, guided by, yet reinforcing, cleavages of class, gender and ethnicity, sport and broadcasting have emerged in a form which trumpets their autonomy but belies their structured existence. Thus, at the same time as we come to realize that sport and broadcasting operate as sui generis institutions of cultural practice and production, we are faced with their inevitability as objects of the social world, as cultivated expressions of a dominant set of social relations based on and articulated by the on-going practice of power.

As a central concept which underlies this thesis on sport and broadcasting in Canadian society, I understand power to be less a practice which involves the unidirectional control of one group over other groups than as an exercise developed, engaged in and struggled over on a range of constructed sites in a variety of complex ways. The term "power" seems to regularly bear associated implications or meanings based on successful control or influence, but I argue that the attempted or on-going formation and application of power, or the process of sustaining a position of power once attained, represents a highly dynamic set of processes which rarely rest in a completed state and are subject to change

from numerous sources. The concept of power thus embodies tension, struggle, the spectrum of challenge and the response to this, just as it embodies notions of dominance, controlling influence and force. Power must also be recognized as historically variable in its form as it moves between and within its sites of articulation and struggle. And stemming from a conceptualization of power as not easily won but readily lost, as textured in political, economic and/or ideological ways through history, is a recognition of those conditions which work to support its regeneration. My contention in this thesis is that an intimate arrangement has emerged in Canadian society, whereby agencies which hold significant power, notably the federal state and private capital, have guided the development of sport and the industry of broadcasting, coalescing to engage in a dynamic process of cultural production and the reconstruction of relations of power. As I note above, power works in a pervasive, interconnective, layered form, and the impact of this structural intersection bears profound implications for (i) reinforcing dominant meanings of sport, in terms of nationalistic ideology and gendered difference, and (ii) hegemonically reconstructing and strengthening those conditions which nurture the fractional bindings of official power and dominant/subordinate relations of gender. As an introduction to this thesis on the specific, expressive intersection between culture and power, I present an outline of the study's approach and its underlying research process.

Theoretical, Methodological and Substantive Parameters

The television sports broadcasting industry in Canada has evolved over the last 37 years, from limited English- and French-language networks which focused on technologically simple productions of professional hockey, to a diverse range of vested interests emanating from public/state and private/corporate sources in broadcasting and sport alike. The current structure of Canadian television sports broadcasting includes the public Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Radio-Canada, the private CTV network, privately owned TSN (The Sports Network, a pay-television network which is becoming increasingly included on basic cable services), the French-language private networks TVA and Quatre Saisons (the latter owned in part by major CTV stations), the Ontario-based Global network, along with numerous other publicly- and corporately-owned stations and affiliates scattered throughout diverse regions of the country. Each is to some extent involved in the programming and/or production of sport, whether domestically produced or purchased from sources outside Canada, and each of the major groupings have some degree of contact with the world of sport, whether in terms of broadcasting contracts established with professional leagues or some relationship with the amateur sport community. Sports programming itself has become a staple of the Canadian television diet, with much of weekend programming dedicated to the production of competitive games and events, and with higher profile sport such as the Olympics or league play-offs like the Stanley Cup attracting much greater attention. Thus the

range of sports produced and presented to the Canadian audience is also complex, as is the relationship of the broadcasting industry itself to corporate advertising. The initial problem then, given this array of interaction between and among varied interests related to sports broadcasting, resides with determining a focus or scope for the study in a substantive sense, one which addresses the essential interactions involved without becoming mired in an over-detailed descriptive analysis.

My decision to center the study on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's English-language network productions of "high performance sport" (a term I define below) lies in part with previously established research interests based on the historical emergence of the Canadian amateur sport system. A study I conducted in 1984/85 focused on the Canadian federal state's interest and continuing involvement in the establishment and direction of a successful system of international-calibre amateur sport, and determined that the rationale for this involvement was based on a range of ideological principles which linked with the political formation of consensus (see Cavanagh 1985). A continuing interest in social history and political economy, and later research into the development and status of cultural industries in Canada lead to a basic examination of the relationship which has emerged between sport and broadcasting. A preliminary study into this area determined that, of the range of broadcasters and sports operating in Canada, the CBC had formed a more or less exclusive arrangement in the production of Canadian amateur sport on a continuing basis.

More precisely, while other areas of the broadcasting industry would demonstrate interest in acquiring rights to produce cyclical events like an Olympic Games, the CBC had become the central broadcaster of amateur sport on a week-to-week basis. This particular relationship seemed especially intriguing, given the political structuring or initiation of both the public national television network and of the amateur sport system. Of further interest has been the emergent relationship each has formed with private capital, in an advertising/sponsorship capacity. Although I initially included Radio-Canada within the confines of the analysis, in order to broaden attention to linguistic and/or cultural differences which might be evident in sports broadcasting, this resulted in a research agenda which was overextended and unfocused. However, as I indicate below, the historical approach to the study necessitated a consideration of the early relationship which developed between radio broadcasting and sport.

The methodological approach to the study, which combined historical/archival research, field observation of broadcast practices and interviews with CBC officials, is detailed in Appendix A. In a general sense, methodological decisions were aligned with my argument that, in order to reveal and critically analyze the dynamics of culture and power in this instance, a three-fold research process would be necessary. Acknowledging that sport and broadcasting developed over a period of time to assume its present form in Canadian society, the initial part of the research process was geared toward revealing the historical

development of this relationship, based on the following: Royal Commission Reports, Parliamentary/Senate Committee Reports, Task Force Reports on various areas of broadcasting and/or sport, House of Commons Debates, acts of legislation, annual reports of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Fitness and Amateur Sport Directorate of the Department of Health and Welfare and Ministry of State for Fitness and Amateur Sport, planning and policy papers generated from Fitness and Amateur Sport; reports and minutes of meetings from various agencies located within the sport community; histories of broadcasting and the social development of sport in Canada. In order to draw an overall impression of the agenda-setting and production processes associated with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and amateur sport, archival references included the Fred Sgambati Collection and Television Entertainment Programming Collection located at the National Archives in Ottawa; these were especially valuable in revealing the historically rooted structure of broadcast sport. Videotapes of broadcasts located at the National Sound and Movement Archives in Ottawa were utilized in order to ascertain the progression of productions over a period of time, in terms of content and presentation. These included CBC broadcasts of the ceremonies and events during the 1954 British Empire and Commonwealth Games, 1961 programs from "World of Sport" series, 1968 episodes of "Kaleidosport", the 1969 Canada Games telecast from Halifax, and the 1974 Commonwealth Games from Christchurch, New Zealand, along with BBC broadcasts of the 1958 and 1962 British Empire and Commonwealth Games.

In order to examine the sport/broadcasting relation more closely, the second part of the research process involved the observation of production practices associated with the televisual presentation of high performance sport. As a note on terminology here, high performance sport (or athletics, events, competition) refers to that category of amateur sport which operates at a recognized national and international level of organization and competition, e.g. athletes and events which would be part of a national trials or Olympic/Commonwealth Games. As I point out in Chapter Two, the Canadian state has a "High Performance Unit" as part of the structure of Fitness and Amateur Sport, and in collaboration with the state-funded National Sport Organizations (NSO's) which oversee the development of athletes and programs, has developed a system of sport which involves an elite or extremely high level of performance (skill or capability). Although numerous references are made today regarding the similarity of "professional" and "amateur" sport, I differentiate between professional and high performance in terms of their differing resource bases, levels and context of organization, and distinguishing relationships with the state and private capital (see Chapter One). Thus utilizing the term "high performance" follows the established rationale which underlies this category of sport as well as the accepted terminology within the sport community. I also employ the terms "non-professional" sport or athletics (to indicate the more general category of sports not governed by private interests), "elite-calibre" or "elite-level"

(referring to the athlete workers, coaches, training patterns), and "high-level" (again, referring to organizational qualities, where international sports have both national and international governing bodies).

This part of the research (detailed in Appendix A) involved (i) the selection of events which were to be covered by the CBC, (ii) a four-day visit to the production centre and administrative offices of CBC Television Sports in Toronto during the month of March 1988, and visits to production sites in Ottawa during the month of August 1988, (iii) interviews with production officials and workers (which focused on uncovering evidence about the way in which agendas are established, programs/events constructed and roles filled by workers), (iv) observation of production practices, centered around the construction of episodes of "Sportsweekend" (the CBC's major weekend sports program which has typically included numerous high performance events). Events were selected on the basis of their national or international stature and their respective gender participation, i.e. for balance regarding the opportunity for the network to produce a sporting event involving both men and women. It is important to note that these decisions were themselves constrained in terms of accessibility to the CBC facilities and officials. While the initial part of observation and interviews conducted in March (involving the production of World Speedskating events) proved to be no problem, the second part of this process, carried out in August (involving the Canadian National Track and Field Championships and Canadian Amateur Diving

Association Championships, both of which served as Olympic qualifying events) posed several difficulties in terms of access to officials and production sites. Part of the problem stemmed from an increased tension in the workplace, due to both the close proximity of the August events to the Summer Olympic Games in Seoul (whereby these events served as rehearsals for CBC's approaching coverage of the Games) and from a series of retirements and promotions among senior production officials. Thus I had a much better opportunity to view the agenda-setting and production processes during research conducted in March, through interviews with various workers (producers, writers, announcers, support staff), observation of production meetings, editing procedures, scripting, rehearsals, tapings, etc. The analysis of the track and diving trials rests more with videotape evidence of these events, drawing on information about production practices gathered in March. As I indicate in Chapter Five, my findings during these periods of research made it quite clear that the practices associated with CBC sports productions do not so much center on the sport in question as they do on a series of habits, traditions or professional characteristics which inform the televisual representation of athletics.

The third part of the research process involved the analysis of videotapes of the sports productions in question, i.e. tapes of the World Speedskating Championships (26 March 1988), the Canadian National Track and Field Championships, and the Canadian National Diving Championships (both 6 August 1988). While the theoretical

and analytical boundaries of the study do not include a "textual analysis" in any semiotic/symbolic sense, videotapes of these high performance sport productions proved valuable for the way in which they captured particular moments of production which I observed, e.g. instances of commentary directed toward male/female differences in sport, the practice of constructing entertainment (whether producing a live event or editing a previously taped competition) as opposed to athletics, and the expression of decisions made outside the confines of creative production practices.

In addition to the above, the research process associated with this study involved extensive reviews of literature relating to philosophical perspectives on sport, the relationship of sport with various structures of power in Canadian society, and the sport/broadcasting interaction. I have also referred to data collected in other studies or from other sources, such as Statistics Canada, the 1986 Report of the Task Force on Broadcasting, works on the Canadian amateur sport system (e.g. socio-economic background, gender and ethnicity of sports officials), and various annual reports noted above. This part of the research is explained more fully in the Chapter Outline below.

The theoretical parameters of the research have been established by (i) an approach which seeks to establish a general political-economic perspective and (ii) an effort to ascertain the conceptual relationship between cultural production and the reproduction of relations of power, or of those conditions which

are favourable to the regeneration of power. First, assuming an overall perspective of political economy raises a central question: which forces and structures have become variously involved in the area of high performance sport and public broadcasting such that they exert a major influence over this area of cultural activity? As I indicate in the historical account presented in Chapter Two, a wide spectrum of structures, including agencies of the state, corporate capital, broadcasting and the sport community, have worked and continue to work, toward establishing control over this particular site of cultural endeavour. I therefore argue that it is necessary from a theoretical perspective to address the conceptual relationships which exist between these particular forces, and to construct a theoretical framework from three areas of critical thought: a consideration of the hegemonic process, contemporary cultural theory and feminist theory.

To briefly elaborate, my theoretical inclination toward hegemony, or the hegemonic process, permits a sensitive understanding of the culture/power relations, since it focuses on the construction of consent as a key factor in the perpetuation of power. Specifically, as Gramsci noted, the development and maintenance of power rests primarily on the motor force of ideology, arising from apparently "unproductive spheres" of civil society and the state, such as cultural production. As an extension of this, I include more contemporary notions underlying cultural theory (e.g. the work of Stuart Hall and Raymond Williams) which have successfully elaborated the linkage of hegemony with the

approach bears tremendous conceptual implications for a critical estimation of the Canadian sport/broadcasting interaction. Given the "players" involved in this relationship of power, however, it is also necessary to theoretically consider the state/private capital interaction, but to do so in a way which enlightens the reader to the reproduction of fractional and gendered power. In this instance, I refer to certain areas of feminist thought (e.g. MacKinnon, Connell, O'Brien) which have provoked a much deeper recognition of the routes which power, and more specifically, the hegemonic process, can assume in a struggle over the retention of a fleeting moment of control. With this enabling range of conceptual thought, I develop a framework which offers an explanation of how sport and its televisual production contribute to the construction of consensual power in a sphere of male domination. This leads to a basic question (posed in Chapter Three) which I utilize as a linkage between the conceptual and empirical components of the study: How does the struggle for hegemonic position contribute to a process whereby sport/power relations are perceived as common sense natural practice, such that the televisual production of sport works as a cultural site for the elaboration of economic, political and ideological processes which reproduce conditions supportive of dominant relations of power, especially those of gender?

Thesis Organization and Chapter Outline

The thesis is organized into three parts, each part containing two chapters. Part III is followed by a Conclusion, Bibliography and four Appendices: Methodologies (Appendix A), an example of a Sportsweekend script (Appendix B), an example of a specific Producer's script, detailing the construction of a packaged speedskating event (Appendix C), and a brief but critical discussion of the state-sanctioned examination of drug use within Canadian amateur sport, the so-called Dubin Inquiry (Appendix D).

Part I of the thesis is an introductory and historical section. Chapter One presents an overview of two perspectives which are dominant in sociological treatments of sport: idealism and materialism. From here, I discuss the role of sport in Canadian society, arguing that professional and non-professional sport each bear unique relationships with the state and private capital. The chapter concludes with a preliminary discussion of the relationship between sport and television in Canada, presented in descriptive form.

Chapter Two represents the historical centerpiece of the study. Beginning with a discussion of the emergent bond between radio and sport, I trace the historical forces which lead to the sport/television relation by examining the parallel development of both high performance sport and television broadcasting in Canada. I continue this narrative by examining the points of intersection in the early years of television and sport, the progression of CBC and its production of sport through the 1950's, and the challenge

presented by the formation of a private national network, CTV, in the early part of the 1960's. I note that while the CBC became more closely aligned with amateur sports productions (together with its central sports production, Hockey Night in Canada), CTV was more closely associated with professional league sport and more inclined to import productions from the United States. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the federal state's decision to formally establish a system of high achievement sport, and the decision by the CBC to engage in more elaborate productions of elite sport; as I argue, both of these decisions were deeply influenced by the decision of the IOC to award the 1976 Summer Olympics to Montreal.

Having noted the meaning and role of sport in Canadian society, and identified the major players in the emergence of sport and broadcasting, Part II of the thesis presents two chapters which elaborate the conceptual underpinnings of the relationships in question. Chapter Three examines the way in which critical studies of news and/or entertainment might inform analyses of televised sport, reviews the existing literature on sport/television, and argues that the weaknesses in this area of thought might be overcome by elaborating a conceptualization of the hegemonic process. This chapter also considers cultural theory's contribution to the concepts of ideology and hegemony, and concludes with a discussion of the sport/hegemony relationship, drawing notably on the work of John Hargreaves.

Having presented a series of arguments which conceptualize

the area of cultural production and sport, I turn in Chapter Four to a consideration of the reproduction of power by examining a most crucial agent of influence on sport and broadcasting, the Canadian state. Rather than reverting to more traditional debates on the role and nature of the liberal-democratic state, however, I construct a series of arguments which identify the relationship between political and economic power, and suggest that feminist theory makes an important contribution to a deeper recognition of how power relations are regenerated. More pointedly, I argue that the intersection of structures of power on a site of cultural production reproduces dominant/subordinate relations of gender in political, economic and ideological ways. These in turn are expressed and given life through the televisual production of high performance athletics. I then turn to a brief discussion of literature which has examined television sports and gender, and conclude Chapter Four with a summary of the theoretical framework, identifying the key conceptual features of the culture/power relation which are drawn forward into Part III of the dissertation.

Part III presents the major findings of the research, and a critical/theoretical examination of these based on the established framework of Part II. Chapter Five is a presentation of evidence drawn from field research, observation, interviews and discussions (supported to a degree by archival research) conducted within CBC Television Sports in Toronto, and with general reference to the CBC's English-language network productions of high performance sport. Drawing from collected evidence, I specifically concentrate

on (i) the ways in which decisions are made within the structure of CBC Sports, in what can be termed an agenda-setting process, and (ii) the manner in which elite athletic events are constructed and presented televisually, or the production process. The chapter opens with a continuation of the historical narrative initiated in Part I, in order to set the stage for a contemporary study of the decision/production processes. The findings are reported through a field diary of the March phase of research, supplemented by analysis of videotapes from March and August events. As I indicate in this chapter, the governing criteria of decision and production do not rest on technological capability (this is more important in terms of creative potential) or on the sports in question (considered more crucial in attracting advertisers and audiences), but on other factors which relate to the continuing exercise of power and control. To this end, Chapter Six returns to the central thesis, the dynamic and complex relationship which exists between culture and power, illustrated through broadcast productions of Canadian high performance athletics presented by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Based on evidence gathered and on central theoretical inquiries drawn from Chapter Four, this chapter locates the discussion around the way in which the hegemonic process becomes elaborated to extend fractional power and a social cleavage of gender, noting that consent and patriarchy are inextricably linked to each other in and through existing arrangements of formal control, which coalesces in this instance from an intersection of the state, private capital, the broadcasting industry and the

amateur sport community. Further to this, I pinpoint the implications of power and control which have emerged as a result of the federal state's dominant position in constructing and sustaining a high performance sport system. As evidence indicative of this complex state/sport relation, I draw on three areas of political policy and practice which demonstrate how the state works to (i) control athlete workers, (ii) guide the development of sport programs, and (iii) develop a more significant role for private capital with regard to the funding of high performance athletics: the Athlete Assistance Program (which provides financial support for qualified athletes), Best Ever (a funding and development program) and the Sports Marketing Council (designed to market state-based sport to the private sector). I further argue that the state's power over high performance athletes bears strong implications for the extension of conceivable avenues of resistance or struggle against apparently formidable barriers of "unproductive" power.

As I consider this study to be a starting point for a wider analysis of sport and broadcasting to take place at a later date, the Conclusion to the thesis presents a summary of the findings and offers an agenda for suggested research in the area, noting that recent political developments may have profound implications for the structure of the Canadian social fabric as a whole, and for the organization and control of sport and broadcasting more specifically. To this end, it is argued that the critical attention of researchers and scholars should continue to focus on the

analysis of the exercise and articulation of power realized on and through the site of culture in Canadian society.

Chapter One

Approaching the Nature and Meaning of Sport

Some thirty years ago, C. Wright Mills argued that one of the most pressing tasks of a critically-based and ("imaginative") sociology must be the conceptualization of the historically variable relationship which exists between human agents and social structure. He suggested that to fathom the genesis and course of widespread social change, the intersection of the "personal" and the "public", i.e. a framework of biography and history should be the focus of a social science which he viewed as drifting toward abstracted empiricism or Grand Theory. Indeed, Mills said, it is the contradictory nature of Western society, its enabling versus constraining features, which scholars must examine in order to better understand the social world. To more clearly comprehend these contradictions, Mills suggested that, among other social relations, relations of power must be examined in an historical and critical sense (1959:11-18).

Only a few years later, C. B. Macpherson addressed the problem of power in his CBC Massey Lectures on The Real World of Democracy. Macpherson pointed out that there is a dualistic quality to the way in which power operates in a liberal-democratic society, in that the state structure of such a society is both (i) a system of power and (ii) a structure which maintains power relations between groups and individuals, in ways which are not necessarily coercive

(1965:39-40). In upholding and guaranteeing capitalist-market society, i.e. an economic system based on property and the sale of labour, he noted that these power relations tend to be skewed in favour of one group over other groups. To understand the liberal-democratic system, argued Macpherson, we must recognize the state as more than a sui generis system of power, in that it is a guarantor of power relations in many forms.

I mention these two important sociological/political works as ground-breaking advances in critical sociology, i.e. as endeavours which successfully peel the veneer from existing social relations to reveal them as (i) historical and (ii) based on power, whether economic, political, ideological, or rooted in class, gender, ethnicity. As Anthony Giddens has argued, the sociological imagination emphasized by Mills can be utilized in contributing to a critique of existing forms of society, but this critique must be based on analysis (1982:26).

It is these very notions of history and the imaginative analysis of social relations (e.g. as power relations) which have been notably lacking in the large body of literature devoted to the sociological study of sport. Within the sociology of sport literature, a number of scholars have attempted to establish what sport is, and to identify those elements which constitute it as a unique form of socio-cultural activity deserving of attention and analysis. Indeed, a review of any one of the many sociology of sport readers clearly indicates that a wide variety of interpretations and conceptualizations, which stem from a number

of intellectual traditions, have been granted to sport (and to those intimately associated activities of play and games).¹ I would argue that there are two fundamental reasons why (i) there is such a large body of literature concerning what constitutes sport and (ii) why there is so much debate over the nature of sport, but little in the way of critical analysis. First, efforts at defining sport as a cultural form have often drawn simultaneously from several traditions of thought, thereby arriving at only contradictory or confusing conclusions. Second, these definitions of sport have often been articulated without an associated framework of the social world in general. That is, sport has often been conceptualized as an entity which stands apart from broader social structures and dynamics, e.g. historically-rooted social change, the development and meaning of class structure, and questions of human agency.

One of the most consistently applied intellectual frameworks which scholars have used to define sport (and which continues to inform work on sport, play and games) has been the tradition of idealism. It is important to focus initially on this tradition for several reasons. First, it is clearly the tradition which has dominated attempts to establish the nature and meaning of sport in society. Second, there are both classical and contemporary examples within the sport literature, marking its consistent (and influential) application to the study of sport. Third, this tradition provides important insights into the nature and meaning of sport, although these are not devoid of problems. Fourth and

finally, addressing the problems associated with idealism allows one to move into a more sociologically satisfying framework for understanding sport, and for developing a more critical approach to sport in capitalist society.

The Idealist Tradition: Four Examples

The persistence and attraction of the idealist framework may well reside in the near-religious preeminence afforded to the Geist, the inner essence of the human agent as the guiding force of history and culture (Hughes 1961:187; Williams 1958:14). Writing during the Romantic period (1750-1830), Hegel's interpretation of history was one which centered on the development of the spirit, of progress in the "consciousness of freedom" culminating in liberation from the self and external coercion in a harmonious reconciliation with objective reality (Hegel 1956:8-18). For Hegel, religion is "where a people defines for itself what it holds to be true...its highest being", where "the Spirit is immortal..." (1956:17-19, 79). As Raymond Williams points out in his discussion of the literature of the Romantic era, the perspective of idealism views history and culture as the deepest entity of the human spirit, as an emergent quality of the individual and the imagination, separate from (but conceivably corrupted by) external forces (such as material relations of production) (1958:31).

Although not explicitly Hegelian or Romantic in nature, the idealist emphasis of spirit, consciousness and mind has been the intellectual underpinning of several influential works on the

sociology and philosophy of sport. Four scholars in particular have produced works which stem from this idealist tradition: Johann Huizinga, Roger Caillois, Michael Novak and Benjamin Rader. As I discuss the manner in which these authors apply the idealist perspective to their interpretation of sport, it will become clear that their works bear in common two distinctive features: (i) the theme of sport as deeply embedded in and expressive of the human spirit, an inner sanctum potentially or in reality corrupted or destroyed by modern society, and (ii) the absence of critical analysis and historical sensitivity (e.g. the social development of sport) and a failure to recognize that the examination of sport must extend beyond the human agent, to the interaction between agency and social structure.

Focusing on "the play element in culture" in Homo Ludens (1950), Johan Huizinga argues that play (as an organizational precursor to games and sport) is first and foremost,

...a free activity standing quite consciously outside "ordinary" life, as being not serious but at the same time absorbing...It is an activity connected with no material interest, and no profit can be gained by it. It proceeds within its own proper boundaries of time and space... (1950:13)

Emphasizing the non-purposive nature of play, Huizinga follows the idealist tradition in understanding play as a primary feature of social existence, acting not just as the "driving force in the advancement of western civilization" (Gruneau 1983: 25), but as the antithesis of the growing domination of modern industrial life. He

cites play as an aspect of the autonomous and creative human spirit faced with increasing rationalization and instrumentality, often referring to the essential "play spirit" ("to dare, to take risks, to bear uncertainty, to endure tension" (1950:51)) which is threatened by the intrusion of "real life". Huizinga attaches a functional quality to the way in which play (or the "ludic function") serves as the moral dramatization of the inner spirit, a drama marked by action, mirth, and the fulfillment of the creative impulse. Indeed, Huizinga examines the relationship of play to sacred ritual and order, concluding that play is not only a representation of what man is, but of what he can become on a higher spiritual plain (1950:20-25). In this instance, it is ritual which integrates society, offering a way "to organize people's knowledge of the past and present and their capacity to imagine the future" (Lukes 1977:68).

Alone and apart in time and space, play is thus the creator of culture, different entirely from the "creations of culture" which spring from the development of the "ludic impulse", i.e. games and sport, the more organized and rule-bound pursuit of "noble play". However, in contemporary civilization, Huizinga laments, "with the increasing systematization and regimentation of sport, something of the pure play quality is inevitably lost...the play factor has undergone almost complete atrophy" (1950:197). The near-religious exhilaration experienced through play is supplanted by its denigration: "profane, unholy" sport.

While Huizinga focuses on play as ritual expression of the human spirit and sport as its perversion, Roger Caillois (Man, Play and Games, 1961) concentrates on the game for those characteristic elements which render it unique and variable. Citing Huizinga's narrow view of play and games (which omitted games of chance), Caillois classifies the game into four categories: agon (competition or contest based on the learning and application of skill), alea (meaning game of dice, games based on fate), mimicry (simulations, as in children's games of illusion or fantasy), and ilinx (games of daring, vertigo, swift motion) (1961:12-26). In a fashion similar to Huizinga and the idealist tradition, Caillois bases his analysis of the game on the peculiar human qualities which mark them, and, most importantly, on the pleasure, excitement or stimulation received from the display of skill required, the active or passive disposition called for by the particular game, and the "attitude" of the player (1961:12-13). Although he cites the "cultural fertility" which play and games have for the wider society, Caillois' focus is primarily constructed around more action-oriented elements of games. For example, he defines play as an activity which is essentially free, separate, uncertain, unproductive, rule-governed and make-believe, and his categorization of games is centered around the relative production of thrills or psychological enjoyment they provide.

Caillois goes on to argue that, despite these qualities of fun and fulfillment, the four categories of games are indeed social, in that they involve interaction of some type, leading to

the establishment of common rules. Similar to Huizinga's lament, Caillois suggests that the problem of "contamination" exists as part of this social component, wherein play can become corrupted in its "unchecked expansion". For example, agon becomes corrupted when no decision or winner is required, alea when it centers on superstitious pursuits such as astrology, mimicry when role-playing becomes reality and real identity becomes lost, and ilinx when the distortion of reality is enhanced artificially (e.g. drugs, alcohol) (1961:48-50). In a broader cultural sense, Caillois suggests that the development of a game can follow a continuum, e.g. agon - competition - sport (cultural form) - economic competition (institutional form) - violence/trickery (corruptions) (1961:52). In this developmental sequence lies an implicit contradiction: while the spirit of play can be the source of pure culture, the resulting games can become degraded into meaningless, artificial or violent distractions. In the idealist sense, the human agent and inner essence can thus be rendered unimaginative and banal, as well as perverted.

In a more contemporary example of the idealist tradition in sport philosophy entitled The Joy of Sports (1976), Michael Novak regards sport as a natural religion, activity which is organized and dramatized in a religious fashion. Unlike the essentially negative view of sport as a twisted offspring of play assumed by Huizinga and Caillois, for Novak,

...sports flow outward into action from
a deep natural impulse that is radically
religious: an impulse of freedom, respect

for ritual limits, a zest for symbolic
meaning, and a longing for perfection.
(1976:19)

Moreover, sport is a form of liberation, Novak argues; as we "play" sports, we are freed from the confusions and difficulties posed by everyday life, and (belying a Catholic orientation) those spiritual possibilities within ourselves are enhanced. Thus sport is a liberating feature of society, a metaphor for the potential of the human spirit, a subjective phenomenon transcending reality. Sport continues to thrive and grow, he suggests, as it offers ceremony, intensity, discipline in dramatic form, as a kind of godliness (1976:27). His impression of the mystical side of sport is summarized when he says,

Sports are creations of the human
spirit, arenas of the human spirit,
witnesses to the human spirit,
institutions of the human spirit, acts
of the human spirit. (1976: 150)

Novak, in responding to Paul Hoch's Rip-Off the Big Game (1972), further argues that sport is neither opiate or oppression, but freedom in the deepest and most subjective sense of the word. The start of the game, he says, is the "start of sacred ritual", and the advances of modern technology (e.g. television) has merely enhanced the liberating experience of sport, permitting the re-creation of sport in a new and different way (1976:252).

However, like Huizinga and Caillois, Novak does not see play, games or sport as totally free from influences which have corrupted

its natural-religious qualities. He argues that the emergence of sport into forms of escape, entertainment or profitable business (and the corresponding insistence that these are the true forms which sport should take) is a corruption not only of sport, but of the human spirit as well. Novak cites the presence of money in sport as not far removed from the "money-changers in the temple", where the solid characteristic of sport-as-religion is torn away (1976:309). Nonetheless, Novak maintains that sport survives because it "teaches us to live in a world which is less than moral"; the spirit survives and grows through sport, which remains at its heart "a tribute to grace, beauty, and excellence" (1976:338).

While Huizinga, Caillois and Novak have applied an idealist framework to play, games and sport in terms of the subjective pursuit of physical activity or excitement, Benjamin Rader's recent volume In Its Own Image (1984) approaches sport from a more passive perspective in concentrating on spectator sport alone (where the sport-associated activity is interest in and consumption of televised sport). In language strikingly similar to Novak, Rader suggests that sport has traditionally

...satisfied a hunger of the human spirit;
(sports) filled a need to witness the expression
of beauty, grace and excellence. (1984:4)

Following the idealist tradition, Rader argues that older, more pure forms of sport (such as those found in the ball parks of early to mid-20th Century America) articulated an alternative realm of

consciousness; since playing sports or attending matches represented an experience which was bracketed off from daily life, it could serve as an effective mediator of "oppositional impulses", e.g. self-control vs. indulgence, play vs. work. Further, and in a more "social" sense, Rader suggests that historically,

...the shared experience of sports
helped to counter the centrifugal
forces of race, religion, ethnicity
and class... (1984:8)

In an argument which is therefore similar to that of Huizinga, Caillois and Novak, Rader notes that sport (in the North American view) is a unique form of practice, holds deep meaning of religious quality for participants and fans, permits escape through the enjoyment of play or the worship of heroes. And, similar to Huizinga, Caillois and Novak, he suggests that "the joy of sports has been contaminated by ulterior motives" (1984:11): like Caillois' artificial or uncontrolled games, or Novak's invaders of the temple, Rader views television as the major corrupting influence of contemporary sport (1984: 25).

Rader contends that, commencing with radio and accelerated by the popular expansion of television, sport has become radically transformed into a new form of cultural activity. Games which were once magical in their appeal have become vehicles for filling entertainment schedules, heroes once majestic in their stature are "celebrities", and sport in general has become trivialized by a "showbiz" approach and an emphasis on spectacle.

Citing the large amounts of money which change hands as television pursues attractive (i.e. to audiences and advertisers) sports "packages",² Rader argues that previously pure forms of sporting activity have changed to accommodate the demands of the entertainment industry (e.g. rule changes to accommodate more offense and the creation of overtime in football) (1984:142-150). Television, he suggests, diminishes the skills of the game, and reduces the distance between athlete and fan, thereby eliminating the possibility for "myth-making", and thus for escape. The result is a dilution of the sports experience and an apparently inalterable shift in the quality of sport itself, which now fails to engender "the same commitment, intensity, loyalty, (or to) embody traditional values" as it once did (1984: 208-210).

Works on philosophy of sport which have emanated from the idealist tradition offer substantial insight into the nature of play, games and sport. Each of the above understands sport as constructed from a core of playful activity, a dimension of human life leading to the realization and fulfillment of human essence. In terms of the idealist framework, each work I have cited addresses history or historical development in some fashion, some (e.g. Huizinga) more so than others (e.g. Novak). Further, I would argue that the idealist approach to sport embodies a popular vision or interpretation of sporting practice (active or passive in nature) which persists to the present: sport as drama which devotees can live through vicariously in an escapist manner, as representing the ultimate in what the human spirit can achieve, as

increasingly encroached upon by interests motivated by factors other than a love of the game.

Despite the rich and romantically appealing approach to defining the nature and meaning of sport, the idealist perspective remains significantly limited in several ways: (i) it fails, or those drawing on the idealist tradition fail, to establish the relationship of sport to wider social history or existing social structure, i.e. as a purely agency-based perspective, it cannot explore the crucial agency/structure dynamic, and tends to characterize external structural features as either "inconvenient" or "corrupting" to sport; (ii) considerations of constraint, repression and historical struggle which have marked the emergence and social development of sport (e.g. in Canada) are notably absent, glossed over by descriptive and non-analytical accounts of history (see below); and (iii) this in turn offers a reaffirmation (especially from Rader) of the mythical (mystifying and misleading) view of sport as an expression of (lived) cultural freedom which engenders socio-economic and socio-political harmony. Thus the idealist version of sport is of a "great equalizer" which eliminates differences of class and race (but not gender, given the traditional male-based view of sport) through a common bonding based on human essence. This latter problem is particularly troublesome, calling to mind out-dated theories of industrial society which argue the elimination of conflict and struggle in the face of industrial/technological progress (see Giddens 1982).³

The limitations associated with the idealist tradition become

more problematic as each author attempts to isolate those factors which have altered play, games and sport in terms of external forces which corrupt a pure form of human activity. Herein lies the central methodological deficiency of this framework: though history and the development of cultural activity are partly addressed, they are afforded a social sense only in terms of the appropriation and perversion of sport. In this instance, the human agent is a hapless victim of unexplained social change, where cultural icons are mysteriously altered in their meaning within cultural life. Rader, for example, provides an historical description of the evolution of sport within the American media, but contends that only a sinister profit motive has been the guiding force in this development (1984:4-6; 36-52). Such an argument tends to reflect the autonomous status afforded sport within the idealist framework, while other factors (e.g. ideology) which may fundamentally influence the appropriation of sport are ignored. As I will argue in the next section and in the historical chapter to follow, there are certain characteristics associated with sport which tend to enhance its definition as autonomous practice, but historically and currently, sport has been and is inextricably linked to structures of power, guided to its present form through struggle on an ideological terrain. The limitations of the idealist perspective and the explication of a more sociologically thorough approach to the nature and meaning of sport are addressed within a second intellectual framework to which I now turn: the materialist tradition.

The Materialist Approach to Sport

I suggested earlier in this chapter that part of the problem within the debate surrounding the nature and meaning of sport has been the tendency of scholars to examine this practice without an associated framework of the world. Clearly, the idealist tradition views sport from a subject-centered perspective, omitting any objective account of the broader social environment. In other instances, the sociological analysis of sport has been approached in a more descriptive/linear fashion, understood as following an orderly development out of "play" (free, spontaneous, loosely organized, non-temporal) and "games" (more rule-bound and organized, more constrained by time and space), to an institutionalization of game forms (i.e. sport) (Loy 1969; Kenyon and Loy 1969; Ingham 1973; Ingham and Loy 1973). In attempting to examine sport as "positive freedom", Guttman (1978) cites the features of play, games and more formal sport which are enabling for human agents in spite of their structured location. As Gruneau points out, Guttman's Weberian elaboration of the institutionalized elements of sport makes an important contribution to the expanded consideration of the relationship between agency and structure, but nonetheless fails to recognize the more constraining or limiting aspects of social structures (Gruneau 1983:43).

On another side of the debate, Hoch (1972) and Brohm (1978) argue that sport is essentially institutionalized oppression, a system of physical exploitation developed solely for material or

political/ideological gain.⁴ Although their respective analyses are materially-based, they are ahistorical and too polemical to be considered objective, lack an organized approach to social structure, and ignore factors of agency which are resistant to those coercive structures they criticize. My argument is that a critical examination of sport must draw on more than questions of structural constraint, just as it must draw on more than issues of human desire and fulfillment. A critical examination must depart from an essential underlying contradiction which emerges as questions of agency are set against an image of the world which recognizes both the enabling and limiting features of social structure.

To elaborate, the cultural practice of play, games and sport represents a paradox, in that the creativity and spontaneity found in play seem absent in more modern institutionalized forms of games and sports which may have incipient commercial or ideological goals. It is crucial to recognize this contradiction, for it articulates that (i) where there is freedom, there is also constraint, in that human possibilities and human actions are limited by humanly created social structures or conditions, and (ii) sport may in fact be examined in terms of this broader image of structure and agency, in terms of the "limits and possibilities" of agency/action/freedom as dialectically related to social structure/limiting social conditions/constraining influences (Lukes 1977:29; Gruneau 1983:51-52). Thus while play has been considered as spontaneous in nature and beneficial to the

physical/psychological development of the self, and for the power it possesses to "liberate individuals from the constraints of reality through its characteristic non-purposiveness and freedom of expression" (Gruneau 1976a:13), it is those constraints on that freedom which must be analyzed to comprehend the concrete reality which faces actors who play. Similarly, in attempting to understand the active pursuit of play or passive consumption of (e.g. televised) sport, it is inadequate to focus on arguments of psychological reductionism or motivation, or on the vicarious escapist pleasure derived from these activities, as this deflects attention from those structures and conditions which deeply influence the practice of sport.

In addressing this contradiction of agency and structure in the critical analysis of sport, several scholars have adopted a Marxist-based materialist perspective which promotes a socio-historical approach to the development of games and sports, i.e. development alongside "emergent structures of capitalism" and class power (Gruneau 1983:18). At the heart of this interpretation is the attempt to arrive at an understanding of the (tangible and subtle) ways in which a variety of social, economic and political forces guide or condition cultural life through the ebb and flow of history, and how these become manifested in modern society. While the idealist perspective is one-dimensional in its view of play and the human essence, the contribution of the materialist tradition to the study of play, sport and games is multiple. Stemming from a tradition of Marxist thought which centers on the

analysis of social relations, i.e. the production and reproduction of these relations in capitalist society, and centered on such considerations of class, ideology and power, this perspective makes an imaginative contribution to the critical examination of sport through (i) its emphasis on history, (ii) sensitivity to agency/structure interaction and (iii) analysis of social change.

First, as I have suggested above, the methodological approach of this tradition is historical in its consideration of socio-cultural development alongside emerging structures of an economic or political nature. As Bottomore and Rubel have pointed out, Marx's "historical sociology" was compatible with his interest in the development of the economic structures of human societies through the interaction of humans with nature, a methodology which informed an examination of social change (1956:36-39).

As an example of the enlightening historical emphasis which underscores this tradition, Gruneau (1983) and Metcalfe (1987, 1988) argue that the (social) development of sport in Canadian society has been inextricably linked to an emerging class structure, changes in the capitalist production process and sometimes intense struggle and negotiation based on class, gender and ethnicity. For example, in citing the institutionalized forms of sport in place by the turn of the century, Gruneau suggests these were consolidated around an amateur code based in turn on a transplanted class-based Victorian ideology of gentlemanly play, discipline, loyalty and team-work (Gruneau 1983:108-115; Metcalfe 1987:119-131; see also Chapter Two). But the dominance of this

code, manifested in a restrictive system of elite sporting clubs or associations, came to be challenged by the pressures of emerging commercial sport forms which offered alternatives to the amateur tradition (Gruneau 1983:115; 1988:21). At the core of this transformation of sport was struggle and negotiation based on an increasingly complex class system, i.e. a petty bourgeois encroachment into organized sport, the creation of privately owned franchises/leagues, and recruitment of athletes from rural or urban labouring classes (Metcalf 1987:160-65)⁵ (see also my discussion of the development of media and sport in Chapter Two).

Alongside this historical perspective, Marxist writings on sport have outlined the ways in which the dominant capitalist class has come to extend its influence over a wide spectrum of social life, e.g. penetrating into areas of culture and leisure, and has demonstrated how this influence has lead to an active reproduction of dominant/subordinate class relations (Gruneau 1988:24) and a more deeply ingrained social cleavage based on gender (Hall 1984; Bray 1982; McNeill 1988). Bray, for example, in addressing silences within the political economy of Canadian sport, has noted the clear necessity of identifying those stereotypical "feminine" qualities which emerge in the context of sporting practice and production (1982:117-119). And McNeill has recently indicated that the televisual construction of women's bodybuilding and/or aerobics events or programs reinforce the sexual stereotyping of women, where the essential female role is once again emphasized as "attracting males" (1988:196-210; see also Chapter Four). In a more

general sense, dominant ideological principles (e.g. possessive individualism, achievement, the value of success over the embarrassment of defeat) and a deeply ingrained system of power relations are also viewed in the materialist tradition as emanating from conditions which can be produced and reproduced through sport, particularly at a professional or high performance level (Rigauer 1981; Hargreaves 1982a, 1982b).

A second contribution of the materialist perspective lies in the aforementioned sensitivity to examining relationships between agency and social structures in terms of economic, political or ideological struggle on a variety of sites. Extending from this notion of struggle is the concept of exchange and "flow" between structures, wherein (e.g.) sport is regarded as a sui generis structure which has emerged historically and remains related to and influenced by institutions of capitalist society, such as the state or private industry. In this materialist sense, then, sport is understood as (i) a product of human agency and struggle, and (ii) subject to those forces which have emerged to dominate social life, but not always subordinate to them.

Following this line of thought, Beamish has alluded to the way in which certain sport forms (especially modern professional sport) embody historically developed relations of production, and contribute to the establishment of conditions which sustain commodified culture (Beamish 1981a, 1982). He argues that sport must be comprehended as a dialectical social form constantly engaged in active change, a form which cannot be grasped as either

"an indistinguishable part of the social whole or as something entirely separate" in that institutionalized sport is both simultaneously (1981a:57; see also my discussion of professional sport below). This articulates the necessity of viewing sport as produced and consumed (i.e. commodified) in its socio-historical context, and points to the importance of conceptualizing sport with respect to its changing nature and role, its relationship to both infrastructure and broader aspects of the superstructure (e.g. the state), and the shifting nature and role of these as well. In this sense, a materialist-centered analysis of, for example, sport and power, will not merely assume that structures of power exert control over and wholly dominate sport in a uni-directional dominant/subordinate manner (as argued by Hoch (1972) and Brohm (1978)), but will argue instead that the shape and direction of sport is a matter of negotiation and struggle among and between a range of factors.

Linked to these important considerations of social development and structural relationships based on negotiation and struggle is a third contribution of the materialist tradition: the analysis of causes and direction of social change. In considering areas of socio-cultural life such as play, games and sport, it is important to realize that as social forms emanating from human endeavour which are deeply affected by the structures and institutions of capitalism, they are subject to a wide range of changes in content and meaning. For example, while the articulation of class differences in sport may no longer be exclusively expressed by

membership in social clubs, the Canadian class structure has altered significantly in this century (e.g. expansion of the middle classes) and so too have class relations within the confines of sport.⁶ Similarly, while the direction and shape of various sport forms remains locked within the confines of male power, the articulation of this domination has expanded within institutions such as the media. Assuming a materialist perspective can potentially reveal the dynamics of social change by (historically) exploring shifts in economic production, technology, political power, etc. (e.g. in the development of Canadian commercial sport, it has been noted that a movement from competitive to corporate capitalism was partly responsible for the extension of professional league franchises (Gruneau 1983: 122); similarly, it can be argued that changes in transportation technology and expansion of broadcast technology were directly related to the increased popularity of sport in the 1920's).

Thus the analysis of sport from a materialist perspective illuminates both the limitations of the idealist tradition and the plausible direction for a critical examination of sport in Canadian society. I would argue that the materialist features of historical method, analysis of agency/structure and institutional relationships, together with a framework of explanation for social change, coalesce into a valuable perspective on the critical examination of socio-cultural activity, e.g. sport, in Canadian society. While the idealist tradition informs (in a limited sense) a view of human agency and creativity through play, games, and

(potentially) sport, the materialist tradition informs what I refer to as a political economy of sport, i.e. a methodological and conceptual approach which seeks to explain the practice of sport by analyzing its social development, relationships and transformation in terms of those influential structures and forces (economic, political and ideological). In this sense, it is possible to engage in a more critical analysis of modern sport, understood in a historical and relational context. It is precisely this essence of political economy which has been absent in the examination of what Cantelon and Gruneau (1988:177) have cited as one of the most significant influences on modern North American sport, the medium of broadcasting. Indeed, as I will point out, the more prevalent views of sport and its relationship to broadcasting have emphasized (i) the idealist impression provided by Rader (1984), where sport is saturated and thus corrupted in its pure sense by television, or (ii) the coded "message" imparted through televised sport and its "effects" on the audience (e.g. Birrell and Loy 1979; see also Corner 1983). However, the more materialist-oriented studies of the sport/television relationship (e.g. Cantelon and Gruneau 1984, Whannel 1984, Clarke and Clarke 1982) have often skirted issues of structural relationships, power and control, in favour of a focus on the reproduction of ideology or the "decoding" of televised presentations of sport. While these are important factors, an approach informed by political economy and cultural theory can offer a deeper and more enlightening analysis.

Prior to examining what is entailed by a political economy of

televised sport, it is necessary to recall that sport has developed and maintains meaning in society, whether at the level of the individual subject, the community, provincial/national states, private/international capital, to the point where it has engendered massive participation, attention and, in many instances, appropriation in its production and consumption. In order to establish a context for (i) understanding this wide range of meaning which sport holds, and (ii) a critical examination of the relationship between television and sport (which together comprise an element of modern cultural practice), it is necessary to refer in a broader sense to the role which sport presently plays in Canadian social life.

The Role of Sport in Canadian Society

The significance of sport as both an active (e.g. participatory) and passive (e.g. more consumptive) pursuit in Canadian social life can be argued and documented in several ways. For example, the role of sport in education, as a leisure-time activity, or as an aspect of "physical culture" can all serve in some way to define the way in which sport "fits" into Canadian society. A more revealing way to document the role of sport, however, is to compare two dominant categories of sporting activity, professional and non-professional, in terms of those elements they share, the major differences between them, and their correspondingly different roles within the broader social framework.

Essentially, all forms of sport share certain basic characteristics previously alluded to. Both professional, e.g. commercial/league, and different categories of non-professional sport (e.g. high performance, community-level) have evolved and changed historically, and are marked by events of competition which normally conclude in victory or defeat. There are particular ideological components which are strongly represented within each form, in terms of achievement, fair play, competitiveness and aggressiveness, discipline and drive. Both professional and non-professional sport are intimately related to broader structures of capitalist society and, while products of historical human activity, are ultimately limited in their expressiveness or innovation by constraining influences which emanate from these structures. For example, modern institutionalized forms of sport are generally noted for the development and implementation of rules which regulate or restrain play or competition, such as those related to time or other features which demarcate the beginning and conclusion of the game. It is also within the relationship borne by different categories of sport to broader social conditions that important differences between them begin to emerge, and wherein the significance of sport in Canadian society may begin to be argued.

Comparing Professional and Non-Professional Sport

The most prevalent features which distinguish professional and non-professional sport lie in the way each is produced and in the differing resource bases they draw from. North American

professional sport is a corporate-based, humanly constructed and operated system involving the buying and selling of privately owned franchises, the sale of labour power by athletes in exchange for wages, and the creation of value through this instance of the social labour/production process (Beamish 1982: 157; 1988:142-143). As Beamish argues, professional athletic labour occurs in a sphere of dominant/subordinate (worker/owner) conditions of production which requires the formation of clubs and businesses in order to "market sport as a saleable good" (1982:1977).⁷ Decisions of production are based on market considerations and the pursuit of profit, maximized when owners regulate policies to maintain (i) monopoly positions (i.e. cartels) and (ii) a competitive structure which maintains public appeal (Beamish 1981b:13) (and an element of ideology, competition, surfaces as much more than the winning or losing of a game). In this sense, workers are relatively powerless in relation to club owners, controlled by mechanisms such as the reserve system or option clause,⁸ restrictions on free agency and comparatively weak unions (Beamish 1988:151-153). In the capitalist production process, commodities produced through the social process of labour appear as an autonomous figures, fetishized by the masses, alien to their creators (Marx 1975: 282-286). And, in professional sport, players perform in an environment where control over decisions is limited or non-existent, careers are short-lived and often dangerous to physical health, and the commodity produced (e.g. an entertainment package) provides a high margin of profit for owners alone.⁹

As stated above, non-professional sport can be categorized in different ways, and this can prove problematic in isolating a particular relationship which this type of sport as a whole may bear with broader social structures. For example, it can be argued that the high performance area of non-professional sport can be located within conditions of wage labour and dominant/subordinate relations of production in capitalism. At an elite level, it has become increasingly obvious that this form of athletic labour differs only marginally from professional sport labour, with one possible exception: Canadian high performance athletes are generally workers for the state, although private capital now appears more ready and willing to "sponsor" certain individuals or teams.¹⁰ However, non-professional sport can also be isolated along several other contingencies: participation on an individual basis (jogging, "fun runs"), a community basis (local minor league sports sponsored by small entrepreneurs, such as hockey or road racing associations), athletic/fitness clubs which sponsor competitive teams and offer recreational opportunities. The opportunities for control (e.g. over the body, intensity of performance) and participation are therefore much greater than those in professional sport, which has a restricted number of available positions (playing, coaching, administration, support).¹¹ Non-professional sport is also more dependent on (i) the voluntary sector, for organization and development/support through donations of time (and increasingly, of money)¹² and (ii) various levels of the state for financial support (see, for example, Gruneau 1983;

Harvey and Proulx 1988).

Without question, in terms of high performance athletics, the various national sport organizations (NSO's) play a major role in the development of programs geared to international performance by elite-calibre athletes. There are presently 85 such governing bodies in existence, operating primarily out of the National Sport and Recreation Centre in Ottawa; each is dependent on sources of funding from the state, private capital and individuals, and maintains linkages with provincial and/or international organizations of sport. Guided by voluntary executive boards and salaried Executive Directors and administrators, NSO's draw funding on the basis of long-term program planning and shorter-term execution of performance objectives; they are composed primarily of middle class anglophone males from predominantly high socio-economic backgrounds (Hollands and Gruneau 1979:11-14, 18; Beamish 1985; Macintosh and Beamish 1988:66-72; Macintosh et al 1987). With more specific reference to gender composition, Macintosh and Beamish note in a recent survey of NSO personnel that, "Females are underrepresented in all job categories, with the exception of the program coordinator level", where an effort to redress gender imbalance has increased female representation to 50 percent (1988:70; see Table I below). However, as they note, "...at the more senior and influential level (i.e. technical directors and executive directors)...there has been little change in the percentage of women in these positions" since 1980 (1988:71), even with the efforts of Sport Canada's Women's Program to initiate

change. Clearly, they argue, the message from the high performance sport system remains consistent: producing high performance athletes.

The state also maintains an "arm's length relationship" with other agencies such as the Canadian Olympic Association, Coaching Association of Canada, and the Sports Federation of Canada, funded bodies operating with some autonomy; together, NSO's and related sport agencies comprise the high performance community (see Figure I and Table I below).

As an example of the multiple dimensions and changing face of non-professional sport, local marathons run in Canadian cities are generally organized and staffed by volunteers (water stations, timekeepers, promotion), supported by organizational assistance from the Canadian Track and Field Association (the NSO which sanctions events), held on public roads without municipal billing, observed without admission charge to consumers wishing to see the race from the side of the road or at the finish line, and participated in by numbers ranging from 1500 to 6000 (of whom 5 percent might be considered elite athletes). But attracting this small percentage of elite runners has increasingly dictated the direction of what were once participation-based events. Local marathons are now generally sponsored to some significant degree by private sponsors (e.g. the Miller International Marathon in Toronto, the Toshiba National Capital Marathon in Ottawa)¹³ so that race organizers can offer prize money to top finishers and events can serve as qualifiers for more prestigious competitions such as

Figure I

Organization Chart - Fitness and Amateur Sport

(Adapted from Fitness and Amateur Sport, Annual Report, 1987/88)

the Olympic or Commonwealth Games. (And, as I will argue later in the thesis, the attraction of high-level competition has emerged as a dominant factor in decision-making vis a vis the television production/presentation of non-professional sport.)

By comparison, professional sports usually take place with

Table I*

National Sports Organizations in Canada:

Gender Representation

<u>Occupational Categories</u>		<u>Females (%)</u>
Executive Directors:	43	28%
Technical Directors:	40	23%
Sport Consultants:	20	30%
National Coaches:	11	9%
Program Coordinators:	50	48%
Marketing and Promotion:	13	31%
Total	<u>177</u>	<u>31% (57)</u>

(Adapted from Macintosh
and Beamish 1988:68)

* Figures are drawn from a survey conducted by the authors in 1986; totals above represent a 74% response rate to a questionnaire submitted to 240 officials, 38% of which were female.

the participation of privately owned teams (or sponsored individuals) in privately or municipally owned stadia, are observed by paying consumers, and are structured along entirely different economic criteria, in that virtually all participants (players,

coaches, officials) are paid for their labour in what is essentially a commercial, profit-oriented situation. In other words, the professional-based event occurs within the confines of private capital and is structured by its logic, while non-professional competition involves numerous agents or levels of the state, private industry, voluntary sector, sport bodies and athletic skill.

Although it may be solidly argued that the gap which has traditionally distinguished these two forms is rapidly closing (given a Ben Johnson/Carl Lewis sprint at a European meet which offers \$500,000 in appearance money (Maclean's, 8 August 1988), the above factors nonetheless point to what I summarize as two major and continuing areas of difference between professional and non-professional sport as socio-cultural activities in Canadian society: (i) consumer orientation (i.e. varying relationship with private capital) and (ii) relationship with political structures (i.e. the Canadian federal state). As I argue below in a brief outline of these differences, the role of sport in Canadian social life may be more fully explicated when examined from a perspective which links this cultural practice with political-economic structures. And, as I will suggest in the final part of this chapter, it is within the sport/broadcasting relationship that these structures of power intersect, and wherein differences between forms of sporting practice are seemingly neutralized.

Sport and Private Capital

It can be safely argued that sport has emerged in a popular consumer sense to become an entrenched part of socio-cultural experience in Canadian society. In the category of non-professional sport, especially in terms of active participation in sport/fitness activities, it was estimated in 1972 that 20 percent of all Canadians engaged in some form of regular physical activity/exercise (i.e. three times a week for at least 30 minutes) (Kirsh, Dixon and Bond 1973). By 1984, based on minimum fitness requirements of exercise three times a week for 30 minutes for at least nine months of the year, this figure had increased to approximately 55 percent of Canadians over the age of 14 (Canada Fitness Survey 1984). This surge in what I describe as the active disposal of leisure time has been linked to (i) a healthier population (and consequent reductions in health care expenditures (see Chapter 3) and (ii) the idea that it acts as a stimulus for the sporting goods industry (Challenge to the Nation 1981, Appendix E). Indeed, it is estimated that in 1987, retail sales of sporting goods and accessories totalled \$2.5 billion (Statistics Canada, 1988).¹⁴ Although the consumer-orientation of professional (or elite-level amateur) sport may assume a more "passive" form (in that consumers are not participating directly in the athletic activity or event), a more indirect form of participation also relates to the purchase of sporting goods, some of which are manufactured under license by professional leagues which profit directly from their sale (see also footnote 7).

In other terms, professional and non-professional sport differ

in the scale of their relationship with capital. While professional sport has historically fallen within the confines of private industry (see Chapter Two), it is only within recent years that corporate capital has found a viable market/advertising extension in community/amateur sport, notably mass participation events, and elite international sport, e.g. the Olympics. It is no longer unusual for a corporate letterhead to precede an amateur event, or for several companies to act as sponsors (which are often advertised through logos emblazoned on participants' T-shirts); and through the state-initiated Sport Marketing Council, corporate sponsorships are being sought for a range of amateur programs. In international sport, the logic is similar, but the scale is vastly different. For example, in preparation for the 1984 Los Angeles Summer Olympics, venues were built or renovated through corporate donations (hence, the "7-11 Velodrome", the "McDonald's Swimming and Diving Complex"), and it is commonplace to sell advertising space on arena boards for international hockey or figure skating. For the 1988 Calgary Games (as in Los Angeles), corporations were provided with the opportunity to purchase contracts which would effectively close out competitive advertising for selected goods and services, e.g. VISA's \$19 million sponsorship which excluded any other credit cards from being officially aligned with the Games (Citizen, 23 July 1987, p.B7). The 1988 Canadian Interuniversity Athletic Union (CIAU)'s football championship, the Vanier Cup, was sponsored by two United States-based corporations, American Express Canada Ltd. and Chrysler Canada Ltd., which provided approximately

\$300,000 to the CIAU in exchange for product promotion (which included stickers attached to players' helmets from the vehicle manufacturer) (Globe and Mail, 15 November 1988). Thus while the consumer orientation of professional and non-professional sport can differ in a participatory sense, relationships with capital can differ in scale, where capital is ever-present in professional sport, but is not necessarily the sole supporter of various types of non-professional activity. This is because amateur sport in Canada has been more traditionally dependent on or aligned with political structures than has pro sport. Although the state/sport relationship will be examined in more detail later in the thesis, it is valuable to provide a preliminary sense of this interaction as it has emerged as an important determining factor which underscores the role which sport plays in Canadian society.

Sport and the Canadian State

As a second point of difference between professional and non-professional athletics, it can be argued that one has a negligible relationship with the state, while the other has evolved a relationship which ranges from "arm's length" interaction to almost complete dependency. In basic terms, the state plays virtually no role in the organization, control and development of privately operated professional sport, with three notable exceptions.

The first of these relates to a specific occurrence, when the Canadian federal state took action to maintain the monopoly position of the Canadian Football League (CFL) in 1974. That year,

when a new American-based professional football league was created, league officials awarded a franchise to Canadian businessman John Bassett, who decided in turn to locate his team in Toronto. Fearing this encroachment of American interests would damage the indigenously operated CFL (held up as a national institution which embodies national unity and exemplifies unique qualities of Canadian culture), the federal state (represented by Health and Welfare Minister Marc Lalonde) threatened to enact legislation to prevent the establishment of such a franchise. Bassett chose to locate his team in the United States, and the legislation was never tabled (Beamish 1982:170).

A second example relates to political pressure which was exerted by state officials on the CFL during the summer of 1988, when the League attempted to initiate a restrictive clause into player contracts. Concerned over the number of players who were leaving the CFL to seek employment with another professional league, i.e. the U.S.-based National Football League, the proposed clause would conceivably have sanctioned any player who tried out for, but failed to catch on with, an American team by banning the player from employment with the CFL for the remainder of the season. The Department of Employment and Immigration requested that the CFL drop the proposed amendment (Globe and Mail, 11 August 1988).

Beyond this specific example, it can be further argued that (i) the state utilizes high-profile (especially televised) professional competition as a means of heightening the visibility

of officials or leaders (e.g. ceremonial Grey Cup kick-offs by Prime Ministers), and (ii) certain tax laws/structures which have a basis in federal law can be linked to corporate "entertainment" write-offs (e.g. bulk ticket purchases, expense accounts) and high tax brackets for athletes (Petrie 1975). But a more subtle relationship between state structures and professional leagues rests with the economic assistance provided in building stadia (Macintosh and Hollands 1983:50). As an example, the Ontario provincial state and municipality of Toronto will jointly own the Toronto "SkyDome" (having contributed \$30 million each to construction) with several private corporations when the new stadium is completed in 1989 (Citizen, 13 September 1986). The stadium will in turn host major league professional baseball games, professional football and soccer, and (once again bridging the "gap" between high performance and pro sport) will serve as a major feature of Toronto's bid for the 1996 Summer Olympic Games (Toronto Star, 12 July 1985; Globe and Mail, Report on Business Magazine, June 1988, pp.80-81). In a relatively understated fashion, then, the state may be viewed as lending occasional political, ideological and/or economic support to the private world of professional play. (Interestingly, of the eight remaining franchises in the CFL, only three are privately owned: the Hamilton franchise, by David Braley, the Toronto franchise, by Harry Ornest (who purchased the team from Carling-O'Keefe brewery in November, 1988), and the B.C. team, by a group headed by Murray Pezim. The other six are "community-owned" through a combination of local

business interests, individual or fan "membership", and municipal state involvement through ownership of stadia. However, each of these is financially weak and debt-ridden, and CFL executives are continuing to search for new private investors).

With regard to non-professional sport, the relationship is much more explicit. The Canadian state's organization at the federal, provincial and municipal levels includes branches which are designated to establish or administrate policy for a wide spectrum of sport-related matters, from international competition to the maintenance of parks. For example, the federal state structure includes a Ministry of State for Fitness and Amateur Sport, complete with a Minister of State, a Deputy Minister and 121 staff, along with a 1986/87 budget of \$86 million (Fitness and Amateur Sport Annual Report 1986/87), dispersed among NSO's and other agencies within the sport community such as the CAC and the Canadian Inter-University Athletic Union; provincial states include ministries of fitness, tourism and recreations (often included within the confines of a ministry of "culture"), and the Ontario Lottery Corporation is directly related to amateur sport funding through Wintario; municipalities normally maintain a parks and recreation branch which controls and operates facilities (arenas, swimming pools, tennis courts) and provides often extensive community recreation programs. Since the 1961 enactment of the Fitness and Amateur Sport Act, and given the increased focus on issues of fitness/health together with growth in the profile and prestige of high-level sport, branches of the state concerned with

sport activities have increased in number, size and complexity. Legislation pertaining directly to fitness and sport and related "duties" of the state (such as maintaining the general welfare of the population) has been enacted at all levels, thereby establishing a base of power for treating sport in an official capacity (e.g. the Ontario Athletics Control Act, Revised Statutes of Ontario 1980).

Different levels of the state will often combine to play a very complex role in Canadian non-professional sport. Two brief examples can be cited to illustrate how various levels of state can potentially intersect within a single non-professional competition. One is the "Inter-City Fitness Challenge" held each June since 1983 on "National Physical Fitness Day", established by Fitness and Amateur Sport, and sponsored by provincial ministries and municipalities. In this fitness-oriented promotion, citizens are encouraged to partake in some form of physical activity for a minimum of twenty minutes and (on an honour system) report their participation to City Hall. Public figures who hold office often take part to demonstrate their own dedication (however fleeting) to health (Globe and Mail, 7 June 1985). In this sense, the state may be viewed as taking more than a fiscal interest in sport, by articulating (through the visible participation of officials) a concern for the health and welfare of the Canadian population.

Another example lies with international-level competitions which are lobbied for and held in Canadian cities with the economic and political support of state structures. As a more specific

indication of this interaction, the recent attempt by nine Canadian cities to attract the 1994 Commonwealth Games involved regional governments (planning, promotion and bid expenditures totalling as much as \$350,000), provincial state agencies (assistance in the operation of facilities which play an essential role in any bid), and the federal state (which guaranteed \$50 million in supportive funding, contingent on a matching provincial grant, in the event a Canadian city was selected to host the Commonwealths) (Citizen, 13 May 1987, 7 November 1987; '94 Update, Public Relations and Promotions Group, Ottawa, Volumes 4 and 5, 1987). Victoria, British Columbia, was selected as the Canadian representative and then chosen as the host city for the 1994 Games; thus the \$100 million package of federal/provincial funding will be used to renovate older facilities, construct new sites, and cover expenses associated with the Games (e.g. construction of athlete accommodations which would then serve as student or low-income housing). The perceived benefits to local economies (tourist dollars, employment, housing) and local athletics or recreation (improved facilities for public use) thereby played an important role in establishing public support as part of the bid process.

Examples such as these begin to illuminate not only the role of sport in Canadian society, but the significance which the state (and its elected officials) have attached to sport and the importance attached by the sport community to state support. To briefly elaborate, I argue that the state clearly utilizes non-professional sport to demonstrate its attention to and

identification with the masses, whether in the sense of "ParticipAction"-type fitness (MP's completing aerobics on Parliament Hill) or hosting major international competitions as a showcase for Canada and Canadian athletes. (The Calgary Winter Olympics' figure skating competition, broadcast nationally by the CTV network, prominently featured the Minister of State for Fitness and Amateur Sport when Elizabeth Manley won a silver medal.) In other words, involvement in non-professional sport tends to demonstrate the "benevolent state", a structure of power which offers personal contact and acknowledgement of shared goals, which has the interests of the nation (and of the nation's people) at heart. In turn, non-professional sport has become relatively dependent on the state for both economic sustenance (whether in terms of program development, hosting of major events, or individual athlete support) and the establishment of a high public profile (news releases from Sport Canada regarding athletes or teams).

However, it is important to recognize that where there is political involvement and economic dependence, bare political concerns can rise to the surface and direct or re-direct policy and practice. This occurred in 1980 with the Western nation boycott of the Moscow Summer Olympics over the Soviet Union's presence in Afghanistan, when officials were compelled to demonstrate Canada's role as a western political ally ahead of (now innocuous concerns) of sport competition. Given the apparently volatile and changeable nature of the relationship, the interaction between the state and

amateur sport in Canadian society seems based on characteristic domination/subordination, where neither side presents an appearance of control or submission until some action is taken which results in a clash of vested interests. Furthermore, the form of this interaction seems to indicate a legitimate strength of power on the part of the state and its elected officials (and conceivably on the part of the sport system if its supports such a decision), when it assumes a potentially unpopular position based on considerations of "international concern" and "national duty". As I will argue in a later chapter, these are important issues when analyzing state power, but can overshadow the nature of the Canadian sport system as a state-related but sui generis structure which can indeed influence political policy and practice.

Sport and Television: A Preliminary Discussion

Although the relationship between private capital, the state and different categories of sport provides some account of the role which sport has in Canadian society, perhaps the strongest indicator of sport's place in our social fabric (and a point at which various structures sport, capital and the state intersect) rests with its (historically developed) relationship with the media. Although part of print media since the 19th Century and radio since the 1920's (Wise and Fisher 1974), television is often cited as the medium which has helped to popularize, expand and even alter sport since the 1950's (Clarke and Clarke 1982; Cantelon and Gruneau 1988:177-173). It has become increasingly apparent that (i)

sport (notably professional league and elite-international categories) has the capacity to draw huge audiences when presented on television, and (ii) complex economic and political relationships have developed between certain categories of sport, broadcasting and the state (e.g. the Crown Corporation CBC and the state agency responsible for the regulation of broadcasting, the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC)). To briefly expand on these points as a conclusion to this chapter, I offer a brief account of the relative prominence of sport on English-language television in Canada and cite two examples of the economic relationship between sport and television. At the present time, sports programming comprises approximately 6 percent of available broadcast time on English language television on Canadian networks, but represents 12 percent of viewing time (Kiefl et al 1985), i.e. the consumption of sports programming outstrips its availability (see Table II below). Clearly, there exists a popular following for sport which is difficult to match in other forms of broadcasting: an estimated one billion people viewed the World Cup (soccer) Final from Mexico City in 1986 (Globe and Mail, 28 June 1986), 250 million watched part of the 1987 World Track and Field Championships from Rome (Citizen, 8 September 1987), some 36 million households in the United States subscribe to the Entertainment and Sports Programming Network (ESPN), and 1.4 million Canadian households purchase pay-television's The Sports Network (TSN) (available on basic cable in September 1989) (Task Force on Broadcasting Policy, Report 1986:483; Globe and Mail, 27

August 1988). In Canada, the popularity of televised hockey is well-documented, from the near-legendary 50 percent (population) viewership of the 1972 Summit Series between Canada (using National Hockey League players for the first time in international competition) and the Soviet Union, to the 4.5 million who will watch at least some part of the Stanley Cup playoffs (CBC Research 1981; CBC Annual Report 1986-87). Telecasts of regional hockey remain the most widely followed sports programs in Canada (Citizen, 20 November 1986), and Hockey Night in Canada consistently ranks as one of the CBC's most highly rated regular programs (CBC Annual Reports, 1970/71 -1986/87). Significantly, the gender composition of audiences for non-professional athletics is more balanced than for professional sport productions, e.g. the audience for Sportsworld typically ranges around 45% females over 18 years of age and 45% males over 18 years of age (Bureau of Broadcast Measurement 1988; see also Chapter Six).

In 1985, both the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and private networks devoted approximately 9 percent of their budgets to sports productions (see Table III below). While much of sports programming is concentrated into weekend telecasts (as Cantelon et al comment, "...in the rhythm of work and leisure in industrial capitalist societies, the weekend has come to symbolize leisure itself" (1984b:38)) and is Canadian in origin, households can potentially receive 85 hours of programming spread throughout the week (depending on the time of year and whether American border stations are available from a cable service), 30 percent of which

can be non-Canadian (see Table IV below).¹⁵ This in turn raises another factor in examining the sport/ broadcasting relationship: the issue of Canadian content which is regulated by the CRTC and has been an issue since the inception of television in Canada (see Chapter Two).

Beyond these considerations, it is important to recognize the reciprocal economic relationship which exists between sport and the broadcasting industry: just as the industry profits from sports programming through advertising, television itself has emerged as

Table II
Availability and Viewing of Programs by Category
Canadian English-Language Network Television
(Percentages)

<u>Category</u>	<u>Broadcast Hours</u>	<u>Viewing Hours</u>
News/Public Affairs	23	18
Instruction	11	-
Sports	6	12
Drama	34	48
Variety/Music/Quiz	20	19
Other	2	3
Total	<u>100</u>	100
<u>Total Hours: 51,900</u>		(Kiefl <u>et al</u> 1985)

either a source of profit (or as an economic lifeline) for a variety of sports, professional and non-professional. Two examples

articulate this complex economic interdependence: the Canadian Football League's continuing efforts to survive with comparatively little support from the television industry, and the development of broadcasting contracts for the Summer and Winter Olympic Games.

To draw an example from the world of professional sport, the well-publicized (and seemingly terminal) illness of the Canadian Football League in 1987 was due in no small part to the dramatic reduction of the League's renewed television contract: a three-year \$33 million contract in 1982 (which included the CBC, CTV, and U.S.-based ESPN networks) became a three-year, \$4 million dollar contract in 1986 (including only the CBC and TSN) (Globe and Mail, 21 November 1986). The previously lucrative contract had permitted the dispersal of funds to bolster financially weak franchises, while one year following the new contract, one team had folded and numerous others were threatened with extinction. Furthermore, in an effort to reduce dependency on existing television networks, the CFL poured the funds from the new contract into establishing its own broadcasting network (Canadian Football Network, CFN), which resulted in an even greater reduction in available funds at the end of the 1987 season. (See, for example, documentation of the effect which the reduction had on the B.C. Lions franchise (Globe and Mail, 6 May 1989). Presently, Molstar Communications, which produces "Hockey Night in Canada" for the CBC, is negotiating a takeover of the CFN, and the league itself has signed a two-year, \$15 million contract with Carling-O'Keefe

Table IIIExpenditures on Sports Programming, CBCAnd Private Broadcasters (1984/85) (\$Millions/% of Budget)

<u>CBC</u>			<u>Private Broadcasters</u>		
English	30.7	(8.7)	CTV	29.1	(14.2)
French	21.5	(10.2)	Independents	7.6	(5.5)
			TVA	2.8	(4.1)
Total	52.2	(9.3)	Others	0.7	(4.0)
			Total	40.2	(9.3)

(Source: Adapted from Statistics
Canada Supplementary Survey For Task
Force on Broadcasting Policy, 1986)

Table IVAvailability and Viewing of SportsProgramming By Source, Canadian Network Television (%)

<u>Source*</u>	<u>Broadcast Hours</u>	<u>Viewing Hours</u>
Canadian	68	71
Foreign**	32	29
Total	100	100

(Source: Kiefl et al: 1985)

*Note: The source of programming is acknowledged as "Canadian" if (i) the production is controlled by a Canadian company or if the event takes place in Canada, or (ii) if production is controlled by a Canadian company and the event takes place outside of Canada but has Canadian athletes/teams participating.

**Note: The CBC programs approximately 15-20% of non-Canadian sports telecasts, while other privately-based networks such as CTV and TSN offer as much as 40% of non-Canadian originated sports programming.

(which is about to merge with Molson Breweries) (Globe and Mail, 11 May 1989).

As I argued earlier in this chapter, part of the profitability of recent Olympic Games has been due to exclusive contracts for advertising rights garnered from private corporations. In the same vein, the Olympic Games have emerged in the last two decades as a cyclical television spectacle, and contracts sought by the International Olympic Committee (the Olympic Movement's governing body) from international television have reflected this striking intimacy (see Table V below). For example, the 1988 Calgary Winter attracted approximately \$430 million (U.S.) in television revenues, \$309 million (U.S.) of which came from an American commercial network (which in turn charged advertisers \$166,000 (U.S.) for a spot advertisement) (Citizen, 4 October 1985; Maclean's, 14 December 1987; Globe and Mail, 25 January 1988). Part of the reason for the drastic increase over the 1984 Games in Sarajevo was the close proximity the Calgary Games would have to the North American television market, such that events could be shown in prime viewing hours, and expenditures could theoretically be recouped from advertising revenue.

Similarly, the drop in television revenue from the U.S. contract for the 1992 Albertville (France) Winter Olympics may be due to the apparent failure of the Calgary Games to draw large audiences in the United States (owing in part to the early exit of the U.S. National Hockey Team from the competition), and to the time zone difference between France and the United States which

will result in more tape-delayed presentations. But the increase in the contract for the 1992 Barcelona Summer Games identifies the continuing huge interest in the Olympics from corporate capital; indeed, it is estimated that should the Toronto bid for the 1996 Summer Games be successful, the American network television contract could reach as high as \$650 million

Table V

U.S. Television Rights Contracts

Olympic Games 1960-1992 (U.S. Millions of Dollars)

<u>Summer Games</u>			<u>Winter Games</u>		
<u>Year</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Contract</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Contract</u>
1992	Barcelona	\$401.0	1992	Albertville	\$243.0
1988	Seoul	\$350.0	1988	Calgary	309.0
1984	Los Angeles	225.0	1984	Sarajevo	91.5
1980	Moscow	85.0	1980	Lake Placid	15.5
1976	Montreal	25.0	1976	Innsbruck	10.0
1972	Munich	13.5	1972	Sapporo	6.4
1968	Mexico City	4.6	1968	Grenoble	2.5
1964	Tokyo	1.5	1964	Innsbruck	0.6
1960	Rome	0.6	1960	Squaw Valley	0.50

(Montreal Gazette, 11 May 1985;
Citizen 25 May 1988; Globe and Mail, 2 December 1988)

(U.S.) (Globe and Mail, 13 December 1988). Further to this, with the increasing rationalization of the broadcasting industry, it is conceivable that American cable networks (i.e. the equivalent of

Canadian pay-television) could engineer a bid for selected Olympic events, e.g. all basketball for ESPN, all soccer for Sportschannel, thereby inflating Olympic television revenues and the overall input of capital.

These examples serve as microcosms of a complex and mystifying set of social relations which have developed historically in Canadian society. In attempting to understand the social practice of modern sport earlier in this chapter, I argued that although the idealist perspective is an appealingly popular way of understanding sport, it is limited in its analytical dimensions, too hastily condemning institutions and modern sport solely on the basis of their corrupting influence on play and games. In arguing for a materialist approach to the study of sport, I suggested that the value of this tradition lies in its historical methodology, dialectical view of human agency/social structure interaction, and critical view of social change. In this regard, I noted that a materialist perspective can form the basis of a political economy of sport study, i.e. an approach which seeks to explain through analysis of social development, relationships and transformation in terms of those economic, political and ideological structures and forces which have to a great extent guided sport to its present form. In this way, a critical (and "imaginative") analysis of modern sport may be undertaken in an historical/relational context.

Citing the differences and similarities between various types of sport in Canadian society, I have touched on particular factors

of political economy which profoundly influence the role of sport in social life: private capital, the state at its various levels, and the intersection of these within the sphere of the television industry. However, this is only to be understood as an initial descriptive account of a set of existing relations which substantively introduces the central theme of the thesis: the production of culture and the reproduction of power. Prior to establishing a theoretical framework through which this set of relations may be more rigourously analyzed in a conceptual way, it is necessary to examine the historical roots of the sport/television dynamic in order to establish the way in which it has been shaped and re-shaped by identifiable, structured forces of power.¹⁶

Footnotes - Chapter 1

¹ See, for example, Snyder and Sprietzer 1975; Chapter 1 of Loy, Kenyon and Macpherson 1981; Section A of Hart and Birrell 1972; and Section A of Dunning 1972.

² Rader touches on, but does not pursue, an important concept in the analysis of televised sport: the notion of "flow" (Williams 1974: 68), where the presentation of (e.g.) ads or program promotions are not viewed as disruptive of the game, but part and parcel of its production. See also Chapters Three, Five and Six.

³ Gruneau (1988:10-12) has offered a recent account of this debate as it applies to the analysis of sport.

⁴ See Gruneau, Class, Sports and Social Development (1983:34-39) for a more complete analysis of Brohm. As he suggests, their analyses are noteworthy for the criticisms levelled at the American/European sporting establishments.

Metcalf (1974, 1976, 1987) and Gruneau (1983) offer excellent accounts of the way in which class antagonisms and economic forces lead to the formation of the first North American professional league, the N.H.L., in 1917. For a critical account of the social development of British sport, see Hargreaves (1986).

For an examination of class and stratification within high performance sport in Canada, see Beamish (forthcoming).

Part of this marketability of professional sport relates to the sale of merchandise (t-shirts, equipment) which has the pro league "seal" affixed to it (whether CFL, NFL, NHL or other organization), and to its high profile for advertisers and audiences on national television.

The "reserve system" and "option clause" refer to methods available to franchise owners to control an athlete's career through (i) an informal agreement with other owners to avoid athletes whose contracts have expired so that they will remain the property of the team which originally claimed them (through the a "draft" or other means) or (ii) the team will have, as part of the player's contract, the option to renew a contract for one year after its expiry (at a reduced rate of pay) or to release the player. Free agency in professional sport is essentially not "free" at all, since leagues often practice collusion with regard to players who wish to leave a team (thereby maintaining the reserve system) or have instituted a policy which requires any team employing a free agent to compensate the original team with players, cash or other means (see Beamish 1988:151-152). As Beamish points out, the struggle of athletes against this system has been anything but successful; as occurrences of August 1988 indicate, even Wayne Gretzky is subject to its constraints. It is true, however, that pro athletes tend to have some protection in the form of players' unions or associations (or agents who assist in the negotiation of contracts), while by contrast, high performance athletes are generally unorganized, and sign agreements ("Athlete/NSO Agreements") without representation or protection, e.g. the question of the disposition of their allowance in case of injury.

As Beamish has pointed out, however, there are also differences between pro sport and the capitalist process of production. For example, athletes cannot be replaced by machines, (although it can be argued that technology is utilized by owners to improve the quantity/quality of athletic commodity produced, e.g. artificial turf, fibre-glass hockey sticks and molded skates), and owners do not compete for capital by reducing expenditures on

wages (although the CFL may prove an exception to this) (1981a:66). It is also important to note the historical emergence of differences between professional sport labour and the capitalist production process, in order to understand why pro sport has come to exert such formidable control over other forms of sport labour, such as minor league and "semi-pro" sport.

¹⁰ Corporate sponsorship includes Esso Canada and the National Swim Team, Petro-Canada and the National Bobsledding and Luge Team, Apple Computers donation of computer technology to the National Sport and Recreation Centre, and sponsorship of individual athletes (e.g. Bio-Med System Corporation of Toronto's sponsorship of sprinter Angella Taylor-Issajenko, worth \$1,000 in income and \$50,000 in sports science/medicine services (Citizen, 25 July 1985; 26 February 1986), Edmonton Telephone's sponsorship of trap-shooter Susan Natrass (CBC Interview, "Midday", 22 August 1988)).

¹¹ For example, there are only 645 playing positions in major league North American baseball, 300 in Canadian professional football.

¹² In the two years preceding the Calgary Winter Olympics, numerous corporations offered to donate funds to Canada's Olympic Team through the sale of goods to the public, e.g. Maple Leaf Products' donation of \$.50 for every package of hot dogs sold.

¹³ In fact, since 1981, the National Capital Marathon has been supported by some form of corporate sponsorship: Adidas, Labatt's Breweries and Toshiba. The Wintario Lottery Corporation donated funds to the event in 1982 after Adidas withdrew support, and the race was temporarily cancelled in April 1986 until a new sponsor was found (Citizen, 15 April 1986).

¹⁴ All figures are in Canadian dollars unless otherwise noted. This figure includes bicycles and bicycle repair, and equipment such as balls, bats, weightlifting and exercise apparatuses, but is exclusive of clothing, uniforms and shoes (Statistics Canada, Retail Trade Catalogue, January 1988).

¹⁵ This figure can vary depending on whether it is the fall season, when most professional leagues are on a playing schedule, or an Olympic or Commonwealth Games year, when programming might increase by as much as 200 hours (CBC Annual Report, 1984/85). For example, CBC Sports scheduled approximately 180 hours of programming for coverage of the Seoul Summer Games, 75 percent of

which were presented live.

¹⁴ The Toronto bid for the 1996 Summer Games indicates a still-developing situation in which the state and private capital are partners in high performance sport. The bid itself will cost roughly \$12 million, primarily directed toward lobbying influential members of the International Olympic Committee and selling the attractions of Toronto as a potential international host. Most interestingly, the bid itself is now completely funded, with \$7 million from private capital, \$3 million from the federal government, and \$2 million from the Ontario provincial government. The investment on the part of private capital is divided between cars (\$4 million) and a combination of airline tickets, office space and discounts on hotel accommodations for international guests (\$3 million) (Globe and Mail, 13 December 1988; see also Chapter Six for an extended discussion of state/capital interactions through the Sport Marketing Council).

Chapter Two

The Dynamics of Development: A Brief History of Sport and Broadcasting in Canada

The historical saga of the emergence of sport and broadcasting in Canada is underscored by the distinct presence of shifting political, economic and ideological pressures and forces which marked the development of Canadian society generally. More pointedly, it is simply impossible to consider the evolution of (i) sport, (ii) broadcasting and (iii) their interrelationship, without an examination of prevalent and powerful structures or ideas which had a guiding hand in their formation: the Canadian federal state, agents of private capital, and economic interests outside Canada, primarily from the United States.

As I argue in the following chapter, the sport/broadcasting relationship emerged slowly but steadily out of a complex combination of the above concerns, facilitated by such technological advances as the printing press, transportation, wireless transmission of signals, microwave linkages and satellites. As sport developed in popularity as "spectacle", private industry sought to expand its availability to a consuming public; as radio developed as a commercial enterprise, the state moved to establish control over what was viewed as growing cultural encroachment from foreign sources; as television developed as a state-based enterprise, domestic and foreign commercial interests attempted to penetrate its boundaries, and the state responded with

a series of commissions, task forces and committees intended to establish a "uniquely Canadian" system. Through it all, sport became more rationalized as it diverged into more resolutely "amateur" and "commercial" forms, emerging as a source of profitable enterprise for private interests and ideological nationalism for the state, enhanced in part by a national broadcasting system. The practice of sport at a high level of competition became not only attractive source material for dominant political and economic sectors, but evolved into an organized and powerful sui generis system which could eventually engage in struggle for control with other interests. More importantly, the history of sport and broadcasting partly demonstrates the ways in which particular sources of power often cooperated, and sometimes clashed, but continued to establish a formidable base in Canadian society.

To provide a succinct narrative of this richly endowed history, and to arrive at a point where these political, economic and ideological factors may be conceptualized as power (i.e. building a political economy of televised sport), and bearing in mind those political and indigenous/foreign economic forces noted above, this chapter is organized into accounts of: (i) developments in sport in late 19th and early 20th century Canada, leading to the establishment of a "groundwork" relationship between sport and broadcasting through the medium of radio in the 1920's; (ii) the development of state-based national television in the 1950's through the formation of an English-language network, and the role

which sport played in the expansion of television as a popular broadcast medium; (iii) the emergence of competitive privately-based television in the early 1960's, in which sport worked as a catalyst in the struggle over industry control; and (iv) significant developments in the relationship between the Canadian television industry and non-professional sport in the late '60's and early 1970's. (The initial part of Chapter Five offers some detail on the emergence of sport/television in the 1980's.) This discussion of overlapping "periods" is paralleled by an account of an emerging state-based system of high performance sport in Canada, and the role which the organizing bodies of amateur sport, the national sport organizations (NSO's), played in attempting to elevate the profile, and thus the political and economic support, of non-professional sport through television exposure.

Establishing a Bond: Sport and Radio 1920-1950

As alluded to in the opening chapter, organized sport in Canadian society has its roots in the 19th formation of sporting clubs, which served as a site of athletic opportunity and social contact for the military and economic elite of the time. Although the expansion of sport in a popular sense is generally attributed to the greater involvement of private capital and eventual formation of restructured commercial cartels in professional sport (Metcalf 1987:164-172), the Canadian state played both official and unofficial roles in the development of sport. While the initiation of the Strathcona Trust in 1909 is often viewed as the

first sign of economic involvement by the state in amateur sport, there is evidence of more unofficial state support of sport in the 19th Century, e.g. a Dominion Rifle Match Association contest held in Ottawa in 1881 was attended by the Governor-General, Prime Minister and Minister of Militia, and offered prize money of \$5,000 "donated by the government and banks" (Wise and Fisher 1974:177). In addition, the government-donated Stanley, Grey and Allan Cups were initially awarded for amateur hockey and football champions. Similarly, private entrepreneurial interests were active in promoting sport well before the formation of the National Hockey League in 1917, i.e. as the possibilities of earning a livelihood through sport grew, promotion of circuit boxers and wrestlers, wages for baseball players and prize money for rowing, as well as for running/horse races (the latter sponsored by Joseph Seagram), became common during the 1870's and 1880's (Metcalf 1987:159-163; Redmond 1985:345). For a brief period in the 1860's, the disdain for professionalism expressed by middle and upper class sporting clubs was temporarily laid aside in favour of recruiting working class men for competition (although as Metcalf (1976:97) and Palmer (1983:80) point out, there were strict limits to this "democratization", which occurred at the playing level only). As Metcalf suggests, it was from the ranks of commercial sport, supported by the telegraph and press of the latter half of the 19th Century, where individual athletes emerged as national heroes (1987:174), e.g. the professional sculler Ned Hanlan, who was initially sponsored by a group of Toronto businessmen, and whose

exploits and "value" to Canada were widely reported and debated in the media (Wise and Fisher 1974:104-105; Brown 1980; Metcalfe 1987:178-179).

The expansion of sport at all levels, in the education system as an element of military discipline or drill, in the elite amateur ranks through the growth of clubs bent on securing the amateur ideal, or at the level of small entrepreneurial involvement, carried with it a surge in interest and spectatorship (Gruneau 1983:119-122). While sports such as horse racing, football and hockey went through various class-based shifts between "amateur" and "professional" in the early part of the 20th Century, the "immediacy" of experiencing the drama of high level competition grew in importance, manifested through either broadening interest in attending games or consumption of growing press attention to the world of sport. As Howell and Howell (1969:148) point out, "...after the turn of the century, newspapers rapidly expanded their coverage of sporting events...(and) better photographic equipment" permitted the embellishment of stories. According to Wise and Fisher (1974:306), in the period prior to World War I, crowds would gather outside newspaper offices to receive telegraphed reports of hockey scores, and W.A. Hewitt (Foster Hewitt's father, later public relations director of the Ontario Racing Commission) helped develop an outdoor "scoreboard" so people in Toronto could keep abreast of World Series scores. Metcalfe suggests the expanded accessibility of organized hockey through school and church leagues, together with resistance against Central

Canada's control of the sport, were key factors in the popular growth of the sport as both competitive and spectator pastimes (1987:70-73). The advent of artificial ice in 1911/12 (in Vancouver and Victoria) facilitated this expansion, so that "...by 1914, inter-and intra-town leagues were in evidence from Halifax to Victoria" (1987:67).

The relationship between the press, hockey and popularity/consumption is important in understanding what can be described as the "initial" sport/broadcasting interaction, i.e. radio broadcasts of professional hockey. It is of further importance to recognize that, as in the development of organized sport in the 19th Century, particular forms of economic power (public and private) worked to shape the development of Canadian broadcasting in the 1920's. Two factors are of historical importance here: (i) commencing with the ownership by Marconi Company of Canada (a subsidiary of Marconi Company in Britain) of radio station XWA (later CFCE) in Montreal, radio in Canada was initially an enterprise based on private capital, uncontrolled by the state; and (ii) by 1922, when radio stations were operating on a wider scale, almost all were owned by radio equipment manufacturers/ suppliers or by newspaper companies (Peers 1969:4-6). By 1922/23, there were 62 commercial broadcasting licenses issued by the Department of Marines and Fisheries in Canada, 32 of which were in operation; by comparison, the United States had over 550 established stations (Royal (Fowler) Commission on Broadcasting, Report, 1957:297; Peers 1969:6). For example, radio station CFCA in Toronto was owned by the Star Printing and

Publishing Company (publisher of the Toronto Star), and it was by this station that the last period of a hockey game between North Toronto and Midland was broadcast (by Norman Albert, not Foster Hewitt) from the Toronto Mutual Street Arena on February 8, 1923 (Wise and Fisher 1974:301; Troyer 1980:68). Foster Hewitt (who then worked for the Star and later owned CFCA) broadcast part of a game (with the technical assistance of telegraph and telephone) on the same station March 22, 1923. The first "play by play" hockey game was broadcast on CKCK Regina (owned by the Leader-Post) in March 1923 (between Edmonton and Regina of the Western Hockey League), and the CNR's more powerful Ottawa station presented the first "sponsored" game (albeit without commercials), a Stanley Cup playoff between the Ottawa Senators and Montreal Canadiens in April, 1924 (Troyer 1980:28-29; Peers 1969:27; MacNeil and Wolfe 1980:91; Weir 1965:17, 19-20). While the power capacity of these stations was relatively low (50-500 watts) and reception often poor (prompting those with radio sets to listen to more powerful and diversified U.S. stations), hockey proved popular with advertisers (such as the makers of Beehive Corn Syrup) by the late '20's, due to an expanded market created through the simultaneous availability of newspaper space and radio air time.

While the early years of radio and commercial sponsorship vis a vis sport focused on professional hockey, and later included horse racing and football, non-professional athletics were becoming more attached to political structures, through (e.g.) provincial/federal state grants to the 1920, '24 and '28 Canadian

Olympic and international hockey teams, and through the relative successes achieved in international competition, where athletes such as Percy Williams and Ethel Catherwood (known to the public, through the press, as the "Saskatoon Lily") were heralded in the press as national heroes (West 1973; Broom and Baka 1979:15; Consentino and Leyshon 1975:25-30; Howell and Howell 1969:267-270). (It is interesting to note the Allan Cup (senior amateur hockey league) winners were selected as the Canadian representative in the International Ice Hockey Federation Championships at the 1920 Antwerp Olympic Games, and were supported by a travel grant of \$2,000 from the Manitoba government (Howell and Howell 1969:217). The team, the Winnipeg Falcons, won the tournament, and the selection of amateurs to represent Canadian hockey provided a further division in a still blurry amateur/professional dichotomy.) While privately-based professional sport drew attention on the basis of on-going league competition and the "home team", amateur-level sport existed on much more tenuous ground. Success or failure in professional or league sport was fleeting in terms of schedules which brought teams together time and again, but "high" achievement in amateur sport carried more "rational" implications, since victory would be at the expense of the rest of the civilized world.¹ The ideological essence of amateur athletics was therefore profound at an early stage, since this form of sporting practice tended to maintain Victorian ideals of discipline and achievement without the associated vulgarity of commercialism (Mallea 1975), and afforded opportunities for hero-making which promoted the

individual agent as triumphant over barriers to achievement.² While the commercialism associated with league sport, the press and early radio provided an underlying cohesion to the broadcasting of hockey games, there emerged a stronger notion of appropriation in terms of non-professional sport and its relationship to the media, i.e. the underlying characteristics linking athletic achievement, front page stories and radio reports of these victories³ were those achievements themselves, which occurred in a unique capacity of international competition. In terms of profitability, respective economic and ideological criteria seemed to differentiate the categories of professional and amateur sport even further.

The above contrast between different spheres of sport, which identifies the early formal activity of the state in economically supporting amateur sport, somewhat parallels the contrast between differing interests of the state and private capital with regard to broadcasting in the 1920's. Radio in this decade followed a very irregular and scattered development, with few national linkages over a vast geography (apart from the pioneering CNR network of 1924-32), and a marked movement toward an American-style commercial system rather than a "national service" fashioned after the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) (Weir 1965:19-32). By the late 1920's, most stations had commercial sponsors, although they varied widely in terms of direct, over-the-air "selling", e.g. CNR stations did not permit commercials even though programs were often sponsored. This increasing commercialism, together with the

overwhelming competition of U.S. stations, availability of increased transmission capability and a "troublesome" Jehovah's Witnesses station in Toronto, lead to the establishment of the Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting (the Aird Commission) in 1929 (Peers 1965:30-36; Weir 1965:97-103).

The Aird Commission recommended the establishment of a government-based national broadcasting service to be known as the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC). The rationale for this hinged on an argument that "in the interests of Canada and Canadians", the nation could "be adequately served only by some form of public ownership, operation and power behind it" (Aird Commission Report 1929:5-6; Peers 1965:44-46). Commercialization would be offset with the establishment of a system of license fees for financial support, in the promotion of "national unity" through the "nation-building potential" of radio (Report 1929:6). In many ways, the Report argued for the British model of "quality programming", condemning the "crass commercialism" of American programs pervading Canadian radio. By 1929, Toronto station CFRB ("RB" for the owner, Rogers Batteryless radio suppliers, and a broadcaster of a variety of sporting events) and the La Presse station CKAC had joined the U.S.-based CBS network, while the Toronto Telegram's station had joined RCA-owned NBC, as had CFCF in Montreal (owned by Canadian Marconi, in turn partly owned by RCA) in 1930 (Peers 1969:57-58).

Sport continued to grow as a programming staple of private radio: by 1931, General Motors had entered into a five-year

contract to sponsor National Hockey League games, beginning in Toronto and Montreal and expanding to 33 stations by 1934 (Weir 1965:85; MacNeil and Wolfe 1980:84, 91; General Motors Hockey Broadcast News, May 1934:1). Western Canadian Professional Hockey League games were sponsored by Imperial Tobacco on CJAC (owned by the Southam family's Edmonton Journal) (MacNeil and Wolfe 1980:92; Prang 1965:16). Even when the CRBC began operating in 1932 and broadcasting Saturday Night Hockey, private stations continued to broadcast hockey programs as they were generally able to retain corporate sponsorship or attract new advertising: when General Motors' contract expired in 1935, Imperial Oil signed on as and remained the major new sponsor of hockey broadcasts on private and public radio until 1976. Although private broadcasters considered the advent of the CRBC's "civil service" programming to be an encroachment on private interests and a signal to the end of "popular" (i.e. U.S.) programming not initially carried by the CRBC, the advent of public radio instead catered to a market which evidently desired a variety of programming (Weir 1965:186-191). In addition, corporate advertising interests did find their way onto CRBC's growing list of "spectaculars" or special events programming, e.g. Imperial Tobacco's support of two-way transatlantic reports of the 1934 British Empire Games (1965:196).

A clear relationship was drawn between broadcasting, the state and sport in a more ideological sense when, during a Parliamentary Committee's 1936 hearings concerning the direction of broadcasting in Canada, it was stated that more trans-Canada network programming

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was desirable over and above Saturday Night General Motors Hockey (House of Commons Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting, Proceedings, 1936). When the CRBC was changed to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation through the 1936 Broadcasting Act, it began to accept a limited number of sponsored U.S. programs, subject to the provision that "goods advertised were made or distributed by companies in Canada"; apart from Imperial Tobacco musical broadcasts on Sunday afternoons and Imperial Oil's sponsorship of hockey broadcasts, few Canadian programs had secured sponsors of any kind (House of Commons, Debates, 8 February 1938:247; Peers 1969:229). If radio broadcasting supported by the state was to reach diverse regions of the country, then sport was a continuing form of programming which would ostensibly meet this goal. As Troyer suggests (ignoring the reality of a female listening audience),

By 1935, there was probably no small Canadian boy who wasn't listening to Foster Hewitt and saving Beehive Corn Syrup labels, in return for which he could get, by mail, pictures of King Clancy, Lionel Conacher, and other NHL immortals.
(1980:68)

Once the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation was in operation as a national, state-funded broadcasting service, its coverage of sport was generally limited to events of "national or international prominence", e.g. hockey, the English Derby (from the BBC), the World Series (NBC) and the Harmsworth speedboat races (CBC Annual Report 1933/34:16). By 1940, with two national networks (the Trans-

Canada and Dominion) and an overseas service in operation, coverage was extended to the Davis Cup (BBC), Dominion Lacrosse Championships, and the Henley Regatta. Further to this, much of CBC's programming was carried by many of the 72 existing, and often more powerful, private radio stations. Sports programming was emphasized as entertainment for overseas troops in Britain during World War II, with NHL games, boxing, football and regattas recorded and re-broadcast by the BBC (Weir 1965:236, 239; CBC Annual Reports 1938/39 - 1942/43).

Clearly, there seemed little need for the state or the CBC to legitimate an increase in sports programming when intended for a national military effort or to "lift spirits" at home. The state was similarly disposed to an argument of national emergency with the passing of the National Physical Fitness Act in 1943, legislation designed to "promote the physical fitness of the people of Canada" through federal/provincial agreements on sport and physical fitness, as a response to an apparent lack of fitness on the part of military recruits (National Physical Fitness Act 1943, section 4; West 1973:35; Gear 1978:18; Macintosh et al 1987:19). Related to this effort by the state to develop a healthier population was the initiation of a CBC series called "Sports College" in 1944, 15-minute programs on exercise, sport, personalities, skills and diet. The series, which ran until the 1960's, was geared to youth (who could become College "members") and was based on the motto, "Keep Fit, Work Hard, Play Fair, Live Clean" (a relatively undisguised Victorian notion of discipline and

gentlemanly play) under the guidance of Lloyd Percival, chair of the National Council of YMCA's (CBC Annual Reports 1943/44, 1944/45; "Sports College", 19 January 1946, CBC Vancouver).

(Although the literature tends to emphasize concerns of defense and nationalism, or the structuring of a relationship between government and NSO's (Macintosh et al 1987:20) in the above legislative action and (conceivably) the CBC's "Sports College" series, such an explanation seems oversimplified. As I have pointed out, part of the tension underlying the emergence of organized sport related to the incompatibility of amateur and professional categories, i.e. the pursuit of sport as play or as profit. But another aspect of this tension was linked with the apparent incompatibility of sport for profit and sport for fitness, in that, despite the existence of a relationship between them, they were (and continue to be) based on a totally different set of ideas. As state measures related to general health and welfare, the National Physical Fitness Act and "Sports College" can be cited as accumulative efforts which bear a strong legitimating quality: a more fit population results in fewer health costs to the state, and state promotion of fitness (as I argued in the opening chapter) characterizes political power as benevolent. A more telling point, however, is the state's general inclination to (i) maintain power and (ii) to do so without jeopardizing (except in temporary or inconsequential ways) the structure of capitalist enterprise. It seems that the state's action, whether through legislation or a broadcast medium, runs a deeper course than concerns of defense or

a nation's health, to the core of the nature and role of political power in capitalist society; see related arguments in Chapters Three, Four and Six.)

By 1949/50, CBC English radio devoted over 380 hours of programming to sport (about 2.5 percent of total spoken programming), now including Canadian Open Golf and boxing from Madison Square Garden in New York. This figure rose to 516 hours in 1950/51 (4 percent) when "Canadian Sports Round-Up" and "CBC Sports Page" (featuring stories and interviews from professional and amateur sport) debuted (CBC Annual Reports 1949/50, 1950/51). By the time television began in Canada, sports programming on state-subsidized radio had increased to 615 hours per year due to expanded coverage of Olympic trials in track (thereby permitting limited exposure of certain female athletes) and rowing, and coverage of the Games themselves from Helsinki (attended by a CBC reporter) (CBC Annual Report 1952/53).

Despite the attention paid to the area of amateur sport by CBC radio productions, by the early 1950's, broadcast sport had a decidedly commercial/professional slant, due in part to the slow development of an organized system of Canadian amateur sport and in part to the profitable popularity of pro sport for advertising interests. In the area of sports programming on radio, it appears that broadcast decisions were determined by (i) a tendency to cater to the perception of what were the most popular "indigenous" sports, such as NHL games and Big Four Football, (ii) those U.S.-based sports which were understood to have an established Canadian

following, such as boxing and baseball, and (iii) athletics reminiscent of a declining British tradition, e.g. rowing and horse racing (all of which were male-organized and male-dominated). Within this realm, the key rationale for sports programming on radio was evidently informed by that which guided other categories of programming: a policy of diversity which would conceivably contribute to the easing of tension or controversy brought about by the CBC's mandate to establish a public/national service which catered to a range of Canadian tastes and which maintained audiences.

However, as Canadian-based television was introduced (and became astoundingly popular in a very short time), tension and conflict escalated among the many players involved in its progression and transformation. As I argue below, changes in the world of sport and the development of television broadcasting met (or clashed) at crucial junctures in the 1950's and '60's, and the implications of this intersection were profound for organized competitive sport and broadcasting alike.

Television and Sport: Beginnings 1952-1966

The pressure on uncontrolled private broadcasters (in Canada) to become mere channels for American commercial material will be almost irresistible...It seems desirable to use appropriate American television programmes and to make suitable agreements with the Canadian private stations...(but) these should depend on the organization of a national system of television production and control. (Royal Commission on Arts, Letters, and Sciences, Report

1951:301-302)

By the late 1940's, pressures to establish a Canadian-based system of television were mounting as a result of several factors: (i) growing evidence of the "inevitable" encroachment of a more developed U.S. television industry into Canada through the availability of border station signals (similar to the situation of radio in the 1920's), (ii) applications to the Ministry of Revenue (the department responsible for broadcasting) for private television licenses were beginning to emanate from foreign sources such as Famous Players (U.S.) and Marconi Company (Britain), and (iii) efforts by radio/television equipment manufacturers to establish stations were increasing (Peers 1979:10-11). As of 1950, 30,000 television sets had been sold in Canada, and over 100,000 were sold by the time two Canadian stations went on the air in September 1952. Clearly, the true advent of television in Canada was directly related to uncontrolled signals received from the United States which devoted significant air time to sports programming:

In October 1948, Buffalo and Detroit were linked by coaxial cable with other midwest cities - just in time for World Series baseball. In Toronto, people flocked to see the only barroom television set, at the Horseshoe Tavern, on Queen near the corner of Spadina. (Peers 1979:15)

In late 1948, the Minister of Revenue, Brooke Claxton (a former member of the Radio League who had helped draft the 1936 Broadcasting Act), suggested to the cabinet that a Royal Commission

be established to investigate the problems associated with the start-up of Canadian-based television, and to study the arts and culture in Canada generally.⁴ The central problem was viewed, as in the case of radio, as the incompatibility of public/national interest with private/entrepreneurial concerns; television in the United States was essentially controlled by program sponsors and Canadian television would most assuredly drift into the same "vulgar" system without state intervention. Based on a class argument of cultural divergence between "high" and "mass" products, and on an ideological argument emphasizing the national importance of television, the Royal Commission on National Development on the Arts, Letters and Sciences (chaired by Vincent Massey) determined that the CBC should be the central programmer and regulator of television broadcasting in Canada, in order to avert the "advertising industry" equivalent of U.S. television (Massey Commission Report, 1951:42-48, 304-305; Weir 1965:250-252; Peers 1979:21-23).⁵ The Commission further recommended that private stations be licensed only when expanded technological connections were in place, thereby permitting the CBC to "feed" programs to non-public stations (Massey Commission Report, 1951:302-303). With many of the Commission's recommendations accepted by Parliament and a House of Commons Broadcasting Committee in 1951, television began in Montreal and Toronto in 1952, and pressure mounted "almost immediately" for the establishment of a national linkage, as the "invasion from the U.S." was approaching Vancouver (Peers 1979:27).

Interestingly, the anticipated scheduling of American-based

television programs on CBC did not occur immediately, but for an essential economic reason rather than a nationalist one. While the CBC had carried a variety of American radio programs since 1936, it was required to pay the originating U.S. network only 15 percent of revenues accrued from Canadian sponsors. At the request of advertising agencies and corporate sponsors which produced the bulk (75 percent) of U.S. television programs, the three U.S. networks demanded 70 percent of such revenues for the use of imported television shows, viewing the CBC as a state system of television which subordinated advertisers (Weir 1965:229; Time (Canada), 12 January 1953; Barnouw 1970:22-36; Peers 1979:27. A rate of 50 percent of station advertising revenue was eventually agreed upon.) On the other side of the coin, pressures to expand television into the private sector (or to turn its control over to commercial interests) also emanated from privately-owned Canadian media, notably newspaper/radio companies headed by Jack Kent Cooke and Foster Hewitt, and from U.S. interests such as RKO Pictures (House of Commons Debates, 3 December 1952:313; Peers 1979:44). Under an initial policy of "one-city, one-station", licenses for seven private stations were recommended by the CBC in 1953 when it was determined that the emergence of a national system would be facilitated by extending television into the private sector (CBC Annual Report 1952/53).

The cultural concerns (and British ties) emphasized by the Massey Commission (and partly by the CBC) were reinforced and to some extent legitimated by the 1953 coverage of the coronation of

Queen Elizabeth II, and the 1954 telecast of the British Empire and Commonwealth Games held in Vancouver (see below). In 1953, 560,000 television sets were sold in Canada, and 60 percent of Canadian homes were estimated to have sets by 1956 (Peers 1979:44-45; Weir 1965:261). The costs of domestic production were beginning to climb, however, bringing Canadian-based programming on the CBC down to 50% in 1956, from 67% in 1954 (CBC Annual Reports 1953/54 to 1956-57), and more American productions were purchased for prime time.

Faced with increasing costs and declining Canadian content on the national network, another Royal Commission was established to examine the state of Canadian broadcasting. Chaired by James Fowler (a Montreal businessman), Edmund Turcotte (an editor and former ambassador) and James Stewart (like Aird, chair of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce), the Fowler Commission ultimately suggested a series of wide-reaching recommendations. Included among these were statements similar to those of the Aird and Massey Commissions on the importance of broadcasting to "national identity, education and enlightenment", a suggestion that the CBC seek increased revenue from commercial sources, and a recommendation that a separate regulatory body, to be called the Bureau of Broadcast Governors, be established to ensure minimum levels of Canadian content were maintained and so-called "second stations" would avoid evolving into American affiliates (Fowler Commission Report, 1957:75-76; Weir 1965:312-313). A new Broadcasting Act in 1958 established the Bureau of Broadcast

Governors (BBG) to ensure "the efficient operation of a national broadcasting system and the provision of a varied and comprehensive broadcasting service of a high standard that is basically Canadian in content and character" (Broadcasting Act, 1958, Section 10). Thus the issue of U.S. encroachment was dealt with through state action which would ostensibly secure the "Canadian" in Canadian television, as the BBG would regulate licensing of private stations and monitor compliance with an established minimum of 55 percent Canadian content regulation. It is interesting to note that when "second station" hearings commenced in 1960, it was a direct linkage to sport which culminated in a highly publicized clash between the state and private entrepreneurs, and, as I will argue, initiated the shape of a sport/television relationship which has in many ways persisted to the present.

Historians of Canadian sport generally suggest that the relationship between sport and television developed "naturally", almost as a matter of course, for two reasons. First, sports programming was a mainstay of public and private radio in Canada by the 1950's, with roughly 6 percent of air time devoted to sporting events and sport-related shows. Secondly, early American television, available to an important segment of the Canadian population located along the Canada/U.S. border, was anchored by sports telecasts, notably baseball, boxing and wrestling (i.e. commercially sponsored pro sport) (Barnouw 1970). In other words, by the time Canadian-based television began in 1952, programming

from radio and U.S. network television sources was in place as part of our cultural diet. But it is misleading to suggest sports programming assumed a "natural" place on the Canadian television menu, since this would have ostensibly limited programming to areas such as sponsored hockey and inexpensive American imports. In fact, in an effort to emulate the diversity of programming available on radio while limiting the presence of American products, the CBC attempted to diversify programming in order to accommodate a "range of tastes" in line with a still-present mandate of a "national service" (CBC Annual Report 1952/53). For example, by the second year of programming, CBC television presentations of sport included track and field, water polo, ski instruction and talk shows, along with some U.S.-based productions of boxing, wrestling and baseball. The production of sport, characterized only partially by what readily "fit in" to schedules and budgets, was more closely linked to three other factors: (i) the burgeoning interest in international-level sport in the 1950's, marked particularly by the media's fervoured accounts of the drive for the four-minute mile, which captured the public imagination; (ii) the emergence of a more complex and widespread system of state-based amateur level sport in Canada toward the end of the decade; and (iii) the continuing political and ideological emphasis on state-based television as a bearer of nationalism and promoter of unity, and the role which sport could conceivably play in support of this. In this regard, sport itself was becoming more aligned with sentiments of national unity and international prestige.

While movements toward a more elaborate national system of amateur sport did not emerge in full force until the end of the 1950's, the dramatic spectacle (and possibilities for "spectacular" television) of international sport were made quite visible with the television coverage of the 1954 British Empire and Commonwealth Games from Vancouver. The Games were anticipated internationally for the "Dream Mile" race which involved the top three or four male runners of the time, and represented the first attempt at large-scale coverage by the CBC. With planning underway since October 1953, the organization of production included: the securing of world rights to the Games (whereby CBC would provide film footage for overseas broadcasters) in January 1954, the lease of an American network's microwave system which would link Vancouver to Eastern Canada via Seattle and Buffalo, a production staff of 140, live presentations of opening and closing ceremonies along with Saturday events, and taped one-hour packages flown daily to Toronto (CBC Annual Report 1954/55; "1954 British Empire and Commonwealth Games", Broadcast, 7 August 1954). The production of the Games was also sponsored (with commercials) by Northern Electric, a leading manufacturer of radio, television and household appliance equipment.

The Games included what became known as the "Miracle Mile" involving two sub-four minute achievements in one race, by Great Britain's Roger Bannister and John Landy (a Canadian runner, Richard Ferguson, finished the race in third place), filmed by one camera and described (sparingly) by a single commentator. The Games

in general, and the mile race especially, embodied the dramatic entertainment possibilities represented by international-level sport for a "national" audience (i.e. where television was in place), and provided a highly visible showcase for elite-calibre athletes, male and female. Indeed, it is interesting to note that, while videotape/film evidence of female competitors from the '54 British Empire and Commonwealth Games is sparing, BBC productions of the 1958 Games from Wales (which were carried by the CBC) emphasize a broadly acknowledged delineation of male/female athletic roles. This is to say that female competitors are noted for their non-sport roles of marital status, parenthood or extra-athletic activities or occupation, noted in commentary such as, "...in lane 5, Mrs. Willard, a 23-year old secretary; in lane 6, Mrs. Young, a mother of two..." (BBC Broadcast, "1958 British Empire and Commonwealth Games", 28 July 1958). As I argue later in the thesis, in this form of stereotyping, the primary recognition (within broadcasting, for example) of male athletes as skilled competitors remains a secondary one for female athletes, and works to support dominant/subordinate gender relations within the construction of meanings associated with sport.

If televised production of the Games was instrumental in establishing a closer relationship between broadcasting and sport, Canadian performances at the Games pointed, in a very public way, to the relatively low level of Canadian amateur sport development.⁶ Together with defeats of Canadian teams in international hockey (by the Soviet Union) and so-called "poor" performances in other world-

level competitions, the Games may well have been a factor which contributed to the "receptive atmosphere for the federal government during its deliberations...about providing financial support for amateur sport" (Macintosh et al 1987:14). This in turn supports another argument, that the historical narrative tracing forces and events which shaped sports broadcasting in Canada is incomplete without consideration of parallel activities which initially appear at some distance from, and later merge with, broadcasting: the development of a state-based system of international calibre high performance sport.

As I have pointed out above, Canadian representation in international level sport garnered some small measure of government support in the 1920's, through grants to Olympic teams. However, it was not until the 1950's that significant movements were made toward greater state involvement (primarily economic) in amateur sport, culminating in the formation of legislation, the Fitness and Amateur Sport Act, in 1961. To summarize a complex series of circumstances which lead to formal state involvement in sport, four interconnected factors may be alluded to.

First, the Canadian Sports Advisory Council (CSAC) emerged out of a meeting of NSO's in 1951 to become an important lobbyist for federal government funding of sport. Consisting of NSO representatives and influential fitness officials or bureaucrats such as Lloyd Percival and Doris Plewes,⁷ the CSAC sought to bring issues important to amateur sport to Parliament, and eventually succeeded in 1957 by focusing on a "grass roots" notion which

marked state policy until the 1970's: improve the "low level of physical fitness of Canadians" through an emphasis on mass participation, and champions would surely emerge (Olafson 1970:67; Schrodtt 1983:5; Macintosh et al 1987:10; see also Chapter One.)

Secondly, while continuing efforts of the CSAC resulted in the provision of a series of briefs to National Health and Welfare, the Council also capitalized on the emerging power and influence of a burgeoning middle class, by attracting MP's, executives of NSO's, academics, physicians and other professionals to the drive for greater government support, through a more political emphasis on declining Canadian performances (Gruneau and Hollands 1979). Clearly, the Cold War drama of the '40's and '50's, combined with an advancing Soviet system of athletic achievement (first place in the 1956 Summer and Winter Olympics), worked to solidify the relationship between political systems and sport systems, prompting one MP to state, "Not only is it a matter of health...it is also a matter of national defense and truly a part of our fight for democracy" (House of Commons, Debates, 1956, Vol.I:90). Addressing a brief submitted to National Health and Welfare by the CSAC in 1957, MP Douglas Fisher suggested Health and Welfare should seek to

...improve the prestige of this nation
which means so much to us all in the inter-
national sporting field by enlightening
government support on the various facets of
sport. (House of Commons, Debates, 1957,
Volume III:2750-2751)

Thus with CSAC activity, the emergence of sporting competition based more explicitly on political ideology, socio-economic shifts which saw an influential middle class join in the lobby for stronger state involvement, and Canadian failures to keep pace with East (or West) bloc achievements, issues of sport became subject to more public view through parliamentary debate to the end of the 1959 session.

The third factor which elevated the profile of state/sport issues was a highly publicized speech made by the Duke of Edinburgh to the Canadian Medical Association in June, 1959. In a royal scolding directly linked to Canadian sporting sensibilities, he said,

There is evidence that, despite everything, people in Canada are not as fit as they might be. Some scheme to encourage participation in all sports and recreations for all ages and sections of the community is absolutely essential to any modern community with a high standard of living...Canada's achievements are barely in keeping with a country which claims almost the highest standard of living in the world.

(From Challenge to the Nation
1981:3)

It is interesting to note that, given a now rapid movement toward establishing a greater role for the state in matters of sport and the continuing expansion of NSO's (from 32 in 1950 to 45 in 1960), the speech was written by Doris Plewes of the CSAC.⁸

The fourth factor contributing to the emergence of legislation governing fitness and amateur sport at a federal level was, for all intents and purposes, the crowning touch: at the 1960 Summer

Olympics in Rome, Canada won a single silver medal, and placed 26th in the overall standings (compared with six medals and 15th overall in the 1956 Games). In bringing the proposed legislation (Bill C-161) to debate in 1961, the major issue addressed was the relationship between a fit population and international achievements, with the Minister of Health and Welfare, J.W. Monteith, suggesting "... (if) proper encouragement is provided for mass participation...champions would be expected to surface" (Galasso 1973:43). The formula for athletic success by Canadian athletes was therefore in place by late 1961: state funding of programs (initially providing up to five million dollars) which would be developed and administered by volunteer-based, "autonomous", NSO's.

During the movement toward a stronger bonding of political structure and amateur sport, television productions of sport increased as resources available to the CBC expanded. Following the coverage of the 1954 Commonwealths, the CBC presented an overseas production of the 1955 World Hockey Championships from Germany, shipping footage of games with Canadian involvement back to Canada, including the entire Canada/ Soviet final (won by Canada). (With regard to increasing coverage of professional sport, while little mention is made of the incident in Canadian broadcasting histories, television also recorded an occurrence in Montreal in March 1955 (commonly known as the Richard Riot) over the suspension of hockey star Maurice Richard by the President of the NHL. Cameras recorded the initial stages of the riot in the

Montreal Forum, and a single camera (without sound equipment) moved around rue Ste. Catherine filming the events ("Richard Riot", Broadcast, 17 March 1955), adding a different "newsworthy" dimension to sports coverage.) The microwave link through the United States was leased once again for the telecast of the 1955 Grey Cup Game from Vancouver, which drew an audience estimated at four million people (CBC Annual Report 1954/55, 1955/56). Highlights of the 1956 Winter Olympics from Italy were presented on a delayed basis, but due to "restricted coverage" by the host broadcaster (*i.e.* an attempt to charge television networks for the rights to carry the Games) the CBC did not send a production team to the Summer Games in Melbourne (CBC Annual Report 1956/57; Espy 1979:73).

Another feature of television sports in the 1950's reflected both the continuing push by the CSAC, NSO's and other groups to develop Canadian champions, and the efforts of agencies such as the Bureau of Broadcast Governors to maintain Canadian content in broadcasting. In the first sense, there was a demonstrated focus on individual accomplishments in the world of sport, *e.g.* films of Marilyn Bell's consecutive marathon swims through the English Channel and the Strait of Juan de Fuca in 1956 and 1957. (Ostensibly, promoting international champions or potential calibre would heighten funding opportunities for the sport community.) In the second sense, such an emphasis was deemed acceptable, even desirable, by the Fowler Commission on broadcasting, which concluded that "...Foster Hewitt, Barbara Ann Scott and Rocket

Richard are all important in developing the Canadian concept of Canadian culture" (Report 1957:76).⁹

By the end of the decade, the CBC was extending coverage of both professional and amateur events through productions of World Hockey from Oslo, Pan-American Games highlights, and Canadian professional football (for which the CBC paid \$325,000 to the CFL in 1960 in order to show games in Eastern Canada) (Peers 1979:237). But the largest audiences were without doubt drawn to presentations of professional league sports, e.g. 7.4 million for the final game of the Stanley Cup playoffs and five million for the Grey Cup in 1959, and to broadcasts of American boxing productions on Friday night "Cavalcade of Sports" (sponsored by Gillette) (CBC Annual Report 1958/59, 1959/60). The higher, or at least more continuous, profile of professional sport continued into the 1960's, and was directly related to changes in the shape of Canadian television itself, with the formation of a second, privately based, network in Canada.

In the late 1950's, with a broadcast regulator and Canadian content guidelines legislated through the 1958 Broadcasting Act, private entrepreneurs with financial interests in media argued that the licensing of "second stations" for larger cities should not fall under the jurisdiction of the CBC and its growing deficit, but be used to extend commercial sponsorship of television. In a general acceptance of this argument, the BBG granted new licenses to private newspaper or radio interests, including John H. Bassett (owner of the Toronto Telegram), Canadian Marconi of Montreal

(which received an exemption from the foreign ownership clause of the new Broadcasting Act), CJCH radio in Halifax, CFCN radio in Calgary, CKY Radio in Winnipeg, Ernest Bushnell (a former CBC executive) in Ottawa (Peers 1979:230-232). It was also of importance to the direction of television broadcasting and the related role of sports productions that a variety of connections existed between the new private licensees and professional football in Canada, e.g. Bassett was part (and later full) owner of the Toronto Argonauts, Ralph Misener (president of CKY Radio) in Winnipeg was part owner of the Blue Bombers, Bushnell sat on the Board of Directors of the Ottawa Rough Riders. The licensees argued as a group that in order to adhere to program standards and Canadian content regulations set by the BBG, they would need to form a cooperative network. In turn, the BBG issued a single license to Spencer Caldwell (former manager of the CBC Radio's Dominion Network) to form a second television network. Bassett then purchased the television rights to Eastern Canadian football games and the Grey Cup for 1961 and 1962 by doubling the total offered by the CBC (i.e. from \$325,000 to \$750,000) and signed an agreement with Caldwell to the establish the CTV Network in October 1961. Anchored by the football rights contract, the network began operating with eight affiliates (three of which, Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal were linked by microwave) and 8.5 hours of programming per week, roughly one-half of which was Canadian-based sports. The network then offered CFL game telecasts to the CBC, contingent on the Corporation's willingness to carry CTV sponsors' advertising;

the CBC declined. But Bassett, without a link to Western Canada, sold the rights to the 1961 and 1962 Grey Cup to the CBC, with a highly publicized confrontation emerging between the networks over coverage and sponsorship of the '62 contest. The BBG adjudicated the matter, and the CBC acquiesced in agreeing to carry five announcements from CTV sponsors (Weir 1965:360-362; Peers 1979:255-257).¹⁰

The formation of CTV and early competition between public and private interests which pivoted on professional sport coverage held important consequences for increasing the reliance of broadcasting on imports from the United States and on commercial sponsorship. In terms of sport, both networks were beginning to produce more programming for Saturday and Sunday afternoons, although the CBC appeared more inclined toward production of amateur-level events following the formation of CTV, including a 52-week series called "World of Sport" (which covered international events that included Canadian participants), Canadian college athletics, track and field meets, world-level skiing and hockey, and the occasional imported American sports production or documentary. CTV, on the other hand, was more inclined toward scheduling less expensive imported productions alone, such as the American Broadcasting Corporation program (ABC's) "Wide World of Sports". In what appears as almost a rebuttal of the private network's approach, the Commissioner of Sport for France, Maurice Herzog, commented to the CBC in 1962, "Amateur sport is a means of building character. Professional sport is a spectacle. It is a way for a crowd of

individuals to express themselves" (CBC Annual Report 1962/63:34).

Technological advances made what can be called a significant contribution to the expansion and increasing complexity of televised sport in the early 1960's. The 1964 Tokyo Summer Olympics' coverage by CBC, for example, was facilitated by the communications satellite Syncom III and the use of replays, while slow motion replays were becoming commonplace in professional sport coverage, ostensibly making productions more "attractive" to viewers through a strengthening of production values (CBC Annual Report 1961/62 - 1964-65; Macintosh et al 1987:50; Gruneau and Cantelon 1988:178). Even though CBC had increased its attention to amateur sporting events, it retained a reliance on successful (and technically advanced) productions of Hockey Night in Canada and Canadian professional football, which still attracted the largest audiences and therefore the highest rate of sponsorship.

In fact, what emerged in the middle and later part of the 1960's was a more complex version of circumstances which had lead to the development of (i) state legislation concerning sport and fitness and (ii) a television network based solely on private capital (as well as an increasing reliance of the public network on commercial sponsorship) in the early part of the decade. While the television industry now had the technological capacity to cover international events in a more "immediate" sense, Canadian international competitors continued to place well behind other Western nations, and the Soviet Union emerged as the clearly dominant nation in international hockey. While professional league

operators cultivated relationships with television networks, through negotiation of telecast rights, schedules and sponsorship, Canadian sports organizations essentially waited for television networks to pick up on events as they occurred, despite a general notion that televising high performance sport was good for elevating the profile of amateur sport and for increasing active participation in physical activity (Task Force on Sport for Canadians, Report 1969; Cantelon and Macintosh 1986:153). In other words, while CTV and CBC were in competition for audiences in a more or less direct fashion (e.g. by varying schedules and carrying more popular U.S.-based entertainment programming), professional sport and high performance sport were competing more indirectly for political and economic support. With the exception of high profile cyclical events such as an Olympic or Commonwealth Games which were (and are) viewed as attractive to commercial sponsorship, much of CBC's non-professional (typically weekend afternoon) sports programming in the late 1960's was produced without commercial sponsorship, instead providing "public service" announcements which promoted health and charitable causes such as the Red Cross, UNICEF, the United Way, cystic fibrosis, YMCA's and industrial safety.¹¹ (See for example, CBC productions of "Kaleidosport", 1968/69.)

I argue that this lack of commercial sponsorship for televised non-professional sports events had two important effects. First, it tended to support an overall image of the "amateur", where the motivating drive for athletics is the love for competition or

achievement, and the motivating drive for its televisual presentation is both the adulation of young athletes striving to make a national team and an expression of more deep-rooted political concerns, such as national unity (e.g. a tape of the 1969 "Canada Games" CBC broadcast from Halifax is replete with references to regional/provincial participation and the Canadian nation-state as "strong" and "unified"; CBC Broadcast, "Canada Games", 22 August 1969).¹² That is, lack of commercial sponsorship worked to differentiate the non-professional sphere of sport from the professional sphere, by reproducing the respective meanings of these spheres through the medium of television, in that amateur sport should by definition not be tied to commercial interests, while pro sport is by definition a commercial enterprise. Second, a lack of sponsorship for televised amateur sports events related directly to a dearth of support for amateur sport organizations/programs from private interests. Thus while a professional league and its franchises would benefit financially from the negotiation of a television rights contract to a particular network, an amateur sport organization would need to look elsewhere for funding if its events are presented "free" to a audience on national television. Despite the heralded success of Nancy Greene in the 1968 Winter Olympics (and growing revelations of sponsorships available "under the table" to elite European athletes), private sponsorship was neither being solicited nor voluntarily coming forth on a wide scale in support of amateur sport, at a time when competition was becoming more internationally

widespread and related operational costs were rising steadily. And since the Canadian federal state had already become the major benefactor of the system's more elite component (spending approximately \$3.1 million on sport in 1967/68), financial survival and international success seemingly hinged on the increasing political and economic support of the state.

At the risk of once again simplifying a complex series of events, two related events simultaneously transformed the relationship between the state and high performance sport, and the relationship between broadcasting and high performance sport in the late 1960's and early 1970's: the decision by the federal state in 1970 to develop and maintain a high performance system of athletics for Canada, and the 1971 decision by the International Olympic Committee to award the 1976 Summer Olympic Games to Montreal. Indeed, the 1968 - 1978 period included significant changes which culminated in the establishment of a high performance sport/broadcasting relationship recognizable today.

Establishing Modern Sports Broadcasting: 1968 - 1978

By the mid-1960's, technological changes, notably the increasing availability of colour and cable television, the growing reliance on commercial revenue by the CBC (\$30 million in 1964) and questions surrounding limits to state subsidization of the Crown Corporation prompted the formation of the Fowler Committee on Broadcasting (chaired by James Fowler of the 1957 Royal Commission, along with Marc Lalonde and Ernest Steele) (Peers 1979:277). As of

1965, most Canadian cities had access to both CBC and CTV, with the CBC's English network available to 92 percent of the population, and CTV available to 71 percent (Fowler Committee Report 1967:53). More concerned with the continuation of the CBC as "the prime instrument for carrying out the national objectives of the broadcasting system as a whole", and with the direction of cable television (which could potentially generate a flood of U.S. programming into Canada), the Fowler Committee did not examine related issues such as the increasing concentration of privately owned broadcasting outlets affiliated with CTV (e.g. Power Corporation in Quebec, K.C. Irving in New Brunswick, Selkirk Holdings, Southam Newspapers) (Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, Report, Vol.II: 75-80). Rather, the Committee, together with a Secretary of State White Paper and Parliamentary Broadcast Committee Report which followed in 1967, concentrated on the role of the BBG as a regulatory agency, Canadian content levels and future direction of currently "mediocre" programming available on both networks. This series of reports and debates resulted in the development of a new Broadcasting Act in 1968, which placed the cable industry and Canadian content levels under the regulatory control of the successor to the BBG, the Canadian Radio and Television (later, Television and Telecommunications) Commission (CRTC).

As part of those technological and programming changes which were increasing the availability and popularity of television to even greater levels, televised sport was also expanding. But

although the CBC had provided coverage of the 1967 Pan-American Games from Winnipeg (promoting national unity during Centennial Year), as well as live presentations of the 1968 Winter and Summer Olympics, there was a continuing emphasis on productions of professional sport. For example, telecasts of Saturday night hockey were now carried from the opening face-off (instead of one hour into the game), coverage of Canadian professional football was extended to the month of August, and, in 1969, the new Montreal Expos professional baseball franchise generated significant attention from the CBC (and Radio-Canada).

In terms of international high performance athletics, however, there seemed little to cheer about (and perhaps less inclination to provide coverage), with continued Canadian defeats in international hockey and other events. Prompted by this series of "failures", Pierre Trudeau suggested during the 1968 election campaign that a Task Force on Sport would be formed to examine problems related to the Canadian system of amateur athletics (Broom and Baka 1978:27). Yet even the Task Force Report, submitted to Health and Welfare Minister John Munro in 1969, revealed a concentration on the professional sphere, notably the organization of hockey at the professional level and difficulties experienced by Vancouver in obtaining a NHL franchise (Task Force Report 1969:30-35; Macintosh et al 1987:58-60). Although it emphasized the negative role models associated with violence in professional hockey, noted the need for municipal/federal/ provincial cooperation in developing amateur sport, and recommended the

formation of a government directorate to be known as Sport Canada to guide this development, the Task Force had little to say about commercialism and/or broadcasting and their relationship to sport. There was only a suggestion that television exposure might help create amateur heroes and work to promote individual sports (Report 1969). The need to "package" and present the amateur sports product was more explicitly defined by a 1969 report commissioned by the Fitness and Amateur Sport Directorate from a private consulting firm based in Montreal, P.S. Ross and Partners. As Gruneau notes, the arguments presented in this influential report denote "...the penetration of commodified conceptions of sport interweaving, through the state, with more traditional amateur conceptions" (1983:193, f.137). And as Helmes (1981:213-214) points out, the formation of the Task Force and submission of its report was an important initial step in determining when, not if, the federal state would become more deeply tied, economically and politically, to the amateur sphere.

The Task Force Report, together with the 1969 P.S. Ross Report (the latter of which criticized government and the sport community for its overall failure to establish visionary national objectives for international performance), preceded the first formal policy paper on sport from the state (evidently written by Munro), A Proposed Sports Policy for Canadians (1970). While the ideological overtones of this White Paper emphasized the ever-present need for mass participation in sport and recreation, virtually every suggested program (and majority of funding) was directed toward the

development of an elite-level program (Cavanagh 1985; Macintosh et al: 1984:62-65).

While the technological development and increasingly diverse sources of programming associated with television seem far removed from the emergence of a more state-based system of elite sport, these two areas became much more closely aligned in 1971, with the announcement by the International Olympic Committee that Montreal had been selected as the site of the 1976 Summer Games. This announcement had two immediate, visible and parallel consequences: it prompted initial planning for the Games' telecast by Canadian television networks (notably the host broadcaster, the CBC), and for the performances of Canadian athletes by Fitness and Amateur Sport and the NSO's. However, one further consequence, less immediately evident, was the sudden increased interest in high performance sport from private capital, particularly from the beer-brewing industry. Although involved in a "natural market" relationship through professional sport sponsorship (or ownership) in varying degrees since the 1930's, including Molson's national sponsorship of Hockey Night in Canada, Labatt's contract with the CFL, Carling-O'Keefe's agreement to sponsor Expos games, the breweries had paid little attention to non-professional athletics until its more (Canadian-based) international potential emerged in the 1970's (Gruneau 1983:123; Redmond 1985:345-349).

Vested interests from sport organizations, the state, broadcasting, and more indirectly, private capital, intersected at the 1971 National Conference on Olympic '76 Development held in

Ottawa. While the overriding emphasis of the conference was on how to avoid the international embarrassment of failing to win a gold medal at a Canadian-based Games, and on the best approach to take in developing national teams over a five-year period, some attention was given to "the possible involvement of the media in the upward movement of amateur sport" (National Conference on Olympic Development, Mini-Proceedings, 1971:73). While representatives of television, radio and newspapers viewed the primary objectives of the NSO's, i.e. athlete/program development, as understandable, they directed criticisms toward the poor or non-existent relationship which the NSO's had with the media. As Paul Raymond of the CBC argued, the national sport bodies had to this point demonstrated little cooperation with the media in terms of organizing "shows" to promote sport and increase the profile of athletes, suggesting that "radio and television cannot give its spectators more than is given them by sports organizations and agencies" (1971:75). In drawing a parallel between amateur and professional sport and their respective relationships with the media, it was commented that amateur sport and the broadcasting industry might respect each other, but were demonstrating little coordination in working together to provide coverage of events. On the other hand, it was claimed by the NSO's that television and newspapers were more interested in daily occurrences in the world of pro sport, consistently relegating amateur events to a back seat (1971:76).

The Conference further emphasized the need for private

industry to become more directly involved in financially supporting high performance sport (1971:4-5). Although relatively limited in direct sponsorship of programs (as opposed to, for example, purchasing advertising time during Olympic Games telecasts), the head of the Coaching Association of Canada (John Hudson, former Head of CBC Sports), capitalized on Carling-O'Keefe's growing interest in sponsoring non-professional events to develop the O'Keefe Sports Foundation, which ultimately provided \$3 million toward NSO coaching development prior to the Montreal Games. While Molson's was secured as a major television sponsor of the Games by the CBC, Labatt's began a program to sponsor collegiate-level athletics through the Canadian Interuniversity Athletic Union (CIAU) (long considered an undeveloped source of athletic talent) (Maclean's, 17 May 1976; Canadian Magazine, 29 January 1977; Coaching Association of Canada Bulletin, 6 June 1974:14; Redmond 1985:346-347).¹³ More directly related to the Olympic program was the formation of the Olympic Trust by the Canadian Olympic Association, a fund-raising arm comprised "of some of the most powerful people in the Canadian business community" (Gruneau 1983:191, f.131) which was directed to lobby private capital in support of the Olympic movement. Thus capital was beginning to establish (or was being attracted into establishing) closer ties with Canadian elite sports programs.

The Conference also established the groundwork for what became known as an "intensive care" program of funding and development for the 1972 Munich Summer Olympics (Macintosh et al 1987:86). This was

replaced by a more formal planning policy, "Game Plan '76", established by Sport Canada and the NSO's following the '72 Games (at which Canada placed 21st overall). This policy concentrated on extended financial assistance to athletes on an A-B-C performance level classification, and on developing NSO programs, coaching, competition opportunities, etc., in order to "improve performance levels of Canadian athletes" (Macintosh et al 1987:83; Cavanagh 1985; see also Kidd 1988; as previously outlined in Chapter One, NSO's are now funded on the basis of meeting performance objectives). Adhering to the initial P.S. Ross and Partners study, and to a second report commissioned from the firm in 1972, an overall performance goal was established through Game Plan '76: to improve Canada's overall placing from 21st at Munich to 10th in Montreal. As a further indicator of preparations for competing in the Montreal Games and attaining this publicized goal, the Fitness and Amateur Sport budget increased from \$6 million in 1971/72 (with approximately 66 percent directed to elite programs) to \$17 million in 1975/76 (with 75 percent directed to elite sport) (Fitness and Amateur Sport Annual Reports 1971/72 - 1975/76).

The CBC also began its preparation for the 1976 Games in 1971, gradually increasing its technical capacity and coverage of non-professional events, while raising overall commercial revenues for programming. Total sports-related programming increased from 7.4 percent in 1970/71 to 8.2 percent in 1973/74 to 13 percent in 1975/76 (just prior to the Montreal Games) (CBC Annual Reports 1970/71 - 1975/76). At the same time, commercial revenues increased

from \$29.3 million in 1970/71 to \$71.2 million in 1975/76, and commercial sponsorship of weekend afternoon sports programming began to take shape. The Olympics Radio and Television Organization (ORTO) was formed in 1973 to work with the Comité des Jeux Olympiques (COJO) in determining budgets, sponsorship arrangements, and extent of national/international coverage. The initial technical planning for the Games was to involve 20 mobile units, 92 cameras, 28 VTR's (videotape replay machines), 15 slow-motion VTR's, 16 graphics generators, and 1800 workers, on a budget of \$18 million (ostensibly recoverable from COJO) (CBC Annual Report 1975/76). "It was", as the Senior Producer of CBC's Sportsweekend suggests, "the big time" (Interview, Producer/Sportsweekend, 25 March 1988).

The 1976 Summer Olympic Games in Montreal were instrumental in solidifying the basis and direction of both state-based high performance sport and televised productions of non-professional events. When the Games had been completed, the Canadian team, while not emerging with a gold medal, had fulfilled the performance objective by placing 10th in the overall points standings. Drawing on resources from the ORTO pool, the CBC spent approximately \$21 million on the Games' broadcast (recovering about 60 percent from COJO), using 28 mobiles, 152 cameras, 126 VTR's, 35 film cameras, 359 colour and 599 black and white monitors, 12 studios, 27 character generators, auto cameras for cycling and marathon events, with 2260 personnel (CBC Annual Report 1976/77) drawing massive audiences for national and international telecasts. The Games were

also instrumental in boosting CBC sports presentations to 15 percent (623 hours) of overall programming, and in elevating commercial revenue to \$82 million in 1976/77.

The trend toward state-based sport and technically complex television productions of events continued with the 1978 Commonwealth Games in Edmonton. Like the Montreal Olympics, a performance goal was established during the planning and preparation stage of the Games (and later attained during the course of competition): first place overall (Toward a National Policy on Amateur Sport (Green Paper on Sport) 1977:20). The CBC, as host broadcaster "providing pictures for the world" once again, undertook what was considered its most complex production using only "its own resources and manpower", drawing an audience of 11 million for parts of the Games. Commercial revenues had increased in 1978/79 to \$108 million, of which \$506,000 came from Commonwealth Games-related advertising (CBC Annual Report 1977/78, 1978/79).

In general, the production of the 1976 Summer Olympic Games and 1978 Commonwealths are significant in that they "informed", i.e. contributed to the formation and development of, the current style and scope of televisual representations of elite amateur sport as a whole. Indeed, as I will point out in Part III, more "typical" weekend programming of Canadian high performance athletics embody a production process which has its roots in these cyclical "spectaculars", in that their logic and form tend to be directed toward a past or future international event, echoing the

intertwining of dynamic forces found in the historical transformation of sport and broadcasting in Canada.

Prior to this, however, it is critical to address a series of conceptual questions which arise, but are left unanswered, throughout the historical narrative. In a substantive sense, it may be argued that, if "success" was being found within Canadian high performance sport policies and programs, now more fully separated from programs of fitness and health, these achievements were articulated (and more importantly, reproduced) through CBC productions of events involving elite athletes. Clearly, the increasing attention to Canadian amateur sport, and development of production "values" and practices, were of use to the Corporation in increasing its overall level of Canadian programming, in fulfilling its continuing mandate as "national service broadcaster", and in generating significant levels of commercial sponsorship and audience interest. In a more conceptual sense, however, it can be argued that by 1980, a broad and complex set of relationships involving a range of deep-rooted political, economic and cultural interests variously concerned with national unity, international prestige, financial profit, athletic achievement, was in place after several decades of dramatic change. Thus, while this important and necessary historical account traces the emergence of these interrelationships in a descriptive sense, crucial theoretical issues remain concerning the connection between the production of televised sport and the reproduction of structured interests of power, i.e. the concrete realization of vested

interests, the key role of ideology extending from divisions of class and gender, and the politics of consensus which underscore these. Drawing from the formation and historical emergence of the sports broadcasting industry and the development of a state-based system of high performance athletics, I now turn to a discussion of these conceptual problems.

Footnotes - Chapter Two

¹ The nationalism associated with international hockey became evident upon Canada's 1936 loss of the Olympic hockey title to Great Britain. Following this defeat, it was suggested in the House of Commons that a Ministry of Sport be developed to avoid a repetition of such an "embarrassment" (West 1973:31).

² Much the same can be said of contemporary sport, where qualities of drama, excitement, the unknown, are directly linked to a seemingly endless variety of human capability. In this sense, agency seems to triumph, or at least secure some measure of control over, structure, attesting in part to the less visible nature of power in a more structural sense. (See also Chapter Six for a more elaborate discussion of agency and structure.)

³ Although there is only sketchy historical evidence supporting this, it seems logical to assume that front page news of a gold medal at the Paris Olympics in the Star would be broadcast on that newspaper's radio station; by 1929, 11 stations were owned coast-to-coast by newspaper companies (Peers 1969:27).

⁴ For an excellent account of the circumstances leading to the formation of the Massey Commission, see Peers (1979:10-20).

⁵ The Report of the Massey Commission maintains a consistent theme of class ideology which supports the development of a BBC-style television system for Canada, along with greater state support of the arts and "high" culture in general (see, for example, Crean 1976), leaving "popular" or more vulgar cultural forms to fend for themselves.

⁶ Canada's record at the 1954 British Empire and Commonwealth Games was nine first-place finishes, 20 second-place finishes and 14 third-place finishes (Carol Kirkwood, Commonwealth Games Association of Canada, Ottawa). Part of the "showcase" related to the Games' spectacle was the construction of Empire Stadium in Vancouver, which later served as playing site of the Vancouver franchise of the CFL and several Grey Cup Games in the '50's and '60's. But technological limits resulted in the Games being shown only in the Vancouver area and in Central Canada, bypassing the Prairies and the Atlantic Provinces.

⁷ Plewes had been a senior official in National Health and Welfare's Division of Fitness (established in 1946). The Division published a variety of material on exercise and physical education, and was instrumental in the development of the Royal Canadian Air Force 5BX and 10BX Fitness programs (Gear 1973:19-20).

⁸ I would like to thank Bruce Kidd for drawing this to my attention.

⁹ At this time, however, guidelines for what constituted "Canadian" content were only vaguely defined. For example, if the CBC carried the World Series telecasts from the United States, it was categorized as Canadian content since it held important status as a program "of general interest to Canadians."

¹⁰ For a detailed account of the formation of CTV and the 1962 Grey Cup "fiasco", see Peers (1979:225-257). As he points out, there was an ironic outcome to the problem of televising the contest since the heavy fog which shrouded the playing field obscured the view of both the game crowd and the television viewing audience.

¹¹ As part of its role as the national state-subsidized broadcaster, the CBC was limited in its commercial advertising during daytime programming, providing public service announcements as an "alternative". I would suggest that, similar to corporate advertising (addressed later in the thesis), these types of "ads" are important for their content (addressing the national conscience) and for their place in the "flow" of programming, where breaks in competition or shifts in venue in the case of a variety sports program accommodate commercials of one form or another and contribute to the overall production.

¹² As I elaborate in Part III, it is normally the program Writer who is responsible for content of commentary, in consultation with

the Producer and/or Executive Producer. However, it is not uncommon for a producer (who oversees the program balance, timing and flow) to request that a writer emphasize particular aspects of a competition, e.g. athletic record of competitors, just as it is not uncommon for areas of desired emphasis to be passed on to the producer from other areas of the production structure, e.g. the role of the Canadian Track and Field Association in a particular meet. Since commentators are often provided with general "themes" to cover, improvising dialogue when necessary, it can be difficult for the typical observer to determine the origin of particular comments.

¹³ It is interesting to note that, although the three major breweries have remained involved in elite sport sponsorship to the present, they became more directly involved in ownership of professional sport franchises following the '76 Montreal Games: Labatt's continued to sponsor Soccer Canada's efforts to qualify for World Cup competition, but also purchased 45% of the Toronto Blue Jays franchise in 1978; Molson's continued to sponsor World Cup Skiing, but re-purchased the Montreal Canadiens from Carena-Bancorp Ltd. in 1982; Carling O'Keefe remained a sponsor of tennis and racquetball, but purchased a share of the Toronto Argonaut Football Club in 1976 (becoming majority shareholder in 1981), and bought the Quebec Nordiques of the NHL in 1982, while retaining promotional and broadcast rights for the Montreal Expos (Redmond 1985:347; Gruneau 1983:122-124; Beamish 1988:143-146). With the proposed merger between Molson Cos. Ltd. and Carling-O'Keefe (Globe and Mail, 19 January, 1989), the shape of this involvement has begun to alter, e.g. Carling-O'Keefe no longer owns the Nordiques, and it has come to light that Molson Cos. Ltd. has an option to acquire control of 20 percent of Maple Leaf Gardens Ltd. in 1990 (as the result of a stock sale by principal owner Harold Ballard several years ago) (Globe and Mail, 29 June, 1989). Together with wholly-owned Molstar Communications (which controls the broadcast rights to Hockey Night in Canada), these movements by Molson will significantly bolster its position as one of the dominant sport and entertainment producers in Canada.

Part II

Sport, Television and Power:

Developing a Theoretical Framework

Introduction

In the opening chapter to this thesis, I suggested that in order to understand the nature and role of sport as a cultural phenomena in Canadian society, it was necessary to detail both the possibilities and limitations presented by a prevailing/ popular idealist view of Huizinga et al. In pointing out the limitations of this approach, I argued a more enlightening perspective on sport emerges out of a materialist direction which acknowledges the expression and dramatization of human agency through physical activity and leisure, but has further constructed a dialectical view of agency engaged intimately with social structures which have historically worked to enable and constrain human action. As I suggested, paramount to an informed materialist approach is its historical method, which views the emergence of sport forms (and the institutionalization of sport, categorically separated into professional and non-professional) as social history, inextricably linked with the development of capitalist society characterized by divisions of class, gender, race and ethnicity. I argued that to move toward a political- economic treatment of the televisual production of sport in Canada, it was of clear necessity to establish the dynamics of development by relating the dominating

influence which particular (and interconnected) structures of power exerted from the early decades of this century.

Having accounted for those forces which emerged historically to more or less dominate both sport and broadcasting, the theoretical task of the next two chapters is to engage in a discussion which conceptually accounts for the ways in which power is manifested (and lived through) within cultural forms such as the sport/broadcasting relation. This task is complex given the wide variety and shape of power structures at work in the world of televisual sport, and made even more daunting by the fact of their structural intersection at certain points. Prior to developing these conceptual arguments, there are several general points to make.

As an argument underlying the theoretical framework, I suggest that a useful way of thinking about and understanding power is located in attempts to comprehend its multi-dimensional existence and multi-directional qualities. This is to say that, power is not to be understood as only a way of conceptualizing a system of dominant/subordinate relationships, where holders of power uniformly impose their will on otherwise uninformed or inactive groups (although this is surely one form which power can potentially assume). Power in liberal-democratic capitalist society comes in a wide range of political, economic and ideological forms, is subject to the historical ebb and flow of social change and to varying instances of resistance and reconstruction, and is much less unidirectionally imposed than it is

struggled over on particular sites within particular historical conjunctures. This multiplicity of power and its manifestations is further complicated by the shifting structural coordinates which intersect in a seemingly endless number of ways to (i) maintain dominant or controlling status in a subtle and accommodating manner which permits or even encourages some limited "won" resistance through the initiation and progression of consensus, and (ii) in doing so, support those social cleavages and conflicts which nurture the continuation of power itself. In an intertwining set of socio-economic, -political and -cultural systems based on commodity production, structurally ingrained forces of power have developed the imperative capacity to reproduce themselves.

While beyond the scope of this thesis to develop theoretical arguments which detail the nature and application of power in its many historically emergent traditions, it is of clear importance to conceptually address particular forces and influences which were noted in the complex historical development of televisually produced sport. In other words, it is a conceptual analysis of particular relationships identified within the historical narrative which forms the core of this chapter and the next. However, rather than re-state traditional treatments of power located in sociological or political works, e.g. the debate surrounding the relative autonomy of the capitalist state or the varying degrees of intimacy which exist between dominant political and economic forces, I choose instead to derive a theoretical framework from three key areas of thought (for reasons I note below): (i)

hegemony, or what I term the process of hegemony, based on writings of Antonio Gramsci and certain works influenced by Gramsci's writings; (ii) cultural theory, or cultural Marxist thought, which has a strong application to the critical analysis of those areas of social life which are not generally viewed as agents in the construction and maintenance of power; and (iii) feminist theory, notably those treatments of gender relations which identify the workings of the state and cultural production in the reproduction of power.

To recall the preliminary points presented in the Introduction to the dissertation, the theoretical and methodological directions assumed in the research are very closely connected and mutually informing. Once again, the particular relationships of power previously identified center on a multi-dimensional interaction among the state, private capital, broadcasting interests and the sport community, i.e. those forces which have emerged at the forefront of the social development of both sport and broadcasting in Canadian society since the 1920's. The central methodological task is therefore to identify the dynamics of production and to understand how these are related to the process by which power is reproduced in apparently consensual ways. As an articulation of this reproduction, I argue that relations of power which hinge on a continually reinforced cleavage of gender are of foremost importance.

In some ways, this latter concern shifts the focus of attention, from the development of class lines noted in the social

history of sports broadcasting, to the more gendered construction of power. The theoretical problematic to be addressed is therefore layered in terms of production and reproduction, and the conceptual discussion (as well as its application to the empirical/analytical context of Part III) hinges on a proper treatment of these levels. The bridge between them, I argue, is hegemony, which can be understood as a driving force linking production (for example, daily practices) and reproduction (in terms of the more abstract regeneration of dominant patterns of practice and meaning underscoring relations of power). Further to this, cultural theory extends the boundaries of theoretical interpretation in identifying sites of control and struggle or resistance within seemingly "unproductive" territories of social life, while an application of feminist theory facilitates a more textured understanding of official power, gender relations and social change. Moreover, each perspective contributes to a deeper comprehension of agency/structure interaction; indeed, it is a sensitivity to features of resistance (e.g. counter-hegemonic activity) which works as an identifiable linkage between these theoretical approaches, and it is their combined interpretative power which facilitates a critical political economy of sports broadcasting while working against a reductionist treatment of the subject.

In order to identify the dynamics of the exercise of power in this instance, Chapter Three begins with a brief discussion of the ways in which the analysis of sports broadcasting in Canada can be informed by treatments afforded two related areas of production:

entertainment and news programming. I then turn to a brief overview of literature dealing with sport and the media, and point to the limited ways in which this has drawn from the critical/theoretical lessons of entertainment/news studies. To more fully address these silences, I follow with a discussion which centers on the concept of hegemony and identifies the contribution which cultural theory can make to a more elaborate view of sport and power. These points are then brought forward into a discussion of sport, ideology and hegemony, which concludes Chapter Three. The second chapter of Part II focuses on the "reproductive" side of the problematic, centering primarily on a conceptual treatment of the intersection of gender, the state/capital relation and a reconsideration of the role of hegemony. Part II concludes with a summary of the theoretical framework, drawing together salient points which are recalled in the second chapter of Part III.

Chapter Three

Establishing a Theoretical Framework: Sport,

Hegemony and Cultural Theory

A Point of Departure: Entertainment and News Production

Given the historical dynamics of the social development of sport and broadcasting identified in the previous chapter, it can be logically argued that critical treatments of their current form should draw on this evidence, which indicates the continuing presence of structurally ingrained forces that have been prominent in shaping this relationship. In other words, if one wishes to examine the production of culture and the reproduction of power, the lessons of social history provide the groundwork of departure for critical analysis, given the established roles of the state, private capital and other agents of influence. However, as I indicate below, studies of sport and media in Canadian society have only rarely drawn on this conceptual territory. As a preliminary starting point, I suggest that certain analyses of entertainment and news production (*i.e.* two dominant categories of television broadcasting) have been more successful in establishing a critical, historically flavoured framework, and argue that this literature offers an extension of the (historical) basis from which a political economy of Canadian sports broadcasting may draw.

In establishing a conceptual/empirical connection within the confines of media studies, various methods are evident, ranging

from political-economic approaches which link media corporations to dominant class fractions (e.g. Murdock and Golding 1973, 1977), to studies of production practices and content that encompass arguments of ideology and the presentation of texts (e.g. Glasgow Media Group 1976; Clarke 1987). The direction of critical analyses of the media has alternately focused on such issues or problems as: the potential expansion of capital through the media, the organizational construction of decision-making or policy formation, the practical development of production, and/or the ideological reproduction evident through the media's peculiar interpretation of the world (Bennett 1982:32-40). A variety of studies which draw from these wide-ranging approaches are evident in the critical literature on media, but I believe four are of particular value in understanding the socio-historical development of sport and broadcasting: Gitlin's work on entertainment production, particular studies on the construction of news, Hall's framework of media and the state, and Williams' effort to draw sport into the confines of critical media analysis.

To exemplify the relation which exists between media and power in a conceptual sense (and to reject outright the dependency on "effects" which has marked much of the literature on the media), Gitlin's studies of American entertainment programming have argued for a research agenda which encompasses a "production-consumption continuum". He suggests that this would consist of an elaborate examination of (i) the organizational structure of the production process, (ii) marketing strategies of television networks, (iii)

values and beliefs of the cultural elite, (iv) corporate habits and practices, and (v) consumption patterns of audiences (1982b:213-214; see also Gitlin 1978). As part of the production of television, notably entertainment programming, Gitlin argues the decision-making process must be flexible and accommodating while maintaining the parameters of a particular uniformity or popularly consensual practice (1982b:211) (since, as Hall (1973) suggests, products address a wide range of groups which embrace an even wider range of experience). In this broadly developed pattern (utilizing a notion of hegemonic power), Gitlin offers a framework for examining "entertainment/ prime-time" programming, but notes elsewhere (Gitlin 1982) that the exercise of decision-making regarding schedule content is quite haphazard, employing a complex, but largely unreliable, method of strategy which involves test audiences, market surveys and a sensitivity to the desires of corporate America. The range of commodities, e.g. available productions of drama or situation comedies, will normally embody attractive qualities for sponsors, but profits based on advertising scales are locked into measures of ratings and audience shares, where large consuming audiences are required in order to generate profit maximization. The determination of what will be popular is therefore based on a certain range of habits or tradition, such as tactics previously employed or reliance on established themes, although "calculated risk" remains the governing criteria of selection. As Gitlin points out, however, adhering to an established "formula" of production through popular genres,

settings, and character types embodied in a depoliticized framework which works in support of dominant capitalist values reduces this risk measurably (1982a:433-448). The very images produced in television entertainment, he argues, are hegemonic, "... (an) active shaping of what actually exists, but (which) would not take hold if they did not correspond, in one way or another, to strong popular desires" (1982b:231). Further to this, it is of key importance to account for the construction of an agenda and its related imagery in a methodological sense, through sound ethnographic study in "natural settings", and through sensitive interpretations of cultural production. Clearly, in terms of developing a strategy for understanding the dynamics of selecting and producing sports shows, Gitlin's framework is of some importance; as I demonstrate in Chapter Five, the policies of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's English-language network regarding sports productions are based on an accumulation of interrelated criteria founded on concerns of ratings, sponsorship, tradition and executive inclination or personal taste.

Alongside an approach which identifies those strategies employed for the selection of entertainment commodities lie analyses of the strategic production of broadcast news. As the Glasgow Media Group has noted, the construction of news programs is highly dependent upon such criteria as professional habits and traditions, culled from a uniform range of training practices, and ultimately "...concerned with the reproduction of information within the realms of a dominant consciousness" (1976:14). In news

production, they argue, "facts and events" are crucially juxtaposed, where use of "expert commentary" is paralleled with filmed action in a seemingly neutral and distanced imparting of information to a consuming public. Yet, as in the case of entertainment features laced with dominant ideas of social reality, broadcast news is impregnated with traditionally established values or (more appropriately) rules, which determine the consistency of narrative, visual/linguistic linkages, and especially continuity and flow (1976:26-28; see also Williams' discussion of televisual "flow" below). As they note,

TV news is a manufactured product based on a coherent set of professional and ideological beliefs, and expressed in a rigid formula of presentation. (1976:31)

Television news, in other words, is set in a context of practice, hinging on a continuity of shot and text in a unity of image and sound; thus if the mere word "unrest" is employed in the first sentence of a televisual news story, it flavours the remaining parts of the text and works tangentially with an image (e.g. of violence at the factory gate) in a structured and "ideologically glossy" version of reality. In a methodological sense echoed by Gitlin, the Group argues for the examination of "small areas of output" in news production settings, necessitated by the huge complexities evident in the communications industry, and mountains of detail available from even the narrowest range of field study (1976:16). In following this particular methodological logic,

Taylor uses the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's "The Journal" to argue that entertainment and news/information can potentially meet in a depoliticized and highly conservative context (1986:15-17). The focus of The Journal, he suggests, is not so much on informing a consuming audience, but on providing pleasure and reassurance in a technologically enhanced format which identifies Canada's link with the news world in an immediate, "current events", sense. Although he suggests that The Journal is not necessarily modelled on the "happy news" approach of many U.S. outlets, the production does rely on conservative/consensual politics and the dilution of differences or opposition, which become "defined overwhelmingly in parliamentary terms" (1986:16).

As Eaman notes in his discussion of the construction of CBC's "The National", a process of selective decision-making lies at the foundation of constructing broadcast news. This process involves both "day-long task of deciding what's news" and "how particular stories are to be covered", in terms of restrictions on time, budgets, relative importance of the story, and established practices of production which yield "uniform product in the face of variable events and resources" (1987:44). As he comments, "Whatever news is, therefore, it is not simply a spontaneous, completely flexible, and indeterminant response to current events" (1987:44). As indicated by news production executives in the documentary "Inside TV News", broadcast news is dramatically constructed in much the same fashion as other television programming forms, where "zapping the cornea" by constructing the

maximum amount of news within a minimum amount of time becomes the governing criteria. Driven by globally connected and "enormously complicated" machinery, the profession of broadcast news hinges on "tempo and image", on the transformation of complex issues into accessible summary packages, where producers "guess what audiences will watch" and maintain "a vested interest in the worst possible outcome". Thus the relationship between news and entertainment is never far removed, since "each (category) plays on the same stage" (CBC Television Documentary, "Inside TV News", 1982).

In assuming a more conceptual perspective and citing the character of the historical relationship between culture and power, Hall has suggested that the news media generally perform the selective work of constructing social knowledge in a "...reconstruction of lived totalities (through their) "encoded" messages" (1977:340-341). By fulfilling a role which involves a "process of making sense of the world", the media have "phenomenal multiplicity" in presenting a consensually and visibly acknowledged order of the social world. In the historical evolution of class domination and state power, he argues, the media are not necessarily comprised of ruling class members, in that to maintain operational principles of neutrality, objectivity and balance they must remain relatively autonomous while performing the ideological work required in the reproduction of consent (1977:345; 1984:40-41; 1988:53-57). The institutions of news production in fact organize a particular set of relational patterns between classes and culture, mobilizing consent for various forms of authority,

while the state works as a principal force in the mediation of cultural formations and class relations, "harnessing them to particular hegemonic strategies" (1984:23).

While there appears to be no linear progression in this role of state-as-mediator or cultural producer/organizer, it appears "undeniable" that in mass democracies, a successful hegemony (referring to relative success or failure in sustaining conditions necessary to the reproduction of dominant forces of power; see below) will become increasingly reliant on the cultural role of the state (1984:47-48). More concisely, in addressing the history of broadcasting and the state in Britain, Hall notes the conflicting cultural/economic models of free-market and state-sponsored television networks grappled with by political agents in a revealing context of contradictions and conflict among class fractions. Similar to the Canadian case, a state regulatory agency oversees broadcasting policy and practice in Britain, and both private and state networks reproduce practices of the state, adapting a stance of "consensus" in times of calm and "impartiality/neutrality" in periods of controversy (1984:47). In the on-going reproduction of power through the cultural/political role of the media, Hall points to the contradictory nature which this activity assumes, wherein not only class relations, but class fractional relations, are mired in conflict (e.g. corporate advertising interests, state policy-makers, broadcast regulators) (see also Hall et al 1982).

Returning to the context of practice which solidifies

traditional methods while accepting (or neutralizing) emergent ones, Williams has emphasized that two characteristics are particularly crucial to the continuing success and expansion of television: (i) "planned flow" (the sequential order of programming, including advertising) and (ii) "selectivity" between and within various categories of programming, whether entertainment, news or sports (1974:89-95). These qualities of flow (which may be the defining characteristic of contemporary television) and selectivity in production, and the substantive essence which connects this to the reproduction of power, is revealed in, among other facets of production, the televisual representation of sport. As Williams comments,

...some of the best television is of sport, which with its detailed close-ups and variety of perspectives, has given us a new excitement and immediacy in watching physical action, and even a new visual experience of a distinct kind. (1974:68)

As I argue in Chapter Six, Williams' brief notation on the world of televisual sport, and its linkage to the dominant characteristics of television's other programming categories, is most insightful, particularly in terms of the "immediacy" he attaches to its production. The implications here are not restricted to the game itself, but allude to a relationship of production/consumption, mediated in some technological mystery which formally ties object to subject. To recall the technical innovations in Canadian sports broadcasting during the early

1960's, the "watching" of sport became altered in form, given the possibilities of "re-watching" physical action through replays, the shifting of time through slo-motion, and the numerous angles possible through camera placement. In other words, the construction of sports programs assumed a different shape, one which directly altered the experience of consumption.

Considerations on Sport and Television

The points presented by Gitlin, the Glasgow Group, Hall and Williams will be recalled in Part III of the thesis, as they make important contributions to a critical analysis of sports productions rooted in a political-economic interpretation. The major link between them, I believe, is that they each look beyond the context of product to the dynamics of production, in ways which endeavour to link the two in terms of history, structure, and (particularly in Hall's work) power. In a more theoretical sense, it is important to extend these analyses within a deeper, more textured concept of power, one which acknowledges the consensual context alongside the reproduction of power relations. Prior to this, however, I present a brief review of literature which deals more explicitly with the sport/television relationship, and point to the theoretical silences which mark this body of work.

As Cantelon and Gruneau point out, much of the research emphasis on media presentations of sport has been mired in treatments of "effects", i.e. social-psychological studies of the effects of sports violence on consuming audiences (e.g. Hyraiko et

al 1978; Wenner and Gantz 1988) or the effects of television technology on sport presentations (e.g. Birrell and Loy 1979). The central problem with this emphasis is that "effects" literature often depends on behaviouristic assumptions associated with the encoding and decoding of a text, attaching symbolic properties to "determinate treatments of social organizations" without examining the conditions under which production occurs (Cantelon et al 1984b:10-13).¹ Although valuable in pinpointing the complexities of sport and television, and in drawing out the particular ways in which sport is dramatically embellished by television, such approaches generally fail to address wider issues of political economy and the question of cultural production (Cantelon and Gruneau 1988:180-182).

While difficult to categorize in a narrow sense, research on sport and television has generally addressed isolated elements of this complex interaction, such as the technical or televisual presentation of the game, shifting qualities of the sport itself, the codifying of sport under a dominant ideological version of reality, its decoding by the audience, or other audience-based features, which often result in a divorcing of cultural commodities from the productive forces which drive them. In other words, the approach to understanding the interrelationship of sport and media has not generally stemmed from the more critical perspectives cited above, although certain works have contributed to a better comprehension of this area.

For example, Birrell and Loy discuss the essential

characteristics which comprise the "television form of sport", including the technical procedures associated with television style, the variable size of the image presented, the compression of time into "highlights", the slowing or stopping of time, isolation (an enabling factor in the construction of heroes), and the provision of additional information through commentary (Birrell and Loy 1979). Such techniques are important considerations, argues Whannel, as they combine to render "actuality into good television" in a transformation of time and space directed toward the creation of an "appealing product" (Whannel 1982:102; Williams 1974).

Assuming a somewhat broader perspective, Clarke and Clarke cite four main "values" which inform the concentration of the broadcast presentation of sport: spectacle, drama, personalization and immediacy (1982:71). They suggest the entire visual media production of sport invites us to witness an entertainment package provided in all its characteristically mediated splendour and excitement, filtered to us in a "process of presentation" (1982:73). It is a selective representation, however, which invokes a repetitive routine potentially offset by the peculiar qualities of games or events, e.g. variety in the introduction of new or "novelty/trash" sports, or elements of the unknown in the drama of winning and losing and record-breaking (1982:75). The images presented (to an actively involved, not passive, audience) are nonetheless implicitly ideological, in that they "appear to rest on natural truths (of the body or the physical)...rather than as products of human social and political construction" which support

a broadly based rationale of nationalism and gender/class differences (1982:64-65; Willis 1982; Whannel 1982:101). In this way, there is "more than meets the eye" in terms of sport as a mediated and formalized product of consumer culture.

While the audience is usually recognized as an essential feature in the development and continuation of television sports, Jhally (1984) argues that the central commodity produced in this realm is the audience body itself. He suggests the audience is delivered to advertisers through a "free lunch" (sports) presented by the media, in turn reliant upon the exploitation of audience labour power (watching) as a means of appropriating surplus value (1984:43-47). In other words, in the purchase of advertising time, corporate capital is in fact purchasing a commodified audience product in its sponsorship of audience time, guaranteeing delivery in an expansive system of production which includes the sale of technology (televisions, cable systems) and the exploitation of new markets (as in the expansion of professional league sport or introduction of satellite systems to remote areas) (Jhally 1984:49-50; see also Smythe 1980, 1981). Thus if televised sport is to be associated with the sustenance of ideological power, Jhally would argue that accumulative processes involved require examination as a primary force.

Although these more critically oriented efforts at determining the complexities of the sport/television dynamic are important and somewhat revealing of certain ideological or economic processes, they tend to ignore the historical interrelationship evident

between the production of a cultural commodity and the potent reproductive capacity this has. While the elements of technology, characteristics of a production, the "knowledgeable" and desiring audience, and economic variations of television sports are crucial in developing a clear picture of what is involved in this medium, a more pointed analysis of power relations which underscore this process remains absent. In this sense, it is viable to address the sport/television relation from a broader perspective, as a cultural practice bound by structural constraints, constitutive of hegemonic relations. That is to say, the realm of televised sports production is a consensual one, driven by an interconnected series of historical/ideological tradition and practice in a highly mediated reformulation and reconstitution of not only the game, but of a dominant, pervasive set of structured power relations.

Cantelon et al touch on this conceptualization of sport and power in their suggestion that the selective construction of televised sport re-presents a conventional view of the social world as "a consequence of the active choices of people working within certain limits of profitability, tradition, politics and organizational factors" (1984b:22), i.e. as part of the labour process underlying the organization and mechanics of production. More profoundly, they suggest that (i) the selection of particular sports for presentation is determined by market forces, social background and experiences of production personnel, and (ii) the linkage between the media and dominant economic interests must be recognized as an important consideration. This analysis is echoed

by Hargreaves, who further notes that an ideology supporting order and control, or the dilution of resistance, is often imparted by television sports (1986:144-146). Thus it is of clear importance to recognize that the process of encoding/decoding occurs as a socially contingent practice, as part of the production pattern centered on the dramatic presentation of heroes, villains and the contest. While one must be cognizant of the environment in which this takes place, i.e. the male-defined world of media sport, and of those mechanisms which work to carry sport into a "universal market of capitalism", it is also critical to analyze the interrelatedness of these features with fractional social and political relations which encompass not only the state and private capital, but the sports community (e.g. the Canadian NSO's) as well. Therefore, although I agree when Cantelon and Gruneau call for the "analysis of changing production and coding images on television...tied in with the politics of audience consumption and the political economy of mass communications" as necessary to advancing our understanding of the dominant social definition of sport, I also believe this does not take the analysis far enough into the sphere of the hegemonic process which extends to the very heart of varying power relations. Given the historical evolution of sport and broadcasting, and the current context of production, it is imperative to acknowledge the ways in which the power of the state and private capital (and, to a lesser extent, the broadcasting industry and the sports community) conjoin at particular sites to form a partnership of action which solidifies

their influence and control. In a deeper sense, I further argue that the analysis of gender and media sport represents an important doorway to a broader, theoretically informed, interpretation which is bound neither by a microscopic textual approach, nor by economistic derivations, nor by a singular focus on technological capacity or imparted ideology. I leave this latter concern to the next chapter; the extension of this critical analysis first requires an elaboration of how hegemony itself may be conceptualized and advanced in terms of sport study, and the ways in which cultural theory offers an important contribution to this theoretical approach.

The Concept of Hegemony

Hegemony, as articulated by Gramsci and neo-Gramscian theorists, has been recognized as an important concept in assessing the intersection and perpetuation of economic, political and ideological power without resorting to economistic reductionism (Stasiulis 1988:23-24). Indeed, one of the most valuable contributions of Gramsci's thought rests in his estimation of state power, and in his views of class domination through political/ideological means. Stemming from his experiences in working class movements in Northern Italy and his rejection of the predominant economism of Marxist political theory prior to 1920 (Mouffe 1982:169-171; Boggs 1976:36), it was of crucial importance for Gramsci to understand not only how the central embodiment of political force, the state, comes to power in an historical sense,

but how the dominant class (or "leading group") maintains its position of economic and political domination. Gramsci's conceptualization of hegemony and political action was centred around a dialectical notion of the interaction between infrastructure and superstructure, and a view of the capitalist state itself as

...the entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its dominance, but manages to win the active consent of those over whom it rules.
(Gramsci 1971:244, emphasis R.C.)

But Gramsci also recognized (i) the relative balance which the state must strike between the "spontaneous consent" of the masses to "the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group" and the "apparatus of state coercive power", and (ii) the need for subordinate groups to mobilize and develop strategies against this domination, in an on-going struggle for hegemonic power (where absorption of contrary interests is a "continuous necessity" of the leading group) (1971:12-13, 57-59). While it has been pointed out that apparent contradictions in Gramsci's Prison Notebooks render his views of the state and civil society and the balance of consent/coercion confusing or inconsistent (Anderson 1977), the most prevalent and ultimately informing perspective on hegemony is that which understands its practical development and application as a synthesis of consent and coercion, and which recognizes civil society as part of (but not

identical to) the state (Carnoy 1984:73). Thus many Gramscian-informed studies of the state, for example, understand hegemony as expressed and lived through in both the institutions of civil society (religion, education) and the state, resulting in a mystification of dominant class rule (1984:73-74; Jessop 1982:150). In this sense, hegemonic power involves a "fusion of economic, moral and political objectives brought about by one fundamental group" (Mouffe 1981:181) together with the "successful mobilization and reproduction" of consent itself (Gramsci 1971:52-53; Jessop 1982:148). This success (which must be continually worked toward and worked for, since it is never guaranteed or total but flowing and constantly challenged) rests on the ability of the "hegemonic class" to articulate, adopt and/or neutralize subordinate interests, such that its own power is broadly acknowledged as legitimate and the basic structure and ideological foundation of society is not threatened (Mouffe 1982:182; Jessop 1982:149; Sassoon 1978:28; Carnoy 1984:76; Stasiulis 1988:24-25).

In this regard, the capitalist state itself is understood as both an integral one, which attempts to include all groups in its own accommodating practice, and a fragile one, which rests on (as stated earlier) an "unstable equilibrium of compromise" and must demonstrate its representation of all interests while at the same time uniting itself (Gramsci 1971:182; Sassoon 1978:29). Thus this political structure must be conceived as a continuous process of formation which strives to overcome this instability of dominant/subordinate group interests (or, as Mahon (1984) suggests

from a Poulantzian perspective, the interests of class fractions). In terms of this (historically specific) process, hegemony itself may be seen as that moment in which a "fundamental social group, an alliance of class strata" has

...achieved direction over the "decisive economic nucleus", is able to expand this into a moment of social, political and cultural leadership and authority throughout civil society and the state, attempting to unify and reconstruct the social formation around an organic tendency through a series of "national tasks". (Hall 1980:35)

In this broader sense, hegemony represents not only a conceptualization of power, but a means of engendering stability in this inherently volatile balance of compromise, by recognizing and acting upon popular demands, compromising on "secondary issues" and organizing support for the long-term interests of the dominant group (i.e. class struggle and class relations are embodied and acted upon, essentially reproduced, politically). This struggle toward balance and the sustenance of power can thus become "a saturation of the whole process of living", such that the pressures and limits of what can ultimately be seen as a "specific, economic, political and cultural system, seem to most of us the pressures and limits of simple experience and common sense" (Williams 1977:110). Clearly, this historical motion and struggle found in socio-political relations of capitalism is empowered in part by ideology in the Gramscian perspective, for it is upon the system of dominant conceptions and ideas (e.g. "in the national good" or "national

interest") that this hegemonic process may be organized and continuously acted upon by the state. As Gramsci notes,

Ideas and opinions are not spontaneously born in each individual brain; they have a center of formation, of irradiation, of dissemination, of persuasion - a group of men, or a single individual even, which has developed them and presented them in the current form of political reality. (1971:192-193)

And as Hall comments, noting Gramsci's approach to the role of ideology,

Common sense itself is a structure of popular ideology, a spontaneous conception of the world, reflecting the traces of previous systems of thought that have sedimented into everyday reasoning. (1938:55)

In this sense, both state power and the essence of those power relations between civil society and political structures may be viewed much more dynamically, in that the broad sweep of state activities may be recognized as extending beyond the beck and call of capital or economic crisis, to expressions of dominant or subordinate (or even self-) interest. While crisis is recognized in the Gramscian perspective, it is generally understood as a crisis of hegemony (which can, but need not necessarily, stem from economic crisis) or consensus, through which the dominant group is put into a position of response. Any failure to respond effectively to an emerging or broadening crisis (wherein the state may be called upon to "make sacrifices of an economic-corporate kind"

(Gramsci 1971:160)) can result in widespread social change or upheaval. While this calls to mind the "last resort" of coercive force as a means of repressing change, it must be recalled that the state operates most efficiently, achieves its "fullest crystallization" when rooted in popular consent and leadership (thereby enabling it to work toward the production and management of consent) (Hall et al 1978:203). This must also be true in circumstances of coercive activity, where the exercise of coercion at least appears as occurring within a sphere of popular consent and thus maintains a certain legitimacy as it corresponds to the tenets of a particular belief system which acknowledges the need for military/police capacity (1978:202). As Hall et al comment,

...society clearly works better when men learn to discipline themselves; or where discipline appears to be the result of the spontaneous consent of each to a common and necessary social and political order; or where, at least, the reserve exercise of coercion is put into effect with everyone's consent. (1978:202)

Nonetheless, it was Gramsci's strong belief that the capitalist state works best through the "interweaving of a multitude of consensual processes, with rarer exercises of repression" (Stasiulis 1988:24; Hall 1984). Ideology may in turn be understood as part of this broader and penetrating hegemonic process, partially fulfilling a mediating role in "the confrontation between varying hegemonic principles" (Mouffe 1981:187) and partly comprising the territory upon which the

struggle for power occurs (Williams 1977:111). For Gramsci, it is not so much a matter of what is "false" or "dominant" about ideology, but rather (and tellingly), what is true and constructed in a process of struggle (Hall 1988:46). The essence of hegemony is thus its flexible and variable nature, reinforced by particular institutional structures, but not wholly defined by these (as Althusser claims in his Ideological State Apparatus formulation). Through hegemonic activity, the true nature of class (and, as I will argue, gender) relations are masked, the organization of opposition is broken down (accommodated or neutralized), and fragments are re-unified (perhaps under the aegis of a dominant belief system or goal) through the establishment of (and movement to solidify) some form of cohesiveness (Hall 1977:335-338). In this way, the conflict between fractions of the dominant group and/or contradiction between dominant/subordinate interests may be mediated and shaped toward the reproduction of power in a general sense.

Understanding power from a perspective of hegemony (which is always the "temporary master of a particular theatre of struggle" (Hall 1980:36)) elaborates a more abstract economic perspective or singularly "relational" view by incorporating elements of commonsense and dynamic historical change into analyses of those sites of power and struggle. It is in consideration of these factors that the sphere of culture becomes intimately related to power, now more broadly recognized as the control by a ruling alliance over the production and reproduction of economic,

political and ideological conditions necessary to its existence.
As Hall et al note,

The "task" of ideological conformity is, increasingly, the work of cultural apparatuses...even in a social formation overdetermined by the laws of motion of capitalist production, the conditions for that production - or what has come to be called social reproduction - are often sustained in the apparently "unproductive" spheres of civil society and the state. (1978:202)

It is my contention that as a vital dimension existing among these more "unproductive spheres" of civil society and the state, culture and cultural production (or what Gramsci has termed the "cultural battle") work as territorial extensions in and through which power (dominant, pervasive, but consensually-based and articulated) is reproduced and lived through in a concrete manifestation of the hegemonic process. Indeed, among the various approaches to the concept of hegemony, and its relationship to class and ideology, the Gramscian/neo-Gramscian perspective on culture (and to some extent, communication) has provided insightful commentary on the (mystified) ways in which structures of power work to maintain the dominant way of doing things as the "natural" way of the socio-political world. Similarly, the analysis of modern institutionalized sport and its relationship to hegemony has provided a more critical approach to understanding the dynamics of power in a different manner. In order to develop the concept of hegemony, its relationship to class, gender and ideology, and the role of state/capital intersected power as a vehicle of its

expression, I turn to a more focused examination of culture/communication and power.

Cultural Theory and Hegemony

The contribution of cultural theory to the conceptual/practical extension of the concept of hegemony stems from recent interpretations of the varied and potent ways in which cultural formations, and cultural commodities, are constructed and supported in modern society. Significantly, much of this work has been influenced by Gramsci's own writings on the construction of popular consent, wherein historically developed processes merge on shifting sites of struggle in a consistent drive toward capturing a "hegemonic moment".

Drawing from this perspective, Raymond Williams has argued that in order to address historically significant changes evident in the social process of culture, it must be recognized that social and cultural orders are "actively made", i.e. produced and reproduced by human agents (Williams 1981:201). This process can in turn be historically related to (i) the rise of new social classes, (ii) re-definitions of class conditions which result in new forms of labour, and (iii) changes in the means of cultural production. Although he argues that there is generally a clear element of domination in this production, such that cultural institutions and forms appear in a natural way to dominated groups (1981:204), he carefully notes that this is not "totalizing" or all-encompassing, since there are normally alternatives to dominant

cultural production through residual (available cultural work) and emergent (new) forms. Nonetheless, cultural re-production usually occurs at the dominant (major controlling) level of production. Out of this, he suggests,

... "popular" culture is the major area of bourgeois and ruling class cultural production, moving toward an offered "universality" in the modern communications institutions, with a "minority" sector increasingly seen as residual and to be formally preserved in those terms.
(1981:229)

The site of struggle in the midst of this dominating reproduction is thus the so-called alternative categories of production, where neither residual nor emergent cultural meanings or experiences are expressed in terms of the dominating culture (Williams 1980:42). While alternatives will always exist, however, the dominating quality of the prevailing culture stems not from cultural forms themselves, but from the material character of a cultural order which works in harmony with the prevailing social and political order. Therefore, Williams comments,

What is decisive is not only the conscious system of ideas and beliefs, but the whole lived social process as practically organized by specific dominant meanings and values.

(Williams 1977:109)

It is crucial to recognize that the production and reproduction of culture is not reducible to a definition of ideology or to a conception of a mirror image or reflection of prevailing values

and meanings and beliefs, given the interconnection of culture with broadly based socio-political and economic structures. Culture itself is a "complex unity of elements", a social and material process more deeply and profoundly understood in a context of historically and materially produced social relations (1977:132-133; Garnham 1979:130-131). And, as Williams notes, part of the means of cultural production encompasses the sphere of "communications", e.g. the media, which is similarly marked (like cultural forms themselves) by problems of access (to technology, for instance), control by state/class power, and economic conditions of resource distribution ("the realities of which exist in direct relation to the forms of control over capital and the general social order") (1980:58-59).

As Johnson (1979) points out, this broader view of culture renders it a more difficult area to typify and categorize. In a substantive sense, culture can refer to the "routine practice of everyday life" in and through institutions and practices (e.g. media, sport) which systematically produce and reproduce structures and meanings, and/or to the "whole way of life" of a particular group of people, where "the threads of similarly placed individuals...are woven into a fabric or tradition...giving them a definite character or identity" (Hargreaves 1986:9). In this latter, more ethnographic view, various subcultural forms (working class, women, youth) are evident, and

...in this sense are profound sources
of power, reproducing social divisions
here, challenging and rebelling against

them there, while in many ways accommoda-
 ting subordinate groups to the social
 order. (1986:9)

The analysis of relations which have emerged between dominant culture and emergent subcultural forms has generated an important and expanded view of the culture/power relationship, contributing to an elaboration of the concept of hegemony. Bourdieu and Passeron, for example, have argued that a dominant culture tends to be passed off as a singular system, legitimately imposed as a result of an identifiable condition of class reproduction (such as education) and the "acceptance" of that culture by dominated groups (1977:25). The measured success of such a cultural imposition comes not only in its acceptance, but in its durability or longevity, transposition or practice, and exhaustiveness (*i.e.* totality of its reproduction).² In this way, however, the production of cultural capital and consumption of cultural goods work as a marker and reinforcer of class relations, in that culture is also appropriated by groups for their particular needs (although, as Garnham and Williams note, Bourdieu emphasizes the regeneration of class relations, rather than opportunities for change and innovation, which emerge as a result of this) (1980:217, 222-223). While Bourdieu argues the role of cultural power in terms of reconciling ruling class fractions (or, reconciling material reproduction with its legitimation through the exercise of symbolic power), "sub-cultural" theorists have argued a process of appropriation occurs which transforms or re-shapes a "parent" culture to suit the needs

of a particular group while existing within the flexible and accommodating cultural confines it draws from (Clarke et al 1979). In the context of cultural production, however, new or resistant features (such as a youth culture expressed in style, music or violence) can be controlled or adapted as components of a broader symbolic system ultimately operating in support of dominant culture (e.g. the appropriation of style by a marketplace constantly in search of innovation). What subcultural analyses have revealed is both the way in which forms of cultural challenge may threaten an already tenuous balance of consensus, and the resourcefulness of intimately related economic, political and/or ideological forces in responding to these moments of resistance (e.g. through accommodation of neighbourhood concerns at the policy level to the aforementioned "mainstreaming" of emergent cultural forms to the outright repression of violent or potentially violent manifestations) (Clarke et al 1979; Murdock and McCron 1976; Corriigan and Willis 1980; Willis 1981; Taylor 1982).

Hegemony, as articulated and driven toward by dominant and dominated groups alike, is thus viewed as spinning and weaving its way in and through civil society and the state in a multi-layered continuous expression of domination - resistance - response; if culture is produced and the resulting commodities or activities become defined as counter-hegemonic (thereby tipping the scales of consent away from dominant class and state interests), the response to this can potentially immerse or stultify this movement in a capacity which works to reproduce the dominant order. Further to

this, prevailing popular culture is understood as possessing the capacity to reproduce itself, as in the expansion of certain cultural forms which extend beyond national boundaries to achieve a pervasive global status. Where cultural theory has been most successful, then, is in its examination of those "unproductive" spheres of society, whereby the historically evolving layers of production/reproduction are peeled away to reveal a deeply penetrating cycle of domination and struggle, movement and change, constrained within the boundaries of formidable, organized and systematically maintained power. If hegemony denotes an "unstable equilibrium of compromise", then culture works in a multi-dimensional way as the territory upon which the range of stability and extent of compromise occurs; it is indeed a key player in the construction, articulation and management of consent. I would further contend that as elements of cultural production which work in often subtle ways to solidify this, both media and sport are fundamental components in the process of hegemonic activity and the regeneration of power networks. It is therefore important and necessary to consider the ways in which sport, the media and hegemony are interrelated.

Considerations on Sport and Hegemony

While relatively few attempts have been made to examine in careful detail the relationship between hegemony and sport, various researchers have reflected on the relationship between ideology and athletics in ways which have proved enlightening albeit limited

(e.g. Hoberman 1977:105-106; Thompson 1978:84; Helmes 1981:211; Rigauer 1981:15-56). This is to say that particular tenets of the dominant ideology have been associated with the socio-cultural phenomena of sport, e.g. nationalism, team-work, achievement, success, rugged individualism, sacrifice and other principles which have carried over from Victorian notions of gentlemanly amateurism (see Mallea 1975). Some valuable insights have also been garnered from the examination of sport in terms of the labour process itself, where the mundane qualities and technocratic approach to training emulate the process of production in general (such as the drive for "optimal functioning capacity") under a basic "achievement principle" which associates "bourgeois virtues to the norms of athletic behaviour" (Rigauer 1981:15-16, 99; see also Offe 1976).

More overt political ideologies have been a visible aspect of high performance athletics for some time, where clashes of doctrine have been played out on the stage of international competition, and where political nationalism can ultimately dictate participation in high profile events such as the Olympics (Hoberman 1984; see also related discussions in Chapters One and Two). In the Canadian case, as argued earlier, "national unity" has generally served as ideological groundwork for a (still-emerging and changing) state/sport relationship, whereby "the underlying importance of the promotion of unity through sport is that it tends to assist in the maintenance of system stability" (Levasseur 1976:55). As Williams notes, however, it is problematic to examine ideology solely in

terms of a firmly established set of beliefs and values, since this negates an understanding of ideology as materially-based and produced in an ever-shifting reciprocity which occurs between agents and the social world (1980:108-109). Furthermore, as Hargreaves points out, this tends to imply "a unidirectional process whereby ideology is always invented and imposed on subordinates by a homogeneous ruling class" (1982b:114).

A more useful examination of ideology and sport is presented by Willis, who cites three simultaneous, mutually dependent and reinforcing "stages" of ideology: (i) content of the particular ideological system, (ii) its re-interpretation within "social sub-regions", whereby ideology "can only exist if it can embody itself in the concrete common sense of actors", and (iii) the re-birth of ideology, i.e. the perpetuation of a dominant belief system through its penetration into concrete social reality and manifestation via the reactions of those who come into contact with it (1982:125-128). In this deeper sense, ideology works as "a powerful force of definition seeking its own reflection from reality in order to confirm itself" in a (lived) "legitimation of a dominant version of social reality" (1982:124, 129). This is especially potent in the mystified reproduction of gender lines, he argues, as sport (a most "natural" activity of the body) not only carries the ideological baggage of achievement, but engages the sexist mythology of dominant (strength, speed, skill) male/subordinate (weaker) female through a commonsense re-interpretation that males will always be superior in the social sub-region of athletics.

Implicitly, then, the social practice of sport kindles a re-birth of ideology which performs a highly visible role in the reinforcement of gender divisions. (And, as Whannel (1984) and Hargreaves (1986) argue, media-presented sport plays a strong role in depicting conventional images of masculinity and femininity; see my discussion of gender and televisual sport in Chapter Four.)

Like Hall's notion of ideology as a linked "mystifying/fragmenting/re-unifying" cycle which I noted earlier, Willis is skirting the conceptual territory of hegemony in reflecting on the articulation of common sense in the most apparently naturally occurring and ostensibly neutral of cultural spheres. In presenting a more textured sense of sport and power which elaborates this direction, Hargreaves challenges the conceptualization of modern sports by locating them within three "dimensions" of hegemony, each occurring along a broad line of variation: (i) extent of incorporation of sport into the consensual way of understanding and doing, (ii) mode of this incorporation, or methods applied on the site of hegemonic struggle, and (iii) mode of compliance sought, through allegiance, participation or "tacit acquiescence" (1982b:120). Cautioning (as does Williams) against the tendency of theoretical frameworks based on hegemony to "totalize" domination (in that some sports may be incorporated hegemonically while others display features resistant to mainstream athletics or games), Hargreaves poses an important question: "Which features of sport (contribute) to the process whereby class rule and power are translated into common sense and legitimated?" (1982b:121). I argue

here for a reformulation of this question, more elaborately stated as: How does the struggle for hegemonic position in a given historical moment advance a process whereby (i) sport/power relations are legitimated and perceived as common sense or natural practice, and (ii) sport (and, in this case, its televisual representation) works as a crucial cultural sphere in the emergence of shifting economic, political and ideological processes which fundamentally reproduce existing conditions which are supportive of dominant relations of power (notably, those based on or indicative of a cleavage of gender)?

The response to this latter question requires a shift toward an examination of particular concrete features of cultural production which will illuminate the theoretical problematic, i.e. the production of sport and its relationship to the regeneration of power; thus I leave an extended answer until Part III of the thesis. However, it is important nonetheless to note the debate which Hargreaves' own analysis has generated. Parry, for example, following Anderson's (1977) lead in assessing the "antinomies" of Gramsci, argues the selectivity of Hargreaves' discussion relegates its contribution solely to the political-ideological realm at the expense of those economic implications argued by Gramsci (Parry 1984). Haywood, on the other hand, criticizes Hargreaves in citing his "denial of freedom" and ignorance of the "aesthetic and enduringly potent" qualities of sport (epitomized by television, for example) (1986:235-237). Furthermore, he argues, hegemony theory itself "straightjackets" a broader view of the composition

of games, which only a "plurality of theoretical perspectives" can provide (1986:238).

Both Parry and Haywood offer misdirected critiques of the sport/hegemony relationship, the former in his restrictive view of human struggle and the insistence on the emanation of constraint from the infrastructural level, the latter in fundamentally ignoring the broader and mystified forms which hegemonic power assumes. Neither offers an essentially Gramscian elaboration which would situate sport in the realm of consent or coercion as not only articulated but experienced and lived through in a spectrum of activity within the cultural realm. Furthermore, as Whitson suggests, in arguing about the dominant features of sport (which he categorizes under the heading of leisure/recreation pursuits), its residual and/or emergent character which may forge alliances and present challenges of new kinds must be accounted for (1984:69-74), i.e. the particular "totalizing risk" of employing the concept of hegemony is tempered by careful analysis of those conceivable sources of counter-hegemonic movement, whether rooted in class, gender, within or outside of pervasive structures such as the state. And, as McKay notes, part of the problem with examinations of sport and particular forms of domination is that they are often couched in terms of class politics and resistance, with issues of gender (together with racial and ethnic concerns) tacked on as an afterthought, thereby ignoring a fundamental source of potentially transformative power (1986:267; see also my summary of the theoretical framework at the conclusion of Chapter Four).

In some ways, Hargreaves responds to these problems, and approaches a way of resolving the sport/hegemony problematic, in his more recent work on the social development of class formations and fragmentations in the emergence of British sport. Presenting arguments which identify the "strategic elaboration of power...which has renewed and refurbished bourgeois hegemony" in the second half of this century, he suggests that the fragmentation of subordinate groups which resulted from this has another side: their unification under the hegemony of the dominant class (reminiscent of Hall's argument above). This process involves in turn both the consolidation of consumer culture and the construction of national identity, whereby agents of capital successfully incorporate key features of popular culture such as sport into the sphere of commodification and consumerism (1986:216-217; see the related arguments of Giddens noted in Chapter Four below). While in a broader sense this has implications for the reproduction of class and gender relations, i.e. through a selling of sport as a family-oriented activity and the reconstruction of the body as "the body beautiful", the role of the state cannot be neglected in its contribution to the enveloping commodification of sport and inclusion of subordinate groups within its realm. This political affirmation has become elaborated, he argues, in (at least) two ways (which I argue are attributable to the activities of the Canadian state as well):

...first, by providing a network of facilities complementing rather than competing with private sector

enterprises...secondly, through its
policy of promoting sponsorship schemes.
(1986:218)

With the sanction of the state, Hargreaves notes,

Sponsorship is attracted to sport
overwhelmingly at the elite level; it is
this level which attracts the attention
of the media, and media sport is the
epitome of consumer culture. (1986:218)

In this light, Hargreaves forwards an intriguing argument
which has as much to do with the variable nature of power in
contemporary capitalism as it does with the concrete reality of
cultural products, i.e. the struggle for consensus is won and lost
on a multiplicity of interconnected sites, shaped and re-shaped,
penetrated and resisted, woven into the experience of all groups
in an ultimately lived through historical process. As Hargreaves
notes earlier,

Power relations, especially in modern
democracies, can be expansive, so that
all sides, dominant and subordinate
groups, gain something in the course of
struggle and out of the process of accom-
modation that tends to take place between
them...as agents rarely obtain their
objectives totally, neither do they neces-
sarily come out empty-handed. (1986:5-6)

It is thus important to set an analysis of contemporary sport
in a context which is sensitive to the ebb and flow of the
hegemonic process. While the forces directing consumer culture and
the appropriation of sport are conceivably overwhelming and

impenetrable, the renewal of hegemony by a class or class fraction (which supports and maintains a patriarchal system) must face points of resistance from a variety of formidable sources, such as pressures from women against a definitive male orientation to sporting practice (Hargreaves 1986:223; Gruneau 1988:31). It is this sensitivity to historical development, to the intricate formation of domination and control, to the confrontation between agents for change and structural smoothers of contradiction, to the realities of culture as much more than expressions of a way of life, which points to a more concrete direction of response, one which turns to the seemingly innocuous arena of sport and television. As I will argue, this examination of the hegemonic process leads not to a "blind alley" as Haywood suggests, and is not limited to "a way of seeing" as McKay permits, but offers an imaginative exploration of the subtle ways in which power works, and the manner in which challenges to structured domination become mounted.

Before turning to a more substantive elaboration of the relationship between agents of power and the sports broadcasting industry, it is necessary to extend those arguments linked to the reproduction of power relations through an examination of feminist theory and issues of sport and gender. While the chapter to follow concludes the theoretical section of the thesis, this is not to suggest that a consideration of gender relations is simply "tacked on" here, but that feminist theory, and analyses of gender and sport which draw from this (and/or from hegemony theory) provide

a compelling portrait of the extended intimacy which has emerged between culture and relations of power in contemporary society. In an organizational sense, the next chapter serves as a bridge to the evidence presented in Part III, wherein the analysis of public broadcasting, high performance sport and power coalesce into a telling narrative of the subtle and profound ways in which domination is articulated, reinforced and reconstituted.

Footnotes - Chapter Three

¹ I wish to thank Hart Cantelon of Queen's University for making the preliminary reports of this SSHRC project available, and for discussing various aspects of this project with me.

² Bourdieu and Passeron's framework for determining the success of a transposed culture are interesting when examined in light of U.S. cultural penetration of Canadian society, particularly in terms of the its apparent durability, widespread consumption (and efforts to emulate popular American cultural forms through Canadian television or film), and its exhaustiveness (or domination) in certain categories of cultural production (for example, book publishing in Canada).

Chapter Four

Institutionalizing Power: Structure, Sport and Relations of Gender

To this point, I have argued that a profound and revealing way in which to theorize the historical process and contemporary form of cultural production, and to understand the manner in which this is layered with structures of power and control, is to develop a more complete notion of hegemony. Rooted in the construction and (attempted) preservation of popular consent, hegemony theory illuminates our comprehension of power, whether we view this as gliding smoothly through the panorama of the state and civil society, or as confronted and conceivably fragmented by a wide variety of oppositional efforts. Inextricably linked to ideological expression, hegemony must be "constantly and ceaselessly renewed, reenacted" once achieved, since it is at its most basic a struggle which "determines the nature of the unstable equilibrium on which the authority of a social bloc is founded, and that also defines its weak or unstable points" (Hall 1988:54). As Hall notes, "Gramsci is deeply alive to the ethical, moral, intellectual, ideological, and cultural dimensions of the struggle for hegemony, but hegemony as a concept is not ethical or cultural alone", since it is based on a unity of economic and political aims, of intellect and morality, in the embattled creation and sustenance of a fleeting moment (1988:54; Gramsci 1971:181-182).

This draws our attention back to the essential structures of power which engage in the dynamic process of constructing hegemony, and which are themselves reconstituted at the very heart of this historical movement. As outlined in the narrative of the sport/broadcasting relation in Chapter Two, it is of clear importance to recognize the nature of state power and its alignment with private capital in this development, since these play leading roles in "the motor force of a universal expansion" (Gramsci 1971:182), i.e. existing as a major part of the fundamental bloc which successfully exercises hegemony over subordinate groups. But I have argued in the previous chapter that, in the critical analysis of the construction of hegemonic power, cultural forms like sport and organized play are structured in such a way that they perform a subtle but nurturing role in the retention or rooting of hegemony, primarily contributing to the reproduction of socio-political conditions which work unfailingly to strengthen existing relations of power.

I have noted that, in a general sense, one of the most pressing, historically created, set of power relations which becomes constructed and reconstructed in a plethora of social institutions and formations is that based on gender. Moreover, I have suggested that the extension of hegemony through the (often silent) structuring and "production" of sport is resolutely tied to the spikes which hold social cleavages of class, gender (and sexuality), race and ethnicity in place, overtly ideological here, more profit-oriented there, but always woven into a fabric of

control and domination. Most tellingly, however, a conceptual understanding of hegemony allows us to understand that it is a control which does not go unchallenged, and renewal which does not exist without question or critique. If history is the heart of hegemony, resistance and the potential for the construction of social change is its soul. This is to say that, the power of hegemony, or the hegemonic process, and the drive toward an elaboration of counter-hegemony, lie in their respective conjunctural practices and struggles, as they meet on a range of sites located in the ebb and flow of history.

This chapter is devoted to an extension of the theoretical framework which ultimately recognizes the reproductive capacity of those forces and pressures previously alluded to. It is vital, I think, to understand the interconnected roles which those structures of the state, capital, broadcasting and the sport community play in this reproduction. But it is of further importance to hinge this on a understanding of power (and culture/sport) which is sensitive to a cleavage of gender under modern capitalism. Just as hegemony provides an enlightened route for recognizing and critically assessing the roles which culture and ideology play in the production of power, feminist theory contributes to a deeper comprehension of how this power becomes manifested in daily practice, where everyday actions are tied to the recreation of a gendered line of domination.

To this end, this chapter is divided into the following: (i) a brief discussion of the role of the liberal-democratic state,

and its relationship with private capital; (ii) an examination of views of power expressed in feminist theory, which concentrates on more objective structural contributions (i.e. gender and the state); (iii) a brief analysis of literature which identifies the relationship between gender and sport; and (iv) a summary of the theoretical framework which notes the conceptual linkage between production/ reproduction, and is carried forward into Part III of the thesis.

Theorizing the State

One of the major problems associated with formulating a comprehensive theory of the state and its power, and a source of major debate within Marxist-oriented literature, has been the "discontinuity and disjunction" located in Marx and Engels' own ruminations on the role of political structures in emerging capitalism (Jessop 1982:1-5). Although lacking a definitive analysis of the state and political power, the writings of Marx and Engels provide numerous and important themes or approaches to this problem, ranging from views of the state as an instrument of class rule (e.g. The German Ideology, The Communist Manifesto) to its role as a cohesive factor in the organization of socio-political life (e.g. Engels' Origins of the Family, the State and Private Property, which also notes the historically subordinate role of women in their lack of access to "public production" or wage labour). Thus, argues Jessop, given this rich array of classical ideas, a most useful manner of elaborating a theory of

the state is to avoid reductionist accounts which focus on a "single causal principle", by illuminating these "multiple determinations" encompassing the class orientation, institutional composition and ideological factors of the state structure manifested in the expression of its power (1982:27-30). As Jessop suggests,

Only through the synthesis of many different determinations can one move from the abstract to the concrete, and this involves the articulation of different principles of explanation and modes of analysis. (1982:29).

In this sense, it is important to note that many contemporary debates on the nature and role of the state and political power have emerged on the basis of differences in both theoretical and methodological perspectives or points of departure. Whether stemming from Marx's famous aphorism of the economic infrastructure giving "rise to a legal and political superstructure" (Marx 1975:425-426), or from an emphasis on the development of the state as an outcome of an increasingly complex division of labour under capitalist relations of production, one of the most volatile and informing points of debate has been the conceptualization of the relationship between the state and social class. More explicitly, an important stream of thought has recognized the interrelationship between the sphere of political power and sphere of economic power related to a minority yet dominant elite capitalist class (or to economic fractions of this class). Contributing to this debate

within the confines of Marxist thought have been: (i) "instrumentalist" and "structuralist" accounts of the state (notably the Miliband/Poulantzas debate of the late 1960's and early 1970's) which have successfully isolated particular features of political power and elaborated (abstractly and concretely) the interaction between the state and private capital, (ii) more derivationist accounts which centre on the historical cycles of capitalist accumulation and crisis, and the role of the state in procuring the conditions necessary to this (Hirsch 1978; Holloway and Picciotto 1978), (iii) discussions which have centered more on ideological considerations and power by hegemony, which have in some instances offered a more dynamic view of power in general (Boggs 1976, Mouffe 1982, Hall et al 1978), and (iv) feminist accounts of state power, which examine the role of the state in the oppression of women and strengthening of male domination (in a material and/or ideological sense) and, in response to the class-based approaches of Marxist scholarship, offer substantial analyses of the role which women play in the reproduction of capitalism itself (Secombe 1974; McIntosh 1978; MacKinnon 1981; Ursel 1986; Connell 1988; Saunders 1988.)

While these areas of discussion are by no means mutually exclusive, in that there are evident linkages and borrowings between and among them, there are differences in their relative contributions to theorizing the state, and to understanding more specifically the dynamics of state power in Canadian society, which merit consideration. Of the many available accounts of state power

under capitalism, or the relation of economic accumulation with political legitimation, perhaps the most intriguing are those which adapt Ralph Miliband's suggestion, that class power and state power exist in "inevitable tension" but should not be conflated conceptually or empirically. He argues persuasively that the relationship between the dominant class and the state is "one of partnership between two different, separate forces, linked to each other by many threads yet each having its own separate sphere of concerns" (1983:72, emphasis orig.), a notion which echoes Macpherson (1965). He notes that the contradictions and shortcomings of capitalism inevitably produce pressures and tensions which ultimately affect the "terms of the partnership" (1983:72-73). In a sense, this rather straightforward interpretation cultivates a more rounded view of what Miliband terms the "engineering of consent" (pointing to the Gramscian influence evident in his work) (1969:161-165).

Drawing on a more instrumentalist perspective of state/class power in addressing the relative intimacy which exists between the federal state and private capital in the Canadian case, Panitch outlines four on-going tasks of the state in its relationship with capitalist accumulation: (i) to provide a "favourable fiscal and monetary climate for economic growth via private enterprise" (as many federal budgets are inclined to do); (ii) to underwrite certain private risks of production through public expense with grants or subsidies (e.g. the construction of the SkyDome); (iii) to absorb the social costs of production incurred by private

enterprise (sanitation, health and unemployment insurance, education costs) and assist in the development and maintenance of a capitalist labour market by controlling immigration and land policy; and (iv) to "provide the technical infrastructure for capitalist development" in areas where the potential for private entrepreneurial loss is considered too high, e.g. roads, highways, airports (1977:14-15; see also O'Connor 1973).

A broader and somewhat more political view is assumed by Offe when he argues that, in the creation and maintenance of the conditions of accumulation, the state engages in two modes of intervention: (i) "allocative", representing policy measures which stabilize accumulation through the allocation of resources which are under state control (such as education), and (ii) "productive", or policy measures through which the state takes responsibility for "inputs required by the accumulation process" when capital, for various reasons, will not (1975:128-132). In the balancing (or perhaps avoidance of contradiction) of its accumulative and legitimating roles, the state practices "structural selectivity", in that it will respond only to those concerns which correspond to defined "general interests" (1975:135-137). (And as Block points out, this activity and process of decision-making is more aligned with the "sensitivist" state, where accumulation is crucial to state revenue and to general public support (1977:17)).

In terms of the relationship between class and state power in the accumulative sphere, Offe notes that while the state is indeed committed to a range of social expenses, it remains fundamentally

dependent upon the wealth generated by private capital, i.e. dependent upon a process which it does not directly administer (1984:44). This contributes to a continuing three-way tension between the state, those who govern economic life, and classes (or, one might note, certain groups of women) dependent on measures of social welfare, as the capitalist class is resistant to state expenditures on "lower orders" and efforts at accumulation through taxation (1984:45). It is, as Giddens notes, a tension and contradiction between "commodified and de-commodified" social relationships, where the former is marketable and assigned a particular value, and the latter exists apart from the marketplace and is "organized by criteria other than economic", such as universal hospital care and education (Giddens 1982:86). As Giddens notes, however, and as has become evident over the last several years in Britain, the United States and Canada, ruling conservative political parties have sought to "re-commodify" such relationships by absorbing them back into the marketplace, through the privatization of what were once state-subsidized industries (i.e. Crown Corporations, which have included the sale of state television networks to private interests in some European countries, and may potentially include the British Broadcasting Corporation (Citizen, 16 August 1988, p.A8). (As I note in Chapter Six, this process is not inconceivable in the case of Canadian high performance sport, which is becoming increasingly aligned with the interests of corporate capital as the state moves toward a more privatized system of athletics. However, it is also crucial to

reiterate and empirically recognize the current status of the state's continuing intervention in the construction and elaboration of the high performance sport system, through related policies and practices which concretely bond athletics to political power. These are also discussed in Chapter Six.)

Yet it must be noted that in ascertaining the role of the state in the sphere of accumulation and partnership with private capital, indicators of the process of legitimation and its ideological connotations are also evident (see, for example, Clement 1983) as they work to ease those tensions noted above. In the case of Canadian society, it has become evident that Crown Corporations (created, supported and regulated by the state) serve as a vehicle through which the state may exercise part of its accumulative/capitalist activity via economic policy (in attempting to circumvent "constraints rooted in the character of the national economy" (Stasiulis 1988:34)). For example, the Canadian state has historically included the development and direction of the broadcasting industry on the agenda of official policy and action, and has become formally engaged in the business of communications through the subsidization of technological development and the formation and economic support of the CBC (and via the exercise of regulatory control over Canadian broadcasting as a whole, which may partially support its relative autonomy). Although it may not necessarily be valid that the existence of a state-subsidized radio/television network "fills a gap" where capital has feared to venture, given the proliferation of private broadcasting in Canada,

I would suggest that this nonetheless works to support (in a legitimating sense) a crucial "ideological mandate" of nationalism, and furthers the partnership between the state and private capital through a continuing emphasis on the commercial development of the public network, wherein corporations are solicited to purchase advertising time intended to extend the growth of capital by attracting consumers to a range of goods and services.

Recalling the criteria suggested by Panitch, the accumulative relationship between political structures and private entrepreneurs may also be revealed through the Canadian state's activity in the realm of sport. That is, the state has created a structure for the development (and productivity) of high performance athletics, a "ready-made" groundwork into which capitalist enterprise may voluntarily venture. By developing a successful sport system, the "favourable fiscal climate" noted by Panitch is enhanced, since the preliminary work of system-development is completed and (to an extent) proven to operate effectively through quantifiable sporting success, thereby establishing an as yet untapped area for capitalist interests. The state also tends to underwrite the "private risks of production" and provide a "technical infrastructure" in subsidizing the construction of "places to play" (Olympic Stadium, Commonwealth Stadium, B.C. Place, SkyDome), facilitating (i) capital accumulation through benefits realized directly by privately owned professional franchises and by the food and beverage (notably the brewing) industry and (ii) political/ideological dividends in the direct association of

nationalism and international play (such as the Calgary Olympics). And, as I argued in the opening chapter, state support of sport has as part of its overall goals both the reduction of social welfare expenditures (such as health costs) through an emphasis on fitness and role models and the continuing development of an indigenous sporting goods industry.¹ In light of the accumulative linkages between political and economic structures, a state-based system of elite sport which has growing tendencies toward engendering the involvement of private business has profound implications in the structural coordination of power. This is made even more clear when the sphere of televised sport is recognized and analyzed as an key site for the reproduction of this set of complex interrelationships.

In other words, those interconnecting threads between political and corporate capitalist structures argued through by Miliband can be solidified and strengthened within the cultural sphere of the state/capital intersection (which is manifested in part through publicly accessible televised sport). The contradictory nature of an (unequal) social order based on a perpetual drive for accumulation and legitimation hinges on a system of power which finds its subtle expression and formative reproduction within this sphere, empowered by an historically, politically and ideologically developed hegemonic process. And the state structure can, in turn, be analyzed as a major organizer of this process (Mahon 1984:10). Indeed, as Mahon argues (following Poulantzas), the state works to reconcile and organize fractional

economic power in capitalist society, by securing the consent of fractions of the dominant and subordinate classes which do not hold the prevailing position of influence (e.g. the staples or industrial fractions) and by catering to a range of interests through a series of compromises (1984:9-10). Thus while the concrete political-economic interests of the "leading fraction" must be recognized and acted upon by the state, political agencies must also identify and attend to competing interests. (This notion of fractional power is returned to in Chapter Six.) While Mahon presents compelling arguments regarding the material relationship between class power and state power (through an analysis of state policy concerning the textile industry), what remains to be seen is the way in which this organization of hegemony works toward the reconstitution of a pervasive set of power relations in the case of sport and broadcasting. This is to say that an approach emphasizing accumulation and/or legitimation (or functions of the state without resorting to functionalism) can offer a valuable structural interpretation, but may not acknowledge the dynamic reconstruction of cleavages occurring in "seemingly unproductive" spheres of social life. Of foremost importance here is the consistent application of power which emanates not just from "official" structural points of society, but from a patriarchy rooted in historical change. At this point, I would argue that by drawing on certain contributions from feminist theory, it is possible to elaborate the conceptual (and later, the empirical) linkage between production and reproduction, and at the same time,

enrich a conceptualization of the hegemonic process.

Gender and the State/Capital Relation: Feminist Theory

Representation of the world, like the world itself, is the work of men; they describe it from their own point of view, which they confuse with absolute truth. (de Beauvoir 1970, in MacKinnon 1981:23)

In focusing on the relationship between social cleavage and state power, feminist theory has made significant contributions in extending a critical perspective of the way in which political systems not only support and advance a particular structure of class, but one of patriarchy as well. Foremost here is the recognition that the state, and capital itself, are not "genderless" concepts mired in a neutrality of policy and practice, just as they are not "classless" features of modern society. As McIntosh points out, the state's role in the oppression of women is generally indirect, in that it works to regulate the very systems which oppress women (1978:260). The "patriarchy of the state" is thus embedded in its procedures, since issues related to women remain on the periphery of a male-centered structure (Tancred-Sheriff 1986; Connell 1988:9), and since the arrangement or hierarchial organization of the state is developed, occupied and sustained by men. In this way, "...the state appears as a realm of practice...(but) is an institutionalization of power relations" (Connell 1988:12).

While the gendered order or procedure of the liberal-

democratic state is one essential starting point for understanding how gender relations are dynamically reproduced, a purely institutional interpretation or singular focus on the state tends to omit the context of ideology as well as the tentacled power of capital. As Saunders has noted, patriarchy is expressed (seeks expression) in both a material (as in the sexual division of labour) and an ideological form, in ways which "vary historically with changes in capitalism" (1988:165). While traditional liberal-, radical- or socialist-feminist interpretations of gendered power, or pluralist/functionalist/ Marxist perspectives, all tend to lack some key or crucial features necessary to a fully critical analysis of gender and the state (Hall 1987), MacKinnon notes precisely that,

Feminism has unmasked maleness as a form of power that is both omnipotent and non-existent, an unreal thing with very real consequences. (1981:29)

Thus the political relations of gender, or the political economy of gender relations, may be constructed around the active and on-going development of material and ideological factors which not only structure, but nurture, the historical expression of domination and control, struggle and resistance. As Ursel has noted, the state itself acts as a vital connecting force between class power and male power (1986), and this bears profound consequences for women who fall beneath a total weight of the unequal distribution of resources, sexual exploitation and

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oppression, and a system of dominant ideas (see below), all of which are either sanctioned (or somehow marginalized) by state policy and procedure. The shape and direction of gender relations (residing in both the state and civil society) certainly bears consequences for feminist practice as well. With attempts at liberal-based reformism typically directed toward family or state welfare policy (the historical location of the relationship between women and the state (Zaretsky 1983)), the structured inequality experienced by women becomes woven into mainstream socio-political change, institutionalized in a reconstituted form which is masked as "progress" or "difference". Volumes of empirical evidence uncovering the role of women in the workforce or in domestic labour, in the state or in corporate capital, dictate the continuation of gender cleavages in a range of institutional settings (e.g. Luxton 1985; Armstrong and Armstrong 1984). But historical changes in the systematic form this relationship of domination/subordination assumes prompts an acknowledgement that there is not merely a replication, but a reproduction, of gender relations, i.e. a set of variable relations which occur in different and sometimes unusual or unexpected forms, but occur and re-occur nonetheless. At this juncture, it is worth exploring the issue of ideology more explicitly as a mechanism of this reconstitution, and to consider the role of hegemony in the sustenance of this division, as a prelude to an examination of gender relations, sporting practice and broadcasting.

Summarizing the contribution of socialist-feminist analysis

to critical investigation of the state structure, Saunders notes that the state plays a key role in "...setting the conditions of participation for women" in the workplace, facilitating, inhibiting or manipulating their entrance "on the level of material intervention and on the level of ideological support" (1988:182, *emph. orig.*). Encapsulated in the realm of an on-going and expanding cycle of capitalist production, women remain its reserve army of labour, fulfilling dead-end service sector jobs in the expansion of profit, and servicing the reproduction of labour power through traditionally located domestic responsibilities and child-rearing. In a deeper and more profound sense, however, socialist-feminist theory has noted the ways in which these subordinate (that is, without control over or access to positions of influence) roles become perpetuated through the control of ideological production and content (1988:175). In terms of the construction and shaping of ideological relations of gender which support dominant political and economic power, the state and private capital have worked consistently toward commodifying the imagery of motherhood/femininity and the family unit, formulating policy and practice which maintain the circuit of capitalist production (see Zaretsky 1976, 1983). It can certainly be argued that a marketplace ideology has insidiously encompassed a commodified form of sexuality as part of this dominant production/content (to which sport itself contributes; see below). Thus on the terrain where structured forms of power intersect, the differential roles of men and women become important in nurturing more generalized relations

of power. Material life once again becomes guided in and through the construction of ideology; that both the material and the ideological are rooted in a system which is patriarchal holds dire consequences for the organizational arrangement of gender roles within the structure (and bearing the weight) of a capitalist system.

This is why it is imperative to consider both the production and content of ideological forms. The reinforcement of gender relations (as a type of power relation which is not so much negotiated as it is confronted or lived through) becomes a part of everyday life experience, a seemingly natural order in the apparently natural world of social relationships. In a very material sense, i.e. in the support and elaboration of product and profit, a dominant system of ideas is intimately linked to culturally sustained images and notions, institutionalized through (private) advertising and (public) policy initiatives alike, lived through in daily encounters which define sexual difference. It is at this juncture that the recognition of what constitutes power relations rooted in gender becomes imperative, since their production occurs time and again in ways which may differ through time or between sites. In other words, these relations are reproduced and reconstituted actively and passively, which is what makes them so structurally resilient and pervasive: their systemic existence is shrouded behind the natural, subtle and "seemingly unproductive" range of images, ideas and forms which nurture and cultivate them. The power of this layered system is strengthened

by two further realities of contemporary society which deepens and widens a gendered cleavage: (i) the widespread and deep-rooted cultural basis which works as a potent conductor between production and reproduction, and (ii) the range of consensus which flows between structures, connects layers and works untiringly toward reconstructing the boundaries of gender relations such that they are not so much impenetrable or unchanging, but, conversely, pliable and elastic. The historical shape and quality of dominant/subordinate relations between men and women in liberal-democratic capitalist society is thus defined by their location in a broadly based process which builds hegemonic power.

I have argued earlier that my conception of power is a broad one, viewed as existing in various applied ways within a range of sites, finding expression and development alongside challenge and resistance. The most compelling view of gender relations articulated thus far, however, tends to be more unidirectional in terms of its view of power, wherein patriarchal control limits or obviates opportunities for movement and change on the part of women, and women suffer the historical consequences of entrapment beneath a material cycle of production and a potent "taken-for-granted" ideological portrayal. Clearly, the world of sexual repression and exploitation, revered in media constructions of women, attests to the persistent subordination which shapes their lives. This is an important concern in a conceptual sense, since turning to a consideration of hegemony and the (constructed/reconstructed) hegemonic process returns us to the issue of

consensual power. Empowered and enforced by ideology, built within the confines of state and civil society, working in the "unstable equilibrium" of a shifting balance of consent and coercion, hegemony operates in subtle and accommodating ways to strengthen the historically developed tethers of power, and to solidify the dominant position of the ruling group. In terms of gender relations, then, the central focus is necessarily transformed to one of the relationship between hegemony and patriarchy, i.e., the male-dominated ruling group exercising and nurturing a flexible and accommodating form of power and control over a range of subordinate groups, especially in the extended subordination of women. Given this more gendered view of hegemony, the issue (as O'Brien has noted in one of the few treatments of hegemony and feminism) becomes one of, "why women consent", and draws attention to the possibility that gender relations are somehow based on a cultivated complicity rather than on the exercise of coercion alone.

While this notion may seem enlightening and straightforward in articulating the issue of consent/coercion or negotiation/confrontation, it also recalls certain criticisms of Gramscian Marxism noted earlier. In a theoretical light, according to O'Brien, hegemony remains a problematic concept in its application to the analysis of gender relations. Of particular concern to her is Gramsci's evident failure to consider hegemony in a sense which would have identified patriarchal structures, and the role of the family, alongside culture and education (O'Brien 1986:259). As O'Brien comments, "Patriarchy is a set of social

relations...grounded in the process of (human) reproduction", and she argues that the concept of hegemony negates the reproductive labour of women, collapsing the "patriarchal ideology of male supremacy" into a general category of ideological reproduction which ultimately ignores the exploitation and violation of women in "the name of that ideology" (1986:260). She argues that the struggle which this represents, over material necessity and ruling class need, is in fact centered on the control of female reproductive labour by men (in the male effort to overcome the alienating quality represented by this labour process). In this sense, she suggests that a feminist model of hegemony must go beyond reformulations of male-centered subcultural ethnographies (see McRobbie 1981) or the development of research questions, and move into the issue of consent in both the private and public realm, i.e. "why women consent to the ideology and practice of patriarchy" (1986:261-264; see also O'Brien 1981). She suggests that assuming this approach represents the only possibility for developing an active counter-hegemonic thrust which challenges male-based hegemonic practice.

Although O'Brien's criticisms direct our attention toward extending the conceptualization of hegemony to one which recognizes its relationship with patriarchal capitalism, the focus of her argument is somewhat skewed through a narrow reading of Gramsci. For example, her general representation of the state and civil society is more geared toward their "separateness" than to their evident points of intersection, even though she is clearly correct

in citing the need to recognize not just the class-, but the gender-bias, of political/ideological consent. And although I would emphasize that the linkage between production/reproduction is better analyzed as an interactive, pervasive and variable activity, as opposed to a focus which argues one sphere is "collapsed" into another (since this obviates the dynamic process of hegemony), O'Brien does point to the possibilities which the question of consent and ideology have for a translation into active resistance by women (even though she does not address the strategic routes of resistance which were emphasized by Gramsci himself). While her central argument regarding the control over biological reproduction and labour, and its relationship to social relations of production (O'Brien 1981), is important, it reductively negates the dynamic forces of political economy and culture in the nurturing and growth of power.

The answer to her question, why women consent (which I return to in Chapter Six), can be argued with a more sensitive reference to the hegemonic process, as a telling feature of daily lived experience in the socially constructed existence of women, men and children, and has been approached, albeit to a limited degree, in some of the research on women, sport and the media (see below). To recall Hargreaves' criteria regarding the "dimensions" of hegemony, it is the extent of incorporation, mode of incorporation and mode of compliance which must be noted and analyzed in an historical and ever-accommodating system of political and ideological consensus which includes sport as one driving force at work within its

flexible boundaries. The question of "why", applying to women and other social groups, is best examined in the context of "what" and "how". This is to say that, developing a deeper comprehension of the process/practice of hegemony along Hargreaves' criteria, and drawing from an abstract sense of an ordered social world toward a concrete illumination of social reality which addresses current silences in the literature, requires an examination of those areas of society which work in a collaborative sense with structures of power. It is my argument that the televisual production of sport by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation network, a highly visible and popular element of our consumer culture, reaches into the sphere where power (dominant/male) is confirmed and regenerated, and to some degree resisted, in a complex intersection of powerful interests. Before shifting to a presentation and critical analysis of evidence collected, however, it is useful to consider some points about gender, sport and media (which to a degree respond to O'Brien's criticisms of hegemony theory) and to present a summary of the theoretical framework by drawing together particular features of Part II.

Considerations on Gender and Televised Sport

As Ann Hall has pointed out, although the area of sport has not been of primary concern to feminist thought, it exists as a powerful force as part of the social determinations which structure the everyday lives of women. She notes perceptively that sport works to "encourage and maintain patriarchy" by reinforcing common

sense ideologies which guide our social order (1987:92), echoing Willis' comment on the ways in which ideological forms are "re-born" in a cultural sense through sport. In general terms, women who engage in competitive sport face a barrage of forces resistant to their participation, whether at the level of athlete or the level of organizational and operational control over high-level sport (see Hall 1985; see also Chapter One). Bearing an historically based set of stereotypical images and myths, women's sport is "not considered true sport, nor in some cases are (women athletes) viewed as real women" in the gendered logic of femininity/masculinity which penetrates sporting practice (1987:95). As Bray has noted, it is imperative that questions of sexuality, the family, and domestic labour, constitutive of the rhythm of women's lives and their physicality, be incorporated into broader questions of political economy and sport (1982:112-119) in questioning the cultural sustenance of a patriarchal order of capitalism. These are important concerns, since the historically rooted myths which surround women's role in sport (e.g. athletes as lesbian, deviant, or as embodying qualities either attractive to males or supportive of traditional stereotypes) are structured in such a way that they are regenerated in and through the organization of modern sport, from the level of family and community to the national and international sphere (see also Lenskyj 1986). A particularly powerful site of this sport/gender interaction which concretizes myth and sets it in a seemingly impenetrable context of cultural practice is most certainly the

media, notably the industry of television production.²

In a more specific sense, Cantelon et al argue that the mythic quality of television sports sets images of the body in a context of achievement and meritocracy, catering to standards deemed necessary to the continued existence of sporting practice (1984b:4). Drawing on arguments posed by Willis, they note that underlying conceptions about measured (and televisually presented) "excellence" work to support apparently "natural" masculine/feminine characteristics while deflecting attention from a basic reality, that "the fundamental relations between men and women are socially constructed" (as is the social organization of sport itself) (1984b:5). In this mythic world of sport as measured achievement comes the consistent and incontrovertible evidence of the "superiority" of men over women in a standardization of ability (Clarke and Clarke 1982:66-67). As Hargreaves comments, the image of women in sport is "predominantly constructed by men" in an accommodation "to the prevailing pattern of gender division" (1980:152). And as McNeill insightfully points out, this cultural production/gendered reproduction is articulated in a sphere of hegemonic relations, from the selective socialization of girls and boys into "masculine/feminine" sports, to the selectively mediated televisual image of female athletes (1988:196-198).³ As she concludes,

For women to be active is an innovative and emergent notion in comparison to earlier periods in Canadian history. However, the alliance of physical activities with motifs of sexualized and feminized parti-

cipation suggests that the liberating impulses are being reincorporated into residual/dominant hegemonic tendencies.
(1988:210, *emph.orig.*)

In this sense, O'Brien's concept of hegemony and patriarchy is extended to the sphere of cultural and ideological relations, wherein sport can be understood as historically transformed in the continuing commodification of the game and the body, yet remains potentially liberating in the struggle of women against oppression and exploitation. Sport itself exists as a potential source of counter-hegemonic activity, since the territory of its organization and control, like the structures which shape it, are not impenetrable (given a broader treatment of what hegemony is and how it operates). As Hall points out, it is not inconceivable that, since sport plays a role in the reproduction of a patriarchal social order, it can be a significant player "...in the transformation of that order" (1987:99).

These are clearly important factors to consider in the critical analysis of media sport and gender relations, as they address both the silences which exist in the conceptualization of sport and power in general and acknowledge the potential which exists for a broader formulation of this dynamic. As I noted earlier, Clarke and Clarke have argued that the construction of television sport tends to be characterized by drama, spectacle, personalization and immediacy, presenting imagery which supports hero-making in the technological embellishment of games and competition. But it is important to extend this formulation to the

sphere of political economy and power relations, wherein it is recognized that (i) Canadian high performance sport, and its presentation for public consumption, is an extension of a pervasive state/capital intersection and (ii) that the broadcasting industry and the sport community are, like the structure of the state and private business, bastions of male control which define, and then meticulously guide, the boundaries of women's role in athletics. (The Justine Blainey case, where a 12-year old girl was ultimately forced to bring her desire to play hockey in a boys' league which could accommodate her skills to the Ontario Human Rights Commission, clearly illustrates the great trepidation with which "officials" view the penetration of women into a male sphere. Significantly, teammates voiced no concern, as long as Blainey could hold her own on the ice.) Of more profound concern, however, is the interactive sense of accommodation and consent which exists in this instance. While true in a broad sense that women may not consent inasmuch as they are coerced or situated in positions of severely constrained choice (domestically, occupationally, physically), the reconstitution of gender relations in the sphere of broadcast sport involves an incorporation and a re-definition of human agents/tasks under the umbrella of cultural production. Ultimately, the ideological form which high-level sport assumes is both a powerful indictment of contemporary relations of power, and a motor which drives these relations forward into new territory. The power of the hegemonic process, and its relationship to patriarchy, thus lies not only in the balance of consent and

coercion, but in the active ways in which the "border" between them is either blurred or dismantled altogether. If the organization and practice of modern sport embodies a classic contradiction of agency and structure (which includes, for example, the liberating qualities of physical expression for women versus the constraint women typically face in the control over their own bodies), then the production of televised sport qualitatively re-shapes this contradiction in new, subtle and indeterminate ways. The task of Part III is to identify and critically analyze the processes involved in the production and reconstitution of power and gender which occurs in the sphere of broadcast sport. As a prelude to this, it is worthwhile to recall some of the salient features of the theoretical framework which will be carried forward into the next section of the thesis.

Summary of Theoretical Framework

The central task of these two theoretical chapters has been to uncover the dynamic linkages between cultural production and the reproduction of power relations. Stemming from the historical narrative of Chapter Two, I have attempted to conceptually illuminate those structural forces which have emerged to dominate and control sport and broadcasting in Canadian society, but which work in a broader sense to maintain and reproduce themselves in ways which may not always be immediately visible. Drawing from perspectives on the production of news and entertainment features, I argued that it is crucial to examine the sport/ broadcasting

relation a manner which displays sensitivity to the intersection of history, structure, and power. I have suggested that an analysis through the Gramscian view of hegemony, or what I have termed the hegemonic process, includes a conceptual sense of power which is active, flexible, accommodating and thorough as it works through the territory of ideology and cultural practice to appropriate and incorporate daily activities and experiences in a seemingly natural and unobtrusive way. The contribution of cultural theory to an extended view of hegemony is crucial, I have argued, as it notes this "lived through" quality which relations of power assume in apparently "unproductive" spheres of society. In this sense, there remains an intimacy between the material and the ideological which is continuously shaped and re-shaped in the drive to maintain power while accommodating (or neutralizing) challenge or resistance. The crucial feature of hegemonic power and its accompanying process is its instability, which in turn necessitates the incorporation of human agency and its potentially liberating constructions under the sharp edge of constraint. But it is vital to recognize that, where there is evident compliance, there is always some form of struggle, since the hegemonic process always remains fundamentally incomplete. At particular historical moments, it may appear significantly strengthened or profoundly weakened, depending on the relative success or failure evident in exploiting structural gaps or flaws. I have suggested that sport itself forms an important extension of hegemonic power, since it embodies one of the ultimately consensual, but potentially liberating dimensions of

modern society, i.e. the pursuit of play, and since it has been and remains organized under the guidance of those very structures which work untiringly to sustain their own power.

Arguments which address socio-political and/or gender relations hinging on a conceptualization of hegemony, although far-reaching and compelling in their implications, have not gone without criticism, and I believe these require a brief summary comment. I have noted previously three areas of concern which have been cited with regard to a theoretical perspective based on hegemony: (i) the evident confusion in Gramsci's writings on the location of hegemonic power (in either civil society or the state), and its relationship with coercive power (including the issue of the application of force "in the last instance") (Anderson 1977; Parry 1984); (ii) the tendency of hegemony theory to "totalize" in a deterministic sense, whereby all social, political and economic actions are seen as extensions occurring under conditions of consent, where social actors remain ideological dupes of pressures exerted by dominant forces, e.g. the "absorption of ideology" in the educational process; and (iii) Gramsci's failure to consider the patriarchal structures which condition hegemony, and the theory's focus on ideological reproduction to the exclusion of the reproductive labour of women (O'Brien 1986).

In response to these criticisms, I argue the following: (i) analysis of contradiction in Gramsci is important in order to establish epistemological sources of his philosophy and political conditions under which he laboured, but ultimately misleading in

assessing the reality of hegemony as it threads through both civil society and the state; (ii) the element of coercion may well befall the state in its broad spectrum of power, and while this must surely be considered in discussing the struggle of political structures to maintain power, it should not deflect attention from the policy- or decision-making process utilized by liberal-democratic states; (iii) although problematic in considering the strongly felt influences of a wide-ranging agenda of power, the question of hegemony as "totalizing" must be tempered with Gramsci's own emphasis on praxis, where social reality is motored by domination/subordination and domination/resistance; and (iv) in this sense, it is important to avoid a "collapse" of hegemony into one sphere of influence or the other, since it threads its way in and between a series of territories, but does not do so in an uncontested fashion. This is to say that consensus on many issues is widespread and persuasive powers of controlling forces run deep, but that the very conditions of division which tend to support power can work as sources of challenge to a broadly perceived "natural order" guided by a common sense system of experience. Part of the problem associated with criticisms of hegemony stem from this latter feature of counter-hegemonic resistance or struggle and its relative location in the spheres of civil society and/or the state (i.e. the Leninist application by Gramsci of "war of manoeuvre" versus "war of position"), as well as conceivable sources of strategic alternatives (such as those founded by organic intellectuals) (Gramsci 1971:229-231, 5-7). Part of the triumph of

Gramsci's thinking, as applied to contemporary liberal-democratic society, is the concrete notion of struggle occurring from within structures in collusion with pressures from without.' The determinism linked to hegemony can be at least partly refuted in its "won/lost" and "always driven toward" character, where the ebb and flow of controlling influence exists on many sites and emanates from diverse sources. Indeed, while modern crises may be "crises of consent", and may stem from a form of economic upheaval (as the derivationists would argue), they can also be sown by the mobilization of active resistance (among women, youth, the elderly, ethnic groups) which has its location within the boundaries of political territory (e.g. the penetration of politically aware women has carried sport policy toward a stronger consciousness of issues concerning the physical and emotional health of women, which can work back to challenge if not transform civil society). In turn, measures of resistance can be targeted through political-economic or ideological activity which dampens the spirit of challenge or accommodates it in ways which do not threaten the existing order of power. It is a conceptualization of hegemony as theory and as practice, in essence a dialectic of agency and structure, existing in a continuous historical cycle which affirms and resists the form and content of power.

Having posed a key question on the ways in which sport, and its construction through broadcasting, may advance the hegemonic process and contribute to the sustenance of power relations which hinge on fractional control and a cleavage of gender, and having

argued through the interventionist nature of the liberal-democratic state and its efforts to commodify socio-cultural relations in a complex "partnership arrangement" with private capital, I suggested that the socialist-feminist contribution to theorizing state power offers substantial insight into the ways in which domination and subordination are reconstituted within capitalist society. Drawing from O'Brien's criticism of hegemony theory, the critical analysis of power becomes more broadly centered on the relationship of hegemony and patriarchy, wherein the engineered or managed consent of women extends beyond subordination in the home and workplace to a culturally-based constraint which remains shrouded in the natural or accepted ways of social practice, i.e. the experience of domination (and resistance) occurs and re-occurs materially and ideologically. In this way, hegemony can work in an explicitly gendered way, as a thread which sews production and reproduction together, where the process of one leads to the elaboration of the other, but not always in the same manner and certainly not in a consistent form. As Hargreaves notes, in determining the qualifying features of hegemony, it is imperative to account for the extent of incorporation, mode of incorporation and mode of compliance involved. It is interesting to carry this idea forward into the realm of cultural production and the reproduction of gender relations through media sport, since compliance itself, once secured (even momentarily), becomes a method through which the process of hegemony gains new life. What must not be lost sight of, however, are the more plainly visible roles which the state,

private business, the broadcasting industry and the sport community perform in this process. In other words, these structural forces can conceivably exist and operate in ways which may be more coercive than subtle; the exploitative subordination of women at the hands of private capital is testimony to this. Given the existing complexity of the arrangement of production/reproduction, the task of this research now becomes more concretely or empirically grounded, in order to both substantiate and elaborate my conceptual view of hegemonic/patriarchal power with evidence supporting its active regeneration. In presenting Part III of the thesis on the televisual production of high performance sport by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's English-language network, I turn to the completion of this task.

Footnotes - Chapter Four

¹ See Panitch (1977), Guest (1980), Marchak (1985), Myles (1987) and Stasiulis (1988) for discussions of the development and direction of the Canadian welfare state, and Harvey (1985) for a more specific discussion of issues related to health and fitness.

² The CRTC's 1986 study of sex role stereotyping in broadcast media determined that few women are viewed in roles other than those of spectators in the course of televised sporting events. Indeed, the study determined that women are shown so infrequently that a meaningful comparison with male imagery in television sport was not possible (*i.e.* 26 women shown in sampled sports programming, as opposed to 663 men) (1986:124).

³ McNeill's own study focuses on a textual analysis of the television program "20-Minute Workout", which utilizes a variety of production techniques, such as colourless background, rotating

stage, dubbed narrative, and camera angles to present dominant images of sexuality and glamour (1988:199-204).

Part III

A Presentation of Research Findings
and Critical Analysis

Chapter Five

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the Cultural Production of High Performance Sport

This chapter provides a detailed account of the forces and elements which enter into the televisual production of high performance athletics on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's English-language network. Specifically, through a combination of methods (elaborated in Appendix A) utilizing field observation of production techniques and interviews with production/sport officials, together with evidence embodied within the final videotaped product, I present a discussion of the decision-making and production processes which underlie the construction of high performance sporting events on CBC. Specifically, I refer to three events which were produced by the network in 1988: the World Speedskating Championships, the Canadian Track and Field Championships, and the Canadian Diving Championships (the latter two of which served as Olympic trials to determine the selection of athletes to national teams competing in the Seoul Olympics). (While these form the primary focus of attention, it should be pointed out that, given the nature of "Sportsweekend" as "sports variety" programming, I also allude to two other events which were produced as part of the telecast menu which featured the speedskating competition, each of which offered important insights into the structure and content of broadcast sport: the Shawn

O'Sullivan/Donovan Boucher Canadian welterweight championship boxing match, and the Canadian Women's Hockey Championship.) Prior to identifying the organization of this chapter, it is necessary to establish the general context in which the gathering of this evidence occurred.

First, each of the above events is not only framed within an Olympic year, but occurred between the Winter and Summer Games. It is important to recognize this, since the peculiar timing of these athletic competitions influenced the employed "logic" of their televisual production, i.e. it was not only the athletic accomplishment, but their smooth presentation on national television, which were consistently emphasized (by production officials) as "having much more at stake" than other competitions, serving as important "warm-ups" for national teams and the national broadcaster alike (Interview, Producer/ Sportsweekend, 24 March 1988).

Secondly, it is important to avoid an implicit reductionism in the analysis, in that it is tempting for various reasons to illuminate the professional qualities of production personnel, or to identify a more economistic rationale which views the continuing existence of television sports solely in terms of advertising revenues generated. There are many factors which contribute to a workplace atmosphere of production which encompasses tradition, teamwork, expertise, conflict (e.g. between management/workers and differing employee unions/associations). It is of some methodological consequence to note the almost seductive capacity

which this combination presents to the interested outsider: the television sports division of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation operates on a basis of decision-making in a structure, or line of production, which is ever-conscious of its competitive status vis a vis other networks, but which must also meet the demands of reducing (or exploiting) tensions evident in the workplace (see below). This structure, in turn, has evolved over a 35-year period, facilitated by new technologies which have provided an ever-widening spectrum of "ways to produce". Thus while the following account is to a degree concerned with technological innovation or application, the primary analytical focus is directed toward the fundamental basis of production, i.e. the decision-making process which occurs prior to the actual "publicly accessible" presentation of the event. As I argue below, this process is routinely based on traditions, habits and/or professional/ creative judgments which in turn facilitate the exploration of technological boundaries.

Finally, given the above, the resulting (videotaped) product is understood as an extension of an earlier, structured process, or, more pointedly, as evidence corresponding to the systematic presentation and re-presentation of a formidable version of dominant social reality, related to (i) the ways in which sport is defined and carried out as social practice and (ii) more broadly centered elements or relations of power. In other words, the cultural commodity which results from decision/production is vital in order to document the packaging or flow (e.g. "the look") which is the ultimate goal of producers. In this regard, the field

research itself was influenced by the examination of literature, previously cited, on the production of television entertainment, news/information and existing critical works on televised sport. Specifically, this material provided information on a range of production variables which I carried into and sought out in the course of field research: the construction of drama, spectacle, personalization and immediacy (and the gendered differences these represent in terms of male and female sport); the role of professional training, tradition, habit, teamwork, workplace interaction and/or tension, cited in studies of news production as central to the construction of meaning and knowledge; the established meaning of sport as a set of values and beliefs hinging on achievement, teamwork, rugged individualism, male superiority, and the replication of this through typical (weekend-to-weekend) presentations of sport; the hierarchal arrangement and organization of power which guides the broadcast industry. (See below for an outline of specific information sought, and Appendix A for a description of the methodologies employed.)

In order to provide an organized approach to the reporting of this complex interaction of elements which combine to provide the CBC's English-language production of high performance sport, this chapter is divided into two sections. First, I continue the historical narrative initiated in Chapter Two by briefly documenting the direction of Canadian broadcasting, the sport/broadcasting relationship and the state/elite athletics relation which have evolved since the 1978 Edmonton Commonwealth

Games (arguing that, for various reasons, this form of sport has become an even more significant part of the CBC's programming agenda in the current decade). Secondly, by presenting a diary of field research drawn from an extended visit to CBC Television Sports (referred to as TV Sports) in March 1988 and from observations of production organization for the Track and Diving Nationals held in Ottawa in August 1988, I provide a description of the process governing the selection and production of nationally televised high performance sporting events by identifying those factors which influence the construction of sports programming. This latter section is sub-divided into three parts: an introduction to the major findings, wherein I provide details on my access to CBC TV Sports, and on the information and evidence sought and individuals contacted; an elaboration of the March phase of the field observations and interviews; and an elaboration of the August phase of the research, based primarily on videotaped evidence. Through this substantive combination of history and decision-making/production process, it will be argued that a wide array of forces alluded to in earlier chapters indeed work to establish and maintain and establish a pervasive set of socio-cultural practices, and together form a basis for the regeneration of culture and power.

High Performance Sport, the CBC and the Canadian State 1980-1988

As I noted in Chapter Two, a series of events in the 1952-1978 period worked to establish a relationship between elite sport

and the CBC's English-language network. These events, which may be summarized as (i) the televised presentation of the 1954 British Empire and Commonwealth Games, (ii) the tension which underscored the formation of a private English-language television network in 1961, and (iii) the hosting of the 1976 Summer Olympics in Montreal, were paralleled by the emergence of a state-based system of amateur athletics and an increasingly regulated and (diversified) system of broadcasting in Canada. While highly visible and prestigious events such as the Olympic and Commonwealth Games became attractive to the television industry for their potential to generate large amounts of advertising revenue and correspondingly large consuming audiences, the CBC began to increase its weekend afternoon programming of non-professional sporting competitions on a regional/national/international basis (dependent to some degree on budget limitations and technological resources). Yet as I have pointed out, this latter activity occurred as a result of internal CBC decision-making and the gathering tide of international amateur sport, rather than as a matter of systematic lobbying by the NSO's (themselves struggling to maintain autonomy from political interference and attain a higher international profile through increases in state funding which would facilitate program development). As I further suggested, by the time the Commonwealth Games were held in Edmonton in 1978, the CBC had expanded its domestic resources to provide extensive coverage of this event to an audience now accustomed to a high-level amateur sport selection on its televisual menu; the

fact that the Canadian team finished a (predicted) first place in the overall standings carried with it the solidly defined role of the state in the sport system,¹ concretizing the historically emergent set of relations between structures of the state, private capital, sport and the broadcasting industry.

Since the production of the 1978 Commonwealths, which were highly regarded productions that drew large audiences and advertising revenues alike, the CBC has continued to focus much of its weekend afternoon sports programming on Canadian-based high performance sport, centering on a program which mixes live/taped presentations with a studio host: "Sportsweekend". This focus was bolstered by an audience survey conducted by CBC Audience Research in 1980 which determined that, if provided with Canadian-based sport (as opposed to imported U.S. football, for example), 79 percent will be interested in viewing these productions (CBC Research 1980). While not necessarily establishing programming policy on the basis of audience statistics as a rule of thumb, CBC Sports has evidently adhered to this apparent national appetite for Canadian high performance athletics. Throughout the current decade, sports programming has annually comprised approximately 14 percent of all programming on the English-language network, or an average of 570 hours per year between 1979/80 and 1986/87 (although this figure has been increasing since the 1984 Summer Olympics, which represented an additional 200 hours of sports broadcasting). Roughly 80 percent of all sports programming on the CBC's English-language network is Canadian in origin; the other 20 percent is

comprised of events purchased from European networks (such as the BBC's productions of snooker and darts), along with professionally-oriented international competitions (golf, horse racing, Grand Prix Motor Racing) (CBC Annual Reports, 1979/80 - 1986/87). Staples of high performance athletics in this period have included World Cup skiing, international curling, national meets/championships in track and field, boxing, swimming/diving, gymnastics and a variety of other events, along with "special events" such as Canada Winter and Summer Games, World Cup soccer, World University Games, Commonwealths and Summer Olympics (with the exception of the boycotted 1980 Moscow Summer Games, when the CBC's coverage was restricted to presentations of BBC highlight packages, in adhering to the Canadian state's decision to withdraw from participation).

There are two general characteristics which underlie this developing concentration on elite amateur sport in the 1980's: (i) the CBC has emerged as an aggressive competitor in its acquisition of broadcast rights to high-profile international-level events, and (ii) several high profile National Sport Organizations have developed more communicative relationships with the network through, for example, volunteer board executives and media liaisons who supply information concerning upcoming scheduled competitions. As recent examples of these factors, the CBC acquired exclusive Canadian television broadcast rights to the 1988 Seoul Olympics (which means in part that other networks are restricted in presenting highlight packages), outbid CTV in 1987 negotiations with the International Figure Skating Union and Speed Skating

Federation for the rights to broadcast the World Figure Skating Championships for the next four years (a process which I elaborate below), and prior to the 1988 Canadian Track and Field Championships, formed an agreement with the CTFA to provide coverage of up to nine meets per year over the next four years (1988-1992, including each of the Canadian Championships). In addition, officials from CBC Sports and the CTFA will attempt to purchase the rights to the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF)'s World Championship series which is highly popular in Europe (Interview, Executive Producer/Sportsweekend, 24 March 1988; Citizen, 9 August 1988). This activity can be attributed in part to recent Canadian successes in track events, the international recognition of athletes such as Ben Johnson and Angella Issajenko, and the accelerating popularity of track and field in Canada, but occurs nonetheless within established guidelines for spending. For example, the CBC declined an opportunity to act as host broadcaster for the 1988 World Junior Track and Field Championships in Sudbury when the IAAF's price reached one million dollars (Cdn). The rights went to Mid-Canada Television, with CBC loaning production expertise and equipment as preparations for Seoul continued (Interview, Executive Producer/Sportsweekend, 24 March 1988).

According to senior production officials, the move by the CBC to re-acquire the World Figure Skating Championships (telecast by CTV since 1965) is indicative of the escalating competitiveness of television sports (clearly related to sponsorship concerns and

audience ratings) during this decade. As the Executive Producer of Sportsweekend, Laurence Kimber, comments,

They (CTV) got lazy and cocky, so we jumped all over them. We went to Lausanne (Switzerland, where negotiations were taking place) and really put on the dog for them: we laid out food, drink, used Canadian hostesses. We got the contract, and not just for the Worlds; we got part of the European Championships and World Speedskating too. (Interview, Executive Producer, Sportsweekend, 24 March 1988)

What is not so clear from this comment is that tactics such as these, while carrying important residual broadcast benefits (e.g. going for the World Figure Skating Championships and acquiring additional pre-packaged programming as part of the deal), result in the extension of commodities which are saleable to interested sponsors, notably breweries and car manufacturers. These corporations pay roughly \$3,000 for 30-second commercial spots during Sportsweekend, more during prime time presentations (see below); but as Kimber points out, if it's a sports program, the sponsors are there, since the viewing audience is "built-in". (Interestingly, CTV outbid CBC for the broadcast rights to the 1992 Summer Olympic Games, to be held in Barcelona, bidding \$16.4 million, or four times what the CBC bid for the 1988 Seoul Games (Globe and Mail, 17 February 1989). What is crucial here, however, is that for the first time, a discretionary network is involved in this process: CTV will "farm out" certain events to TSN, thereby cutting their own production costs, spreading out sponsorship

in Canada. It is conceivable that U.S. cable networks will follow suit, in effect breaking the monopoly of the mainstream commercial television industry (Globe and Mail, 17 February 1989); see also Taaffe 1988)).

This factor of expanding coverage serves as an indicator of the increasing competition between networks over "market segments" during this decade. Notably, the last ten years of broadcasting in Canada has witnessed (i) the increasing penetration of cable systems in Canada, to a level of 83 percent by 1986 (second in the world to Belgium), facilitated in turn by the growing availability and use of converter and satellite technology which further expands the presence of U.S. sports programming, and (ii) the development of a 24-hour "specialty" pay-television network, TSN (founded by Gordon Craig, former Head of CBC Sports), which provides yet another alternative series of (primarily professional) choices, and currently has over one million subscribers (Task Force on Broadcasting Policy, Report 1986:80-83; Globe and Mail, 20 August 1988; Kiefl et al 1985). As the Caplan-Sauvageau Task Force Report suggests, it is the presence of "discretionary" Canadian networks and their projected availability on basic cable systems which marks the future diversity of network television in Canada (1986:86). Thus, TSN is rapidly becoming available in urban households with cable converters (to consumers currently subscribing to a service from either Rogers, Maclean-Hunter or Agra) at a much lower cost than the specialty subscription rates (e.g. \$1.50 rather than \$10.00 per month), thereby heightening its popular visibility and

\$10.00 per month), thereby heightening its popular visibility and increasing the generalized competition for advertising and audiences. Within this increasingly competitive context, the CBC continues to cultivate its role as the central broadcaster of international spectacles and amateur sports of national importance, arguing that TSN and CTV are overly enamoured of American professional sports productions, and continues to emphasize its own audience data which demonstrates the preference of Canadian viewers for Canadian material (Interview, Executive Producer/Sportsweekend, 24 March 1988).

Clearly, the last ten years of Canadian broadcasting have been generally underwritten by expanding technologies (improved satellite to cable reception, for example), increasing availability of programming choices, continued "passive" regulation by the CRTC, and an enduring Broadcasting Act dating to 1968 which continues to emphasize the need for minimum levels of Canadian content (Report 1986:59-69; see also the Task Force's comments on concentrated ownership of Canadian media and failure of the CRTC to respond to this, pp.619-647). The CBC has expanded overall Canadian content to approximately 75 percent of its programming, while its budget has grown to over one billion dollars (Cdn), 20 percent of which accrues from advertising revenues and 80 percent from an annual parliamentary appropriation (itself reduced three times since 1978) (Report 1986:278-279; CBC Annual Report 1986/87).² While the continuing expansion of broadcasting in Canada has meant greater technological capacity, budgets and programming menus, the Canadian

system of high performance sport has expanded as well, notably in its infrastructural base of funding from the state (60 percent) and private capital (40 percent). Continuing successes in international sport (such as fourth place at the 1984 Summer Olympics and the emergence of new high performance "stars") have provided an on-going basis of legitimation for expanded programs and competitive opportunities. Of particular importance in this regard has been the performances of Canadian athletes at the 1984 Los Angeles Summer Games, development of the "Best Ever '88" planning policy, and formation of the Sports Marketing Council to lobby private enterprise, all of which occurred at or around the time of the Progressive Conservative victory in the 1984 federal election. (See Chapter Six for an extended discussion of power relations which exist between sport and the Canadian state.) Paralleling these factors has been the pronounced inclination of political, entrepreneurial and sports interests to advance Canadian cities as potential hosts of future international events, e.g. the successful effort of Victoria to host the 1994 Commonwealth Games (noted in Chapter One), and on-going bid by Toronto to host the 1996 Summer Olympics (a state-supported process which will cost at least \$10 million, but which would mean an American network television contract estimated at \$700 million (U.S.) if successful; see also Cavanagh 1988).

Thus the decade since the production of the Edmonton Commonwealths has brought an extension of interests in high performance athletics in Canada, in state policies/funding, the

role of private capital, and in the attention afforded to this category of sport by the public television network. But expanded production technology, budgets and availability of sports to choose from (on a global level) have posed the problem of establishing criteria for selecting the menu, i.e. in setting a determinant combination of factors as a guideline for "what to produce". Within the structure of CBC Television Sports, this process of decision-making can be either complex or relatively straightforward, but generally carries with it the weight of political and/or economic policy, and an inclination towards an ideology which ties it directly to the broader involvement of the Canadian state in sport.

A Diary of Field Research: Major Findings

The field observation and interview component of the research occurred in two phases: (i) in March, 1988, with a visit to CBC Television Sports in Toronto to observe the construction of an episode of Sportsworld and speak with production personnel, and (ii) in August, 1988, with a visit to two Ottawa-based production sites during the track and diving competitions. It is important to note from the outset that my entrance into CBC Television Sports in Toronto in March, 1988, was facilitated by a contact within CBC Audience Research, who arranged that I meet with the Deputy Head of TV Sports. Thus my route into the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation was from the "top-down" rather than from the "bottom-up", and in turn had two interesting effects: (i) I was initially treated with a certain amount of suspicion by producers, two of

whom inquired directly about my "relationship with the Deputy Head" (an individual evidently not well-liked among production personnel), and (ii) it was apparently the belief among production/support staff that I was from CBC Headquarters in Ottawa, performing some sort of efficiency rating or audit on the department. These misconceptions were not entirely allayed in a staff production meeting held the day before the March 26, 1988 airing of Sportsweekend, when the Producer of the program, David Naylor, announced I was visiting from Ottawa and had the department "under a microscope" for several days (see below), which prompted me to announce explicitly that I was a "just a graduate student researching sports" productions. This was followed by some confusion concerning my discipline of study (and therefore, concerning my rationale for the research): the assumption I was a journalism student prompted certain individuals to skip over details on production, given I should have "prior knowledge", while clarifying my discipline as sociology simply lead to puzzlement, and prompted questions such as, "Why would a sociologist want to study us?" from staff. But apart from these amusing sidenotes, one factor became quite clear in the course of this four-day visit to TV Sports in Toronto: all of those interviewed were quite open about their thoughts, philosophies and criticisms of the organization and operation of the department, and most willing to impart information on the agenda-setting/decision-making and production processes. In turn, this relatively relaxed atmosphere of research elicited a number of revealing statements about the

kind of work performed, the respective views of staff regarding sports produced and the roles of various personnel in this process.

The second phase of the field research took a somewhat different turn. I had originally intended to observe the track event from a mobile production unit located at Terry Fox Stadium, and visit the production site of the diving competition, located at the Nepean Sportsplex. However, two circumstances dictated a shift in this research agenda. First, a management shuffle at CBC TV Sports occurred in late July, with the appointment of a new Head and Deputy Head. While this itself was not problematic (since I had met the new Head previously when he produced the boxing match in March), it resulted in a change in production personnel for the upcoming track and field championships, removing my central contact from his role as field producer of the event. Secondly, three telephone conversations with my contact in TV Sports between April and July revealed that tensions within the Department were escalating appreciably as the Seoul Olympics approached. The candour and openness noted above began to dissolve into a much more closed atmosphere, and my attempts to access the production unit at the track event were unsuccessful. My contact suggested that this would not be a problem, since my March visit had permitted close scrutiny of both live and taped/edited events, and that the pattern of production was by and large similar from week to week (see my discussion of the production week below). I therefore carried out visits to these two production sites over a two-day period, August 5 and 6, in order to observe production set-up, and

to map the actual competitions against a videotape of the August 6, 1988, edition of Sportsworld. As I note in my discussion of this second phase of the research, this approach proved to be quite effective in gathering evidence regarding relations of gender and high performance sport, particularly in terms of production flow and selectivity, and the role which associated commentary can play in this construction.

Choosing the Game: Uncovering the Structure and Decision-Making and Production in Television Sports

As I have indicated, it was not random chance which determined the timing of the first part of field research, conducted at CBC Television Sports in Toronto, but the scheduling of upcoming productions, *i.e.* the Producer of Sportsworld suggested that the World Speedskating Championships, being aired March 26, 1988, would offer an opportunity to obtain firsthand information about how productions are "pieced" together. Coincidentally, the professional boxing match scheduled for taping on March 25 and an air date of March 26 permitted me to view a live performance from a mobile production truck. Although the production week for Sportsworld generally falls between Tuesday and Saturday (or Tuesday and Sunday if an additional episode is scheduled), I arrived at TV Sports on the Wednesday (having been delayed by a conference in Calgary and the Departmental defense of my thesis proposal). This account follows my (somewhat improvised) schedule of interviews and observations, wherein I endeavoured to uncover both the agenda-setting/decision-making and production processes which underlie

broadcast sport within the CBC. As I note below, various forces are at work in the shaping of these processes, including workplace roles and tensions, and although they may be understood separately, they are nonetheless distinctly related to each other.

Regarding interviews with officials and staff, these were carried out with the following individuals: the Executive Producer of CBC Sportsweekend (three interviews), the Senior Producer of Sportsweekend (my guide and main contact, who was formally interviewed twice), two Line Producers (responsible for the Women's Hockey Championship segment and the boxing segment), two Directors (the boxing segment director, and the Sportsweekend director, who doubled as the women's hockey producer in this instance), one Staff Writer (interviewed twice), two Production Assistants, one Performer, one Colour Commentator, one Editor, one Sound Technician, and one Replay Director. Outside of TV Sports, the Director of Audience Research was also interviewed. Given the hectic schedule of production, the Senior Producer would introduce me to an individual and an interview would be set up at a moment's notice. I brought a series of questions with me into CBC Sports, which included the following:

(A) Personal/Occupational Information (asked of all subjects):

- (1) What is your role or title within TV Sports?
- (2) What is your background in terms of education and working in television and/or media?
- (3) What other positions have you held at CBC?
- (4) What do you like or dislike about your job, i.e. what do you find challenging and what's boring (or what would you change)?

(5) Do you plan to stay for a while and do you wish to be promoted or moved to another position?

(6) Which other workers/staff do you have contact with? In what capacity, e.g. who do you answer to in your job?

(B) Decision/Production Information (asked of senior production officials and line producers):

(1) Which are the most essential factors when it comes to deciding which high performance sports to produce for a broadcast from among the following: audience ratings, budgets, corporate sponsorship, history or tradition, rivalries with other networks, contacts with individuals in the world of sport (such as NSO's), and/or your own feelings regarding what makes "good sports broadcasting", such as the basic entertainment value of certain selected sports. What role, if any, does marketing research play in the selection process?

(2) In the selection of a particular sport, what factors endemic to the sport itself are sought out, such as entertainment quotient or level of potential drama or uniqueness? Do factors of violence in any way prohibit sports from appearing on the air?

(3) What is your view on women's sport? Is it preferable to show female athletics in tandem with male sport, or do you believe women's sport can stand alone as a production? In your view, is there any resistance to the production of women's sport on the network; do you believe it "serves the audience"?

(4) How do you (a producer) determine the pacing of programs, e.g. the length of segments, location of commercial ads and their length, and what techniques are employed to ensure a smooth flow of production? What are typical problems encountered in this process, and how are these usually overcome?

(5) What role does "teamwork" play in production, i.e. how essential is each individual to the production process?

(6) What role does technology or technological capacity play in production, i.e. does it supplant creativity or is it utilized in a creative fashion? How developed is CBC Sports in a technological sense, compared with an American or European network, and are there any changes which you would like to see made in terms of equipment?

(C) Other Information Sought (primarily asked of senior officials):

(1) How do you view the role of CBC Sports and its production of amateur athletics? In other words, do you believe it lies within

the mandate of CBC Sports as the public broadcaster to s. w Canadian elite athletics? Would you like to see this level of sport increase or decrease on the network?

(2) What is your view of the quality of sports productions at other networks, Canadian/American/European?

(3) What direction would you like to see CBC Sports take in the future? Do you believe, for example, that the schedule should permit more hours for sport between Monday and Friday, or that the current emphasis on weekend/special programming is adequate? What kind of sports would you like to see on the air personally? Which sports have become a part of CBC Sports with your influence?

The extent to which I utilized these questions, and depth of information or evidence sought, hinged in part on the position and/or responsiveness of subjects (who were selected on the basis of their position in the CBC's hierarchical structure in TV Sports, whether executive, commentators, staff; see Figure II below). In other words, certain questions would be more applicably addressed to a production assistant who was a member of the Canadian Union of Public Employees than to an Executive Producer whose primary concern is budget control. Further to this, I approached most of the workers in a more conversational manner, rather than with a list of questions and tape recorder in hand; having an extensive background and knowledge of sport and broadcasting, I chose to relate more on a level of "shared affection and excitement" for sport in general and its televisual production more specifically. Several people, notably the Producer, Executive Producer and Writer for Sportsw weekend, were interviewed or engaged in conversation more than once; thus while this day-to-day account maps the research process I followed in the field, it also incorporates and organizes

Figure II

Organization Chart - CBC Television Sports (Toronto)

Related Organizations

National Association of Broadcast
Employees and Technicians (NABET)

- Full-Time Technical and
Production Staff

Alliance of Canadian Cinema
Television and Radio Artists
(ACTRA)

- Certain Performers

Canadian Union of
Public Employees (CUPE)

- Certain Performers
- Clerical Staff
- Casual Production
& Technical Staff

Canadian Television
Producers and Directors
Association

- Producers, Directors

(Adapted from CBC Annual
Report 1987/88 and field
notes/interviews, CBC
Sports, Toronto)

information which was gathered more sporadically over the four-day period. "Day One", detailed below, consisted of several interviews, during which I attempted to uncover evidence regarding productions and decisions, with the assistance of key personnel associated with the production of Sportsweekend: the Senior Producer, the Executive Producer, the Staff Writer, and the Production Assistant in charge of scripts.

First Phase of Field Research

Day One: March 23, 1988

It may not be like you think it is; the best way I can describe it, after ten years or so, is: it's organized chaos. But there's one thing you can't lose sight of, and that's the basis of what we do here: we're in the entertainment business. (Producer/Sportsweekend, 23 March 1988)

This initial comment from the Producer of the Sportsweekend telecast was virtually the first statement I heard from a member of CBC TV Sports, but was clearly not the last time I would hear either the sport/entertainment analogy or a reference to chaotic situations which are marked by the availability of technical facilities/staff (such as access to the central editing facility, known as "supersuite"), advancing deadlines for final tapings and/or the spectre of producing live presentations (Interview, Producer/Sportsweekend, 23 March 1988). (Associated with CBC Sports for over ten years, and Senior Producer of Sportsweekend for five of those, this individual proved to be an invaluable source of

information regarding decisions and production, and concerning workplace interactions or tensions.)

Without question, there is a hierarchal arrangement of duties revolving around the establishment of an agenda and its production. My initial access to CBC Sports was thus aligned with the "production side", but was quickly followed by some insights into the decision-making process as well. As I have noted above, the production week normally follows a Tuesday to Saturday regimen although "some weeks are easier to produce than others, since they might only involve the editing of tape". If the most appropriate way to describe the Sportsw weekend program is as a carefully structured and layered televisual construction, then the segmented production week is representative of this layering process. Tuesdays are set aside for "getting our act together", finalizing events, arranging commercial segments "whether 90-second breaks or 30-second breaks", and commencing work on the script. The Producer actually writes and blocks the script (an example of which is provided in Appendix B), determining time allotted for particular segments and arranging commercial breaks with advertising people. On Wednesday, the script is continued, in close collaboration with the Sportsw weekend Writer (who actually scripts material read from a teleprompter by on-air announcers), and the organization and pace of production is mapped out. For example, in the course of deciding how many minutes of speedskating footage to utilize, it was determined that a certain number of races would be shown, followed by a commercial break and studio host "update", followed by a

return to the competition. Thursday, videotaped footage is edited into shape; technical staff operate the computerized editing machines, adhering to the shots selected by the Producer, who in turn consults with the Sportsweekend Director and Writer. Discussions are held with Directors, the Writer and Production Assistants as to the "show's flow", i.e. whether sequences are smoothly written and seamlessly edited, how any gaps can be filled or whether any "late-breaking news" in sports may arise (an example of this is included in the description of the production meeting below). To clarify, each segment of Sportsweekend has a different "Line Producer" who has edited a sequence together and striped in pre-written commentary and music. Thus the March 26 production of Sportsweekend was divided into speedskating, women's hockey and boxing, each of which had a producer and director, along with a supporting "team" which has put the segment together. Similarly, there is a producer for golf, for motor racing, for snooker, etc. The Senior Producer (Naylor) oversees the progress of these segments, and has overall responsibility for "hanging it all together". On Friday, the promotional segments (e.g. "Today on Sportsweekend...", "Next week on Sportsweekend...") and the bulk of required voice-overs are taped. In addition, if a produced segment requires a "colour commentator" or "expert analysis", this individual (when he or she is available) will view tapes with an on-air commentator, in a type of rehearsal format (see my description of the speedskating segment below). A general production meeting is held on Friday afternoons to discuss the

script and go over any changes required or late-breaking news which might provide an "impact opening" for the show (see below). The production week, of course, hinges on when certain events are to be held and on the rapid editing of tape for these. For example, the O'Sullivan/Boucher boxing match was held on Friday evening, and did not end until 11:15 p.m., after which the production staff had to return to the editing suite to piece tape together until 2:30 a.m. for a national presentation the next afternoon. Indeed, most workday schedules vary from week to week, depending on the segments to produce; a typical day might involve coming in at 10:00 a.m. and staying until 2:00 p.m., going home for food and sleep, coming back at 6:00 p.m. and staying until midnight to edit tape (Interview, Production Assistant/ Sportsweekend, 23 March 1988; as I note below, some staff are paid overtime for this additional labour, some are compensated with additional time-off). Saturday, "show time", may also involve final tapings of commentary (as in the case of the speedskating footage), final changes to the script (a new one was handed out 15 minutes before air time), and is centered on the airing of the show over a three-hour period (Interview, Producer/ Sportsweekend, 23 March 1988).

As noted above, the efficiency of any given working day rests to some extent on the availability of a narrow range of editing rooms and (on occasion) preferred personnel "who can edit on the head of a pin". In other words, says Naylor,

It comes down to the efficiency of packaging sports we do, in such a way that everything, the sport, the

ad breaks, the promos, fits. Now,
if something, or someone, screws up...
(Interview, Producer/Sportsweekend,
23 March 1988)

During this particular production week, it became glaringly evident that "screw-ups" do in fact occur ("its unusual if they don't", he says) and that the deadline mentality which governs journalistic practice more generally applies to CBC TV Sports as well. The central problem, as Naylor noted, was that a staff member (whose usual role was as the Director of the Sportsweekend program) was "having a first go" at producing an event: the Women's National Hockey Championship. His task was to edit approximately 10 hours of videotape into 20 minutes of highlights, a job which would "normally take about four hours, six or seven if you're not used to it", says Naylor. After 19 hours of time absorbed in supersuite, the tape was not yet finished, and some heated words were exchanged between the Senior Producer and women's hockey Producer since the former required the editing facilities to package the speedskating footage. Furthermore, this footage (purchased from an American cable network and a Norwegian television network) was of unexpectedly poor quality and would require more time than necessary to edit. What the Senior Producer claimed with regard to the pace of construction was unravelling in what he termed a typical fashion: "...the mentality here is, "get it on the air, whatever the cost", since the shit really hits the fan if things go wrong". Thus the pressure to "do the job" ultimately ascends beyond the entertainment value desired in each case. Since some

sports are simply lacking in "how much entertainment can be sucked out of them", this consistent goal of securing an entertainment value can be ultimately sacrificed in order to ensure that the show goes on. The overriding criteria thus rests on a deadline: "We'll get it done", and "No sweat, it'll go on" are common phrases heard from Producers, who, in a sense, act as team leaders. As I point out in my discussion of Day Four below, the ideology of teamwork is but one of a range of interesting workplace characteristics noted in the field research.

In terms of production strategies, there is no question that a traditional form of arrangement is adhered to. Simply put, as Naylor says, "the best goes last". Since Sportsweekend is a variety show, normally dedicated to broadcasting more than one event in a given afternoon program, these require arrangement according to time slot available (normally three hours) and prospective audience available at a given time. On this particular broadcast, as indicated by the Senior Producer and Writer, the Canadian Welterweight Championship boxing match was to be the "climax" of the afternoon, and would therefore be scheduled as the last event shown, i.e. between four and five o'clock when audience share is highest (see also CBC Broadcast, Sportsweekend, 26 March 1988). To some extent, notably during live telecasts, the production must follow an pre-established agenda, e.g. the live presentation of the Canadian National Track and Field Championships in August was essentially a televisual production of a schedule set by the CTFA. (There is no evidence that either major corporate sponsors or CBC

officials influenced the agenda of this particular event, although such influence is not uncommon; see Chapter Six.) Although the dominant range of organization which holds "best 'til last" permeates most levels of organized sport, this can depend on a given arrangement between an NSO and the CBC; thus while it could be argued that the CTFA schedule had the men's 110-metre hurdles as the final event for the Saturday afternoon, the centerpiece was the men's 100-metre sprint, as clearly indicated by CBC's production of the competition. While the pacing and flow of a broadcast is thus the primary responsibility of the Senior Producer and, to an extent, the Line Producers, the events or competitions they work with are selected elsewhere, within other levels of the production organization. As the Sportsweekend Writer comments,

Some of the stuff we show, most people around here don't know too much about. Take this speed-skiing we showed last year; the first and last time. You should have seen me trying to find stuff to write (about that sport). (Interview, Writer/Sportsweekend, 23 March 1988)

In response to a question as to why this particular event would be purchased from a European network, since it was little known to production staff, let alone the viewing audience, he responded, "Because it was probably cheap" (Interview, Writer/Sportsweekend, 23 March 1988). Decisions of production therefore relate to material already selected and in place; it thus becomes crucial to recognize and comprehend the criteria which governs these decisions. In the view of some staff, competitions and events are

not selected carefully enough, or are chosen for the wrong reasons. Of notable interest here is the role which the "personal taste" of higher ranking officials plays in this decision-making process.

Well, it involves a number of things. We're a Crown Corporation, so there is a service to the public. We can acquire some pretty nice options with the right deal, as in figure skating; connections help, of course, but we try to stick with what's resolutely Canadian, as long as its within budget. (Interview, Executive Producer/ Sportsweekend, 23 March 1988)

In the final analysis, it is the Executive Producer of Sportsweekend who selects sports events for telecast, but does not do so independently of other personnel or a basic range of criteria. (Longer-term contracts, as in the case of Grand Prix Motor Racing or professional golf, are negotiated with international officials by the Head, Deputy Head and Executive Producer of CBC Sports (the latter individual carries out a separate range of duties which from those of the Executive Producer of Sportsweekend)). Cost-effectiveness is a primary basis for deciding whether to purchase or produce a sporting event, but other factors clearly enter into decision-making on a week-to-week basis. For example, Sportsweekend dropped their coverage of European soccer due to "high production costs and low (audience) ratings", but purchased helicopter skiing, aerobatics and kayaking events which evidently offered little savings and possibly lower ratings. Similarly, the "Canadian-ness", or of an event, i.e. an emphasis

on nationalist ideology, enters into the criteria of selection, but assumes a variety of interesting forms: "We have a strong relationship with national and international sports federations, and broadcast a lot of amateur events... ", to "As the national broadcaster, we feel that we have a responsibility to Canadians...which is not so evident on the part of TSN and CTV...", to "We declined to show this particular production (of parachuting skills) because it was, well...too American" (Interview, Executive Producer/ Sportsweekend, 24 March 1988). (This latter reference was to the evident corporate sponsorship associated with this event (Budweiser's logo written on the parachutes, for example), yet CBC Sports is significantly sponsored by Carling-O'Keefe and Molson Breweries, General Motors and Pepsi-Cola, displaying corporate banners at events and "billboards" during televisual presentations.) Thus approximately 90 percent of Sportsweekend's programming involves domestic productions or material purchased from European networks. In terms of sponsorship, longer-term contracts with corporate supporters of professional series events (such as Grand Prix Motor Racing) are also entered into, partly for "the deals which can be struck" on broadcasting rights extending over several years, and the associated possibilities of offering corporate advertisers "attractive" reduced rates for their support over the longer term (from seasonal to multi-year rates) (Interview, Executive Producer/Sportsweekend, 24 March 1988). (Since 1986, advertising rates for 30-second commercials on Sportsweekend have been based on a scale of "supply and demand",

whereby more expensively produced events such as Grand Prix Auto Racing might cost \$5,000, above an average of approximately \$3,000. This compares, for example, to the cost of regular season NHL games, for which sponsors pay approximately \$12,000 for 30-second spots (Canadian Advertising Rates and Data, 1984-86)).

Further to this criteria of nationalism and sponsorship, while audience ratings are touted as an essential factor in decision-making, CBC TV Sports rarely utilizes CBC Audience Research data to determine which sports will be most popular with different groups, or which audience groups (women aged 25 to 40, for example) might be better catered to (Interview, Director/Audience Research, 23 March 1988). Entertainment value and excitement or drama endemic to a particular event may receive some recognition in decision-making, however, especially if it involves some unique technological quality:

We had a camera set up inside one car during a Grand Prix, and the damn thing actually crashed; now that was amazing, exciting television.

(Interview, Executive Producer/Sportsweekend, 23 March 1988)

While most sporting events would fall within the confines of "producible" events, there is one exception, according to the Executive Producer: kick-boxing is considered "too violent", and not in the interests of the network or audience to produce. Nonetheless, as coverage of the Canadian Welterweight Championship (and preliminary bouts to the match) indicates, the CBC is not

inclined to consider boxing too violent, as many of the sport's critics do. This somewhat contradictory range of criteria noted in the context of a lengthy interview with the Executive Producer of Sportsweekend revealed another dimension of decision-making, not normally advertised but long suspected, which enters into the rationale behind selection of sports: personal taste, which may in part be guided by personal connections in the world of sport. For example, in response to a question about the rise of coverage with respect to three sports on Sportsweekend, i.e. snooker, darts and motor racing, the program's Executive Producer noted that he had a personal preference for these, and that he was responsible for initiating a wider scope of coverage by CBC Sports. He was nonetheless quick to point out that sponsorships and audiences alike are secure for these events, particularly in the case of Grand Prix Formula One Racing, of which sixteen races were produced by the CBC in 1988/89 (adhering to a pattern of consistency desired by network management). As I point out in my description of Day Three of the field observations and interviews, connections which are not immediately visible also enter into the range of sporting competitions selected by the network for broadcast.

Day Two: March 24, 1988

The second day of this phase of the field research provided an introduction to technical facilities which are at the disposal of production personnel, through the observation of editing procedures involved in packaging several minutes of the Women's National Hockey Championship videotape. The context of this

particular competition also proved enlightening in terms of both gender relations in the workplace and more general attitudes of staff with regard to women's sport. To provide a context for this, however, I turn first to information which was gathered with respect to more generalized workplace organization, interaction and tension, and which in itself provided significant insights into the forces which motor the production process.

The division of labour noted within the production level of CBC TV Sports consists of: (i) creative personnel, i.e. (as noted above) Producers who write and set the "second by second" pace of an entire production, and Directors who "call" the show and make selections from a range of available camera shots (e.g. from five available camera angles at the diving trials); (ii) Technicians, such as editors, switchers, graphics people, videotape replay machine (VTR) operators and camera operators, sound engineers, all of whom work to the producer's and director's specifications; (iii) Production Assistants (or "P.A.'s"), including script assistants (who call ten-second countdowns when coming out of a commercial or going to air), floor managers (who cue on-air commentators and relay information from the Producer or Director to the floor), and VTR assistants (who perform a key function of cuing tape operators); and (iv) Performers, which include Writers and on-air commentators (Interviews, Producer and Executive Producer/Sportsweekend, 24 March 1988).

This division is further defined by the level of organization pertaining to each group. For example, Technicians and Production

Assistants are organized under the National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians (NABET), other support staff (such as clerks, secretaries and temporary field personnel such as sound assistants) fall under the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE, which permits the contracting of temporary short-term labour for more elaborate productions), and Performers belong to the Alliance of Canadian Cinema, Television and Radio Artists (ACTRA). Producers and Directors are not unionized, but have an active association (and are supported by other organizations such as the Canadian Director's Guild) which performs various functions, such as organizing grievance procedures or initiating collective bargaining with management (Interview, Producer/Sportsweekend, 24 March 1988).

The production process is to a strong degree constructed along this division of labour and the associated (and differing) levels of organization of employees. As indicated above, while Producers and Directors may work long or short days and weeks on a self-directed schedule (depending on how well a particular program is "shaping up" or how much travel is involved) and collect time-off in lieu of unavailable overtime, Technicians work rotating eight-hour shifts. A Producer may, for example, work through a particular shift in order to secure a highly regarded (i.e. speedy) editor or call in other favoured technical support, with or without regard to budget considerations. Production Assistants and other support staff can be employed on a contractual or as-needed basis, claiming overtime when necessary, while Performers are salaried employees

who make themselves available for tapings, live presentations, or voice-overs "for as long as necessary" (e.g. the voice of World at Six on CBC Radio performs the voice-overs for Sportsweekend promotions on a contract basis) (Interview, Producer/Sportsweekend, 24 March 1988). Writers are included in the category of Performers, although their work week typically follows that of the Producer, who dictates script changes, whether additions, deletions or re-blocking. It is interesting to note that, unlike other production personnel, Writers face certain constraining technological limitations, working without word processors (using manual typewriters instead), and utilizing creatively constructed newspaper clipping files and memory as sources of athlete/sport profiles or other information. In relation to productions of high performance sport, the Sportsweekend Writer and supporting Researcher maintain contact with the Athlete Information Bureau, which compiles biographies and issues information on amateur athletes in conjunction with NSO's at the National Sport and Recreation Centre in Ottawa (Interview, Writer/Sportsweekend, 24 March 1988). (Interestingly, none of those individuals interviewed made reference to any contact with the Sport Marketing Board, a group which lobbies private industry for support of amateur sport, and which assists NSO's in developing marketing strategies, including more streamlined packaging of events for television. This may be because the Chairman of the Council is Johnny Esaw, Vice-President, Sports, CTV Television Network (see also Chapter Six)).

This organization of the labour process has resulted in some evident workplace tensions, particularly along the issues of salaries and professional values. A series of labour actions by technical staff (NABET) in the mid-1980's (over wages, shift differentials and overtime) brought their incomes into line with salaries of Producers and Directors (such that a script assistant will earn as much as a salaried Producer or Director with five-years' experience). As I suggested earlier, this more senior (in terms of responsibility) group argues in turn it is they who labour for longer hours "under the gun" and are held responsible when "screw-ups" occur. While claims of overt animosity between these groups appear to be rare, this differing level of organization has had the effect of hindering the creative advancement of qualified production personnel (which certainly includes women employees) into Producers' jobs, since promotion to a position of higher prestige currently translates into a temporary reduction in wages (and a sudden increase in travel commitments, which employees with family responsibilities find more difficult). Furthermore, Technicians and production support staff are often faced with the most tedious working conditions of all employees, where a shift may consist of literally sitting and waiting for producers to make technical decisions, for colour commentators to arrive, for performers to get their lines straight, sometimes for hours on end (Interviews, Producer, Switcher, Researcher/Sportsweekend, 24 March 1988).

A further source of evident workplace tension lies between

Line Producers and upper management, regarding professional qualifications or level of expertise, centering primarily on the non-sport backgrounds of many senior officials (who may bear attitudes about sport which will not correspond to those of producers, e.g. concerning audience appeal of a certain event). Conversely, most production-level personnel at CBC Television Sports in Toronto emerge from educational or field settings in television, radio and/or print sports journalism (e.g. the Sportsweekend Writer worked for the Hockey News for five years), with many trained at Ryerson Polytechnic or community colleges, and some possessing university undergraduate or graduate degrees (Interviews, Producer, Performer, Writer, Line (segment) Producer/Sportsweekend, 24 March 1988). This back-ground differentiation connotes a division between authority and knowledge in the workplace, wherein those who establish an agenda and tend budgets (handed down through executive channels within the Corporation; see Figure II above) exercise power over those who apply accumulated knowledge and exercise creativity in the construction of televisual sport. Nonetheless, like those potential tensions over working conditions which are voiced by production personnel, management/producer conflicts are muted in at least two ways: by the creation of a tangible product which is recognized as the outcome of (according to Sportsweekend's Producer) "controlled teamwork", and by more unofficial workplace relationships, (e.g. where Producers may in fact shape agenda selections by gaining the confidence or "the ear" of more senior management). An example of

this latter condition is reflected in the attention devoted to track events and road racing produced by CBC Sports; the Senior Producer has a particular affinity for these competitions, and a correspondingly "solid" relationship with the Executive Producer. Thus while conflicts and tensions clearly underlie the process of production, their disrupting influence tends to be circumvented by the necessity and finality of "getting it on the air", and, as I argue below, the setting of the production booth or mobile unit can work to smooth over problems which may have emerged during the production week.³

A final (although limited) source of potential tension is that which arises between Producers and on-air Performers (or "talking heads", many of whom have, like senior production officials, emerged from backgrounds other than broadcast journalism.)⁴ Recognizable and constantly in the limelight, these individuals may exercise some degree of production responsibility, particularly in adhering to the pre-designed pace of live events, where timing (e.g. completing on-camera commentary in time to cut to a commercial) is all-important (Interviews, Producer, Performer/Sportsweekend, 24 March 1988), but generally fall under the authority of the program or segment Producer. It is well known that on-air commentators use teleprompters to read script into the camera and out to the audience, in part to avoid the temptation of engaging in improvised commentary (which some do anyway) that might disrupt transition and flow in a production. However, conversations between on-air personalities and colour commentators (who are

secured to provide more in-depth analysis of events) are more "lightly scripted", i.e. while voice-overs of taped events may be rehearsed and drawn from an outline (see my description of the speedskating segment below), Producers rely to some extent on the expertise or knowledge of colour commentators for improvised talk during live events. In other words, circumstances which occur during live telecasts of sport dictate a certain amount of commentary, and visiting analysts are valued for their backgrounds and current involvement in the sport subject (Interview, Producer/Sportsweekend, 24 March 1988).

Regarding the experts chosen by the Sportsweekend Producers to provide commentary for events, it is interesting to note that each of the analysts encountered during the research have been called upon repeatedly to offer their expertise when the need arises: the speedskating expert, Andrew Barron, was (at the time of the research) coach of the Canadian women's national speedskating team (Barron resigned in January 1989); Geoff Gowan, colour commentator for the track and field nationals, is head of the Coaching Association of Canada (an NSO which oversees training and certification of coaches); and Irene MacDonald, analyst of the diving nationals, is executive director of the Canadian Amateur Diving Association. Thus arises an often unrecognized facet of the production of high performance athletics: the National Sport Organizations may play a subdued role in what is chosen for broadcast, but have a very active part in one element of the production process, in that NSO representatives are selected

(within the confines of professional habit or traditional practice) to "explain what's going on (in an event) since hardly anyone else might know" (Interview, Producer/ Sportsweekend, 24 March 1988). Furthermore, while CBC productions of amateur athletics rely on experts who are still active in some sport capacity (as coach, athlete, administrator), productions of professional league sport typically contract retired athletes or former (i.e. otherwise unemployed) coaches in this role. As I argue in the chapter to follow, this is an important point, as the use of knowledgeable and experienced people who also live and work in the world of sport tends to provide a range of supports which actively shape dominant images of the sports in question, while simultaneously contributing to the construction of a product.

The division of labour which underlies the production of sport within the CBC is clearly evident in the course of packaging material for broadcast. On the third day of field research, I observed a production crew in supersuite as they edited the final few minutes of the Women's National Hockey Championship. Of seven workers present, three were actively engaged in the production process: the Line Producer, who ordered video to roll/freeze/edit; an editor, who operated the machine which splices video together; and a Production Assistant in charge of continuity, i.e. timing of each shot. As the Line Producer noted, "Its tedious, but its straightforward". The others present, four male production workers, were essentially interested in watching the women play. It is relatively unique to any sports production to have a singular focus

on women's sport, even though an edited segment of the tournament had been broadcast by the CBC for four years previous (the Women's Championship Tournament is organized under the direction of the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association (CAHA) and had been sponsored in the past by Shopper's Drug Mart) (Interview, Line Producer, Women's Hockey segment/Sportsweekend, 24 March 1988). As I have noted earlier, and will elaborate further in the next chapter, women's sport is generally appropriated into a male-based definition of the game, particularly when it is a sport which is popularly accepted as male turf (e.g. hockey). Clearly, this short period of observation does not permit a generalized statement on the reproduction of gender relations through televised sport, but it nonetheless offered some interesting insights into production values and the division of gender.

Of those present in the production booth, the P.A. was the only female, but neither her presence nor mine worked to inhibit a range of sexist comments from the males who were present:

(From male worker) They have tits, you know; really, I was there, took a look into the dressing room since the door was open...I'd have liked to see more, but what if they jumped me?

(From another male worker, while viewing an interview of a female player) So what do you think: dyke or not? I vote absolutely. You should guess what happens in their dressing room.

(From male producer, commenting on no-body contact rules of the game) Some of these women are scary...what if they really let them hit (each other)?

(From female P.A.) Why don't all of you fuck off?

(From first male worker, laughing) Oh sure, you just wish you were out there with them.

While this could be construed as "normal banter" which exists in the confines of a production booth, this exchange nonetheless typifies certain characteristics of myth-making associated with female athletes, i.e. as lesbian or less than feminine since they play in a (stereotypically) masculine pursuit, as non-sexual or exploitable because of their athletic ability, as less than athletes because they are female. The resistance displayed from the female worker was one of annoyance mixed with tolerance; "What can I do? Sure, they're ignorant...they're threatened" (Interview, Production Assistant/Sportsweekend, 24 March 1988). The Producer's comment was more of admiration for athletic ability, but stated in a "playing along with the boys" way. In an interview the following day, the Line Producer (like other Producers, a male between 25 and 35 years old; unlike the others, in possession of a university degree in political science) noted that the calibre of play within the game was considered high, not only by him, but by the crew which filmed the game:

These guys were Hockey Night in Canada veterans, I mean a really grizzled bunch. Some of them resented it, you know, "Oh God, a bunch of women, what fun". They're used to Gretzky...but they came away really impressed. They should have too. (Interview, Line Producer/Sportsweekend, 24 March 1988)

Two other comments can be made about this particular production segment, in terms of the final product presented. First, the layering which is so evident in taped/edited productions is very clear in this instance. The segment follows a sequence: "Watching one minute of Women's hockey will convince you it is every bit as exciting as most men's leagues" as an opening comment (pointing to the male-comparative terms which defines much of women's sport); brief commentary on the history of the women's tournament; background on the current tournament, with profiles of competing teams; interviews with players/organizers cut into "action sequences" of past games; commentary on Burlington, the location of the tournament (see below); highlights of past and current tournament, including comments on the "star" of women's hockey; interview with star player and other leading players from final two teams (including comments on the issue of body contact); highlight package of the championship game; interview with Most Valuable Player, presentation of trophy. The layering of gender is also evident, beyond the confines of the production booth, to the written commentary and video evidence. Most intriguing is the pre-written commentary on Burlington as an ideal location for the tournament: "Its a family-oriented city which emphasizes recreational pursuits...a very nice place to raise a family" (CBC Broadcast, Sportsweekend, Women's Hockey segment, 26 March 1988; emphasis included in commentary). The emphasis on family and recreation is important here; the segment Writer suggested it

coincided with the sport, i.e. that Burlington should appear to be an "ideal" location for a sport involving women. As I demonstrate below in my discussion of the speedskating, track and diving events, this kind of image re-creation occurs frequently. Indeed, the televisual production of sport follows a skewed definition of women and female athletes, reconstructing a dominant realm of ideas through a layered production of commentary and image in a seemingly "natural" manner.

Day Three: March 25, 1988

The third day of field research offered a wide range of evidence on the production process, including the editing and commentary rehearsal for the World Speedskating event, observation of a production staff meeting, and observation of the field production for the boxing competition. A second interview with the Executive Producer of Sportsweekend revealed further information on the decision-making process as well.

The editing of the World Speedskating Championships continued from 10:00 p.m. on March 24 until 2:30 a.m. March 25, as the supersuite backlog created by the length of time spent on editing the women's hockey segment necessitated that "eight hours of editing be completed in four" (Interview, Producer/ Sportsweekend, 25 March 1988). The approach to editing the segment, according to the Producer, followed a traditional pattern: focus on (i) winners, (ii) exciting or dramatic sequences of action which may or may not involve winners, and (iii) Canadian participants. Three videotapes of three separate competitions (from the U.S., Norway and the

Soviet Union) totalling four hours in length were to be edited into a smooth sequence of continuous action over a 45-minute period. Clearly, the technological components become highly important in this process. The use of computer editing and graphics permits that the event appear "almost live"; for example, the U.S.-based competition covered a two-day period with a significant change in weather in between. Indeed, the fact that it is a videotaped series of events is rarely mentioned, although quite evident. The image of a sunny first day slides across the screen, replaced by a view of a snowy second day; thus the fact of "previously recorded" becomes clear but inconsequential, since the sequence of action (with commentary directed toward the audience, "As you can see, the weather has changed as we move on to the second day of competition...") is, in effect, seamless. Interestingly, while two Canadian male skaters are viewed as part of the final edited sequence (owing to the disqualification of Gaetan Boucher and relative success of Jean Pichette), no Canadian females were part of the production sequence. Two reasons surfaced for this: (i) no Canadian women were involved in the medals or in any unusual or dramatic incidents (as was the case of an American skater who fell during a heat) and (ii) the Canadian women's coach, Andrew Barron, could be seen in the original unedited videotape, cheering the athletes on, but was serving as colour commentator on the Sportsweekend sequence. "He can't be two places at once" was the comment from the Producer, once again in reference to the tradition of providing the audience with "almost live" competition. The

reality of a commentator appearing at an event taped in the Soviet Union four weeks previous to his appearance on tape in a Toronto studio would be too much of a disruption in the desired flow and transition over a sequence of time. Thus when the editing of the sequence was completed, and a script of the sequence detailing competitors and times prepared (see Appendix C for an example of specific scripting), the commentary which would accompany the videotape could be developed, then edited to accompany the visual image the next day.

The development of commentary accompanying the speedskating segment, which comes across in the final product as rather "natural", proved to be a meticulously constructed part of the production process. While my position in the course of observation had to this point been off in a corner (or more generally, out of the way but not out of touch), the Producer suggested I sit in with the commentators (Brian Dance and Andrew Barron) as they viewed the tape on a monitor. In fact, I sat between them. Two factors regarding this process became immediately evident: that Barron's presence was essential in order to provide accurate information on athletes (e.g. performances recorded at the Calgary Olympics) and background on the competitors, and that drama and excitement can be injected into a production where none may have existed before. As they viewed the tape, the dialogue was by and large conversational, with Barron providing interesting anecdotes (some useful, others not) and Dance attempting to learn the pronunciation of names. It must be emphasized once again that finishing times

were known ahead of time, detailed on a script provided by the Producer. The intonation of excitement (can she beat the previous skater's time?) is thus manufactured, since the completion time has already been documented. Barron, the women's coach, is highly regarded by CBC Sports staff, not only for the knowledge he brings to a production, but for his apparent ability to engage in this dramatic construction as well; indeed, comments such as "I don't think she can do it, the ice is too slow, she looks tired" from Barron are provided in a context of knowing she can do it and does in fact win the competition. (See my discussions of the final commentary taping during Day Four and the dramatic construction of televisual sport below.) To summarize, the procedure of rehearsing commentary over videotape cuts the time required for developing a smooth line of dialogue during the final audio-visual sequence.

Time, its organization and management, is a key factor in the production of television sport; as the script provided in Appendix B indicates, every detail is mapped out to the second. On the third day of research, with a variety of video and sound editing left to complete (including the colour commentary from the visiting speedskating coach), the weekly production meeting lasted only 30 minutes, but did reveal something about factors of control which enter into workplace or production relationships. As noted above, Producers must on occasion deal with overzealous Performers who like to improvise or attempt to assume some editorial control. As the Executive Producer notes, the on-air personalities, especially the studio host, are important factors in the transitional features

of a production, as it moves from one venue or event to another, to commercial, to updates or breaking news in the world of sport. But as the Producer of Sportsweekend indicates, when a studio host attempts to change the pre-set flow or pace or information packaging, it is his (the Producer's) job to "reign him in" (Interview, Executive Producer, Producer/Sportsweekend, 25 March 1988). As the Producer predicted prior to the weekly gathering of staff, similar efforts occur during production meetings as well. As this particular meeting opened, the studio host for the March 26 production suggested that the show's opening be changed to accommodate a story about professional football (specifically, the rumoured sale of the British Columbia Lion Football Club); the Producer argued there were not enough specifics available presently, but if more information came to his attention in the next 24 hours, a change might be made. (Interestingly, in an interview conducted with the studio host prior to this meeting, he was most emphatic about the necessity of "teamwork" in his account of the important factors which enter into production, but clearly guided in his interpretation by the public exposure of his job. Our discussion consisted primarily of whether he believes the national news media has treated him fairly or not; clearly, his role in the setting of an agenda is minimal, while a certain amount of knowledge, the ability to dramatize and skills at timing or pacing define his role in production (Interview, Performer/ Sportsweekend, 25 March 1988)). The staff meeting involved a relatively brief item-by-item discussion of the script, with a longer discussion of

"contingencies" which would come into effect should the program "run short". This prospective problem related to an event which was to be broadcast the next day, but had not yet taken place: the welterweight boxing match. The expressed fear of production staff was that the 12-round match (which should run for roughly 50 minutes in length) would last only 10 or 15 minutes instead. (Indeed, this suspicion was well-founded; the fight ended one minute into the second round, resulting in a five-minute package of the main event.) In any event, the gap would be filled with taped preliminaries and interviews/profiles of the participants. What became clear from this meeting is that overall control rests with the Senior Producer, and that such gatherings do not necessarily provide a forum for conflicts or problems arising during the week.

Although the focus of this research is not professional sport, it is worth noting that the production of the boxing match provided additional evidence in three related areas: (i) the decision-making process in the selection of sports to produce, (ii) the related notion of competition between other networks (which had been suggested as "friendly" or "not necessarily antagonistic"), and (iii) particular values which enter into the process of production.

A further consideration which enters into the decision-making and agenda-setting process rests with those relationships which exist between senior management/production personnel and individuals or officials from the world of sport outside of broadcasting. Although the current structure of production at CBC

Sports in Toronto includes influential individuals who do not necessarily come from a "sport background",⁵ previous business contacts or "old school" relationships may provide a significant basis of influence for the selection of particular presentations. As an example of this, and of how a variety of considerations can enter into this process, the telecast of the boxing card was a result of (i) a long-standing personal friendship between the Executive Producer of Sportsweekend and Shawn O'Sullivan's manager/business agent (who also serves as an occasional colour commentator for boxing events broadcast by the network); (ii) the relatively inexpensive purchase of the broadcast rights to the event (held by the manager), (iii) a guarantee that the CBC would acquire rights to O'Sullivan's next three fights if he defeated Boucher, and (iv) the "O'Sullivan persona", or high profile of one of the athletes involved, which provided the necessary "Canadian flavour" and ostensibly assured strong advertiser interest and audience viewership. O'Sullivan's manager negotiated promotional rights for the event with Molson Breweries (thus the "Old Vienna" banners appear in the boxing ring), and served as manager/trainer for one participant in each of the three matches. The rights, acquired for \$15,000 (due to O'Sullivan's loss in his previous fight), would be a significant investment should O'Sullivan win the bout and "make a come back" to the point of challenging for an weight-class championship (where sponsorship dollars run into the millions in the United States). In the event this occurred, the CBC would be secure in its grip on the national television rights of

a Canadian-based contest (Interview, Executive Producer/Sportsweekend, 25 March 1988). As the Executive Producer noted in securing the rights to the match,

We wheel and deal like CTV; but
sometimes we'll forego the money
for something different, unique,
something Canadian. (Interview, Executive
Producer/Sportsweekend, 25 March 1988,
emph.orig.)

In terms of this inter-network competitiveness, alongside the contract to broadcast O'Sullivan's fight came the factor of "exclusivity", in that no other network or television station would be permitted to film the event, and news regarding the outcome of the event would be completely restricted, inclusive of CBC Radio. It was suggested by the Executive Producer that "a leak would just kill us", since the fight was to be shown later on Saturday afternoon, and intimated that CTV would "just love to show us up on this one" (denoting a continuation of a rivalry which began in the 1960's). Only after the national broadcast would a short highlight package be permitted, and this would adhere to the "three-and-one rule", where other networks may show up to three minutes of CBC coverage, but no more than one minute of any single event (e.g. the O'Sullivan fight) (Interview, Executive Producer/Sportsweekend, 25 March 1988).

Connected to this issue of inter-network competitiveness is a resolution which consistently appears at various levels of CBC Sports: that selection and production "values and ethics" remain

at a higher level of practice than those of any other North American network.⁶

I'm not knocking the other networks;
by and large, they do fine work. But
sometimes they lack in...well, we don't
do tractor-pulls, we do believe in
Canadian sport. The big U.S. networks
are very impressed with us; we produce
more hours than ABC...and we do it right,
not at anyone else's expense. (Interview,
Executive Producer/Sportsworld,
25 March 1988)

The following day, however, the Executive Producer arrived at the production studio swearing he would sue CTV and reclaim "the 15 grand it cost us" to produce the bout. CTV's major Toronto station, CFTO, had broadcast a 30-second clip from the O'Sullivan fight less than one hour after its completion. The suspicion was that the fight was filmed by a CFTO worker with a mini-cam, either from the arena audience or from the screen located in the press room (where security was supposed to prevent such an occurrence). As the Executive Producer noted, "Just wait until those guys want something from us...and we can't even show the Olympics...", a reference to the exclusive rights to the Calgary Games held by CTV which prevented any re-broadcast (e.g. including Olympic speedskating as part of the package produced by the CBC) by other networks.

In terms of production values, the boxing card itself proved to be a rather different event from the typical Sportsworld broadcast. Complete with tuxedoed commentators, nine cameras

(including one in each of the main competitor's dressing room), four videotape replay machines (the pictures from which can be viewed inside the truck on separate monitors), a production crew of eight, and the presence in the mobile unit of the Head of CBC Sports and the Executive Producer of Sportsweekend, it had all the markings of an expensively produced event. The segment Producer, as in other aspects of live production, controls the overall pace of production, tries to calm a nervous colour commentator, calls for quiet when necessary. He also calls for graphics to be typed onto shots, and lines up appropriate camera shots, advising the Director which camera shots are capturing action most completely; the Director calls to the Switcher (sitting to his right) which cameras to cut to, calls for pre-set graphics ("fonts" and "vistas") to appear and be removed, and calls to the VTR Director to roll tape for a view of all available replays (which are then selected by the Producer and Director). Intercoms connect the booth to the floor of the arena and a small replay/edit/graphics area to one end of the truck; communication is constant, e.g. "going into replay...coming out...ready on floor...ready on Camera Two...Roll VTR 2", and production itself is spontaneous in response to the action, although based on the essential twin characteristics of flow and sequence. The desired quality of teamwork also emerges in the course of a spontaneous production, with compliments ("Way to go!" or "Good shot!", approaching comments heard from athletes under game conditions) and polite responses frequent; "No yelling, we're all pros here" as the Executive Producer said. The three-hour

period prior to the O'Sullivan fight was for all intents and purposes a rehearsal based on the preliminary bouts; the fact that the production was not being broadcast live was only occasionally mentioned (e.g. the segment Producer noting, "we can always patch it later", in the event continuity breaks down), but the presentation was handled in much the same fashion as a live broadcast since editing time following the event would be short and personnel would be tired.

Interestingly, once the competitors in the main event were ready, a floor manager was dispatched to control the athletes' entry into the ring area; thus the pace of dramatic build-up was now a matter of control located outside the sport itself. Tension in the booth rose appreciably as the boxers entered the ring, and the Producer frequently called for quiet. As noted above, the bout only lasted five minutes (four minutes of boxing and a one-minute break between rounds) with O'Sullivan being defeated. Clearly, production personnel do not divorce themselves objectively from the live occurrence of the event; there was a loud commotion inside the booth as O'Sullivan was knocked out. The following exchange, drawn from field notes, took place within the first minute following the fight:

Switcher: Holy shit, look at that!

Producer: Get ready on Three...(to floor commentator) Doug, can he talk, do you think he can talk?

Director: Christ, get ready here, take Three, hold it..

Producer: Move in, move in, over Terry...

Director: Ready on Two, ready on four, ok, take Two...take four...back to three...

VTR Director: Replays up, Arthur.
 Producer: Roll (VTR) One...Oh shit, look at this...a punching bag. Milk it! Roll Two... that's it, that's it, throw it up...
 Floor Director (over intercom, watching monitor ringside): The floor sure hit him hard.
 Director: Ready Camera Two...back up, ok, ready on One...Fire that replay back up there..
 Producer: Doug, is he up yet, can he talk?
 Commentator: He's up Arthur...I can't see him now...
 Producer (As replays continue on main monitor screen): Find him, c'mon, find him! Where the fuck is he?
 Commentator: Donnie (colour commentator) thinks he's probably headed toward the dressing room.
 Production Assistant: Look at Five, there he is on Five, Terry.
 Director: Take Five...shit, too late, missed him...
 Producer: Get to Boucher, Doug, get to Boucher, ask him whether he's surprised or not, if he thought he could knock Shawn out...
 (As replay is shown once more) Production Assistant: Do we have to watch this blood sport much longer?

Various features which inform the production of sport are evident here, from the guiding hand of Producers in shaping events (e.g. instructing a Performer on what to ask the winner), to the alignment of sponsors with events ("Old Vienna" banner or signs in dressing rooms and on ring posts), to the publicized interconnectiveness of sport itself (e.g. "Toronto '96", a reference to the city's bid for the 1996 Summer Olympics, lettered on the ring apron). The fact of personnel as "fans" is apparent (the reactions to the event are similar to those of bar patrons or other crowds), but so to is the gender orientation of the sport itself. Long considered a reserve of male prowess, the disdain for its violence is clear in the comment from the female P.A. (the same

individual who endured comments on women hockey players). As individuals from CBC Sports' senior management came into the booth following the bout, a number of comments were directed to me, in terms of "What did you think", "How did you like it", "Did you have any money riding on it?", and the value of the production in terms of its inherent entertainment was also questioned, e.g. "If only it hadn't ended so damn fast" (Comment from Executive Producer/Sportsweekend). Interestingly, in terms of entertainment, in a discussion with production personnel following the event, I was asked how long I thought the Director had been involved in (the production of) boxing. Judging from the rapid and confident manner in which he called the fight, I said he had probably directed at least five boxing events. As it turned out, it was his first: he had previously been the Director of a children's program called "Fraggle Rock", and had directed live rock concerts from a Toronto club (Interview, Director, boxing segment/Sportsweekend, 25 March 1988). Thus the factor of entertainment level or value is not merely a feature glued to sport production: it is a factor which entirely underlies televisual sport, where the difference between a boxing match and a children's show or rock concert rests only in their respective content, and not within the applied logic of their production.

Following the match, the production crew went back to supersuite to edit the one-hour segment together. Clearly, the "near-live" conditions of the production dictated the flow and sequence of the production; the editing of the tape was completed

within three hours. Of utmost importance was the climactic event, O'Sullivan's knockout, and the pace and directional flow of replays which followed. The fact that this particular match more than likely ended O'Sullivan's boxing career (see my description of Day Four below) denoted its proximity to sports news, i.e. where an athletic hero meets his demise, as was glaringly apparent in the videotaped evidence. At the very least, the fight would receive national exposure on sports highlight packages, thus the best angles or views from the available replays were edited into the sequence of the match.

Day Four: March 26, 1988

Roughly five hours following the completion of editing for the boxing segment, and seven hours prior to Sportsweekend going to air, commentators arrived at the studio for final sound editing of the speedskating segment. The studio (known as Studio Two) for Sportsweekend is also the location of "Midday", "The National" and "The Journal", a cavernous basement with an expanded control booth known as "The Bridge" up one flight of stairs. Drawing from notes and comments of the previous day's rehearsal, the two commentators sat at a table, about two feet away from a monitor which rolled the footage. In the control booth, both the speedskating footage and commentators could be seen on wall monitors. While various problems ("nothing out of the ordinary", said the Producer) arose, such as calling out a skater's finishing times before the graphic appeared on the screen, mispronouncing names or calling athletes by the incorrect name, the commentary was striped onto the videotape

within two hours.

As noted earlier, although the outcomes of races were known, drama was injected into the production by commentators, in order to heighten interest in an athlete seeking victory. During the previous day's rehearsal, Barron (the colour commentator) had noted some personal information on athletes, the kind which is often used as a basis of dialogue between commentators during competition. For example, he commented that Karen Kania, one of the top female skaters, was a mother, a hairdresser, had been married three times, currently to a physiologist. As I argue in the chapter to follow, information on personal lives, dress, style and behaviour is a much more prevalent part of image-making (or myth-making) in the realm of sport for women than it is for men. The information on Kania was pared to a final comment (on her victory as overall women's champion), "That's a great result for Karen. She's a mother, she's an athlete", from Barron (CBC Broadcast, Sportsweekend, 26 March 1988). I find it particularly compelling that the comment came from the Canadian women's national team coach, an individual intimately involved in high performance athletics, attesting to the way in which gender differences permeate various levels of sport, from its organization to its televisual production.

One interesting effect of this process is its support of the "almost live" logic of production. Viewing footage from the U.S., the Soviet Union and Norway, complete with crowd noise and cheering, and then editing commentary into the footage, provides a sense that commentators are present, watching the action and

recording it for us. In other words, the audio-visual sequence places commentators, and therefore the audience, at the venue itself; the fact it is taped in front of a monitor in something resembling a basement is far removed from the reality of the broadcast. There is nothing surprising about this; knowledgeable viewers will most likely realize that commentators do not wing half-way around the world in a matter of days to remote locations in order to provide information on a particular, sometimes obscure, sport. But once again, the point is that this becomes inconsequential; the mere power of the videotaped images and accompanying commentary transports an audience to the location of the competition, not to the location of its final production. The disjointed sense of this became very apparent in watching the creation of a sequence in such a "here and there" fashion, only to see and hear it become a product for consumption on a Saturday afternoon.

Following the striping of commentary over the video, the commentators moved before the cameras to tape additional commentary which would introduce, summarize and conclude the segment. In other words, when the studio host would say "Over to you, Brian Dance" during the show in the afternoon, he would be looking at an empty couch; a VTR machine would provide the seamless illusion of everything taking place "at the moment". Such commentary is by and large improvised, with loose guidelines regarding subject material and timing provided, e.g. the "Discuss Olympics" comment on page 3 of the script (see Appendix B). Three cameras recorded the

commentators (wide shot, close up of Performer, close up of colour commentators), and the Director called for switches as required. As the Producer noted, "We simply marry it all together during the show. Wait until you see it all fall into place." The attention to detail in these tapings closely resembles the attention to timing in the overall production; when Barron erroneously referred to one skater as "the 500- and 1,000-metre champion at the Olympics" as opposed to the 5,000- and 10,000-metre winner, production staff recognized the error immediately and stopped taping to correct him. Within one hour, roughly ten minutes of studio dialogue was in place. Thus the layering which underlies production as a whole is a centerpiece of the logic of segment construction as well; with the raw footage edited into a tightly sequential 40-minute package, new graphics (e.g. summaries of results and top Canadian performers) to link events together, and pre-taped commentary covering footage and assorted information on athletes (notably comparisons between Olympic performances and world championship performances), all the pieces of the puzzle were in place. During the airing of the show, following the script and orders from the Producer and/or Director, and facilitated by video/sound editing equipment and technology, they would fall together in smooth sequence, belying its sporadic construction.

The flexibility which Producers endeavour to maintain in sports broadcasting became evident when a last-minute change became necessary only four hours before air time. The Executive Producer came into the control area and announced that he had arranged

(through his contact) to have O'Sullivan and his manager come into the studio for a live interview with the Sportsweekend host following the airing of his loss the night before. The interview was to last no longer than five minutes, but had to be accommodated within the allotted 56-minute time sequence set aside for "Raging Bullies" (Script, Sportsweekend, 26 March 1988, pg. 8; see Appendix B). The boxing sequence was thus re-sectioned into a seven-part presentation, with slightly less time devoted to preliminary bouts (i.e. start one round later than planned in the first bout) in order to build time for the O'Sullivan interview. The adjustment of the script involved about 20 minutes of discussion among the Producer, Director, Writer and Performer/ host, and included a decision to ask whether O'Sullivan planned to retire ("...if he can think straight enough to reply", commented the Producer).

The period between 11:00 a.m. and 2:15 p.m. involved the completion of various details: sound mixing for a brief skiing segment, typing of graphics, typing and photocopying of script changes, further discussions about the O'Sullivan interview, decisions on what kind of commentary to open the show with. According to the Producer, the hectic pace of this period was quite typical, with several last-minute production details occurring at once. The Producer also received a phone call from the Executive Producer of CBC Sports, who was in Budapest producing Canadian coverage of the World Figure Skating Championships, with the news that a Canadian skater, Elizabeth Manley, had won a silver medal after a favoured American fell during competition. The CBC had

scheduled the competition for presentation that evening; thus the sequencing and flow desired by officials became evident once again, since this news could be reported at air time (3:00 p.m.) with the comment that, "You can see all the action from Budapest beginning tonight at 7:00 on CBC, just one hour before Hockey Night in Canada, a game featuring...". Indeed, in this instance, communications technologies of various types became part of the overall process of production: telephone links, satellite transmissions, televisual technology of tape delays, all rolled into a smoothly functional entertainment commodity.

Clearly, the period prior to the Sportsweekend telecast was devoted to concerns of both time and continuity. The overriding concern was that the sequencing remain intact and timing adhered to, since "this cut and paste stuff can sometimes go screwy" (Interview, Producer/Sportsweekend, 26 March 1988). In the final five minutes before air time, a problem was discovered during the sound check and rectified, the Performer/host had a sudden idea for a change to the opening commentary (quickly quashed by the Producer), and the Producer realized he had forgotten to mix music for Parts II and III of the speedskating sequence. The technological facilities which are at the disposal of Producers and may be creatively employed became quite evident in this instance, since the Producer was able to cue a music sequence from the VTR booth and "go live with it" during air time, i.e. spontaneously deal with a problem by relying on existing timing and continuity in order to "plug the music in".

During the actual airing of the program, the production area becomes focused on the script, and, similar to the boxing production, there is evidence of camaraderie and pride in the successful construction of a product. For example, when the live studio host "throws it" to an empty couch, VTR technology places another commentator in that space, and with the smooth sequencing of live with taped, a cheer goes up: "Looks almost live, doesn't it?", commented the Producer. While the program is airing, there is continuous work on graphics (e.g. updated hockey scores, punching up the production credits which end the program) and continuous talk between the Producer and staff in an effort to "carry it along". Thus the three-hour production "falls into place", with the week's edited events moved into their appropriate locations and last minute changes (e.g. a phone call to Budapest to find out who placed third in the women's figure skating event) accommodated into the pace and established guidelines of production. The most striking quality of the production itself is its "after-the-fact" quality, when it falls into place as the culmination of a complex, institutionalized decision-making and production process, the end product of an agenda set in the powerful confines which guide broadcasting and sport, its style and presentation shaped by traditional guidelines of selection, sequence and flow which are, at times, creatively adhered to. In this sense, this first phase of field work and observation established a context for study in the second phase of research on two other broadcast high performance events: the Canadian Track and

Field Championships/Olympic Trials, and the Canadian Amateur Diving Association Championships/Olympic Trials, both held in August 1988.

Second Phase of Field Research: August 1988

As noted above, this part of the research assumed a somewhat different slant than the March phase. While visits were made to production sites of both the track and diving events, these proved to be limited in offering useful evidence on the process of production. Simply stated, the number of cameras/camera angles in a given production is dictated by the available budget, and their specific location is guided by what the size and shape of the venue can accommodate (e.g. the Terry Fox Stadium and the Nepean Sportsplex), or where the "best view" is available. Much more revealing in this context is the manner in which cameras and shots are utilized by production staff in the presentation of an event, and the resulting construction of imagery which ultimately reinforces a range of dominant ideas about sport, competition and gender. The following is therefore drawn primarily from videotapes of the two events in question, which I argue work as extensions of evidence regarding the logic of decision/production processes noted above.

At the outset, it is important to note that the track and diving events were presented in a primarily live form, i.e. fulfilling the criteria of "immediacy" (which I argue boosts dramatic content, since the outcome is unknown to the audience and production personnel alike), and adhering to the preference of

Producers to produce live events. Indeed, only a portion of the diving event (part of the previous days' competition and an interview between Performer and athletes) and a highlight package from the previous night at the track was presented on tape. Clearly, the "flow" of this particular production of Sportsweekend had an essential centerpiece, noted earlier: the dramatically constructed return of Ben Johnson to the track after a lengthy absence prompted by an injury. In addition, however, frequent mention was made of other "potential" track heroes who might flourish one month later at Seoul, e.g. sprinter Angella Issajenko and hurdler Mark McKoy. The presentation of the track event itself included no fewer than ten events, including distance running and field competitions such as high jumping and javelin. But in the course of production, underlying the logic of both the high performance sport system and its publicly accessible presentation, was an example of a governing feature of high performance athletics: how important world-calibre athletes and their performances really are. In other words, given the content of production which focused on events organized by the CTFA and CADA, and given the approaching Summer Olympic Games, the "natural" inclination became one which scrutinized "Canada's best medal chances" more closely than other competitors. Among track events, field events, and diving events, Canada would unquestionably perform at a calibre of international championship on the track. In the dominant meaning of sport as the highest achievement, "Ben, Angella and Mark" became the personalized focus of the production

process itself. In this way, the potential of athletic performance pre-determined, to an extent, the agenda of production. Indeed, the opening written commentary to the program dictated the flow of the afternoon's agenda:

...Today, two major Olympic qualifying events live from the nation's capital as the drama unfolds before the eyes of the world, at the Canadian Olympic Track and Field Trials, where Ben Johnson, the world's fastest human has returned to competition after a lengthy lay-off. Is Big Ben ready for today's finals? Well, its simply a question of time, and, in the short run, we will have the answer. (CBC Broadcast, Sportsweekend, 6 August 1988)

But even prior to the opening scenario of music, graphics and introduction to the day's events, a short clip of Johnson from a previous competition, complete with music and detailed scientific commentary from the colour commentator, Geoff Gowan, was presented:

...propelled by the immense power of his legs, Big Ben employs 46 strides to sprint 100 metres, 46 strides delivered faster than man has travelled before. At top speed, he can cover 10 metres in .85 seconds; more than 42 kilometers per hour. (CBC Broadcast, Sportsweekend, 6 August 1988)

Following these introductory messages and initiation of dramatic construction surrounding Johnson, a brief switch to the venue of the diving trials made it possible to advertise the variety basis of the afternoon agenda, through a dialogue between the Performer and colour commentator:

Performer: There's tremendous pressure (on

the athletes) here today, because there aren't that many positions (on the Olympic team).

Commentator: There certainly is. The girls have worked so hard, and the men, and they're really in good shape, and there's only four events of which Canadians can have two in each event.

Performer: Alright, only eight will qualify here today... (CBC Broadcast, Sportsweekend, 6 August 1988)

In other words, within the first 90-seconds of the program, the context of competition is established, with a focus on one established hero and on the struggle to make an Olympic team. But this narrow focus embodies a profound statement on gender which underlies each competition: Johnson is at once the fastest human, the pinnacle of "man", while the female divers are "girls", the males are "men", all endeavouring to fulfill an "Olympic dream" (which has nationalist tendencies in itself, given the organization of high performance sport). Significantly, the gendered comment on the diving athletes came from the Executive Director of the Canadian Amateur Diving Association, Irene MacDonald, a former Olympic competitor. Clearly, the close proximity to the Olympic Games, and the role of the CBC as the national broadcaster of those Games, dictated the slant of both competitions. Prior to the presentation of the track and field trials, a brief interview was held with an athlete who announced her retirement "one month before Seoul", and might be headed for "a modelling career".

The Canadian Track and Field Trials was actually a three-day event, of which the CBC provided two hours of live coverage on the

middle day of competition. Prior to the live production, an edited package of highlights from the previous evening's competition was presented, following an established rhythm of construction: a brief (e.g. one-minute) highlight of the completion of a race or field event, backed by music and commentary, followed by an even shorter interview with the victorious athlete. Such a production decision works toward the consistent application of production logic: to showcase the best, speak and allow audience interaction with the best, in the promotion of particular athletes which "we will see at Seoul". Importantly, however, no highlight was shown of Johnson's 100-metre heat the previous evening. In order to save the focus on this athlete to a live presentation, only a comment that "He'll be ready for today" was made.

It is also interesting to note that three separate events and three athletes central to those events formed the focus of the production: the women's 100-metre sprint (featuring Issajenko), the men's 100-metre sprint (with Johnson) and the men's 110-metre hurdles (with McKoy). These were the only events for which preliminary heats were presented, in dramatic build up to the finals in each. It is clear from the construction of the program that the other seven track events and four field events worked as "fillers" flowing between the main features of the afternoon, as they were afforded little in the way of build-up, little in personalized reports on participating athletes, little (if anything) in the way of drama. If spectacle reigns as a predominant factor in the logic of production, it is accompanied hand in hand

by the notion of selectivity, i.e. the most spectacular in this instance was deemed to be the sprints, in part dictated by the performing athletes and their world rankings. However, spectacle will also extend to other elements of a televised athletic competition, often involving the attractive qualities of a venue, ceremonies or medal presentations, or peculiar qualities of competing athletes. As I have noted above in my description of the speedskating competition, dramatic construction and embellished presentation can extend to the extra-athletic lives of athletes. This in turn differs extensively in the ways in which male and female athletes are presented to an audience.

As an example of this, the first live event of the Canadian Track and Field Trials was the semi-final of the women's 100-metres. Following the introductory commentary on the "athletes to watch in this event", the focus turned to Issajenko, but in a light quite different than her athletic abilities.

Performer: (camera focused on track venue)
Well, only having a baby in 1985 has prevented Angella Issajenko from a decade of Canadian 100-metre and 200-metre sprint titles. (camera focused on Issajenko)
And has been her trademark over the last few years, Geoff, Angella is making another fashion statement.

Commentator: Yes, indeed, those rather...
ah...frightening earrings in some ways, I hope she doesn't do herself a permanent injury with them as they start to swing in the high part of her face. (CBC Broadcast, Sportsweekend, 6 August 1988)

As they continued a dialogue about the competitors, the camera

focused on Issajenko as she awaited the start of the race, with comments about her weight training and speed/power secondary to her role as a mother (directly attributed to a kind of failure in her athletic career, in that it interrupted her string of victories) and her choice of attire. Further to this notion of an athlete as a mother and/or fashionable before skilled came a statement on the differing perception of athletic rivalry between women. Having determined that this heat would be "a race between the two Angel(l)as", referring to Issajenko and Angela Bailey, Issajenko glanced over at her nearest competitor as they crossed the finish line. This is certainly not uncommon behaviour in any form of track event. But given the acknowledged rivalry and "no love lost" between the two women, this particular glance took on new meaning.

Commentator: (over replay)...in the middle part of the race, both Angelas running very well, relaxing through this race because the time of 11.83 was very leisurely indeed. And now (as they cross the finish line) a few mind games as Issajenko glances across at Bailey to show who's in control.

Performer: (over second replay isolating on Issajenko)...and there's the form of the defending Canadian champion...good high hand action as she glances across to lane four as she approaches the finish line and rather disdainfully looks over at her competitor, Angela Bailey. (CBC Broadcast, Sportsweekend, 6 August, 1988)

While the notion of "mind games" is often prevalent in the popular psychologizing which accompanies commentary in broadcast sport, the

idea of looking "disdainfully" undermines its athletic component, transforming it into female "cattiness". As in the case of a statement on fashion, the focus on female athletes turns to something other than their skills at a particular event or game. This line of gendered difference also continued into the final of the women's 100-metre sprint. Once again referring to the rivalry between the "two Angel(l)as", the commentary moved into entirely different territory.

Commentator: (with Angella once again the camera's focus) Well, we take a look at the field in this women's 100-metre final and while the other competitors are wearing the same uniforms they ran the semi-final in, there has been a change of attire for Angella Issajenko. She has gone from the brilliant orange to black. (CBC Broadcast, Sports-weekend, 6 August 1988)

Again, the comment on Issajenko's outfit preceded, and thus contributed to the context of, the race itself. Having won the race, the camera followed Issajenko around the track, holding as she noticed a slight cut on her right calf and shouted an expletive. Attention to this by the commentators was deflected by the unforeseen absence of the third-ranked sprinter from the race. While the commentary following the race focused on Issajenko's form, power, time, upcoming competitions and ultimately on her chances for a medal in Seoul, the focus on characteristics external to the sport and athletic competition, but drawn into the environment of performance, offered a contextualization completely

different than that of the men's 100-metre event.

With the dramatic build-up of Johnson's return to the track continuing, a somewhat more personalized approach was assumed in noting that, apart from his injury,

Commentator: ...(Johnson's problems) haven't just been with that hamstring, there was also the controversy surrounding he and coach Charlie Francis...a bit of a rift that some believed had developed...at times, that almost threatened to be more serious than the leg problems, but apparently both have healed.

(CBC Broadcast, Sportsweekend, 6 August 1988)

In other words, the additional information provided on Johnson centered on his role as a high performance athlete, touching on two areas generally aligned with success: the extent of an injury and the influence or importance of a coach, both of which, as such, remain within the confines of the track. While male athletes also wear jewellery, have interesting hair styles and attire, the commentary and central focus on Johnson typifies the predominant views of male performers of little else apart from highly conditioned athletes. In a brief, edited preamble to the 100-metre final which worked as a continuation of the dramatic build-up to the race, Johnson was portrayed in competition (setting world records in 1987) and in training, the focus of adulation in the construction of a hero. Similar to the speedskating athletes noted above, nothing referring to his private life was mentioned, only a regurgitation of publicly accessible knowledge regarding an injury and a conflict with his coach. The race itself thus became

an uninhibited exhibition of performance, a notation of a potential gold medal in Seoul, where "all eyes will be focused on Lane Three, and the number one sprinter in the world, Ben Johnson". In addition, a comment was made (by Gowan) just prior to the race, that "Now, there is no point in holding back, no point in psychological games, its flat out from start to finish, because gold, silver and bronze medals are on the line" (CBC Broadcast, Sportsweekend, 6 August 1988). Clearly, this elevates the men's race to a level exceeding the women's, which had been marked by "intense rivalry" and "mind games" of a truly bitchy variety. With Johnson's victory, the bottom line became, "...a clocking of 9.90! World take notice! Ben Johnson is back!", explicating the desired climax of a dramatic construction. The replays of the race focused as well on Johnson's power, style, ability, confidence level in winning a gold medal in Seoul. In addition, the cameras followed Johnson as he was "mobbed" by reporters and as he was presented his medal, elaborating the athlete as something much more than a performer (and, as I argue in the next chapter, clearly deflecting the role of the political and economic structure underpinning the competition). Thus throughout the track and field trials, the technological presentation was one of a series of elements strung together toward a conclusive statement, broadly noted as, Canadian athletes having significant chances to win on the track during the Summer Olympics.

Before examining the diving trials, it is worth noting an additional feature of the production of the track and field

nationals. Prior to the women's 100-metre heat, there was a false start, i.e. an athlete jumped the gun. The camera shot was switched to a brief glimpse of the starter, or individual who controlled the race, a male veteran of race officiating. There was also a false start prior to the men's 100-metre heat, and once again, the audience was provided with view of the same individual. But in addition, a second camera shot focused on the other starter, a young female who fires a pistol when she receives a false start signal. This individual was viewed in a much different fashion than the distanced picture of the male starter, with the camera sweeping from her pistol, along her body to her profile, then moving in and holding for a closer picture, attempting to catch a reflection of the track from her sunglasses. In a way, this denotes in a very appropriative sense the kind of female support structure often afforded male athletics, but in a manner extending beyond cheerleading or holding a round card in a boxing ring, since the individual in question was present in an official capacity.

While the Canadian Amateur Diving Association Championships represented a production quite different from the track event, it was in part constructed along similar dramatic lines: athletes competing to secure limited openings on the national team which would go to the Seoul Olympics. The event itself was structured around four events: platform diving for men and women (10-metre platform) and springboard diving for men and women (3-metre springboard). Five cameras (as in the case of track, operated by males) located around the Nepean Sportsplex captured the

competition from three pool-level locations and two diving locations. To briefly recall, the event was broadcast in both live and taped form after the track competition was aired on 6 August 1988. This juxtaposition is interesting, in that it posed a particular dilemma for the diving production: how to construct a drama or some form of narrative which would be as interesting as the return of Ben Johnson to the track. The Producers of the event chose to focus on a more personalized approach, hinging on the attempt of two sisters to place within the four available positions for the women's team. Indeed, the emphasis on family noted above in the case of the women's hockey tournament was to a degree replicated by the commentary and focus of the diving event. As the Performer noted in his opening commentary to the competition,

The women will be on this platform
in just a minute; one lady watching
with great interest will be Gloria
Staniforth of Pointe Claire, Quebec,
the reason being her two daughters,
Wendy Fuller-Reich and Debbie Fuller
are favoured in this event. (CBC Broadcast,
Sportsweekend, 6 August 1988)

In a taped interview with these two athletes prior to the event, it was noted in introducing them that,

The Fuller sisters, Wendy,
recently married, was a silver medal
winner at the Pan American Games last
year in Indianapolis, Debbie, is a
student at Ohio State University.
(CBC Broadcast, Sportsweekend,
6 August 1988)

While it is not unusual to be provided with information regarding the university and/or club affiliations of athletes, the construction of this competition around "the Fuller sisters" revolved around other factors. Interestingly, the focus of the interview became, "What would it mean for you to both be on the same team at the Olympics?", and throughout the competition, the central story of the event hinged on their respective performances, as a specific part of the overall question, "Who will go to Seoul?".

As noted above, athletic competitions are generally very lengthy affairs, involving numerous trials or heats. In the case of international-level diving, athletes are judged on total points accumulated over the course of 10 or 11 dives. Multiplied by 10 competitors in each of the female and male categories, the event becomes a highly repetitive process, and a very lengthy one. Since one of the basic features of television production is to maintain flow within a particular menu of selection, a kind of editing formula is adhered to: "We pick up the action in the final round of competition", with decisions on team selection hanging in the balance, both condenses the time required, allows other aspects of production (such as short bursts of pre-taped interviews) to be "fit in", and heightens the dramatic effect desired. Thus a repetitive (or more importantly, repeatable) style is developed: a camera located on the top platform is used in a close-up of a competitor prior to his/her dive, a floor camera shows the dive, a replay is shown, a view of athlete standing with his/her coach

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awaiting judges' points, reaction of the athlete, with related commentary spoken throughout. But it is important to note that particular factors of production style can differ in subtle ways, depending on whether the competitor happens to be a woman or a man.

To elaborate, the method in which a dive from the 10-metre platform is approached and performed permits an extended camera shot of an athlete, who will normally perch upon the edge of the platform, hold while visualizing the dive, then perform the action. Typically, the shot will last for about five seconds or longer, focusing on the diver's visage as s/he goes through preparation. Interestingly, however, it is not unusual to witness a somewhat different shot if the diver is a woman, where the camera angle will commence with a view of the feet, then pan slowly up the body to the head, and hold; in this particular production, this occurred three times in twelve dives when female athletes were on the platform, and did not occur at all when males were about to perform, even though the opportunity was equally present. In the same sense as the above example of a camera shot panning a female track official, the logic which informs the televisual presentation of women can skirt the arena of sexuality, but is often shrouded by elements indigenous to athletics or competition (for example, the necessary element of concentration when preparing for a dive).

Further to this, within the context of the diving competition, aspects relating to the personal lives of female athletes were emphasized throughout the production:

...for Wendy, her husband Scott is here, he's

her coach and he'll also be one of the American coaches for the American diving team in Seoul...

...Mary is the daughter of Mike Wadsworth, a great star with the Argonauts, prominent Toronto attorney...

There's Mike Wadsworth, former Argonaut great, prominent Toronto attorney...here's his daughter Mary from the University of Toronto Diving Club.
(CBC Broadcast, Sportsweekend,
6 August 1988)

As the drama of the sisters unfolds, it becomes apparent that both Wendy Fuller-Reich and Debbie Fuller will make the Canadian team. As a camera shot taken from an upper level shows Fuller-Reich hugging her coach, we hear about "Tears for Wendy Fuller-Reich, she's going to Seoul with her sister Debbie...". Together with the family references, one of which is evidently worth repeating since it involves the daughter of a former professional football star (is her athletic prowess actually linked to her father's, we may be prompted to ask), the dramatic construction takes an emotional turn as the athlete and her "new husband" celebrate. Contrasting this is a single reference to a male diver's family, which comes in a very different form: as one diver is joined by his coach while awaiting judges grades, we hear that "... (the diver) is coached by his father Herb Flewwelling; just a remarkable family, the Flewwellings". Thus the construction is somewhat altered in this instance, since the relationship is first identified as professional and sport-oriented, then familial. There is a clear and powerful difference acknowledged here, wherein we are presented

with a coach who is a father, a husband who is a coach, a father who is an attorney, and (in the case of the sisters) a mother. The overwhelming definition of the male competitor (as in the case of the other events involving both men and women cited above) is ordered as athlete/son, while the women are ordered by daughter/sister/wife/athlete. This also becomes recognizable in other elements of the production, e.g. when a male athlete is seen in a taped interview as he explains his particular technique just prior to his dive, or when another is seen in training (on a trampoline, while women are seen stretching and skipping rope). It is conclusively demonstrated that the male competitors are serious athletes first, and consider themselves as such, while females (who, of course, vigorously endeavour to develop technique, lift weights, work out on trampolines) are sisters and daughters first, and (through the construction of events) are understood (or prompted) to consider themselves in this way as well. In other words, if sisters are interviewed in order to cull information about the relationship between sisterhood and athletics, they are placed in a position and asked questions which inevitably leads to such a definition. If a man is interviewed about technique or the issue of fear, he will also respond accordingly. In this sense, the production itself becomes created in a gendered sense, mediated through the camera and commentary which acknowledge a socially constituted difference in the relative meanings which are associated with athletes and their endeavours.

In a framework of production which in part reflected the

presentation of the Canadian track and field trials, specific reference was made to the international level of the diving competition, and Olympic team coaches were interviewed to assess "our chances for medals" in diving at the Seoul Games. But given the "slim" reality of securing a medal (with the retirement of a woman diver who had won a gold at Los Angeles), the narrative emphasized "making the team" to a far greater extent: "Here is (a replay) of the dive that sends Jeff Hirst to the 1988 Summer Olympics beginning September 17 in South Korea!...Jeff Hirst is going to Seoul!"; or in another replay, "Ladies and gentlemen, that is an Olympic-position winning dive for Barbara Bush" (CBC Broadcast, Sportsweekend, 6 August 1988). These present an obvious departure from the "world watch out" notions associated with the track performances viewed earlier in the day, and work to shape the production toward a national, as opposed to an international, spectacle. If we are informed in the course of the track and field trials that we are witnessing history in the making, we are presented with a much more muted competition in the course of the diving trials, where Canadian successes are only a remote possibility. Thus the focus of production turns the sport inward, to a competition amongst peers, as opposed to a visibly mounted challenge to the world at large.

As a final note on the diving competition, the production itself, although male-produced and dominated in terms of personnel, was directed by a woman. That is, the camera shots and switches were to a degree dictated by a female member of the production

staff. A visual analysis of the event can not necessarily determine whether she organized the panning of the bodies, since Producers generally control angles and a certain amount of shot selection, i.e. previously completed field work determined that the slant and scope of production falls under the jurisdiction of Producers alone. But two points can be made about the presence of a female Director: (i) it is rare for a woman to be in such a position of power in terms of production, given the dominant presence of males at CBC Television Sports, and (ii) her presence did not apparently deflect the gendered presentation of the event, which I believe is an outcome of professional habit, i.e. related to the traditional differentiation of women and men as they are presented in sport (see also Chapter Six).

Conclusion

Through analysis of the three high performance competitions and other sports noted above, a series of conclusions can be drawn concerning the processes which govern the televisual production of amateur athletics. Paramount to elaborate functioning of the production process is a reliance on habit and professional tradition, which inform the smooth and seamless sequencing of action, whether live or taped. In terms of decision-making, tradition is relied upon to a certain extent, but other factors, notably personal taste, enter into the construction of a weekend sport menu. Clearly, factors of flow, timing and selectivity, together with elements of athletic competition which are

appropriated for dramatic purposes through the construction of spectacle and personalized accounts of competitors, guide and shape the production of events. The attention to detail and the construction of flow also dictates another feature of televised sport which has not received a great deal of attention here: the way in which commercial sponsorship influences, and is worked into, production of high performance sport.

Major corporate sponsors, notably breweries and car manufacturers, have developed a close affiliation with televised sport in Canada. As the Executive Producer of Sportsworld notes, "Securing sponsors is not problem; they know the audience is there, and it's a bargain, too", with rates starting at \$3,000 for a 30-second advertisement during the program. Sponsors, however, are offered other opportunities to advertise in the course of a production, e.g. paying a higher rate in order to have a promotional identifying logo included as part of an opening "billboard" or screen graphic (e.g. the rotating "Coors Light" can which opened CBC coverage of the Seoul Olympics), as part of a promotional segment for upcoming events (e.g. the Pepsi Junior National Curling Challenge), or as a consistently visible part of production (e.g. "Old Vienna" banners at the track and field trials). This latter practice has become a mainstay of most forms of televised sport, from Hockey Night in Canada (produced and sponsored by Molson Breweries, with the Molson logo now a part of opening and sequential graphics, and other advertising in place on arena boards, rafters and scoreclocks) to less elaborate

productions of amateur athletics. The comparative role of sponsors in the three competitions cited above is also interesting to note. For example, the diving trials had only two very small advertising posters within the Nepean Sportsplex, attached to the edge of the 10-metre platform, promoting Air Canada and Speedo (two corporate sponsors of the national diving team) while the track and field trials had numerous banners at the Terry Fox complex, from "Old Vienna" (Carling-O'Keefe) and American Express to local auto dealerships. Indeed, in terms of track events, it is no longer unusual to have specific events sponsored by a corporation, such as "the American Express Men's 400-metre final", where promotional funds are received directly by the CTFA (and American Express will have a commercial aired during the production of the meet). The speedskating production, having come from the U.S., Europe and the Soviet Union, also contained evidence of a wide range of visible sponsorship at the respective venues; indeed, such forms of advertising have been a standard practice at European meets for many years, and are now familiar sights associated with a wide range of high profile international events, such as figure skating and downhill skiing.

Senior production officials are particularly conscious of commercial inclusions, their peculiar timing and order of presentation during a telecast. They typically follow a pattern whereby the primary sponsor (such as Molson's Breweries) is provided with the initial commercial slot during a break, secondary sponsors (such as Mazda) receive the next, with time allotted for

regional/local ads as well. Sponsorship interlocks also become clear: in the course of the track event, Mazda had a truck commercial aired five times, and is also the major corporate sponsor of the Optimist Track and Field Club in Toronto where Johnson, Issajenko and other top athletes train. Interestingly, within the studio or mobile units during telecasts, aired commercials are not viewed (thus the central viewing screen goes black), with one exception: a nationally presented Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce ad which is part of a weekly, nationally presented ski segment ("The Read Report") during the downhill season. Otherwise, commercial breaks work as both short breathers for workers during the presentation of productions, and as linkages which connect various segments of produced material. It is, of course, not uncommon for commercials themselves to be oriented toward male/sport images given the context of their presentation, i.e. male defined and produced competitions directed an audience presumed to be comprised of males between the ages of 18 and 35, and thereby contributing to the overall uninterrupted flow of productions. During the diving trials, for example, commercials aired for Canadian Tire, Northern Telecom, The Wall Street Journal (featuring a man, as opposed to an ad featuring a woman which was aired during the track meet), General Motors, the life insurance industry, and Beeman's Gum. The latter commercial, featuring attractive women in various forms of attire and an accompanying logo of "Some things in life you can't improve on" (with an appropriated 1960's song entitled "I'm a Man" playing throughout),

aired twice. A further corporate sponsor affiliated with the Canadian Olympic Association and the CBC, 3M's "Supporting the Dream" series, aired at the end of the program, and became a mainstay of advertising on the network prior to and during the Seoul Games. As is the case in most network productions of sport, the CBC advertises itself, with "Sportsweekend" and/or "CBC Sports" banners juxtaposed with corporate banners at venues. Clearly, the role of advertising extends to the ideological alignment of private capital with high performance athletics and their televisual construction, and supports as a standard practice the gendered logic which informs the production of sport more generally.

As a concluding note on the production process, I have alluded to the peculiar timing of these competitions between the Winter and Summer Olympic Games, and suggested that their informing logic rested on Games-related criteria, e.g. how individual athletes such as Ben Johnson would perform at Seoul. This kind of "continuity" which exists in the televisual presentation of sport, whether high performance or professional/ league, is an indicator of a broader kind of interconnected flow/selectivity, which production officials argue build sponsor and audience interest. As an example of this, the CBC followed up production of the Canadian track and field Nationals by purchasing (for \$25,000) the broadcast rights from the IAAF to a 100-metre race (featuring Johnson and American sprinter Carl Lewis) at a track meet held in Zurich, Switzerland (Maclean's, 29 August, 1988, p.46). The CBC interrupted regular programming and telecast the event live on a weekday afternoon, with a Toronto-

based studio host, a remote hook-up to Ottawa to include expert analysis from Geoff Gowan, and a national sponsor (Carling-O'Keefe). The type of continuity driven toward in this instance hinges on the participation and performance of a single Canadian competitor against a well-known American rival, while simultaneously identifying the CBC as the sole broadcaster of the Summer Olympics in Canada, furthering its claim to a unique collaboration with high performance athletics in Canadian broadcasting, and bolstering the image and importance of elite sport as well.

Thus the selection of an agenda and the production of its particular content can be examined independently, since they indeed involve separate processes, yet they must be recognized as intimately connected to each other, framed on the generalized, deep-rooted practices which inform the day-to-day operation and organization of CBC Sports. At its heart, the logic of these practices is strongly influenced by a dominant ideological tenet of nationalism, wherein a mandate of public service is overtly supported by the selection and construction of that which is "Canadian". More profoundly, the creation and/or exploitation of dramatic human agency is structurally impounded to provide a wide ranging legitimation which is filtered through cultural production. Further to this, however, is the evidence that these practices are also shaped by the adaptation of marketplace strategies designed to secure private revenues, which in turn hinge on the creation and maintenance of target audiences. The intertwining process of

selection and production is thus multi-layered and easily shifts between dimensions of practice variously involving different combinations of structured associations (involving fractions of particular interest groups). That this process is well-defined through traditions of the profession or through a structure of hierarchal authority singularly indicates various elements of cultural commodification at work in the decision/production process. These elements are of importance, since they reveal the particular social relations which shape the boundaries of cultural articulation. But the true breadth and depth of this process lies in its reproductive (or reconstructive) capacity, whereby agenda-setting, menu-production, technology, agency/structure interaction, coalesce to recreate certain fundamental features of power and cleavage which deeply penetrate and shape social life more generally. It is the analysis of this dynamically reconstructed relationship between cultural production and the reproduction of power expressed through Canadian high performance sport to which I now turn.

Footnotes - Chapter Five

¹ This involvement was also made clear to an international television audience when the Minister of State for Fitness and Amateur Sport at the time, Iona Campagnolo, was carried around the track on the shoulders of Canadian athletes during the closing ceremonies of the Games.

² In constant dollars since 1977/78, the CBC's parliamentary appropriation has actually dropped, from \$467.5 million to \$457.7 million in 1985/86, while earned revenues (advertising and sales from "CBC Enterprises") have risen from \$96 million to \$128

million.

³ A factor related to the clamour for technologically advanced editing facilities centers on the geographically decentralized nature of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in Toronto (spread between 21 different buildings), i.e. production offices of CBC Sports are a ten-minute walk from the studios and editing suites, personnel cannot use CBC vehicles which shuttle mail or tapes around the city, thus producers may literally race to secure desired facilities (and may clash with each other over editing time needed). As the production week progresses, however, the trips between buildings become less frequent as the focus of attention shifts to the studio/editing suites (located in the same area). A new, centralized location for CBC Headquarters to be constructed in downtown Toronto will ostensibly eliminate this concern.

⁴ On the other hand, "veteran" on-air performers come from a wide range of education and experience. For example, the studio host of Sportsweekend, Brian Williams, has an undergraduate degree in political science and history from Aquinas College in Michigan (Interview, March 25, 1988).

⁵ For example, as noted in Footnote 6, the former Head of CBC Sports (retired in October, 1988), Don MacPherson, comes from a background based on news and entertainment, while the former Deputy Head, Bob Cornell, is a trained accountant. However, following the Canadian Track and Field Championships in August 1988, just prior to the Seoul Olympics, it was announced that replacing MacPherson on his retirement in October would be Arthur Smith, a 28-year old line producer with extensive training and background in sports journalism (Globe and Mail, 10 August 1988). Smith was also assigned the role of "Senior Producer", i.e. co-ordinator, of the CBC's production of the Seoul Games. It was suggested by one Producer that senior English-language programming executives were worried that Smith might be lured to a United States network.

⁶ This is an interesting notion which addresses the apparent "interchangeability" of sports production officials between competing networks. For example, the current Executive Producer of CBC Sportsweekend worked at CTV Sports for several years, and the former Head of CBC Sports founded the pay-network TSN. The Head of CBC Sports from 1984 to October 1988, Don MacPherson, produced CBC coverage of the 1964 Tokyo Summer Olympics, was formerly director of CTV news and information programming, formerly vice-president of Global Television, and former president of the pay-television network First Choice (CBC Publication, Take One, February/March 1988, p.2). Alongside this emphasis on comparative quality or "Canadian-ness" of competing networks is the question of ethnical

considerations in sports journalism, e.g. the lengths resorted to in order to acquire broadcast rights for particular events and the issue of "exclusivity".

Chapter Six

Cultural Production and the Reproduction of Power:

Public Broadcasting, High Performance Sport and Gender Relations

As I noted in the introduction to the previous chapter, the environment and production dynamics associated with the televisual presentation of sport tend to become lost in the gloss or dramatic presentation of the "final product", or in the attractive commodity which is the ultimate result of the production process. The "behind-the-scenes" nature of production represents, I would argue, part of the attraction for workers, from the power-broking of senior officials with world-level representatives of state, broadcasting and/or sport, to the creative satisfaction experienced by line producers and technicians in the construction of an entertainment feature, to the challenges experienced by commentators in maintaining an established pace or flow. In every sense, it appears that production officials are most concerned with "getting it on", with the ultimate coordinated series of image, colour, music, drama, excitement, or any other ingredient popularly associated with televised productions of sport. The sense of deadline, of the pressure to perform in an arena of technological magic, obviates potential tensions (or more likely exploits them), works to establish a predominant sense of the "team" (the sport analogy is not lost), and challenges the industrialized world to

match its constructed result. In the confines of production offices, studios, mobile units, even around the coffee machine or over lunch, the talk is of the game, but equally of the time slot and timing, of superior athletic endeavour and exploit, but of getting the right shot and replay angles as well. This is to say that, it is the mystique, the potential, of the final audio-visual package which threads the complex fabric of production together. It is generally acknowledged as the overwhelming reason, and has been so since Bannister and Landy in 1954, for the corporate/audience interaction with broadcast sport, and increasingly for changes in the state/sport relationship. In the linear equation of, production followed by consumption followed by production, there is the ever-present dynamic of the commodity itself.

This focus on the product as a feature of central importance has not only penetrated the environment of production, but has to a degree played a determining role in the direction of analysis and research into televised sport, from Rader's bereavement that sport's glory is defamed as a result of televisual infection, to Cantelon and Gruneau's literary-linguistic treatment of Canadian professional/high performance sport, to the more psychologizing interpretations of catharsis or stimulation located in the "effects" literature. In many ways, the focus on what has been produced, on what has been seen and said and the particular way(s) this has been imparted to a consuming group, has provided important insights into the layered experience of televised sport. In other

ways, however, there has been a silence in efforts to understand the complex socio-historical, political and economic roots of this, to recognize that the gloss of televised athletics is worked toward from an emergent and deliberate procedure of agenda-setting and decision-making under the guidance of a consistently articulated ideology. As I have pointed out in previous chapters, the cultural production of sport on Canadian public television has emerged out of a set of historical circumstances centered on a shifting range of interconnected structures which combine to deeply influence our social lives. In the captured moment of the game, there is the ever-guiding hand of power.

This chapter is devoted to a theoretical analysis of the production of high performance sport on the CBC's national English-language network, and is organized into four related sections. First, in order to establish the conceptual parameters of the analysis, I present a brief summary of the definitional, historical and theoretical framework developed in Parts I and II of the thesis, culminating in a re-statement of those key questions concerning the process of hegemony which remain as yet unanswered. Secondly, drawing on the evidence presented in Chapters Two and Five, i.e. on the history of relations between the state, capital, sport and broadcasting, and on the decision/production process (drawn from field research and interviews) which carries high performance athletics into Canadian households, I present a response to these theoretical inquiries, arguing that particular sets of power relations constitute (and are constitutive of) the

cultural consensus of production. This notion is briefly elaborated in the third section of the chapter, which centers on a discussion of the way in which consent is "engineered" in this instance (and the technological analogy is not lost). Finally, as a more concrete illustration of these processes, I recall those variables of production cited in Chapter Three, such as flow, selectivity, professional habits and traditions, as emphasized by Gitlin, news production analysts, and Williams, and draw on particular dynamics of the production process observed in the field research and noted in Chapter Five, in order to establish a series of arguments (hinging on theory and method) which together identify the manner in which dominant relations of gender become regenerated in multiple ways through the televisual production of sport.

Definitional, Historical and Theoretical Dimensions

In the initial chapter of this thesis, I discussed two of the central philosophical approaches which have served as points of departure intended to formulate a better understanding of contemporary sport forms: idealism and materialism. I noted that the idealist argument has had a great deal to offer the study of sport, through its unwavering emphasis on the expressive and resilient human spirit and the effect of structural encroachment on this purity. However, it quickly becomes clear that, what is lacking most in this body of thought, is a deeper understanding of structure itself, in that the boundaries of idealism would not permit a more sensitive undertaking which would offer some

determination of structure/agent relations occurring within the confines of the social practice of sport. Of these interpretations, Rader's focus on the American television industry as the primary deteriorating force in the decline of sport embodies a contradiction typical of idealist views: a romantic or "escapist" vision of modern sport, based on the apparent decimation of sport's hero- and myth-making capacity by the demands of an entertainment industry which remains committed to the creation of heroes as a means of creating audiences. This is to say that the interpretation of sport as expressive of human desire and human capacity has not been destroyed by television, but rather, that this particular form of enterprise has sought to appropriate and re-design this vision. Rader's central argument, that television strives to re-create pure sport "in its own image", oversimplifies the historical coordination of structurally intersected forms of power which work on various sites to reproduce much more than modern versions of playful activity.

Despite its limitations, however, the idealist interpretation of sport has had an unquestionable "definitional impact" in that it mirrors particular popular views of play, games and organized sport. In arguing for a more expansive conceptual/methodological approach to contemporary sport, and to the sport/television relationship, I suggested that solving certain questions posed by an approach informed by political economy could broaden a critical view without completely forgoing idealist/popular interpretations. For example, in outlining the role of sport in Canadian society

along the lines of "professional/non-professional" practices, I noted that those primary forces which have shaped and guided contemporary Canadian sport (such as its place on television schedules) are rooted in social history, in the emergence of social relations of class and gender, and in the confines of political and economic structures which have variously penetrated a sphere of socio-cultural activity popularly viewed as immune to such effects. In this light, it may be argued that sport (as based on human essence) has indeed been altered in its historical intimacy with (humanly constructed) social structures.

In developing a preliminary historical methodology to the critical analysis of the social practice of sport, I suggested that a most revealing way of understanding the convergence between sport and television rested in the parallel emergence of twin sets of social relationships: between the Canadian state and what became known as high performance sport, and between the development of the Canadian broadcasting industry and the place of sport on the televisual agenda. Outlining the struggle for the establishment of a state system of television and state-based amateur sport with the movement by private capital to gain a foothold in the expanding industry of broadcasting and professional league sport, I noted the particular divergence which occurred in sports broadcasting in the 1960's between public and private networks. In the background to this development lay the activities of respective NSO/professional league officials, the former lobbying the state for increased financial support (in view of dismal Canadian performances on an

international scale) without devoting much attention to the benefits of media exposure, while the latter successfully cultivated a lucrative relationship with radio/television networks. The relative presence of private capital in sponsoring sport on public and private television networks through the early 1970's in turn demonstrated the relative attachments of political bodies to a particular brand of broadcasting and type of sport portrayed: while CBC monopolized Saturday Night Hockey, its weekend afternoon programming turned increasingly to non-professional events (and public service announcements) while CTV relied more on imported productions and professional presentations entirely sponsored by private sources. Clearly, however, the relationship between the CBC and private sponsorship shifted, as did the state/sport relation, with the federal government's decision to develop and maintain a system of high performance athletics (evident in the Proposed Sports Policy for Canadians policy paper issued in 1970) and the awarding of the 1976 Summer Olympics to Montreal in 1971. It was at this moment of recent history that virtually all rooted interests, whether political, economic or ideological, escalated their respective levels of involvement (or at least their visibility) in high performance athletics. It also marked the initial period when a particular "style" of televisual presentation (in terms of special events and more regular, corporate-sponsored, weekend-to-weekend, programming) was established. If the technically and visually simple coverage of the British Empire and Commonwealth Games in Vancouver in 1954 presented the possibilities

for sport-as-dramatic-entertainment, the 1976 Summer Olympics in Montreal identified the political and economic tangibility of an international-scale event. For example, although previous Olympic Games had secured major corporate sponsorship, the Montreal Games were the first to expand the availability of product/service licenses (i.e. allowing small entrepreneurs to act as smaller sponsors); and as noted above, the goal of a top-ten placing for the Canadian team established by state bodies came to pass. And as I pointed out in the previous chapter, those forces and structures which emerged to influence or shape the televisual production and presentation of high performance sport became solidified in the past decade (1978-1988) in a rhythm of interaction which has its foundation in particular sets of power relations. In this sense, I have argued that elite-level sport has become systematically produced or made possible by the Canadian state (through programs of NSO's), and this commodity has proven substantial in its attractiveness to interests of broadcasting and private capital alike.

In addressing the form and fundamental expression which these instances of power assume in a relational sense, I have cited three theoretical areas from which a framework sensitive to the conceptual complexities at hand may be drawn: a theoretical treatment of the hegemonic process, cultural theory and feminist theory. As noted in the Introduction to Part II, the theoretical problematic of the research is a layered one, consisting of the an interrelationship between cultural production and the reproduction

of power that is cultivated in various forms on a range of sites, underpinned by the tenacity of historically developed structures and dominant ideological principles. At the same time, it is important to consider a range of variables which relate to these varying levels of culture and power, and to recognize the role which sporting practice plays in each. Therefore, as a point of conceptual departure which identified particular variables of production and offered insight into those characteristics encountered in the field research, I argued that studies of the broadcast genres of entertainment and news production revealed important elements of sport broadcasting as well. Clearly, each of these categories share particular attributes of decision-making and production processes which center abstractly on the application of power and control, and more concretely rest on tradition, professional training, availability of technology and its creative implementation. Similarly, scholarly treatments of each sphere have provided critical insights into those relations of power which penetrate and shape them, in a departure from a focus on "effects" to more political-economic concerns, potentially providing a clear illustration of the relationship of cultural production to those cleavages which mark liberal-democratic capitalist society more generally. In this regard, it is imperative to acknowledge the valuable contribution of hegemony theory, and the extension of this through cultural theory, to the analysis of culture and power, since it offers a deeply felt view of the mysterious and mystified ways and means of power itself. Most notably, a consideration of

the hegemonic process, which is on-going and constantly in a state of flux and change, permits a critical recognition of the ways in which "unproductive" spheres such as culture or sport contribute to the strengthening of ties between agencies like the state, private capital and the broadcasting industry. In addressing the profound implications which this form of power bears for socio-cultural life, I further noted the vital contribution which has been made by contemporary cultural theory, particularly through studies focusing on lived experience and the commodification of cultural forms. In the construction and management of consent, which at its heart involves the continuous reconciliation of class fractions and formation of response to potentially counter-hegemonic resistance, culture works as a wide-ranging territory upon which hegemonic power is continually formulated in varying degrees of success and failure. It is upon this site that I have situated the interaction of media/sport as a dynamic manifestation of "culture produced", upon which pervasive structures of power weave together a formidable agenda which works to regenerate conditions necessary to their sustenance. This approach, which seeks a critical analysis of engaged interlocution occurring and re-occurring between and among these historically-evolving forces, resists the tendency toward theoretical reductionism (an often-cited criticism of hegemony theory) through a recognition that power, its location and manifestation, moves and shifts within various structures at various times, and can coalesce and be resisted in ways subtle and obvious, strong and weak. Thus in a

study of the production of sport on Canadian public television, it is crucial to not only identify (abstractly and concretely) the apparently tenacious lines of connection between agents of influence, whether located in spheres of the state or civil society, but to arrive at an understanding of the multi-dimensional characteristics of hegemonic power itself.

It is at this juncture I raised the more textured conceptualization of the relationship between sport and power cited by Hargreaves (1982a, 1982b, 1986). Arguing that the socio-cultural practice of sport occurs along a broad line of variation, Hargreaves suggests that (i) the extent of sport's incorporation into the realm of consensus, (ii) the way in which it has been and is incorporated, and (iii) the method of compliance sought in achieving this, must all be considered in analyzing sport as a site of hegemonic struggle. Again, this formulation implies that a certain level of resistance may persist in this "incorporative process", in that not all sports may be included in the consensual realm, and not all ways and means of this activity are entirely successful, or have alternately achieved varying degrees of success in particular historical moments. As an extension of this analytic frame, I reformulated Hargreaves' query (on the process by which certain features of sport contribute to the legitimation of class rule) to: How does the struggle for hegemonic position in a given historical moment advance a process wherein (i) sport/power relations are legitimated and perceived as common sense or natural practice, and (ii) sport (and its televisual representation) is

itself considered a crucial cultural sphere in the emergence of shifting economic, political and ideological processes which fundamentally reproduce existing conditions supportive of dominant relations of power, notably those of gender? This is to say that, while the dynamics of accommodation and consent are crucial, it is imperative to analyze the impact of this on the reconstruction of power in a broader sense.

In order to build from this and more specifically develop the theoretical framework, I turned to an examination of the state, its relationship to private capital, and the contribution of feminist theory in seeking to extend a critical comprehension of the hegemonic process. In this way, I addressed conceptually the relationship which has been historically derived between the struggle toward consent and patriarchal control, noting that the partnership arrangement between the state structure and private capital facilitates, manages and organizes the construction of hegemonic power in ways which draw from and nurture unequal relations between men and women. In noting those criticisms of hegemony theory which have generally failed to account for the breadth of this conceptual approach, I argued that women are constrained culturally as well as economically and socially, in that the experience of subordination occurs and re-occurs materially and ideologically. Hegemony, as a thread linking production and reproduction, exists in concrete socially constructed forms, manifested within the pursuit of a continuous and creative incorporation and compliance to the dominant way of

doing things. Consent in this regard is engineered, cultivated in a gendered manner, built and re-built within the confines of existing arrangements of power. And power itself must not be considered as unidirectionally imposed in isolation from alternative social practices, since it is conceivably resisted and challenged as it flows between and upon the sites of its expression. An interpretation of power based on a recognition of the hegemonic process allows a realization of the development and strategic deployment of resistant practices, just as feminist theory encourages the political formation of challenge to the historically rooted constraint and subordination of women. The inescapable contradiction which lies beneath this returns us once again to the realm of sport: long considered a liberating practice, expressive of freedom and human agency, currently recognized as offering a particular form of control for women in a world where they have little, sport has become structurally confined, reshaped, purchased and sold back in glossy form. I therefore argue that the televisual production of sport works as part of the hegemonic process in (i) reinforcing the pervasive and structured meaning of sport (embodying a conservative ideology which works to legitimate a doctrine unifying the ethics of work and achievement with political nationalism), (ii) regenerating relations of power which hinge on a cleavage of gender, and (iii) contributing to the advancement of hegemonic status for existing structures of fractional power. The unpacking of this multi-levelled and dynamic process, based on an interactive perspective of theory and method,

wherein the abstract and concrete flow together, is the task of this chapter. As an organizing framework for recognizing the dynamics of the hegemonic process, I refer back to Hargreaves' three-point suggestion, applying it to the televisual production of high performance sport and the reproduction of power: the extent of incorporation, method of incorporation, and method of compliance (wherein I more empirically define the role of the federal state and its partnership with private industry in the extension of control over high performance sport and elite athletes). In this instance, these must be considered in a dual sense of both culture-produced and power-reproduced, and in terms of the sport/broadcasting relation.

The Incorporation of Canadian High Performance Sport

It is important to recognize from the outset that the three-part "incorporative process" and two-part question which I have drawn above are threaded together within a context of general/specific approaches to the problematic of cultural production/reproduction of power, and largely informed by evidence culled from field research. This is to say that I am utilizing an interpretation of power, based on a formulation of hegemony theory, in order to comprehend the sport/television dynamic in a broad sense, and then extending the argument into an exploration of the implications which this bears for the reinforcement or regeneration of social cleavages based on deep-rooted relations of gender. It must also be pointed out that, although I base the following on an

adaptation of Hargreaves' framework of the sport/power relation, this discussion is further informed by an interpretation of Gramscian works and feminist thought which recognize the need to elaborate a conceptualization of both power manifested and power resisted, and by works which have offered substantial insights into analyzing the territory of sport/power through examinations of ideology.

In addressing the initial part of the analysis, on the extent of sport's incorporation into the realm of consensus, I argue that while particular isolated features of play, games and sports remain largely resistant to the dominant stream of organized physical activity, the sphere of high performance or elite-level sport, and most related sub-spheres (e.g. most school/collegiate, minor/community league/children's sports) have been almost entirely enveloped into the realm of economic, political and ideological structures in Canadian society. Recalling that sport exists on many levels of socio-cultural practice, from community-originated activity to elite international competition, it is vital to realize that forms exist which resist the tendencies of higher level competition (and their implicit conservative ideological tenets of achievement, success, failure, possessive individualism, the value of scientific knowledge, nationalism), e.g. certain cooperative games found within some day care/elementary school systems which emphasize only participation (as opposed to winners and losers). (As I point out in the Conclusion to the thesis, one area of research in the critical study of sport which must be furthered is

that which addresses the exploitative possibilities for these unique (but limited) examples of physical activity which challenge dominant sport forms.) However, as indicated through the historical account of the relationship between sport, the Canadian state and private capital, there can be little doubt as to the wide incorporation of elite-level sport into the dominant realm of power. An intriguing and revealing aspect of this has seen agents from the sports community itself emerge as desirous of economic interaction with the state or private benefactors, since this support has come to define the very survival of Canadian high performance athletics. Indeed, the defining characteristic of high-level competition has become its very inclusion into the multi-dimensional structure of elite sport: formation of a recognized (provincial/ federal/ international) governing body, funding by some level of the state structure, corporate involvement extending from individual athletes to national teams. If the relative success of appropriation into a consensual sphere of practice is understood in terms where alternatives become difficult to achieve let alone visualize, or where incorporation acquires a "near-natural" capacity, then it must be concluded that high performance sport in Canadian society, for all its basis in human endeavour, has indeed become fully and structurally incorporated into the way we think and act about this level of athletics. And, I would argue, one dimension of the sport/power relation has been especially significant in this incorporative process, and is a factor which requires empirical and conceptual elaboration prior to pursuing

the broader analysis: the Canadian federal state.

Throughout this study, the state has arisen time and again as a focal point of discussion, as a major player in the emergence of a high performance sport system and a national broadcasting system (see for example, pp.48-63, 100-103, 113-122, 165-168, 172-181 and 209-218). Since the inception of the Fitness and Amateur Sport Act in 1961, the state has emerged as the central resource base for amateur sport, and has grown in an interventionist sense to work as the primary producer of high performance athletics in Canadian society. It has done so through a series of policy formations and bureaucratic structuring which has literally brought every dimension of the elite sport system under its control, from the training of coaches to program development to the authoritarian control it exercises over athlete workers. Having detailed the historical emergence of the state/sport relationship in previous sections, I will reiterate only two points concerning the development of this complex relation: (i) the federal state assumed a definitive form of control over high performance athletics with the development of A Proposed Sports Policy for Canadians in 1970, when goals of international excellence (which have persisted to the present) were determined, and an administrative structure (Sport Canada and the National Sport and Recreation Centre) was later organized to oversee the distribution of funding and development; and (ii) NSO's such as the CTFA, the CADA and CASSA have generally maintained "arm's length" relationships with Sport Canada (see Figure I, pg.51), in that they receive funding allotments in

exchange for "tangible" results in program development (notably in terms of "quadrennial planning", involving four-year cycles between Olympic Games) and some measure of success in turning out elite athletes. These are important factors, since they (at least superficially) identify the role which a major force of power plays in the construction of a sport system, i.e. offering a certain amount of economic support (a total of \$51 million, exclusive of Olympic funding, in 1987/88) in exchange for ideological goods (nationalism and international pride) and residual political rewards (legitimate standing as a benevolent state). Prior to elaborating the implications of this relationship in a conceptual sense, it is important to more empirically identify the mechanisms of state power at work here, and to map out the direction which this control is taking into the 1990's. To this end, I briefly discuss three areas of state practice in the world of high performance athletics, each of them in turn bearing strong repercussions for the continuing incorporation of sport into the realm of domination and control: the Athlete Assistance Program (and "NSO/Athlete Agreement"), the "Best Ever" planning policy, and the role of the Sport Marketing Council in an escalating commodification of amateur sport through state/capital partnership.

The Athlete Assistance Program was developed in 1979 as a hybrid of "Game Plan" (a sport development program initiated prior to the 1976 Montreal Olympics) and a student-athlete bursary program known as "grants-in-aid". Administered by Sport Canada, it is the state policy which offers remuneration to "carded" athletes,

i.e. those athletes who are deemed by their NSO to place in the top eight in their sport in the world ("A" card), the top sixteen ("B" card) or who have the potential to reach A or B levels ("C" and "D", for Development, cards). Each level is intended to represent the relative ranking of individual or team athletes vis a vis other athletes internationally (in other words, a performance ranking), and corresponds to a monthly stipend. Presently, (indeed, since 1985), A-carded athletes receive \$650 per month, B-cards receive \$550, C-cards receive \$450, C-1 cards (a recently initiated one-year probationary step to C-level) receive \$350, and D-cards receive \$300. If an athlete is under the age of 18, he or she receives \$150 less per month in each category (Athlete Assistance Program Policy and Guidelines, 1987:14). (Two new entry-level categories, R-cards, for Universiade athletes, and J-cards, for junior national team athletes, were added in 1987/88, with a proposal for funding at \$250 and \$150 per month respectively. However, there is a proposal that this funding will only be made available should competition and training programs preclude the possibility of part-time employment (Beamish and Borowy 1988:34). As Beamish and Borowy indicate, it seems clear that Sport Canada is attempting to direct AAP funding to those athletes who are "fully involved" in a national team program.)

In addition to these monthly stipends, Sport Canada also covers tuition and book costs for student athletes, relocation expenses for athletes who need to move closer to a training center, and certain limited "special needs" such as "babysitting" (to

maximum of \$25 per day or \$3.00/hr., which would not cover daycare costs or wages to babysitters in many areas). There is also an "extended plan" to athletes carded three years or longer, who can receive an additional \$450 per month for eight months following retirement as long as they are full-time students. (Interestingly, funding for the AAP totalled \$4.8 million in 1987/88, down from \$4.9 million in 1985/86 and 1986/87 (Fitness and Amateur Sport Annual Report 1987/88:22). The difference stems from lower amounts paid for tuition, special needs and extended assistance, while "living allowances" have remained relatively stable over this period.) Thus an A-card athlete ranking in the top eight in his or her sport in the world receives a maximum amount of \$7,800 per year from Sport Canada. But in 1987/88, only 103 of 856 athletes under the AAP were A-card holders (Fitness and Amateur Sport, Annual Report, 1987/88), meaning that some 88 percent of athletes receive far less than this amount. Significantly, the amounts which athletes receive are not deemed as income by Revenue Canada, for the reason that athletes are not deemed employees by Sport Canada.

However, two things may be safely argued: first, that the structure, organization, training and competition involved in high performance athletics dictates that it is a full-time occupation, and second, that at least two-thirds of Canadian high performance athletes live below the poverty line as established by Statistics Canada. As Kidd has noted, the relationship between the state and athlete bears all the characteristics of an employer/employee relationship, where the employer holds power of selection over the

employee, pays some form of remuneration or wages, controls the method of work followed, and maintains the right of suspension or dismissal (1988:300). Indeed, the AAP includes several provisions for the "withdrawal of carded status", e.g. for "gross breach of discipline", lack of commitment to performance objectives, use of banned performance enhancing substances, or contact with South African athletes. Further to this controlling mechanism of payment and withdrawal, the authoritarian structure of this relationship surfaces in the "NSO/Athlete Agreement", a generic contract which all carded athletes are required to sign each year in order to receive their allowances and training expenses. The agreement, which the former legal counsel to the CTFA, Hugh Fraser, has termed a "very legal document, although it has not been tested in the courts" (Interview, 20 October 1985), includes an extensive listing of "athlete obligations": to follow a training and competitive program as established by the NSO, provide coaches with a monthly training chart, attend training camps as required, dress in a team uniform when required, engage in promotional activities when requested, avoid behaving in a disruptive manner, avoid drinking too much during camps or competition, avoid banned substances and submit to random testing, avoid possession of anabolics, participate in narcotics education when requested, and avoid participation in competitions involving South Africans (Athlete Assistance Program Policy and Guidelines 1987:25-26; see also Beamish and Borowy 1988:70-78). Further to these, certain NSO's have (at Sport Canada's request) drafted more sport-specific

agreements, extending athlete obligations to a range of lifestyle-related matters, e.g. to conducting oneself in an "exemplary manner", follow established rules with regard to shopping, sunbathing, dating and curfews, speaking to the media only when given permission and preferably in the presence of a team manager or coach, and avoiding "careless communication" which might lead to "misrepresentation of the High Performance Program" (1988:75-76). Conversely, the "NSO obligations", or management side of the Agreement, are much more vaguely outlined, i.e. provide a national team program, operate it, select athletes, provide training opportunities for athletes, hire coaches and support staff (Athlete Assistance Program Policy and Guidelines 1987: 27). There is no guarantee of financial support for athletes included in the Agreement; for example, although the NSO must provide uniforms and athletes are required to wear them, there is no provision that the NSO will pay for them. Thus athletes now have contractual obligations in much the same fashion as professional league athletes, but fulfill these at only a fraction of the wages and with few of the legal provisions of an employment contract. As Beamish and Borowy note, approximately 63 percent of athletes earn less than \$10,600 annually from all sources combined, below the \$11,079 poverty line for individuals living in urban centers with a population of 500,000 or more (1988:3-4). And, as they point out, high performance athletes make significant time commitments to training and competition (not to mention the often unrecognized efforts involved in just achieving carded status) easily equivalent

to a 40- or 50-hour work week, although much more physically and emotionally exhausting than many other occupations (1988:34-41). Indeed, in terms of other occupations, federal civil service employees (e.g. CR-3 level clerical staff) are paid a minimum salary of \$20,000 annually, while Canada Council-funded artists or actors can receive up to \$32,000 at the highest level. Further to this, athletes dependent on AAP (only 1 percent of athletes in Canada earn significant endorsement or performance-related income) undergo a loss in real income as their careers progress, since AAP funding is not indexed to the cost of living, and there has been no increase in funding levels since 1985 (1988:46-47, 52-53). There is also no guarantee that an athlete will continue to receive funding in the event of an injury. Again, however, athletes are viewed as individuals privileged to compete for their country, and the ideological emphasis which informs this particular policy of the state identifies the Athlete Assistance Program as much more than a system of allowances which provides "opportunities" for athletes, but as a structured form of control initiated by the interconnective layers of power which dominate sport and those athletes who labour to sustain the core of its existence: "This program, when combined with the training and competitive opportunities initiated by the NSO's and the talent and dedication of athletes, will ultimately lead to superior international performance" (Athlete Assistance Program Policy and Guidelines, 1987:32). As employees of the state, who surrender control of their labour in carrying out the business of Sport Canada and the NSO's,

athletes are not privy to the fundamental rewards associated with the multi-million dollar enterprise of international sport, unable to share in lucrative television contracts with national and international sport bodies or in the corporate sponsorship profits associated with television productions of their performances.

In turn, athletes themselves have expressed little in the way of resistance against this form of exploitation and control. Nonetheless, while evidently minor in its impact thus far, the question of athletes' rights, such as the right to earn a fair wage for full-time athletic labour in an employer/employee context, raises questions about one side of this incorporative process, that which includes the agent/athlete as an unquestioning ideological performer competing not for self-benefit, but on a basis of nationalism or the national good. The resistant capacity of an athletes' movement has been silenced somewhat by (i) the tendency of high performance workers to base their careers on a personal love for or dedication to amateur sport without consideration of their training and performance as a process of labour, (ii) the initiation of athlete allowances and retirement benefits, (iii) the success of a few individual athletes in acquiring large endorsement contracts from private capital, and (iv) the more recent inclination of private capital to support athletes/teams (see below) and accompanying reluctance of athletes to organize on a national scale in the face possible sanctions which stem from the "Athlete/NSU Agreement". While these points address both the means of incorporation and method of compliance outlined below, it is as

vital to understand where any potential for counter-hegemonic activity lies as it is to realize the extent to which consensus is achieved in the first place. And, as I indicate in the Conclusion, there remains a certain potential for resistance which lies with athletes themselves, which, if realized, could bring the current state/sport balance of consensus into question.

As a second indicator of the state's controlling role in the production of high performance sport, Best Ever emerged as a planning policy and financial arrangement with NSO's designed to facilitate performance goals for the 1988 Winter and Summer Olympic Games, and has since been extended to the 1992 Games as well. The policy itself stemmed from two events: (i) the publication of the White Paper on Sport, Challenge to the Nation, in 1981, which extended the state's emphasis on achieving excellence in sport through the establishment of High Performance Sport Centres, suggested a performance-based expansion of athlete funding assistance, and promoted the allocation of "priority funding to sports demonstrating a commitment to, and a consistent record of, excellence" (Challenge to the Nation 1981:6; Fitness and Amateur Sport Communique 1981:3), and (ii) the 1981 decision by the International Olympic Committee to award the 1988 Winter Olympics to the city of Calgary. The policy objective was also made clear: to establish a program of funding which would "capitalize on hosting the 1988 Winter Olympic Games by setting the objective of having Canada's best performance ever in Winter Olympic competition" (Sport Canada, Scorecard, July 1984). The program was

initially intended to add \$25 million to an existing base of \$25 million to be used over the five-year period leading to the 1988 Winter Games; each of the relevant winter sport associations were directed by Sport Canada to "develop five-year plans in association with Sport Canada consultants" in order to improve all "developmental facets" of each sport, in coaching, the expansion or renovation of facilities, improved competition opportunities, administration, and supplements to funding assistance for athletes (Fitness and Amateur Sport Annual Report 1983/84:18-20). The program was also incorporated into the administrative structure of Sport Canada, as part of its High Performance Unit.

Clearly encouraged by Canadian performances at the 1984 Los Angeles Summer Olympics (44 medals and fourth place overall without the participation of East Bloc nations), Best Ever was extended to the preparation and planning for the 1988 Seoul Summer Olympics just prior to the federal election in September, 1984. The Conservative federal state implemented the extension in July 1985, budgeting an additional \$37 million, later raising the amount to \$50 million, to be allocated to relevant NSO's over the three-and-a-half year period leading to Seoul. Approximately \$10 million of this amount was slated for the Athlete Assistance Program, in order to add a total of 100 new A- and B-level cards and 50 new C-level cards (although athletes' respective wages rose marginally if at all as a result of this measure). The funding arrangement was also extended to sport science and medicine, more training camps, travel to Olympic-qualifying competitions, and junior national team

development (Fitness and Amateur Sport Annual Reports 1984/85 - 1987/88). In addition, funding from Best Ever was to be utilized to expand the number of High Performance Sport Centres, training facilities for elite athletes. (These totalled 81 in 1987/88, with roughly one-half located at universities, and the remainder located in privately sponsored clubs. The best known among the latter is the Optimist Track and Field Club of Toronto, which has an extensive sponsorship from Mazda automobiles, and is the training location for several elite track athletes such as Ben Johnson and Angella Issajenko. See also my discussion of the Sport Marketing Council below.) The anticipation on the part of state officials was that the planning and organization which accompanied Best Ever would bear concrete evidence of policy effectiveness in terms of medal totals and points standings. In other words, the extended economic and ideological commitment to elite athletics by the state was intended to produce tangible dividends, and thereby meet with little formal opposition. But while extremely profitable in terms of the realization of investment potential, Canadian athletes did not win any gold medals in Calgary (although 19 top-eight finishes was a "best ever" in Winter Olympic competition).

Best Ever is a significant policy of government in much the same way as the Athlete Assistance Program, as it reveals the mechanisms of power employed by the state in order to maintain a dominant position over the sport system. While NSO's operate with some independence in terms of planning and developing sport programs, their officials are subject to the sanctions imposed by

Sport Canada (e.g. budget cuts) should they fail to meet established performance objectives and/or long-range planning. And as noted above, athletes are subject to sanction from both Sport Canada and NSO's should they violate their contractual agreement with both parties. But it is vital to note that Best Ever is much more than a simple funding policy of the state, in that it is a highly visible method of securing the dependent incorporation of sport bodies and athletes alike. As reflected in its name, Best Ever is more than a statement of some high performance dream, but a test of those who benefit from its extended benevolence. It is entirely definitive of the world of high performance sport as engaged in a political world of economic and ideological control, which at the same time (but in a new and different manner) appropriates a fundamental form of consensus from those it touches. Once again, it becomes difficult to envision alternatives within so formidable an arrangement of power, one which will surely continue into the next decade with an additional \$32 million allotted for a "Best Ever" 1992 Winter Olympic Games' performance.

While the Athlete Assistance Program and Best Ever work as significant indicators of current state activity with regard to high performance sport and athletes, and mark the dominant role which the state has assumed in the production of elite-level athletics, the recently-formed Sport Marketing Council clearly represents a burgeoning state/capital alignment underlying the sport/power relation. Formed as a non-profit organization funded by Fitness and Amateur Sport in 1986, the Council is comprised of

a volunteer Chairman and set of councillors, as well as a salaried President and staff; funding for the Council totalled \$315,000 in salaries and operating costs for 1987/88 (Fitness and Amateur Sport Annual Report 1987/88:39). Interestingly, the Council itself maintains a rather low public profile, and is designated as officially "non-government", although its offices are located (along with 65 NSO's) at the National Sport and Recreation Centre in Ottawa. As noted in Chapter One, the Council was formed as a result of a policy initiative of state officials (notably the Conservative Mulroney government's first Minister of State for Fitness and Amateur Sport, Otto Jelinek), in establishing a method of funding sport in a 50/50 state/private industry split by the early 1990's. The Council is thus a self-described "catalyst between (NSO's) and the business community", performing three main functions: (i) to assist NSO's (through the administration of funds and a consulting service) in developing marketing strategies and skills toward the creation of "saleable properties" which will attract the involvement of private capital; (ii) assist NSO's in matching their "programs and products with appropriate corporate sector customers"; and (iii) work to develop "corporate understanding of and enthusiasm for sport marketing opportunities" (Sport Marketing Council, Initial Publication, 1987). In other words, the Council offers business consultants, "free of charge", to NSO's, in order to establish strategies for marketing a particular sport to an appropriate corporation, and then lobbies private industry to become involved through an investment

arrangement which is advertised as offering a potentially high return on capital. As noted in the Council's initial newsletter (notably entitled Opportunity: The Sport and Fitness Marketing Newsletter),

For the corporate sector, sport sponsorship is simply good business with a proven track record to increase sales and revenue, improve market share and enhance public awareness of a company through its products.

(Sport Marketing Council 1988(b):2)

And as John Hudson, director of media properties for Labatt Breweries of Canada (and former executive with the CTFA, the CAC and CBC Sports) argues,

(NSO's) have to realize that, like a business, they're selling a package to a sponsor and a sponsor won't buy it unless it provides access to a target market and delivers what it promises. If they don't deliver, a sponsor won't buy again. (Sport Marketing Council 1988(c):2)

Thus the Sport Marketing Council literally works to blend business and sport with the argument that both sides tend to gain as long as an efficient and effective marketing mechanism is in place. In critically assessing the role of the Council, its foundation as a state/capital venture intended to escalate the privatization (and commodification) of amateur sport, and its potential impact on both the state's control over sport and the role of television in producing sport as entertainment, three factors can be examined: (i) the structure of the Council itself, notably those individuals comprising the "volunteer" side of the

organization; (ii) the methods through which sport becomes marketed to private industry in a mechanism of "matching properties", and (iii) the implications involved in organizing sport into corporate-sponsored entertainment packages, readily producible by television for a consuming audience.

Regarding the structure of the Council, the volunteer councillors "include some of the most prominent names in Canada's corporate community" (Sports Marketing Council, Initial Publication, 1986), and clearly reflects the male basis of the sport community and capitalist power more generally. Since the inception of the Council, the Chairman has been Johnny Esaw, Vice-President, Sports, CTV Television Network (although he is expected to retire from CTV sometime in 1989), a Director of the Athletes Trust for the Canadian Figure Skating Association, and a Director of the ParticipAction fitness organization. Volunteer Councillors include: Edward Bronfman, Deputy Chairman and Director of EDPER Enterprises who holds directorships with Carena-Bancorp, Brascan and John Labatt Ltd.; C. David Clark, Chairman, Chief Executive Officer and Director of the Campbell Soup Co., who holds directorships with the Irving Bank and Imperial Life Assurance Co., and was formerly the marketing director with Seven-Up (Canada); Hugh Glynn, President of the National Sport and Recreation Association; Terry O'Malley, President and Creative Director of Vickers and Benson Companies Ltd., a major Toronto advertising firm; Peter Pocklington, Chairman of Pocklington Financial Corporation Ltd., whose holdings include Gainers meat packing,

Swift Canada, the Edmonton Oilers of the National Hockey League and Edmonton Trappers of the Pacific Coast League (minor baseball); and James Richardson, a former Liberal cabinet minister, Honorary Chairman of the Commonwealth Games Association of Canada and Vice-President and Director of the Max Bell Foundation (which has provided grants for sport research). The President (i.e. senior salaried executive) of the Council is Lou Lefaive, former executive director of the Canadian Figure Skating Association (during the period when Otto Jelinek, who appointed Lefaive to his present position, was a top Canadian skater) and the first Director-General of Sport Canada (Sport Marketing Council 1989:4). The representation of private capital on the Council clearly indicates a broad range of connections within the corporate world, including media and various levels of sport and fitness. Significantly, this arrangement of corporate influence has occurred under the direction of the Ministry of State for Fitness and Amateur Sport, in that the state has extended its intervention in sport by seeking to advance and legitimate its appropriation through the direct involvement of influential individuals from private industry. In support of this movement, the Sport Marketing Council works to literally advertise amateur sport sponsorship opportunities to corporations, partly through connections in the business world, partly through the quarterly distribution of the Opportunities newsletter.

As noted in Chapter One, examples of corporate sponsorship in high performance athletics (some of which involve branch plants of foreign-based corporations) are numerous and well-known with regard

to high profile sports such as track (Toshiba, Mazda, Texaco), alpine skiing (Husky Oil), and figure skating (Nutra Sweet and McCain Foods). But corporate dollars have also extended to other sports with both high performance and fitness/recreational components, such as squash (Campbell Soups), lawn bowling (Central Guaranty Trustco), blind sports (Xerox), cross-country skiing (Vachon), cycling (Canadian Tire), synchronized swimming (Petro-Canada), ringette (Air Canada), diving (Air Canada), junior olympics (Royal Bank), equestrian (Texaco) and freestyle skiing (Fibreglas Canada). These corporate arrangements and contracts vary widely in terms of their duration and cost, e.g. from a cost of \$100,000 to the major sponsor of the 1989 Canadian Cycling Championships to \$15,000 for sponsorship of a synchronized swimming training program (Sport Marketing Council 1989:3). Fibreglas Canada's sponsorship of the Canadian Ski Association's Freestyle Program extends over four years, with an anticipated expenditure of \$750,000 per year (1989:4); the essential thrust of the marketing linkage in this case is that both sport and sponsor are somewhat "off-beat" in their orientation, the "hot-dogging" of skiing matched alongside the promotional "pink flamingoes" and commercial advertising of the company. One way of informing private companies about "sport opportunities" comes in the form of advertisements for sponsorships which appear in the Sport Marketing Council newsletter (in turn distributed to corporations, news and broadcast media, and sport agencies), and resemble the following:

Marketing OpportunityFencing

Event: Epee Internationale de Montreal

Location: Montreal, Quebec

Date: January 28-29, 1989

Details: This competition is an internationally sanctioned World Cup event, held every two years in Canada. Over 125 of the world's best fencers are expected from Italy, France, West Germany, Cuba, Poland, Switzerland, Sweden, United States, Austria, Belgium, and host Canada. Sponsor benefits include television coverage (Radio-Canada) pre-event publicity, signage, media packages, hosting, program advertising and awards presentation.

Cost: Title sponsorship at \$40,000. Official Sponsors at \$5,000 each, and Supporter Sponsors at \$1,000 each.

Contact: Jacques Primeau....

(1988:3)

A "Title sponsorship" ensures the sponsoring corporation will receive extensive promotion during the course of the event, e.g. a billboard title featuring the corporate name "above" the event, such as the "Fibreglas World Cup of Freestyle Skiing", with corporate logos and ads prominently displayed on related merchandise and throughout the venue. Further to this type of event-specific involvement, of course, sponsoring corporations can also negotiate advertising space within the television broadcast of events, thereby ensuring the target audience is reached on several levels. For example, as major sponsors of the Canadian Track and Field Association, Mazda and Carling-O'Keefe purchased advertising time within the broadcast of the Canadian Track and Field Championships in August 1988 (CBC Broadcast, Sportsweekend, 6 August 1988). Such cross-sponsorship, which is continually

promoted by the Sport Marketing Council, is argued to be lucrative for sport, television and private industry alike. As John Hudson of Labatt Breweries has noted,

Labatt's spends millions of dollars a year in television advertising to get its message across. To be on television is the best commercial a sport can have. So if someone can pay sport for the (television) rights to an event its worth the effort... If an amateur sport group came to us and could guarantee that they would sell five million cases of beer in a year, then we've got a lot of money for them...

(Sport Marketing Council 1988(c):3)

As a centrepiece of their efforts, the Sport Marketing Council focuses on the "natural relationships" which can emerge from a sport/capital arrangement as they seek to attract a target audience. Labatt's sponsorship of Curl Canada and the Brier (Curling Championships) is one example: a four-month long season, potentially high television audiences, and high participation levels in the sport at a recreational level, where "almost every (curling) club is a licensed establishment, so there's a direct opportunity to relate the event to the sale of the product..." (Hudson, in Sport Marketing Council 1988(c):3). Similarly, in determining a sport sponsorship direction, market survey research informed Fibreglas Canada officials that individuals who ski, and who watch televised productions of skiing, are primarily homeowners, and "Fibreglas wanted to reach homeowners and potential rennovaters (males aged 25 - 55) who are a natural market for the company's insulation products" (Sport Marketing Council 1989:4).

Beyond these instances of corporate sponsorship, however, lies another factor in this complex web of relationships: the way in which sporting events are altered to accommodate the visions or desires of officials from television, private capital and a sport association. Stated in more corporate language, "In sport marketing terms, dressing for success means adapting your events and properties for maximum benefit" (Sport Marketing Council 1988(c):4). For example, Labatt's extended its sponsorship to professional rodeo events in Western Canada once its organizers re-shaped the circuit, reducing 20 small events to five larger ones, leading to the Calgary Stampede. Similarly, the Canadian Gymnastics Federation altered the format of its national championship event in order to accommodate a live television broadcast by CTV. Johnny Esaw, the Chairman of the Sport Marketing Council and Vice-President, Sports, at CTV, suggested that the Federation initiate changes to the "flow" of competition which would appeal to sponsors and audiences alike in the creation of a "television spectacle" or more efficiently packaged entertainment production. In this case, the event was structured such that delays caused by judges' deliberations and the distraction of doubling events (e.g. vaulting occurring simultaneously with floor exercise) during the broadcast would be avoided, by simply scheduling six men's events and four women's events sequentially (in much the same way as the CBC diving production noted in Chapter Five). Noting the dramatic possibilities this format offers, Esaw comments that,

(Producers) can cover it with one mobile

camera instead of three and people at home are not confused because everyone knows the standings and scores (of competitors). The action builds to a sudden-death climax event by event. Its modelled very much after figure skating where all eyes are on one person doing difficult athletic and yet balletic maneuvers. (1988(c):4)

In two years of live coverage of the Canadian Gymnastics Championships, sponsorship dollars for the Canadian Gymnastics Federation virtually doubled from \$75,000 to \$145,000, ostensibly due to the more efficient streamlining of the event for a live broadcast, and the resulting guaranteed presence of a target audience.

It is also important to reiterate that, on a broader scale, audiences are also viewed as guaranteed for particularly prestigious events such as the Olympic Games; hence there has been a movement toward securing "exclusive sponsorships" as a way of drawing even greater corporate dollars. Internationally, the IOC's "TOP" (The Olympic Program) negotiated sponsorships with the "Noteworthy Nine" (Coca-Cola, VISA, 3M, Federal Express, Kodak, Time, Brother, Philips and National Panasonic) for the 1988 Summer and Winter Olympics, and was deemed highly lucrative for all involved (Sport Marketing Council 1988(a):1). Clearly, the activities of the Canadian Sport Marketing Council will play a factor in the joint state/capital bid for Toronto to host the 1996 Summer Games (see also Chapter One, f.16), since existing corporate dollars in national sport can ostensibly be used as evidence that

a strong economic foundation for hosting the Games is already in place, i.e. avoiding the spectre of deficit (as in Calgary's profit) which a state-financed effort might produce.

While the development of the Sport Marketing Council is in itself an identifiable action of the Canadian federal state to extend the appropriation of high performance (and other forms of) sport to the sphere of private capital, the Council's structure, methods of operation and ultimate influence in sport as organized and portrayed by broadcast media testifies to an escalating process of commodification in amateur sport. In a conceptual sense, as I noted in Chapter Four, Claus Offe has suggested that while modern state systems engage in a variety of social expenses, they ultimately remain dependent on the wealth generated by private capital, an accumulative process which the state does not administer directly. And as Giddens has argued, ruling conservative political parties have tended to engage in practices which work to commodify marketable socio-political relations, or to re-commodify those which were at one time state-governed or -subsidized, by attempting to shift these relations back to the marketplace itself. Clearly, in the case of the Canadian state's construction of the Sport Marketing Council, the Council's own relationship with NSO's and evident ties to the corporate world, high performance sport in Canada is well on the way to assuming its place as an at least partially privatized market relation. Indeed, it can be argued that sport is becoming "re-commodified", to employ Giddens' term, since it was once heavily sponsored by private capital (1960's), moved

to near-exclusive state subsidization once a high performance agenda was established (1970's and '80's), and is now being reconstituted as a production of a partnership between the state and the private sector.

While it is important to recognize these alterations in the accumulative basis of high-level sport, I would argue that this should not become the sole focus of interpreting the role of the Sport Marketing Council. For if private capital is gaining a politically legitimate foothold in selling sport as "product" and marketing it as it would any other commodity, there exists a crucial ideological dimension to this activity which compounds traditional tenets of sport (as achievement, success, expressive of nationalism) through their extension to the corporate sphere. Thus there is a shift in those conditions which govern the production of a high performance system, in that they are now broadened to another site of power, resulting in a process of incorporation beyond what the state could singularly achieve. At the same time, it is essential to recognize that the Athlete Assistance Program, Best Ever and the Sport Marketing Council operate as a unified and structured system of policy and practice in the extension of authoritarian control over athlete workers, who are now performers for the private sector as well as for the state (see below). Indeed, Esaw's comment that "all eyes" are on one performer in the construction of a televised gymnastics event illustrates that, in the continuing rationalization of a market relation between sport and capital, and with the continuing

intervention of the state, athletes labour in a highly visible arena of profitable activity, but realize little if any of those benefits which are accrued by this set of interconnective structures.

Thus the Athlete Assistance Program, Best Ever and the activities of the Sport Marketing Council work toward the full incorporation of sport onto an agenda of power which rests on a basis of consensus. That high performance sport has been recognized by a conservative Canadian state as a marketable commodity, and that steps are continuing to privatize amateur sport practice, advances this incorporative process measurably, in the sense that capital will by nature continue to seek out untapped areas of potential profit. But addressing the extent of high performance sport's incorporation into a consensual base (and pinpointing a conceivable weakness in this link in terms of resistant forces) raises two other central parts of this analysis: the particular manner in which sport has been (and continues to be) drawn onto the official agenda of the state and private capitalist interests, and the relatively successful method of compliance which has developed in support of this.

In essence, these have involved various economic, political and ideological means which have emerged to literally dictate whether a particular sport will become part of an elite program and then persist on a high performance level. From a very early date in Canadian society, the choices for an emerging community of high-level sport were significantly narrowed by the inclination of

the state (federal, provincial, municipal) to throw its support behind it in exchange for ideological "goods", whereby performance/success could be directly linked to arguments of national unity. Indeed, the formation of a separate department in the structure of the federal state in 1973 to oversee Canadian amateur sport and establish a system of elite sport was a definitive political statement that the incorporation of sport into official policies and practices was necessary (to maintain a competitive balance in international competition) and desirable (to the public good as well as to the sport community). Similarly, the more recent tendencies of private industry to demonstrate greater interest in the sponsorship of sport (whether due to lobbying efforts by the Sport Marketing Council, by NSO's or out of corporate self-interest) also works to maintain this process. In other words, while incorporation into a well-defined structure has been the desire of high performance sport agencies over the years, the relative success of this process has directed Canadian amateur sport toward a state/capital model, away from potential alternatives based, for example, in grass roots or community development (which was ironically the initial inclination of formal state involvement in sport in the early 1960's). Thus it can be argued that in the process of incorporating high performance athletics into the realm of structured power, the sport community has itself vigorously sought out uninhibited access to resources which such a process has made available. However, it must be recognized that the means of incorporating sport onto a consensus-

based agenda, and the method of compliance which supports this, have been further powered by one essential argument which is rooted in ideology and finds an expressive capacity in the policies and practices of prevailing interests in the world of high performance athletics. This is the argument which cites performance itself, or tangible results in terms of medals, points standings, international placings, national rankings, as the effective rationale for maintaining the place of sport on the official agenda of political and economic power. Just as publicly and privately supported athletes are expected to contribute to program success through a continuing pace of achievement, NSO's are expected to visibly demonstrate the spoils of support, in order to survive financially and maintain a certain level of organizational autonomy while remaining dependent on the lifelines of state and/or capital. It is important to recall at this juncture the (historically) voluntary nature of Canada's elite sport community, where (male-, Anglo-dominated) executive boards influence the direction and scope of NSO's and related agencies such as the Canadian Olympic Association¹ by serving as conductors between sport bodies and the political/corporate world (thus the Sport Marketing Board is not isolated in this regard). Thus if the allegiance or (as Hargreaves puts it) "tacit acquiescence" of the sport community has been an essential driving force in the process which has incorporated sport into the realm of consensual activity, thereby placing it under the jurisdiction of powerful interests, a prevailing ideology of performance and (class- and gender-based) voluntarism are working

to keep it there.

While a discussion of this theoretical framework's applicability to the Canadian sport/power relationship reveals something about the seemingly "natural" place of sport within institutions of state and private industry, it does little, I think, to advance our understanding of how elite-level amateur sport and its relationship to various forms of power have become woven into the fabric of Canadian socio-cultural life, or of how particular structures engage in a struggle to attain and maintain positions of dominance in a more general sense. It is thus important to extend the application of this framework to a particular feature of the complex web of relationships which has informed the direction of the thesis to this point: the role which broadcasting, notably a Crown Corporation, plays in the process which incorporates sport and maintains its form and practice within an arena of power.

The Canadian television industry, it can be argued, has performed a dual role in carrying high performance sport into the sphere of consensual socio-political/economic activity. First, as a general construction of forces based in both political and private economic structures, the industry has been privy to an unusual menu of choices which link directly to the interests of state/capital within the confines of sporting practice, i.e. from amateur to professional league athletics, from NSO programs to brewery-owned teams. This is to say that, if particular structures of power which work within a process of hegemony have successfully

incorporated sport through various consensually-based methods, then the broadcasting industry (as part of the extended legitimating/accumulating interests of political or corporate capitalist structures) has worked to facilitate the extension of this incorporation, as part of the method of incorporation under an umbrella of allegiance similar to national sport bodies. But as I have noted earlier, television works in peculiar ways, hinging the production of programming (sports or otherwise) on developed features of flow and selectivity. Thus if the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's English-language network has (as an agency of the state) participated in the process of hegemonic power, extending the boundaries of political, economic and ideological interest by including sport as a part of its production menu, it has done so selectively, by applying a particular rationale of decision-making and production style to its presentations of high performance athletics.

This in turn raises the other role of public television in this incorporative process: that of the unique policies and practices generated by a sui generis structure of power which may bear strong linkages (and homage) to its economic lifelines, but which has historically struggled for an independent existence on the basis of a "national service" mandate. The parallels to repeated ideological arguments of nationalism expressed by the federal state and sport bodies alike are striking, owing to the intensive political interconnections which exist between these various structures. More importantly, however, if the role of the

television industry is such that it operates upon the site of consensual practice as a producer of culture, i.e. selectively presenting elite sport to a target audience in traditionally established ways, then its role in the more generalized engineering of consent must also be critically assessed. That is, the intimacy of the television industry with an established and pervasive set of power relations, together with its own pattern of agenda-setting, decision-making and production activities, belie some level of activity in the reproduction of conditions which structurally support domination in its fractional and gendered form.

To explore the peculiar relationship which the cultural production of sport bears with the regeneration of dominant social relations, it is useful to identify a three-fold set of processes, the elaboration of which necessitates a return to the above-stated question on the struggle for hegemony and as informed by the evidence of decision/production presented earlier: (i) a process whereby, as noted above, high performance sport becomes incorporated as part of the established agenda of consensual activity (as formed by agents of the state, capital, sport and broadcasting), and are produced and reproduced on a continuous basis with a minimum of (manageable) tension; (ii) a process whereby resistant features which are present in any of these spheres, but particularly within sport, are muted or neutralized (and may ostensibly be accommodated within the boundaries of the production menu and process), as in the narrowly-based struggle of

elite athletes to organize politically; and (iii) a process whereby (i) and (ii) work toward the establishment of consensual practice through an intimate arrangement of reciprocity which links (in theory and in practice) the sport/television interaction with relations of power, specifically, those relations between fractions of a dominant class, and relations of gender.

Engineering Consent: Production, Power and Sport

The interconnected processes cited above allude to what I describe as a series of interrelated features comprising a deep-rooted direction of hegemonic activity. In forming a question on the struggle for hegemonic position, I noted the necessity of recognizing in a critical sense the particular process this struggle advances, the ultimate legitimating qualities this bears for sport/power as an element of common sense reality, and the combined force which these represent through the televisual production of sport in regenerating conditions supportive of class and gender.

In terms of the "struggle for hegemonic position" itself, two factors must be noted. First, as I have indicated in the theoretical constructs presented earlier, hegemony itself is not a guaranteed state, but a volatile moment of dominance subject to historical change and to resistance from various sources which may or may not be included within the (shifting) boundaries of hegemonic power. This hegemonic position can be fleeting or can assume a period of longevity, depending on the range of consensus

spawned and the successful penetration into or accommodation of potentially resistant forces. But as I noted in the theoretical section of the paper, Mahon (1984) has pointed out that the struggle for position is not solely a matter of confrontation between dominant and subordinate groups which bear a conflicting range of interests, but between fractions of the dominant group which holds an unstable balance of political, economic and ideological power. In terms drawn from Poulantzas, she notes (in her moving portrait of the Canadian textile industry) that the leading fraction of capital must secure the consent of other fractions and of subordinate groups in order to maintain a position of dominance. This is primarily achieved by making sacrifices which will enable groups to realize material interests without jeopardizing the leading fraction's own interests, and maintained by the organizing influence of the state's policy-making apparatus (1984:10-12, 38-39). As Poulantzas noted, the state is not an autonomous body with interests unrelated to class interests, nor is it the "perfect collective capitalist", but is "...the condensation of a relationship of forces between classes and class fractions" embodied within its own structure (Poulantzas 1978:132). The state thus formulates responses to class/fraction tensions while contributing to "the maintenance of a particular pattern of class domination" (Mahon 1984:39), i.e. it can subordinate fractions of capital to its own power and engage in struggle for position at the same time.

The second factor in the struggle for position, given the

range of powerful groups which engage in this, is the site upon which struggle occurs. Gramsci's own understanding of hegemony recognized the variety of spheres within which hegemonic power could be won or lost, and that the territory of struggle, victory or defeat or compromise, need not be a "productive" one, i.e. is not necessarily restricted to a narrow conceptualization of the cycle of capitalist commodity production, but includes the realm of ideological and cultural production as well. Drawing from this formulation, and from the important consideration of fractional interests, I have argued that cultural production can indeed work as a regenerative site of dominant power relations, as ground upon which interests from various spheres of activity may potentially meet or clash as they jockey and negotiate for position. At the same time, however, the question of forces resistant to hegemonic domination, which may penetrate the cloak of consensus in attempting to form a new agenda, must be continually attended to, such that these counter-interests are formally or informally drawn onto this site. Thus in noting the occurrence of a struggle for hegemonic position, it is imperative that both the players in the struggle, whether fractional interests or dominant/subordinate forces, and the context of confrontation and/or compromise be analytically addressed.

In the case of the televisual production of high performance sport by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, officials (working under a common ideological interpretation of sport) from structures of the state, private capital, the sport community and

broadcasting, have coalesced to form a pervasive controlling position over elite athletics in Canada. The process advanced by this interaction is one which sees the inclusion of sport on the agenda of decision and action by each group, whereby the human practice of competitive physical activity engaged at a high level of skill has been brought into the confines of political, economic, and/or ideological power. As I have argued previously, the historical emergence of televised sports in Canadian society was the result of a lengthy process which variously involved each of these groups in a realization of the potential of sport, whether in terms of the national good or private accumulation associated with high profile amateur sport. A prevailing view of sport as "natural practice", as a natural extension of human physical ability and humanly constructed culture, has been appropriated in such a manner that sport/power is also viewed as a natural outcome of common sense reality, whether in terms of the way in which elite sport is organized and supported, or its public accessibility as a form of entertainment programming. Thus the struggle for hegemonic position which is lived through and experienced on a particular site of cultural life has advanced a dynamic process resting on the reconstruction of sport within a sphere of production, where it becomes shaped and re-shaped into a set of articulations of powerful groups. In this sense, it appears that sport has become immersed (and altered) in a complex set of relationships in an apparently legitimate fashion. Further to this, however, I argue that this dialogue, occurring on a seemingly

neutral site of cultural production, ultimately sows a new territory for the multi-faceted reproduction of fractional and dominant/subordinate relations, e.g. state/capital and gender relations. And, as part of the engineering of broadly based consent which emerges from this variation of hegemonic power, there is an implicit quartering of resistance as well.

To recall the evidence presented in the historical and empirical sections of the study, it is apparent that since the inception of public broadcasting in Canada in the early 1950's, sports productions have vastly increased in number and scope, as has the dimension of state-based sport, the related sport community, and level of interest or investment on the part of private capital in assuming a role in the "market development" of Canadian elite athletics. What the decision-making/production process within CBC Sports reveals is the manner in which these diverse interests have become systematically organized around traditional practices which work in support of conditions facilitating the transposition of high performance sport into a sphere of widely-based power, the concretizing of relations and the unhinging of resistant potential. The key to the current success of this hegemonic process rests on its varied, flexible and multi-dimensional qualities, which have simultaneously permeated and shaped both the production workplace and the world of elite sport. When agents of the state, NSO's, corporate capital and the broadcasting industry come together to create a system of sport-as-culturally-produced, they unify to employ a logic which

works to regenerate a dominant version of contemporary social reality. For example, the 1988 Canadian Track and Field Championships were replete with corporate advertising, with an ideology of nationalism and achievement, with visualizations and commentary differentially treating males and females, united in the "naturalness" of their occurrence under the auspices of competitive elite athletics. In other words, the basis of consent is fundamentally constructed through the sale and purchase of a conservative ideology supportive of (and resting on) fundamentally unequal social relations. While tensions exist to some obvious degree, as in the case of NSO's which desire more televisual exposure for their sport, or in negotiating broadcast contracts for high profile events with international federations, and particularly between diverse interests (public/private) within the industry of broadcasting, they are managed or tempered in part by the ultimate agreed-upon object of desire: high level sport performance itself. The result of this actively engaged process, I argue, is a deeper and more pervasive set of fractional relations which contributes significantly to a more pronounced rooting of relations of gender, working in tandem to render the realization of resistance and change as unlikely to occur, since such possibilities become defined as unnecessary. As a more illustrative indicator of the complexities and implications associated with the cultural production of sport and the reproduction of power, I conclude this chapter with a discussion of the ways in which conditions for dominant relations of gender become recreated in the

process of decision and production surrounding high performance athletics and Canadian public television.

Producing Sport, Reproducing Gender

As I noted in the previous chapter, productions constructed by CBC Sports are based on a selective agenda-setting process which lies primarily under the jurisdiction of senior officials, who make decisions based on a set of criteria ranging from opportunities pursued in international-level negotiation, to audience/advertiser accumulative potential, to personal taste for particular sports they can access. It is also clear that the production process itself, stemming from selected material, rests in the hands of senior producers and line producers, who determine the shape and flow which a televised event will assume. I have also noted the male-based character of CBC Sports in general, where female workers are essentially NABET or CUPE employees who labour in a support capacity as production assistants or researchers, fulfilling vital roles in terms of continuity necessary to productions, but having little say in the essential decision-making or creative processes.² Similarly, other structures in the system of power which guides high performance (and many other forms of) sport in Canada function primarily on a male interpretation of the world, whether in terms of public/media relations personnel of corporate sponsors, officials of state agencies which establish sport policy (even though the Director-General of Sport Canada is a woman; see below) or lobby for increased corporate support, or representatives/

executive boards of NSO's who develop program direction. This is a crucial consideration in a critical analysis of the cultural production of sport, as sport itself, i.e. this unique form of human agency and extension of physical expression rooted in our history and our socio-cultural fabric, is not by definition the exclusive domain of men in terms of participation or consumption. Indeed, at the present time, 50 percent of carded athletes in the Canadian high performance program (i.e. those who receive funding assistance from Sport Canada) are women,³ yet the majority of coaches, trainers, NSO/related agency officials (including provincial federations which oversee regional programs) are male (Hollands and Gruneau 1979; Beamish and Macintosh 1988). And although television sports are often understood as directed toward a male audience, in terms of categories of sports presented and supporting advertising selected, there is a significant female audience present as well which is primarily interested in non-professional athletics. Indeed, audience survey data indicates that women 18 years of age and over comprise roughly one-half of all viewers for Sportsweekend, although this figure fluctuates depending on the particular sports telecast (e.g. female viewers comprise roughly 75 percent of the viewing audience for international figure skating competitions). For the dates of 26 March 1988 and 6 August 1988, females comprised 45 percent of all viewers, males 18 years of age and over totalled 43 percent, and teenagers/children 12 percent, with total viewership averaging 333,000 (Bureau of Broadcast Measurement 1988). Hence the use of

a commercial for The Wall Street Journal featuring a professional female business executive did not look "out of place" during the presentation of the track and field championships, although the primary sponsor remained Carling-O'Keefe Breweries. In other words, female viewers of televised high performance athletics comprise a potentially lucrative target market for interested advertisers, though few have actually attempted to "tap into" this area. From the perspective of the CBC, attracting an audience of women, i.e., an important interest group, provides yet another round of ideological ammunition in fulfillment of its "national mandate".

The consideration of gender "balance" in the system of control over both the direction of elite sport and its televised production is an important factor for many reasons, not the least of which is the reinforcement of power relations based on gender and the implications this bears for domination by consensus and muted possibilities for change. It is important to recognize that the multi-dimensional character of television sports, from the infrastructure of decision and program development, to the pacing and colouring of productions in the studio or mobile unit, comes into direct contact with events which include both male and female athletes when high performance sport is the focus of production. In other words, in events such as speedskating, track and diving, on a national/international scale, the likelihood of not just female participants, but an equivalent number of male and female competitors is quite strong. Thus in the work world of broadcasting high performance athletics, the question becomes, how does the male

domination of televised sport inform the logic of production in terms of gender? To recall a previously stated question, how does this hegemonic fraction of control over high performance athletics work to reproduce conditions favourable to existing gender relations on a site of cultural production?

There is, it seems, a particular set of factors related to both the practice and production of sport itself which come into play here. In terms of the way in which we think and act about sport in a popular and superficial sense, in terms of measured achievement and the shattering of records, even in terms of camaraderie or the ideology of the individual/team relation, a gender-specific character appears to work in favour of the superiority of measured male achievement (cf. Willis 1982) over measured female achievement. There are, of course, male and female records and categories of sport, but as I argued earlier, the speed, strength, stamina, and skill associated with not just high achievement, but the highest achievement, tend to be associated with male athletes. Thus a gendered ideology underlies the sphere of sport in general, such that, while there may indeed be a fastest/strongest male, fastest/strongest female, it is generally argued that the latter will not (or can not) "measure up" to the former (see for example, Lenskyj 1986). In terms of the physicality of sport, and popular definitions of what constitutes achievement, a gender bias is structurally present, even though the gender "gap" in performance has been considerably reduced in a variety of ways.⁴

With regard to the production of the international

speedskating competition, national track trials and national diving trials, it is clear that a particular gender-based logic informed these presentations (as it does most sports productions), and that traditional habits associated with the profession of producing sports for television were in full operation as well. Producers by and large emphasize that, although they may personally find male-participant sports more "exciting", the gender representation of high performance events dictates that women competitors be presented in balance with male competitors. Thus if there are ten male divers and ten female divers, then a production might be designed to show six of each. It is at this juncture that the male presence in the dominant system of sport and sports broadcasting begins to surface alongside the continually sought-after qualities of drama, spectacle and entertainment, particularly in terms of the way in which the pace and flow of production is centered on the governing logic of "the hero" through dramatic construction.

As examples of this sometimes contradictory set of criteria, the speedskating videotapes contained a women's competition which included a continuation of an established rivalry between the top two female skaters and (significantly) embodied the most dramatic or exciting part of the event. To some extent, the flow of this particular production was determined by the absence of certain top male skaters and the quality of video available. Just as selectivity occurs within the choosing of sports, it occurs within their presentation as well; as noted earlier, high performance events are often day(s)-long competitions which include numerous

heats or preliminary events prior to final performances, so Producers will normally opt to present only the highest-placing athletes (e.g. the top three male and female skaters in their races) or most dramatic/exciting events (e.g. 100-metre heats and finals at a track meet), a tradition dictated in part by governing qualities of flow and time constraints. In the case of the speedskating event, then, it was determined that the highest quality of athletic endeavour available for presentation as the pinnacle competition was the Women's World Speedskating Championships (Interview, Producer/Sportsweekend, 26 March 1988).

It is worth noting, however, that even if a women's event dominates a production or women's sport is rendered as a legitimate form of athletic competition for the moment, other factors associated with the gendering of sport surface quite readily. Significantly, these factors are not marginalized to the production booth, or to the logic of presentation, but find expression and cultivation in the entire infrastructure of the high performance system. Most prevalent, in the confines of my specific findings and in the world of sport more generally, is the repeated reference to women competitors in the roles they fulfill apart from their lives as athletes, traditionally as daughter/spouse/mother. The compelling aspect of this is that it rises as a definitive, almost natural, part of a gendered system of athletics, where female athletes are considered as (i) secondary to male athletes and (ii) as more important or vital in the lives they lead off the playing field rather than on it. As I noted in presenting field evidence

in the previous chapter, it is common in the course of production to hear a public account about the private lives of women athletes, ordered according to prevailing views of a sexual division of labour and the imagery of sexual appeal or attractiveness which popularly accompanies female athletes. Indeed, while the traditionally subordinate or exploited position of women tends to be reinforced in this way, it must be emphasized once again that this is constructed within the confines of the high performance sport/broadcast relation, in part because the role of women as athletes is accepted far less readily than their roles as domestic workers or as members of a reserve army capacity. Thus, to recall the criteria cited by Clarke and Clarke regarding the drama, spectacle, personalization and immediacy which govern broadcast sport, it is evident that these work (and, according to available videotape evidence, have worked since the inception of televised sport) on an application of gendered logic in the framework of producible events. Drama becomes immersed in familial relations (as in the case of the diving sisters) or "disdainful looks" between athletes, spectacle becomes a statement on attire (and a comment, intended humourously, regarding the relationship between dangling earrings and potential injury), personalization becomes marital status and number of children borne, and immediacy, or available technological capacity, carries all of the implicit reinforcements of gender relations into consuming households. The emphasis with regard to male athletes is quite different, where ability and skill, past performance and future potential, outweigh all other

considerations; rarely if ever are we privy to the personal lives of male competitors, whether they are sons or husbands or fathers, bearers of style instead of skill. As part of the structured world of high performance athletics, such an imbalance provides a potent, but skewed, portrayal of gender and sport, immersed in widely accepted definitions of what sport is, and of how television should (and does) present it to us.

From evidence drawn through interviews and observation of practices in the studio, I would argue that Producers of high performance events within CBC Sports do seem more inclined toward presenting superior athletic competition or achievement, apart from considerations of gender or the imparting of sexist values. This is not to say that male-based creative forces of production do not bear some gendered definition of the world, but that they are oriented to a goal of providing an entertainment commodity, which involves as much in terms of hero-construction as it does shot-selection. Thus, as I indicated in the previous chapter, while the focus of producing the track and field Nationals was centered on the performance of Ben Johnson, this was dictated as well by the CTFA's scheduling of the men's 100-metres as the centerpiece event of the day. On the other hand, the uniqueness of sisters competing in the same diving event became the focus of a different kind of performance expectation, *i.e.* dramatically constructed as "Which sister will make the Olympic team?". In terms of the professional habit or logic of Producers, it was noted that they tend to emphasize characteristics of an achievement ideology which

permeates sport, whether founded on a male or female basis, but nonetheless do not discourage (and may look for) the kind of dramatic construction and sexist commentary noted above. It was also found that, in terms of the more general women/sport relation, Producers had a much more balanced impression of women athletes than did either senior production officials or technicians/support workers. Recall, for example, the comment from the Executive Producer on the employment of "hostesses" to facilitate negotiations for rights to the World Figure Skating Championships with the International Skating Union, or the more pronounced sexist comments from technical/production support staff on the sexual orientation of female hockey players. Regarding the more gender-specific productions of professional boxing and the Women's National Hockey Championship which accompanied the speedskating presentation, it was found that particularly dominant views which are normally accorded to male/female sport surfaced in certain locations. In the case of boxing, which was accorded a full-blown large-scale set of production values, the female production assistants who typed the script labelled the event "Raging Bullies" (see Appendix B) and commented during the production that they should not be forced to watch "this blood sport", a far more negative interpretation than was evident on the part of male production officials and creative personnel. On the other hand, the production of women's hockey, constructed on a lower scale of production values, provided a particular "dilemma" found more commonly in contemporary sport, where women have become active

participants in sports previously defined as male territory. The Executive Producer who selected the event for broadcast cited the tradition of CBC's presentation of the competition over a period of years, and, again, that entertainment and variety "packaging" are part of the mandate at CBC Sports. In maintaining the dominating logic of broadcast sport, the male Producer and Writer were primarily concerned with the presentation of an entertaining 20-minute segment; hence the focus on goals scored and "good plays", even the preliminary discussion on body contact, becomes recognizable for its reflection of male-governed sport. Any tensions which this gender orientation raised in the workplace similarly became manageable in the context of teamwork and "getting it on" that guide the social labour of production. In a more general sense, these productions are exemplars of certain ideological features traditionally associated with gender and sport which find expression and concrete location on many levels of social practice, permeating the game and our view of its meaning.

I have noted the particular ways in which lines of gender are reinforced as part of the structure of dominant power and production in order to identify the way in which conditions of consensus become constituted along a very broad range of activities. From a socialist feminist perspective, those interconnected structures of power which govern the production and practice of high performance sport are the same as those which work materially and ideologically to establish conditions women face in the workplace, commodify the imagery of women in terms of

motherhood, the family and sexuality, and (in this instance) publicly portray and legitimate the subordinate position of women: the state, capital and media. Again, the infrastructure which sustains sport production, from state policy to corporate influence to decisions taken in the world of broadcasting, affirms the structuring of male power in the face of female participation in elite sport (see below). Indeed, as the state engages in practices which endeavour to privatize the high performance system, the role of women as athlete performers offers a further avenue for extended exploitation, e.g. as fashion models or as mother figures promoting fruit juices to children. At several levels, therefore, the position of women is reconstituted and reinforced across a range of practices, whether in the stereotypical imagery of advertising, in the exploitation of women as a consumer group or market segment, or in the characteristics associated with broadcasting of women's sport itself, the very area where women have some equivalency with men. As is the case when engaging in critical examinations which peels away the veneer to reveal the conditions which structure and elaborate many forms of power, it is found that women are once again excluded from, and subject to, the formation and direction of control.

Toward the conclusion of the theoretical section of the thesis, I cited O'Brien's argument that proponents of hegemony theory have failed to address a fundamental issue of hegemonic power, "why women consent to the ideology and practice of patriarchy" (1986:264). It is a striking feature of the Canadian

system of high performance athletics and the televisual representation of these, extending from an infrastructure of dominant political and economic interests, that the conditions of both consent and resistance are present. While I have noted that the structural domain of sport is patriarchal in its controlled definition and orientation, it is true as well that women have successfully initiated a more gender-balanced representation of athlete performers through actions from within the state structure (i.e. from female officials in Sport Canada). And although it is clear that the logic and commodification practices which underpin public television's presentation of high performance sport embody a highly dominant, male-based view of the world which ranges from overt sexism to more oblique versions of gender bias (such as the acceptance of fashion statements as a natural part of producing women's events), there seems to be some potential for a modicum of challenge to this prevailing ideology.

To formatively answer the question of why women consent in this instance is to realize that the set of processes which has incorporated sport into the realm of socio-cultural activity is motored by the same relations of (political, economic, ideological) power which have subordinated women and more generally restricted human freedom within a range of seemingly immovable constraints for so long. It thus becomes a matter of recognizing in a critical sense that women consent to the prevailing order of patriarchy because it is continuously constructed and reconstructed as the only available alternative in a set of historically derived

conditions where choice is perceived as non-existent, where patriarchy and hegemony are partners in a mutually beneficial arrangement of control. This is revealed as even more profound when it is understood that women have been drawn into a predominantly male-constructed system of cultural production, subject (and subjected) to a set of regulations and constraints which defines their role, whether creatively, athletically, or as holders of power, as secondary or residing in an underclass of social actors. Indeed, it is a form of consent which has been historically reinforced by more coercive forms of male power. Yet a sensitive view of the hegemonic process denotes that the armour of consensus has its points of exploitable weakness as well, in that, if the construction of consent resides and is lived through increasingly in "unproductive" spheres of social life, then it is entirely viable that the construction of resistance may also arise from surprising and effective sources which revolve around the daily experience and continuing enlightenment of women and men. In addressing the necessity of recognition for the historical process which underscores the development of challenge to the established order, together with the emerging unity of theory and practice, Gramsci wrote, "Consciousness of being part of a particular hegemonic force (that is to say, political consciousness) is the first stage toward a further progressive self-consciousness..." (1971:333). As I suggest in the Conclusion to this study, there is further potential for the formation of counter-hegemonic activity which would work against the formidable structuring of power that

effectively accommodates resistance or challenge into the dominant framework of society. While the starting point of such action may not necessarily be located in the executive offices or production booths which penetrate and shape so much of the socio-cultural activity of sport, the site of athletic endeavour may work back on its controlling influences as a potent manifestation of challenge to the prevailing order.

Footnotes - Chapter Six

¹ As Gruneau notes, the Canadian Olympic Association's fund-raising arm, the Olympic Trust, is comprised of some powerful members of the Canadian business elite (30 out of 45 in 1983) (Gruneau 1983:191, f.131). As I noted in Chapter One, Beamish and Macintosh (1988), building on research through which Hollands and Gruneau (1979) determined the socio-economic and gender balance of volunteer executive boards of NSO's, have demonstrated once again the socio-economic and gender distribution of salaried NSO administrators is dominantly professional/ managerial and male/anglophone. And as noted in above and in Chapter One, the male-dominated Sport Marketing Council, based within the Ministry of Fitness and Amateur Sport, is geared toward drawing stronger support from private capital into the area of high performance athletics. As I suggest in the Conclusion, more research is required into the implications which these interlocks bear for the future direction (e.g. the privatization) of Canadian amateur sport.

² The CBC does have at least one female sports producer, who worked on production of Equestrian events during the Seoul Games.

³ The Women's Program at Sport Canada has been instrumental in establishing a stronger gender balance within NSO athletes, but NSO's themselves remain the domain of male influence and power (see also Chapter One, Table I, p.52).

⁴ There is presently strong evidence indicating that, given the same opportunities for participation, coaching/training and competition, women can match male-established levels of speed and strength (providing, of course, that women continue to pursue the

competitive model of sport at all) (see Lenskyj 1986). There is already evidence to suggest that women may easily surpass men in the area endurance or stamina sports such as marathon running and swimming, e.g. while standard marathon run times for men improved by approximately 2 1/2 minutes between 1975 and 1988, times for women improved by 18 minutes, and overall records for distance swimming are held exclusively by women. Needless to say, this has a great deal to do with an equal balance of coaching and training opportunities afforded to women as they been available to men in the past.

Conclusion

Structure and Agency, Sport and Power:

An Agenda for Further Research

In the opening paragraphs of Chapter One, I briefly discussed the views on power extended by Mills (1959) and Macpherson (1965), noting that each of their contributions to establishing a broader basis of thought about social relations touched on a key issue, that of the historical intersection between the individual and society. In many ways, this starting point of examination has informed both the theory and methodology of this study. The range of arguments I have presented in attempting to extend a critical understanding of the ways in which such forms as culture and power work in Canadian society have been deeply influenced by what I perceive to be a basic reality of daily life: that as human agents seeking and exploring the boundaries of freedom and expression, we are constantly confronted by the barriers of constraint which limit not only the forms of expression we may choose, but the very territory upon which we may or may not act. At least part of the impact of scholars like Mills and Macpherson (and many others cited in this work) has been to widen the horizons of critical thought in such a way that we may think more objectively about the dynamic forces governing the intimacy of an historical agency/structure interaction. Thus the formation of this study's theoretical parameters, which have identified a highly complex set of on-going relationships between culture and power, have been guided by a

recognition of the struggle and tension which occurs as human actors encounter a specific set factors which may be enabling and inhibiting at the same time. From a methodological perspective, the sense of history, of the emergence of a set of qualities which denote human desire and capacity, and of social structures which move and change through time, has been a central characteristic of this work. So, too, has the method of study been influenced by the need to recognize and comprehend the experiences of lives in a variety of settings, as daily expressive life impacted by histories and structures which are themselves the creations of agency.

As an area of human endeavour long associated with a pinnacle of expression enacted by agents, play, games and sport have continued to be defined as a form of sensuous and unique activity. The idealist vision of the human spirit has often come to the forefront in our interpretations of why and how we play, because playing seems to embody so much of the pure essence of thinking and acting people, in an intimacy of the soul and the mind which the body can express or achieve. The compelling reality of agents as social beings therefore appears to contaminate and transform pure forms of play into alien expressions of social structure and social organization. No longer a matter of human essence alone, the structuring of play into games and sports brought with it an new kind of interaction between agency and structure, powerful in its implications yet seemingly contradictory in its form, where the spirit of play became the social organization of sport.

From a view which is sensitive to the structural influences

on the socio-cultural practice of sport in Canadian life, i.e. political economy and the production of culture, I have endeavoured to develop a better understanding of a peculiar manifestation of the tension experienced between human actors and social institutions, where, out of particular moment of history, there emerged a set of accepted social relations on a site where freedom is sought but control is encountered. In developing arguments which alternately focused on the range of structural arrangements that have so profoundly influenced the shaping of sport, I have also had occasion to refer back to qualities of human agency which have persisted within these confines. Through the historical emergence of a system of elite-calibre sport, for example, I noted that legitimating arguments for the development of this often lay with individual athletic achievement on a national or international stage, i.e. that the abilities or skills of agents often served as focal points for the elaboration of controlling influences. I also pointed out that in the progression of a relationship between the television industry and sport, the human achievements of sport worked as a primary rationale even in the face of accumulative or ideological motivations. Indeed, of the arrangements of power I have cited between and among the state, corporate capital, the broadcasting industry and the sport community, a founding argument for the formation of policy, or the creation of entertainment packages, or the cost-effectiveness of programs, has been that humans play in an organized fashion capable of generating expressions of drama and excitement.

In a sense, this could lead to a misinterpretation of some basic realities of our society. While it may be argued, for example, that individual accomplishments in the world of athletics have operated as a foundation for the exercise of power, it seems to me that such a rationale could too easily slip into the realm of idealism, where the point of departure is human ability, and everything which impinges on this perverts it. What I have attempted to do instead is recognize the imaginative and flexible manner in which power becomes generated and regenerated in Canadian social life, to comprehend that the regions of power are intersected with each other in various ways, and entirely capable of appropriating, in part or in whole, untapped resources. That power operates in both obvious and subtle ways, in economic, political and/or ideological fashion, makes the process of appropriation and ultimate exercise of controlling influence, all the more mysterious to us. And it is this mystery, this potential for socio-cultural experience to be guided and moved in ways not of our own choosing, but at the discretion of forces which extend beyond our control, that makes critically informed analyses in the spirit of Mills and Macpherson, or Marx and Gramsci, all the more imperative.

In this critical study of the social relations and social processes of sport and power, however, I have also endeavoured to avoid a deterministic account of the interaction between agency and social structure. While I find the idealist view flawed in its narrow interpretation of the crushing force of social institutions,

I find the materialist perspective enlightening in its more dialectical view, that if social structure acts upon agents, agency works back upon structure as well. This becomes all the more important when, in acknowledging this ebb and flow of interaction, it is realized power enacted or enforced is not necessarily power which goes unresisted. Broadly based and widely dispersed, the exercise and attainment of power is not solely the control over the ownership and distribution of resources, but the relative success or failure in attempting to do this; it is not only the domination over and continued subordination of certain groups by others groups, but the balance of an historical process in which strategies are developed and acted out by a range of agents on a variety of sites. With this abstract conceptualization of power, I have sought to develop a theory of a hegemonic process which reveals in a concrete way the activities of dominant forces, as rooted and reproduced in a sphere of consensus: cultural production. But this approach requires not only an analysis of the ways through which power is manifested, but whether its shape alters or changes in the course of this process. It is crucial to recognize that the process of production/reproduction is not singular and final, but continuing and always incomplete. If the site of culture serves to somehow regenerate relations of power, it is necessary to discover whether those relations have somehow become more consolidated or fragmented, more complete in their dominant features or more sensitive to penetrating resistance. It is at this juncture that the struggle toward resistance and

development of challenging forces is potentially muted or brought to life.

Within the dialectic of agency and structure, the relations of power that have worked toward establishing control over sport have gone seemingly uncontested in their growing influence. This appears especially true in the sphere of high performance athletics in Canadian society, wherein a complex intersection of historical factors has worked to bring elite sport into the confines of power, assisted to a large degree by the sport community itself. As a deepening of the sport/power relation, the collective interest of the broadcasting industry and resulting popular dramatization of high performance sport has successfully appropriated sport to an even greater extent, extending its place in Canadian consciousness and serving as a nesting place for public and private interests alike. The public broadcasting network, the CBC, has been a particularly important factor in this development, and has in turn created its own set of processes, rooted in part in an ideology of nationalism, which blanket athletics in a process of agenda-setting and production. The capturing and rooting of sport within the confines of established power has therefore not only worked toward the solidification of a particular meaning of high performance athletics, but has effectively secured fractional lines of influence and supported conditions conducive to the reproduction of dominant/subordinate relations of gender. While there has been struggle to secure this position of control, there has been a minimum of successful resistance against this process. However,

the seeds of potential movement against the constraining influences which govern sport may not yet have been completely sown.

While I have noted the organized movement of high performance workers has been subdued by a system of payment and rigid disposition to the dominant tenets of international sport, I believe the possibilities for the renewal of this to be strong. Part of the rationale for this belief comes from the direction which elite-level sport is assuming in Canadian society, i.e. as a system of achievement which remains located within the boundaries of state power, but which is becoming increasingly confined within the structure of private capital as well. As part of the long range plan to encourage this, the Progressive Conservative state has established a goal to have amateur sport 50 percent supported by private corporations by the early 1990's, and NSO's are encouraging their athletes to seek out private sources of funding. This in turn means that, above and beyond the carded system of allowances which keeps most elite athletes below poverty line incomes and makes other sources of funding an economic reality, the stratification among athletes may become sharper, as some find (official representation much like professional player agents and) success in acquiring financial support while others remain impoverished. Further to this, the state and private capital are likely to escalate their respective connected interests in promoting elite sport, given recent Canadian successes in the Summer and Winter Olympics, and especially given the hosting (i.e. lucrative) opportunities posed by approaching international events. The

recently issued Task Force on Sport Report, Towards 2000: Building Canada's Sport System (1988), seems to bear this out, noting that only a joint venture of state and private capital will guarantee the continuation of high performance athletics in Canada (estimated to cost \$112 million by the next Summer Olympic Games in Barcelona). It seems only a matter of time before the issue of fair wages and benefits and acquiring some share in a highly profitable infrastructure of support for international sport (e.g. television contracts) become points around which athletes will rally. Indeed, athletes to a large degree can determine the shape which high performance sport will acquire in the future, especially if they realize that their labour, and their labour pool, can be secured within the confines of their own control.

As another source of potential resistance and change, perhaps a more unlikely one, there seems some possibility that the main television broadcaster of Canadian high performance sport, the CBC (and Radio-Canada), could serve as part of a process which would alter the relations of power at work. Essentially, this lies in both the decision-making and production processes. I have noted that Producers and other creative personnel seemed more disposed to presenting a balanced version of male and female athletics in the construction of sports productions, less in terms of male/female comparative differences and more in terms of skill or ability. There are, of course, many biased or sexist stereotypes which become reproduced through television sports, facilitated by both popular views of male/female athletes and commentary from

sources in and out of the sport community. The lack of female Producers is also a continuing problem, as are the structural barriers to advancement for women in sports productions, not the least of which has become the lowering of incomes for the raising of status. But with recent changes occurring in the structure of the CBC's English-language sports department, where experienced creative personnel are beginning to acquire a controlling position in the direction of decision and production, some changes in the reproduction of gendered stereotypes are not inconceivable. With the CBC's continuing interest in international sport (witness the long-term contract with the CTFA and extensive production of the Seoul Olympics), it is likely that athletics including both women and men will continue to be a part of the televisual menu, and conceivable that the dominant views of male and female sport could be undermined in the future development of production. But this also holds the possibility that the (male) fractional powers which maintain some interest in the continuation of sports productions will continue to solidify their power and control through the medium of broadcasting, e.g. through the extension of cable/specialty networks which will at some point claim a share of lucrative international contracts. This means in part that the direction of related areas of influence such as advertising may continue to expand in relative importance to the support of the industry, while remaining governed within the realm of sexist logic.

This brings me to the last and potentially most vital source

of resistance and change, that which might stem from the actions of women and men who engage unwaveringly in the struggle against domination and oppression based on gender. I have suggested that, in a Gramscian sense, one of the most important notions of change is that which recognizes the development of strategy as occurring outside and inside of structures of power. Women have already made inroads to penetrating controlling agencies of the state, and could potentially alter certain directions of broadcasting if they achieve positions of dominance together with a consciousness of change in the balance of gender power. The ties of consent in the world of sport remain quite strong, but are in no way guaranteed to retain their power, particularly in the face of an actively developed resistance which questions the foundation of logic upon which culture and power work, and strives to alter this in a partnership of struggle. To this end, of course, much remains to be accomplished. In a related sense, it is important to establish an agenda for future research in the area of cultural production of sport and the reproduction of power which will remain sensitive to the historical and critical analysis of interactions between human agents and those structures which house the possibilities for the future direction of freedom or control.

A Proposed Agenda for Future Research

In many ways, the suggestions I make here are informed by the theoretical, methodological and substantive parameters which shaped this study. My original intention was to conduct research into a

much broader area of sports broadcasting which would have substantively addressed the public, private and pay/private areas of the industry in a comparative analysis of decision-making and the process(es) of production involved in the televisual presentation of professional and non-professional sport. I maintain that such a study would be valuable in exploring those relations of power revealed in the preceding text in greater detail, through historical research, field observation, analysis of trade reports, interviews, etc. One area of particular importance in a broader study of this nature would need to address the influence of U.S. cultural production and commodification on the development of Canadian sports broadcasting, along with the continuing and expanding role of private capital through the activities of the Sport Marketing Council. (Indeed, it may become necessary to assess the role which the Council itself may have in bringing foreign capital investment to the Canadian sport community.) Further to these concerns, the impact which a newly developed Broadcasting Act may have, pending the policy action of the recently re-elected Progressive Conservative Party to the seat of dominant political power, must also be scrutinized as the broadcasting industry itself takes on new complexities in the 1990's. I have also noted that in assuming a point of departure resting on the production of culture, I have not examined either its consumption or "decoding" in any great detail. There is much room here for critical analysis which would attempt to bridge the gap between production and consumption by formulating an understanding of the relationship between

of power and "textual" relations of production.

Regarding the extension of a research agenda, such a proposed spectrum of study must also be elaborated to include linguistic, regional and ethnic differentiation within Canadian broadcasting and sport, whereby differing processes of production and consumption, based on varying meanings associated with the socio-cultural practice of sport (e.g. the relative popularity of the sport of fencing in the province of Quebec, but its underrepresentation on televisual menus in English Canada, and the near-absence of Native sport on production agendas). In focusing on English-language productions of nationally televised sport, this study has only begun to examine an industry subject to forces and influences of a uniquely Canadian type.

A further area of necessary research entails the more careful examination of the nature and direction of resistance and struggle in changing the shape of sport in general, and its televisual appropriation more specifically. Studies of the high performance system of sport have thus far revealed it is structured in ways which tend to obviate the need for challenge, while the broadcasting industry, too, appears as a mysterious monolith which remains unconcerned about resistance to the reconstructed versions of dominant reality. In this light, I would suggest that certain studies might build on demonstrated and potential sources of resistance, notably in terms of women's actions and struggle for change. While the scales of consensus continue to hang in favour of those sets of fractional relations which exercise power and

domination in a range of imaginative ways, actions of resistance emanating from numerous sources of these fractions, whether high performance athletes, community-based efforts at undermining the rugged individualism of sport, and/or committed women officials working within the halls of state power or communications, may well combine to tip them toward a movement for the empowerment of subordinate groups and ultimate social change. Implicitly, of course, this requires an intensive politicization of agents within a powerful sphere of activity which has successfully muted and depoliticized challenge for some time.

As a concluding note, I have been quite explicit throughout the thesis about sport's role in Canadian society, arguing that it is tied into a wide range of political, economic and ideological interests, existing as human practice, guided on a site of power. I often make this point at the outset of sociology of sport classes, or in teaching sections on sport in other courses, in part so students will become accustomed to thinking more broadly about sport, in part so that they may become more critical about areas of human endeavour which can often seem so replete with magnificence that they appear free from constraining influences. Following this notion, then, it must be emphasized that I have not been as explicit about the time frame which encompassed the empirical part of the research. While it is true that the research took place between the 1988 Winter and Summer Olympic Games, and that this became part of the analytical basis for examining the sport/power relationship, it is also true that the research was

undertaken during one of the most crucial periods of Canadian history, a period which may well determine not just the future of Canadian sport, but the future of Canadian society as a whole.

As I write the conclusion to this thesis, the 1988 federal election is over and the prognosis for a renewal of the Progressive Conservative mandate has come to pass. The result of this bears potentially disastrous consequences for the future of Canada, as the Free Trade Agreement signed between Canada and the United States in late 1987 will now come into effect. This agreement, much of which will be implemented in 1990, carries profound implications for the advancement of Canadian submission to American political, economic and ideological power, and will advance a process of continentalism long ago initiated. For various regions of the country which suffer high unemployment and poverty, certain industrial sectors and their workers, women workers, education and cultural/communications agencies, the Free Trade Agreement will escalate the threat to their foundation while removing safeguards to sovereignty. My students would surely ask me, why we should be concerned about sport in this regard, that as a state-based system which encourages private support and broadcasting exposure, it would be free from the bonds of the Agreement. My response to them would be, given the present range of conservative thinking which dominates the sport system in Canada, the privatization of amateur athletics would conceivably be around the corner as well, since government grants to NSO's could be construed by U.S. officials as an unfair subsidy which interferes or hampers American investment

or trade opportunities, i.e. successful American intervention in a Canadian market. In other words, state control of athletics can also entail state surrender of that control to a broader and more pervasive power, whether domestic or foreign. In this sense, it is vital to critically assess the extended potential for a continentally-based, American dominated, hegemonic process. If sport ever did exist apart from the guiding forces of power, it does not exist in any autonomous way at the present time; if anything, programs and (especially) athletes have fallen beneath greater, more authoritarian control, in light of revelations of the use of performance enhancers defined by the Dubin Inquiry as "athletes cheating" rather than as structured necessities of a system initiated long ago (see Appendix D). And, I would say to my students, this widening form of power on a site of cultural practice entails an even greater erosion of choice and opportunity, making the rise of agency or conscious activity against domination and toward freedom and equality all the more imperative.

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ITEM #	INSTRUCTIONS AND VIDEO	AUDIO	LENGTH	RUNNING TIME
64.	<p>***SFX TO ROLL THEME MUSIC CART AT 17:55:50***</p> <p>STUDIO: BRIAN ON CAMERA</p> <p>-FINAL UPDATES</p> <p>-PROMO World Figure Skating, TONITE!! (Women's Final)</p> <p>-PROMO H.N.I.C. TONITE/VCR @ CALGARY</p> <p>-PROMO SWE NEXT WEEKEND: Sat. - Jr. Curling - Nat'l. Diving Sun. - Brazil Grand Prix</p> <p>-WRAP/GOODBYE</p>	STUDIO	3:39	17:56:50
65.	<p>VTR: KEY FLASH ANIMATION</p> <p>over</p> <p>STUDIO: WIDE SHOT</p>	<p>TAPE #</p> <p>H-7232</p> <p>@ 10:08:00</p> <p>THEME MUSIC CART # 15</p>	:10	17:57:00
66.	<p>FOUNTS/VTR: CREDITS</p> <p>-short 5/5/5/ Roll _____</p> <p>-long 5/5/5/ Roll _____</p>	THEME MUSIC	:45	17:57:45
67.	ADDA: CBC SPORTS COPYRIGHT		:05	17:57:50

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Appendix A

Research Methodologies

The research process associated with this project involved three related qualitative methodological strategies: (i) literature reviews of significant substantive areas such as sport, media and cultural production, together with reviews of conceptual areas related to hegemony theory, cultural theory and feminist theory; (ii) historical/archival research into the processes which linked particular spheres of power with sport and gender; and (iii) field research involving a series of observations and interviews, carried out at CBC studios in Toronto and on two production sites in Ottawa during the months of March and August 1988. As a supplement to this latter phase, videotapes of sporting events were secured as "containers of evidence" which documented such aspects of production as commentary, camera shots and angles, and pacing or flow of programs.

The historical/archival phase of the research was conducted at National Archives, National Sound and Movement Archives, Department of Communications Library, Sport Information Resource Centre (located at the National Sport Administration Centre), Carleton University Library, University of Ottawa Library, all located in Ottawa, and at Douglas Library at Queen's University, Kingston. Secondary data was frequently drawn from resources located through the historical analysis, e.g. CBC Annual Reports dating from the 1930's. More contemporary sources of information

were drawn from recent editions of the Globe and Mail and Maclean's. Material on the development of Canada's high performance sport system which had been gathered previously during research completed for my Master's Thesis proved to be a useful point of departure, but the most valuable of all the historical research came from the National Sound and Movement Archives which possesses a vast array of radio tapes, film and videotapes donated by the CBC and private individuals. Much of the historical research, located in Chapter Two, is original in its scope and direction, in that the sport/broadcasting relation (with the exception of the documented history of professional hockey and early radio) had not been previously detailed in this fashion.

The field observation and interviews were carried out at CBC studios in Toronto and at two production sites in Ottawa during the months of March and August 1988. A contact who works as an executive with CBC Audience Research introduced me to the Deputy Head of CBC Sports, who in turn introduced me to the Senior Producer of the "Sportsweekend" program. This latter individual, with over ten years' experience in CBC Sports, served as my guide over a four-day period in March of 1988, taking me through the agenda-setting and production processes, introducing me to the Executive Producer of the program, and to staff Writers, Performers, Producers, Production Assistants, and Technicians. Observations made in Toronto were paced alongside a "typical" production week, beginning on Wednesday, 23 March 1988 and concluding at the end of the production of Sportsweekend on 26

March 1988. During this period, I had the opportunity to observe the editing and striping (adding sound, whether music or commentary) of videotape, the pacing and process of putting together a live event (a professional boxing match), workplace interactions between various levels of staff (executive/production, production/support, etc.) who are organized by either NABET, CUPE, ACTRA, or an informal producers' association, and decision-making itself through attendance at a staff production meeting. Extensive field notes (which served as records of my impressions, observations, and interview transcripts) were taken throughout the observation/interview period, and re-drafted at every opportunity (e.g. between interviews) in order to maintain clarity and cohesion.

With regard to the logistics of field observations, the Senior Producer would usually arrange access to editing or studio facilities, and I would sit or stand in a location which would not disturb workers but which would afford the best opportunity to observe activities. For example, during the course of the boxing production, I sat in a corner of the mobile production truck, which permitted a view of all monitors without any interference in the production process. During the taping of the Sportsweekend telecast, I sat at a desk on "the bridge", or the control of Studio B, which is quite spacious and once again allowed a "fly on the wall" approach. As I indicate in Chapter Five, most personnel (production, support, technical) at TV Sports were aware of my presence and role. Overall, the following observations were carried

out: editing procedures for speedskating, women's hockey and boxing segments held at the main editing facility at CBC Studios; drafting of script for 26 March 1988 broadcast; discussions of script changes held between Producer and staff Writer; production meeting held on 25 March 1988; rehearsal of commentary for speedskating segment held in an office at the administration centre, 450 Yonge Street; production of boxing segment from a mobile production unit located outside of Varsity Arena; striping of commentary and final editing of video for speedskating segment; production of "CBC Sportsweekend" episode for three hours, 26 March 1988.

Regarding interviews with officials and staff, these were carried out with the following individuals: the Executive Producer of CBC Sportsweekend (three interviews), the Senior Producer of Sportsweekend (my guide and main contact, who was formally interviewed twice), two Line Producers (responsible for the Women's Hockey Championship segment and the boxing segment), two Directors (the boxing segment director, and the Sportsweekend director, who doubled as the women's hockey producer in this instance), one Staff Writer (interviewed twice), two Production Assistants, one Performer, one Colour Commentator, one Editor, one Sound Technician, and one Replay Director. Outside of TV Sports, the Director of Audience Research was also interviewed. I spoke with the Head and Deputy Head of TV Sports (i.e. the two most senior executives) on two occasions: during my second day when I was introduced to the Head and during the boxing production when each individual approached me to ask what my impressions of the mobile

unit were. My feeling was that these individuals were less able to provide a range of information than those personnel I interviewed, since they appeared more interested in either high profile international negotiation and related travel or budget concerns.

Given the hectic schedule of production, the Senior Producer would introduce me to an individual and an interview would be set up at a moment's notice. I brought a series of questions with me into CBC Sports, which included the following:

(A) Personal/Occupational Information (asked of all subjects):

- (1) What is your role or title within TV Sports?
- (2) What is your background in terms of education and working in television and/or media?
- (3) What other positions have you held at CBC?
- (4) What do you like or dislike about your job, i.e. what do you find challenging and what's boring (or what would you change)?
- (5) Do you plan to stay for a while and do you wish to be promoted or moved to another position?
- (6) Which other workers/staff do you have contact with? In what capacity, e.g. who do you answer to in your job?

(B) Decision/Production Information (asked of senior production officials and line producers):

- (1) Which are the most essential factors when it comes to deciding which high performance sports to produce for a broadcast from among the following: audience ratings, budgets, corporate sponsorship, history or tradition, rivalries with other networks, contacts with individuals in the world of sport (such as NSO's), and/or your own feelings regarding what makes "good sports broadcasting", such as the basic entertainment value of certain selected sports. What role, if any, does marketing research play in the selection process?

(2) In the selection of a particular sport, what factors endemic to the sport itself are sought out, such as entertainment quotient or level of potential drama or uniqueness? Do factors of violence in any way prohibit sports from appearing on the air?

(3) What is your view on women's sport? Is it preferable to show female athletics in tandem with male sport, or do you believe women's sport can stand alone as a production? In your view, is there any resistance to the production of women's sport on the network; do you believe it "serves the audience"?

(4) (To female Production Assistants) In your opinion, is there enough women's sporting events telecast by the CBC? What would you like to see changed? If you were to be promoted to the production or executive level, would you change anything with regard to women's sport on the network (or about the way its produced)?

(5) How do you (a producer) determine the pacing of programs, e.g. the length of segments, location of commercial ads and their length, and what techniques are employed to ensure a smooth flow of production? What are typical problems encountered in this process, and how are these usually overcome?

(6) What role does "teamwork" play in production, i.e. how essential is each individual to the production process?

(7) What role does technology or technological capacity play in production, i.e. does it supplant creativity or is it utilized in a creative fashion? How developed is CBC Sports in a technological sense, compared with an American or European network, and are there any changes which you would like to see made in terms of equipment?

(C) Other Information Sought (primarily asked of senior officials):

(1) How do you view the role of CBC Sports and its production of amateur athletics? In other words, do you believe it lies within the mandate of CBC Sports as the public broadcaster to show Canadian elite athletics? Would you like to see this level of sport increase or decrease on the network?

(2) What is your view of the quality of sports productions at other networks, Canadian/American/European?

(3) What direction would you like to see CBC Sports take in the future? Do you believe, for example, that the schedule should permit more hours for sport between Monday and Friday, or that the current emphasis on weekend/special programming is adequate? What kind of sports would you like to see on the air personally? Which

sports have become a part of CBC Sports with your influence?

Most interviews lasted from 30 to 45 minutes, and not all subjects would be asked each question, e.g. questions on decision-making might not be asked of those who do not set the agenda, but impressions of this process would be sought out. Opportunities occasionally arose which would offer a less cloistered atmosphere to carry out an interview. For example, as noted in the body of the thesis, CBC is a very fragmented operation in terms of the location of its buildings, e.g. editing suites are a 10-minute walk from administrative offices of CBC Television Sports, and production workers spend a significant amount of time walking back and forth between sites. These provided opportunities to talk more informally with staff. For the most part, I related on a personal level with subjects, since I carried a range of knowledge regarding sport and media with me into the field. The total time spent in observing activities, interviewing subjects, and recording/re-drafting notes was approximately 60 hours.

The second part of the field research, conducted over 5 and 6 August 1988, did not proceed as smoothly as the March phase, in that I was not as privy to viewing firsthand the process of production as I had been earlier. Two reasons accounted for this: (i) although my contact at CBC Sports had been originally assigned to produce the track and field nationals in Ottawa, a management shuffle at CBC Sports and subsequent change of assignments regarding the Seoul Olympics placed another, far less accommodating, producer in charge of the track production; (ii)

the tension level at CBC Sports, and how accommodating officials were to outsiders, escalated appreciably as the Seoul Games approached. However, I was assured by my contact that the thoroughness of my visit to CBC Sports in March would more than adequately cover anything I witnessed in production in August. I therefore visited production sites of the track and diving trials (held at the Terry Fox Stadium and Nepean Sportsplex respectively) for roughly two hours each on the day previous to their telecast, in order to ascertain camera locations and production set-up (spending roughly three hours at each site), visited both the track and diving venues during the course of their production (approximately 90 minutes at each site), and videotaped the segments during their broadcast on 6 August 1988. During visits to sites, observations regarding such things as camera location and advertising banners were recorded. However, the observation of actual events as they were produced offered little in the way of new information about the production process. The weather may have been a factor; it was 33 degrees Celsius on 6 August, and over 40 degrees Celsius inside the Sportsplex.

Of much greater value in the second phase of field research were the videotapes of events. Analysis of approximately six hours of videotapes involved the following: notations of commentary (e.g. content of comments regarding female/male athletes); camera shots and angles: timing, placement and content of commercial ads; the way in which particular sports were constructed from a balance of imagery and analysis (i.e. when analyses were offered and when the

"camera did the talking"); the overall pace or flow of productions (e.g. the rhythm of a segment when "previously taped highlights" would be shown as in the track and field segment); how productions were "pieced together" in a balance of live/taped/studio host segments. A study on televisual sport (Cantelon et al 1984) which had been previously conducted through the Centre for Sport and Leisure Studies, School of Physical and Health Education, Queen's University, was also helpful in terms of a methodological approach to analyzing tapes. For example, it was noted how time consuming the recording of information from tapes can be, and that it would be more informing to garner a particular rhythm or flow from the productions as opposed to registering a minutely detailed transcript of the text.

The methodologies associated with the process of researching the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's English-language network productions of high performance sport were, in my view, extremely effective. My approach provided a strong indication of how carefully a researcher should tread in accommodating concerns of contacts and/or subjects, and allowed a certain amount of flexibility when I realized that the unexpected (such as mistaking a researcher for a "Head Office" official) can arise to confront an outsider. Strong background preparation, and an excellent initial contact, also proved to be helpful to this field work, permitting subjects to be more relaxed and informing during interviews. Indeed, this experience in field observation and interviewing provided a range of lessons in sociological methods

which will prove valuable to the extension of this project and the development of new studies.

APPENDIX B:
Example of a Script

SPORTS WEEKEND

AIR DATE: SATURDAY, MARCH 26/88	ON/OFF AIR: 15:00:00 - 17:57:50
PROGRAM #: 61-2-1606-7052	MEAL BREAK: 12:30 - 13:30
EXECUTIVE PRODUCER: LAURENCE KIMBER	PRODUCER: DAVID NAYLOR
DIRECTOR: DON PEPPIN	HOST: BRIAN WILLIAMS
PRODUCTION ASSISTANTS: Nanci King George Bertozzi Tim Kablak	WRITER: MIKE DENNIS
FONTOLOGIST: JOEL DARLING	CO-ORDINATION: BRIAN HICKS
UNIT MANAGER: FRED WALKER	

STUDIO 1 (TORONTO)	(416)	975-7586	NANCI KING
(SPORTSWEEKEND CONTROL)		975-7587	DAVID NAYLOR
		975-7588	DON PEPPIN
		975-7589	TECHNICAL

STUDIO 8 (TORONTO) (416) 975-6408 BRIAN HICKS
(PRESENTATION) or 6409

CANADIAN BOXING CHAMPIONSHIP, EX. VARSITY ARENA, TORONTO

(RAGING BULLIES)

PRODUCER: ARTHUR SMITH

DIRECTOR: TERRY MASKELL

PRODUCTION ASSISTANTS: KATHRYN ATKINSON
FRED NICOLAIDIS
PETER OGILVY

COMMENTATORS: DOUG SAUNDERS
DONNY LaLONDE

WOMENS' NATIONAL HOCKEY CHAMPIONSHIP, EX. BURLINGTON

PRODUCER: DON PEPPIN

PRODUCTION ASSISTANTS: KAREN LAPOINTE
GEORGE BERTOZZI

COMMENTATOR: KEN DANIELS

WORLD SPEEDSKATING CHAMPIONSHIP, EX. MEDEO, USSR (MENS'), SKIEN, NORWAY (WOMENS')
& WEST ALLIS, WISCONSIN (SPRINTS)

PRODUCERS: BRANT HEYWOOD/DAVID NAYLOR

COMMENTATORS: ANDREW BARRON
BRIAN DANCE

READ REPORT (RE. CURRIE CHAPMAN)

PRODUCER: LEE HERBERMAN

COMMENTATOR: KEN READ

SKI TALK SEGMENT & SOLOMAN GREAT FINISHES

COMMENTATORS: LIISA SAVIJARVI/SCOTT OAKE

#61-2-1606-7052

ITEM #	INSTRUCTIONS AND VIDEO	AUDIO	LENGTH	RUNNING TIME
1.	VTR: LOGO/TEASE/OPENING -WORLD SPEEDSKATING -WOMENS' NATIONAL HOCKEY -CON. WELTERWEIGHT BOXING	TAPE # H-7232 @ 10:00:00	VTR SOT :52	15:00:52
2.	STUDIO: BRIAN ON CAMERA -WELCOME -HYPE events -INTRO Boxing Scene Set	STUDIO	:30	15:01:22
3.	VTR: BOXING SCENE - SET	TAPE # VTR SOT	1:30	15:02:52
4.	STUDIO: BRIAN ON CAMERA -FRIDAY RESULTS -UPDATES -PROMO World Speedskating, next -THROW to commercial	STUDIO	1:15	15:04:07

ITEM #	INSTRUCTIONS AND VIDEO	AUDIO	LENGTH	RUNNING TIME
5.	VTR/STING: KEY SWE ANIMATION over STUDIO: WIDE SHOT	TAPE # H-7232 @ 10:01:00	MUSIC/CART #	:10 15:04:17
6.	CO-ORD: MOLSON OPENING BILLBOARD (will build on Saturday)	CO-ORD.	:12	15:04:29
7.	COMMERCIAL # 1	CO-ORD.	2:00	15:06:29
8.	STUDIO: BRIAN ON CAMERA -INTRO World Speed Skating -Commentators: Brian Dance/Andrew Barron	STUDIO	:30	15:06:59
9.	VTR: WORLD SPEEDSKATING -TEASE -Commentators On Camera	TAPE # VTR SOT	1:30	15:08:29
10.	VTR: WORLD SPEEDSKATING -World Sprint Championship; Ex. West Allis, Wisconsin	TAPE # VTR SOT	6:15 (+ :05 pad)	

ITEM #	INSTRUCTIONS AND VIDEO	AUDIO	LENGTH	RUNNING TIME
11.	VTR: WORLD SPEEDSKATING -Commentators On Camera (Discuss Olympics) -THROW to commercial	TAPE # VTR SOT	2:00	
12.	COMMERCIAL # 2	CO-ORD.	2:00	
13.	VTR/PROMO: FIGURE SKATING -Scenic -Womens' Final/Gala Special	TAPE # H-7232 @10:07:00 VTR SOT	:30	
14.	VTR: WORLD SPEEDSKATING - PT. 2 -Mens' Worlds, Ex. Medeo, USSR	TAPE # VTR SOT	14:25 (+ :03 pad)	
15.	VTR/STING: KEY SWE ANIMATION over VTR: KEEP ITEM # 14 ROLLING	TAPE # H-7232 @ 10:01:00 MUSIC/CART	:10	
16.	COMMERCIAL # 3	CO-ORD.	1:30	
17.	VTR/BUMPER: KEY SWE ANIMATION over STUDIO: WIDE SHOT	TAPE # H-7232 @ 10:01:00 MUSIC/CART	:05	

ITEM #	INSTRUCTIONS AND VIDEO	AUDIO	LENGTH	RUNNING TIME
18.	STUDIO: BRIAN ON CAMERA -UPDATES -THROW back to Speedskating	STUDIO	:30	
19.	VTR: WORLD SPEEDSKATING - PT. 3 TAPE # -Womens' Worlds, Ex. Skien, Norway	VTR SOT	13:45 (+ :15 pad)	
20.	VTR: WORLD SPEEDSKATING TAPE # -Commentators On Camera -THROW back to Brian	VTR SOT	1:30	
21.	STUDIO: BRIAN ON CAMERA -WRAP Speedskating -INTRO Boxing Update	STUDIO	:30	
22.	VTR: BOXING UPDATE TAPE # **Includes throw back to Brian***	VTR SOT	1:15	

ITEM #	INSTRUCTIONS AND VIDEO	AUDIO	LENGTH	RUNNING TIME
23.	STUDIO: BRIAN ON CAMERA -EXTRO Boxing -HYPE Fight, later -UPDATES -PROMO Read Report, next (Currie Chapman)	STUDIO	1:00	
24.	VTR/STING: KEY ANIMATION over STUDIO: WIDE SHOT	TAPE # H-7232 ● 10:01:00	MUSIC/CART :10	
25.	COMMERCIAL # 4	CO-ORD.	2:00	
26.	VTR: READ REPORT ***Contains C.I.B.C. commercial***	TAPE # VTR SOT	8:00	
27.	STUDIO: BRIAN ON CAMERA -WRAP Read Report -PROMO "Soloman Great Finishes" -PROMO "Ski Talk" with Liisa & Scott Oake -THROW to commercial	STUDIO	:45	

ITEM #	INSTRUCTIONS AND VIDEO	AUDIO	LENGTH	RUNNING TIME
28.	VTR/STING: KEY SWE ANIMATION over STUDIO: WIDE SHOT TAPE # H-7232 10:01:00	MUSIC/CART	:10	
29.	COMMERCIAL # 5	CO-ORD.	2:00	
30.	VTR/PROMO: SWE NEXT WEEK -Sat., Apr. 2 - Jr. Curling - Nat'l. Diving -Sun., Apr. 3 - Brazil Grand Prix TAPE # H-7232 10:03:00	VTR SOT	:30	
31.	VTR: SCOTT & LIISA ON CAMERA "SKI TALK" **Includes ADDAS Inserts**	STUDIO	4:00	
32.	VTR/STING: KEY SWE ANIMATION over STUDIO: WIDE SHOT TAPE # H-7232 10:01:00	MUSIC/CART	:10	
33.	COMMERCIAL # 6	CO-ORD.	2:00	
34.	CO-ORD: MOLSON CLOSING BILLBOARD	CO-ORD.	:12	

ITEM #	INSTRUCTIONS AND VIDEO	AUDIO	LENGTH	RUNNING TIME
35.	STUDIO: BRIAN ON CAMERA -UPDATES -INTRO Women's CDN. Hockey Championship	STUDIO	:45	
36.	VTR: WOMEN'S HOCKEY - PT. 1 TAPE # 	VTR SOT	10:00	
37.	VTR/STING: KEY SWE ANIMATION TAPE # over H-7232 VTR: KEEP ITEM # 36 ROLLING @ 10:01:00	MUSIC/CART #	:10	
38.	COMMERCIAL # 7	CO-ORD.	2:00	
39.	VTR/PROMO: COMING UP TAPE # -WELTERWEIGHT BOXING H-7232 -Boucher/O'Sullivan Pix 10:02:00	VTR SOT	:30	
40.	VTR: WOMEN'S HOCKEY - PT. 2 TAPE #	VTR SOT	9:00	

ITEM #	INSTRUCTIONS AND VIDEO	AUDIO	LENGTH	RUNNING TIME
41.	STUDIO: BRIAN ON CAMERA -WRAP Women's Hockey -UPDATES -HYPE Fight Up Next!! -THROW to commercial	STUDIO	1:00	
42.	VTR/STING: KEY SWE ANIMATION over VTR: BOXING SCENIC	TAPE # H-7232 @ 10:01:00	MUSIC/CART :10	
43.	COMMERCIAL # 8	CO-ORD.	2:00	
43a.	ADDA: "THE KING CHRONICLE" PROMO	BRIAN STUDIO VO & MUSIC	:15	
44.	**Boxing to = 5 parts/56:00 min.** VTR: BOXING - PART 1 (RAGING BULLIES)	TAPE #	VTR SOT 7:00	
45.	COMMERCIAL # 10	CO-ORD.	1:00	

ITEM #	INSTRUCTIONS AND VIDEO	AUDIO	LENGTH	RUNNING TIME
46.	VTR/PROMO: GRAND PRIX ON CBC -Grand Prix Animation/Action TAPE # H-7232 10:05:00	VTR SOT	:30	
47.	VTR: BOXING - PART 2 (MORE BULLIES) TAPE #	VTR SOT	15:00 (approx)	
48.	COMMERCIAL # 10	CO-ORD.	1:00	
49.	VTR: BOXING - PART 3 TAPE #	VTR SOT	15:00 (approx)	
50.	COMMERCIAL # 11	CO-ORD.	1:00	
51.	VTR: BOXING - PART 4 (even MORE BULLIES) TAPE #	VTR SOT	15:00 (approx)	

ITEM #	INSTRUCTIONS AND VIDEO	AUDIO	LENGTH	RUNNING TIME
52.	COMMERCIAL # 12	CO-ORD.	1:00	
53.	VTR/PROMO: H.N.I.C. TONIGHT!! -VCR @ CAL TAPE # H-7232 @ 10:06:00	VTR SOT	:20	
54.	VTR: BOXING - PART 5 (BOXED OUT...) **Includes a throw back to Brian W.** TAPE #	VTR SOT	4:00 (approx)	
55.	STUDIO: BRIAN ON CAMERA -WRAP Boxing -UPDATES -THROW to commercial	STUDIO	1:00	
56.	VTR/STING: KEY SWE ANIMATION OVER STUDIO: WIDE SHOT TAPE # H-7232 @ 10:01:00	MUSIC/CART	.10	
57.	COMMERCIAL # 13	CO-ORD.	2:00	

ITEM #	INSTRUCTIONS AND VIDEO	AUDIO	LENGTH	RUNNING TIME
58.	VTR/PROMO: CURLING ON CBC -Pepsi Jr., VCR on Apr. 2 -Glasgow Women's Worlds, Glasgow/Apr. 9 (10:04:00) -Men's Worlds, Lausanne/Apr. 16 & 17 TAPE # H-7232	VTR SOT	:30	
59.	STUDIO: BRIAN ON CAMERA -Intro Pepsi Juniors Report (Steve Armitage in VCR)	STUDIO	:30	
60.	VTR: PEPSI JUNIOR CURLING **Includes a throw back to Brian** TAPE #	VTR SOT	5:00	
61.	STUDIO: BRIAN ON CAMERA -PROMO Pepsi Juniors, next week - 'Back to Wrap' After this...	STUDIO	:30	
62.	VTR/STING: KEY SWE ANIMATION over STUDIO: WIDE SHOT TAPE # H-7232 @ 10:01:00	MUSIC/CART	:10	
63.	COMMERCIAL # 14	CO-ORD.	1:30	

ITEM #	INSTRUCTIONS AND VIDEO	AUDIO	LENGTH	RUNNING TIME
64.	<p>***SFX TO ROLL THEME MUSIC CART AT 17:55:50***</p> <p>STUDIO: BRIAN ON CAMERA</p> <p>-FINAL UPDATES</p> <p>-PROMO World Figure Skating, TONITE!! (Women's Final)</p> <p>-PROMO H.N.I.C. TONITE/VCR @ CALGARY</p> <p>-PROMO SWE NEXT WEEKEND: Sat. - Jr. Curling - Nat'l. Diving Sun. - Brazil Grand Prix</p> <p>-WRAP/GOODBYE</p>	STUDIO	3:39	17:56:50
65.	<p>VTR: KEY FLASH ANIMATION</p> <p>over</p> <p>STUDIO: WIDE SHOT</p> <p>TAPE # H-7232 @ 10:08:00</p>	THEME MUSIC CART # 15	:10	17:57:00
66.	<p>FOUNTS/VTR: CREDITS</p> <p>-short 5/5/5/ Roll _____</p> <p>-long 5/5/5/ Roll _____</p> <p>TAPE #</p>	THEME MUSIC	:45	17:57:45
67.	ADDA: CBC SPORTS COPYRIGHT		:05	17:57:50

Appendix C:An Example of Specific ScriptingWORLD SPEEDSKATINGPART 1STUDIO: Brian and Andrew O/C

- Welcome
- Discuss 'Big Year'
 - World Sprints
 - Olympics
 - Men's Worlds
 - Women's Worlds
- Discuss our Coverage:
 - 'No Olympics'
- Intro World Sprints
 - An 'Indicator' of the Speedskating Year
- Explain 'Sprint' Format
- Throw to 1st Event:
 - Women's 500m

H-13021

WORLD SPRINT CHAMPIONSHIPS

[Brian and Andrew V/O]

10:03:00

Women's 500 - Heat #2 (Sat.)

Christa Rothenberger - GDR

vs.

Seiko Hashimoto - JPN

03:49

<u>FINISH:</u>	Rothenberger	41:30 (1)
	Hashimoto	42:14 (6)

Men's 500 - Heat # (Sat.)

Yukihiro Mitani - JPN

vs.

Gaetan Boucher - CAN

03:56

Gaetan > False Start #1

04:29

Gaetan > False Start #2
> Disqualified!

Men's 500 - Heat #6 (Sat.)

04:50

Dan Jansen - USA

vs.

Kimihiro Hamaya - JPN

05:36

FINISH: Jansen 38.70 (1)
Hamaya 39.92

Women's 1000 - Heat #9 (Sun.)

05:45

Andrea Ehrig - GDR

vs.

Karin Kania - GDR

07:18

FINISH: Kania 1:21.81
Ehrig

Men's 1000 - Heat #10 (Sun.)

07:25

Erik Henriksen - USA

vs.

Eric Flaim - USA

08:48

FINISH: Flaim 1:17.30
Henriksen

08:55

VISTA: Men's Final Results

09:03

VISTA: Women's Final Results

09:21

BLACK

STUDIO: Brian and Andrew O/C

- Wrap World Sprints
- Discuss Olympics Results
- Promo Men's Worlds Next
- Cue to Commercial

- END PART 1 -

H-13021

PART 2MEN'S WORLD CHAMPIONSHIPSACMA ATA, SOVIET UNION

10:10:00

Scenics: Mountains and Locator

10:08 Contentants

10:15 Line Marking

10:20 Crowd Shot

Men's 500 - Heat #3

10:25 T. Aoyanagi - JPN

vs.

P. Adeberg - GDR

FINISH: Aoyanagi 37:22 (3)
 Adeberg 37.85

Men's 500 - Heat #6

11:19 Eric Flaim - USA

vs.

Rolf Falk-Larssen - NCR

FINISH: Flaim 37.14 (2)
 Falk-Larssen 37.88

Men's 500 - Heat #12

12:12

K.T. Bae - R.O.K.

vs.

F. Syvertsen - NOR.

FINISH: Bae 36.89 (1)
Syvertsen 39.46

Men's 500 - Heat #13

13:05

J. Pichette - CAN

vs.

Y. Shimizu - JPN

FINISH: Shimizu 38.31
Pichette 38.35

13:59

VISTA: 500 M. ResultsMen's 5000 (IN PROGRESS)

14:13

HEAT #17: Jean Pichette - CANvs.

R. Sighel - ITA

FINISH: Sighel 6:55.60 (1)
Pichette 6:56.16

Men's 5000 - Heat #18

15:12 IN PROGRESS: G. Herda - FRG

vs.

C. Eminger - AUT

FINISH: Eminger 6:55.76
Herda 7:04.53

16:15 VISTA: 5000 M. Results

Men's 1500 - Heat #4

16:24 T. Aoyanagi - JPN

vs.

Eric Flaim - USA

FINISH: Flaim 1:53.92
Aoyanagi 1:54.76

18:39 CLOSE-UP: J. Pichette

18:48 Men's 1500 - Heat #7

J. Pichette - CAN

vs.

D. Silk - USA

FINISH: Silk 1:53.66
Pichette 1:54.09

20:51 VISTA: 1500 M. Results
 * Intro Pichette Voice Clip
 (2nd after 3 events)
21:04 S.O.T.: Pichette Comment
21:18 O.Q.: " ... I hope I can".

Men's 10,000 (IN PROGRESS)

21:20 Heat #4 - M. Hadschieff - AUT
 FINISH: Hadschieff 14:49.91 (2)

Men's 10,000 (IN PROGRESS)

21:10 Heat #8 - Llo Visser - NED
 vs.
 FINISH: Visser 14:21.70 (1)

24:00 VISTA: 10,000 Results

24:12 VISTA: Over-All Results
 * Cue to Commercial
24:28 BLACK

- END PART 2 -

H-13021

PART 3WOMEN'S WORLD CHAMPIONSHIPSSKIEN, NORWAY500 M. - Heat #2

10:25:00

Karin Kania - GDR

vs.

Marieke Stam - NED

FINISH: Kania 41.33 (1)
Stam 43.88 (12)

500 M. - Heat #3

26:04

Katie Class - USA (*Faccs!)

vs.

Seiko Hashimoto - JPN

FINISH: Hashimoto 42.17 (2)
Class 45.95 (26)

500 M. - Heat #13

27:15

Erwina Rys-Ferens - POL

vs.

Natsue Seki - JPN

FINISH: Rys-Fergens 42.85 (3)
Seki 45.08 (23)

28.27VISTA: 500 M. Results

3000 M. - Heat #2 (IN PROGRESS)

28:38

Karin Kania - GDR

vs.

Emese Nometh-Hynyady - AUT

***UNSEEN!**FINISH: Kania 4:34.78 (1)

3000 M. - Heat #10 (IN PROGRESS)

30:10

Yvonne Van Gennip - NED

vs.

Elena Belci (ITA.)

FINISH: Van Gennip 4:37.58 (2)

31:15VISTA: 3000 M. Results

1500 M. - Heat #1

31:26

Yvonne Van Gennip - NED

vs.

Leslie Bader - USA

FINISH: Van Gennip 2:09.96 (2)
Bader 2:13.63 (5)

1500 M. - Heat #8

34:05

Erwina Rys-Forens - POL

vs.

Karin Kania - GDR

FINISH: Kania 2:09.75 (1)
 Rys-Forens 2:12.76 (3)

36:44

VISTA: 1500 M. Results5000 M. - IN PROGRESS

36:54

Karin Kania - GDR

vs.

* Yvonne Van Gennip (Leading)

FINISH: Van Gennip 7:53.31 (1)
 Kania 7:59.37 (3)

CLOSE-UP - Kania with Coach
 * Has Won Over-All Title

38:28

VISTA: 5000 M. Results

38:36

VISTA: Over-All Results

39:00

BLACKSTUDIO: Brian and Andrew O/C

- Wrap Skating

- * Throw Back to Brian W.

Appendix D"A Legitimate Enterprise of the State":Ben Johnson and the Dubin Inquiry

The official state inquiry into the use of anabolic steroids and other performance enhancing substances, prompted by sprinter Ben Johnson's positive doping test at (and subsequent disqualification from) the 1988 Summer Olympics in Seoul, is remarkable for many reasons, not the least of which is the inquiry's potential to draw attention to those controlling forces which guide high performance athletics in Canadian society. This brief analysis of the first six months of the Federal Inquiry into Drug Use and Other Banned Substances in Sport will focus on three related areas: (i) the role of media in transforming "sport" to "news", and in facilitating a rationale of "moral panic" which has thus far dictated the overall tone of the inquiry while ignoring the essential structural implications of the Canadian high performance system; (ii) the extension of authority over athletes which the inquiry itself embodies, and the ways in which athletes and their performances have become victimized as the unwarranted focus of the investigation; and (iii) the reasons why neither Canadian high performance sport nor international sport will not alter significantly in scope or direction once the Dubin Report is released.

From the outset of the "scandal" to the current phase of the investigation, the incident has as a whole been characterized by

an overwhelming sense of moral panic, by and large a problem defined essentially as one resting with "athletes who cheat" or cut corners to win. This has in turn been fuelled by media coverage of the story which was near hysteria in its initial scope. Indeed, the initial, sudden and full-blown surfacing of the issue of performance-enhanced sport began to assume overall proportions similar to those described by Hall et al's Policing the Crisis (1978), where media accounts were a central feature of the construction of an extended form of state authority based on reaction to the previously unrecognized crime of mugging. As Hall et al suggest, news itself is a socially constructed phenomenon, where "events which concern elite persons...(or) are dramatic...can be personalized...or have negative consequences...are all possible news stories" (1978:53). Indeed, the initial coverage of Johnson's positive test by CBC Television Sports worked to solidify those emerging "newsworthy" qualities of the story. For example, the main Performer or anchor of CBC's Olympic coverage in Seoul, Brian Williams, suddenly assumed the role of news anchor, relaying events in a style which would only match a very juicy political scandal or, given the rumours (among many others) of sabotage, something more cloak-and-dagger in nature. Interestingly, at one point during this coverage, Williams commented on some "new facts uncovered as a result of telephone calls made by Arthur Smith" (CBC Broadcast, Summer Olympic Games, 26 September 1988). Smith, who is now Head of CBC TV Sports, was Senior Co-ordinating Producer of CBC's Olympic production at the time (and was Producer of the boxing

segment I observed as part of my study), and was evidently acting in the role of investigative journalist for the network, seeking information and quotes, official and "unofficial", from Canadian delegates to the Games.

In general, media reports of the incident focused on either Johnson himself (who, having broken a world record in the 100-metre sprint, was about to be severely sanctioned for having "broken the rules" at the same time), or on the "shock waves" felt by the Canadian team or the world of sport. This process of transformation, where sport-becomes-news due to the nature of a story and its individual players, also entailed a spread of innuendo and fact, as different facets of the story were sought out, extending to such questions as, "who's responsible?" or "what will (Canada) do now?". Tellingly, however, as the story unfolded as front-page news on an international basis, the actual structuring of sport so apparent throughout the event became secondary to the developing scientific basis and moral implications of the incident. Indeed, certain features of media coverage and the reaction of the Canadian state worked to support these factors.

First, the news conference announcing the test results and detailing Johnson's fate, was carried live by CBC Television and Radio (English-language television also brought in a French-language sports announcer to act as translator when the conference switched languages). The conference itself was handled by officials from the International Olympic Committee, the International Amateur Athletic Federation, the Canadian Ministry of State for Fitness and

Amateur Sport, Sport Canada, the Canadian Track and Field Association, the Sports Medicine Council of Canada, the International Sports Medicine Council of the IOC, the Canadian Mission to the Seoul Olympics. In other words, the layered structure of international athletics, a significant bureacratic arrangement which had somehow failed to control the disastrous outcome of one of the most prestigious events of the Games, was there for the world to view. Yet the focus remained on Johnson, on an athletic performance, and at the same time supported an elaborate contradiction one of the basic tenets of liberal-democratic justice: rather than an accused remaining innocent until proven guilty, a positive doping test renders an elite athlete guilty without a trial, and with little chance of a successful appeal. The resolute logic rendered, and offered in an unquestioning manner by media agencies, is that scientific infallibility negates the need for any other approach.

Secondly, the media provided plenty of imagery of a disshevelled and disconsolate Johnson entourage (his coach, his agent and business manager, who suggested possible sabotage, his trainer/masseuse, his physician); particularly memorable was the image of Johnson's stressed-out coach, Charlie Francis, emerging after a meeting with the President of the COA, Roger Jackson, commenting that he had "no idea" how a positive test could have happened. But this immediate supporting structure of the athlete, like the power structures so evident at the news conference, was also granted secondary status to the test results and to a mounting

concentration on Johnson's own individual "disgrace". As the headline noted in the Globe and Mail following the announcement of the test, "Johnson Stripped of His Medal, Positive Test for Steroids" (27 September 1988), media outlets were actively embodying the logical and objective rationale of science alongside the personal shame of the individual involved.

Third, this particular focus on "shame" and "guilt" was compounded by Johnson's immediate suspension from international competition for a two-year period by the IAAF and his suspension for life from Sport Canada funding and competitive opportunities by Minister of State for Fitness and Amateur Sport Jean Charest the day after his disqualification. (Regulations governing the testing of athletes in Canada stipulate an appealable lifetime ban from funding, but a only two-year ban from competition; clearly, the ensuing panic of Johnson's test also worked to change the rules). Once again, this action, and its subsequent coverage (and linkages to other features of the story) by the media served to publicly legitimate science and state: neither could be wrong, thus the actions of one followed a "natural" course after the findings of the other. It is not, of course, that the media could be expected to engage in critical analysis of those powers which underlie international-level sport; nonetheless, media representations tended to afford a near-infallibility and ideological legitimation to both the sanctioning authority and the scientific results of the doping test which landed squarely on Johnson himself, effectively labelling the athlete a cheater, while

efficiently avoiding such moral determinations about those agencies which have ignored or legitimated the use of controlled substances. At the same time, Johnson was filmed by television cameras and photographed by newspapers and magazines from around the world as he literally hurdled some bushes and ran into his home once returning to Canada. And the more sensationalistic aspects of the story continued to surface: Johnson's doctor reporting the theft of steroids from his office, other track athletes refusing to continue competing in Seoul, accusations and silences on the part of his entourage. It wasn't long before school children were being interviewed regarding what they thought about Johnson's "cheating".

This particular direction of moral panic and the necessity of invoking authority has also been passionately embodied by the inquiry of the Canadian federal state as well. Headed by the associate chief justice of Ontario, Charles Dubin, the inquiry has revealed an apparently long standing negation of the law and order, or factors of social control, associated with international high level athletics. It has alternately been "discovered" through inquiry testimony that a wide range of athletes utilize an even wider range of substances, ostensibly to provide them with the same competitive edge enjoyed by their international counterparts. But these "revelations" have assumed proportions akin to shock and dismay, rather than as recognitions of the obvious historical background to Johnson's positive test. Performance enhancing substances have been used in sport for decades, whether in the form of hormonal treatments, anti-depressants and sleeping aids,

caffiene substitutes, various types of diuretics and anabolics, blood doping, even the practice of carbohydrate loading and depletion. Most international sport bodies have (at least by now) initiated forms of testing, or at the very least, sets of regulations, in order to control against the use of enhancers, but the battle lines of scientific enhancement vs. scientific control grew in proportion throughout the 1970's and 1980's. The reason for this is once again obvious: international sport is now a very high stakes game, with not only nationalistic ideologies at issue, but corporate profits and (for a very few in this country) personal fame and wealth as well. As I have noted in this study, high performance athletes engage in a form of labour which is difficult to match in its physical, emotional and psychological demands and effects, and involves a labour process which falls under some very rigid forms of authority, including random testing of athletes for illegal (under the code of sport) substances. It can also be noted that the use of performance-enhancers is widespread, extending beyond the elite level to the sub-regions of sport, professional or otherwise. As a long-distance runner who trained at a sub-elite level (apart from the formal structure of sport and without coaching) for several years, I inquired about the availability of blood doping prior to one competition, only to be informed I should be "running Italy or France" where it was, according to other athletes and one coach, in wide use experimentally. While I like to think my inquiry was more out of curiosity about the potential effects of oxygenated blood on a given performance (since I was

well off the standard required to, for example, qualify for a national team), it is conceivable that I was not the only one in that competition seeking something beyond the cumulative effect of four plates of pasta consumed the night before the race.

In a broader sense within the socio-political world of sport, the popular focus remains directed toward the individual athlete and his or her achievements. In this way, the individual is in a position to accept the rewards of victory or the responsibility for those actions leading to suspension and/or disgrace (as the NSO/Athlete Agreement makes so clear). Accordingly, Mr. Justice Dubin has been fond of admonishing athletes throughout the proceedings: "Don't you realize you cheated?", or, "Don't you know you are a role model for thousands of young athletes who will follow your example?". In the case of Johnson, the entire weight of a multi-million dollar enterprise has fallen on him, from the structure of international sport to dreams of a national program (where Best Ever becomes Worst Ever) to the ethical admonishments of a legal authority. Yet it is important to recognize that something else is occurring here. In the high performance system of athletics governed by the Canadian state, and with the increasing participation of private capital, a contradiction has emerged: the state uses various means at its disposal to sanction against the use of enhancers, while at the same time, and through the same structure, it has in fact worked to legitimate or even promote their use.

This legitimation, which is now re-defined through the

"legitimate enterprise" of the Dubin inquiry, has occurred in several different ways. First, as noted earlier, elite athletes in Canada by and large earn sub-poverty wages as exploited workers at the hands of the state, and, increasingly, as commodities of private industry as well. They are subjected to enormous pressures to perform, and to continue improving upon their performances throughout their careers. These pressures emanate from and are articulated by a range of individuals and groups, including families and friends, athletic peers, coaches and managers, NSO officials, Sport Canada officials, and, perhaps ultimately, from individual athletes themselves. Success in athletics has become defined as the progression of individual performance based on the development of skill and ability, where the comparative group is the rest of the sporting world. In turn, this can, in some cases, translate into some level of wealth or at least financial stability should a corporate sponsor for an athlete be found, one willing to fund athletes at about \$30,000 per year rather than the \$7,800 (available at the highest level of accomplishment) from the state. Again, the historical involvement of the state in high performance sport has been one which negated the grass roots approach for a quick fix which substantially funded a high performance system with a set of corresponding expectations for its workers. Thus the very conditions under which athletes train and perform forces them to seek alternatives, whether for income or for the advancement of their athletic accomplishments.

However, the inquiry has virtually ignored these conditions

of athletic labour, and paid little attention to the authoritarian control exercised over athletes, opting instead to assume a more condescending and patronizing approach. But evidence of the sport system's own promotion of performance enhancers surfaced during the inquiry when it was revealed by sprinter Angella Issajenko's that she crossed out the clause in her NSO/Athlete Agreement which states that athletes submit to random testing and avoid banned substances. She then signed the form and submitted to CTFA officials, who in turn, according to Issajenko, said nothing in response to her action. This tends to reveal at least two things: (i) that Issajenko may not have cared about potential repercussions, feeling secure in her position as a carded athlete, or perhaps having had legal advice that the contract was not really binding; and (ii) that the use of performance enhancers among certain athletes was well known to the CTFA (at the very minimum), an NSO with a high level of state funding and corporate sponsorship, one expected to attain established performance objectives through its athletes. Although various other individuals from within the sport system, such as coaches, doctors, NSO officials, have provided testimony for the inquiry, the central focus ultimately remains on athletes and their practices. At the same time, however, inquiry officials have shown little understanding of the working conditions associated with athletic labour, and have provided no indication that they will look into the structuring of sport as the inquiry continues. It is, after all, easier to publically berate athletes and argue about

provisions for even more control over their lives than it is to work toward a re-structuring of sport which would treat athletes as workers who are paid to perform for their country.

This is one reason why the final report of the inquiry will do little to change the high performance sport system in Canada. It may admonish those "who knew", and may point to certain factors which persuade athletes to use performance enhancers (even the issue of wages, which was pointed out by Bruce Kidd in his appearance before the inquiry). Ultimately, however, there will be suggestions for stricter testing, education, and provisions for greater control over the practices of athletes. Another reason for little change occurring is the reaction of private capital, which has expressed little concern over the Johnson incident or over the outcome of the inquiry. As one advertising executive argues, "Events (still) have the ability to deliver (consumers)...Ben Johnson wasn't the first celebrity to fall from grace... (Sport Marketing Council 1989:2, emphasis R.C.). And as officials of one of the CTFA's (and Johnson's individual) sponsors, Toshiba, note, "This development does not or will not dampen our enthusiasm as a major sponsor of athletic events or athletes. We remain dedicated to helping advance sports in Canada..." (1989:3). As another official notes, "Amateur sport is too good not to be used...the scandal can be positive for sport marketing...(and the possibility of such a thing) makes sport sponsorship more of a business decisions and less a sport decision" (1989:3). Thus the state's ally in sport's accumulative base and future development, private

industry, views the continuing extension of high performance and other sponsorships as, literally, "business as usual". This in turn will benefit the on-going bid by officials from the state and capital alike for the 1996 Summer Olympics to be held in Toronto, since the IOC will look favourably on a report, and related action, which emphasizes more testing without jeopardizing the sport structure of Canada, or the nation's ability to host the 100th anniversary spectacle of the modern Games.

In short, too much is at stake, whether economically, politically or ideologically, to relinquish the opportunities which elite-level sport and its athletes present to those forces which control this sphere of practice. The Dubin inquiry, as an ethical/moral reaction of state, as supported by private industry for reasons related to the extension of profit, as supportive of a wider role for scientific control, all presented in full colour by media agencies which have worked to generate and then sustain national and international response to the story, will call for an extension of moral and scientific control over athletes. While the backlash of the final report may result in a series of personnel changes within certain sport associations, and the laying of "blame" on some officials, it will ultimately re-articulate the prevailing ideological view of high-level athletics, and the basic structure of sport production in Canada will actually change very little. As indicated by the extension of Best Ever and movement to host the 1996 Summer Olympics in a Canadian city, traditional performance objectives (and expectations) will remain in force, and

high performance sport, along with its athletic workers, will remain mired in a system of formidable power.

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